

Translating inclusion in French-speaking Belgian school organizations

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This paper looks at how special needs education and regular schooling are two parallel structures in French-speaking Belgian school organizations, which are fundamentally challenged by the introduction of inclusion policy. The policy implementation of “reasonable adjustments”, a recent education inclusion policy that requires regular school and school governance to accommodate students with special needs, places the responsibility on several key actors, who become important gatekeepers in the process of enabling educational access (Charlier et al., 2019) and opportunities to students with special educational needs (Verhoeven & Dubois-Shaik, 2020). These actors are required to make decisions about whether a child or adolescent should be schooled in regular school, or should be put into a special needs school, a system that is identified by education research studies as reducing educational and professional opportunities for students (Dubois-Shaik & Dupriez, 2015). This paper tries to reveal through discursive policy and narrative analysis (Czarniawska, 2004), how the inclusion policy implementation is translated (Callon, 1987; Dubois & Vranken, 2012) in what is a highly sensitive field of negotiations and of decision-making in school organizations. These negotiations take place in what we identify in this paper as a soft (Lawn, 2009) ‘compensatory policy approach’, whereby existing structures, such as special needs schools, are maintained by education policy-makers for lack of financial, training-based and operational measures, but requiring from actors in regular schooling to accommodate needs and create educational equality.

1. Introduction

1.1 The context of inclusion policy and special needs

This paper addresses translation of inclusion policy (Dubois & Kutuy; 2019; Freeman and Sturdy, 2009), for students with special needs, in public school organizations in the Belgian French-speaking school system. We argue that a host of actors of different educational institutions have become important gatekeepers for access to regular schooling and work for atypical students, such as with special needs or with recent migration background. Various studies have identified in the group of “young people without employment”, sub-groups that are particularly vulnerable (40% higher chance), such as people with illnesses or disabilities (Midelet, 2015). Midelet (2015) points out that these sub-groups find themselves confronted with repeated periods of unemployment or precarious employment throughout their lives due to a lack of qualification, and therefore experience low quality of life and financial difficulties.

Democratisation has long since raised the question of ‘difficult’ pupils and called for a renewal of school forms (Rochex 2020). Access to regular schooling and qualifications are passports that enable young people to embark upon a school and professional career. However, schooling for vulnerable school populations and qualifying exams are more difficult to access because of a lack of appropriate adjustments to accommodate special needs. To give an example, students with visual impairment (blindness) are even today, despite the acquisition of the right to schooling and vocational training, still faced with "many obstacles in achieving integration into the 'mainstream' school and work environment" (Weygand, 2010:375, in Willem, 2017). Moreover, Willem (2017) explains, for the blind, as for any other person with a disability, this attribution of disability fuels their stigmatization and discrimination (Chanrion, 2006:7). Today, people still have the reflex to see the "patient", "the sick" or "the disabled" rather than the person. This medical standard, with its history and clinical approach, is, according to Stiker (1999), one of the causes of exclusion, being at the center of the different models of disability. These models have evolved from an *individual or medical model* to a *social or environmental model* of disability or special needs. In the individual or medical model, a host of researchers (Albert, 2004; Ravaud, 1999; Rioux, 1997, and Riedmatten, 2002) explain that it is the disabled individual who is held responsible for his or her lack of autonomy because he or she is considered as having a problem. He or she is considered abnormal and dependent on health professionals, and is seen as a patient. "As the problem is primarily a medical one, the solution tends to be cure and/or rehabilitation, the latter, in some cases, requiring segregation into special institutions." (Albert, 2004:2, in Willem: 2017). According to the social or environmental model, as Willem (2017) elaborates in his exposition of blind persons in regular schooling, it is environmental and social barriers that exclude persons with disabilities from equal participation in society (Barnes: 1996). Taking a structural point of view, it is primarily government and economic policies and institutions (such as schools) that oppress people with disabilities on a daily basis Michailakis (2003).

In many countries, "diversity discourses" have brought greater recognition to previously excluded groups. Paradoxically, this discourse is emerging in the wake of neo-liberal policies, the main features of which are "competition, accountability and responsibility mechanisms" (Bélanger, 2019:113-129). Thus, although this shift in the vision of disability provoked throughout Europe a mobilization of actors (Detraux, 2004; Callon, 1987) to introduce more participatory models of society, we argue that educational actors who translate these new models are confronted with a host of systemic obstacles. Charlier et al. (2019) reason that

“accessibility” is the provisional outcome of a secular evolution that has combined a desire for democratization with an expansion of schooling. At the same time, this extension questions the functioning of the institution and calls for a profound renewal of its principles (Charlier et al., 2019). We would go further and argue that a renewal of the principles of institutions is shaped through actors’ concrete and very local translation (Callon, 1986) of accessibility policies. According to how they understand disability or special needs, actors (school directors, teachers, public administrators, policy-makers, jury members etc.) negotiate access and interests of different stakeholders, are limited or not in their space of action, and thus contribute in shaping equality or inequality.

Recent change in policy has introduced inclusive approaches into the Belgian French-speaking (FWB) schooling system, and is required to be implemented in all school related organizations (decree June 2019¹). Inclusion proposes a profound transformation of the culture and organization of schools, acting upon institutional and social relationships that structure the school treatment of heterogeneous populations (Verhoeven & Dubois-Shaik, 2020; Armstrong et al. 2011; Plaisance & Gardou, 2001). Charlier et al. (2019) explain that while inclusive policies are the provisional end point of the schooling process in OECD countries, the approach has become "universal enrolment" with the Education For All programme promoted by UNESCO at the Dakar Forum in 2000 and, more recently, with the Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations 2015): "However nice the SDGs may be, it is undeniable that they carry the burden of a project to shape behaviour and representations of a magnitude unparalleled in history. Its promoters explicitly plan to impose the same moral references on all human beings as soon as they pass through school, whose universality they want to guarantee. Inclusion is thus put at the service of a conduct of conduct" (Charlier & Croché, 2019: 13-28). On this basis, the authors propose a new problematic construction based on the ordering of the flow of learners.

Although inclusion is recommended by International law and research as an approach that reduces inequalities and allows a better integration of all students, it remains a *soft* policy (Lawn, 2009), depending on specific school systems to translate it according to their own

¹ « Circulaire 7190 du 21 juin 2019. » In: Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles. Le portail de l’Enseignement en Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles.
[http://www.Enseignement.be/upload/circulaires/000000000003/FWB%20%20Circulaire%207190%20\(7434_20190621_163535\).pdf](http://www.Enseignement.be/upload/circulaires/000000000003/FWB%20%20Circulaire%207190%20(7434_20190621_163535).pdf)

systemic conditions (Verhoeven & Dubois-Shaik, 2020). A recent law of 2017 on “reasonable adjustments” was passed in Belgium pertaining to an inclusive approach, where appropriate measures need to be taken to enable a person with specific needs to access, participate and progress in their school career, unless these represent a disproportionate burden for the institution (Lucas, 2019). This law requires these reasonable adjustments to be integrated into A) the regular public-school measures to orientate and host students with special educational needs, and B) to be integrated into public school juries’ exam content, approaches and evaluation. This requires schools and juries to reconsider their practices; their position in the orientation of atypical students in schooling systems, and the inequalities that can be the offset of evaluation and orientation practices. In other words, the implementation of an inclusive policy is likely to be hampered or shadowed by differentiating mechanisms likened to forms of institutional discrimination (Verhoeven & Dubois-Shaik, 2020). This concept refers to the existence of social norms and institutional functioning which lead to the systematic disadvantage (although not necessarily intentional) of a given social group (Bataille, 1999, p. 288). These operations can be institutional (organizational, regulatory, orientation, class formation, etc.) and cognitive (categorizations operated by professionals, referring to a certain "way of building" the target audiences) (Dubois-Shaik & Dupriez, 2013). Thus, the implementation process of inclusive policy in a specific organizational context such as in regular schools and examination juries is a significant step towards the rethinking of practices.

