The Future of Inclusive Education in England: Some Lessons from Current Experiences of Special Educational Needs

This paper considers what the future of inclusive education may be in England and uses this analysis to illustrate perspectives, practices and issues that could be relevant to other European countries and further afield. The paper examines the recent history of the concept of special educational needs (SEN) and provision, with reference to the legislative changes introduced in 2014. This is related to how wider school changes have affected and might further affect the pattern of special schooling. The paper also summarises some findings and implications from a series of recently completed case studies about the experience of parents, teachers or teaching assistants and children or young people with SEN. The final part suggests a particular way of understanding current issues about inclusive education in terms of the capability approach and the resolving tensions and dilemmas.

BRAHM NORWICH is Professor of Educational Psychology and Special Educational Needs at the Graduate School of Education, University of Exeter. This article is based on his keynote address delivered at the Annual Conference of the Irish Association of Teachers in Special Education in May 2016.

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims to consider what the future of inclusive education may be in England. Focusing the analysis on one of the countries making up the UK is intended to illustrate perspectives, practices and issues that could also be relevant to other countries in Europe and further afield. The paper will be organised into three sections. The first section sets the scene by considering background issues, such as whether the concept of special educational needs (SEN) continues to be useful in policy and practice. This is in the context of the legal protections afforded by the Statement of SEN, now redefined in terms of Educational, Health and Care Plans (EHC Plans). This section also addresses the issues confronted by the movement towards greater inclusive education in the context of national policies aiming to raise school standards. The second section in the paper will summarise

some findings and implications from a series of recently completed case studies about the experience of parents, teachers or teaching assistants and children or young people with SEN. The final section returns to the broad questions about the future of inclusive education.

BACKGROUND ISSUES

How Useful is the Term SEN?

The term special educational needs (SEN) was introduced through legislation in 1983 in England following the Warnock Report recommendations (Department of Education and Science, (DES), 1978). The point of the term was to not focus on difficulties or deficits, but on what is required; the provision to enable improved learning. SEN was supposed to be about what was needed to support learning and development, including teaching, facilities, materials and support. It has been an influential term that has now become widely adopted internationally, for example it is used by international agencies such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2007). However, the use of the SEN term has been in a context of general and fairly vague definitions in the UK system in terms of age-related learning difficulties.

The introduction of the term SEN in the 1980s led to a renewed interest in providing quality education to pupils who experienced learning difficulties, but various problems have arisen in the use of the SEN term. The first one is about who has SEN? Procedures for identifying pupils who have SEN have not been well-defined and so are open to various interpretations within and across schools and between local authority areas (Ellis and Tod, 2012). Secondly, this lack of specificity also meant not defining what constituted special provision in terms of curriculum, pedagogy, therapies and structures.

Table 1 gives an overview of how the statutory and non-statutory levels of SEN changed over the recent decades. It shows that the term SEN has been retained over this period while the levels of SEN have changed in terms of the number of levels and their references. The far right column shows how Government change is associated with different formulations of SEN policy and practice. The left of the two central columns shows changing incidence of the different levels of SEN, with the most recent statistics showing a decline in the SEN Support rates of SEN following Government policy changes. The other central column shows the decreasing proportion of pupils in special schools till the mid-2000s when special schools have reversed a thirty year declining enrolment trend to start rising.

Table 1: Categories, SEN incidence, special school rates and Government in power

Decade	Categories used	Incidence of SEN	% in special schools
1980s	SEN: Statements (Local authority) No statements (school)	expected 2% 15%	1.8%
1990s	SEN: Statements (LA) 3 levels of SEN (school level)	Actual 3% increasing	Decreasing to 1% (1999)
2000s	SEN: Statements (LA) 2 school levels: School Action School Action plus	3% 16% 6% 10%	Stable at 1%
2010s	2014: Statements TO EHC Plans School Support (school)	2014 Just under 3% 12%	Small increase

Though the term SEN has remained since the 1980s the scope of the term as used in England has changed as other English systems have been introduced that have a different scope for the term or related terms. This is illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Scope of SEN in England: using OECD categories
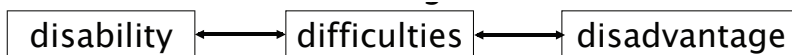
Points:
English as Additional Language – NOT considered a SEN
Scotland – dropped SEN for Additional Support Needs

