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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE POLICIES ON INCLUSION AND EQUITY IN THE CIRCUMPOLAR NORTH

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EDITORS

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FOREWORD

This book celebrates the University of the Arctic *Thematic Network on Teacher Education for Social Justice and Diversity*. The Network was established in Ulan Ude, Republic of Buryatia in Russia, in 2015 with six founding member organisations from Finland, Canada, Russia, Scotland and Mongolia. Led by the University of Lapland, the Network is finding its feet and gradually establishing itself. In three years, it has grown quickly and currently hosts 22 organisations that share interest in promoting social justice and resilient societies through teacher education. The Network now includes institutions from all of the eight Arctic countries as well as Scotland, Mongolia and France.

The Network is in line with the Finnish Chairmanship of the Arctic Council's priority area of education. From 2017 to 2019, the Arctic Council's Sustainable Development Working Group hosted the project '*Teacher Education for Diversity and Equality in the Arctic*', which emphasises that teachers are the key factor in providing a quality education. To promote sustainable communities, teachers who work in the Arctic and in northern communities must be committed to their work and be inspired by the Arctic. The project has strengthened the Network of education specialists in the Arctic in cooperation with the University of the Arctic. This book is part of that project's outcome and an excellent example of global networking.

The Network is not only for northerners. In 2018, it was granted UNITWIN/UNESCO Network status allowing global south partners to join Network activities. Current global south partners come from New Zealand and Ethiopia, and we are eager to welcome many others.

The Network focuses on teacher education at different student levels from early childhood education to higher- and adult education, with a specific focus on social justice and diversity. It considers the diverse populations, cultures and socio-economic conditions of the Arctic and other regions with vast rural areas, long distances and indigenous populations. Social justice as a principled approach appears viable in responding to the needs of diverse student populations. This includes educational policies and practices that enable equity and equality, for example, such as ensuring that fair educational opportunities are available even in remote areas. Socially sustainable development necessitates a contextual understanding on the part of future and current teachers and teacher educators. For example, some of the important questions are: 'What are the social, economic, cultural, political and geographical contexts in which teaching and learning take place?' and 'How can nationally developed curricula be translated into the context of the region?'

Long distances and limited access to resources invite educators and other pro-fessionals to create innovative ways to respond to the needs of diverse learners. Accordingly, education in and for long distances and rural areas makes demands on both pre- and in-service teacher education in terms of innovative pedagogical approaches to distance management in teaching and learning. Future and existing teachers need cultural sensitivity in skills, knowledge and abilities to act in culturally diverse contexts. To develop these themes further, more research and especially research collaboration across the globe are necessary.

This book is the Network's first endeavour in shared research. It explores inclusive policies in nine countries across the Arctic and beyond, including a chapter from a Sami perspective. The book discusses a wide range of inclusive policies and highlights similarities and differences between the countries. As it provides a comprehensive overview, in this sense, it is a unique piece of work. In my opinion, it tells the story of the Network and of active and dedicated teamwork across the globe. Our people become easily inspired and excited, aspiring for and attaining great goals, such as the creation of this book.

I am sure you will enjoy reading this book and travelling in your mind from country to country to understand their inclusive policies. If you are interested in learning more about the Network and what we are accomplishing, you are always welcome to visit our website at www.ulapland.fi/uatn.

At the Arctic Circle in the beginning of 2019

Professor Tuija Turunen
TN Leader

EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

DIANE B. HIRSHBERG, GREGOR R. MAXWELL, MHAIRI C. BEATON AND JENNIFER SPRATT

This edited book is authored by members of the Thematic Network for Teacher Education for Social Justice and Diversity in Education—a group working under the auspices of the University of the Arctic. This university is a virtual organisation which aims to link universities, research institutes, colleges and other organisations across the Circumpolar North to facilitate joint research and education on themes specific to the Arctic and northern regions of the globe. The Thematic Network for Teacher Education for Social Justice and Diversity in Education was founded to provide opportunities for researchers in different universities to work cooperatively on educational issues particular to areas within the Circumpolar North.

As one of its core values, the University of the Arctic states that it 'promotes northern voices in the globalizing world, reflecting common values and interests across all eight Arctic states and among all northern peoples and cultures'. Within this context, our network attempts to identify and address the common challenges for teacher education and the teaching workforce across the region, with particular emphasis on social justice and inclusion. Schools in the Circumpolar North face significant challenges which are, in many ways, peculiar to the area.

Many communities in the north are located in rural areas with small, scattered settlements. They can be distinctive in their geographical isolation from large urban areas, and as populations in these villages continue to decline, there can be challenges in keeping local schools open. Additionally, in contrast to larger, urban areas, socio-economic inequalities can be hidden or less readily apparent to newcomers.

The Arctic region is also distinguished by a wealth of Indigenous communities who have been marginalised, historically, and whose cultural and linguistic traditions have been undervalued, if not repressed, by state educational provisions. In the twenty-first century, education is viewed as important to the empowerment of the Circumpolar North. The Thematic Network on Teacher Education for Social Justice and Diversity in Education, therefore, aims to break with former modernist colonial approaches to education in favour of social justice and diversity. As an organisation, it seeks to link researchers, internationally, to develop culturally sensitive approaches to teacher education and schooling which address the remote nature of many communities and their schools and to promote local, place-based curricula and pedagogies suited to the area in which they are located. For these remote schools, there remains an ongoing challenge in preparing, recruiting, supporting and retaining teachers who value the rich ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity within their classrooms.

The value statement of the Thematic Network for Teacher Education for Social Justice and Diversity in Education is as follows: 'Seeing education with northern eyes: Co-creating culturally responsive arctic pedagogies and transformative teacher education to enable agency and sustainability for the Circumpolar North'. Under this umbrella, the activities of the Thematic Network focus on three inter-related themes:

- education for inclusion and social justice;
- learning for long distances in school education and teacher education; and
- Indigenous education and cultural sensitivity.

This edited book has been an important step for the Thematic Network in advancing these goals. Members of the Thematic Network are teacher educators and researchers located in twenty-two different institutions across eleven countries:

Finland, Denmark, Canada, Norway, Scotland, England, the United States, Iceland, Sweden, Greenland and Russia.

BACKGROUND AND GOALS FOR THIS VOLUME

Contributors from each country and the Sami community were invited to submit a chapter focusing on an element of inclusion and/or social justice policy which was pertinent to their specific area. None of these countries are homogenous, and the chapters in this volume are, in many cases, particular to the specific geographic regions or cultural communities represented by the writers; they reflect the differing perspectives and contexts within which the authors live and from which they write. We did not set out to create a uniform set of indicators of equity and inclusion, nor did we aim to define these concepts across national contexts. Rather, we asked the authors of each chapter to 'consider policy in its widest sense, including legislation and policy documents at different levels [and] how they are being enacted within the historical and cultural context of the individual country'. As a result, the chapters may not represent an overview of inclusion and/or social justice about the whole of the country; rather, they provide a snapshot of select elements of policy provision and enactment within that geographical area.

To encourage authors to think broadly, we offered a list of key words they could consider, including 'social justice, diversity, cultural sensitivity, Indigenous education, inclusion, additional support needs / special education needs, teacher education, sustainability, digitalisation'. We also emphasized that these were only suggestions and noted that the authors could instead identify other important national or regional issues.

The result of this open-ended call for chapters from members of the Thematic Network is a rich tapestry demonstrating the diversity and the commonalities that exist in the region. Our authors took very different approaches to this call. In some cases, they focused on inclusion for children with special needs (e.g., Finland, Norway and Iceland), while others addressed issues of Indigeneity and post-colonialism (e.g., Alaska, Canada, Greenland and the Sami in Norway); others still focused on socio-economic and political issues (England and Scotland),

governance and student empowerment (Sweden) and multiculturalism (Russia). There are common challenges described among the countries, especially because of geographic remoteness and relatively small populations, but there are also stark differences due to the divergent histories and populations as well as the dissimilar contemporary contexts. We believe that these chapters represent the start of a much-needed conversation about the current state of inclusion and equity across the Circumpolar North, and we hope that they spur further engagement on these critical issues.

OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

The chapters in this volume can be read as standalone works, but taken as a whole, they provide insight into the rich diversity of educational inclusion and diversity practices, perspectives and outcomes across the north. Here, we provide a brief overview of each chapter.

CANADA: Moore, Maxwell and Anderson examine how government policies regarding social inclusion have impacted the Indigenous Peoples of Canada. They review government legislation which established a system of social equity in the country but excluded Indigenous Peoples; they also examine the Indian Act which attempted to forcibly assimilate the First Peoples and the impact that the resulting residential schools had on them. They conclude by describing initiatives which were inspired by the Calls to Action of Canada's 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

GREENLAND: Brincker and Lennert analyse education policy goals and practices in Greenland, and situate Greenlandic education policy within the context of nation-building processes. They provide an overview of multiple changes to the educational system since the introduction of home rule in 1979 as well as the challenges facing Greenland in trying to achieve social cohesion while reducing social inequality in this former colony of Denmark.

ICELAND: Óskarsdóttir, Gísladóttir and Guðjónsdóttir analyse the development of the idea of inclusive education in Iceland policy as well as barriers to its implementation. After presenting the history of policies for special needs education, they describe how current national policies and the national curriculum address

inclusion. They also discuss the findings of an external audit of inclusive education in Iceland and its recommended changes.

UNITED KINGDOM: Beaton and Spratt examine the inclusion policies of Scotland and England in order to identify their responses to international directions—specifically how the influences of UNESCO and OECD are enacted in the social justice policies in two different policy contexts. They examine how Scotland and England have many similarities in their inclusion policies, although they arrived at these policies through very different routes.

NORWAY: Maxwell and Bakke discuss inclusive education in the northern Norwegian context and present some of the challenges and issues related to the ever-shifting nature of inclusion. They describe the development of Norwegian inclusion policies, in particular the adoption of the concept of adapted education, which is intended to remove the distinction between 'special' and 'mainstream' education so that everyone receives an education which fits their learning needs, however diverse.

THE SÁMI IN NORWAY: Keskitalo and Olsen introduce Norway's system of inclusion for Sami education in both national and Sámi schools and curriculum systems. They address the history of curricular and policy reforms in Norway and describe how the Norwegian educational system and policy try to both recognize and integrate Indigenous peoples and minorities.

FINLAND: Lakkala, Miettunen, Takala, Kyrö-Ämmälä, Sarivaara and Kielinen discuss how the goal of inclusion is rooted and promoted in northern Finland, and whether it increases students' wellbeing. They start by describing how inclusion is enacted in Finnish compulsory education and then address the challenges to inclusion in northern communities, including remoteness, sparse populations and staffing challenges.

SWEDEN: Alerby and Bergmark explore students' participation and influence regarding inclusion and diversity at compulsory and upper secondary schools in Sweden. They provide a brief overview of policies and governance in the Swedish school system and then focus more specifically on student participation as a way to create a sustainable and inclusive society as well as to address values essential to a sustainable and an equitable society.

RUSSIA: Flotskaya, Bulanova and Ponomareva discuss inclusive education at all educational levels in the Arkhangelsk region of Russia. They focus in particular on educational structures for Nenets Reindeer Herders, including language policies affecting their schooling, and then they explore multiculturalism at the postsecondary level. The authors look at inclusive education policies at the secondary, secondary vocational and postsecondary levels

ALASKA: Hirshberg, Harvey, Cost and Ohle address the issues of inclusion and equity for Indigenous populations in Alaska by focusing on the conditions that work against achieving those goals. They then provide an overview of efforts to mediate inequity through transforming teacher education through efforts to incorporate Indigenous pedagogies, cultures and languages in K-12 schooling.

The volume concludes with a reflection on this work by Sue Docket from Charles Sturt University in Australia. Dockett acknowledges the increasingly globalised context of education but observes that the chapters within this book highlight how international and national policies are enacted within specific historical and cultural contexts. She encourages readers to use the individual chapters to 'question what has been taken-for-granted in their own contexts, scrutinise the familiar and consider alternative ways of approaching issues of inclusion and equality'. She helpfully provides a series of thought-provoking questions for both the writers and readers to guide this process whether they are looking at issues of inclusion and social justice from 'northern' or 'southern' eyes.

In preparing this collection of chapters, the authors were involved in peer reviewing and editing of one another's writing. This process has been a highly informative, interesting and sometimes surprising process for us as a collaborative group. The exploration of such a wide range of topics emerging under the banner of social justice highlights the tensions and struggles, commonalities and differences, which exist for educators in the Circumpolar North. We hope that readers within the Arctic region and beyond will share our interest in this emerging area of work.

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE INCLUSION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN CANADA

SYLVIA MOORE, ERIKA MAXWELL
AND KIRK ANDERSON

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines how government policies regarding social inclusion have impacted the Indigenous[1] Peoples of Canada. Although Canada has embraced multiculturalism as a national identity, Aboriginal Peoples have remained largely outside of the multiculturalism discourse and inclusion policies. This chapter begins with a review of the government legislation that has established a system of social equity in the country but has excluded Indigenous Peoples. It then examines the *Indian Act*, which attempted to forcibly assimilate the First Peoples through 'eliminat[ing] Aboriginal governments; ignor[ing] Aboriginal rights; terminat[ing] the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause[d] Aboriginal Peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in

[1] The terms 'Indigenous', 'First Peoples', and 'Aboriginal' are used interchangeably in this paper. 'Indian' is the terminology of the Indian Act and is used specifically in that context.

Canada' (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 1). In conjunction with the Indian Act, residential schools further enacted a process of forced invisibility on First Peoples. The chapter ends with a description of various initiatives that have been inspired by the Calls to Action of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (2015).

CANADA'S NATIONAL POLICIES FOR DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

In 1971, the Canadian Prime Minister declared that Canada would adopt multiculturalism as an official policy. The policy recognized the diversity of nationalities and cultures reflected by the country's citizens. Together with the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (CCRF) (1982) and the *Canadian Human Rights Act* (CHRA) (1977), the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (CMA) (1988) characterizes Canada as a country of equality and inclusion. These policies have not only been enacted through the judicial system, but they are also evident in education policies on inclusion and in curricula that explicitly teaches about the social fabric of Canadian society.

MULTICULTURALISM POLICY

In an effort to create an equal Canadian society, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau (1971) proposed that Canada should adopt a multicultural policy within a bilingual framework. This policy would protect the cultural freedom of all Canadians and create national unity by celebrating differences. The policy advocated support for the maintenance and development of heritage cultures, intercultural sharing, the reduction of barriers to full and equitable participation in Canadian society, and the learning of at least one official language (Berry, 2013; Dewing & Leman, 1994/2013; Trudeau, 1971).

In 1972, a Multicultural Directorate was approved to implement multicultural policies and programmes supporting human rights, citizenship, and immigration. The Ministry of Multiculturalism, established in 1973, focused on implementing multicultural initiatives in all government sectors. The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, later the Canadian Ethnocultural Council, created

relationships between ethnic organizations and the government for collaborative decision-making. The main goal of the multicultural policies and subsequent actions was to remove barriers that prevent or limit the participation of cultural minorities in Canadian society (Dewing & Leman, 1994/2013).

CANADIAN LEGISLATION FOR RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

The CHRA was established in 1977 to ensure that all individuals

> ...have an opportunity equal with other individuals to make for themselves the lives that they are able and wish to have and to have their needs accommodated, consistent with their duties and obligations as members of society, without being hindered in or prevented from doing so by discriminatory practices based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, marital status, family status, genetic characteristics, disability or conviction for an offence for which a pardon has been granted or in respect of which a record suspension has been ordered. (Canadian Human Rights Act, 1985, s 2)

Established the same year, the Canadian Human Rights Commission was to administer the CHRA and to mediate human rights disputes (Dewing & Leman, 1994/2013).

While various enactments of emancipatory and human rights legislation speak well of a government's intention to seek change, they can also be easily altered or even withdrawn. Enshrining such intentions within a national constitution truly anchors this process in the fabric of both legal and governmental frameworks and can even become a mandate for change. An 'Act' of any legislature can be repealed by a majority vote from that body. Constitutional change essentially 'bedrocks' a nation's intention in a way that shapes the country and cannot be easily ignored (The notwithstanding clause being a notable exception as it gives each province a means to 'temporarily' opt out decisions they do not support). A foundational shift in this direction is the CCRF, which was enshrined in the Constitution Act, 1982. At that time, Canada's constitution was repatriated to Canadian legislatures from the authority of British Parliament. The CCRF, commonly referred to as The Charter, established rights and freedoms for all Canadians, including fundamental

freedoms, democratic rights, mobility rights, legal rights, and equality rights. The Charter also specifically noted that it should be interpreted in a manner that respects multicultural heritage (CCRF, 1982, s 27) and the equality of the sexes (CCRF, 1982, s 28). Within this constitutional framework, any and all treaties were recognized. Thus both First Nations and various levels of Canadian governments are 'treaty peoples'. The Charter continues to govern human rights law in Canada.

CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM ACT

The CMA was passed into legislation, in 1988, as the federal government's formal commitment to supporting diversity. The Act 'acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage' (CMA, 1985, s 3(1)(a)). It also identifies multiculturalism as integral to Canadian heritage and identity as well as shaping the country's future (CMA, 1985, s 3(1)(b)). The Act documents the government's intention to increase inclusion and eliminate barriers to equitable participation in Canadian society (CMA, 1985, s 3(1)(c)). Overall, the law's intent is to both treat people equally and to respect diversity (Berry, 2013).

Multiculturalism has been criticized for obscuring the Canadian identity and national unity as the ideas of celebrating differences and sharing common values may be deemed contradictory (Berry, 2013; Dewing & Leman, 1994/2013; Joshee, Peck, Thompson, Chareka, & Sears, 2016; Wayland, 1997). However, the CMA has become widely accepted by Canadians (Berry, 2013; Berry & Kalin, 1995) and is now considered a fundamental part of Canadian society (Berry, 2013; Dewing & Leman, 1994/2013).

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION POLICY AND CURRICULA

Multicultural and human rights policies have also transcended through Canada's education system (Bromley, 2011; Howe, 2014; Joshee et al., 2016; Lund, 2012) as values incorporated into education policies and academic curricula across the country. Bromley (2011) examined social science textbooks for grades 8 to 12 in British Colombia to determine their use in promoting acceptance of diverse cultures and a unified national identity. She found that the textbooks are being

used to frame human rights and multiculturalism as part of the Canadian identity and to teach content using multiple perspectives. The textbooks also highlight the accomplishments of particular Canadians and use Canada's global reputation as a peacekeeping and just country to teach Canadian identity.

Howe (2014) points out that high schools now offer a variety of foreign languages in an effort to create global citizens and that teacher education has changed to include human rights, social justice, and multiculturalism components. Joshee et al. (2016) highlights education policies in Ontario, Alberta, and Atlantic Canada that promote understanding and respect of cultural diversity and different perspectives (Alberta Education, 2005; Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation, 1999; Ontario Ministry of Education, 2014).

ABORIGINAL PEOPLES AND POLICY

Clearly, Canada and its provinces have a history of embracing multiculturalism and immigration, but it has been both blind and more often colonial in regard to the realities of Indigenous Peoples in Canada. As a result, while multiculturalism has become an essential part of Canadian identity, the First Peoples of Canada have remained largely outside of these policies and practices (Berry, 2013; Environics Institute, 2010; Fleras & Elliot, 1992). Justice Murray Sinclair, Chair of the TRC of Canada (2015), speaks to Canada's historical treatment of Aboriginal Peoples.

We need to understand that the relationship between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people, in particular government, since confederation has been one in which the government of Canada has deliberately attempted to wipe out the culture and language of Aboriginal people. And we have seen it not only in the way that residential schools were created and run but we have also seen it in legislative changes that prohibited ceremonies, for example the potlatch and Sundance laws of the 1880s made it illegal to participate in ceremonies and gatherings and prohibited the wearing of Indian garb by Indian people. It prohibited people from going into any ceremony such as a sweat lodge. So those legislative changes were clearly designed to wipe out the culture of Indigenous groups. (8:10–8:57)

THE INDIAN ACT OF 1876

The *Indian Act* was enacted in 1876 and embodies the relationship between the Government of Canada and Indigenous Peoples of Canada. The Act, although amended, is still in existence and dictates how reserves and bands can operate and who is considered 'Indian' (Hurley, 2009). With the Act, the Canadian government abolished Indigenous self-government, took control of Indigenous services, and made it a requirement for Aboriginal children to attend school (Hurley, 2009; Virag, 2005).

The CHRA specified that the Indian Act was not governed by the CHRA. Thus, the Canadian Human Rights Commission was not responsible for dealing with any issues related to the Indian Act (McKay-Panos, 2008). It was not until 2008 that amendments were made to the CHRA, and the law became more inclusive. And, until 1985, the Indian Act violated Section 28 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which guarantees rights equally to both sexes (CCRF, 1982), as Aboriginal status could not be retained when status women married non-status men (McKay-Panos, 2008).

RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS: 1884–1996

Residential schools were set up as a result of the Indian Act, requiring that Indian children attend school. The schools were generally 'badly constructed, poorly maintained, overcrowded, unsanitary fire traps' (TRC, 2015, p. 46). Upon arriving at residential schools, children were 'stripped of their belongings and separated from their siblings' (TRC, 2015, p. 45). They underwent rapid acculturation; were forced to speak English; and were poorly fed, treated, and cared for. They were overworked, neglected, and abused. The last residential school closed in 1996 (TRC, 2015).

Seven generations of Aboriginal Peoples attended the Indian Residential School (IRS) system (Sinclair, 2015), leaving no aspect of Aboriginal life untouched (TRC, 2015). The losses of language, tradition, and culture are compounded by the massive disparities in educational attainment, health markers, and income level between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians. Aboriginal Peoples have higher rates

of incarceration, domestic violence, substance abuse, and suicide. Much of this inequality can be attributed to the injury caused by the assimilatory IRS system (Potvin, 2015; TRC, 2015). While Newfoundland and Labrador were not part of Canada until 1949, there were residential boarding schools in Labrador and the former Dominion of Newfoundland, now known as the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, with the additional practice of 'forced invisibility' in denying the presence of the Mi'kmaq Peoples on the island of Newfoundland (Hanrahan & Anderson, 2013).

It is evident from the persistence of residential schools until 1996 that the First Peoples of Canada were excluded, for many years, from both the CCRF and the (CMA). The existence of residential schools went against the CMA, which encourages the preservation, enhancement, and sharing of the cultural heritage of all Canadians (CMA, 1985; Berry, 2013). Residential schooling violated many rights and freedoms outlined in the Charter, including Section 2 – fundamental freedoms, Section 7 – life, liberty, and security of person, and Section 27 – preservation and enhancement of multicultural heritage (CCRF, 1982).

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

In 1991, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was established to investigate problems faced by Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. The first recommendation of the Commission's (Canada, 1996) final report was that there be a renewed relationship between Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian Government 'based on the principles of mutual recognition, mutual respect, sharing and mutual responsibility' which would form 'the ethical basis of relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal societies in the future' (p. 130). Additionally, the right to Aboriginal self-determination needed to be recognized within the context of the Canadian Constitution Act and international human rights law.

In response to the RCAP report, the Canadian Government unveiled *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan* (1998), which heralded the beginning of meaningful reconciliation between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Peoples of Canada. In May, 2006, the Government announced the settlement of a class-action lawsuit brought by former Indian Residential School students. Referred to as the

Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) (Canada, n.d.) it provided financial compensation and established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION OF CANADA (TRC)

The TRC was established in 2008 as part of the IRSSA (TRC, 2015). The TRC was tasked with

> ...reveal[ing] to Canadians the complex truth about the history and the ongoing legacy of the church-run residential schools, in a manner that fully documents the individual and collective harms perpetrated against Aboriginal peoples, and honours the resil¬ience and courage of former students, their families, and communities; and guid[ing] and inspir[ing] a process of truth and healing, leading toward reconciliation within Aboriginal families, and between Abo-riginal peoples and non-Aboriginal communi¬ties, churches, governments, and Canadians generally. The process was to work to renew relationships on a basis of inclusion, mutual understanding, and respect. (TRC, 2015, p. 27)

A survey in 2009 examined how much Canadians were learning, in school, about Aboriginal People. Only 54% of non-Indigenous Canadians surveyed were aware of IRSs. Indigenous urban Canadians who took the survey rated how much they learned about Indigenous People, history, and cultures in school. Eighty-nine percent reported having learned little to almost nothing about these topics in elementary school, and 80% had learned little to almost nothing on the topics in high school. Only 24% of non-Indigenous urban Canadians thought schools were doing a good to excellent job teaching about Indigenous People and their history, and 63% thought schools were doing a fair to poor job (Environics Institute, 2010).

TRC FINAL REPORT 2015

The TRC Final Report was released in 2015. The report included the stories of survivors, an in-depth overview of the history and legacy of the IRS system, and 94 Calls to Action to further the reconciliation process. These Calls focused on

public awareness and education on IRS, nation-wide adoption of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, government investment in reconciliation, and the commemoration of the history and legacy of IRSs (TRC, 2015).

COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITIES

The establishment of the TRC was not the first legitimate step toward inclusion for Indigenous Peoples in Canada, but it is the most recent and seems to be one of the most promising. Most Canadians are finally beginning to understand the depth of the harm done through IRSs and to realize the extent to which the Canadian Government's policies and societal practices have neglected the needs, and indeed undermined the traditions and cultures, of Indigenous Peoples (Lambert, 2016). Through the work of the TRC and its Final Report (2015), Canadians have been informed about the history of IRSs and the impacts on Aboriginal Peoples. In addition, all sectors of Canadian society have been challenged to consider ways for reconciliation to take place in order to move the nation forward. Work is beginning, at all levels of education, to include Aboriginal history and Aboriginal knowledges in the curricula. Informally, reconciliation is being discussed at work sites and community gatherings as Canadians examine their collective responsibilities for social inclusion.

Since the release of the report, Aboriginal student needs are addressed, and non-Aboriginal Canadians are becoming more informed and reflective, recognizing the importance of reconciliation and the collective responsibility for social inclusion.

INDIGENOUS HISTORY AND KNOWLEDGES IN CANADIAN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

TRC Chair Sinclair (2015) explains in the following the importance of education to social justice as reflected in the inclusion of Aboriginal Peoples in Canadian society:

Education is what got us into this mess- the use of education in terms of residential schools- but education is the key to reconciliation because we need to look at the way we are educating children. That's why we say this is

not an Aboriginal problem, it's a Canadian problem. The way we have educated Aboriginal peoples in residential schools to believe that they are heathens and savages and pagans and inferior, is the same message we were giving in the public schools. And we need to change that message in the public schools, and in the Aboriginal schools as well, to ensure all children being educated in our school system in Canada are educated to understand the full and proper history of each and every Indigenous group and the territory in which they live so that they will grow up learning how to speak to and about each other in a more respectful way. (9:34–10:21)

K–12 EDUCATION

At this time across Canada, and at all levels of education, there is an increase in the teaching of Aboriginal history and knowledge systems (Godlewska, Rose, Schaefli, Freake, & Massey, 2017; Jacklin, Strasser, & Peltier, 2014; Milne, 2017), and Aboriginal Peoples are being acknowledged and celebrated for the value they bring to Canadian society (Gasparelli et al., 2016; Ragoonaden & Mueller, 2017; Taylor, 2017; Todorova, 2016; Weiler, 2017).

Godlewska et al. (2017) investigated the incorporation of Aboriginal history and culture in curricula for school-aged children and youth in Newfoundland and Labrador. They examined textbooks for social studies courses for ages 5 to 14 and for Canadian Studies and World Studies courses for ages 15 to 18. They noted some problematic content, including historical inaccuracies and incorrect terminology but also general improvement in the inclusion of content over time. They recommended working with Indigenous educators to design and implement curricula and to select relevant and appropriate textbooks.

Milne (2017) examined the perceptions of educators and parents in Southern Ontario about the Ontario Ministry of Education's commitment to Indigenous student success and the delivery of Indigenous content in schools. The integration of Indigenous content was considered to be beneficial for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students for many reasons, including improving school experiences and increasing awareness, respectively.

Research has also looked at ways to increase Indigenous student inclusion and success in the Canadian education system although much of this research has

been focused on a deficit model. Focusing more on strengths and success from the Indigenous perspective, the *Sharing our Success* (2004 and 2007) reports are two sets of case studies examining 20 schools across Canada. These books highlight exemplars of success for Indigenous students and their schools, yet, despite this research showing such models of success, challenges continue (Bell et al., 2004; Fulford & Daigle, 2007). Preston (2016) examined issues in Nunavut schools through interviews with teachers and school administrators. Participants described the following challenges: poor student attendance, limited cultural and language resources, and the legacy of residential schools and teacher turnover creating strained school–student/parent/community relationships. To improve these problems, Preston, as did Bell et al. and Fulford et al., recommended incorporating local Inuit culture, language, and knowledge into curricula.

Aikenhead (2017) discussed ways that educators can overcome 'privilege-blindness' (p. 76) and foster the success of their Indigenous students in mathematics through dialogue and collaboration. He began by proposing seven questions related to conventional notions of math and the promotion of reconciliation and answered them throughout the paper. He concluded that mathematics is subjective and cultural, and that a pluralist approach is the best way to acknowledge this and celebrate Indigenous knowledges.

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

At the post-secondary level, many universities are making an effort to provide culturally considerate education, opportunities, and campuses for Indigenous students. Osgoode Hall Law School of York University has established a Reconciliation Fund to contribute to Indigenizing the curriculum and programming, among other initiatives, and has created a centre for Indigenous community life on campus (Osgoode Hall Law School, 2017).