1.2 The translation of inclusion policy in four steps

Based on Callon’s theory of translation (1986), we support the argument that any sociological study on a local translation of policy must be based on what Callon explains is an analysis “that is carried out using a society which is considered to be uncertain and disputable” (1986:3). Far from being indisputable, the policy discourse is an open field of interpretations and negotiations in order to make sense of a given situation. We would therefore propose that the policy process of inclusion takes place in local concrete situations that are always uncertain and disputable, involving the intervening actors, who will ‘develop contradictory arguments and points of view which lead them to propose different versions of the social and natural worlds’ (idem). By doing so, Callon (1986:4) postulates that ‘our goal is to show that one can question society at the same time as the actors and explain how they define their respective identities, their mutual margins of manoeuvre and the range of choices which are open to them’. This postulate makes it possible to conceive of the social not as a "force" determining the actors to act, but as a *process* of permanent associations between heterogeneous entities, either through face-to-face

interactions, or through the intermediation of objects, things, technical devices allowing these associations to last and extend (Dubois & Kutty, 2019). Dubois & Kutty (2019) propose that the empirical-conceptual account proposed by Callon describes the process of defining a *concrete problem* – here the first case A) is the inclusion of a blind student in a regular secondary school/the second case B) the changing practices of a public school examination jury - and the management of this problem by various groups of actors: school directors, teachers, policy makers. Callon (1986) outlines four “moments” (or steps) that mark out the process: *problematization, interessement, enrolment* and *mobilization* (in Dubois & Vranken, 2012).

Problematization, according to Dubois & Vranken (2012) means articulating problems. In our paper, in the first case A), the problem that various actors are articulating is the inclusion of a blind student into a regular secondary school in French-speaking Belgium (Willem, 2017). The school director is faced with parents’ desire to enroll their blind son into his secondary school. He faces the problem of how to organize the schooling, to involve actors who are willing to include the blind student in their classroom, and how to adjust the school practices to enable an inclusion ‘as full as possible’. The teachers who will host the blind student in their classrooms are faced with the problems of adapting and changing their previous ways of working, questioning and choosing appropriate pedagogies, of conceiving abilities and interactions, and of evaluating learning. Little by little, they articulate daily problems of adjusting and of including, redefining constantly what blindness means to them, and what inclusion means to them in their class world. In this sense, *problematization* can help us uncovering the challenges and complexities these actors face in trying to include students with special needs, taking into consideration the recent law of “reasonable adjustments”, although this policy was in its pre-stage during the study. How do these teams articulate their decision-making and practice, and how do they make sense of the policy of inclusion? And in what way do they ‘include’ a blind student into their school, and how do they solve what they consider as problematic?

In the case of the jury, the policy-maker and coordinator of the “reasonable adjustments” project for the public examination jury for atypical students in the public education administration, *problematization* takes on a particular form. The said policy-maker *problematizes* the inclusion of reasonable adjustments in the jury’s practices. She is faced with the problem first of convincing the jury members (directorate, administration workers, secondary school teachers) to change their practices by adjusting examination content,

instructions, evaluation methods and publicity for reaching out to atypical students and their family members for better knowledge about the existence of this examination and its modalities. Then she is faced with having to collaborate with the jury members to formulate these practices, and finally to put them into practice.

As Dubois & Vranken (2012) point out, although *problematization* is the first step in the translation process, this step is not enough by itself. Indeed, “each entity enlisted by the *problematization* can submit to being integrated into the initial plan, or inversely, refuse the transaction by defining its identity, its goals, projects, orientations, motivations, or interests in another manner.” (Callon, 1986: 204; in Dubois & Vranken, 2012:15). The school director jointly with the teachers who will host the blind student in their classrooms, as well as actors who are part of the educational team, will create a set of new practices, using special devices for enabling the student to read, write and learn, but also participate in outings etc. These reasons make up the *interessement* “devices”. The policy-maker for the examination jury will create intermediaries in the form of university scientists to be able to formulate the tools for putting inclusion into practice in public exams. *Interessement* is the second step in the process of translating the concept of inclusion and reasonable adjustments into “visible” practices: “if successful, [it] confirms (more or less completely) the validity of the *problematization* and the alliance it implies” (Callon, 1986: 206; in Dubois & Vranken, 2012:15).

However, as with *problematization*, *interessement* is not enough by itself to account for the entire translation process (Dubois & Vranken, 2012). “Enrolment designates the device by which a set of interrelated roles is defined and attributed to actors who accept them. *Interessement* achieves enrolment if it is successful” (Callon, 1986:206). The concept of *enrolment* (the third step in the translation process) describes how the actors actively involve themselves or not in the set of aims and goals they have negotiated amongst themselves in the educational team. As will be described in the two cases, firstly, actors in school struggle more or less to enroll in the inclusion of Thomas, and we see two groups of opposing actors, one of whom is favorable to inclusion and the other of which is not. In the second case of the examination jury, we encounter actors who are not able to enroll into the inclusion of reasonable adjustments in their examination practices because of a set of institutional obstacles and breaks.

The last and fourth step of the translation process as described by Callon (1986) is the *mobilization* of allies, which in our first case means that teachers and the school directors manage to extend and promote their experience to convincing other actors, such as the teachers who were initially against the inclusion project in question, or parents, students, policy-makers and other schools to engage in inclusive practices. In the jury's case, the policymaker involved in implementing "reasonable adjustments" will try to mobilize scientific researchers in order to provide reinforcement for mobilizing jury members through creating knowledge-based evidence in favor of inclusion.

These four steps of translation can help in showing how actors are engaging or not in the process of inclusive education in their specific environment, using a set of devices. However, not all aims or problems are solved in this process; some obstacles become obvious when it comes to permitting the blind student to being 'completely treated 'in the same manner as his peers in the same classroom or school. In the case of the examination jury, inclusion of special needs students' specific needs means differentiation and not equal treatment while being examined. It also means a substantial structural organizational change, which meets with various types of resistances. What this paper can raise are questions about the way 'equal treatment' is critically contextualized by actors in their daily practices. It also points to organizational limits that actors face in wanting to create a greater opportunity for the student in question or wanting to implement 'inclusion'.