This figure uses the broad OECD framework which defines SEN in terms of different causal routes, which are called disabilities (associated with clear organic causation of impairments), difficulties (where the causation is unclear between organic and social factors) and disadvantage (where causation is mainly social in origin). Using this framework, it is possible to compare different approaches to the scope of SEN. The original 1981 legislative definition of SEN spanned the disability and difficulties aspects of the OECD range of SEN, explicitly not covering disadvantage aspects. In 2005, the Labour Government introduced a broader concept of additional needs which also covered the disadvantage range of SEN, but this was not a statutory system and has since been abandoned (DfES, 2006). It corresponds to the current Scottish concept of additional support needs, which replaced their previous use of the term SEN. In 2001 the new disability legislation introduced the disability concept, which overlaps with the disability range of SEN. But the disability system has not been integrated with the current and renewed 2014 SEN system.

Legal Protections and Tensions between Parents and Providers
The Statement of SEN, which has been in use since the 1980s, describes the child's SEN and the provision to be made for the child in a document that gives the parents some legal protections. The Statement is based on multi-disciplinary assessment and includes parental views too. It is the local authorities (LA) who bear the duties to issue and ensure that the stated provision is implemented, even though it is schools who actually carry out the implementation. Statements are also subject to annual review and revision. If there is disagreement between parent and LA over whether to assess for a Statement or about the content of a Statement, then there are various options: i. mediation by a third party between parent and LA, ii. parents can go to Tribunal which has the power to require change to the Statement and provision, and iii. parents can even go to court to resolve a legal issue, e.g. whether speech therapy is special educational provision.

New legislation 2014: Educational, Health and Care Plans (EHC)
As part of the new legislation (National Archives, 2014) EHC Plans are currently replacing Statements, a process that has proved to take longer than Government had expected. Whether this change to EHC Plans is anything more than a change of name is still to be seen, depending on how the conversion process goes. However, what is new is that it covers an extended range of children and young peoples' ages, from 0-25 years old. But, the name is misleading as it could be interpreted to mean a fully integrated plan covering education, health and social care. This is not what an EHC Plan covers. It covers health and care provision, when these types of provision support education. There is no EHC plan if there is no special

educational need. Another feature of the new SEN assessment system is the use of Person-Centred Planning model (PCP), a parent and child/young person-centred assessment process, that has been transferred from the adult learning disability field.

Whether the new EHC Plans will be an improvement on the previous Statements will take time to know, but trials have shown some of its strengths and difficulties. While parents have responded positively to the use of PCP practices in the assessment process, there have been at times problems in health service professional taking part in the PCP assessments.

Problems with Statements and EHC Plans
The introduction of Statements in the early 1980s was intended to provide legal protections for the process of multi-professional identification of special educational needs and for the provision that was required. The legal process was influenced by US experience with the Individual Education Plan (IEP) as a legally backed process. Its use in England was to give assurance to parents that they had some legal redress about securing appropriate provision for their children. However, there have been many criticisms of Statements that also relate to EHC Plans. For some they do not reflect inclusive practices because the individualizing system labels children. In addition, experience has shown that issuing Statements can be bureaucratic, slow and adversarial between parents and providers. But, the counter to these criticisms is whether children could receive appropriate provision without them. Voluntary organisations that support parents with SEN/disabilities are very supportive of the system because they provide legal protections for individual provision. So, many parents would be very reluctant to give them up.

These persistent problems with Statements arise from their inability to resolve the underlying tensions between parents and the education providers, the officers and professionals. It has also been suggested that the legal basis for Statements is in tension with the principles of parental partnership, which have led some to suggest that Statements should only be used if and when conflicts arise, not for all pupils with significant SEN, as has been the practice. Another problematic feature of Statements has been that they give access to extra resources, e.g. teaching assistant time, but not particular kinds of teaching. This is partly because Statements are formulated with a level of generality that applies for at least a year and so do not have the fine-grained detail about specific teaching approaches, which in any case has to be decided by the child's teachers in particular programme settings.

A further issue with Statements is that they are written to give access to provision that is currently available; they do not necessarily give access to needed provision.