Pidgeon (2016) investigated efforts across Canada to indigenize policy, programmes, and practice, thereby promoting the success of Indigenous students. Using examples from Canadian and American schools, Pidgeon identified key areas that non-Indigenous post-secondary schools should target to empower Indigenous students: (a) governance, (b) institutional policy, (c) curricula and co-curricula, and (d) practice. She concluded that Indigenized institutions will foster Indigenous self-determination and cultural integrity.

Ragoonaden and Mueller (2017) explored perceptions of culturally responsive pedagogy in a course offered to Indigenous students looking to transition into university-level courses at the University of British Colombia Okanagan. The course was designed by First Nations communities and other university stakeholders. It integrated Indigenous traditional teaching knowledges and methods, including the Medicine Wheel and collaborative learning circles. Through interviews, the authors found this approach to be valuable to students and effective in incorporating Indigenous knowledges into the course's curriculum.

HEALTH EDUCATION

Many professional schools and programmes have begun incorporating Indigenous history, knowledges, and voices into the development of curricula. Jacklin et al. (2014) described the implementation of an Aboriginal health curriculum at the Northern Ontario School of Medicine and associated challenges, such as managing stereotypes, improperly trained faculty, and the differences between Western and traditional medicine. The programme was developed and is delivered through a community engagement approach, which includes members from Aboriginal communities in planning and teaching, in an effort to decolonize Aboriginal health. The school has integrated Aboriginal health throughout its curriculum, and the study authors believe the curriculum is contributing to the long-term goal of reducing health disparities for Aboriginal People in northern Ontario.

Hojjati et al. (2017) examined how Canadian health education programmes, special-izing in disability and rehabilitation, should include postcolonialism and Indigenous health disparities. The researchers conducted interviews with educators, service providers, researchers, and policymakers with backgrounds in postcolonialism and health. The interviewees discussed areas such as the history and legacy of colonization, health and access disparities, the connection between rehabili-tation and Indigenous knowledges, and the role of rehabilitation in addressing Indigenous health disparities. The authors recommended that health educators apply a postcolonial lens when teaching students about culturally safe care for Indigenous patients.

Additionally, Gasparelli et al. (2016) discussed the importance of the TRC for phys-iotherapy in Canada and delivered their own calls to action. These include attract-ing Indigenous students to physiotherapy programmes and retaining practising

Indigenous physiotherapists in order to improve cultural safety. There was also a call to incorporate Indigenous history and rights, anti-racism content, and cultural safety into physiotherapy curricula and continuing education.

Although including Indigenous history and knowledges in curricula is important, Canadians must acknowledge the prejudice and discrimination that is inherent in non-Indigenous perspectives and institutions. Ly and Crowshoe (2015) explored the Aboriginal stereotypes present in Canadian medical education and how they impact Aboriginal health. They conducted focus groups with undergraduate medical students from the University of Calgary to determine their perspectives on stereotypes, racism, and discrimination against Aboriginal People. Students were aware that stereotypes lead to racism and discrimination and had encountered Aboriginal stereotypes in medical school. Ly and Crowshoe concluded that medical students needed to be taught about the impacts of Aboriginal stereotypes to begin addressing the racism and health disparities experienced by this population.

OTHER PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

Todorova (2016) examined journalism curricula across Canada and argued for the decolonization of journalism education. The author recommends that journalism education should integrate Indigenous knowledge into curricula and administer it with equal importance to the dominant Western pedagogy. The author concludes that integrating Western and traditional knowledge into journalism curricula will help mould students into 'critical thinkers' and 'intercultural experts' (Todorova, 2016, p. 688) and will allow them to promote understanding as a working professional.

Furthermore, Weiler (2017) discussed the concept of public service schools. He proposed their use as a means of working toward reconciliation in Canada through the TRC's Call to Action 57, which urges the government to educate public servants on Aboriginal history. The author discusses the importance of having public servants who are educated about Indigenous history in Canada so that they can 'contribute to healing and building mutually respectful relationships among Indigenous and settler peoples of Canada' (Weiler, 2017, p. 15).

COMMUNITY ACTION

Together, these examples highlight the advancement in policy, curriculum, and research thus far as well as the remaining areas for improvement. Creating an

educated Canadian population has the potential to spark new ideas and inspire people to take action in their own communities. For example, someone educated about IRSs and their legacy may be more likely to recognize racist attitudes in the work place and speak out against them. A high school student who has been properly educated about Canadian history in relation to Indigenous Peoples may feel inspired to advocate for the strong delivery of this educational component in contexts where this aspect of the curriculum is lacking. Institutional and systemic change will happen largely through government action, including research and policy. National change will require personal, group, and community action (TRC, 2015).

PERSONAL ACTION

On a personal-action level, Taylor (2017) described her experience as an early child education student and how she hopes to promote reconciliation within the curriculum as well as between staff, parents, and community members. She discussed her education and ways in which she could expand on what she has learned to further incorporate reconciliation into practice as an early childhood educator.

GROUP ACTION

Many groups have begun to think about how the can contribute to reconciliation efforts. Canadian businesses Unifor and CN Rail made a large donation to support the First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada (Unifor, 2017). The Pierre Elliot Trudeau Foundation invited four Indigenous rapporteurs to their 12th Annual Public Policy Conference to ensure that Indigenous voices were heard and incorporated (Todd & Mills, 2016).

Municipal governments and universities across Canada have been working to create community-level change to achieve reconciliation. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities has established the *First Nation-Municipal Community Economic Development Initiative* and the Community Infrastructure Partnership Program with the goal of creating strong, productive economic relationships between municipalities and neighbouring First Nations communities (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2015).

Some Canadian universities have been progressive in seeking to promote both social justice and reconciliation. As an overarching pan Canadian body, the Association of Canadian Deans of Education (ACDE) launched an *Accord on Indigenous Education* in 2009. The vision of the accord is 'that Indigenous identities, cultures, languages, values, ways of knowing, and knowledge systems will flourish in all Canadian learning settings' (p. 1). In signing the Accord, the deans are promoting effective change and inclusion for Indigenous Peoples and knowledge within education faculties and teacher education programmes (ACDE, 2009). And there has been action as a result. For example, in 2012, ACDE in cooperation with Deans across Canada began an *Indigenizing the Academy* initiative, part of which was the launching of the *Canadian Symposium on Indigenous Teacher Education* (CSITE). In this way change was supported nationally and locally (Anderson & Hanrahan, 2013). Other universities have made change as a result of the Accord or through other processes.

Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) serves a province that once denied the existence and legitimacy of Indigenous Peoples, such as the Mi'kmaq, on the Island of Newfoundland. A MUN presidential report on the relationship between the Indigenous Peoples of the province and the university resulted in an action plan based on 35 recommendations for change (Hanrahan & Anderson, 2013). Recommendation 1 was to create a community-based teacher education programme in Labrador. This was started in 2012. Other partnerships and actions are taking place although there is much more to do, as noted by Godlewska et al. (2017). More recently the TRC's calls for action are shaping change as part of the broad-based pan Canadian response.

York University hosted Inclusion Day in 2017 to explore how reconciliation applies to post-secondary educational institutions ('York U hosts Inclusion Day', 2017). Vancouver Island University is currently conducting a learning series that incorporates 'lunch and learn' events, daylong workshops, and multi-day workshops. The series is open to students, faculty, staff, and community members (Watts, 2017). Ryerson University members undertook their own two-year consultation process to determine how they should approach reconciliation on their campus.

They recently released their report, which noted challenges, opportunities for change, and recommendations and unveiled a commemoratory plaque to honour their commitment to reconciliation (Ryerson University, 2018).

FINAL THOUGHTS

Social inclusion in Canada is established through legislation that includes the CCRF, the CHRA, and the CMA. However, for Indigenous Peoples, such regulations have been overshadowed by the Indian Act initially of 1867 that attempted to forcibly assimilate Indigenous Peoples. Beginning in 1884, Indigenous children were required to attend residential schools, which used educational strategies that worked to annihilate Indigenous languages, traditions, and cultures.

The IRSSA in 2006 was responsible for the establishment of Canada's TRC. The TRC promoted reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and called for changes at all levels of the Canadian government and in all sectors of society. Education is a necessary step in achieving reconciliation between Aboriginal people and Canada as a whole, and is therefore one of the most important components of the TRC's Calls to Action. Perhaps helped by the same movements that led to the formation of the TRC, the calls for action are a timely framework that will further shape a more reconciled future as part of the broad based pan Canadian response: everyone is at home here and we must get stronger through mutual respect and engagement.

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BUILDING A NATION IN THE CLASSROOM: EXPLORING EDUCATION POLICY IN POST-COLONIAL GREENLAND

BENEDIKTE BRINCKER AND MITDLARAK LENNERT

INTRODUCTION

This chapter offers an analysis of the education policy goals and practices in Greenland, a former colony of Denmark (1). It situates Greenlandic education policy within the context of nation-building processes. Studies on nation-building have long argued that the relationship between education and nation-building is an important area of investigation, especially in former colonies, such as Greenland, where nationalism has been foundational for independence from colonial rule (Akar & Albrecht, 2017; Chatterjee, 1993; Gellner, 1983; Hechter, 2013). These studies have made clear distinctions among the terms 'nation-building', 'nationalism' and 'national identity'. Nation-building signifies the cultural and political processes aimed at constructing a nation. Nationalism is a political ideology and movement that aims for the unity, autonomy and identity of a nation. National identity refers to the collective identity at the national level (Hall, 2013; Smith, 1991).

As a point of departure in this conceptual framework, the aforementioned studies have directed attention to the importance ascribed by nation states, in general, and former colonies, in particular, to a standardised compulsory educational system in which instruction is provided in a common language, i.e. the national language. This creates an overarching national identity that can serve to consolidate and to strengthen social cohesion and to reduce barriers and divisions. In this view, albeit national identity involves elements that are constructed in opposition to other groups, nationalism is also a source of solidarity (Miller, 2000). However, an education policy that is informed by a nationalist agenda often conflicts with the aims and practices of an education policy that seeks to embrace diversity, be it cultural, linguistic or socio-economic. Hence, nationalist education policies run the risk of reproducing existing social barriers and divisions in a society and cementing, rather than reducing, social inequalities (Akar & Albrecht, 2017). Thus, there is a trade-off between achieving social cohesion and social inequality.

This chapter explores the possibility of a trade-off between social cohesion and social inequality in the goals and practices of Greenlandic education policy beginning in 1979 when the country gained home rule. Several studies have explored this trade-off in education policy. Examples can be found in New Zealand in the context of the country's bicultural education policy (Lourie, 2016) and in Catalonia in the unfolding competing conceptualisations of language, social cohesion and cultural diversity in the classroom (Dooly & Unamuno, 2009).

Education is a pressing issue in Greenland. For years, the country has struggled, with little success, to address and to eliminate a competence gap that negatively affects the labour market. The competence gap that confronts Greenland is twofold. On the one hand, employers demand skills that are not, or are only to a very limited extent, present in the Greenland labour force. Consequently, employers recruit staff internationally, most notably from Denmark, Greenland's former colonial ruler. On the other hand, employers need the non-skilled labour that is available in Greenland. However, non-skilled workers lack the incentive to take these jobs because of the relatively small difference between the minimum wage and unemployment benefits. Hence, there is a clear understanding in Greenland that the country needs to improve its educational system to address the competence gap and that this begins with primary and lower secondary school education.

The chapter first presents the context for Greenlandic education policy. This is accomplished by a focus on two vital elements: indigeneity and isolation, and colony and county. The chapter then explores Greenlandic education policy since the introduction of home rule in 1979. The emphasis is on the interactions among nation-building processes and education policy, governance structures, and teacher training. Finally, the chapter returns to the question that has guided this research, i.e. the possibility of a trade-off between social cohesion and social inequality. It concludes with the findings.

THE GREENLAND CONTEXT

INDIGENEITY AND ISOLATION

Greenland is the largest island in the world (2.1 million km2). The country is often considered to be both North American and European. Geographically, it is part of the North American continent. However, given that Greenland was a Danish colony for more than 200 years (1719–1953) and a Danish county for more than 20 years (1953–1979), it is also considered part of Europe.

While Greenland is the largest island in the world, it also has the lowest population density in the world. It has approximately 55,000 inhabitants who live along the coastline, mostly on the west coast. Almost one-third of the population (17,000) resides in the capital, Nuuk. Among the population are the Inuit, who are recognised by Denmark and the international community as an indigenous people. Thus, their rights are secured under the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. However, the Greenland Inuits constitute an unusual group of indigenous peoples. Unlike some of the other peoples protected by the declaration, the Inuit are not a minority. Instead, they constitute the majority population of Greenland, and their language, Greenlandic, or, more accurately, the Greenlandic Inuit language is the majority language (Brincker & Nørregaard-Nielsen, 2015).

Greenlandic is spoken on the west coast of Greenland. On the east coast, which is much less densely populated, the population speaks a dialect that is so different from that of the west that it is sometimes considered a separate language (Brincker, 2017). Hence, Greenland has two languages. To this could be added a

third, the Thule dialect, which is spoken in the northwest. However, most debates on language concentrate on the relationship between Greenlandic and Danish, the language of the former colonial power, which still plays a dominant role in Greenland, especially in Nuuk. Hence, Greenland is a multilingual indigenous community in which Greenlandic, East Greenlandic, the Thule dialect and Danish are spoken. This community is relatively isolated geographically. However, with climate change and the resulting changes in the permafrost, glacier ice and sea ice, Greenland has been receiving an unparalleled amount of international attention in terms of geopolitics, environmental risks, the potential existence of natural resources below the ice and the prospect of new shipping routes.

COLONY AND COUNTY

From 1721 to 1953, Greenland was a Danish colony. In 1953, the country became fully integrated into the Danish state, and it gained the status of a Danish county. This was in sharp contrast to the tendency of colonies around the world to gain independence. With its Danish county status, Greenland became aligned with Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland on their journey to becoming universal welfare states.

During the county years, 1953–1979, Greenland embarked on a very rapid modernisation process that included education. The argument was that for Greenland to achieve the same level of economic prosperity as the rest of Denmark, it would need to become industrialised. Industrialisation in turn required that education be given priority (Mikkelsen, 1963). Without significant investments in education, the projected increase in the demand for skilled labour, in both the short- and long-term, could not be satisfied without a significant influx of migrant workers, especially from Denmark. The beginning of the 1970s thus marked a period of increased prioritisation of education in Greenland.

Subsequent to the formation of a nationalist movement in the late 1960s and 1970s and the repeated calls for autonomy, Greenland gained home rule status in 1979. Thus, the Danish-developed welfare system was transferred to and implemented in the semi-autonomous Greenlandic administration within the framework of the Danish Realm. In many aspects of government policy, the introduction of home

rule resulted in radical breaks from the mindset and policies of the 1950s and 1960s. One of these was education, which was identified as the first area to be transferred from Danish to Greenlandic authority and jurisdiction. The next section explores Greenland's education policy beginning in 1979 when jurisdiction shifted from Denmark to Greenland.

EDUCATION POLICY IN GREENLAND

EDUCATION POLICY AND NATION-BUILDING

With the introduction of home rule and the responsibility for education residing with the home rule government, one of the primary education policy objectives became the definition of the framework for and content of educational programs from a Greenlandic rather than a Danish perspective to increase the relevance to Greenlandic culture. The Greenlandic language, which in the previous 10–15 years had been overshadowed by the Danish language, was now being given higher priority (Binderkrantz, 2008, 2011).

The political goal was to reduce the number of migrant workers, a large proportion of whom came from Denmark, and to make Greenland self-sufficient regarding its labour force. Combined with the policy of *Greenlandization*, an idea that captured the spirit of the 1980s when Greenlandic culture, traditions and values were a focus, education became an important part of the development of a Greenlandic nation and an overarching Greenlandic national identity.

After the emphasis on Greenlandic values and language during the 1980s, the focus shifted in the early 1990s to the quality and need for Danish language proficiency. This was a reaction to the unintended consequences of the 1980s education policies, most notably the limited opportunities for students whose primary and lower secondary instruction had been in Greenlandic. These students, whose only or primary language was Greenlandic, were impeded from furthering their education, e.g. attending upper secondary school, because the language of instruction was Danish. This was in sharp contrast to the experiences of the bilingual students for whom the transition from lower to upper secondary school, with instruction in Greenlandic, to high school, with instruction in Danish, was not a problem. The

Danish-language students who did not speak Greenlandic were denied access to the teacher training college in Nuuk because they could not speak Greenlandic (Dagsordenspunkt 30-1, FM 1995:14).

With the 1990 school reform that was implemented in the mid-1990s, non-Greenlandic speaking students were no longer required to receive separate instruction in Danish-speaking classes. A two-tiered school with Danish and Greenlandic sections was considered a relic of the past. Instead, Danish-speaking students were to be integrated into the Greenlandic-speaking classes. The national politicians hoped to accommodate Greenlandic- and Danish-speaking students in the same classroom. The integration policy was discussed throughout most of the 1990s. A major obstacle was the lack of support materials for teaching Greenlandic as a foreign language to non-Greenlandic-speaking students just as there were limited materials for teaching Danish as a foreign language to non-Danish-speaking students. In addition, there was a severe shortage of qualified teachers in both subjects. Hence, although the education policies were designed to accommodate one nation in one classroom, resources such as teaching materials and trained teachers, which were preconditions for the successful implementation of these policies, were not in place.

GOVERNANCE AND REGULATION

In 1997, a new regulation that entailed the reform of the governance structures for primary and lower secondary schools was passed. The regulation was a result of recommendations from the Municipal Reform Commission and a project group that had found the existing governance structures too hierarchical and lacking sufficient opportunities for localisation. According to the project group, this made it exceedingly difficult to fully benefit from local knowledge and instructional experience. In some cases, this resulted in an uneven distribution of competencies and, thus, an imbalance between expertise and financial responsibility (Dagsordenspunkt 35, FM 1997).

The regulation created the foundation for the primary and lower secondary schools being jointly governed by the home rule government and the municipalities. As part of the reform, school boards were established at all schools to improve cooperation

among parents, policymakers and teachers and to stabilise the work of each school. The purpose was to allow those who are directly involved in the schools to have greater influence and, at least in principle, to pay relatively more attention to the local contexts within which the individual schools operated.

Finally, in early 2000, the *Atuarfitsialak* (good school) reform was implemented. It expanded the debate on governance and regulation by placing the child at the centre of education. This represented a shift in Greenlandic education policy from the central national level with a focus on nation-building, to the local level with an emphasis on the local context and, finally, to the level of the individual child. This movement occurred against the general perception that after more than 20 years of Greenlandic authority over education, the initiatives and reforms had not been successful in adapting the primary and lower secondary schools to the Greenlandic context. According to the policymakers, the *Atuarfitsialak* reform was the first attempt to create a truly Greenlandic school designed to fulfil the needs of the people of Greenland (§6, Landstingsforordning nr. 8 af 21. maj 2002 om folkeskolen)(Dagsordenspunkt 35, EM 2001:1).

The *Atuarfitsialak* reform was launched in an environment in which political parties were thought to have spent more time discussing the cultural differences between Greenlanders and Danes in the abstract than addressing the social barriers and divisions in the population. An educational system on Greenlandic terms that could unite the people of Greenland in an overarching identity and achieve social cohesion had been much desired, but the terms had never been laid out. The reforms under home rule had lacked clearly defined goals and objectives that could be operationalised throughout the education system. The focus had been on the development of governance and regulatory frameworks rather than their implementation.

In 2009, the Home Rule Act was replaced with a new act granting self-rule to Greenland: the 'Self-Rule Act'. This act recognises that, pursuant to international law, the people of Greenland have a right to self-determination (Lov nr. 473 af 12/6/2009). The introduction of the Self-Rule Act did not significantly affect education policy. Presently, the Atuarfitsialak reform still constitutes the legal framework for primary and lower secondary schools in Greenland. However, in recent years, initiatives have been launched to evaluate the *Atuarfitsialak*. These initiatives were

triggered to a large extent by the general perception that Greenland needed to address and to eliminate its competence gap if the country was to become fully independent of its former colonial power, Denmark. This perception has mirrored the general understanding that tackling the competence gap would need to begin with primary and lower secondary school education. Recently, the Ministry of Education embarked on a major reform to restructure the entire education system. It is based on the evaluations of K–12 school systems around the world. A main purpose of the reform is the development of better links between elementary and higher education. This involves increasing compulsory schooling from 10 to 12 years and strengthening coherence and consistency within the school system. An important goal of this reform is that all villages, regardless of size, be able to offer instruction from Grades 1 through 8. It is the plan that upon completion of the 8th grade, students can receive 9th and 10th grade instruction in their local cities. The final two years, Grades 11 and 12, would be done in 'campus cities'. The adoption and implementation of this reform have not yet occurred.

TEACHER TRAINING

In 2016, the Danish Institute of Evaluation conducted an evaluation of the teacher training college in Nuuk at the request of the University of Greenland. The Institute concluded that the teacher training college in Nuuk was facing serious problems regarding education quality. This was most pronounced in mathematics and English as a foreign language. On the basis of the grades awarded in the final examination, the Institute concluded that the quality of instruction in Danish as a foreign language was somewhat higher than those awarded in mathematics and English. However, according to the Institute, this covers a great spread and 45 percent of a graduating class received grades in Danish as a foreign language that were as low as those awarded in English and mathematics (EVA, 2016).

This situation is problematic especially because Danish is still central to the Greenlandic educational system. Thus, young Greenlanders who want to educate themselves beyond lower secondary school must master Danish. The use of both Greenlandic and Danish in the Greenlandic educational system therefore constitutes a challenge for those who speak only, or mainly, Greenlandic. This problem was identified in the 1990s. While Greenlandic-speaking students do not

experience language problems in the primary and lower secondary schools, they are disadvantaged upon entry to upper secondary school if they do not have good Danish language skills.

The reasons for the gap between the primary and lower secondary schools and the rest of the education system is complex. However, a shortage of Greenlandic-speaking teachers qualified to teach at the secondary level and the lack of instructional materials written in Greenlandic appear to be the main reasons. These factors have played a dominant role in the ongoing situation in which upper secondary education is conducted in Danish. The argument has often been made that the size of the Greenlandic population is not conducive to an education system in which instruction is provided exclusively in Greenlandic. An independent Greenland needs a population that is fluent in many languages. Whether one of these languages should be Danish, the language of the former colonial power, remains an open question. In the present situation, where Danish is the language of instruction in upper secondary schools, it remains the language of social mobility. An individual who does not speak Danish cannot advance in society. Hence, contrary to the hopes and good intentions invested in the long line of education reforms that have been implemented since the introduction of home rule in 1979, Greenland's tendency to reproduce social, most notably linguistic, barriers that date back to the period of colonialism remains. Danish, the language of the former colonial ruler, is still the language of social mobility.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Studies on nationalism have asserted that educational policies that seek to create social cohesion and to construct an encompassing national identity through a standardised compulsory state school system with instruction in a common language, i.e. the national language, risk promoting elitism. This is particularly true in societies in which nationalism has been foundational for independence from colonial rule (Akar & Albrecht, 2017; Chatterjee, 1993; Hechter, 2013). These societies risk being confronted with the dilemma of making a trade-off between achieving social cohesion or social equality. Greenland may be considered an example of such a post-colonial society.

Since the introduction of home rule in 1979, there have been ongoing attempts at adapting the education system, in terms of frameworks, content and governance structures, to the population and the context of the country. This chapter has addressed two dominant aspects of that context: indigeneity and isolation, and colony and county. The vast geographical distances and small population scattered along the coastline with a predominance of settlements in the west create difficulties for the settlements and smaller towns along the coast and especially in the east, south and north to attract, to select and to retain trained teachers. As a result, the schools in these areas must often rely on untrained part-time teachers. Inevitably, this affects the quality of education and exacerbates the negative effects of the current structure in which primary and lower secondary school instruction is conducted in Greenlandic and upper secondary school instruction is conducted in Danish. This arrangement promotes a bilingual, highly educated local elite who typically reside in the major cities, especially the capital. This group is left in a relatively more advantageous position than those who live in the outlying areas. They often do not master Danish, the language of the former colonial power, and they have not necessarily been taught by teachers who are as well trained as those in the larger cities.

It must be noted that the above-described situation is not unique to Greenland. It can be observed in many post-colonial countries. Thus, it is not uncommon for a local highly educated elite with a nationalist agenda to replace the colonial power only to strengthen the existing societal divisions and barriers (Akar & Albrecht, 2017). Avoiding this trade-off between social cohesion and social inequality and enabling both social cohesion and social equality to flourish remains a concern. It is a matter of designing an education policy that supports Greenlandic nation-building processes while reducing the social inequality that threatens to divide Greenland into an affluent centre on the central west coast and an impoverished periphery. This question must be addressed urgently if Greenland is to close its competence gap.

Greenland face a competence gap that negatively affects the labour market. There are two sides to this competence gap. Employers demand skills that are not, or are only to a very limited extent, present in the labour force in Greenland. As a consequence, they recruit staff internationally, most notably from Denmark, Greenland's former colonial ruler. Employers also need non-skilled labour that is

available in Greenland. However, non-skilled workers lack the incentives to take these jobs because of the relatively small difference between the minimum wage and unemployment benefits. Consequently, Greenland has not been successful in achieving the level of economic development and growth that would permit economic independence from Denmark, which annually provides a block grant that constitutes approximately 50 percent of the national budget. The continued dependence on the former colonial power is a thorny issue for many Greenlanders. A growing group aspires to achieve full economic and political independence. Therefore, this group has applauded national policies that support nation-building processes. This includes an education system that provides instruction in a common national language. The problem with the use of both Greenlandic and Danish is that opportunities for social mobility are available only to individuals who master both languages. Danish fluency is necessary for social advancement. This situation influences the competence gap faced by Greenland and the attempts to address and to eliminate it.

ENDNOTES

1. Danish and Greenlandic historians and Arctic researchers have been debating whether or not Greenland was a Danish colony. It is not within the scope of this work to participate in that debate (Thisted, 2005, 2009).

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POLICIES FOR INCLUSION IN ICELAND: POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES

EDDA ÓSKARSDÓTTIR, KAREN RUT GÍSLADÓTTIR
AND HAFDÍS GUÐJÓNSDÓTTIR

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the development of the inclusive education system in Iceland, as well as the response to the 2008 education act and 2011 National Curriculum. The idea of inclusion has been implicit in Icelandic law since 1995, although it was not until 2008 that the Icelandic act for compulsory schooling explicitly declared that pupils should be educated in inclusive schools (Lög um grunnskóla, 91/2008). The ensuing 2011 National Curriculum is based on six fundamental pillars for education: literacy, sustainability, democracy and human rights, equality (equity), health and welfare, and creativity. These fundamental pillars are grounded in the imperative of providing general education to all, in order to foster each individual's ability to meet life's challenges (Mennta- og Menningamálaráðuneytið, 2011).

For the purpose of this chapter, we use UNESCO's definition of inclusive education, which focuses on how schools respond to and value a diverse group of learners and others in the school community (UNESCO, 2009, 2017). This implies that inclusion is an ongoing process focusing on increasing participation in education for everyone involved, thereby working against inequality and increasing people's sense of belonging in school and society. The central message from UNESCO is "seeing the individual differences not as problems to be fixed, but as opportunities for democratizing and enriching learning" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 13).

The questions we aim to answer in our analysis of inclusion in the Icelandic education system are:

> How has the idea of inclusion been developed in laws and regulations?
> What are the barriers to the implementation?

Iceland's population is around 350,000. Two-thirds of the population live in or around the capital city, Reykjavík, with the remaining third living in rural areas and smaller, mainly coastal towns and villages. The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture is responsible for monitoring the educational system at all levels. The educational system operates mainly within the public sector, and is divided into four levels: preschools (age 18 months – 5 years old), comprehensive schools (compulsory for 6- to 16-year-olds), upper secondary schools (16–19 years old), and universities. Iceland's 74 municipalities range in population from 53 to 120,000 individuals. The municipalities operate the preschools and comprehensive schools, while the upper secondary schools and universities are operated nationally. Nationally coordinated examinations take place in grades four, seven, and ten in comprehensive schools, but there is no school inspection at a national level. Ninety-seven percent of children aged 2–5 are enrolled in preschools, and almost 99.5% of children from 6–15 years of age go to compulsory schools. The number of learners in the country's 171 compulsory schools ranges from four students in one rural school to about 700 in the largest schools in Reykjavik. The percentage of compulsory school students in need of special education is around 16.5% of the total enrolment; of that figure, 1.5% are educated in segregated settings or special schools. In addition, 20–25% of students in compulsory schools receive some kind of additional support for some length of time (European Agency, 2017). This high percentage of students

needing special education and support indicates that we still need to do better in developing inclusive practices for meeting the needs of all students.

This chapter further discusses the two questions mentioned above. It begins with an overview of the development of the inclusive education policies, focusing on the compulsory school level. The ensuing section discusses reports on the policies and implementation. To conclude, reflections and thoughts about the challenges to the implementation are provided.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLICY OF INCLUSION

Although the requirement that pupils should be educated in an inclusive school was first made explicit in the Act for Compulsory Schooling in 2008 (Lög um grunnskóla nr. 91/2008), the idea of inclusion has been implicit in Icelandic law since 1995. In the spirit of integration, the 1995 Act for Compulsory Schooling stated that schools should welcome all pupils living in their neighbourhoods, teaching them according to their needs as equals, but not specifically mandating that pupils should be segregated according to their needs. On the contrary, "integration" suggests that pupils with special needs were supposed to adjust to the school, not vice versa; they were even educated in the same building as other pupils, sharing the same space but lacking access to equal education opportunities (Jóhannesson, 2006; Marinósson, 2011).