The main aim of this study is to better understand how the translation of inclusion policy is problematized by and in both regular school orientation teams and public administration workers/policy – makers for public education examination jury. And how this contributes in interesting actors, and enrolling them to enabling school access to young people otherwise excluded from regular schooling and society, and how they can mobilize themselves to guiding and streaming atypical students in their further school and work careers. In doing so, it enables to understand how inequalities are addressed, equality is constructed and made sense of by actors, who are involved in the inclusive policy implementation.

This paper is structured to give initially an overview over the methods and kind of data used for the discursive policy and narrative analysis. In a third section, the evolution of inclusive policy discourse will be discussed in the wake of recent literature. Two case studies, A) the translation process of orientation of a blind student into regular schooling will be presented,

followed by B) the translation process of 'reasonable adjustment' policy in public education examination jury will be looked at. Finally, we shed some light on the kinds of challenges and obstacles actors face in educational organizations to implement inclusion policy in the Belgian context.

2. Methodology

We have done a secondary analysis (discourse analysis, Czarniawska, 2004) of a case-study on a blind students' inclusion into regular schooling, which was undertaken in 2016 by Willem (2017) under the supervision of the author of this paper. The present research was therefore conducted by a teacher, pursuing a master's degree complementary in Educational Sciences, within his secondary school, where he practices teaching. The primary motivation of Willem (2017) for the use of semi-structured interviews is the search for the meaning of the choice made by teachers in a particular work experience: to participate or not to participate in the educational inclusion of a blind person. The second is to understand their attitudes in an extraordinary context. In this dynamic where "one is trying to express his or her thoughts and the other wants to understand them better" (Savoie-Zajc, 2003, p.299), the researcher tries to learn from the teachers, and the latter, for their part, try to organize and structure their thinking. This method allows "direct access to the experience of individuals", delivering "richly detailed and descriptive" verbatims and facilitating the understanding the other's point of view. (Savoie-Zajc, 2003, p.312; in Willem, 2017). The interview guide used is identical for teachers and the one for the school directors also included questions more specific to the implementation of the blind student inclusion project. The questionnaires are structured around eight main themes. The data collected through this scheme can help to gain a better understanding of the context of the inclusion of the blind pupil in school and, above all, to identify, through reflective discourse, a whole series of elements : the school context, the social representations of blindness, the inclusion project (imagining, planning, aims, content, reflection of the educational team, strategies, identification of material and human needs, challenges and doubts of actors involved), inclusive or non-inclusive attitudes, the place occupied of the blind student, place of the parents and external accompaniment. Although the original researcher (Willem, 2017) has used the method of thematic analysis, as recommended by Braun & Clarke (2006), who use an analysis grid, based on discursive elements from the testimonies, constituted in order to identify cross-cutting themes for this case study, in this paper, for the secondary analysis, we use the different phases of a translation process as described by Michel Callon,

(1986) in order to understand how inclusion policy is negotiated by actors in a specific context and understanding of inclusion.

We have done a primary discourse analysis of the translation of inclusion policy in public examination jury of the French-speaking Fédération Wallonia-Brussels in Belgium. This analysis was undertaken through several semi-structured interviews with the one main public administrator (policy maker) responsible of introducing, formulating, researching and mobilizing “reasonable adjustments” in the jury team appointed by the DGEO, the general directorate of obligatory education in the federal educational administration. In this translation process (Callon, 1986), the author of the paper is enrolled by the public administrator to carry out organizational research on the jury’s practices. In this sense, the researcher too is part of the translation process.

2. The evolution of inclusion policy and rights: a discursive policy analysis

2.1 Differentiation, Inclusion and Inequalities: discourse in research

Over the last decade, in the wake of major international surveys (such as PISA), much work in educational research has shown that inequalities as well as social and ethnic segregation were more pronounced in 'differentiated' (early and closed) education systems (Felouzis, Maroy & van Zanten, 2012). These findings are confirmed in many European countries (Jacobs et al., 2011; Liasidou, 2008). Conversely, "inclusive" systems would rather contribute to the reduction of social and ethnic inequalities (Mons, 2007; Dubois-Shaik & Dupriez, 2013). For example, based on a review of the scientific literature on the effects of class composition (homogeneous or heterogeneous), Dubois-Shaik and Dupriez (2013) point out that a significant number of in situ studies also show that the formation of low-level homogeneous classes is accompanied by lower teacher expectations, less effective working time and a less ambitious translation of the curriculum, which ultimately has repercussions on school results and classroom climate.

Faced with such observations, since the early 2000s, a number of education researchers, and a mobilization of parents of children with special needs have put forward proposals for an ambitious "inclusive" education model throughout several European countries, as in Belgium (Detraux, 2008). Whereas the integration of children with "special needs" has hitherto referred to simple technical and administrative arrangements enabling them to follow the common school curriculum with targeted pedagogical support, the model of inclusive education is

intended to be much more transformative. It is no longer up to the "different" pupil to come to terms with a system, whose cultural and pedagogical presuppositions are ultimately unquestioned. Inclusion requires an in-depth transformation of school culture and organization, while not neglecting to act on the institutional and social relationships that structure the educational treatment of "heterogeneous" groups (Armstrong et al. 2011; Plaisance & Gardou, 2001).

2.2 Inclusive rhetoric and norms

These scientific debates of the last twenty years seem to be finding an echo at the level of European governance and the political orientations advocated therein. We would argue that these European recommendations for inclusion of diversity are an exemplary form of what is known as "soft governance" (Lawn, 2006; Grek et al., 2009). This type of regulation, of a purely incentive nature, is essentially part of a process of constructing public problems that derives its legitimacy from reference to the "evidence" of standardized databases produced at the European level (Verhoeven and Dubois-Shaik, 2020; Jacobs and Rea, 2004), such as the PISA studies. As it is open to flexible and ad hoc implementation by member countries, it relies on the mobilization of local actors for its concrete translation (Lawn, 2006; Dubois-Shaik, 2014). In fact, the European recommendations on educational inclusion do not impose any structural measures and invoke the necessary "coordination" between different actors (families, local community, learners, civil society, etc.). The implementation of this inclusive rhetoric thus remains dependent on the networks of actors and local structures where its translation will take place (Verhoeven and Dubois-Shaik, 2020).

Moreover, the "soft governance" approach of translation of inclusion policy is highly dependent on the way that « disability » and « special needs » have evolved historically as concepts and rights since roughly the last thirty years. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities² (CRPD) is adopted in 2006. This convention defines a person with a disability as follows³:

"A person who has a long-term disability (physical, mental, intellectual or psychological) that affects his or her ability to function and their interaction with various barriers that may prevent them from reaching their full potential, and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others".