Because Statements are focussed on individuals, it is unlikely that even with their legal force that they can lead to the establishment of forms of provision that require institutional change. For example, if a parent and professionals favoured a special unit for a secondary aged pupil with a language impairment, it is unlikely that the Statement can be used to secure such a placement, if no such units are available in the local area of the pupil. The Statement review system might be useful to inform the review and planning of provision, which is often what underlies tensions between parents and providers. But Statements and EHC Plans are unlikely to be a substitute for systems of provision, review and planning that are responsive to parent and pupil views and preferences.

**National Policies of Raising School Standards**
The immediate social and economic context of inclusive education in English schools is a set of school education policies that recognise the changing economic base that depends on a knowledge economy within an increasingly competitive global economy. Government interest in the curriculum and the raising of school academic standards goes back to the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988 as an assessment-driven system. National tests for all 7, 11, 14 and 16 year olds were at first introduced for English, Maths & Science. Over time these have now been reduced to those aged 11 and 16 in English and Maths. But, from the initial national testing arrangements, account was not taken of how to assess the learning of pupils with SEN. It took the Government 13 years to introduce a modified National Curriculum for pupils with learning difficulties, the P scale assessment system for pupils attaining below the lowest level (level 1) on the National Curriculum scale.

The dominance of national testing was part of a model of schooling as market. Schools are judged in terms of their test results by the Inspection system, which publishes school inspection reports on websites, and by parents who use this kind of information to exercise their increased choice between schools. The effect of this system is that schools with lower test results become less popular with parents and can come to be inspected as 'failing schools'. Pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds and with SEN are disproportionately in lower attaining schools. A market-oriented school system can set up a tension between how schools set about raising standards, by focusing on pupils most likely to attain the national standards set, and schools' commitment to pupils with SEN and their academic and social inclusion.

There has been, as part of the more market-oriented school system, the introduction of academy schools, which are outside the local authority system of schooling

and more autonomous, while being funded directly from central Government. 'Failing schools', as identified through inspection have had to become sponsored academies, while other schools have been encouraged financially to become converter academies. Some schools have remained local authority maintained schools. Recent research has shown that the different types of secondary schools have different levels of pupils with significant SEN (Norwich and Black, 2015). Figure 2 below shows that sponsored academies (those forced to become academies because of lower attainment) have the highest proportion of pupils with significant SEN compared to converter academies (those electing to be academies). Local authority maintained schools have SEN rates between these two types of academies. This pattern of SEN pupil placement reflects pre-existing differences in school attainment. But the academy process which enables schools to have more control of who enters the school, might be used by popular converter academies, with higher attainment levels, to turn away some pupils with significant SEN. There is anecdotal evidence that this might be happening, though further research is needed to examine any such pattern of provision.

Figure 2: Breakdown of Percentage of pupils with SEN (School action plus [SAP], Statements and SAP & Statements) for secondary maintained, sponsored and converter academies in 2014
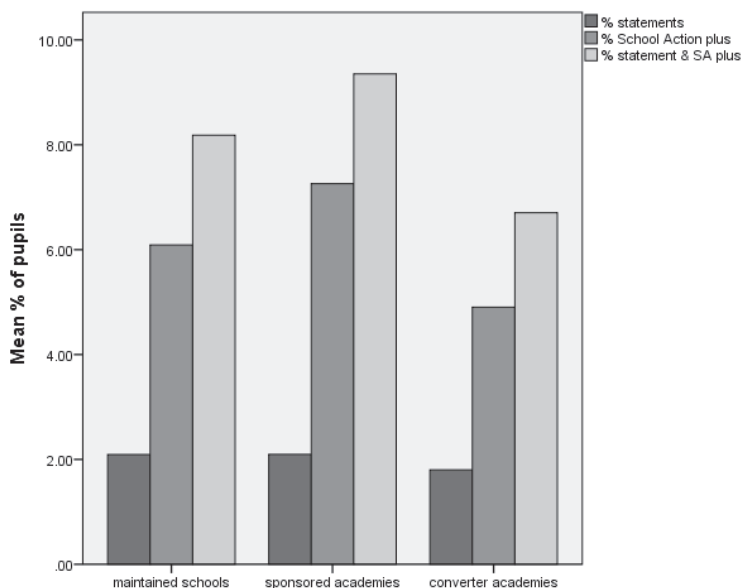
Inclusion Movement

From the 1980s, English legislation provided for the conditional integration of pupils with SEN. The 1981 legislation expected that a child is placed in an ordinary school subject to these conditions: i. that this did not negatively affect other children's education, ii. that this was cost efficient and iii. that it accorded with parents' preferences. These duties were placed on local authorities and where the authorities were strong and committed, they introduced and supported more capacity for pupils with SEN in ordinary schools. Terminology changed from integration to inclusion following the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Salamanca Declaration (1994). The Labour Government changed its position about inclusive education in its 2001 legislation, moving the balance more to ordinary school placement and provision.