LOOKING BACK

Progress towards inclusion in the Icelandic school system has been ongoing since 1995. The foundation was laid in 1974 when a new Compulsory School Act was passed, confirming some important developments that had been happening in the school system for the past decade (Jónasson, 1996). This act changed some fundamental assumptions of schooling by mandating equal access to education with regard to residence (urban vs. rural), gender, and disability. There ensued a transformation in the understanding of the role and obligations of schools, from emphasis on teaching subjects which the pupils were obliged to learn, to meeting pupils' needs and organising instruction according to their development and

understanding (Jónasson, 1996). This act also stated explicitly for the first time in Icelandic school history that the school was for all children, and that most children should be educated in the regular school, categorising special needs into five groups and stating that students within two of those groups should be educated in institutions (Jónasson, 2008a). The 1974 Compulsory School Act was later supplemented with the first regulation of special needs education in 1977, which further emphasised the categorisation of pupils and secured financial support for special schools and special classes (Jónasson, 1996; Jónasson, 2008a).

In 1990, in response to criticism of the categorisation of special needs, which endlessly called for different specialised placements, lawmakers established a new regulation for special needs education, also based on the 1974 act (Jónasson, 1996). This regulation explicitly affirmed the right of all children to access their neighbourhood schools (Reglugerð um sérkennslu 98/1990). Here the shift was towards assessing pupils' needs in the school environment, rejecting the medical model of categorising children according to their "handicap." The 1990 regulation based the funding for special needs education on a fixed estimate that 20% of the school population needed special education (Jónasson, 1996; Jónasson, 2008a; Oskarsdottir, 1993).

The 1994 UNESCO Salamanca agreement, to which Iceland was a party, states that special needs education had to be part of the overall educational policy rather than developed in isolation. It called for a major reform of the school system, and a new approach to education policy in which difference was viewed as normal, and education systems could respond effectively to diversity (UNESCO, 1994). Inclusive education, in the Salamanca statement, is grounded in the concept of social equity and is consistent with the social understanding of disability. The concept of inclusion, as it was presented in the Salamanca statement, has been difficult to translate to Icelandic; various terms have been used through the decades. The Ministry of Education coined the term "school without segregation" (skóli án aðgreiningar) in 1995, which is still used today.

Iceland's 1995 Act for Compulsory Schooling (1995, no. 66) moved the control of and responsibility for schools, including special schools, from the state to the municipalities. This has led to a relatively high level of decentralisation of education administration and has provided schools a high level of autonomy. The

municipalities established an "equalising fund" to respond to concerns regarding how to finance the growing call for special needs education, to even out financial situations among different schools (Jónasson, 2008a). Contributions from this fund are based on the diagnosis of a medical specialist at specific qualified institutions, which means that the medical model was once again the basis for financing special needs education (Jónasson, 2008b; Marinósson & Magnúsdóttir, 2016). This model of financing inclusive education is still relevant today. However, current discussions based on the audit findings emphasise moving away from the diagnostic model of distributing funds to schools towards a model that will take into account different populations and social variables in schools' intake areas, such as poverty, minority groups, and the location of the school (European Agency, 2017).

THE CURRENT STATE

The latest (2008) Compulsory School Act states that school practice should be in accordance with pupils' needs and attainment, supporting their development, well-being, and education. Pupils' educational needs are to be met in their neighbourhood schools without exclusion or regard to their physical or mental abilities (Lög um grunnskóla, 2008).

The 2008 act introduces several innovations: it uses the phrases support system and support service instead of special needs education; it builds education on pupil competences instead of subject areas; and it requires schools to make an active plan of screening pupils from first grade upwards to ensure that they are taught and supported according to their needs (Lög um grunnskóla nr. 91/2008). The wording still identifies the source of learning difficulties within the pupils themselves, rather than in how learning activities and the school environment are being organised. Nevertheless, it indicates that pupils should have the opportunity to attain educational goals in different ways.

The 2010 regulation on learners with special needs, following the 2008 act, fundamentally transforms special needs education, shifting the focus from special needs and remediating pupils' failings to pupils' strengths, abilities, and individual circumstances. It also addresses how the school responds to diversity, equal

opportunity, and participation in learning, going further in the direction of inclusion (Reglugerð um nemendur með sérþarfir 585/2010).

THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM

The national curriculum has a direct impact on inclusive education. It manages education by setting forth a mosaic of skills for learners to master and strategies for teachers to employ. In order to support inclusive education, it needs to be flexible and dynamic enough for teachers to provide all pupils with appropriately challenging work, thus implicitly rejecting competitive individualism.

In 2011, the Ministry of Education released a new national curriculum; the first part is for all school levels. The ideas behind the national curriculum are in line with inclusive education and can influence and sustain inclusive pedagogy and practice. The national curriculum supports flexibility in teaching and learning by stating that each compulsory school can decide whether specific subjects and subject areas will be taught separately or in an integrated manner. It is further emphasised that education should be as integrated as possible (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2011).

The Ministry of Education developed six fundamental pillars within the national curriculum in order to "accentuate the principle of general education and encourage increased continuity in school activities as a whole" (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2011, p. 14). These are literacy, sustainability, democracy and human rights, equality, health and welfare, and creativity. The fundamental pillars are grounded in an imperative to provide general education to all, serving to promote each individual's abilities to meet life's challenges (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2011). Each pillar emphasises a different idea, described below.

Literacy: Ideas about literacy evolved from thinking of literacy as acquiring specific foundational skills, to centring first and foremost on creating meaning. This meaning creation depends both on individuals' varied experiences and numerous situated factors. This expansion of literacy opens up possible ways to develop inclusive pedagogy in relation to literacy instruction that build upon pupils' different strengths and backgrounds.

Sustainability: From a social perspective, sustainability concerns equality, respect for diversity, and multiculturalism; it must be employed through democratic methods, in the spirit of inclusion. Education for sustainability encompasses individual and collective responsibility for "democracy, human rights and justice, for equality and multiculturalism, for welfare and health, and for economic development and vision of the future" (p. 19).

Democracy and human rights: The prerequisites of democracy are collective responsibility, critical thinking, and agreement about the basic values of society. It relies on working with attitudes, values, and ethics. In schools, it is important that teaching and learning are based on students' resources and develop their awareness of taking responsibility for their learning processes.

Equality: Equality in education centres on creating opportunities for every individual to develop on their own terms, nurture their talents, and lead a responsible life in a democratic society. It refers to the content of education, educational practices, and educational environment. Equality involves critical examination of the established ideas of a society and its institutions. Students at all school levels should be educated in equal rights to prepare them for equal participation in all aspects of life and society. This pillar emphasises education concerning culture, nationality, languages, religion, and values, with the emphasis on leveraging inclusive education to develop Iceland as a multicultural society.

Health and welfare: Health includes mental, physical, and social well-being. Schools are to create a healthy environment and positive atmosphere that nurtures welfare and well-being for children and youth. This includes understanding the influence that culture, mass media, and technology can have on individuals' health and well-being. By creating opportunities for children and youth to enjoy their strengths and build a positive self-image, schools can enable students to make informed and responsible decisions concerning their health.

Creativity: The creative impulse originates in an innate curiosity and desire for innovation, and influences individual initiative. The joy of creation for children and youth is a springboard to discovering individual and collective talents and expanding one's knowledge and skills. Creation and innovation are key elements for forming a vision for the future, and an awareness of one's responsibility to

participate in developing a democratic society. Creativity as a fundamental pillar supports inclusive education, as it encourages reflection, personal becoming, and initiative in educational work.

When school activities are evaluated, the influence of the fundamental pillars and the way they underscore teaching, learning, and play should be made visible (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2011). In this emphasis on flexibility, there is inherent trust in teachers as professionals who are free to create inclusive learning spaces based on their professional knowledge of pedagogy and content.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INCLUSIVE EDUCATION POLICY

Within legislation passed in recent decades, evidence of an underlying movement towards inclusive education can be recognised. A turn in educational policy and school practices is highlighted in the law from 1974 that mandated education for all children. The law moves away from grouping pupils by their abilities and towards mixed-ability groups, while also ensuring schooling for all children (Lög um grunnskóla, 1974). However, even as the philosophy around inclusive education has developed within policy documents and certain steps have been taken to follow it through, there is some doubt about whether the implementation is inclusive at all levels. For this reason, the Ministry of Education decided to examine and evaluate the inclusive education system in Iceland.

In 2014, the OECD conducted a Review of Policies to Improve the Effectiveness of Resource Use in Schools (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014b). From 2013 to 2015, a group from municipalities, the Icelandic Teacher Union, and the Ministry of Education together conducted an evaluation of the implementation of the inclusive education policy (Mennta- og menningarmálaráðuneytið, 2015). In 2014, the Educational Research Institute at the University of Iceland's School of Education also conducted a review of policies and academic research in relation to inclusive education (Ólafsdóttir, Jóelsdóttir, Sigurvinsdóttir, Bjarnason, Sigurðardóttir, & Harðardóttir, 2014). Finally, in 2015 the Ministry of Education brought in the European Agency for Special Needs and Inclusive Education to do an external audit of the Icelandic system for inclusive education (European Agency, 2017). Findings from

these three reports generally agree with the ideology of inclusive education as a humanitarian approach to education; however, the reports also found that there were multiple definitions of inclusive education in the field. As inclusive education is a social construct that relies on relationships between people and systems in society, these different understandings are problematic. For inclusive education to become a sustainable phenomenon integrated within the school system, those who have the power to shape schools must come together in a learning community to discuss and develop inclusive practices with the aim of meeting the needs of all learners. Without a deep and ideological conversation about inclusive practice and pedagogy in schools, the risk remains for schooling to continue to be inequitable, humiliating, and even painful for some learners (Brantlinger, 2005; Óskarsdóttir, 2017). As inclusive education is a situated process, constant negotiation of the definition is essential for successful implementation.

Findings from the 2014 OECD review show that school administrators and staff feel that the policy on inclusive schools is not sufficiently funded (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 2014). This was explored further in the European Agency Audit, which found that, although the financing of the education system is well above the OECD average, the mechanisms for funding are not equitable or efficient at any level in the school system (European Agency, 2017). Further, the responsibility for implementing inclusive education in many schools rests on the shoulders of those in charge of special education (Óskarsdóttir, 2017), rather than being a shared responsibility. This development has resulted from the policy of funding for special needs, which serves as a classification system that labels learners based on categories of need. Consequently, this funding policy can lead to strategic behaviour in which schools try to get parents to agree to diagnoses and statements of special needs in order to push pupils up the funding ladder (Óskarsdóttir, 2017; Sodha & Margo, 2010). The results from the audit show that stakeholders across all system levels call for a shift away from allocating funds based on the identification of individual pupils' special education needs, to more flexible funding that would allow schools to support all learners' needs in more responsive ways (European Agency, 2017).

Other key challenges in implementing the inclusive education school policy are the lack of cross-sectoral cooperation between system stakeholders, such as the health, welfare, and education systems, and the challenge of leadership for

inclusive education in schools. At the ministerial level, there is insufficient joint cooperation around matters that impact on equitable education provision for all learners because of a compartmentalisation of different sectors, which has led to a "silo approach" within these systems (European Agency, 2017). Establishing cross-sectoral functionality is important for shared ways of working and thinking with the interest of students in mind. The problem of leadership for inclusive education at the school level is that it is often left to those in charge of special education (such as special education needs coordinators) instead of the principal or school administration (Óskarsdóttir, 2017). By giving the responsibility to the special education needs teachers, the focus of inclusive practices becomes a narrow rather than a whole-school approach. This goes against the core premise of inclusive education ideology, which calls for a broad distributed leadership focused on inclusion, with the principal as the "leader of leaders" in building a quality school for all learners.

The school system in Iceland is decentralised in that municipalities and schools are responsible for implementing the national curriculum. Thus, responses to the policy of inclusive education can differ between municipalities, schools, and even classrooms. Research findings indicate that analysing policy documents does not reveal much information on how municipalities are working towards inclusive education. Most build their financing of inclusive education mainly on the medical diagnoses of pupils, rather than their pedagogical needs. Overall, the acts, regulations, and policies of municipalities create a framework in accordance with the ideology of inclusive education, but still there are elements, other than the financing, that could work against it (European Agency, 2017; Gíslason & Sig-urðardóttir, 2016; Guðjónsdóttir & Karlsdóttir, 2010; Marinósson & Magnúsdóttir, 2016; Ólafsdóttir et al., 2014).

CONCLUSIONS

Inclusive practice is fundamentally grounded in the ideologies of social justice, democracy, human rights, and full participation of all (Ainscow, 2005; Florian, 2008; Guðjónsdóttir & Karlsdóttir, 2009; Jónsson, 2001). These ideologies are connected and dependent on each other in various ways, as a socially just education system is premised on the idea that quality education is a democratic right of all (Reay,

2012). The fundamental pillars of the Icelandic national curriculum – literacy, sustainability, democracy and human rights, equality (equity), health and welfare, and creativity – provide a means to explore the ways in which these intertwined threads can drive educational practices towards supporting inclusive education. According to the external audit of the inclusive education system in Iceland (European Agency, 2017), legislation and policy do support the goals and aims of inclusive education. The audit also shows that there are some challenges in the implementation. The findings from the audit, as well as other reports, indicate that stakeholders have diverse ways of understanding the policy, and thus how it can be implemented. It is clear that stakeholders need to explore examples of inclusive practices to fully understand the concept and the process. In addition, to achieve inclusive education means establishing interaction and collaboration across groups, focusing on collaboration between teachers, with the support system, with parents, and in classrooms with pupils.

Another barrier to the development of inclusive education is funding, which is based on a classification system that leads to labelling pupils based on categories of need. Stakeholders across all system levels call for a shift to more flexible funding that would allow schools to support all learners' needs in more responsive ways (European Agency, 2017). However, the reports on policy documents regarding the implementation of inclusive education also show that the challenges do not stem from a lack of available resources, but rather from how existing resources are distributed within the educational system and how the resource allocation system places the focus on special needs.

Transforming practice depends on school stakeholders being willing to reflect on and be critical of policies, processes, and practices that can serve to marginalise pupils, parents, and staff. School stakeholders, including parents, need dedicated space and time to negotiate a common understanding and vision of the inclusive school. This, in turn, establishes the importance of shared or distributed leadership and a dialogue between school stakeholders. In this process, teachers can utilise their professional knowledge to find ways to develop inclusive practices and pedagogies that accommodate different learners (Óskarsdóttir, 2017).

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INCLUSION POLICIES IN TWO UK COUNTRIES – VERNACULAR RESPONSES TO GLOBAL INFLUENCE

MHAIRI C. BEATON AND JENNIFER SPRATT

INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary globalised landscape, national education policies are produced in response to international influences. Whilst the effect of globalisation on education is often described solely in terms of neo-liberal market forces (e.g., Ball, 2012), it has been argued that inclusion policies in education are simultaneously influenced by the conflicting international discourses of UNESCO and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (Hardy, 2015). The Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) articulated a vision of inclusion that acknowledged the diversity of children and placed an emphasis on schools developing practices that would enhance the participation of all children in the life and learning of the school. It framed the role of inclusive education broadly, calling for welcoming communities which combatted discrimination, and adopted child-centred pedagogies to ensure high-quality learning for all. By contrast, the OECD (e.g., 2012) emphasises equity in education in terms of outputs, mainly the acquisition of skills and knowledge that support economic productivity. Inclusion is these terms is conceptualised as

reaching minimum levels of qualification, regardless of socio-economic circumstances, gender or ethnicity. As pointed out by Savage, Sellar and Gorur (2013), this discourse harmonises economic competitiveness with educational equity, which are seen as complementary goals. Tension is evident between the social democratic purposes of UNESCO and the neo-liberal influences of the OECD; a tension that is recognised by educators around the world.

Hardy (2015) argues that these divergent policy perspectives play out in very different experiences of schooling for children who experience difficulties in learning. A neo-liberal model of education is based on competitive individualism and focusses solely on the end products of schooling. Models of efficiency and best use of resources are invoked, and this often involves the categorisation and labelling of children, as 'support' is targeted toward those deemed to be in deficit. By contrast, the UNESCO vision of inclusion seeks to reduce labelling and enhance inclusive pedagogical approaches (Opperti & Brady, 2011) whereby all children learn together and teachers support children in ways that avoid marking some children as different (e.g., Florian & Spratt, 2013; Spratt & Florian, 2015). In this model, the lived experience of schooling and its democratising role are as important as the products of education.

Although countries around the world face similar international pressures, they do not necessarily respond the same way. Ozga and Lingard (2007) refer to local responses to international pressures as the 'vernacular'. Winter (2012) describes 'vernacular globalisation' as the constitution of 'hybrid education policies' that contextualise global influences in the historical, political and cultural traditions of each nation. In this chapter, we discuss the inclusion policies of two countries within the United Kingdom (UK), Scotland and England, to examine their vernacular responses to international influences. By comparing the Scottish and English educational systems, we seek to examine how the two global influences of UNESCO and OECD are enacted in the vernacular policies of social justice in two different policy contexts. To contextualise this discussion, an outline of the political structures in the UK follows.

GOVERNANCE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

The United Kingdom is comprised of four nations: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The UK Parliament, based in Westminster, London, has overarching control of the four nations. Members of the UK parliament (MPs) are elected in constituencies across the UK.

However, since 1999, Scotland has also had its own devolved Parliament based in Edinburgh. Scottish citizens are represented in this body by Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs), who are a discrete and different body from the UK Parliament. The Scottish Parliament has powers over health, social work and education and has limited tax raising powers (tied to the UK tax laws +/- 3%), whilst the UK government retains overall control of monetary policy, foreign policy, immigration, military strategy, employment law and social security.

Importantly, education in Scotland has always been a devolved matter and has evolved independently of the English education system. Consequently, education within each of the two countries has been shaped by a slightly different 'mix of social, economic, political and historical concerns formed within shifting national and international landscapes' (Beaton & Black Hawkins, 2014, p. 341). Interestingly, as there is no separate English Parliament, English education comes under the jurisdiction of the UK Government, which includes some Scottish MPs. Whilst English politicians have no power over Scottish education, the converse is not true. Since 2007, the Scottish Government has been led by the Scottish National Party (SNP), whose overarching political aim is full political independence for Scotland. Clearly, there is some advantage for the SNP to promote a discourse that emphasises the differences between Scottish and English policy, particularly if they can claim the Scottish approach to be 'better'. In this essay, we will consider the apparent differences and similarities between Scottish and English education in the context of inclusion policies.

ENGLISH POLICIES FOR INCLUSION

English education is often perceived as having a markedly different educational system from that of its northern neighbour, Scotland. In many ways, it is subject to

the same contradictions and tensions within educational policy and practice as it grapples with the contrasting views of inclusive education espoused by UNESCO and the OECD. Successive governments in London have aspired to the promotion of a socially inclusive society meeting the ambitious international principles of UNESCO as demonstrated by Prime Minister Theresa May's first speech on her appointment, articulating her vision of a country where all members of society will be valued (www.independent.co.uk). Nevertheless, many educational policies in England by those same governments are dominated by neo-liberal marketisation, which seeks to address the economic requirements of business and industry through provision of educational processes ensuring that as many young people as possible are prepared for the 21st-century workforce.

Taylor refers to a 'marked shift in the education system of England' for compulsory education since 1979, particularly for the organisation and provision of secondary education (Taylor, 2002). Hursch (2005) states that this shift has impacted both primary and secondary provision and notes that the economic and social policies of much of the world in recent years have shifted from the Keynesian welfare state to the neo-liberal post-welfare state in what Adler refers to as a 'shift away from the collective welfare orientation....towards an individual-client orientation' (Adler, 1993, p. 2 cited by Taylor, 2002).

In 1992, the then-Conservative government provided the option, within law, for parents to 'express a preference as to where they would like their children to go to school' (DfE, 1992, p. 28). This option has been continued by the Labour government in 1997 and subsequent Conservative governments, with ever greater freedom of choice being offered through the development of Academies and Free Schools, all of which are independently governed and financed either directly from central government or through businesses, universities, other schools, faith groups or volunteer groups. This expansion of the market has resulted in the development of a competitive market for pupils as schools compete for students to remain financially viable.

Neo-liberal thinking has also been applied to English education through an increasing standardisation of the curriculum. The 1988 Education Reform Act (DES, 1988) introduced a common curriculum for the first time. With the imposition of the National Curriculum in England came the opportunity for standardised

testing throughout schooling, including the Standard Attainment Tests (SATs) administered to seven-, 11- and 14-year-olds, making schools more accountable for pupils' attainment. As the results of these SATs are published nationally, their introduction has contributed to competition between schools to attract pupils who will perform well on these standardised tests.

The introduction of the National Curriculum has also resulted in subsequent changes that narrow the curriculum within English schools. Oates (2011) suggests that this narrowing of the curriculum is a necessary mechanism to reduce what had become an overly bulky curriculum. However, other writers note that as successive governments have initiated changes to the National Curriculum, the emphasis has increasingly focused on the core elements of literacy and numeracy with less time being allocated for creative subjects (Booth, 2011; Berliner, 2011)

The competition between schools is further fuelled by the powerful educational inspectorate, the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills, known as Ofsted, who publish their findings following inspections including the summary terms of 'Outstanding', 'Good', 'Requires Improvement'—which replaced 'Satisfactory' as it was deemed too soft a term—or 'Special Measures'. The labelling of schools in this blunt manner with the threat of 'Special Measures' does not take into consideration the demographic of the pupils attending the school or the diversity of the community in which it is located, leading to heightened pressure on teachers and school leaders. Fredrickson and Cline (2002) and more recently Norwich (2014) suggest that there is increasing evidence in recent years that this performance-led culture results in schools feeling pressured to accept pupils who will perform well against standards set out within the National Curriculum and to reject pupils who are not able to achieve those externally determined standards. Considering the increasing marketisation of education provision in England during the last 40 years, it would seem that education policy has developed a significant leaning toward the OECD understanding of the purpose of education—a view of education that will 'produce human capital for competitiveness in the global economy' (Hatcher, 2003, p. 1).

Nevertheless, this does not accurately reflect the whole picture of education policy in England. On closer inspection, one can find policy recommendations that would also seem to support the idea of schools valuing diversity within society

and seeking to provide opportunities for all to participate in meaningful learning, which aligns with the UNESCO vision of what inclusive education means, either through the whole policy or through elements of the policy.

Soan (2014 in Cooper & Elton-Chalcroft, 2014) highlights several pieces of legislation that provide examples which would seem to align with the UNESCO vision of inclusive education. Soan (ibid) suggests that in the 1970s and 1980s, legislation set the direction of education within England to align with ideologies of equity and social justice. This included the influential Warnock Report (DES, 1978) enshrined in the 1981 Education Act (DES, 1981), which made three important changes to how young people with special educational needs were viewed within education. Warnock introduced the term 'special educational needs', proposed the move from a medicalised model of disability to a social model and introduced the idea of integration rather than segregation.

More recent education policy in England continues to espouse some of the principles of UNESCO. The National Curriculum for England and Wales (DfE, 2014) was presented by the government as a means to enable teachers to adapt their teaching to meet the needs of all pupils in their classrooms.

This implied that English schools were to welcome the diversity of all learners into mainstream classrooms in contradiction to the pressure many teachers felt to privilege those pupils who might meet the standards expected by powerful bodies such as Ofsted. Indeed, Ainscow and Cesar note that the National Curriculum (DfE, 2014) was viewed as a means of 'eliminating social exclusion that is a consequence of attitudes and responses to diversity in race, social class, ethnicity, religion, gender and ability' (Ainscow & Cesar, 2006, p. 231). This widening of the understanding of inclusion beyond only those with a disability or special educational needs toward an understanding of inclusion in education in terms of overcoming discrimination and disadvantage in relation to any groups vulnerable to exclusion was a significant step.

For children and young people with special educational needs, the principal educational policy document in England is the current 'Special Educational Needs and Disability Code of Practice 0-25 Years' (DfE & DoH, 2014). The Code of Practice (2014), as it is commonly known, takes a view of inclusive education as a driver for

social democracy, valuing diversity within schools and classrooms as it seeks to make provisions for young people to be effectively supported in their education. The Code of Practice states that provisions for children and young people with special educational needs should not be viewed as a separate system but that 'identification of SEN should be built into the overall approach to monitoring the progress and development of all pupils' (DfE & DoH, 2014, Section 6.5). Educational provisions for all pupils are to be provided, maintaining a common curriculum at school level wherever possible.

Even within policy documentation that seems underpinned by ideology which is neo-liberal in nature, there are unintended outcomes that would seem to align with UNESCO's vision. As stated earlier, the 1988 Education Reform Act (DES, 1988) introduced a common National Curriculum. The introduction of this common curriculum across all provisions, including both mainstream and special education schools, allowed children and young people to move more easily between both systems of provision. Whilst not in itself signalling complete alignment with the UNESCO view of inclusion requiring a focus on all children and young people, nevertheless, this legislation would seem to signal that education policy was moving closer to those ideals.

In summary, educational policy production in England would seem to be caught between two competing educational philosophies: the neo-liberal view of education which results in governments wishing to reduce funding to education whilst seeking educational solutions to economic problems (Hursch, 2005), as exemplified by the standards agenda focusing on literacy and numeracy; and an aspiration to promote social democratic values through the inclusion of all young people in educational provisions that value diversity, as exemplified by the new curriculum in 2014 which sought to value diversity within classrooms.

The current emphasis on assessments, results and accountability has led to schools being predominantly concerned about their reputations and continuing financial viability. The expansion of educational provisions across England and the resultant element of competition to recruit the highest achieving pupils means that those policies and practices, underpinned by an understanding of inclusion as espoused by UNESCO, are less powerful than those underpinned by neo-liberal understandings of society. An example of this is identified by Norwich (2014),

where he notes that pressures to meet school attainment targets have resulted in increased difficulty for young people who qualify for an Education, Health and Care plan—and therefore may require the highest levels of support in school—to secure a place in the mainstream school of their choice and instead are often placed within a special education setting.

This results in a challenging environment for practitioners to operate in as they are required to provide authentic learning opportunities for all young people in their classrooms in a time of economic austerity and a climate of budget cuts whilst being judged by Ofsted in a very public arena to meet challenging achievement targets.

This is particularly acute in the northern parts of the country. There has long been an acknowledged social and economic divide between the north and south of England. It is not accurate to think of the north as one homogenous unit. Martin (2018) points out that one cannot compare the cities of Sunderland with the seaside towns of Scarborough, nor the university town of Durham with the former coal mining area of Doncaster. Nevertheless, there are distinctive cultural and societal issues located in the north of England which warrant it being treated as a distinctive geographical area. Geographically, the north has large areas of rurality with small communities who subsist on small-scale farming. Martin (ibid) also notes that councils in the north have lost a disproportionate level of spending in comparison with councils in the south: a 7.8% reduction in the north-east in comparison with cuts of 3.4% in the wealthier south-east.

Bambra et al. (2014) highlight that the current spatial health divide between the north and south of England is extreme by comparative standards, and a recent report by the Children's Commissioner concluded that children in the north of England are finishing school with poorer grades and are less likely to remain in education (Children's Commissioner for England, 2018). Although the Northern Powerhouse, an independent body representing business and civic leaders across the north, is focused on developing an economically driven workforce for the north, nevertheless, it has identified three major factors requiring attention if this disparity is to be addressed: improving early-years provisions, addressing disadvantaged communities and the need for northern businesses to provide meaningful work opportunities for youth (www.northernpowerhousepartnership.co.uk).

The fact that the organisation recognises the need for a geographically contextualised response to educational disparity is encouraging, with the distinction made that the north requires something different.

SCOTTISH POLICIES FOR INCLUSION

Scotland takes pride in its strong social democratic identity that seeks to articulate a narrative of community and equality for all, which can be achieved through its educational provisions (Riddell & Weedon, 2014). For example, it introduced compulsory education earlier than other countries in the UK, it has had a fully comprehensive secondary school system since 1965 and it is the only UK country that continues to offer free university education. Scotland's commitment to providing equal opportunities through education is encapsulated in the (mythical) 'lad of pairts', a Scots dialect term used to describe a young man from humble origins who rises to achieve great things in life, owing to his access to education. Leaving aside the obvious gender bias in this historic concept, this term is widely understood in Scotland to represent the idea that good education is available to anyone, regardless of their background, and that educational success depends upon merit. Sadly, as will be discussed later, this ideal is not entirely borne out by the facts, but it nonetheless represents Scottish aspirations for education.

Furthermore, the Scottish education system is governed locally by 32 local authorities, giving rise to a system whereby local schools are seen as partners rather than competitors. Although parents can choose which school their children attend (although this freedom is of limited usefulness in rural areas where only one school exists), the Scottish system is not organised around the principles of the free market to the same extent as the English system. The system of 32 local authorities also allows for vernacular interpretation of national policy in local contexts across the country.

As a country, Scotland is very aware of its 'northerliness' within the UK. Like other northern countries, it has a widely dispersed population. The most recent figures show that 6% of the population live in areas described as 'remote rural' (which constitutes 70% of the area of land), and 12% of the population live in 'accessible

rural' areas (constituting 27% of the land). The remaining 82% of the population are squeezed into 2% of the land (Scottish Government, 2015).

Hence, Scotland shares some educational issues with the Arctic nations, such as providing a national curriculum that has the flexibility to be relevant to individuals in diverse contexts, providing teacher education and professional development that prepare teachers for all these possible circumstances and difficulties in recruiting teachers in remote areas. It also shares with other countries a cultural diversity. On one hand, Scotland seeks to provide an education that supports the contemporary, multi-cultural communities in towns and cities; on the other hand, it seeks to protect traditional culture and language. The indigenous language of Gaelic currently survives mainly in small pockets of the rural north (the Highlands and Islands). For these reasons, Scotland often looks north, particularly to Scandinavian countries, for policy influences whilst simultaneously remaining closely wedded to and influenced by its southern neighbour with its Anglo-American focus. Hence, some ideological tensions and ambiguities are evident within the Scottish policy environment.