² <https://www.un.org/disabilities/documents/convention/convoptprot-f.pdf>

This convention reflects a paradigm shift in the understanding of disability. It is the first time that a convention defines the rights of children with special needs to participate equally in society and have rights to be taught in the same structures. Disability is no longer defined by the person in what he or she is (abnormal, deficient, backward) but by the interaction with an environment that imposes barriers that cause exclusion and inequality (Lucas, 2019). The medical model in which the person is diagnosed, cared for and must adapt gives way to a social model in which it is the environment that must adapt by removing barriers and in which the disabled person is the subject of rights and no longer the object of charity or exclusion (Barton, 2007, Lucas, 2019). Article 24 of the Convention calls for inclusive education and explicitly uses the term 'reasonable adjustments'.

In French-speaking Belgium the UN law gave way to an “anti-discrimination law” for people with special needs (Lucas, 2019). The anti-discrimination decree of 12 December 2008⁴ in French-speaking Belgium considers disability as one of the criteria for discrimination. This decree makes it possible to consider the refusal to enroll a pupil with special needs in a school as discrimination. Belgium ratified the decree in 2009, the French-speaking Belgium adapts its legislation on Education accordingly. This ratification marks a significant change in the legal concept of “disability” or more recently renamed “special needs” toward considering it as a right for regular schooling and equal participation in society.

Although today, the corrected decree for the inclusion of students with special needs (decree of 2 May 2019, explained by circular 7190 of 21 June 2019⁵), provides for the creation of adapted pedagogies and no longer promotes classes with adapted pedagogies, it can be seen that in most schools, these adapted pedagogies are still organized in special classes, which constitutes a kind of additional segregation within Special Education (Lucas, 2019). As Lucas (2019) explains, the dual purpose of this decree highlights the extent to which the legislature

² Gallilex. https://www.gallilex.cfwb.be/document/pdf/33730_000.pdf

⁵ “The decree provides for the creation of Special Education classes or facilities within the buildings of an ordinary school. These inclusive classes concern pupils enrolled in Type 2 Education, with or without autism, or Type 3 Education for pupils with autism. The primary objective for pupils participating in this type of project is social and relational inclusion with a view to acquiring a variety of learning experiences in an ordinary school environment. In 2018-2019, 11 experiments of inclusive classes have been conducted in FWB (10 in Basic Education, only one in Secondary Education). The decree of 2 May 2019 and circular 7190 provide a clear legal framework for these measures so as to encourage their implementation.

is torn between the desire to organize an inclusive school and the concern to provide each pupil with the most appropriate accommodation or adjustments. This 'squaring of the circle' constitutes the challenge imposed by the fourth objective of the 'Missions' decree: to ensure that every pupil has equal opportunities for social emancipation (Lucas, 2019). As we will discuss through the first case-study presented in this paper (Willem, 2017), this is the major difficulty faced by the educational teams, who will always have to find where to place the cursor between these two injunctions in tension (Lucas, 2019).

2.3 Local translation : Maintaining differentiated structures and introducing « reasonable adjustments »

Within the French-speaking Belgian educational context (CFB), 'reasonable adjustments' follows the pattern of the "regulatory caution" inherent in this soft policy, leaving the existing educational structures (special needs schooling, regular schooling) intact, while leaving the field open to local dynamics. In CFB, the adoption of this inclusive rhetoric (decree of 3. March 2004, FWB) has not prevented the maintenance of differentiated educational structures. Indeed, the school system has historically been built on important lines of differentiation (philosophical, social and pedagogical) (Dupriez, Draelants 2004); this characteristic has been only slightly affected by the policies of pedagogical centralization developed over the past 15 years. The former separate structures for children with "special" needs (special education streams) still exist. Within special schools, moreover, according to various classifications given to special needs, 8 different types of special classes are organized.

Legislation has merely affirmed the need for greater "collaboration" between ordinary and special education. However, this injunction puts professionals under pressure, in the absence of a truly inclusive shared culture. Thus, a qualitative study of actors' practices in this field conducted by Verhoeven and Dubois-Shaik (2020) between 2012 and 2014 showed that the measures deployed for implementing the decree of 5 February 2009 on the integration⁶ of pupils with special needs into mainstream, were essentially limited to occasional support from a variety of experts (cultural mediators, teachers trained in "French as a second language", psychologists, speech therapists, etc.) in ordinary classes. Far from deploying a fully inclusive approach, they targeted their action on the child or children designated as "with specific needs",

⁶ Integration as opposed to 'inclusion' permits students who are enrolled in special needs schools to take part to some extent (not fully) in a regular school with whom there is a collaboration.

by providing direct support in the classroom, by subtracting them from it for a few hours a week or by offering them a few hours of therapeutic learning techniques. In addition, conflicts of territory and legitimacy may arise between teachers who see themselves as insufficiently trained, and outside professionals who feel they are struggling, with very limited resources, to introduce a more inclusive logic of action at the very heart of the ordinary system, while being inserted 'into someone else's classroom'.

The 'reasonable adjustments' decree of 7 December 2017 goes one step further. It requires ordinary schools to host/enroll students with special needs, adopting what is called 'reasonable adjustments' for pupils with special needs, *provided* that their situation does not make it essential for them to be taken care of by Special Education. We argue that this imposes a *proportionality clause* on educational actors, putting the decision-making into their judgement of what is proportional to the students and the school's wider interests. What this paper questions, is whether this proportionality clause helps or hinders the inclusion of students with special needs into regular schooling. How do actors make sense of special needs, how do they understand a students' particular needs through their own professional and individual lens, and how does this contribute in making a collaborative decision? And how do they determine the proportionality of the students' best interests and that of the school? What does reasonable adjustments mean in a specific students' case, and how do different concerned actors determine these adjustments in their daily practice?

Consequently, we would call this soft policy implementation a 'compensatory approach'. Local actors have to compensate through accommodation or adjustments what structures are not able to provide; an inclusive education for all in regular school systems. What we explore in this paper is how local actors respond to making adjustments, how they make sense of the challenges they are facing, and whether mechanisms of discrimination still operate despite the translation of inclusion within existing structures. Would the same arrangements for everyone really create equality for all, as adjustments only can accommodate for differences in perception, learning and understanding, but perhaps create other kinds of exclusions? The maintaining of separating school and administrative structures could potentially create obstacles in including students with special needs. This, we would argue applies for schools, but also for examination juries.

3. The translation of inclusive policy for a blind student in a Belgian catholic secondary school

3.1. Case-study school and research participants

As Willem (2017) explains in his study, the secondary school in which the case-study is based provides general education in the Catholic network of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation in Belgium. The mixed school is therefore mainly based on Catholic values of openness, respect for others, tolerance as well as on surpassing oneself. At the time of the research, the school has a total of 92 teachers and 1141 students, including 168 in the fifth year, who entered in 2010 at the same time as the blind student who is at the center of this research. To date, he remains the first and only pupil with a disability in this school, where the vast majority of students come from a high socio-economic background (Willem, 2017).