However, inclusion in education has led to heated debates about its meaning and implications. Does it mean not having special schools – "all children under the same roof", a phrase used critically by Warnock (2005)? Or, does it mean that everyone has the opportunity to learn and feel accepted wherever they learn best, the approach favoured by Warnock? This is the difference between a 'full' inclusion, where all separate settings including special schools are closed or merged with reformed ordinary schools, and a moderate or conditional inclusion, where there is a place for separate settings as part of a continuum of provision settings. During the Labour period of Government up to 2010, there was uncertainty about what inclusion meant in policy and practice terms, a view expressed as a criticism by a Parliamentary Select Committee (House of Commons Education and Skills Committee, 2006). The Conservative Government since 2010 has adopted a more critical position about inclusion with the inclusion term hardly featuring in the new SEN legislation and Code of Practice.

In keeping with a more market choice oriented approach to schooling, we would expect that inclusion will come to be presented in Government policy as more a matter of parent preference than of Government and local government direction. This extension of the current Government's general social policy approach is the main feature of current policy and practice. It means that if more parents prefer their child with SEN to go to a special school there could be an increase in special school placements. It is too early to know how the recent moves towards more academies will affect the pattern of special school provision (see discussion and Figure 3 for early indications).

Alongside the change of local authority schools to academies has been the introduction of free schools, which are new schools set up by voluntary

organisations, parent groups and religious organisations. These 'state funded independent schools' as they are called cannot formally select pupils by ability and are required to accept a pupil with SEN if the EHC Plan names the school in the Plan. But, these schools can inform the parents of such pupils that they cannot manage to provide suitable provision for their child with SEN; in such cases parents are unlikely to press for their child to go to such a school. Though there is no clear evidence for this informal trend to put parents off a school, and so shift responsibility for SEN to other schools, including special schools, this process might partly explain a national trend now evident in the pattern of English special school placements.

Figure 3: Trends in special school placement in England between 1983 and 2014
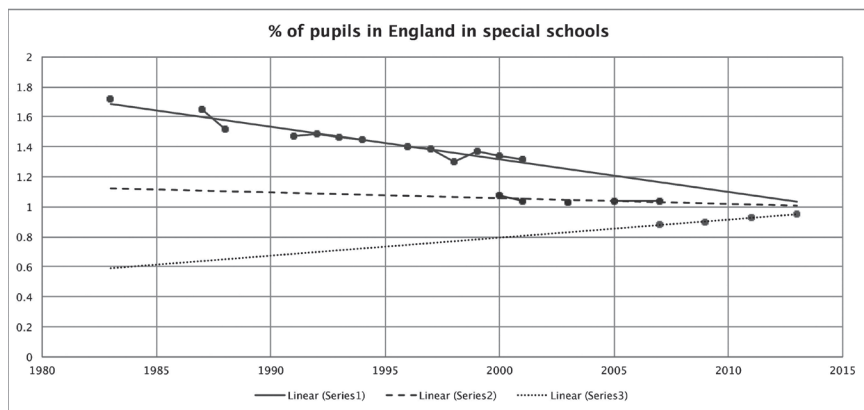

Figure 3 shows three trend lines for English special school placements. The main line (series 1) shows the decreasing placement in special schools from 1983 till 2001. The horizontal (series 2) line shows how the special school placement rate was fairly stable during the 2000s. The series 3 line shows how from about 2006 the rate of special school placements started to increase. Three lines rather than one line are shown as the analysed data during these periods had to use slightly different definitions of the age group and what was a special school. However, the trends are still clear despite the variations in data definition (Black and Norwich, 2014). The trends might reflect increased 'unforced' parental preference for special schools, but it may also reflect the reluctance of more autonomous schools to accommodate pupils with more significant SEN.