Since the turn of the 21st century, Scotland has developed a series of legislative and policy frameworks that guide the work of local authorities and schools in their inclusion of children who experience difficulties. The Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act 2000 introduced the requirement that all children be educated in mainstream local comprehensive schools unless exceptional circumstances could be demonstrated. This 'presumption of mainstreaming' was the legislative background which drove subsequent policies to enhance the inclusion of all children. Whilst the presumption of mainstreaming has been a distinctive plank of recent policy, marking Scotland as a leader in inclusive schooling, it is notable that this policy is currently under review, with a Scottish Government consultation on the matter recently closed.

Following the introduction of mainstreaming, The Education (Additional Support for Learning)(Scotland) Act 2004 (amended 2009) introduced an important change to terminology by replacing the term 'special educational needs' with 'additional support needs'. This change further signalled a move away from conceptualising difficulties as being located solely within the child to an approach recognising that difficulties in learning could arise from social and environmental circumstances.

Approaches to supporting children began to consider how schools and teachers could alter their practices to support the child rather than expect the child to fit into existing systems and ways of working. This can be characterised as a move from a discourse of 'needs' to a discourse of 'rights' (Runswick-Cole & Hodge, 2009). With this change in emphasis came a policy drive toward inclusive pedagogy that did not categorise or mark children out as different but instead sought to extend what is ordinarily available to everybody (Florian & Spratt, 2013), although the implementation of this approach in practice remains patchy across the country (Spratt et al., 2018).

The Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004 (amended 2009) widened the definition of who might be deemed as having additional support needs, moving beyond diagnostic criteria and suggesting that many children may require additional support for long or short periods if they are deemed to be having difficulty with learning for any reason. One of the consequences of this distinction is that the number of children identified as having additional support needs has mushroomed. In 2017, 26.6% of pupils were recorded as having an additional support need (Scottish Government, 2017). This compares to a figure of approximately 5% throughout the period 2005–2009 (Riddell et al., 2016). Rather ironically, an act which sought to reduce deficit discourses resulted in a massive increase in categorisation of children. However, the reasons for increased recording of childhood difficulties may not be as simple as a change in definition. It is notable that the increased classification did not occur immediately on introduction of the changes; it started after 2009, a time at which the western world was facing economic turmoil.

As Scotland began to recognise the role of the classroom teacher in developing pedagogical approaches that enhanced the participation of all, a new national curriculum, the Curriculum for Excellence (CfE), was introduced in 2009. CfE was heralded as a transformation in education in Scotland by providing a coherent, more flexible and enriched curriculum for three- to 18-year-olds. It fostered child-centred, inclusive approaches to teaching and learning, positive school ethos and an understanding of achievement that is much wider than attainment measures. Formative assessment, badged 'Assessment is for Learning' (AiFL), was heralded as a key aspect of child-centred learning and teaching. Much of the decision making about what and how to teach was devolved to schools, thereby allowing

for context-specific flexibility in recognition of the diversity of contexts among Scottish communities. Although critics pointed to some conceptual incoherence in the design of the curriculum (e.g., Priestley, 2010; Gillies, 2006), its focus on the 'four capacities' of 'successful learner', 'confident individual', 'effective contributor' and 'responsible citizen' were largely welcomed as relief from a previous target-driven curriculum. Nonetheless, the ambiguity of Scottish policy was evident, and others identified a neo-liberal, character-building aspect to the curriculum as it strove to develop citizens with the dispositions required of the modern workforce (Lingard, 2008), albeit clothed in a lexicon of wellbeing (Spratt, 2017)

The tone of Scottish education policy took a new direction in 2016. Following persistent reports that Scotland's most economically disadvantaged young people were performing poorly in schools despite the focus on inclusion (OECD, 2007; Sosu & Ellis, 2014), the Scottish Government announced its intention to close the 'attainment gap'. This was one of the early pronouncements of the First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon, upon taking office, and it heralded a directional change in policy. The Education Scotland Act 2016 introduced a range of measures under the National Improvement Framework aimed at addressing the socio-economic inequalities in educational attainment, including targeted funding for schools based on the number of pupils who claim free school meals and additional funding for the nine local authorities deemed to be most in need. Alongside this, a return to national testing was introduced, justified by the argument that it would not be possible to gauge the success of the National Improvement Framework unless pupil attainment in maths and literacy were benchmarked. At the time of writing, the first tranche of national testing is underway.

Whilst the desire to improve the educational success of poorer children can be seen as an issue of equity, it is also very clear that we are seeing the introduction of a version of inclusion that has converged with the interests of the free market, as described by Savage, Sellar and Gorur (2013). Whilst maintaining the title of 'Curriculum for Excellence', the Scottish Government has returned to narrow attainment measures as the benchmark of success. Formative assessment has been overshadowed by summative assessment, process has been overshadowed by product and local freedom to respond to diversity has been overshadowed by national pressures to conform. The broad democratic understanding of inclusion long-cherished by Scottish educators is being hollowed out as aspirations for education narrow.

CONCLUSION

The tensions between market-driven, neo-liberal policies espoused by OECD and the broader educational aims articulated by UNESCO will be familiar to educators in many contexts. Here, we have tried to show how these different global influences play out in the vernacular policies of social justice in two UK countries. As indicated earlier, England and Scotland present their education systems quite differently, with the Scottish Nationalist Government particularly keen to characterise the divisions as a wide policy chasm. In general, English policy is seen as largely neo-liberal in orientation, whereas Scottish education is regarded as contributing to social democracy and enriching civic society alongside its economic purpose. However, an examination of the policies for inclusion and additional support reveal that there are many similarities between the two countries, with a mixture of policy discourses operating in both settings. While England makes no secret of privileging economic drivers in its policymaking, it has also developed sensitive, child-centred policies in the field of inclusion which acknowledge diversity and aim for increased participation. Scotland, which lays claim to a long history of egalitarian education, has recently taken a sharp turn toward increased accountability and the conflation of social justice with the requirements of the marketplace. Although the two countries have arrived at their current situations through different policy routes, there is evidence in both countries of a 'sedimentation' of policy discourses over time (Pickard, 2010), which can lead to tensions, inconsistencies and dilemmas for those who enact policies in schools.

However, the chapter also highlights that vernacular responses to international directions and understandings of education and inclusion are also required at a more local level within each country. Northern areas of both countries have distinctive cultures and economic imperatives. National policies that emphasise standardised curricula and assessment processes lose the flexibility that teachers need to work productively within the diverse cultures and communities that can be encountered across the country. In both countries, distinctive societal and educational challenges require a more local response that accounts for the geographical, linguistic and cultural contexts of 'northerliness'.

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SCHOOLING FOR EVERYONE: NORWAY'S ADAPTED APPROACH TO EDUCATION FOR EVERYONE

GREGOR MAXWELL AND JARLE BAKKE

INTRODUCTION

Generally speaking, Norway would appear to have pre-empted international calls for integration and inclusion, such as the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994), as it implemented initiatives such as the integration of the special and general education laws as early as 1975. As a result, in the course of the last forty years or so, Norwegian schools have had an ongoing interpretation of inclusion that encompasses accommodating all children and young people regardless of their physical, intellectual, social, emotional, linguistic or cultural background. Additionally, most special schools (previously in existence mainly for pupils with physical and intellectual disabilities) were closed in the 1980s, as mainstreaming became a practical reality. A significant influencing factor, both politically and philosophically, was the concept of adapted education (*Tilpasset opplæring* in Norwegian), whereby a large amount of what has traditionally been considered 'special education' was integrated with general teaching and brought into the mainstream classroom in order to address pupils' learning requirements individually and in a flexible manner.

In addition, as with other Nordic countries, the strong prevalence of comprehensive schools and a largely public sector-run school system, along with the philosophy of a common school for all, are significant influencing factors in the development of inclusive education in Norway. This chapter examines inclusive education in a North Norwegian context, presenting challenges and issues related to the ever-shifting nature of inclusion. The text will also touch on issues surrounding Sámi and indigenous education in Northern Norway; however, as this topic has been fully developed in a dedicated chapter in this volume, only a brief and illustrative presentation will be made here.

In Norway, creating a general school system for all, combined with other socially democratic initiatives, has helped to make the country a world leader in terms of social equality, including having one of the lowest differences in income gap between the richest and poorest (Gini coefficient of 0.25, OECD, 2016, p. 103). In addition, within countries monitored by the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Norway has high levels of youth employment and engagement in education training (OECD, 2016). Nevertheless, while the Norwegian system is internationally renowned for its inclusivity, there is ongoing internal debate around how pupils can benefit from education (Fasting, 2013). A recent national report (Nordahl et al., 2018) found that support systems are not effective and that they create exclusionary special education systems. Most children also receive support from personnel lacking in appropriate qualifications and competences (Nordahl et al., 2018). Additionally, although Norway has been very effective at integration – i.e. when the construct is considered as a right – there is still room for improvement regarding inclusion, i.e. when inclusion is considered as the right to be different (Kristiansen, 2014). However, despite being early implementers of integrated inclusive education policies, like many other countries internationally, Norway has witnessed an increase in the number of children receiving traditional special education (Markussen, Strømstad, Carlsten, Hausstätter, & Nordahl, 2007), with figures stabilising in the last four to five years at around eight percent (Statistics Norway, 2018, p. 10, see also figure 1).
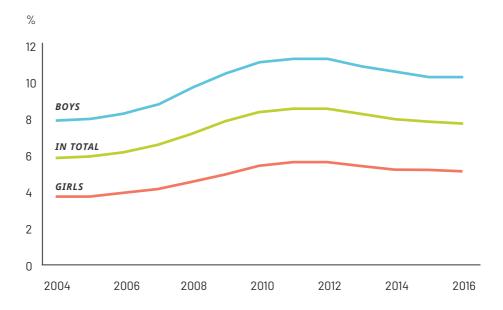
While the Norwegian system has strived to reduce the influence of cultural and socioeconomic barriers to participation in education – i.e. aspiring to provide education for all by broadly trying to create a system that is both equitable and integrative – the country continues to experience inclusion-related challenges,

most prominently related to social integration (Flem & Keller, 2000). In addition, Norwegian-born young people are twice as likely as their foreign-born peers to be in employment or education (OECD, 2016, p. 32). How Norway deals with these challenges in the future is of utmost importance if the country's values and strong international standing are to be maintained or improved.

EDUCATION IN NORWAY

The Norwegian compulsory education system consists of primary and lower secondary education and spans ten years. It is governed by a centralised national curriculum, which operates in either Norwegian or Sámi languages, depending mostly on geographical location (for further details on Sámi schools in Norway, see Keskitalo & Olsen, 2019, this volume). Pre-school covers ages 0–5, and while not compulsory, the vast majority of children attend (national average 91.1%, Statistics Norway, 2018, p. 5). Compulsory schooling starts in the year a child turns six and consists of seven years at the primary and three at lower secondary levels. Most of this compulsory education takes place in public settings, with only 238 of 2,858 (8.3%) of primary and lower secondary schools being private (Statistics Norway, 2018, p. 9), which accounts for around three percent of the general pupil population. While upper secondary education is not compulsory, the majority of children transition directly from the lower stages (98.1%, Statistics Norway, 2018, p. 12) to attend for three years. Thereafter students can choose either tertiary vocational education programmes between six months and two years or higher education following a 3+2+3 year European Bologna model (Statistics Norway, 2018, p. 2).

In terms of children who are receiving special education support – here defined as pupils who receive support above and beyond that delivered within adapted education (see more below) – around eight percent of the general pupil population is classified as having special education requirements (Statistics Norway, 2018, p. 10). Following the general global trend, there is also a larger proportion of boys compared to girls receiving special education support.

FIGURE 1: Proportion of boys and girls receiving special education in primary and lower secondary education (Statistics Norway, 2018, p. 10, More information: http://www.ssb.no/en/utgrs/)

ADAPTED EDUCATION

Adapted education (*tilpasset opplæring* in Norwegian) is a central part of the Norwegian education philosophy and stems from the strong emphasis that society places on the school's role in contributing to a socially-inclusive and supportive society (Mordal & Strømstad, 2005). The concept is a fundamental part of the integration and inclusion movement in Norway and has greatly shaped the way in which the mainstreaming of special education has unfolded. The construct is relational and somewhat ambiguous due to its connections to social ideology, human values (humanity/menneskesyn) and the principles of integration, inclusion and normalisation. It also presents a dilemma, as Norwegian schooling is required to simultaneously offer equal education opportunities for all children while also providing individually-tailored education. However, adapted education has generally been seen as a positive factor in promoting and improving inclusion in Norwegian schools.

While the most recent major revision to the Norwegian education law was in 1998 (Opplæringslova, 1998), the principle that education shall be adapted to the child – and not vice versa – has been a regulatory feature in Norway since 1881, when a law for the schooling of the 'abnormal' (Abnormskoleloven in Norwegian) was created. Successive education and schooling laws from 1936, 1959 and 1969 all contributed to the further integration of people with physical and mental impairments into the school system, although predominantly with education taking place in segregated settings – such as special schools. These specific intentions relating to equal opportunities and integration were developed during the mid-twentieth century and ultimately contributed to the integration of the special and general education laws in 1975 (Bakke, 2011). In addition to the education law, practice has also been steered through a national curriculum where adapted education plays a central role.

Norway's ideological position relating to integration and inclusion saw significant developments during the 1960s and needs to be understood in relation to broader changes in the welfare state (Vislie, 1995). Predominant influencing principles in the mid-twentieth century were equality, integration, normalisation, participation and decentralisation, with the ideologies of that time being particularly concerned with the needs and rights of persons with disabilities. One predominant influencing factor (also present in other Nordic countries) was normalisation – the notion that persons with disabilities should have access to the same rights as 'normal' people (Wolfensberger, Nirje, Olshansky, Perske, & Roos, 1972). In 1975, integration efforts culminated in the merging of the special education law of 1951 and the general education law of 1969 to form the so-called Integration Act (Opplæringslova, 1975, integreringslova). One specific intention regarding the amalgamation of these laws was to reduce the distinction between special and general teaching, such that teaching and learning would become more widely available and accessible, albeit with the possibility of varied and equitable teaching and learning opportunities for all. Against this backdrop, the foundations for adapted education were laid.

THE PREDOMINANCE OF COMPREHENSIVE PUBLIC SECTOR-CONTROLLED SCHOOLS

Comprehensive schools (*enhetsskole* in Norwegian) are prevalent in Norway. They have been central to the political and social intentions of the country regarding the

provision of education to all citizens regardless of social and economic standing. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, along with the expansion of the time spent in compulsory education – from 7 to 9 years in 1959, followed by an increase to ten years in 1979 – one of the main intentions of the Norwegian education system was to provide equality across differing social groups and geographical placements (Telhaug, 1994).

In terms of the manner in which education is delivered in Norway, this takes place through devolved local government. Municipalities are responsible for the education of all children who live within their boundaries, with pupils having the right to receive this education at their nearest local school (a point which is also integrated into the regulatory framework for education in the form of the nærskolesprinsipp). Local schools are thus required to educate children as far as is practically possible and professionally reasonable. The schools themselves usually have a special education team consisting of regular class teachers, special educators, pedagogues and a nurse. However, more often than not, the teachers are the only ones who are permanently based at the school, while the other support professionals are often based in centralised support centres, operating peripatetically. In addition, the schools have access to additional pedagogical, psychological and social support services provided by the municipality, which provide such professionals as specialised teachers, educational psychologists, social workers, etc. Aspiring to provide an equitable education system requires the collective delivery of both resource and formal equality. Resource equality ensures equal opportunities for all, whereas formal equality means equal access to school and education (Bakke, 2017, p. 149). However, this ideal has not been fully achieved, coupled with additional challenges relating to simultaneously including people while also maintain respect for diversity (Kristiansen, 2014), a point particularly pertinent for previously suppressed groups, such as the Sámi, and previously ignored groups such as newly arrived immigrants.

ADAPTED EDUCATION AND INTEGRATION

The so-called integration law of 1975 ensured that special schools were now governed by the same system and legal framework as mainstream schools. This started the process of closing special schools and bringing all pupils together in

the same school (a philosophy that is also central to the ethos of comprehensive schools). An educational approach with integration as a central theme replaced the previous segregated approach. This understanding of integration subsequently contributed to the narrative of inclusion in the Norwegian context. Inclusion in Norway, much like the international situation, is subject to an ongoing and evolving process whose concerns are more related to social rather than curricular integration (Flem & Keller, 2000). Similarly, there has been a significant amount of theoretical interest and debate (Maxwell, 2017). A central influencing factor in this dynamic has been normalisation, whereby the integration and participation of those who were previously excluded from mainstream schooling have been realised. Normalisation was a central theme in Scandinavia throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s and focussed on making everyday life for persons with disabilities the same as that of 'normal' mainstream persons (Nirje, 1969; Wolfensberger et al., 1972).

With the monumental shift in thinking, brought on by the New School Act of 1975, came a corresponding change in language, with the focus moving towards adapted education. The new terminology was intended to remove the distinction between 'special' and 'mainstream' education such that everyone received an education that fit their learning needs, however diverse. The concept was further explored in a white paper (number 98) from 1976-1977:

> The concept marks a desire to remove the distinction between special educa-tion and mainstream education in favour of a broad unifying conceptualisation of education that has room for varied and equal education for all pupils. (Norwegian White Paper 98 (1976-77), NOU nr. 34 1985:42; author's translation)

> Begrepet markere ønsket om å fjerne skillet mellom spesialundervisning og vanlig undervisning til fordel for et samlende, vidt opplæringsbegrep med plass til varierte og likeverdige undervisning for alle elever (St.meld. nr. 98 (1976-77), NOU nr. 34 1985:42)

With this came an intention to conceptualise education more broadly by means of reflecting the values inherent in integration and normalisation. As part of the development of the New Integration Law of 1975, in 1969, Judge Knut Blom was assigned the task of developing a proposal to achieve the unification of the ed-ucation and special education laws. This led to the Blom Committee developing

a number of the central concepts, including adapted education. The committee defined the concept from four positions:

1. Belonging to a social community
2. Participation in community benefits
3. Collective responsibility for tasks and obligations
4. Benefit from education/teaching

The committee also took a position that included four levels of integration:

1. Physical and functional integration: This denotes geographical proximity, whereby one uses the same buildings and has a presence in relation to other pupils.
2. Social integration: This involves social interactions with mutual positive interactions.
3. Community integration: This means to hold socially and culturally valued roles in society.
4. Benefits that mean that pupils will understand teaching and develop their potential.

Adapted education thus challenged the very fundamentals of traditional teaching knowledge and approaches in Norway. At the curriculum level, it was adopted as a general principle comparable to integration and inclusion (and was central to the integration and inclusion movement in Norway). Ideology-based practices are abstractions that tend to reflect the values placed on the relationships between people and are less inclined to demonstrate how these values will be executed in practice. The uncertainty lies in how adapted education is understood and practised due to various conflicts and dilemmas inherent in the approach. Value conflicts relating to the prioritisation of some pupils over others collide with the general intention to treat all pupils equally. As a result, there is competition between society's general values of equality and the school system's new values of inclusion, which can perhaps explain why adapted education often fails to be practically implemented and often languishes at the theoretical levels of the Norwegian education system.

In an ideal inclusive school setting, an equitable degree of social and academic achievement between students, and between students and the system, is crucial in order to fully realise inclusion. An important dimension of adapted education is, thus, the capability to reinforce students' experiences of cohesion, engagement and participation through better management and awareness of power relations (Bakke, 2017).

ADAPTED EDUCATION AS A LEGALLY BINDING CONCEPT

The interactional and relationship dynamics between adapted education, special education and expert knowledge are central to whether a legislation can be implemented as a rights-based law or a rational-legal authority. While the requirement for education to fit the needs of all of Norway's children has been a feature of the legal system since the Abnormal Education Act of 1881 (Abnormskoleloven, 1881), this right has generally only been realised by the more adaptable members of the child population, with the more challenging cases being neglected (Nordahl et al., 2018). However, in all legal texts, the legal language used expresses the right to receive and duty to deliver and fulfil education. As such, it is relatively clear that there is no interpretation potential regarding either the degree to which children have the right to education or the degree to which the system has a duty to fulfil that education. This lack of specificity means that the right to adapted education is realised as a general right that all children have in Norway.

One on-going and significant challenge in the implementation of adapted education is a lack of special education competence in the general teacher population (Nordahl et al., 2018). This lack of expert knowledge both within schools and elsewhere in the education and support systems – such as the nationally coordinated education support service (*Statlig spesialpedagogisk støttesystem*, *Statped*, in Norwegian) and the regionally and locally coordinated education support services (*Pedagogisk-psykologisk tjeneste, PPT*, in Norwegian) – was highlighted as early as 1987 (Eskland, 1987). To this day, however, it remains a challenge, especially for the smaller and more geographically isolated municipalities in Norway. Perhaps as a result of its broad conceptualisation, adapted education has not been fully embraced by either general education or special education, with the teacher training system failing to integrate special education into its professional education

programmes and to adequately prepare new teachers to work inclusively and in accordance with the intentions of adapted education, as highlighted by a recent national report (Nordahl et al., 2018), previous theoretical texts (Bakke, 2017, p. 157), and ongoing studies (Maxwell, Antonsen, & W Bjørndal, 2018). Consequently, as teachers lack the practical competencies in adapted education, they are much more likely to refer cases externally to support specialists, which in turn places additional strain on that part of the system – something the ethos of adapted education is meant to alleviate. Nevertheless, it has been legally clarified that a lack of economic resources is not a valid reason for delayed or absent support, and as a consequence, the main factors relating to children being deprived of their rights to adapted education (i.e. the law gets broken/not upheld) are human – related specifically to deficiencies in knowledge and resources. Pupils are typically placed on waiting lists with the external support service (*Pedagogisk-psykologisk tjeneste*, *PPT*, in Norwegian) in order to receive the support to which they are entitled, with waits of several months being common, occasionally years. This situation partly explains why Norway is still struggling to deliver on its inclusive education intentions more than forty years after the merging of the special and general education acts. Additionally, creating a system that still emphasises additional support needs as a specialisation and competence that is external to the school/general education system means that Norway has, like many other countries, seen an increase in the number of children receiving traditional special education (Markussen et al., 2007).

ADAPTED EDUCATION AND SPECIAL EDUCATION

Adapted education was intended as a bridge between special education and general education that would ultimately remove the need for the distinction. However, as we have already explained, it has not managed to fulfil that expectation. One factor has been resistance within the special education sector itself, particularly amongst special teachers and other support professionals – perhaps feeling threatened – as they felt that their specialist competences could come under pressure. Various reports have highlighted the ongoing issues. After just ten years, (Dalen, 1985) observed that while mainstream schools had opened up to children with disabilities, the teaching in the schools had not. A similar observation was made in a government white paper published the same year (St. meld. nr. 61

(1984-85), 1985). By the 2000s, it had become apparent that additional support resources were being used somewhat arbitrarily to provide general support in Norwegian, English and mathematics (the three core subjects in compulsory school in Norway), regardless of the reason or underlying cause (Markussen et al., 2007, p. 92). At the same time, additional support resources were being used to free the classroom of troublesome pupils, which was most often executed by diagnosing children (Markussen et al., 2007, p. 97), demonstrating the prevalence of a culture of diagnosis in Norwegian special education. In 2003, a Norwegian Official Report (NOU 2003: 16, 2003) concluded that it was entirely possible to deliver effective education to all groups of students through the existing education act, as intended in the original Integration Act of 1975. The arguments in favour of maintaining a distinction between special and adapted education (within the general education context) would therefore appear to be based on legal, economic and competence/resource-related grounds rather than on pedagogy. In 2009, another Norwegian Official Report (NOU 2009: 18, 2009) took the suggestions from the 2003 NOU further but did not manage to conclusively deliver suggestions on how to fulfil the intentions of the integration law.

Debates on the distinction and division between special education and adapted education thus continue to this day, with a recent report concluding that there is a poorly functioning and exclusionary system of special educational support in Norwegian schools and preschools today (Nordahl et al., 2018). Due to the way in which the support system is organised, the report found that children receiving support experience a lack of community belonging with other children and adolescents. Further, Nordahl et al. (2018) maintained that it takes considerable lengths of time for support mechanisms to come into action and for support to be delivered – with support most likely to occur when a pupil is mid-way through their compulsory school career rather than earlier – clearly in breach of the principles of early intervention that the Norwegian additional support policies and services all aspire to. Accountability regarding this failure is placed on the structure and individual-rights based nature of the current system, with specialists being based far from schools and having to spend excessive amounts of their time on bureaucratic administration tasks rather than utilising their specialist competences in the field. A consequence of this poor use of resources is that children are most likely to have their support delivered by unqualified assistants (Nordahl et al., 2018).

The distinction between general and special education is not limited to government reports, bureaucracy and the education system in Norway; the professional and academic fields are similarly undecided and are a far cry from being functionally integrated (Skogen, 2014, p. 85).

ADAPTED EDUCATION AND SOCIAL COHESION

Adapted education was formulated and conceptualised as a further development of a society whose desire it was to become more equitable through better social cohesion. However, very little longitudinal research has been carried out to assess the effect of adapted education on society. As a consequence, there is no knowledge about the effectiveness of adapted education and, more specifically, whether adaptations and measures brought in through the framework have been effective (Nordahl & Læringssenteret, 2003).

There is some existing research on social relations, teaching methods and organisation types (Bakken, 2010), with results showing that family background, income and education level are directly related to the ability of schools to sort children and, thus, influence social structures. Norway's population is still characterised by class distinctions, despite many attempts at removing them (Bakken, 2010). The inescapable reality is that schools will sort society. The strongest actors will master their positions, and weaker ones will be mastered (Bakke, 2011).

In the 2017-2018 school year, 7.8 percent of the general school population received some form of special education, with 39 percent of these pupils receiving additional support teaching in their ordinary classroom settings (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2018) – an improvement from 2013-2014 when the percentage was 28 percent.

PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS PER YEAR/GRADE											
School year	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	Total
2017/18	3.8	4.4	5.7	7.1	8.2	9.5	9.9	9.6	9.9	10.7	7.9
2016/17	3.7	4.5	5.5	6.9	8.4	9.3	10.0	9.7	10.1	10.8	7.8
2015/16	3.8	4.3	5.5	7.1	8.2	9.4	10.2	10.0	10.3	10.6	7.9
2014/15	3.6	4.3	5.7	6.9	8.4	9.5	10.4	10.2	10.2	11.1	8.0
2013/14	3.8	4.6	5.7	7.2	8.8	9.9	10.5	10.3	10.9	11.2	8.3
2012/13	4.3	4.7	6.0	7.4	9.0	10.0	10.5	11.1	10.9	11.6	8.6
2011/12	4.1	4.8	5.9	7.5	8.9	9.8	10.7	10.9	11.2	11.6	8.6
2010/11	4.2	4.8	5.9	7.2	8.6	9.6	10.1	10.7	10.9	11.5	8.4
2009/10	4.0	4.6	5.5	6.7	8.0	8.9	9.3	9.9	10.5	10.7	7.9
2008/09	3.9	4.3	4.9	6.1	7.2	7.9	8.5	9.3	9.4	10.2	7.2

TABLE1: Percentages of pupils receiving special education in Norway (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2018)

ONGOING INCLUSION CHALLENGES IN NORWAY

As mentioned earlier, the broad conceptualisation of adapted education has meant that it is an nebulous concept that has experienced difficulties realising its practical potential. The recent neo-liberalisation of the education system in Norway could be one solution to the problem; however, this approach is not without pitfalls. Neo-liberal policies are intent on creating productive and self-capitalising citizens who can readily contribute to the open marketplace. However, as highlighted by

Stangvik (2014) in the context of New Zealand, there are considerable conflicting and contradictory aspects to this approach. By implementing a neo-liberal curriculum in New Zealand, a distinction is made between the abled and the non-abled. This thus creates a group consisting of people who are disadvantaged and become more excluded from the education system, which is in opposition to the promises of neo-liberal approaches regarding inclusion and goes against the international promotion of inclusion and participation. Neo-liberalisation in Norway has led to a more individual-rights based approach to the delivery of additional support to pupils, with the new approach being blamed for the less effective use of specialist competencies – a direct result of the over-bureaucratisation of the system (Nordahl et al., 2018).

Specifically in the North of Norway, factors relating to ethnicity and cultural grouping are of significance. A historical consequence of the Norwegian system and its intention to reduce the influence of cultural and socioeconomic factors is that certain policies and initiatives have become (or became interpreted as) culturally oppressive – for example, the Norwegianisation of the Sámi. Additionally, moves to create a shared and single Norwegian identity throughout most of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries – while intending to eliminate class divisions and increase equity by creating schools for everyone with a homogeneous identity (Angell, 1998) – also meant that groups that did not conform to the intended standard of the modern Norwegian ideal were marginalised and oppressed (Engen, 2003, p. 82). Early attempts at creating a school system for everyone was, therefore, also characterised by severe suppression and assimilation of minority groups such as the Sámi.

Because of this oppression of the Sámi, instantiated through the enforced education system, the understanding of inclusion is often construed quite differently as being associated with notions and policies pertaining to assimilation and suppression rather than the intended liberal understanding as including everybody (Engen, 2003). This is not unique, since policies brought in by previous oppressors are often treated with suspicion and caution, as for example is seen with disability classification frameworks, such as the World Health Organization's International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (World Health Organization, 2001), are treated cautiously due to their association with previous highly medicalized systems (Pfeiffer, 2002).