The student, whom we shall name Thomas, has almost total blindness since early childhood (Willem, 2017). He passed his six years of primary school without difficulty, the first degree in a communal establishment, then in a Catholic free network⁷ establishment. Although the latter also provides secondary education, his parents chose to continue his schooling in another mainstream school in the region because they mainly wanted their fourth child to be able to attend the same school as the three older children. Moreover, of the two secondary schools, the one chosen seemed more open to the inclusion project. They then contacted the management of this new school in 2012 to prepare for Thomas' return to the first year of high school. He has until today, in fifth grade, always passed without difficulty in all subjects. Thomas has been accompanied throughout his schooling by two ONA⁸ (Association for blind persons) special educators, one in primary and the other in secondary. Both were resource persons and relays for the school and the family. Thomas is currently well on his way, despite some health problems independent of his blindness, to access his last year of secondary school before continuing, according to his personal project, to study physiotherapy in a specialized school of higher education (Willem, 2017).

Three teachers who taught Thomas (Tea.i) were interviewed using a semi-structured interview grid, as well as three other teachers who did not meet Thomas in their classes (Tea.ni). All the

⁷ In the Belgian French-speaking governance, there are three networks or pillars, the Catholic free network, the provincial network and the communal network. All three networks have separate education systems with different set of values, although responding to a federal curricular programme. Parents are free to choose in a quasi-market model to which network they want their child to attend school in (REF).

⁸ Association "Office Nationale pour les Aveugles"/National Office for Blind Persons; today changed to "eqla"

interviews were conducted with teachers to whom the school management had once proposed to the General Assembly to give lessons to Thomas. Parallel to these interviews, the director of the inclusive school (Dir.) was also interviewed about his thoughts on the same inclusion project in order to be able to conduct, through their speeches, a cross-analysis of the representations and attitudes of the director and his educational team.

“Inclusive Teachers”				
Number	Sex	Age	Experience	Link to student
Tea.i 01	Masculine	33 years old	12 years (teach)	Class teacher and French teacher in 1 st and 2 nd years
Tea.i 02	Masculine	33 years	10 years (teach)	Class teacher and Mathematics teacher in 5 th year
Tea.i 03	Feminine	31 years old	8 years (teach)	Latin teacher in 2 nd year/ history teacher in 4 th year/ coordinator of 4 th years
“Non-inclusive teachers”				
Number	Sex	Age	Experience	Link to student
Tea.ni 01	Masculine	33 years old	10 years (teach)	
Tea.ni 02	Feminine	38 years old	13 years (teach)	
Tea.ni 03	Feminine	39 years old	16 years (teach)	Coordinator of 5 th years
School director				
Number	Sex	Age	Experience	Link to Student
Dir. 01	Masculine	53 years old	12 years (direct)	Director to have enrolled Thomas since his 1 st year into this secondary school

3.2 Translation of Inclusion in secondary school in four steps

3.2.1 Problematization of including a blind student

The first step in the translation process outlined by Callon (1986) is *Problematization*, which means articulating problems (Dubois & Vranken, 2012). In our paper, in the first case A), the problem that interviewees are articulating is the inclusion of a blind student into their regular secondary school in French-speaking Belgium (Willem, 2017). For this step of the translation process, we look into social representations (Willem, 2017; Weygand, 2010) of the interviewed actors of blindness, but also how they speak about school and social values, and pedagogical values. The following excerpts and sections are parts of Willem’s (2017) analysis of social representations of actors.

School vision and values

What we can observe is that the viewpoints of the school director and the teachers on what *pedagogy* and *teaching* means at this school will have a profound effect on how they will problematize Thomas' inclusion into their classrooms. From the perspective of Dir. 01, this school is above all embedded in a Jesuit College, where Ignatian thought is at the heart of the pedagogy implemented. "*Welcome, trust and responsibility*" is at the heart of its philosophy, the school project outlining "*that we are ready to welcome, but with the limits that are ours, students with special needs or with reduced mobility*" (Willem, 2017:p.16: 307-308). Dir.01 requires his teachers to go beyond the school hours in their work and speaks about how it is fundamental to know the student, that it is mainly the relationship which will define the learning and teaching interaction. (p.9: 36-38). This vision is supported by Tea.i 01, who explains that it takes a lot of time, especially as a teacher, to get to know his students, to listen to them, to encourage them, to remind them of the rules and what is expected of them in terms of work and respect. He is used to have expectations from students, but without putting pressure on them. What we will be able to observe is that the value placed upon encouragement to participate in projects (green classes, sports days etc.) and school life is something that will benefit Thomas, according to the actors, such as Tea.i 01, to feel comfortable at this school and to be truly 'included'.

What we can observe generally amongst all actors interviewed is a vision of the school as being a place where welcome of diversity is considered a general philosophy, but being aware that the school population comes in general from a more socio-economically well-off background. We would argue that this global vision of the school will contribute to the way they problematize the inclusion of Thomas in their school. Tea.i 03 speaks about how "*generally the students with lower educational results are pushed up by students with better results*" and that "*they benefit from the high level of learning of the class*".

The perception of blindness and learning

When teachers are asked what the term "blind student" means to them today, they generally describe it as "*a person who cannot see and is of school age, who is in school*" (Willem, 2017: Tea.i 01, p.74: 922-923). It is a student who, like others, has intrinsic characteristics. If some people have health concerns, family difficulties, learning disabilities and are blind, its "particularity" (Tea.i 01, p.50-76) is to have one less sense than we sighted people. Some people think of blindness as "a black screen" (Tea.ni 01, p.341-342). But, according to the

teachers interviewed, it would not call into question the intellectual capacities of the blind person. If they imagine some difficulties of abstraction, mainly in scientific subjects, they think that the blind person would have "a greater capacity of memorization and even a finer, more intuitive perception" (Tea.ni 02, p.167: 116-117) because he or she would be forced to retain, for example: all the information enabling him or her to orient himself or herself constantly, people's voices, the smell of things, etc. (Tea.ni 02, p.167: 116-117), "forced by nature to develop something else ... full of other skills" (Tea.ni 02, p.167: 127-128). Teachers would like to believe that, like any situation, blindness can also offer its benefits.

Actors who see blindness as an obstacle for learning Thomas will face preconceived difficulties, whereas for actors who see blindness as a fact but not a hinderance for learning, Thomas provides a positive opportunity for learning diverse and adapted pedagogy. For instance, the teachers who will agree to teach Thomas in their classrooms have a different perception of blindness than the non-inclusive teachers in Thomas' school. The inclusive teachers speak about how wrong perceptions can narrow the way a blind person can be seen, and that within school, the blindness itself is not hindering the student from having a normal learning. Teacher Tea.i.01 contrasts other children who do not have any visible handicap but who have learning difficulties, whereas Thomas does not present any learning difficulties, once given the right tools to work with. For him, there are no other differences in terms of abilities, skills, conceptualization, memorization and comprehension. Initially, Tea.i. 02, sees blindness as a constraint in terms of abilities (apart from the ability to see), movement, activities or autonomy, and also in interacting with people around him, and in terms of career opportunities:

"I think Thomas is still ... a very clever kid, and if he hadn't had that handicap, I think he could have been very bright... Well, he is very bright, that's not what I mean. But he could have chosen the options he wanted and the job he wanted when he was older, that's what I mean. (p.86 : 282-283)"

Some nuance in the way blindness is perceived as requiring special needs is introduced by Tea.i 03, who now, since having taught Thomas, sees a blind student as "*yet another in the multitude of students one can have, in ones' classroom, so I'm going to say, I'm going to put him in the idea of a student with special needs in the same way as a student with dyslexia, an attention deficit disorder or that sort of thing*" (Willem, 2017:p.118: 241-244). This teacher imagines that the blind person is capable of continuing education. It is a person who is like any other

person except that he or she has one sense less. We can observe how a number of teachers have evolved in their perception of blindness and abilities through the experience with Thomas; they alter their perception in favor of inclusion, but insist on the importance of assistance from outside actors, such as from the ONA.