CASE STUDIES: ILLUSTRATING CURRENT EXPERIENCES OF SEN/ DISABILITIES

In this section of the paper I move the focus from national policy to the lived experience of SEN using the analysis from 12 case studies based on in-depth interviews with parents, teachers or teaching assistants selected by parents as best knowing their child and children or young people. The cases reflect the range of areas of SEN/disability as defined in England in terms of 4 broad dimensions of SEN, covering the range of provision settings (from ordinary to special schools), ages (5-18 years old) and gender (6 boys and 6 girls) in one region (see Norwich 2017, for more details).

Placement Preferences

Many of the parents and some teachers and teaching assistants were clear about reasons for not opting for a special school placement for the case study children or young people. They saw separation as less than ideal for two broad reasons, i. they were opposed to pupils spending time only with those with similar difficulties or disabilities and ii. excessive travelling distance from where they lived to separate settings. But, for many of them they realised that a separate specialised setting was sometimes necessary under some conditions for example, when there was a severe behaviour difficulty or an additional complex and care need.

When a parent had transferred their child to a special school or college or was willing to in the near future, the reasons given were mainly about issues in ordinary settings. For instance, in the case of a girl with Down Syndrome her parents, who were strongly committed to inclusion, had struggled to secure appropriate accommodations in a primary school. In another case, the mother of a boy with challenging behaviour difficulties recognized that her son might not cope in a primary school and was open to professional advice about the advantages of a separate setting. Several parents recognised that a special school might become more appropriate as their child approached secondary schooling.

However, when discussing what they would ideally prefer for their child, half of the parents were clear that they would prefer a special or resourced unit or centre in an ordinary school setting. This was evident across a wide range of SEN areas, with only one reference to a negative aspect of such units. In the case of a boy with autism, his mother when visiting a unit in a primary school observed that unit pupils were separated negatively when in ordinary settings. However, other parents preferred either combined special and ordinary settings or co-located provision where special settings were on the same campus and integrated with ordinary settings.

In light of these case study perspectives, there is a major policy gap in England about the planning of provision for pupils with SEN. The new SEN Code of Practice (DFE/DOH, 2014) has very few references to the function that units or centres can contribute to meeting needs and satisfying parental preferences. There is also no reference to co-located and combined placements. This is despite an earlier report by the inspection agency, which indicated some benefits of special needs units in ordinary schools in terms of pupil outcomes (Ofsted, 2010). Since then, there has been little research or development in this area of provision.

Attitudes and Beliefs about Separate/Special Settings
What these parents, teachers and teaching assistants wanted to see in their preferences for ordinary provision for children and young people with significant SEN/disabilities was a setting where these children will cope and thrive. Parents wanted to see the school having the commitment and expertise to support their child. Some parents were dissatisfied with schools not showing enough commitment to making provision work for their children.

When discussing whether there could be a fully inclusive school system, one with no special schools, a few parents and teachers had been initially very supportive of a full inclusion position. But, in time they came to see the value of special schools based on their own experiences, and sometimes with a sense of disappointment. For other parents, this was a matter of realism or pragmatism about what ordinary schools could or were willing to do. The cost of dispersed units staffed by very skilled professionals was an issue some parents understood. One parent talked about how having your child in an ordinary school might look inclusive, but not be so.

These accounts can be seen to show how parents experience hard choices about provision for their children. In two cases those involved could talk openly about their experienced need to balance some options, for instance, between ordinary versus separate provision by a mother, and feeling included with getting the help needed, by a student with SEN. These experienced tensions and the tensions implicit in the beliefs and experiences reported by other parents can be interpreted to reflect what has been called, dilemmas of difference in the special needs and inclusive education field. This is the tension that can arise from difference, differentiation and separation being enabling, but also stigmatising. This is a situation where there is a choice about risks associated with different options. As I have argued elsewhere, these tensions and their resolutions reflect some of the key issues in the special needs and inclusive education field (Norwich, 2008; Norwich, 2013).

Advice for Others

Participants were also asked if they could provide some advice for others based on their own experiences. Parents summarised the advice they would give teachers and other parents of children with SEN, having much more to say to parents than teachers. Parental advice to other parents can be summarised in these terms:

1. Be determined to secure the right provision for your child, by:
    ● Being 'pushy'
    ● Questioning what is offered
    ● Not being put off
    ● Being prepared to be disliked
2. Expand your understanding of SEN and disability, by:
    ● stretching your understanding,
    ● thinking out of the box
3. There is a definite place for some specialist separate settings.