As referenced in next chapter (Keskitalo & Olsen, 2019, in this volume) on the Sámi, where there are further details of how Sámi culture is included in the education system and national curriculum, inclusion for the Sámi people in Norway has now come to mean two things: educational inclusiveness in general as well as cultural inclusiveness.

CONCLUSION

Norway has historically been a strong proponent of comprehensive schools (Skinningsrud, 2017) and has, as a result, led the world in this area. In addition, the education sector is dominated by the public sector, combining to produce a fairly homogenised and relatively integrated starting point for Norway in terms of responding to international calls for more inclusive schooling. One consequence of this head-start is that Norway has fared relatively well in terms of international rankings of educational and social outcomes. However, recent moves towards more performance-oriented assessments, a result of neo-liberalisation and inter-national performance comparisons (e.g. PISA), have led to the erosion of the core intentions of the 1975 law on integration. Additional dilemmas have also arisen in attempts to create a shared intended outcome (a homogenous Norwegian identity) whilst simultaneously catering to diversity – a particularly acute issue in the North Norwegian context of the Sámi people.

Schools are nevertheless well-versed in the theory of integration, adapted education and inclusion; however, they are unable to practically implement these ideals – likely a result of the simultaneous foci on equal education, individualised education, sorting according to performance and an increase in competition. As a result, difference and exclusion have potentially increased in the course of the last forty years, rather than achieved the opposite intention outlined in 1975. Norwegian education also tends to create the potential for both recognition and integration (Seland, 2013), which perhaps opens up the possibility for more recognition within the context of inclusion; for example, taking an approach that is more open to inclusion as the right to be different (Kristiansen, 2014) would present one possible bridge between previously ostracised groups in Norwegian society – such as the Sámi people. Recently, it was also suggested that in order to achieve the ideal

of adapted education and to deliver a system that achieves equality and equity, there is a need for a schooling policy that does not simply look to change the roles and functions of schools in society, but that also considers which societal and socialising values are central to Norwegian society (Bakke, 2017, p. 162).

How Norway deals with the challenges that the future holds regarding inclusive and special education, such as the ever-increasing multi-cultural nature of its population, will be of utmost importance in order to sustain and potentially improve upon the country's core social values and strong international placing.

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HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SÁMI AND INCLUSIVE SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN NORWAY

PIGGA KESKITALO AND TORJER OLSEN

ABSTRACT

The aim of this chapter is to introduce Norway's inclusive education policies for two separate school systems: the national Norwegian and the Sámi systems. This chapter is based on research done in Norway on its national and Sámi schools and their curricula. Norway is an interesting example when it comes to indigenous education and national schools, as state policies on diversity and minority and indigenous issues have been consciously implemented in both school systems. The evolution of these guidelines, as written in education curricula and as implemented in practice, is the core focus of this article. This chapter aims to describe and contemplate the overarching and general tendencies of Sámi schools and issues in Norway, which have received little scholarly attention. We build on and add to the existing research by combining issues related to the national, or mainstream, school systems with issues related to the Sámi school systems. We will present

historical and political perspectives on these inclusive school systems. First, we will look at how Sámi subject matters have been introduced into curricula in national schools and kindergartens and what is practically meant by incorporating the Sámi contents. Second, the general educational inclusiveness and cultural inclusiveness practiced in Sámi schools will be examined.

Keywords: inclusiveness, Norwegian school and curriculum, Sámi school, Sámi education

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we discuss Norway's inclusive education policies from political and historical perspectives. In Norway, there are national (or majority) and Sámi school systems and curricula. We are interested in inclusiveness at both national and Sámi schools in Norway. We will investigate this issue by examining the approaches to Sámi culture and language in the curricula used by national and Sámi schools.

The Sámi are an indigenous people who live in four countries: Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia. They originated in Siberia (Lamnidis et al., 2018) and their language belongs to the Finno-Ugric language family (Aikio, 2012). Sámi schools in Norway refer to school systems in Sámi-language administrative districts where the Sámi curriculum is applied. The Sámi schools and curriculum were established in 1997. Sámi schools are meant for all pupils who live in Sámi-language administrative districts, including non-Sámi pupils; all public schools in Sámi language districts follow the Sámi curriculum. Schools or individual classrooms outside the Sámi language districts can choose to follow the Sámi curriculum as well. In practice, Sámi schools operate in a pluralist multilingual context and therefore employ Sámi-speaking, Norwegian-speaking and bilingual education. Decisions regarding the school-specific linguistic and political aspects of Norway's inclusive education policies are made locally (Keskitalo, 2010; Keskitalo & Määttä, 2011; Keskitalo, Määttä, & Uusiautti, 2013), such as when determining which language should be used in a particular school or class.

The opportunity to learn about indigenous peoples' own history, culture and language in a culturally appropriate manner is embedded in international law, most

notably in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (International Labour Organization Convention, known as ILO-convention 169) and the United Nations Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). One important aspect of indigenous education is capacity-building in indigenous languages, which are important indexes of belonging. Thus, one of the core goals of indigenous education is to contribute to mother-tongue use and the revitalization of languages (Smith, 1999).

The mainstreaming of state education in indigenous issues is understood as education about indigenous histories, cultures and societies within the framework of the general educational system to increase knowledge of indigenous realities among majority students. With regard to studies of mass media, mainstreaming concerns reaching a broader audience. From this perspective, and with reference to media theory, we argue that national curricula are ways of mediating states' desires to set the content of education agendas (Østbye, 2009). As we will show in our analysis of the Norwegian educational context, Sámi issues are relevant to mainstreaming and indigenous education. The present chapter is based on the authors' research, which was conducted in Sámi and national primary school systems, as well as the curricula of these school systems (e.g. Andreassen & Olsen 2017; Keskitalo, 2010, 2018; Olsen & Andreassen, 2016, 2017, 2018; Olsen, Sollid & Johansen, 2017). These ideas are further constructed in this chapter.

THE ETHNIC AND NATIONAL AWAKENING OF THE SÁMI

The ethnic and national emergence of the Sámi people started in the late 1800s, leading to the founding of the first local Sámi associations and press. The Nordic Sámi Council was established in 1956, and a renaissance of the Sámi culture took place in the late 1960s, as more Sámi associations were formed. This awakening, after a long period of assimilation, was prompted by nationalism, as living conditions were becoming poor for the Sámi. Sámi language instruction in the primary school system was launched in the 1970s, and the Sámi Parliament in Finland was established in 1972. Further, in the 1970s, the Sámi were amongst the indigenous peoples from many parts of the world who took part in the first wave of international indigenism. This was an important predecessor to later international conventions and organizations (Lehtola, 2005; The Sámi Parliament, 2008).

On the Norwegian side of the Sámi area (called 'Sápmi' in the North Sámi language), the Alta case (1979–1981), which concerned the building of a power dam in a Sámi area, led to huge protests from environmentalists and Sámi activists. In the aftermath of this conflict, major changes were made in Norway. In the decades following the Alta conflict, Norway went through a rather radical change in its politics towards the indigenous Sámi and other minorities. The Sámi Act of 1987 made Sámi an official language in Norway. The Sámi Article was introduced into the Norwegian Constitution in 1988, stating that Norway is obligated to ensure that the Sámi people can keep and develop their language, culture and society. The Norwegian Sámi Parliament opened in 1989. The following year Norway ratified ILO-convention 169 on the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples, thereby recognizing the Sámi as an indigenous people. Of the countries with a Sámi population, to date Norway is the only one which has ratified the ILO's 169 agreement on indigenous peoples. Lastly, in 1999, Norway ratified the European Council's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, announcing official minority status for Forest Finns, Kvens/Norwegian Finns, Roma peoples and Jews.

The Sámi parliaments in Norway, Sweden and Finland serve as the authoritative advisory agencies on issues regarding the Sámi people. These parliaments have legal statuses in their respective national law systems and executive political and authoritative power within their mandate. These texts are called Sámi law in Norway (Ráđđehus, 2018), the Sámi Parliament Act in Finland (Finlex, 2018) and Sámi Parliament Act in Sweden (Sveriges riksdag, 2018). The purpose of the Sámi parliaments in Nordic countries is to address Sámi language, culture and issues regarding the Sámi's position as an indigenous people. Research has brought to light problems regarding the subject of Sámi cultural self-determination (e.g. Guttorm, 2018).

THE SÁMI CURRICULUM AND SÁMI SCHOOLS

In Scandinavia, curriculum development was connected to Christianity; church and education matters were led by missionaries until the mid-nineteenth century (Lund, 2014). Since then, a long period of Norwegianization was officially carried out by the Norwegian government which emphasised the assimilation of the Sámi people (Minde, 2005). Norwegianization is a term used to describe more than 100 years of

assimilation policy directed towards all minorities. In Sámi areas, Norwegianization led to a thorough change of Sámi communities. Many Sámi, especially—but not exclusively—those along the coast, changed both their language and their ethnic identity and 'became' Norwegians.

In Norway, many types of elementary school curricula have been used since 1858 (Gundem, 1990; Hiim & Hippe, 1998), highlighting national educational aims. Much later, in 1997, a separate Sámi school system was established for the first time with a standardised Sámi curriculum which promoted the teaching of Sámi cultural and multicultural elements and the use of Sámi pedagogies. This occurred as a joint political effort between the Sámi community, politicians and parents; it was supported by the Norwegian government and the Norwegian Sámi parliament and was administrated by the Sámi language district municipalities. The Sámi school systems, located in the Sámi-language administrative districts in Norway, follow the principles of the Sámi curriculum, and the status of the Sámi curriculum is equal to that of the national curriculum. The bilingual Sámi curriculum, written in Sámi and Norwegian, overlaps in many sections with the national curriculum. The implementation of Sámi schools and the Sámi curriculum varies as the areas where they have been instituted are home to multiple cultures (Keskitalo, 2010).

Sámi pedagogy has been developed alongside Sámi education, Sámi teacher education and Sámi studies and research. It is based on traditional childrearing practices and is implemented as institutionalized school knowledge (see Balto, 1997). The creation of the separate Sámi school and Sámi kindergarten systems necessitated the further development of the Sámi pedagogy, according to Sámi philosophy, worldview, values and traditional knowledge. Fixing some single educational issues was not enough to strengthen the Sámi pedagogy; solutions to wider issues must still be found, including language planning, development of culturally meaningful pedagogy, producing educated Sámi speaking teachers, etc.

After a long period of assimilation, Sámi education aims to revitalize the nine Sámi languages and multiple local cultures and increase the number of active Sámi speakers. Overall, large-scale language revitalization has been occurring in Norway for decades at kindergartens, schools, adult education centres and cultural associations. Moreover, this is also a political goal, which is supported at the state and municipal levels (Ođasmahttin-, hálddahus- ja girkodepartemeanta, 2011). The

current (and soon to be replaced) Norwegian national curriculum (*Kunnskapsløftet*) and the second version of the Sámi curriculum (*Máhttolokten*) first took effect in 1997 (Keskitalo, 2010) and was revised for the 2006–2007 academic year (Øzerk, 2006). A third primary-school Sámi reform effort is currently underway. The first Sámi primary school teacher education reform effort was launched in 2010 and the second in 2016.

The radical multicultural principle of inclusion—which mandates the Sámi curriculum for all—has been in use in the Norwegian Sámi language administrative districts since 1997 and applies to children who attend municipal schools. Thus, it has a 21-year-long history at the municipal level. According to the principle of inclusion, pupils living in Sámi-language administrative districts must attend Sámi municipal schools, regardless of their ethnic or linguistic backgrounds. Some municipalities even put all pupils in Sámi-language classes, despite their respective backgrounds. The idea is to respect the indigenous people and the languages of the region and build cultural sovereignty between ethnic groups and in society.

Currently, three types of Sámi schools and models for using and studying the Sámi language exist in the Sámi language administrative districts: (1) Norwegian-speaking schools where the Sámi language is studied as a second language; (2) Sámi-speaking schools; and (3) bilingual schools with Sámi and Norwegian classes. In all schools in Norway pupils study many languages, starting in first grade, and approximately 3.5 hours per week is allocated for studying their mother tongue (Keskitalo, 2010). Students at Sámi schools may identify either Norwegian or Sámi as their mother tongue. Other mother tongues of individual students are studied as foreign languages. New time regulations are currently being evaluated in relation to upcoming reforms in Norway.

EXPLORATION OF NORWEGIAN MAJORITY SCHOOLS AND CORE CURRICULA

In 1974, Norway created its first official national curriculum. Updated versions of the national curriculum were established in 1987, 1994, 1997 (along with Norway's first Sámi curriculum) and 2006. In 2017, a new core curriculum was approved, with a completely new curriculum expected in 2020. Each curriculum has had a

core focus based on an ideological and value-based foundation. Thus, it is highly relevant to know the state's official policies and ideas on different issues. As an ideological text, a core curriculum reflects society and social changes. This section examines the curricular representation of Sámi issues in the core curricula and how this has changed over the years.

The preface of the 1974 curriculum provides insight into the creation of the curriculum, stating that issues related to Sámi society were discussed at the top national level 'in accordance with wishes stated in the Parliament and elsewhere, the part on Sami culture and history has been strengthened all the way through the curriculum' (Ministry of Church and Education, 1974, p. 4; authors' translation). This can be seen as a change in the political climate regarding Sámi issues. When referring to Sámi issues, the 1974 curriculum mainly described Sámi students as living and attending school in 'mixed language districts' (1974, p. 18). This phrasing could potentially cover students from several groups, but the context indicates that it concerned Sámi students. In the text, the situation for these students was described as challenging on several levels. Many students had to live in boarding schools, they were not used to books and some were more afraid of using two languages than other students; school was described as a key arena to face these challenges (Ministry of Church and Education, 1974, p. 18).

Throughout the 1974 curriculum, Sámi issues were mainly related to the situation of Sámi students in school. The curriculum included very little about the need for majority students to learn about Sámi issues—with one exception. In the social studies syllabus for year 8, it is stated at one point that students should learn about generational conflicts in Sámi homes caused by the Norwegianization of young Sámi (Ministry of Church and Education, 1974, p. 186). This rather specific statement is interesting, both because it is stated as something which is relevant for all students in Norway and because it acknowledges the bigger narrative of Norwegianization and its effects (Folkenborg, 2008, p. 45).

Between 1974 and 1987, Norwegian society went through significant changes, especially with the rise of the oil-based economy and the increasing number of immigrants and refugees arriving in Norway. In the 1980s, the Norwegian school system underwent a massive overhaul to better reflect Norway's changing society. As part of this, a new curriculum was implemented in 1987. The new curriculum

reflected these changes and was intended to lead to pluralist integration, an approach clearly enabled by the increasingly diverse society (Engen, 2010).

The 1987 curriculum maintained a strong focus on Sámi students and their right to be taught Sámi language and culture, and the Norwegian school was said to have a particular responsibility to take care of language and traditions. The curriculum prompted a new curricular focus on mainstreaming, stating that all students in Norwegian schools should be taught about Sámi culture (Olsen & Andreassen, 2018). As part of this emphasis on Sámi issues, the core 1987 curriculum included a chapter on Sámi issues. This curriculum provided a new level of recognition of the Sámi within the curricular context, stating that 'the Sámi hold a special position amongst the ethnic minorities of our land' (Ministry of Church and Education, 1987, p. 18). This statement has three main elements: first, it confirms there are several 'ethnic minorities' in Norway; second, it asserts that the Sámi 'hold a special position' amongst these minorities; and third, the Sámi are seen as an ethnic minority, which implies that the Sámi are not to be recognized as an indigenous people but as a minority within Norwegian society.

The 1987 curriculum described the presence of several ethnic groups in Norway, stating that Norwegian society is part of a global community. In the description of Norwegian heritage, the curriculum states that minority groups need to have a place in schools (1987, p. 22). 'Ethnic minority' is a key phrase here, and it includes groups which have since been nationally labelled as indigenous people, national minorities and cultural minorities. At the same time, the concept of 'language minorities' is still in use, alongside the term 'immigrant', demonstrating that categories at work both include the Sámi and cover non-Sámi minorities.

The 1987 curriculum used the term 'immigrants' to replace 'alien workers', which had been used in the 1974 curriculum. In considering this change, the 1987 curriculum employed a resource perspective (Olsen & Andreassen, 2018). The text stated that those coming from other cultures and other parts of the world could teach some-thing important about other peoples and cultures (1987, p. 22). Thus, 'immigrant students' were presented as a resource which could serve the common good. Furthermore, this implied an important distinction between 'us' and 'the others', i.e. between the Norwegian community and those coming from the outside. Immigrant

students, despite being part of the school system, were not fully included in the curricular version of the Norwegian community in 1987.

The 1987 curriculum, with its emphasis on others coming from both outside and within state borders, is an outspoken text regarding 'othering'. Othering implies presenting one group of people as fundamentally different than another. As a process or strategy, it implies the reproduction and accumulation of power structures (Moreton-Robinson, 2000). When a curriculum others different minority groups, it is a powerful expression of the hegemonic discourse of a state struggling with what to do with diversity (Olsen & Andreassen, 2018).

The 1990s also included curricular reform. A new core curriculum was introduced in 1993 and became the core for the upper secondary (1994) and primary school curricula for all national schools (Ministry of Education, 1997). The text was a highly ideological document with an ambitious style. The seven parts of the document all referred to a 'human type', e.g. 'a meaning-seeking human', and examined different dimensions of Norwegian schools and society.

An interesting parallel to this, which also involves Sámi students, is found in the 1995 Early Childhood Education (ECE) curriculum. This curriculum expressed a similar kind of resource perspective but added that the Sámi, with their experience of being a minority population, should have a particular responsibility towards the integration of new minorities (Olsen & Andreassen, 2016). Following this logic, the Sámi, being a supressed minority, know something about being a minority from which other minorities could learn.

Sámi issues were mentioned in one of the seven parts, called 'the spiritual human being'. Here, Sámi language and culture were designated as parts of Norway's shared national heritage. Later, mainstreaming was repeated, stating that all primary school students should have knowledge about Sámi culture and society.

In 1997, a new national primary school curriculum was launched. The 1993 text was the core of this curriculum, as it would also be for the 2006 curriculum. In the 1990s, the most noticeable change regarding Sámi was the creation of a national Sámi curriculum in 1997. This was to be used by Sámi schools and students—that is, schools in municipalities within the Sámi language administrative districts.

This was a major step for the recognition of Sámi rights and of great symbolic importance. However, it is unclear whether this led to the omission of some Sámi-related content in the majority school curriculum. Gjerpe (2017) argued that the majority curriculum seemed to have less about Sámi issues than expected, given that the Sámi curriculum was launched simultaneously. For the most part it follows the same structure as the 1987 curriculum.

In the mainstream national curriculum of 1997, which was basically the 1993 core with a small addition, the words used about Norway's diverse society were changed from those used in 1987. Instead of 'immigrants', the 1993/1997 curriculum spoke of 'Norwegians with a different cultural background' (1997, p. 57). In addition, the term 'diversity' entered the policy vocabulary, reflecting a change to a more descriptive and less normative perspective. Thus, the resource dimension is downplayed. The Sámi are no longer talked of as a resource for the Norwegian society. They seem to be presented more as citizens in (more or less) the same terms as the other inhabitants of the state.

As mentioned, Norway ratified the European Council's Convention on the Protection of the Rights of National Minorities in 1999. This was reflected in the curriculum; however, it took some time. When the 2006 curriculum was launched, neither 'indigenous people' nor 'national minorities' were found in the short introduction added to the existing 1993 core curriculum. Thus, we will not dwell on 2006 for long—only long enough to note the continuing tendency to focus on cultural diversity and a multicultural society.

THE NEW CURRICULUM

In 2017, Norway launched a new core curriculum as the first step in a process leading to the complete makeover of the national curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2017). Here, the groundwork and the principles of the revised curriculum were laid out in a language and style quite different from its 1993 predecessor. The most remarkable change from previous curricula, from our point of view, was the way the Sámi and minorities were described and categorized. For the first time in the

[1] The Early Childhood Education curriculum stated this back in 2006.

core of a national school curriculum, the Sámi were explicitly recognized as an indigenous people with special rights, as stated in the ILO-convention 169 and the Norwegian Constitution.[1] In addition, for the first time, national minorities were recognized as such on a curricular level.

The Sámi's status as an indigenous people was expressed and implied in several places in the core curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2017). Per the curriculum, the Sámi culture is part of Norway's national heritage and the Norwegian Constitution secures the rights of the Sámi to maintain and develop their language, culture and society (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 4–5). Furthermore, the curriculum included a mainstreaming perspective, stating that, through schooling, students should receive insight into and knowledge about the diverse history, culture, knowledge and rights of the indigenous Sámi people (2017, p. 6). This is quite an expansion of the goals set by earlier national core curricula. An expanded citizenship dimension was also presented in the curriculum with regard to the teaching of democracy: 'A democratic society also defends indigenous peoples and minorities. An indigenous perspective is a part of what students should learn about democracy' (2017, p. 9). This last statement implies moving from a goal of knowledge to one of perspective. It is a lofty ambition; all students of the Norwegian school systems, regardless of where they go to school, should receive knowledge about the Sámi, as well as the ability to see and understand society from the position and viewpoint of an indigenous people.

In the current literature on schools and teacher competence, the term 'diversity competence' has recently been introduced (Røthing, 2016). This relates to an emphasis on diversity and community/unity, as well as the balance between integration and recognition. Røthing (2016) argued that diversity covers a wide array of social categories and that diversity competence must include knowledge, skills and attitudes related to complexity, including the ability to see and recognize it. This is a potential means of avoiding various types of othering.

CONCLUSION

Overall, the tendency in the Norwegian educational system and Norwegian education policy is to try to create the potential for the recognition and integration of

indigenous peoples and minorities (Seland, 2013). The rights and specific situations of special groups in a society call for recognition, which can imply special measures and strategies for some groups over than others. At the same time, the demand for school to be an integrative force which creates coherence and unity calls for school systems which provide the same education for all, regardless of cultural differences (Olsen & Andreassen, 2018).

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STEPS TOWARDS AND CHALLENGES OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN NORTHERN FINLAND

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INTRODUCTION

When the Finnish basic education system was implemented in the 1970s, its main goals were to reduce the differences in learning outcomes attributed to family backgrounds and to provide all citizens with equal opportunities (e.g. Aho, Pitkänen, & Sahlberg, 2006). Establishing this system was a major step towards equality in education in Finnish society. At that time, the Finnish basic education reform was influenced by the so-called *mainstreaming approach*, which proposed the idea of the *least restrictive environment* for learning (cf. Kavale, 1979; Moberg, 2002). In the 1990s, views about placing children with special needs in the least limiting environments started to change, and new demands for including and supporting all children in their nearby schools began to gain more approval (Armstrong, Armstrong, & Spandagou, 2010).

Inclusive school reform is an international trend intended to form 'a school for all' (e.g. Salamanca Statement, UNESCO, 1994). Finland has committed to international agreements designed to enhance educational equality. Over the last two decades, Finland has invested significantly in developing a socially coherent system of basic education, which strives towards inclusion. The National Core Curriculum for Basic Education was reformed in 2010 and 2014 (Finnish National Board of Education [FNBE], 2010, 2016). Today, classroom teachers, subject teachers and special education teachers are expected to work together to assess learning environments and to provide support to students in neighbourhood schools (Lakkala, Uusiautti, & Määttä, 2016).

Compared with students around the world, Finnish students perform well in three dimensions of education. First, participation rates at all levels of education (from lower secondary to tertiary levels) are relatively high. Second, there is little variance in student academic performance across schools throughout the country. Third, Finnish 15-year-old students perform much better than their international peers in mathematics, reading literacy, natural sciences and problem solving (OECDiLibrary, n.d.).

In this chapter, we focus on the educational circumstances in sparsely populated northern Finland from the perspective of national education policies. Since inclusiveness is emphasised in Finnish basic education, we discuss how the goal of inclusion is rooted and promoted in northern Finland and whether it increases student well-being. To analyse the educational circumstances in northern Finland, we concentrate on a few issues highlighted in the literature in terms of defining the elements of inclusive education.

FINNISH COMPULSORY EDUCATION WITHIN THE FRAME OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

UNESCO's (2017) definition of inclusion suggests that inclusive education requires structures, strategies, contents and methods that offer every student the opportunity to learn in a regular school. Inclusiveness is a desired form of education because of its emphasis on targeting equality in education, supporting the excluded and marginalised groups and providing all students with quality education

(UNESCO, 2017). Inclusive education highlights the need for an ongoing societal reform towards social justice and social sustainability and strives to counteract the negative impact of students' socio-economic backgrounds on their studies (e.g. Bossaert, Colpin, Pijl, & Petry, 2011; Lingard & Mills, 2007).

The Finnish Basic Education Act (628/1998) and its Amendments (642/2010) set the principles and norms of basic education, whose main goal is to offer all citizens equal opportunities to receive education, regardless of age, domicile, financial situation, sex, mother tongue or religion. As enacted by law, every student must be given an opportunity to succeed in learning according to their own abilities. Diverse learners, individual starting points of learning and students' cultural backgrounds must be considered in schoolwork, and special attention must be paid to the early identification of learning barriers and difficulties.

Finnish compulsory education lasts ten years. At the age of six, children start their pre-primary education. The following year, they advance to comprehensive school or basic education, which is organised as a single-structure system of education (integrated primary and lower secondary education) (Eurydice, n.d.). In the first six grades in primary education (years 7–12), classroom teachers teach most of the subjects. In lower secondary education (years 13–16), teaching is organised according to different subjects taught by subject teachers.

Following the national development projects of 2007–2012, which consisted of providing teachers with in-service training and support to develop locally relevant practices for teaching diverse students, the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education was reformed in 2010 and 2014 (FNBE, 2010, 2016). The new curriculum strengthens inclusive education by emphasising children's right to attend schools located near their homes. Students in basic education, including those with special needs, are expected to receive most of the support required in mainstream settings. The concept of the 'neighbourhood school' was introduced in the reform context and has to do with developing local solutions in children's neighbourhood schools. It also requires collaboration among teachers, other personnel and parents. For this reason, Finnish compulsory education emphasises the development of a collaborative school culture, which involves co-operation and shared expertise among personnel and parents (cf. Ahtiainen et al., 2012).

Since 2010, support for learning and schooling in basic education has been organised under general, intensified and special categories. Each learner is provided with support in their school through various flexible arrangements. *General support*, where designing an individual learning plan is voluntary, is implemented for all students. The common forms of support are differentiation, remedial teaching and guidance. If general support activities are insufficient, then multi-professional pedagogical assessments are conducted, and a plan for intensified support is implemented. An individual learning plan is mandatory on this tier of support, which can include pedagogical instructions, part-time special education and assistive devices or services. If this support is inadequate, then *special support* is provided, which requires extensive multi-professional assessment, an official administrative decision and an individual education plan. Only on this tier can the syllabus of various school subjects be reduced to the level of core contents (FNBE, 2016).

To enhance social justice and counteract the adverse impact of students' socio-economic backgrounds on their academic achievements (cf. Lingard & Mills, 2007; UNESCO, 2017), the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education of 2014 contains seven transversal entities (FNBE, 2016). As our changing society demands cross-curricular skills, it is important that school subjects also promote transversal competence. Transversal themes are taught, studied and assessed as part of the different subjects and refer to entities consisting of knowledge, skills, values, attitudes and will, as follows:

- *Thinking and learning to learn.* Students learn to observe and search, evaluate, modify, produce and share information and ideas. They also learn to reflect on themselves as learners and to interact with their environment.
- *Cultural literacy, communication and expression.* Students grow in a world with cultural, linguistic, religious and philosophical diversity.
- *Managing daily life and taking care of oneself and others.* Students need diverse skills in everyday life regarding their health, safety and relationships, mobility and traffic, working in a technology-based environment and managing their own economy, all of which promote a sustainable lifestyle.
- *Multiliteracy.* Students learn to interpret, produce, evaluate and valuate multimodal knowledge from various sources and in different situations

and environments. Multiliteracy forms the basis of interaction among people and in understanding diverse forms of cultural communication.
- *Information and communication technology (ICT) skills.* Students learn to utilise ICT in their learning processes.
- *Entrepreneurial and work life skills.* Students develop insights that promote their interest in and positive attitude towards work life. Such knowledge helps them recognise the importance of and opportunities for work and entrepreneurship as well as their own responsibilities as members of society.
- *Participation in and building a sustainable future.* Students rehearse participation, responsibility, negotiation and conciliation to become agents of their own lives and to build their future on ecologically, socially and culturally sustainable premises (FNBE, 2016, 20-24).

The common aims of transversal skills are to support students' human growth and promote their competence in leading a sustainable lifestyle, as required in a democratic society. The most significant issue involves encouraging students to identify their specific qualities, strengths and abilities in order to develop and appreciate themselves (FNBE, 2016).

When examined from the perspective of inclusive education, the transversal themes seem to strengthen students' agency. Because Finnish children come from various family backgrounds, it is essential to equip them with wide-ranging skills that will enable them to be agents in control of their own lives. This means learning how to use their knowledge and skills in real-life situations (FNBE, 2016). For the transversal entities, the starting point appears to be diversity – when attention is paid to both metacognitive and everyday skills. According to previous research, promoting learners' metacognitive skills guards against social inequality (Lingard & Mills, 2007). The cross-curricular approach also goes beyond the goal of merely aiming towards students' employment or good citizenship, highlighting their growth to become mentally balanced persons with self-esteem (FNBE, 2016). The transversal entities thus align with Spratt's (2017) ideas of well-being in an inclusive school. Spratt emphasises the importance of equipping diverse students with appropriate skills so that in their future lives, they will have the ability and freedom to make choices that are of value to them.