3.2.2 Intersement

Participation and devices

Although, the inclusion of a blind pupil in school is regarded as a major change for all actors interviewed, it does not seem, however, in Thomas's project, to disrupt the school life of the establishment, whether in the allocation of classes nor in the organization of school activities. Adjustments, in this case involving various objects and devices (Dubois & Vranken, 2012), to be made to allow Thomas to participate were not considered disproportionate to the schools' functioning. And the fact that Thomas could participate in almost all school activities, in and outside of school seemed something vital for most actors interviewed. The school director and one teacher speak about how

"we had planned to move Thomas' class to the ground floor. Then, we had come to the conclusion that no, that we did not have to punish.... ...in the end, maybe it was also to stigmatize Thomas, you know? So, we thought, "No way! He needs to learn how to live with the rules of the college." (Willem, 2017: Dir. 01, p.27: 663-673);

"Thomas did everything we did! Cycling... and even football! We had a ball with a bell in it so Thomas could hear where the ball was. We went into the caves, Thomas followed. You know, he had also participated in "I'm running for my shape" [...] Thomas was able to participate in everything without any problems. (Willem, 2017: Tea.i 01, p.56, 296-306)

However, pedagogical adjustments were seen as difficulties for some teachers. For example, Tea.i. 02 notes several difficulties, linked to the management of a heterogeneous group of pupils with very different levels and needs, which are not limited to blindness. However, he considers that the sight impairment jeopardises the educational success of the blind pupil, at least in mathematics, at the higher secondary level. As the subject matter was increasingly abstract and complex to synthesize (tables, graphs, etc.), this teacher was forced, in collaboration with the special educator at ONA, to select, from among the objectives of the programme, those that were "accessible" for Thomas, even if it meant dropping entire chapters of the course because *"he doesn't necessarily have the image and therefore, well, he doesn't*

have access to many things" (p.88 (p.88: 378-379), *"he's still much slower"* (p.83: 204) to do mathematical exercises with his IRIS⁹. To follow Thomas' reasoning, this teacher has to look directly on his computer and it is not easy to correct. He is rarely at the same level as the others because, *"necessarily, he does not follow like everyone else"* (p.87: 342-344). This particularity also complicates the management of the class group. According to Tea.i 02, because it is necessary to adapt its objectives, his course materials, his way of teaching and evaluating, inclusive education represents for teachers "an additional investment, so it is clear that there are some teachers who find it more difficult to invest even more [than they already do for the school]" (Willem, 2017: p.108): 1075-1077).

Benefits to various stakeholders

However, despite additional work for them, all the teachers found that the project of inclusion of a blind person in school is beneficial for everyone, it is *"an extremely enriching human experience"* (Willem, 2017: Tea.ni 01, p.148: 391) First of all, they imagine that it is beneficial to the blind pupil, who then has the opportunity to build himself up *"like any another adolescent"* (Tea.ni 01, p.153: 572) by experimenting together with the same *"classical curriculum"* (Tea.ni 02, p.164: 13), with all the activities and projects that it involves. This would give him access to higher education, which would in turn allow him to take an active place in society by exercising the profession he wishes, without becoming a burden on the community. In fact, Thomas, at the end of the 5th year in this secondary school expresses a wish to become a physiotherapist, a choice favored by his teachers.

It would also, according to these teachers, be an "enriching" experience for all the sighted peers, because to be in contact with difference on a daily basis would help each of them, by "opening their eyes" (Tea.ni 02, p.168: 163) to a hitherto unknown reality, to "become a responsible citizen, invested in a society" (Tea.ni 01, p.141: 157) which is "democratic, supportive, pluralist and open to other cultures", (Willem, 2017, Missions Decree, 1997, Art. 6: p.4). The educational inclusion of a blind person is seen as being positive for teachers themselves, who, by diversifying their educational and pedagogical practices, consolidate their professional identity. Finally, on a more personal level, it allows everyone to "relativize" and reconsider the notions of "difficulties", "chances" and "aptitudes" (Tea.i 03, p.123: 409-410).

⁹IRIS is a remotely connected, wearable visual assistive device for people with low vision. (irisvision.com)

3.3.3 Enrolment

We observe that not all teachers spontaneously offer to welcome the blind student into their classrooms. Tea.ni 01 and Tea.ni 02 are willing to include Thomas in their class only if the school director particularly asks them to do so. These attitudes help to understand the choice of teachers to actively participate or not in Thomas' inclusive education. Indeed, if they initially represent themselves in a positive way as Dir. 01, Tea.i 01, Tea.i 03, Tea.ni 02 and Tea.ni 03, they will adopt an attitude of openness conducive to the success of the project (Willem, 2017). Conversely, if teachers' social representation of blindness give rise to too much fear, they will adopt a negative attitude characterizing resistance to change (Willem, 2017). Tea.ni 01 expresses, for example that the only concern that dissuades him from teaching Thomas, is to "get outside his comfort zone" (Tea.i 01, p.151: 508-510) by agreeing to adapt his professional habits, which "he may not be up to" (Tea.i 01, p.151: 508-510).

It is very clear from all the interviews analyzed that communication plays a central role in the success of Thomas' project. Teachers want to be able to communicate easily with the parents of the blind student and his or her special educator. Most important, however, would be the exchanges of teachers among themselves and with the school management. They exchange good information, they express their opinions, they reassure each other, etc. :

"...I had heard about Thomas before from my various colleagues who were also their tenured or professors. And I also asked my colleagues who had it last year to find out how we were going to do it" (Tea.i. 02, p.86: 294-297);

"There are colleagues who say, "But this is the best experience I have ever had in teaching. I'm signing back in tomorrow to do it. "(Tea.ni. 01, p.148: 386-387);

The opinions and attitudes of the various stakeholders in the inclusive education project would therefore seem, as illustrated above, to depend on those of their entourage (Willem, 2017). This is reinforced by the strong educational and pedagogical identity of the institution, as described by Dir. 01, Tea.i 01, Tea.ni 01 and Tea.ni 03 (Willem, 2017).