The need for determination to secure the 'right provision' was the most frequent kind of advice for parents. By contrast the most frequent parental advice for teachers was to listen to parents and learn from them. Taken together this advice reflects parents' experienced tensions over securing adequate provision for their children and reaching consensus with professionals about this. By contrast teachers/assistants' advice for other teachers and assistants was not about the parent-professional tensions, but about getting to know the child and young person. This, they suggested, needed to be done effectively and could be person-centred, taking time to get to know the parent and child, finding out how the child or young person is different from others, recognising and testing the person's limits and communicating a little and often. While parents had advice for teachers and assistants, teachers and assistants very rarely gave advice for parents. When young people could articulate their views in the form of advice, a couple advised their parents about their wish to have more independence and choice. This was either in the form of only wanting a little, rather than a lot, of help from parents and wanting to be asked if they needed help.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS: WHAT FUTURE FOR INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

As I have outlined in this paper, there have been continuing questions about how to define inclusion and what is inclusive about inclusive education not only in England, but also internationally (see Norwich, 2013 for more detailed discussion

of this). One way to understand this terminological issue is to consider two questions about the definition issue, i. what kinds of inclusion are there? and ii. inclusion into what? The first question is about what inclusion is about. For this analysis, I will follow Ainscow's (2007) definition of inclusive education in terms of physical placement, academic participation, social participation/belonging and achievement. Though this is not a definitive definition of the aspects of what has been called inclusive education, it illustrates that inclusion can be about physical location (where a pupil is placed), while it can also be about academic engagement in a curriculum as well as social interaction with other learners, involving social acceptance and a sense of belonging with others. The fourth aspect of this definition is that inclusive education involves learning and achievement. But, the second question above indicates that the term inclusive also relates to different levels in the system. Not only can classes be inclusive of pupils with diverse characteristics, but so can schools and at higher levels of organization, local areas and even nations. How these two dimensions interact is shown in Figure 4 below.

Different combinations of these two dimensions in most of the cells illustrate the variety of practices that might be called inclusive in some respect. Inclusion as placement in an ordinary class (cell 1) is when a pupil with SEN might be present in a general class, but neither be participating academically nor socially with the other pupils. Cell 2 represents a pupil with SEN placed in an ordinary class and also participating academically in that class. Cell 3 represents a pupil with SEN in an ordinary class, perhaps participating academically or not, but participating socially and feeling a sense of belonging.

At the school level, a group of pupils with SEN in cell 4 are placed in an ordinary school unit, and so they are not placed in ordinary class, nor participating socially with other pupils. They are included in an ordinary school but not an ordinary class. This contrasts with cell 5 where the group of pupils with SEN might be in a unit part-time, but also part-time in an ordinary class and involved in some academic participation with other pupils. It also contrasts with cell 6 which represents a group of pupils with SEN placed in a unit, but who have some social participation with other pupils in an outside class activity, for example school assembly, sports, arts activities.

At a local area level, a group of pupils with SEN are placed in a special school (excluded from ordinary school), but are included in a local partnership with other ordinary schools (cell 7), where there may be staff and resources exchanged. Cell 8 represents a similar kind of local area inclusion but where the special school pupils share part-time joint activities in a local ordinary school. Finally, cell 9

Figure 4: Dimensions and levels relevant to inclusive education

|		WHAT KIND OF INCLUSION?			
		Presence; placement	Academic participation	Belonging: social participation	Achievement in common curriculum
INCLUSION IN WHAT?	**National**	9. Separate / special schools in national education framework			
	Local area	7. Group of pupils in special school, included in local partnership with ordinary schools		8.Group of pupils in special school, included in local partnership with ordinary schools; part-time joint activities in ordinary schools	
	School	4. Group of pupils with SEN included in unit, but not included ordinary class, no social participation	5.Group of pupils with SEN in unit part-time, also part-time in ordinary class with some academic participation / inclusion	6.Group of pupils with SEN in unit, but not ordinary class, but some outside class school activity social participation / inclusion	
	Class	1. Pupil with SEN in ordinary class	2. Pupil with SEN in ordinary class also participating academically	3. Pupil with SEN in ordinary class and also participating socially	

represents separate special schools participating/included in national educational frameworks.