The Finnish National Core Curriculum also frames the local curricula. Local education providers and schools prepare their own detailed curricula by considering local circumstances (Eurydice, n.d.). This curricular principle supports the implementation of inclusion because the indices of inclusion, developed by Booth and Ainscow (2002), stress the importance of policies in responding to the diverse needs of students in local schools. Much responsibility is left to municipalities and schools. However, Finnish teachers hold a master's level academic degree from a university, which makes it easier for them to take responsibility for their professional work (Niemi, 2012). Finnish teachers' pedagogical autonomy also makes it possible for them to choose suitable methods and to tailor them to each group that they teach (Eurydice, n.d.). According to previous research, the way in which inclusive education is implemented in classrooms largely depends on teachers' attitudes towards inclusive education (Braunsteiner & Mariano-Lapidus, 2017). In a recent study (Saloviita, 2017), the Finnish teachers who participated in the survey (N = 434) commonly used methods that enabled teaching in inclusive classes. For example, 83% of the teachers used differentiation in their teaching, and 43% regularly engaged in co-teaching (see also Saloviita & Takala, 2010).

The reforms in Finnish compulsory education have increased the number of students with intensified or special needs who are taught in general education groups. Before the reform in year 2009, nearly half (46.5%) of the students who received special support (8.5% of all students in basic education) were taught in special education groups or in special schools (Official Statistics of Finland, 2009a, 2009b). In 2017, among all students in basic education, 9.7% received intensified support, and 7.7% received special support. Over 39% of the students who received special support were taught fully or at least half of their lessons in general education groups. Almost a quarter (23%) of them were taught less than half of their lessons in general education groups and partly in flexibly formed small groups taught by a special education teacher in a local school. Just over one-third (37%) of the students who received special support studied fully either in special education groups or in special schools (Official Statistics of Finland, 2018a, 2018b). There are no available statistics of the places where students who needed intensified support were taught, but they mainly studied in mainstream classes. Such high numbers of students with special and intensified needs studying in mainstream

classes raise the question of teachers' competence in meeting the needs of all students (see also Jahnukainen, 2011).

Norwich (2013) has criticised the sort of implementation that considers inclusive education merely as the placement of students with special needs in mainstream classes. This oversimplified interpretation is problematic because it ignores personnel resources and professional competence. It also overlooks the multi-pro-fessional and collaborative school culture, which are the main issues involved in striving towards inclusive education.

STRIVING TOWARDS INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN NORTHERN FINLAND

Finland has a large geographic area that is disproportionate to the size of its population. The various parts of Finland differ significantly, with quite heavily populated large cities and municipalities in the south and west and large, sparsely populated areas in the east and north. Similar to other Nordic countries, Finland is undergoing urbanisation (Jauhiainen & Neuvonen, 2016). In the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) 2015 results, the differences among the learning outcomes in various schools were on the rise in Finland. The learning outcomes in southern Finland, especially in the metropolitan area around Helsinki (the nation's capital), were better than those in the country's remote areas (Vettenranta et al., 2016).

Notably, Finnish basic education is experiencing the same contradictory trend that researchers have detected globally. On one hand, the emphasis on economic values aims to mould education into a market-like service, which accentuates freedom of choice, the necessity of competition and cost-efficiency (cf. Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009). The focus on economic values represents a challenge for northern Finland because the sparsely populated rural areas are located mainly in that region. On the other hand, the tendency towards inclusive education is aimed at improving learning for all students and emphasises a sense of community and belonging in Finnish schools (cf. Hargreaves, 2000; Spratt, 2017; Vainikainen et al., 2018). Inclusive values enhance the vitality of schools in northern Finland.
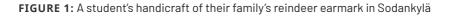
Many small northern schools have to adopt multi-age classrooms (Kalaoja & Pietar-inen, 2009), which complicates teachers' work. Multi-age groups require multiple plans for each lesson, challenging teachers' professional competence and their imagination in creating appropriate learning environments for heterogeneous classes, often without the support of a co-teacher, such as a special education teacher. Various multi-professional services are available in the cities, but in the small schools of northern Finland, it is difficult to provide versatile support for the small number of students. Oftentimes, the economic limitations mean that support is inhibited, or it is simply difficult to find people to occupy posts in geographically distant places. In sparsely populated areas, special education teachers often just visit schools instead of staying there permanently, and support and consultation possibilities are not available every day (Pettersson, 2017).

Väyrynen and Rahko-Ravantti (2014) examined the ways in which northern Finn-ish teachers have implemented inclusive education in their work. They found that teachers worked collaboratively when possible and adjusted their teaching solutions, depending on the context and situation of the individual environments. Similar results were found in a study exploring Lappish teachers' perceptions about successful inclusive arrangements (Lakkala et al., 2016). The teachers underlined the importance of positive and collaborative attitudes among teachers, students with diverse needs and all students. Corroborating these results, Pettersson (2017) found that the small schools in northern Finland had a familiar atmosphere, close relationships, collaboration and flexible ways of organising educational activities. According to Pettersson, these small collaborative schools constituted an inner force that combats outer pressures, such as the threat of school closure, the lack of resources and the lack of appreciation from municipal authorities.

While Finnish municipalities and schools are quite autonomous in organising local compulsory education (Eurydice, n.d.), local education providers are allowed to em-phasise cultural sensitivity in education. According to previous studies, when there is a discontinuity or mismatch between a child's culture and that of the teacher and classroom, difficulties in the student's learning and thinking processes, as well as issues relating to cultural identity and self-image, may arise (e.g. Keskitalo & Määttä, 2011). For this reason, cultural sensitivity is perceived as an important element of inclusive education (cf. Booth & Ainscow, 2002; Hargreaves, 2000) and is especially relevant in Finnish Lapland where the indigenous Sámi people live. Additionally,

the northern local culture as a whole differs from the Finnish mainstream culture because of the traditions of herding reindeer, fishing, hunting and berry picking in the forests. Sodankylä's local curriculum, which incorporates northern Finnish culture, provides a good example of cultural sensitivity; for instance, students are taught about the eight northern seasons and how they reflect the important elements of nature. The eight seasons are *frost winter, snow crust spring, ice run spring, nightless night, harvest time, nature's autumn coat (ruska), first snow and polar night (kaamos)*. Another example in which the local culture is appreciated in school involves inviting parents to introduce their occupation as reindeer herders and students visiting reindeer-gathering places and becoming acquainted with the reindeer earmarks (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1: A student's handicraft of their family's reindeer earmark in Sodankylä

According to the Basic Education Act (628/1998), § 10, native students living in the Sámi homeland region are entitled to receive instruction mainly in the Sámi language. This law is enforced in municipalities located in the Sámi region. However, there are certain problems with using the students' mother tongue as the medium of instruction. The three endangered indigenous languages in Finnish Lapland are Inari Sámi, Skolt Sámi and North Sámi, and because of the lack of bilingual teachers, it is not always straightforward for the municipalities to arrange instruction in all three languages. All three Sámi languages have their own literary features, and their native speakers often do not understand one another without studying the others' mother tongues as foreign languages (Institute of Languages in Finland,

n.d.). Another problem arises from the escape clause in the cited law, which states that instruction should be provided *mainly* in the Sámi language. Sometimes, this means that 49% of the instruction can be delivered in Finnish (Rasmussen, 2015). Moreover, only the children who live in Utsjoki, Inari, Enontekiö and the northern part of Sodankylä have the right to receive instruction in their mother tongue. Today, over 70% of Sámi children under seven years old live outside the Sámi region (Rahko-Ravantti, 2016). A similar problem affects children from various ethnic groups. According to the Ministry of Education and Culture (Opetusministeriön asetus 1777/2009), the Sámi and Romani people can only receive two additional mother tongue lessons per week. Additionally, deaf children using sign language encounter difficulties in terms of being taught in their own language in school because in the sparsely populated northern region, a deaf child seldom has another deaf classmate with whom to communicate in sign language (see also Takala & Sume, 2017).

Concerning student welfare services, in a survey by the Ministry of Education and Culture (2014), the municipalities reported some deficiencies in the provision of psychosocial services to students. Currently, several students do not receive services from school-based social workers and/or school psychologists. Unlike large municipalities, small municipalities cannot afford to hire school-based welfare specialists because of the high cost of providing services in remote areas with small populations. While northern schools do have school nurses, who are similar to special education teachers, they only visit the schools. Nonetheless, alternative solutions for delivering healthcare and social welfare services have been created for the people of northern Finland. The Lapland Hospital District and the hospital organisations and authorities of northern Norway and Sweden engage in cross-border co-operation, mainly in emergency and psychiatric care (Lapland Hospital District, n.d.-a). Figure 2 shows the co-operation areas.

FIGURE 2. Lapland hospital districts (Lapland Hospital District, n.d.-a)

Psychiatric care for children is delivered throughout the Lapland province. Workers from the Central Hospital of Lapland provide consultations using digital devices. They also travel around the province to personally visit children and their families. This work is executed in co-operation with the local health and social care services (Lapland Hospital District, n.d.-b).

The entire country is serviced by centres for social services, which are enacted by law (Laki sosiaalialan osaamiskeskustoiminnasta 1230/2001). The Lappish centre has the special responsibility of handling the provision of services to the Sámi people. Northern Finland's centres for social services include a virtual service that allows people to engage in video consultations with various experts and to receive information, materials and tools to enhance their well-being, both in the Finnish and North Sámi languages (Pohjois-Suomen sosiaalialan osaamiskeskus [POSKE], n.d.).

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, we have investigated the policies and legislation on Finnish compulsory education, specifically regarding the situation in northern Finland. Based on our analysis, we conclude that the reforms in Finnish compulsory education have

strengthened the prerequisites for inclusive education. The tendency towards a co-teaching and collaborative school culture and the positive signs of developing virtual and consultant support services increase the possibilities of improving education and well-being in remote areas.

Children living outside urban centres, particularly in northern Finland, are strongly engaged in nature. In particular, they participate in outdoor activities, such as reindeer herding, fishing, hunting and berry picking. These children's way of life is distinguished from that of their peers in the mainstream Finnish culture. To some extent, the educational legislation and norms in northern Finland provide the space for local solutions that allow for cultural sensitivity, as shown in the examples cited in this chapter. Nevertheless, there are still limitations in the legislation concerning the Sámi students' right to be taught in their own language. Their mother tongue should be fostered; otherwise, the Sámi languages may become extinct.

The tendency to prioritise economic values in education poses a threat to the sparsely populated areas in northern Finland, as this will lead to reduced educational opportunities. The Finnish state provides a certain level of financial support for each student, however, the municipalities are the accountable education providers. When the number of students in small municipalities drops to unsustainable levels, these municipalities cannot afford to maintain the local school buildings and teachers. They have to close the affected schools and send the students to distant ones. The only law that restrains school closure is the Basic Education Act (682/1998), Article 32, which stipulates that travel distance to and from a school cannot exceed a 2.5-hour drive, or if the student is 13 years old or above, a maximum of 3 hours, including waiting times. The long distances to urban centres and the polarisation of services also diminish children's rights in northern Finland. Unfortunately, many of these children will have to leave home when they grow up because of few possibilities of post-compulsory education and limited employment prospects (cf. Kiilakoski, 2016).

Due to the modest possibilities of small schools in terms of offering multi-professional support for their students, special attention must be paid to the vulnerabilities of those children in the north with special and diverse educational needs (cf. Ainscow, Booth, & Dyson, 2006; Hienonen, Lintuvuori, Jahnukainen, Hotulainen, & Vainikainen, 2018). Researchers must consider that measuring inclusive education

quantitatively, for example, via the place in which teaching is provided, is an insufficient index (cf. Norwich, 2013). Instead, developing qualitative indices for inclusive education supports schools in becoming more responsive to students' diverse conditions, interests, experiences, knowledge and skills (Booth & Ainscow, 2002). Research-based qualitative indices also help remote areas justify their need for multi-professional support and sufficient resources.

It is important that diversity, cultural sensitivity and special educational issues are discussed throughout teacher education. One example is kindergarten teacher education for Sámi-speaking student teachers, which is organised by the University of Oulu and offered in Inari. Moreover, the Faculty of Education at the University of Lapland develops Sámi teachers' in-service training and further education in collaboration with the Training Centre of the Sámi Region, the Giellagas Institute and the Regional State Administrative Agency of Lapland. For teacher education, a quota is allocated specifically for Sámi-speaking student teachers. In the DivEd project – which is carried out by five Finnish universities and two universities of applied sciences and funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture – for example, the focus is on expanding awareness of indigenous cultures and languages (DivEd, n.d.).

According to the Basic Education Act, Amendments (642/2010), teachers are responsible for providing support to all students, and student teachers must be competent to teach diverse students. The goal of inclusive education requires not only pedagogical skills but also knowledge about dialogical processes and the ability to collaborate with other professionals and parents. It is encouraging that Finnish teachers engage in frequent use of co-teaching (Saloviita & Takala, 2010). The Ministry of Education and Culture wants to enhance multi-professional and co-teaching strategies in schools and has funded the Supporting together! (n.d.) project, where six Finnish universities engage in co-teaching and co-operation in teacher education. Finally, the strong research-based tradition of Finnish teacher education equips teachers with the capability to reflect on their teaching so as to create appropriate learning environments for their students.

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DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN SWEDISH EDUCATION: ESSENTIALS FOR A SUSTAINABLE AND EQUAL SOCIETY

EVA ALERBY AND ULRIKA BERGMARK

INTRODUCTION

In line with the philosophical idea that society shapes education and education shapes the future, education plays a key role in the perpetuation of democratic and sustainable societies (Wals & Corcoran, 2012). Upholding democratic values within the education system in a sustainable fashion demands a well-developed educational policy. These foundational policies build on social justice and creating them is a vital first step toward inclusive educational systems that value student participation.

Education is one way to promote active engagement and participation as a form of civic responsibility (Dahlstedt & Olson, 2013). As Giroux (2002) points out, democracy needs to be made an issue of public good, and is both political and educational; therefore, education may function as a mechanism for young people's public voice and power as social agents while building and sustaining a democratic culture.

Future education systems will play a critical role in preparing youngsters to cope with a society in which the prevailing value systems are in a state of flux, even as rapid changes enable young people to participate in public debate (Bohlin, 2011; Burman, 2011; Dahlstedt & Olson, 2013; Wahlström, 2011).

The aim of this chapter is to review policy and research on democratic values in education. We focus on students' participation and influence with regards to inclusion and diversity at compulsory and upper secondary schools (students aged 6-19). The chapter emanates from a previous published research review that primarily focused on Swedish investigations about student participation and influence on school policy. We also review examples from international research in this field.[1] Swedish educational conditions are used as exemplification, and these conditions are critically discussed in relation to specific educational challenges in the northern part of Sweden; however, on a general level, they are also related to the Artic region as a whole.

A lot of minority groups live in northern Sweden and the region is characterized by multiculturalism and multilingualism. The northern part of Sweden also has vast areas with decreased population densities. Immigration into the northern region is, however, increasing in the northern part of Sweden (Statistiska centralbyrån, 2018). In the sections below, we begin with a brief exploration of the Swedish school system and its governing documents, which include the Educational Act and curricula that have an emphasis on democratic values and their influence on education. We then focus more specifically on student participation and future engagements in society. We discuss education as way for creating a sustainable and inclusive society through student participation. We conclude by exploring significant conditions for education in northern Sweden and the values of a democratic and participatory education, which are essential for a sustainable and equal society.

[1] A major part of this text has previously been published in Participation for Learning ([2016]), the Swedish National Agency for Education, experts and authors: Eva Alerby & Ulrika Bergmark; however, these portions, to some extent, have been revised and rewritten for this publication. The text is re-printed with permission from the Swedish National Agency for Education.

THE SWEDISH SCHOOL SYSTEM – A SOCIAL AND DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

As a nation, Sweden has a history of orienting education as a social and democratic movement in order to promote educational equality, starting with the introduction of the national *folkskolan* in 1842, which provided basic knowledge in different school subjects, e.g. reading, writing, counting and Christianity, and which was the first compulsory school form for all children in Sweden (Richardson, 2010). Since then, democratic values and citizenship are a common thread throughout the policy documents that provide guidelines and conditions for how work and learning ought to be organised in schools in Sweden.

However, during recent decades, international educational systems (including Sweden's) have been affected by a contemporary global rationalistic agenda: educational policies and large-scale reforms have put measurable content knowledge, standardisation, documentation and evaluation at the forefront (Hargreaves, 2009). Measurable content knowledge that leads to success on international tests has, therefore, become prioritised at the expense of democratic values, citizenship and student participation (Biesta, 2011).

The fundamental democratic values that form the base of Swedish schools are described in their governing documents: the Education Act and curricula for compulsory and upper secondary schools (Swedish Government, 2010; Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a, b). These values include, for example, the sanctity of human life, freedom and the integrity of individuals, the equal value of all human beings, equality and solidarity between people.

On the basis of the governing documents of these schools, the work on fundamental democratic values is something that should permeate all activities of schools in a concrete manner. These democratic values should be included as a common thread during lesson planning and should be implemented and evaluated. Education will therefore create the conditions for learning and knowledge building, both in different school subjects and in our democratic and fundamental values (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a, b).

Through education, students must be given the opportunities to develop knowledge regarding human rights and democracy. All school activities have to be character- ised by democratic values throughout the schools – in classrooms, corridors, dining halls, changing rooms and outside in the school playgrounds. Democratic working forms are therefore a natural part of the education that enable students to develop skills that will help them to become active citizens of society, both now and in the future. It is important to emphasise that the work on fundamental democratic values should be assigned a central role in students' learning, regardless of subject. Creating the conditions to ensure that all students are given the opportunity to participate actively in issues affecting them and their learning is essential for the work of schools. It is about students participating and influencing the activities of schools (Giota, 2001; Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a, b).

Students' participation is a common notion throughout the steering chain, which provides guidelines and conditions for how education should be organised in Swedish schools. The base of the steering chain is the Education Act's wording on quality and influence (Chapter 4, §§ 9–10 of the Education Act, Swedish Government, 2010) and the introductory provisions regarding a special focus on the child's best interest (Chapter 1, § 10 of the Education Act, Swedish Government, 2010).

The Convention on the Rights of the Child [2] has served as guidance for the Education Act. For example, children are continuously encouraged to take an active part in the work to further develop their education and they are kept informed on *issues which concern them*; topics are adapted to children's *age and maturity*. Children ought to have the opportunity to take initiative on issues that concern them and their groups' work (Swedish Government, 2010).

The Education Act also stresses that the best interests of the child are the starting point of school activities. A child's point of view has to be clarified as much as possible and children ought to have the opportunity to freely express their views on all issues related to them. Even here, it can be seen how principles in the Con- vention on the Rights of the Child are the starting point for legislation (Swedish Government, 2010).

[2] A child refers to every person below the age of [18], according to the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

In the steering chain, the Education Act's wording is then the basis of the curricula's part one regarding the fundamental values and assignments of schools. The Education Act's wording also impacts part two of the curricula's overall objectives and guidelines and, in part three, the course and subject syllabi. Student participation and influence should be part of teaching. For example, the students' own interests, experiences and notions of what their education must address should be used as a foundation in addition to student-active working methods in the classroom.

The curriculum for the compulsory school system, the preschool class and the recreation centre emphasises the importance of students' participation and influence:

> The democratic principles of being able to influence, take responsibility and be involved should cover all students. Students should be given influence over their education. They should be continuously encouraged to take an active part in the work of further developing the education and kept informed of issues that concern them. The information and the means by which students exercise influence should be related to their age and maturity. Students should always have the opportunity of taking the initiative on issues that should be treated within the framework of their influence over their education (Swedish National Agency for Education, 2011a, p. 12).

The quotation above illustrates that high expectations are imposed on Swedish schools in terms of the students' participation and that these expectations cover all students. The challenge is realising the intentions of the steering chain through concrete work on participation in schools.

STUDENTS' KNOWLEDGE OF DEMOCRACY AND ENGAGEMENT IN SOCIETY

Students' knowledge of democracy and political decision-making is an important basis for being able to increase participation in schools in a concrete manner. The *International Civic and Citizenship Education Study,* ICCS (The Swedish Agency for Education, 2017), is an international comparison study of students' knowledge, attitudes and values concerning democracy and citizenship, but also about their

contemporary and future commitment(s) to society. The results can be compared over time because the study was done in both 2009 and 2016. ICCS 2016 (The Swedish Agency for Education, 2017) shows that the Swedish students have very good knowledge of citizenship, democracy and society, and this knowledge was significantly above the average of all participating countries. Only two countries, Taiwan and Denmark, performed better than Sweden. Sweden's results in the ICCS 2016 show a significant improvement compared to the results of the ICCS in 2009. Of the Nordic countries, Norway also performed better in the last ICCS. In the 2016 ICCS, Denmark and Finland achieved at a similar (high) level as in 2009, which indicates that the four mentioned Nordic countries all perform well.

The ICCS also asks questions about the students' engagement in society, now and in the future. It was found that the Swedish students discuss political and civic questions with parents and friends to a higher degree in 2016 compared to 2009. The discussions often relate to what is happening in other countries. Nowadays, the students have easier access to information on civic issues, both locally and globally, through the Internet. Being an engaged citizen also relates to the students' own civic self- trust. The students answered in the study to what degree they can, for example, speak about a political question in front of the class, write a letter to a paper giving their opinions on a political issue and organise a student group to make a change at school. On a general level, half of the Swedish students believe they could likely do these activities very well or pretty well. The Swedish results lie in the middle compared to other participating countries. In this section, the other Nordic countries have lower results than Sweden. It is interesting to note that while Swedish students generally showed a willingness to discuss political questions and to personally engage in civic actions, there are differences within the student body. Girls and students from a higher socio-economic group are more likely to discuss political questions and have higher self-confidence to engage in societal change than boys and students from a lower socio-economic status. The students' migration backgrounds also impact these characteristics. Students who were not born in Sweden or whose parents were not born in Sweden show a higher degree of willingness to discuss political questions and greater self-confidence for civic engagement.

STUDENTS' PARTICIPATION AND INFLUENCE IN SCHOOL – OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

There are different perspectives about what participation and influence in schools means. It is partly about students acquiring actual knowledge of how a democratic society functions and the rights and obligations of a citizen. Yet it also concerns them having opportunities to make their voice be heard and to be given the chance to be active in the education system. Thomas (2007) claims that participation can be understood as the students' *influence over decision-making processes* and their *participation in an activity*. However, it is important to point out that there are no sharp dividing lines between these different perspectives; in practice, they overlap.

Students' participation in schools is about their opportunities to exercise influence over decision-making processes in schools. Student-active education, which is based on students' experiences, interests and needs, provides students with an opportunity to have an active role in their education. Allowing all students to express their views about educational matters is therefore of great significance. Making different voices heard involves a will to facilitate diversity and an openness to different perspectives that impact a situation or a decision in school.

Rönnlund (2011) has studied participation in the form of decision-making in schools and she makes a distinction between formal and informal influence. The former entails influence in formal contexts, such as class and student councils, while informal influence refers to informal decision-making processes in education. Elvstrand (2009) terms participation in decision-making as political participation. Besides this type of participation, Elvstrand also studies social participation, which requires that students feel that they can participate and feel included in a social community and is linked to the rights of all students to participate in activities. Elvstrand also emphasises that participation is about whether the person in question feels that they can participate; thus, it includes the perception of participation.

The feeling of participation is also discussed by Aspán (2009). She claims that students may feel that they can participate without actively influencing the activities of schools. It may be the case that students are part of a community in which it is permitted to make their voice heard, but at the same time they understand that it is not always possible to influence and change decisions because there

are limitations to their influence. Despite this, students still have a feeling of participation in schools. The reverse may also happen; students may be given the opportunity to make their voices be heard, but the personnel of schools may not convey their thoughts and opinions further, which means that students are not given real opportunities to influence decisions and do not actually have a voice on matters that affect them (Johansson & Thornberg, 2014). Some activities may, therefore, concern both perspectives of participation, that is, participation both as an influence on decision-making processes and as active participation in education.

The Swedish curriculum and the ICCS theoretical framework (The Swedish Agency for Education, 2017) both emphasise that students have opportunities to influence school decisions and participate in education in order to develop democratic competence. How the Swedish students regard their opportunities to have an impact on school decisions relating to teaching, schedules and text books has not changed much since ICCS 2009. Their participation in formal decision-making, such as engaging in school councils, debates and other political meetings at school, seems to be high and is significantly above average. However, the students' belief that their participation results in school improvement is below average. This indicates a gap between their formal engagement and the perceived outcomes of change efforts.

The Swedish National Agency for Education (2013) has demonstrated that students perceive that their opportunities to have an influence have declined over recent years. The willingness of students to participate and influence their school situation is greater than their perceived opportunities. The willingness of older students to have an influence has also declined when compared to earlier surveys that measure attitudes. This trend is problematic; the steering chain clearly emphasises that the responsibility and influence of students should increase with age and maturity. As the willingness of older students to have an influence has declined in comparison to the surveys completed in 2003 and 2006, the perceived influence of older students has also declined.

A possible explanation for students perceiving that their opportunities for participation have declined may be that they feel that their opportunities for real influence are limited. If they feel that they are not taken seriously, or do not have real influence when they make their voices heard, their willingness to exercise their

influence most likely decreases. Therefore, it is important to continue the work on students' participation and influence in schools by developing the desire of younger students to participate more and, at the same time, encourage older students to make their voices be heard and allow them to actively influence their education.

One example in the Swedish school context in which students can exercise influence is through student councils. These can represent the foundation of the schools' democracy work by serving as an inclusive nursery where all students (at least theoretically) are seen and have the opportunity to make their voice heard. However, there are challenges associated with student councils (Almgren, 2006; Brumark, 2006, 2007; Elvstrand, 2009; Eriksson & Bostedt, 2011; Rönnlund, 2011). These challenges include making all students' voices heard and making the councils address educational issues and bring up issues that are considered to be important for students. In addition, the activities of the councils can be a lengthy process and students do not always see the results of the changes that they have suggested. Accordingly, the opportunity to practice participation through class and student councils seems to be limited, that is, what students can really influence and who participates in the decisions (Elvstrand, 2009; Rönnlund, 2011).

There are also challenges related to students' participation in different educational activities. One is the opportunity for students to be involved in and influence the activities of schools. The second is whether students take advantage of the opportunities that allow active participation in their education and influence their learning. Dovemark (2007) discusses participation that is based on the aspect freedom of choice. She claims that often students' influence covers *when, where* and *how much*. Consequently, someone else (often the teacher) still tells the students *what* is right and wrong and *what* is important. Whether students choose to participate and have an influence largely depends on which working methods prevail at the time for the school in question. According to Rönnlund (2011), there could be some restraining factors for students' participation and influence in education. For example, knowledge objectives and grading criteria may be limiting because they are strongly governed by the subject content. As a result, students are given few opportunities to negotiate what their education should contain and cover.

To sum up, student participation creates opportunities for the inclusion of all students in a school context and enables diversity in which multiple voices are

heard. However, despite the promising aspects of student participation, there is a need to promote the issue in school at both a strategic- and classroom-based level.

MEETING THE EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES OF THE ARCTIC REGION THROUGH STUDENT PARTICIPATION

Student participation in schools is a contemporary issue in the Swedish education system and therefore, student participation is also relevant for educational systems in the wider Arctic region. The Nordic countries of Europe have similar, but not identical schooling systems that build on comparable, but not identical cultures. Educational systems in the Nordic countries face profound challenges in meeting the needs of the community and the education of tomorrow. We believe that some of the educational challenges in the Arctic region can be met by organizing education so that students actively participate in their education and also in the improvement of their school because they can provide useful perspectives in the process. Examples of educational challenges in Sweden, especially its northern region, are shared with other parts of the Arctic; these challenges include how to deal with schooling for newly arrived students, multilingualism, high dropout rates (especially for indigenous students), students with special needs and young males. These problems are further compounded by a large and peripheral geographical area and a low population density, which results in a decreased number of students and often necessitates a thin distribution of resources for the educational systems. These factors demand new ways of approaching and providing education that are tailor-made for local circumstances, place-based and grounded in local knowledge; the ultimate goal is to identify prerequisites for a school system that is based on the notion of equity for all.

For the education of now and tomorrow, issues of democracy and student participation are crucial; the utmost aim is to promote educational equality and a sustainable and inclusive society. The transition into such a society acknowledges the necessity of developing young people's ability to make ethical and responsible choices with regard to economic, social and private life. Sustainability and inclusion in schools will affect the issues of competencies and skills for the future labour market and young people's access to it. These issues involve young people's lifestyles as well as the economic and social sustainability of our society. A sustainable and inclu-

sive society recognizes and appreciates the diversity among all citizens. Such a society needs to be built upon a sense of belonging, valuing personal and cultural differences, and appreciating people's experiences and skills (Osler & Starkley, 2003; Quintelier & Dajaeghere, 2008).

Education that is based on all students' perspectives and the best interests of students is founded on participation and the students' influence throughout their schooling, from the meetings between teachers and students during lessons to the principal organiser's work on fulfilling the needs of all schools. Students should have the opportunity to inform adults in the school about how their daily life in school functions and about their safety and comfort. Students' experiences ought to be taken seriously and, if necessary, result in the appropriate changes. Students should also, as a part of their education, be able to continuously inform teachers about how the education system is functioning, both the positive and negative aspects. This information can be integrated into education by working with feedback on the students' learning or by allowing students to participate in the planning of different components of their education. Teachers then will have a continuing basis for being able to make decisions on whether changes need to be made for the improved education of students.