3.3.4 Mobilization in favor of inclusion

What we can observe is that taking the decision to enroll Thomas at their school, multiple actors expressed change in the way they view visual impairment, abilities and participation, as much for Thomas as well as for them as teachers. Teachers speak about the possibility offered to them to break the routine and "get out of their comfort zone" (Tea.i 01, p.151: 508-510), to strengthen their professional identity by broadening their educational and pedagogical practices. And if there is also agreement on the logistical and pragmatic-practical difficulties related to the inclusion of a blind pupil in a regular classroom, they are however very divided as to the level of involvement of the different actors and the needs necessary for the success of such a project. Differences of opinion can be observed between, on the one hand, the "inclusive" professors who therefore taught Thomas and, on the other hand, the "non-inclusive" professors who observed his inclusion. The former, believe that collaboration with help from outside the school, such as the ONA educator, is "indispensable", while the latter believe that it is "an asset" that the school could do without. Inclusive" teachers, however, do not imagine that the educational inclusion of blind students can currently be successful without the help of a specialized person who, by virtue of his or her training and experience, is the reference resource person for the adaptation of documents and material, in addition to being a neutral relay contact between the blind student, his or her classmates, teachers and parents (Willem, 2017). However, all agree that the blind pupil is centrally involved in the success of his or her inclusion in school. He must be "courageous" (Tea.ni 03, p.210: 525) to adapt, within the limits that are his, to the educational and pedagogical requirements of the establishment because he is a pupil like any other. However, any educational problem or "additional difficulty" (Dir. 01, p.31: 833-834) related to a learning disability, for example, would call into question the feasibility of its inclusion in mainstream education. The latter would indeed depend essentially on the educational success of the blind pupil and, to a lesser extent, on the understanding and willingness of teachers to work harder for him or her. Dir. 01, Tea.i 02 and Tea.ni 01 even speak of "volunteering" because they are not trained for it and because the workload and working conditions are not adapted to the more particular attention, they have to devote to one student out of the twenty-five to thirty who make up the class group.

It should be noted that the management, for its part, does not really seem to worry about the adaptations and the level of involvement of each one as long as the parents' feedback is positive, it has total confidence in its educational team and its collaboration with the ONA special educator (Willem, 2017). He states that Thomas' success in inclusive education is a "pride"

(Dir. 01, p.32: 831) for the school. In addition to responding to a major educational precept of benevolent welcome, this project is also a "good advertisement" for the school, especially since it has not received any additional means for its successful implementation. In this case, the success of Thomas' inclusion project motivated the members of the College Organizing Committee to modify their School Project by adding a paragraph concerning the reception of "pupils with special needs". (Dir. 01, p.40: 1121-1122).

As Willem explains (2017), finally, the majority of those questioned are highly critical of the Ministry of the Walloon-Brussels Federation, which promotes the educational inclusion of children with disabilities but which does not give schools the necessary means to achieve this under good conditions. On the one hand, the management would like additional financial resources and, on the other hand, the teachers would like better initial training as well as adapted working conditions: fewer pupils per class, adapted materials, etc. These teachers advocate partnership with specialized institutions to include blind people in mainstream education. Only one of them is skeptical of systematic school inclusion because, to be successful, it should remain 'marginal' (Tea.ni 02, p.193: 1034). All others agree that, in the current context, schools would not be able to accommodate more than two- or three-blind students.

4. Translation of 'reasonable adjustments' in Belgian French-speaking Public Examination Jury

For our second case-study of translation (Callon, 1986), the policy maker who was interviewed for this study, is a mother of an autistic child, who worked first as a school psychologist for many years, then was appointed a school director of a special needs school, and finally went on to write her masters' thesis about inclusion policy and its impact on autistic children's inclusion in regular schooling. She then was appointed a public policy maker for introducing 'reasonable adjustments', after its issue in the decree of 2019, into the public examinations that are held yearly in the education directorate of French-speaking Belgium (CWB), the public administration for education. For this appointment, this policy maker, whom we shall call Lara (pseudonym), now needs to introduce new practice and change into an already existing structure of public examinations, which were conceived for atypical children, adolescents and young adults, who for some reason or another (recent migration, special needs, illness etc.) are not able to attend regular schooling or not yet have gained access to it. This examination

enables them to pass public exams at different stages of obligatory education in CWB. These exams are held bi-annually.

4.1 Problematizing inclusion in public administration

In the interview, Lara explains the problems she encounters while attempting to introduce change in practices in this section of a public organization.

“So far, the jury is composed of the adjoining director, two public administration workers and secondary school teachers (retirees, voluntary), who according to the subject matter are required to write the exam content and then evaluate the exam results. Recently, there have been new appointments of the two public administration workers, two young women. After my appointment, I have conducted a first analysis of the situation. To see who is working in this jury, and how they perceive the change.” What I can grasp so far, is that the jury is suffering from a severe identity crisis. They do not really understand what their role is, and how they will go about doing this change.” (Lara, policy maker).

Lara describes how the jury membership itself is a fragile composition, as the people constructing the exam are voluntary workers, secondary school teachers, who have been mobilized years ago, and who need to be renewed and are not easy to find and engage for what is voluntary work. With the change of ‘reasonable adjustments’ to be brought into exam content, methods, approaches and evaluation, these same voluntary teachers will now be faced with a double engaging work; to re-create exams that meet with the new standards of inclusion of special needs. *“But you understand how challenging this really is, as there are so many specific needs that need to be taken into account. So many specialists that need to be engaged. I am faced with the problem that actors need to be mobilized for what is a very profound change.” (Lara)*

4.2 Interessement: using science as a device

Lara, faced with these problems, on the one hand an identity-based crisis of public administration workers who will be part of the examination jury, and on the other hand a problem of creating knowledge and tools for constructing inclusive examinations. For addressing these two problems, Lara, who through her wide network with both school actors, but also researchers in different universities (whom she worked with in previous years on various research projects) decides to propose research tendering from university departments, with different scientific expertise. She manages to interest researchers and their teams from three different universities, amongst which is also the author of this paper, to carry out three

ongoing research projects on “special needs pedagogy or orthopedagogy¹⁰ for public examinations” (two universities) and on “organization process of introducing change” (university X of author of paper). In two of the universities the research projects are funded by external funding or university funding, involving a Masters’ thesis, and thus are provided to Lara and the education directorate “free of charge”. However, engaging University X, will be more problematic, as we will see in the third step of the translation process.

4.3 Enrolment

Lara manages to enroll the author of this paper for a sociological research on “organizational change processes” in order to study how the jury members organize themselves, how they make sense of ‘reasonable adjustments’ and what obstacles they are facing. The idea of Lara, as discussed with the researcher (author), is to enroll jury members whilst stimulating them through participative action research, a reflexive process through which an understanding of ones’ work can evolve (Schoen, 1983¹¹). A first meeting is organized between the author and three jury members, who are public administration workers, responsible for communication of the exam to the population; for engaging the teachers who will construct the exam; and for administering the exams (planning, organization sessions, distribution, collection and coding of exam results etc.). The author captures the jury members’ attention for introducing a participatory action research on “organizational change”. Two research objectives are agreed upon; one research on organizational change, and one research on capturing the population passing through the exams; capturing who are persons attending exams (socio-cultural-and economic identity), what are their special needs and how is this affecting their exams (there is a high drop-out rate). However, there are some questions raised about funding the research; the author proposes some voluntary research analysis for the organizational research, but also the need for engaging a quantitative statistical researcher for the population analysis.