For the purposes of concluding this paper, I draw from this analysis the conclusion that to use the terms inclusion and inclusive, we need to be specific about what kind of inclusion is meant and about what level of inclusion we are talking. This

will avoid much confusion, which has been discussed above in the English context, but also applies internationally. It will also serve to sharpen up what stakeholders in the education system mean when they talk about inclusion and how they plan and review provision for pupils with SEN.

To conclude this paper, I will examine what I identify as three current value models of inclusive education that arise from debates and dialogue within the UK and internationally. Figure 5 represents these three broad models about the relationship between the values of social inclusion and education. The first model associated with the widely known Inclusion Index (Booth and Ainscow, 2011), gives priority to social inclusion in the way it frames social inclusion in societal terms (involving community and social participation) and not just as institutional and interpersonal participation. Education values are influenced within this broad framework and given a strong social orientation. Inclusive education is therefore seen within this socially oriented perspective. This contrasts with the second model represented in Figure 5 in which the relationship is framed with educational values and aims being given priority over social inclusion, which is in turn framed mainly in institutional and interpersonal terms. Warnock (2005) represents this second model in presenting education as having strong academic-cognitive aims in what has been called the classical humanist tradition. Social inclusion in this perspective is about social belonging which could be in separate specialist or ordinary school institutions; education is about access to learning not necessarily 'under the same roof'.

Figure 5: Three current models of inclusive education

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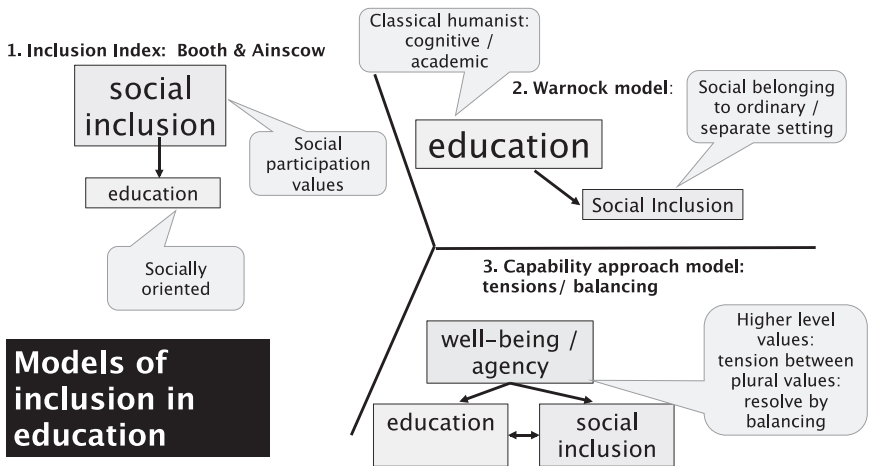
The third model represented in Figure 5 involves elements of what is called the capability approach (Sen, 2003). Education and social inclusion values influence each other, but are both influenced by basic well-being and agency values seen in terms of capabilities. Capabilities represent genuine and effective opportunities for people to achieve what they value (represented as valued functionings, which are actions and states that people want to achieve and engage in). Functionings represent what has been achieved, while capabilities represent the freedom to choose among valuable options.

Terzi (2014) argues that a capability framework clarifies the relationship between education and a just society; a democratic society owes all its children an effective opportunity to achieve educational functionings. This approach, therefore, focuses on the well-being of children and their quality of educational opportunities, on one hand, while recognising that personal differences exist in how resources are used to fulfil well-being, on the other. So, the capability approach takes account of human differences in how resources are used. This has particular relevance to disability which is seen in terms of capability limitations. So, the equalising of capabilities provides a framework that is sensitive to the demands for justice by people with disabilities. However, Norwich and Koutsouris (2017) propose, following Sen (2003) that the capability approach is incomplete in not determining a specific list of human values. This is a deliberate incompleteness because Sen recognises that there is not one way of specifying these valued functionings, a process which needs to be done through local democratic deliberations. When specifying the weight to be given to different valued functionings, Norwich and Koutsouris have suggested that various dilemmas, such as dilemmas of difference, will need to be addressed in practice. It is this third model, in the author's view, which captures the issues discussed in this paper about inclusive education (issues about identification of SEN, organisation of provision, placement, participation /voice and protection) better than the other two models of inclusive education discussed above.

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