In turn, teachers may require support and resources to implement the necessary changes to the education based on the needs of students. Needs that teachers address with the principal may create the necessary conditions for the education and collegial work of teachers. In addition, the principal organiser has the ultimate responsibility for the school unit. From this perspective, in which schools use the students' needs as a starting point, it becomes clear how students' participation and influence forms a foundation and influences the school's local steering chain.

Education in the northern part of Sweden has special conditions that are characterized by multiculturalism and multilingualism, long distances and decreasing population. However, migration is increasing, and in connection to issues of democracy and student participation, it is of significance to note that students who were not born in Sweden or whose parents were not born in Sweden have a greater willingness to discuss political questions and greater self-confidence regarding civic engagement. Based on the research reviewed in this chapter, we will highlight the need to work actively with democratic values in education at all

levels and to address all students, independent of age, gender, social-economic status, ethnicity or nationality. These are the essential dimensions for inclusion, which in turn are fundamental for a sustainable and equal society in the northern part of Sweden, in the greater Arctic region and world-wide.

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DEVELOPMENT OF MULTICULTURAL AND INCLUSIVE SOCIAL-EDUCATIONAL PROVISIONS IN THE ARKHANGELSK REGION

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INTRODUCTION

The large-scale processes associated with intensifying globalization in social, cultural and educational domains have generated new concepts of multiculturalism. In this context, new paradigms have emerged around personality development, one of which emphasises sensitivity to cultural features and diversity, as well as the ability to build intercultural dialogue. The implementation mechanism is social-educational, building the necessary skills for understanding and accepting diversity and difference across ethnicity, nationality, culture and other categories and supporting social justice. European countries have accumulated significant experience of this approach, which is inherently multicultural and inclusive, but certain parts of Russia, notably the Arkhangelsk region, also have unique experience and great potential in this regard.

PURPOSE AND METHODS OF RESEARCH

This chapter analyses the historic and modern context for development of the Arkhangelsk region. The education and language situation is described, focusing in particular on inclusive education at different levels. In summarizing the experience of the Northern (Arctic) Federal University, named after M.V. Lomonosov, as a regional centre for the development of multiculturalism and inclusion, our methods include the theoretical analysis of historical, geographical and ethnographical sources, including legislative documents and regulations.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The history of the Arkhangelsk region provides an interesting example of poly-ethnocultural development. This was most active in the twelfth to seventeenth centuries, and informed the development of the modern Arkhangelsk North territory (Chistov & Bernstam, 1981). Along with a relatively high level of freedom across social, economic and religious realms, the European north of Russia was distant from the centre of the fighting during the Mongol-Tatar conquest and its devastating internecine wars, and these factors influenced the region's development (Shumkin, 1990).

As a result, representatives of different nations and nationalities, including Slavs, Karelians, Komis, Vepps, Saami (Lapps) and others, migrated to the Arkhangelsk region. This movement to the north and the development of northern territories by ethnically distinct waves of migrants created a basis for intercultural interaction across the region. Over centuries of coexistence, these diverse peoples have developed a culture of tolerant interaction and communication across different social domains, and Arkhangelsk has become a multi-ethnic locale.

THE PRESENT CONTEXT

The ethnic composition of the Arkhangelsk population is relatively homogeneous. Although home to 108 nationalities, the All-Russia Population Census of 2010 reported that Russians account for 95.6% of the 98% of residents who

indicated their nationality. The remainder include Ukrainians (1.4%), Belarusians (0.5%), Nenets (0.6%), Komi (0.4%), Tatars (0.2%), and people of other nationalities (1.3%). Despite its ethnic homogeneity, the Arkhangelsk region includes unique populations, notably the indigenous people of the far north. The most numerous of these are the Nenets, who are descendants of the aboriginal White Sea coast population. Most Nenets live in the Nenets Autonomous District; formed on July 15 1929, it borders the Komi Republic. In the north of the District, the Yamal Nenets Autonomous District borders the White, Barents and Kara Seas. Its population of 43,997 includes 7,504 Nenets.

Several strategies and programmes have been developed to establishing priorities around interethnic relations and ethno-cultural development for Russians and other ethnic communities living in the Arkhangelsk region. These include the Arkhangelsk Region Government Order 'On International Relations and Ethnocultural Development of the Peoples of Russia and Other Ethnic Communities Living in Arkhangelsk region' (2010), 'About State Support of National-Cultural Autonomy in the Arkhangelsk Region' (Law of Arkhangelsk Region, 2013) and the Degree of the Government of the Arkhangelsk Region on Approval of 'Regional Strategy of State National Policy up to 2025 (according to the Strategy of the National Policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025)'. These documents describe mechanisms for preserving the traditions, cultures and languages of indigenous people in the Arkhangelsk region and for ensuring their continued development on their ancestral territories.

NENETS REINDEER HERDERS AND SCHOOLING

The indigenous people of the Nenets Autonomous District lead a nomadic lifestyle. Reindeer husbandry has always been an integral part of the culture and identity of the Nenets, and the state creates the conditions for modern Nenets to continue to pursue nomadic reindeer farming across the tundra. Because reindeer will eat all the moss at a given location, herders can only keep their animals in one place for 1–2 months.

To prepare for school, Nenets children are taken from the camp at the age of 6 years to live in boarding schools in larger settlements, where they receive pre-

school training. From the age of 7 years, the children are sent to boarding school, transported from the tundra by helicopter in late August/early September. They live at boarding school from September to May and return to their family for the summer. This process of removing children from their family during the year and returning them to a traditional lifestyle only in the summer can cause problems. During their life in the city, children can lose some of the skills acquired in the tundra and must therefore readapt each year.

The nomadic lifestyle of the Nenets people makes it difficult to implement local programmes that address the psychological and pedagogical needs of Nenets children in adjusting to long-term city living. For that reason, it is necessary to develop and implement such programmes during their adjustment to a formal educational setting.

There are 26 such schools, which include primary and secondary levels of education: primary education (from 1st to 4th grade, incomplete secondary education from 5th to 9th grade and complete secondary education from 10th to 11th grade); grades 1 to 9 are obligatory for all children. Institutions in the Nenets Autonomous District include a vocational school, a socio-humanitarian college, an agrarian-economic technical school and 22 kindergartens. The District's state authorities help citizens to organize their children's upbringing and education in the Nenets language. All schoolchildren in grades 1 to 9 study a subject called 'Our Land' to deepen their knowledge of the language, traditions and culture of the Nenets people (Flotskaya et al., 2017). Following their school and college studies, up to 80% of young Nenets return to their home on the tundra to pursue their traditional lifestyle and work on reindeer farms.

LANGUAGE POLICY

One of the mechanisms for ensuring inter-ethnic dialogue and multicultural interaction is the region's language policy. As it is part of the Russian Federation, Russian is the state language and the language of inter-ethnic communication in the Arkhangelsk region. However, examples of bilingualism can be found in the Nenets Autonomous District (which has its own authorities). Under article 1 of the law entitled 'On the Nenets language in the Nenets Autonomous District', the

Nenets language is recognized as 'an integral part of life, the culture, the traditional way of life of the Nenets people in the Nenets Autonomous District, and use of the Nenets language in everyday communication, in important spheres of social relations'. This includes issues related to upbringing and education, mass media, translation of the District's laws into the Nenets language and official recordkeeping in the Nenets language in places with a dense Nenets population. The law 'On the Nenets language in Nenets Autonomous District' was adopted by the Deputies Council of the Nenets Autonomous District, Resolution No. 21-sd on 6 March, 2013, based on the Constitution of the Russian Federation, Federal Law No. 1807-1 of 25 October, 1991 'On the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation' and the Charter of the Nenets Autonomous District.

Schooling in the Arkhangelsk region is conducted through the Russian language. However, according to article 4 of the law 'On the Nenets language in Nenets Autonomous District', the NAD government authorities must promote various forms of upbringing and education of children in the Nenets Autonomous District using the Nenets language, regardless of their number and according to their needs. Much has been done to implement a national component in educational institutions for Nenets schoolchildren. All pupils in national schools and kindergartens study Nenets language regardless of how they identify their nationality, and seven kindergartens and thirteen schools teach the native language.

In addition to indigenous peoples, there are migrants and foreign students at local universities living in the Arkhangelsk region, principally from the Tatar and Azerbaijan diasporas. Responsibility for assisting migrants to learn Russian and to enhance relevant language competencies is shared by a number of entities, including the Office of the Federal Migration Service in the Arkhangelsk region. Tests in Russian language proficiency for foreigners are now conducted at the Northern Arctic Federal University (NArFU). If a foreign citizen is not ready to take the test and needs to improve their proficiency in Russian, relevant courses are available at the linguistic centre Polyglot in the Higher School of Social and Human Sciences and International Communication at NArFU. The Federal Migration Service of Russia in Arkhangelsk also assists with recruitment of students for this course. Information in relation to these courses can be found on the organization's official website and is sent to all diaspora leaders.

Summing up, it is important to note that although the Russian language predominates as both the state language of the Russian Federation and the language of inter-ethnic communication, measures are in place to preserve the languages of national minorities living in the region.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AT UNIVERSITY LEVEL

With increasing numbers of foreign citizens attending Russian Federation universities, research on multicultural and inclusive components of higher education has intensified. Northern (Arctic) Federal University named after M.V. Lomonosov serves as a platform for intercultural education. During the period 2010–2015, the number of foreign citizens studying at the University increased more than twentyfold with the Internationalization Program and the further development of international cooperation in research and education. This significant increase in the number of foreign students has become a determining factor in the development and promotion of a multicultural educational process, prompting the development of an additional professional training programme called 'Foundations of Multicultural Education' (NArFU, 2016). A pre-case study showed that although lecturers gave themselves fairly high scores for multicultural competence (i.e. average and upper), 85% of respondents expressed a wish to participate in this continuing professional development programme. Respondents noted the difficulties they faced when working in a multicultural educational environment in relation to teaching, establishing a mutual understanding with foreign students and organizing educational activities. Lecturers were primarily interested in mastering specific methods and techniques for working with a multicultural audience and in becoming familiar with foreign students' culture and the best practices of Russian and foreign universities.

As multicultural education encompasses the whole system, the basic institution is the eleven-year school. In schools, education and training is grounded in mastery of native and Russian languages, foundations of civil identity and world outlook and spiritual and moral development, including acceptance of moral standards and national values. The system of higher education also needs future specialists in foreign languages, intercultural communication skills and the development of tolerance in multicultural settings. Initiatives to improve students' multicultural

competence implemented at NarFU include courses such as 'Postcolonial and Multicultural Research', 'Psychology of Conflict' and 'Ethnopedagogics'. Students at the University can also study at the School of Tutors for foreign students in order to assist foreign first-year students during their adaptation period. Because successful socio-psychological adaptation is the key to successful completion of assigned academic tasks, NArFU pays special attention to adaptation and tutorial support for foreign students. An orientation period helps foreign first-year students to become acquainted with the University and its campuses, including all the services the student will interact with during their studies, and with Arkhangelsk and its history.

As a part of the multicultural educational platform, NArFU and the regional non-government organization Revival of Russian Culture have organized a pilot school for intercultural communication for foreign first-year students as an additional adaptation mechanism. During the period 2010–2015, more than 200 students from Azerbaijan, Angola, Indonesia, China, Norway, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenistan studied at schools offering this programme. Teachers who work on NArFU's programme for first-year foreign students complete a training programme entitled 'Basics for Multicultural Education'.

INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLING

One of the key elements of education policy in the Arkhangelsk region is the implementation of inclusive education. The main goal of inclusive education is to eliminate any discrimination in the education process, ensuring access to education for all. To this end, a programme entitled 'The Concept of Development of Education for People with Disabilities (including inclusive education) in Arkhangelsk region 2015–2021' was developed and approved. In the Arkhangelsk region, more than 70% of children with disabilities study in secondary schools, and 60 secondary schools (13.5%) are licensed to implement special programmes. The system includes 17 special schools and more than 400 hundred groups and classes in educational institutions for children with hearing, visual, speech, musculoskeletal, psycho-development, mental and multiple impairments, as well as 10 centres for children in need of psychological-pedagogical, medical and social help. Five state educational institutions for pupils with disabilities and three state

vocational schools also serve as inclusive education resource centres (in the cities of Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk, Novodvinsk, Kotlas and Njandoma).

The main focus of 'The Concept of Development of Education for People with Disabilities (including inclusive education) in Arkhangelsk region 2015-2021' is the inclusion of students with disabilities in mainstream education. However, other categories of students in need of an inclusive approach remain outside this framework. In particular, special consideration must be given to the inclusion of indigenous children and adolescents from the Far North who are separated from their families and traditional lifestyle and may experience social and psychological difficulties in adjusting to their new social and educational environment. In our opinion, the issue of inclusive education for indigenous schoolchildren should form part of the concept of development of education in the Arkhangelsk Region. As there are currently no developed programmes for the inclusive education of this category of students, teachers find it difficult to develop appropriate methods and techniques for working with them.

INCLUSION IN SECONDARY VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

In the Arkhangelsk region, the secondary vocational education system includes 26 technical schools, 7 colleges and 1 vocational school. After secondary school, young people go on to pursue their various professions and specialties. Arkhangelsk' long-term 'Accessible Environment' programme provides secondary vocational institutions with technological and rehabilitation equipment for students with disabilities. Inclusive education resource centres for people with disabilities at three of these institutions provide psychological and pedagogical support for students with disabilities studying at technical schools and colleges, as well as methodological assistance for teachers working with these students. Resource centres support social adjustment and provide for the schooling of graduates from correctional schools. Special programmes in the region finance free meals, free accommodation and scholarships for students with disabilities at technical schools and colleges.

In the Nenets Autonomous District secondary vocational education system, three colleges provide vocational training in various specialties, including those oriented

to the needs of indigenous peoples from the Far North (e.g. reindeer herder, mechanic reindeer herder, national cuisine cook). There is a special budget for indigenous students, who receive free meals, accommodation and scholarships.

INCLUSION IN POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

Higher education institutions in the region have also implemented inclusive education measures. One Northern Arctic Federal University initiative called 'Providing comfortable and developing space and social-cultural education' forms part of 'The Program for Development of the Federal state autonomous educational institution of the higher professional education "Northern (Arctic) University" for 2010-2020'. To organize education provisions for people with disabilities and to conduct research on inclusive education, NArFU has opened the Regional Resource Centre for Inclusive Education. The work of this innovative multifunctional body includes psychological, pedagogical and methodological supports for inclusive education; training of inclusive education specialists; scientific research in inclusive education; and teacher training and re-training for work with disabled people. The Resource Centre for Inclusive Education is located at the Intellectual Centre (the University's Scientific Library); its innovative equipment enables people with special needs to access information easily in different languages (English, German etc.). Scanning equipment and a sensory information terminal with specialized software enables people with different impairments to access information easily. Support for inclusive education includes the development of recommendations for methodological and technical assistance, counselling for teachers and staff and individual and group sessions at the Resource Centre.

There are also indigenous students at NArFU, with a distance education option for those who do not wish to leave their permanent home that includes online lectures and webinars. Distance students come to the University in Arkhangelsk only to sit their final exams and to receive their diploma. Their research topics commonly address the real issues facing indigenous peoples.

CONCLUSION

The priority for education systems, both in Russia and elsewhere, is to ensure that students can develop the necessary skills and capabilities for self-realization and harmonious coexistence with others in the context of intercultural dialogue. As a leading global state, Russia faces challenges in relation to intercultural engagement, necessitating the creation of inclusive educational environments across all regions. The Arkhangelsk region is a good example of a poly-ethnic-cultural environment based on inclusive practices. Migration does not significantly impact the development of the regional economy, and the inter-ethnic situation in the region is stable, with no inter-ethnic conflicts in recent years. Nevertheless, there is a need to build and maintain a dialogue between the local population and ethnic groups and minorities, including indigenous peoples, in order to avoid possible conflicts caused by increased migration. As noted earlier, the Russian language is dominant, but examples of bilingualism can be found in the Nenets Autonomous District. Legislation provides for use of the Nenets language in the realm of social relations, including childrearing, educational provisions and mass media. Additionally, laws and official records in the Nenets Autonomous District have been translated into the Nenets language. To improve the language situation in the Arkhangelsk region, it is necessary to diversify courses in Russian as a foreign language to meet the needs of different target groups while supporting the national languages of diasporas and ethnic groups.

Multiple historic, geographical and social factors contribute to the considerable tolerance in the region for people of different nationalities. Along with the activities of ethno-cultural associations and support from the regional government, state regional policy can be implemented progressively to avoid escalation of interethnic tensions. However, the region has not yet created an adequate infrastructure to meet the social and educational needs of indigenous people. By offering special adjustment programs and courses, the Centre for Social and Cultural Adjustment can be a potentially important component of such an infrastructure. The issue of inclusive education for indigenous peoples at different levels should be set out in more detail in the 'Concept of Development of Education in Arkhangelsk Region'.

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MIND THE GAP…MIND THE CHASM: EXPLORING INCLUSION AND EQUITY IN ALASKA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM

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INTRODUCTION

Alaska is a place of gaps, challenges, and contradictions, as well as opportunities and successes. Geographically, it is the only U.S. state located in the Arctic, and is both noncontiguous with and the largest state in the union. It includes rural and remote communities, some of which are entirely Indigenous, as well as urban areas that reflect the diversity of the entire nation. The characteristics of the state, in terms of geography and population, create significant barriers to providing access, equity, and inclusion for students across the education spectrum, yet also offer unique opportunities to try new and innovative approaches to teaching and learning.

Given Alaska's diversity, a key challenge is the differing attitudes and perceptions of inclusion, which result in a gap in *mindset* and a perpetuation of an education system challenged by segregation and instability. The United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2009) states that inclusive education

is a *process* of strengthening the capacity of the education system to reach out to all learners, and must be conceived more broadly than simply the inclusion of children with disabilities in the classroom. The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) notes that inclusion [should] "…embody the values, policies, and practices that support the right of every [individual] to participate as full members of families, communities, and society…and includes a sense of belonging and membership, positive social relationships and friendships, and development and learning to reach [one's] full potential" (Division for Early Childhood/NAEYC, 2009, p. 2).

In Alaska, it is essential that approaches to inclusion recognize and embody Alaska Native cultures, languages, and pedagogies. The Alaska Cultural Standards for Educators attempt to accomplish this (Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1998), calling for schools and communities to critically examine the extent to which they recognize and respond to the cultural and linguistic diversity of their students and families. These standards represent a shift from teaching and learning about culture and heritage to learning and teaching *through* culture as a foundation for education. Yet there remains a disconnect between this cultural framework and that of an inclusive framework based on state educational policy.

In addition to the disconnect *or gap* in both cultural inclusion and inclusion as a mindset, we also want to acknowledge the gap in the authorship here, as four non-Indigenous, white, university professors. We recognize the missing voices, but write as allies and advocates. In addition, while we focus much of this chapter on issues affecting Alaska Native students in particular, our schools serve students from many linguistic and cultural backgrounds, especially in our population centers, and attention needs to be paid to all students' experiences and needs so that all existing gaps are identified and addressed.

In this chapter, we first explore current gaps for students in accessing, and educators in practicing, an inclusive, cultural framework within Alaska, as well as the related historical contexts in which they are rooted. We provide examples that demonstrate how the state is moving toward being more inclusive and yet perpetuating institutional, Western-imposed schooling. Next, we address specific efforts at reducing the barriers by transforming teacher preparation and using Indigenous content and pedagogies. Finally, we summarize inclusion

within a global framework and provide a call for action aimed at moving it forward in Alaska.

THE ALASKA CONTEXT

Policy context matters because the institutions and ideas surrounding education directly affect how problems in education are defined (Stone, 2012). In the United States, education is primarily a state and local responsibility where states, communities, and various organizations establish schools, develop curricula, and determine requirements for enrollment and graduation. Education is not mentioned in the U.S. Constitution, and nationally only a small portion of K–12 funding (about 8%) comes from federal sources (U.S. Department of Education, n.d.). Thus, Alaska has great autonomy in determining its schooling practices. The Alaska Constitution defines the state's obligation to provide education: "The legislature shall by general law establish and maintain a system of public schools open to all children of the state…" (Article VII, Section I, Alaska Constitution).

In the 2017–2018 school year, there were just under 130,000 students in just over 500 public primary and secondary (K–12) schools. Almost all children, whether in remote villages or urban communities, are educated in public schools that are largely state funded, though about 10% of students are homeschooled (McKittrick, 2016). The composition of students in schools varies enormously by geography: Alaska's Indigenous students comprise about 80% of student enrollment in the state's rural schools, while non-native students mostly attend school in the "urban" or on-the-road school districts. This geographic segregation in a settler state signals one barrier to inclusive education.

The state currently funds schools in any community with at least 10 students, a requirement which, while seemingly low, has resulted in the closure of over a dozen schools in small remote communities in the past decade (Hanlon, 2017). Students in communities with fewer than 10 students can opt for home schooling, participate in a public correspondence school program, or attend one of three secondary public boarding schools in the state, such as Mt. Edgecumbe in Sitka. Unlike other states with large Indigenous populations, the federal Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) does not operate schools in Alaska or fund any tribally operated public schools.

In this section, we discuss four primary barriers to inclusive education in Alaska, and the historic contexts that resulted in both a *mindset* and *process* related to education: 1) colonization and assimilation, 2) geographic isolation, 3) the educator workforce, and 4) state policy and funding.

COLONIZATION AND ASSIMILATION

The legacy of colonization in Alaska leaves fingerprints all over the current education system, in terms of its structure and outcomes for Indigenous students and students of color. While non-Native student achievement mirrors or even exceeds national averages, Alaska Native student achievement lags behind, and the gap between Alaska Native and non-Native students in Alaska is wide. For example, in 2016–17, Alaska Natives made up 22.4% of students in grades 7–12, but 38.1% of the dropouts from those grades. They had a dropout rate of 5.9%, compared with 3.5% for all students in those grades (AK EED, 2017). The four-year high-school graduation rate for all Alaska students in 2016–17 was 78.2%, but for Alaska Native and American Indian students it was 68.9%, the lowest rate of all ethnic subgroups.

The question of why there are such differences in educational attainments is answered through the legacy of colonization and the ongoing approach of a settler state (Johnson, 2008). As in many places across the circumpolar north, the institution of schooling was initially imposed on Indigenous peoples in Alaska by outside governments and colonizers. The first schools, initiated by Russian Orthodox priests who learned Native languages, created alphabets, and developed texts in these languages, were focused on religion (Krauss, 1980). The focus changed after Russia sold Alaska to the United States in 1867, when the focus of schooling for Alaska's Indigenous peoples became assimilation in order to accommodate the economic and cultural needs of the dominant Western society (Darnell & Hoem, 1996). Native students in more populous areas were kept in separate schools for decades, and children in rural communities without secondary schools were sent away to boarding schools and homes, some thousands of miles away, until the 1970s, when a class action lawsuit titled *Hootch v. Alaska State-Operated School System* was filed on behalf of Alaska Native children in villages lacking secondary schools. The Alaska Supreme Court remanded the case for trial on the claim that the state's failure to provide local high schools in Native villages constituted a pattern and

practice of racial discrimination. With new revenue from the oil pipeline arriving, the state and plaintiffs reached an out-of-court settlement and in 1976, the State of Alaska agreed to build a system of village high schools serving any community with eight or more students of high-school age (that was later changed to 10 or more)(Cotton, 1984; Hirshberg, 2005).

While there are now schools in most communities across the state, the education model in most is still very Western, even where the majority of students are Indigenous (Cost, 2015). In Spring 2012, the Alaska Board of Education adopted new guidelines for implementing the "Alaska Cultural Standards for Educators" (AK EED, 2012). Intended to recognize and promote Alaska Native ways of knowing, these guidelines have yet to result in widespread change in educational practices around the state. Indeed in most classrooms, educators generally use Western ways of teaching, which do not value or build upon the strengths of the Indigenous population. This problematic practice is exacerbated by other aspects of the schooling context: State curriculum standards do not explicitly reference Alaska Native cultures or ways of teaching and learning; there are high teacher turnover rates at rural schools; many non-Native teachers, who comprise the majority of educators, do not recognize Indigenous parents as partners in their children's educational experience; districts rely on curriculum packages developed outside Alaska; and there is little community involvement in most schools. Additionally, schools operate based on the traditional school calendar (August–May), which allows for easy participation in summer subsistence activities, but clashes with spring and fall hunting and whaling.

GEOGRAPHIC ISOLATION

The challenge of providing an inclusive and high-quality education to all students in Alaska is compounded by the sheer size and geography of the state. Alaska is the largest state in the United States at over 663,000 square miles (1,717,000 square kilometers). The state is divided into 19 "organized boroughs" covering about 45% of the state's land, within which almost 90% of the population resides. Much of the remaining population, almost 76,000 people, lives in an "unorganized borough," and a small portion of the population lives in one of the cities outside a borough. All organized boroughs and cities in the unorganized borough with over 400 residents are required to operate school districts. In areas without boroughs or larger cities, Regional Educational Attendance Areas (REAAs) operate schools. REAAs vary

considerably in size from one school/one community sites to large districts like the Lower Kuskokwim School District, which has 27 schools in 23 villages spread out over 22,000 square miles (57,000 square kilometers), connected only by air or water. As of Fall 2017, there were 115 K–12 schools with fewer than 100 students, and over a quarter of those (31) had 15 or fewer students enrolled. Two fell below the 10-student minimum in Fall 2018, and were closed (Wall, 2018).

Small district and school sizes create challenges to providing a well-rounded, comprehensive education. Each district pays for its own curriculum, technology, administrators, special educators, and so on, which can be quite costly. Also, there may only be a couple of educators in a school or district. Consequently, students in these communities may have the same teacher multiple years in a row, who, if he or she is substandard, leaves the student lacking, which is especially devastating for special needs students who require very specific supports. Second, in remote districts the working conditions can be difficult, ranging from a lack of amenities like stores to significant cultural and linguistic differences between educators and community members. And in some places, there is a lack of adequate teacher housing; some even lack plumbing or running water. This makes it hard to entice teachers to take jobs and stay long term, contributing to high teacher turnover rates, which are strongly correlated with lower student performance (Hill & Hirshberg, 2013). Third, the sheer isolation of some communities means students often have less access to multiple perspectives and fewer opportunities to travel inexpensively to broaden their experiences, meet diverse populations, or gain access to specific resources (including educational and medical specialists).

EDUCATOR WORKFORCE CHALLENGES

Barriers to inclusion and equity are perpetuated through challenges in the educator workforce. These include gaps in the recruitment and preparation of Indigenous teacher candidates and in the use of Indigenous ways of teaching and learning (Tetpon et al., 2015) and the difficulty of preparing non-Indigenous (and/or non-Alaskan) educators for the particular challenges of teaching and living in rural, mainly Indigenous communities. Additionally, a constant cycle of new administrative leadership perpetuates this gap in practice and growth in programs; high educator turnover includes school administrators and leaders of university teacher education programs.

High educator turnover is also compounded by the fact that while the student population in rural Alaska is primarily Indigenous, the educators in rural schools are overwhelmingly non-Native—less than 5% of certificated teachers are Indigenous and fewer still are administrators. Most are also from outside Alaska; between 2008 and 2012, less than 15% of the teachers hired by districts each year came from the University of Alaska system. Average teacher turnover rates in rural school districts vary tremendously, ranging from a low of 7% to a high of 52%; 10 out of 53 have turnover rates over 30%, and as a whole rural districts average a 20% turnover per year (Hill & Hirshberg, 2013).

<center>*STATE AND LOCAL POLICY AND GOVERNANCE*</center>

As noted above, states have primary responsibility for funding and operating public school systems in the United States, and Alaska is no different. The Alaska legislature and governor determine school funding levels, and the appointed Alaska State Board of Education and Early Development sets broad policy, such as on accountability and curriculum standards. Responsibility for the daily operation of schools is delegated to either local or REAA school boards, whose members are publicly elected. These boards make policy decisions for local schools within the confines of general state laws and regulations.

Enacting truly local school governance can be difficult and exacerbated in some places by large geographic distances and the costs of travel. Curriculum and hiring decisions are made at the district or school level. In each village within an REAA, there are local school advisory councils, but they lack real decision-making authority, and for the most part can only advise the REAA school board. This means that in many villages there is not, in fact, local decision-making on key educational issues, including what is taught, how it is taught, and when it is taught. In some cases, school districts or REAAs serve communities with one tribe, but in other cases they encompass multiple tribes, with multiple cultures and languages, and that complexity makes exercising tribal voice through local school boards challenging.

Another barrier is school funding, a contentious issue in Alaska. Each year, the legislature sets the level of the "base student allocation," the per-pupil funding level that determines how much money overall will be spent on schools. The total amount spent and the distribution of funds is determined by the School Foundation

Formula, which takes into account factors such as school size (with adjustments for small schools), special education needs, intensive needs students, and the geographic cost differential. This last item is particularly controversial; it hasn't been updated since 2005, and other research indicates that the funding distribution may be out of balance in terms of the varying costs associated with running schools in rural areas (per a recent study of teacher salary issues by Hirshberg, DeFeo, Berman, & Hill, 2015). Overall, Alaska's level of investment in education has dropped vis-à-vis other states. Alaska used to pay the highest average teacher salaries in the nation, but now ranks seventh (NEA Research, 2018). Given Alaska's economic downturn due to the recent drop in oil prices, we are not likely to see this situation remedied in the near future.

REDUCING THE BARRIERS

While barriers to inclusive education include the history of colonization and assimilation, geographic isolation, weaknesses in attracting the educator workforce, and problems in state policies, there are also efforts underway to close the gaps. These include initiatives to transform teacher preparation programs and develop Indigenous content and pedagogies in schools.