4.4 Mobilization of actors

Lara and the author fail to mobilize the jury administration for carrying out the organizational research and the population research: although the jury administrators see the need for identifying the population, they are “tied down by financial restrictions” and “cannot provide funding”. They are moreover skeptical as to the research about organizational change, and turn

¹⁰ Science of correcting learning difficulties

¹¹ Donald A. Schön , 1983, *The reflective practitioner how professionals think in action*. Basic Books: New York

down the pro bono offer from the author. They prefer waiting for the author to mobilize two Masters' students who will carry out the two aspects of research agreed upon "for free". They prefer this type of mobilization of students, who may benefit from access to an interesting field of public administration rather than depend upon a more experienced researcher. After several months, the Co-Vid pandemic breaks out and puts a stop to the public examinations in 2020. Lara explains to the author that two of the jury member administrators are suffering from burn-out and are on sick leave; she believes that the identity crisis of the education public administration runs deep and really requires a reflexive analytical process. She mobilizes the author to finally continue writing a project that will convince the new adjoining director of carrying out the research as planned, through Masters' students writing a thesis in the coming academic year.

5. Inclusion practice: a step forward to reducing institutional discrimination

What we can draw from these two cases of translation (Callon, 1986) of inclusion policy into organizational practice, is that the way that inclusion is problematized is the offset of how these projects will be tackled and "solved" by actors, who are directly or indirectly involved. Although, as discussed, social representation models about special needs have evolved from an individual or medical model to a social or environmental model of disability or special needs (Albert, 2004; Ravaud, 1999; Rioux, 1997, and Riedmatten, 2002), we can see that in the case of Thomas, many of his teachers start out with the perception that visual impairment is a problem, and that it will hinder Thomas in the way he can progress in learning and in social participation. A very important change will happen through the stages of *interessement* and *enrolment*; actors have to find concrete solutions through devices or intermediaries for creating inclusion for Thomas, whether it be through introducing auditive devices (ball with bell) or deciding ultimately that Thomas should not be "disabled" by "different treatment". We can see a shift from understanding Thomas' visual impairment as *his* problem, from that of *the school* and how "it deals with it". In this way, actual inclusive practice has enabled this shift. However, mobilization is a very key step in the realization of inclusion in Thomas' case, because teachers are engaging in teaching and changing their teaching practices, but they agree to do so with the help of other professionals without whom this adaptation is clearly not possible, faced with the concrete situation in their classrooms. In this way, inclusion practice is seen clearly as a collaborative practice. It is also seen as a limited practice, due to lack of adequate training received as teachers, lack of financial and human resources, and lack of the capacity to include more students with special needs in one classroom, due to the attention it requires.

An important conclusion we can draw from this analysis of translation is that actual inclusive practice of students with special needs is a significant factor in reducing differentiating mechanisms likened to forms of institutional discrimination (Verhoeven & Dubois-Shaik, 2020), such as institutional disadvantages (organizational, regulatory, orientation, class formation, etc.) and cognitive (categorizations operated by professionals, referring to a certain "way of building" the target audiences) (Dubois-Shaik & Dupriez, 2015). Thomas' teachers have managed to change their attitudes towards visual impairment and managed to adapt their practices to allow Thomas to be a "normal student" "like any other". Moreover, overall, mostly benefits were recorded for multiple actors, including Thomas and his peers, parents, his teachers, the school. Not only are their social representations of blindness (Weygand, 2010) altered through actual in situ experience with a visually impaired student, but moreover by actually having to adapt their practices, they are able to reflect upon their pedagogical choices that may or may not contribute to excluding Thomas in socio-relational terms and in terms of learning acquisition. Thus, the concrete implementation process of inclusive policy in a specific organizational context in regular schools is a significant step towards reducing inequalities for students with special needs (Feuilladiou, 2019).

However, actors are hesitant about how they would fare if there were more students with special needs such as Thomas in their classrooms. They feel that they would not be able to cope, that the capacity is not given to host many students with such needs, that requires a lot of adjustments. We would argue that this will have an impact on the proportionality clause of the inclusion policy of 'reasonable adjustments'. It raises the question how to improve equalities and inclusive practices if structural limitations continue to exist? Inadequate teacher training is one such limitation, which although now education governance foresees a profound transformation of initial teacher training in 2021, nonetheless the institutional separation persists (special needs education with special teachers vs regular schools with regular classroom teachers). Does education policy have to dare to abolish separate structures altogether? And how to increase the capacity in regular schooling, without running the risk of creating separate classes, or teachers being overburdened and unqualified? Moreover, there is a severe teacher shortage in French-speaking Belgium in the offset¹². All these factors may

¹² Carlo, A., Michel, A., Chabanne, J.-C., Bucheton, D., Demougin, P. et al.. (2013) Study on Policy Measures to Improve the Attractiveness of the Teaching Profession in Europe. [Research Report] EAC-2010-1391, *European Commission, Directorate General For Education and Training*. 2013, pp.2 volumes.

play a significant role when it will come to choosing whether a school is able or not to host a child with special needs, such as Thomas.

In terms of the public exam jury, what translation as an analysis can offer is a reflection on the challenges of organizational change and mobilization (Dubois & Vranken, 2012). Public administration members are called to questioning their role in creating an equal society, and education policy is imposing change on their practices. They are embedded in a highly bureaucratic system that is slow to implementing change (Dubois & Vranken, 2012), and inclusion is a very profound change in the case of public exams. Actors have to integrate a myriad of special needs' considerations in the way they will organize, plan, create and evaluate exams. For this, specialists must be interested, enrolled and mobilized. So far, all this is done through voluntary engagement, but how long and to what extent can actors be engaged upon goodwill only? This calls for a collaborative organizational process, once more, in which multiple actors with different sets of competences need to agree to change in the first place, and then need to work towards creating practices. In this sense, we can affirm even more that, taking a structural point of view, government and economic policies and institutions do contribute in limiting access to regular schooling, work and quality of life for people with disabilities on a daily basis (Michailakis (2003). They could also operate in dismantling unequal access. But this access needs to be facilitated by allowing enough financial input to flow into change management, into scientific reflexive research that assists public administration actors to construct inclusion in their practices. Civil servants need assistance from knowledge fields, as much as from practical actors, who need to be enrolled and appointed in a more deliberate way.

What we can conclude from these two cases is that this soft policy implementation 'compensatory approach' puts a lot of "bottom up" pressure and necessitates good will from local actors, who have to compensate through accommodation or adjustments what structures are not able to provide; an inclusive education for all in regular school systems. Although actors in schools and in public administration agree on making this change and engaging in the inclusive practice, they need to be supported both financially, as well as on the level of adequate training, reflexive pedagogical and organizational research, professional support and collaboration and in terms of sufficient human resources to be able to rise to the challenge.

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