TRANSFORMING TEACHER PREPARATION

Educator preparation programs in Alaska explicitly seek to help new teachers address inclusion and diversity, including issues around racially, ethnic, and linguistically diverse learners. There are three universities under the umbrella of the University of Alaska offering teacher education: The University of Alaska Southeast (UAS) in Juneau includes the Alaska College of Education, while the University of Alaska Anchorage (UAA) and the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF) each have a School of Education. These programs address issues of inclusion, Alaska's special needs, and access in a variety of ways. UAA's program has core values that include inclusion and equity, stating that "professional educators create and advocate for learning communities that advance knowledge and ensure the development, support, and inclusion of people's abilities, values, ideas, languages, and expressions," as well as targeted coursework for education majors, such as

courses titled *Young Children in Inclusive Settings and Inclusive Classrooms*. UAF's mission also addresses the wider perspective on inclusion: "The UAF SOE is dedicated to culturally responsive, place-based teaching, counseling, research, and service for Alaska's diverse communities." In addition to specific degree programs constructed around equity and inclusion, such as the Cross Cultural Education master's program, all three universities offer endorsement options in K–12 special education. Several other components that help ensure teachers are well prepared to embrace inclusion and diversity include a statewide mandate that all teachers complete an approved Alaska Studies course (e.g., UAS's *Alaska Literature for Young People*) and an approved multicultural course (e.g., UAF's *Communication in Cross-Cultural Classrooms*); the adoption of the Alaska Cultural Standards for Educators (Southeast Regional Resource Center, 2015); and a K–12 Outreach program aimed at supporting educators and place-based education through early career programs like Educators Rising, statewide mentoring, grant-funded, place-based curriculum projects (e.g., REACH), and the Alaska Teacher Placement program, which works directly with school districts to fill teaching vacancies. While there is no "magic bullet," there are many approaches being used to address issues around equity and inclusion.

A persistent call to actively and intentionally prepare preservice teachers to meet the challenges of public school classrooms, with particular attention devoted to teaching heterogeneous groups, is not a new phenomenon (Darling-Hammond, Holtzman, Gatlin, & Heilig, 2005). Universal Design for Learning (UDL) has been highlighted as an effective framework to improve teaching and learning based on recent developments in the cognitive, neurological, and learning sciences with the intention of providing greater equitability for diverse learners (CAST, n.d.; Courey, Tappe, Siker, & LePage, 2012) and is recommended as an integral component of teacher preparation programs (Burgstahler, 2015; Moore, Smith, Hollingshead, & Wojcik, 2017). The Higher Education Act of 2008 also noted the use of UDL as a scientifically valid framework for guiding educational practice (Moore et al., 2017). Yet despite recommended practices for higher education teacher preparation programs (and UDL is just one of many examples), the barriers to consistent, systematic, institutionalized efforts remain evident across our three teacher preparation programs in Alaska, and for many, inclusion is still viewed as a "special education" initiative.

In many schools across Alaska, there are efforts to transform what is being taught and how, both to improve Indigenous student outcomes and to create a system that better reflects the cultures, places, and environments of the state. These include language immersion programs as well as culture-focused efforts. In the Ayaprun Elitnaurvik Yup'ik Immersion School in Bethel, an elementary school, students learn in Yupik, the primary Indigenous language of the region, in grades K–2 and are then introduced to English starting in grade three. Pedagogical approaches mix traditional Yupik ways of teaching and learning with more Western styles. Students in the school generally outperform district averages on standardized tests, and graduates have gone on to be valedictorians in their high school classes. The Anchorage School District (ASD), the state's largest, started its first Indigenous language immersion program in Fall 2018, opening a Yupik immersion option for kindergarten students within an existing school. The district plans to add a grade each year until there is a full K–6 Yupik immersion program, mirroring the structure of World Languages immersion programs in other district schools.

The North Slope Borough School District in Alaska begins its mission statement by saying, "Learning in our schools is rooted in the values, history and language of the Iñupiat." The district has developed the Iñupiaq Learning Framework, based on extensive work with elders, educators, and community members across all borough villages, to determine what children should know when they graduate, rooted in Iñupiaq culture, values, and beliefs rather than in the system imposed by external Western education policymakers. They are developing curriculum and pedagogical approaches to support an Iñupiaq education system based on local epistemologies but also on preparing students to succeed in the Western system.

Schools based on cultural immersion have been operating for a few years in two of the largest school districts, Anchorage and the Fairbanks North Star Borough. The Alaska Native Cultural Charter School in Anchorage is a K–8 school that for over a decade has used Alaska Native values as the basis for academic teaching and a focus on social and emotional learning, and the school has had considerable success in improving the achievement of its students. The Effie Kokrine Early College Charter School in Fairbanks is a grade 7–12 school grounded in Alaska Native cultural beliefs and values.

All of the programs described only enroll a small portion of the students in the state, and face challenges in serving a largely marginalized portion of the population. That said, they also provide multiple models to meet the needs of diverse learners.

A CALL TO CHANGE

Alaska is a "young state," having only joined the Union in 1959. In Alaska, the economics of "boom and bust" from relying on resource extractive industries impact schools' budgetary resources (McBeath, 1994). Currently, Alaska is experiencing high unemployment and low budget reserves due to years of relatively low prices for oil. Between 2013 and 2017, with the precipitous drop in the value of oil, the state cut its total budget by 44%, and the Department of Education and Early Development budget was reduced by 18% (Fisher & Pitney, 2017). Prior to this crisis, the most recent National Center Education for Education Statistics (2013) showed Alaska spending more money per pupil than most states. But Alaska is one of nine states with less than 20% of its educational revenue coming from property taxes and local governments (Martinson, 2016). In short, Alaska school systems do not have a dependable source of revenue based on direct citizen investment through taxation. Moreover, when oil revenue was significant, the state outspent its peers, but failed to address adequately the barriers we described earlier. We need to enact more thoughtful and wise targeting of limited resources, more local control and even self-determination for Indigenous communities in the area of education, and improvement in student outcomes on both local and global objectives and standards. The key is policy "fit." Drawing from global cues and following the U.S. educational mandates, the state of Alaska has an opportunity to innovate so that its rules and regulations better match—better "fit"—the needs on the ground. We offer three recommendations to achieve this goal.

First, align local and statewide priorities to include Indigenous Knowledge and linguistic and cultural continuity programs (where viable) throughout. Part of the costs for rural schools has reflected the mismatch between local schools, the needs of the small communities they serve, and Alaska Department of Education and Early Development priorities. For example, in rural Alaska, we need different ways for students to fulfill Western education mandates along with learning place-based cultural and linguistic skill sets. This reduces stress on students and families; a

young person can learn to craft sleds or participate in hunting and still complete high school. In turn, non-Indigenous students in these regions can have similar options (Cost, 2017). We must reconcile and address the cultural and linguistic gaps that Alaska Native peoples experience between their community and the public school, and increase the relevance of schooling to place while increasing the intellectual challenge provided all students. Schools must better engage students in a process of identity and cultural development and definition that better fits the fabric of their home and community lives.

Second, remove the emphasis on the "transaction" focus of education and shift it to one of relationships. Students who are prepared through innovative education to be powerful local contributors to cultural and community sustainability are likely to continue their education after public schooling at either a university or vocational education training institution. Bridges are often metaphors for overcoming barriers, so we suggest thinking of redesigned educational pathways not as toll roads but as community and statewide public goods that are resources for job creation, policy leadership, and healthy communities. In addition, bridges are two-way. By improving schooling in K–12, it is more likely that well-prepared students who leave for post-secondary training or a job will come back because they know they are included in what it means to be an Alaska citizen. This also relates to educating teachers who will go into the K–12 system by better preparing them to enter school circumstances that are supported by communities, particularly in remote rural locations. They can become interpersonal bridges rather than being perceived and internalized as barriers.

Third, Alaska, considered separately from the United States, has many character-istics of small nation-states (e.g., extractive wealth dependency, relatively large Indigenous population, distinct policies and problems). The global information on education can directly speak to many of its challenges in ways that studies of other U.S. states cannot. There needs to be a concerted effort to change the status quo in Alaska. Policies and practices that genuinely move us toward equity need to be developed and adopted. And in doing this, we look beyond definitions and efforts from the United States, which have only partially succeeded, to embrace the work of UNESCO and the NAEYC, cited in our introduction, as well as that of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), which provide broad, well-developed definitions of equity and inclusion that, if achieved, will make

a significant difference in the lives of Alaska's children. UNICEF (n.d.) defines equity as "all children have an opportunity to survive, develop, and reach their full potential, without discrimination, bias or favoritism." The goal, UNICEF states, is "... not to eliminate all differences so that everyone has the same level of income, health, and education. Rather, the goal is to eliminate the unfair and avoidable circumstances that deprive children of their rights."

CONCLUSION

It is imperative that all children have access to a quality, meaningful education. There is a critical need for an approach to education which embodies inclusion as a mindset, practice, and holistic approach. Landmark case law in the United States that originated in the 1970s, such as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA, Public Law 108-446) and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (Public Law 93-638), provided the groundwork from which more inclusive educational policies have emerged; however, inclusion continues to take many different forms and implementation is variable among states, especially for Alaska. Indeed, due to Alaska's unique land settlement agreement, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (43 USC 1601–1624)(ANCSA), Indigenous communities are treated differently and cannot take advantage of all of the pieces of PL 93-638 (Hirshberg & Hill, 2014). The lack of a shared definition of "inclusion" in the United States has contributed to misunderstandings about it. In addition to the diversity of approaches across the 50 states due to the federal structure of the country, an ongoing compartmentalized approach dominates in which children and families are served in various capacities with little coordination across educational areas. This is particularly true in Alaska, where in some districts, segregated classrooms for children with disabilities continue to exist, English language learners are still provided services using a pull-out model, and the narrow view of inclusion as simply comprising access for students with disabilities remains in place at the state level.

How can we create an education system that is a platform for innovative education models embracing cultural, linguistic, and local rootedness while balancing global preparation? How do we capitalize on the immense potential of Alaska's students by providing equitable and inclusive schooling for all? What collaborations and partnerships are necessary to bridge the gaps we see?

First, we propose an aligned educational framework that serves as a bridge to allow for local advantage and community-level self-determination, but that includes robust capabilities to augment local instructional capacity by offering college-prep, alternative, and non-mainstream coursework online. For longer-term programs like degrees or teacher licensure, we can supplement online instruction with short-term intensives either within the home community or at the instruction-providing institution. Technology is not the "fix," but it is a valuable tool given the geography and remoteness of Alaska. We should capitalize on growing technology and online teaching expertise so that students may continue to learn, grow, and pursue jobs within their home communities.

Second, educators need ongoing development opportunities that match their needs. Regular, rigorous, intentional, and level-appropriate professional development for all teachers would certainly prove more worthwhile than the typical cycle, which focuses on supporting teachers in their first one to three years in the hopes of retaining them. Creating ongoing support opportunities could remove some of the isolation from the most remote positions and enable educators to revitalize their motivation, personal learning, curricula, and strategies. When teachers model their own learning, students come to understand how learning matters for a lifetime.

Finally, if the state of Alaska is to have a better prepared and more culturally well-rounded teacher workforce, it must create its own. However, due in part to budget cuts, teacher education programs in the universities are deeply stressed. They have the expertise and capacity to deliver the work we recommend, but it will require visionary and dynamic leadership to bring the UA campuses together with the public, other service-providing organizations, and tribal entities to improve student learning outcomes for all students. We need to change the *process* of the education system, both its inner workings and its all-important outputs, to increase its relevance for all Alaskans, span the gaps, and achieve real inclusion and equity.

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LOOKING NORTH THROUGH SOUTHERN EYES

SUE DOCKETT

INTRODUCTION

Drawing on the *University of the Arctic Thematic Network: Teacher Education for Diversity and Social Justice*, this volume sets an ambitious agenda: to outline, review, and reflect on policies of equity and inclusion in diverse contexts across the Circumpolar North. The publication reflects the aims of the network, which include a focus on education for equality and social justice, cooperation among members, and the exchange of ideas and information.

Reading through the chapters, it becomes clear that there are both similarities and differences across the contexts described, as well as in the policies developed to support inclusion and equity and their interpretation and implementation. Just as the other chapters offer distinct perspectives, my contribution is framed by a single perspective: one set of southern eyes, intrigued and fascinated by those same similarities and differences within Australian contexts. While wary of over-simplifying comparisons as dualisms, I note some similarities in the positioning of rural and urban contexts in Finland and some parts of Australia, and I reflect on the

notion that in so connected a world, multiple forms of isolation remain. Similarly, the *Closing the Gap* discourse employed in policy frameworks across Alaska and Australia serves to provoke ongoing critique and reflection, as does the legacy of colonialism and assimilationist policies.

Each chapter invites the reader to question what has been taken for granted in their own context, to scrutinise the familiar, and to consider alternative ways of approaching issues of inclusion and equity. My southern eyes immediately identify the familiar while at the same time considering how things could be different. As with many international comparisons, much of the value lies less in exploring efforts to adopt the outlined practices and approaches than in the opportunity to see things through different lenses and to consider alternative ways of knowing and experiencing inclusion and equity. As indicated in several of the chapters, such opportunities also involve acknowledging the impact of exclusion and inequity. Points of commonality and difference create spaces for reflection in exploring questions that include the following.

- What does inclusivity mean—right here, right now?
- How are the rights of individuals extended to all?
- How are issues of equity and inclusion framed as issues of social justice and of human rights?
- What are our expectations for equity?
- What are the barriers to inclusion and to equity?
- Are the same barriers experienced by all?
- How are these barriers overcome or addressed?
- Who contributes to discussion/policy/legislation on inclusion and equity?
- Whose views are accepted or listened to?

The increasingly globalised context of education links readily to international comparisons, whether of student performance on international tests such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (OECD, 2018b), or comparative rankings of the state of education across countries (OECD, 2018a). This book promotes international comparisons. Many of these generate positions and rankings; they also generate considerable angst at national policy level, as every country wants to be considered the best, above average, or at least high in the competition tables. This book is not about that sort of international compar-

ison. Instead, chapter authors pursue an analysis of inclusion and equity—or of approaches to inclusion and equity—reflecting both global influences and a range of specific cultural, social, historical and political contexts. In so doing, these authors examine the legislative frameworks that underpin definitions of inclusion and equity and supporting resources, as well as interpretations of these in policy and practice. Along with positive impacts, the authors also note the limitations and unintended consequences of some policies and how these are linked to exclusion and inequity.

Beyond their reference to contexts within the Circumpolar North, what unites these chapters is their focus on efforts to explore how all citizens in a given context can access their rights and responsibilities within equitable and inclusive societies.

GLOBAL, NATIONAL, AND LOCAL INFLUENCES ON INCLUSION AND EQUITY

Despite substantial observable changes in recent decades framing education systems and provisions in terms of their contribution to global markets, human capital development, and the competitiveness of local economies, education policies 'are still articulated in nationally specific terms' and 'represent a particular configuration of values whose authority is allocated at the intersection of global, national and local processes' (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 3). In other words, despite global influences and pressures, education policies reflect the values and priorities of states and/or nations at a particular point in their history.

One of the challenges of comparative policy studies involves recognising both the global discourses that frame policy and the diverse contexts in which policies are developed and implemented. The chapters in this book address this challenge by reflecting on the role and impact of global policy discourses related to inclusion and equity while also exploring specific contexts in which such policies have been developed and implemented.

Several global policy discourses have highlighted issues of inclusion and equity in education; among these, key instruments include the *United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948); the *Convention against Discrimination in Ed-*

ucation (United Nations, 1960); the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (United Nations, 1989); and the *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (United Nations, 2006).

The *Salamanca World Conference on Special Needs Education* (UNESCO, 1994) represents a pivotal moment in the international focus on inclusive education. Soon after, the term inclusion appeared in the major policy instruments of international organisations such as UNESCO and the OECD, as well as in national and local policy frameworks. Yet despite this surge of interest in inclusion at the time of the Salamanca statement and subsequently, that international commitment has not generated a common interpretation of the term. While UNESCO's *Policy Guidelines on Inclusion in Education* (2009) failed to resolve this issue, it did affirm the 1994 position that children with disabilities have the same rights as others to a fair and meaningful education, regardless of context or the particular challenges they face (Slee, 2011).

This reference to children with disabilities is deliberate, as much of the discussion about inclusive education addresses provisions for children with special education needs, although defined within a given context. These include the educational placement of children with special needs, with ongoing debate around the suitability of mainstream and/or special schools, curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment (Lyons & Arthur-Kelly, 2014).

INCLUSION: DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

As the chapters of this book make clear, inclusion means different things in different contexts. The UNESCO document *Guidelines for Inclusion: Education for All* (2005) emphasises that inclusion is a process rather than a state to be achieved, with the aim of "responding positively to pupil diversity and of seeing individual differences not as problems, but as opportunities for enriching learning" (p. 12). The same document positions inclusive education as part of the international agenda of *Education for All* (UNESCO, 2000), arguing that education is a

> facilitator in everyone's human development and functionality, regardless of barriers of any kind, physical or otherwise ... Inclusion, thus, involves adopting

a broad vision of Education for All by addressing the spectrum of needs of all learners, including those who are vulnerable to marginalisation and exclusion. (UNESCO, 2005, p. 11)

The Canadian and Alaskan chapters direct attention to the inclusion of indigenous peoples, recognition of aboriginal languages, histories and knowledges, and the importance of reconciliation. Both chapters note the history of exclusion of indigenous peoples and advocate strategies that not only include indigenous peoples and perspectives but also value and respect them. Hirshberg, Ohle, Harvey and Cost outline strategies to achieve this in the Alaskan context through transformation of teacher education programs. In advocating social inclusion, Moore and Anderson note the challenge for Canadians—and, by implication, for all of us—to consider the collective responsibilities we share.

Keskitalo and Olsen highlight the significance of the inclusion of Sami culture and languages in Norwegian education and the contribution this makes to 'indexes of belonging'. The authors describe the multilingual context of Norwegian education and the role of Sami schools and the Sami curriculum. Given the country's history of assimilationist approaches, this recognition of Sami culture in the new core national curriculum is heralded as a major advance in promoting inclusion by ensuring that all students can access information about the diverse history, culture, knowledge, and rights of the Sami people. In addition, recognition of the Sami as an indigenous people secures their right to Sami education.

The chapter on approaches to inclusion in Greenland reflects a strong appreciation of linguistic diversity. Discussing the challenges of utilising education policy to promote national unity, identity, and autonomy, Brincker and Lennert describe the consequences as a 'trade between social cohesion and social equality'. They note that the situation is not unique to Greenland but is found in many post-colonial societies where national identity is promoted through vernacular education but the language of mobility is still that of the colonising power.

The chapters from Finnish, Icelandic and Norwegian contributors focus on children with special educational needs. Finnish authors Miettunen, Lakkala, Turunen, Kyrö-Ämmälä, Kielinen, and Takala describe a context of cooperation among teachers and families in small communities and neighbourhood schools, working

together to promote inclusive education. Noting that most children with special educational needs are catered for in mainstream classrooms, the authors emphasise the importance (and some of the challenges) of local autonomy for teachers in constructing relevant and culturally responsive curricula. However, they also note tensions between approaches in rural and urban areas, as well as conflicts between inclusion and the neoliberal emphasis on preparing the workforce of the future.

As in Norway, both Finland and Iceland regard a new national curriculum as a positive policy instrument for inclusive education. According to Oskarsdottir, Gisladottir, and Gudjonsdottir, the Icelandic curriculum builds on the earlier policy of teaching pupils rather than subjects and promoting regular (mainstream) school as the appropriate education setting for most children, including many of those with special education needs. In the new curriculum, *democracy and human rights and equality* form two of the six pillars of what is seen as a move away from a deficits-based perspective towards a strengths-based approach, requiring schools to respond to diversity and to provide equal and appropriate education opportunities for all children. Nevertheless, the authors note variations in how inclusive education is defined, understood, and implemented.

As in Finland and Iceland, Maxwell and Bakke report a long standing commitment to inclusive education and social equality in Norway. They describe the principles of an 'adapted education' that offers equal opportunities to all, supplemented by tailored education adapted to the individual child. Effective implementation of adapted education relies on the classroom teacher's special education expertise to provide a mainstream education experience that is relevant and appropriate for each individual. This introduces a range of challenges, not least in terms of the relationships and interactions between adapted education, special education, and expert knowledge. Further challenges include the increasing focus on international competitiveness and the need to ensure that the country's increasingly multicultural population can access the same opportunities as those born in Norway. In this regard, the authors note that

> while the Norwegian system has been very effective regarding integration, when the construct is considered as the right to the same, there is still room for improvement regarding inclusion when inclusion is considered to be the right to be different.

Issues of multiculturalism and inclusion also feature in the Russian chapter, which focuses on the Arkhangelsk region. Flotskaya and Bulanova argue that the prevailing atmosphere of tolerance of difference across communities reflects the region's history of migration. However, they also note challenges in providing the necessary infrastructure and support for inclusion of migrants, especially as foreign students arrive in the region. While use of the indigenous Nenets language for educational purposes is supported in the Nenets Autonomous District, the Russian language remains dominant as the language of mobility.

The Swedish authors Bergmark and Alerby emphasise the role of education in promoting a sustainable and inclusive society, noting in particular the role of student participation in achieving this goal. Arguing that student participation creates the conditions for inclusion, in turn supporting diversity and multiple perspectives, the authors also note the challenges that schools face, especially in geographically remote areas of Sweden. The challenges of educational provision for newly-arrived migrants and refugees, as well as multilingualism and high drop-out rates, particularly among young indigenous people, are shared by many other Arctic countries, as in other parts of the world. Granted these challenges and the significant resource implications, inclusive educational contexts nevertheless create a climate in which innovation and new ways of thinking can be tested. Bergmark and Alerby reiterate the importance of democratic values in education, focusing in particular on student participation as a means of creating a sustainable and inclusive society that appreciates its citizens diversity while also building a sense of belonging.

While the commitment to social inclusion is clear, Sweden is one of many countries impacted by globalisation and by education reforms that promote standardisation, competition, and measurable academic outcomes. Spratt and Beaton report differing responses to these global challenges in Scotland and England. Although both countries are part of the United Kingdom, they differ considerably in their approach to inclusion, reflecting different educational histories and institutions. Spratt and Beaton describe the English approach to inclusion as falling between competing educational philosophies. The UNESCO vision of inclusion (1994, 2009) as educating all students inclusively, recognising diversity, and adapting school practice to the individual is contrasted with the OECD (2012) focus on equity

in terms of educational outcomes, in which all students are expected to meet minimum standards that will equip them for future participation in the workforce. As a consequence, educators face the demanding task of balancing support for appropriately inclusive classrooms for all students against the demands of a performance-led school culture.

Recent iterations of the Scottish national curriculum have promoted flexibility, seeking to support changing multicultural communities while protecting traditional culture. While the market-driven approach to education has been less prevalent in Scotland than in England, there is evidence of an emerging emphasis on preparing citizens for the modern workforce, with accompanying concerns that measures of educational success have narrowed to reflect a stronger neoliberal focus.

This overview of contributions on educational inclusion and equity serves as a reminder that these are political issues, nested within multiple political contexts, and that approaches to inclusion and equity are dynamic, as are policy and practice.

POLICY AS PROCESS

Policy can be conceptualised as a process that involves both production and implementation of a policy text. According to Ball (1994, p. 10), 'policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended'. Policy discourses incorporate the specific values, knowledges, and ideas that frame a political position. Education policies often have complex histories, reflecting the involvement of multiple actors and a history of negotiation and compromise. As policies are developed, presented, and received, spaces emerge for interpretation and re-interpretation (Hard, Lee, & Dockett, 2018). This is seen in the emergence, refinement, and reform of policies related to educational inclusion and equity. In some national contexts the Salamanca statement provided opportunities to build on an existing culture of inclusion; in others, it represented a substantial shift in policy direction. Perhaps we should not be surprised that the same policy has been interpreted and re-interpreted in different ways, or that different educational contexts generate different ways of responding to the same policy imperatives. Notwithstanding global influences, frameworks for inclusive education are embedded in the general education framework of each state or country. Despite

some similarities across contexts, the differing evolution of these systems, as well as differences in legislation, regulation, and expectations, all contribute to differing interpretations.

One example of the reinterpretation of inclusive education policy at global level can be found in the UNESCO positions of 1994 and 2009. The *Salamanca Statement* (UNESCO, 1994) emphasised the importance of moving children with special educational needs out of special schools and into the mainstream classroom in order to remove the division between special and mainstream schooling. Building on this approach, the 2009 *Policy Guidelines on Inclusion in Education* promote inclusive education as a means of responding to diversity, where inclusion is now characterised as a

> process of addressing and responding to the diversity and needs of all children, youth and adults through increasing participation in learning, cultures and communities, and reducing exclusion within and from education. (UNESCO, 2009, pp. 8–9)

From this perspective, inclusion is not viewed as an end in itself; rather, the focus is on the value of education and the right of all to access education—in effect, shifting the emphasis from inclusion to non-exclusion, not only for children with special educational needs but for any individual or group that might be vulnerable to exclusion.

While there is substantial international agreement on the ideology of inclusion, considerable variation remains in the interpretation of inclusive practices and supporting pedagogical actions. This is evident in the many forms of commitment to inclusion reported here, which are enacted in various ways and present a range of challenges.

INCLUSION, EQUITY, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Issues of equity and social justice are central to inclusion. Drawing on Sen's (1992) capability approach, Unterhalter (2009) outlines three approaches to equity in education: equity from below; equity from above; and equity from the middle.

Equity from below emphasises the agency of individuals and involves expanding capabilities. As Unterhalter describes it, equity from above includes policies and regulations that contribute to the conditions that facilitate other forms of equity. Finally, equity from the middle refers to the use of resources (e.g. ideas, finances, expertise) needed to enact equity. This tripartite approach views equity as inter-woven, such that the capabilities of the individual are linked to the professional capabilities of teachers and supported by an organisational architecture that 'contributes to equalising capabilities in education' (Unterhalter, 2009, p. 422).

This approach sits alongside that of the OECD, which identifies two elements of equity: fairness and inclusion. On this definition, fairness entails efforts to ensure that personal and social circumstances do not impede educational success, and inclusion 'means ensuring that all students reach at least a basic minimum level of skills' (OECD, 2012, p. 15). Hardy and Woodcock (2015) argued that this latter definition aligns equity with neoliberal ideas, positioning it as complementary to a nation's economic competitiveness. They caution that such positioning may impact on the social inclusion ideals that underpin many national approaches to equity, some of which have been outlined in the chapters of this book.

Social justice is also a core element of inclusive education. Fraser's (2008) definition of social justice invokes the rhetoric of social inclusion, referring to the capacity of individuals to participate as peers in social life. Within Fraser's three-dimensional framework, achieving social justice requires the removal of barriers to participation by directing attention to redistribution, recognition, and representation. In the context of inclusive education, redistribution involves ensuring that all children have access to quality education opportunities and the resources to support their engagement and educational success. Recognition means acknowledging marginalised groups and redressing both historical and current limitations on access to and engagement in quality education. Finally, representation includes the rights of individuals and groups to play an active role in decision making and in shaping inclusive education policy and practice.

In their advocacy of just and equitable societies, each chapter in this volume pro-vokes the reader to reflect on the policy frameworks and interpretations of these that characterise local, state, or national approaches to inclusive education. Several chapters locate these issues within the context of globalisation, highlighting the

ways in which state and national interests are managed, articulated, or balanced against global pressures. While expressions of equity and social justice differ, and authors report challenges as well as achievements, all identify inclusion as a means of creating a fairer and more just society.

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

In considering points of commonality and difference across the chapters in this volume, the present aim is to encourage readers to learn more about inclusive education in several countries of the Circumpolar North, and to provide a basis for reflection on what we take for granted in our own contexts.

Comparative policy studies present many challenges, not least in relation to the diverse contexts in which policies are developed and implemented and the ways in which terminology is employed, interpreted, and/or translated. This is not surprising in light of the long histories and differing approaches and evolution of education systems. Differences in legislation and regulation reflect different contexts and the dynamic nature of education, its systems, and reform agendas. Despite these differences and the complex nature of education policy within any given context, the chapters of this book identify several challenges and provoke a number of questions for reflection. The following questions capture the spirit and aims of the *University of the Arctic Thematic Network: Teacher Education for Social Justice and Diversity* in its focus on education for equality and social justice, promotion of cooperation among members, and engagement in the active exchange of ideas and information.

- How are the voices of those participating in inclusive education represented in discussions of policy and practice? Whose voices are heard in such discussions? What are the roles and respective positioning of children, parents, educators, professionals, and policy makers in these discussions?
- In what ways have the social discourses that link disadvantage and difference been questioned? Has there been a shift from deficit- to strengths-based discourses at all levels—in Unterhalter's words, from below, from above, and from the middle?

- What has been the impact of positioning inclusive education within the human rights framework? Is there a sense that all children have the right to access inclusive education environments? Has the language of entitlement to the rights of citizenship replaced the notion of charitable provision of inclusive contexts?
- In what ways have we critiqued notions of exclusion?
- On the basis that education policies reflect societal values, what strategies are in place to review and reflect upon the contexts in which inclusion (and exclusion) occurs?
- How do we explore the intended and unintended consequences of approaches to inclusion?
- How do we articulate the purposes of inclusion? As communities, is there consensus that inclusion is about respecting the human dignity and well-being of individuals as well as enhancing their knowledge, skills, and competencies?

The chapters in this volume open discussion around these questions within the aims and scope of the network. While progress has been made, further work is clearly needed.

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