Inclusion or Exclusion: The Special Education dilemma in Quebec Public High Schools

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ABSTRACT

Inclusion or Exclusion: the Special Education Dilemma in Quebec Public High Schools

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For too long Canadian schools have been chasing the notion of a standard "one size fits all" approach known simply as "full inclusion" within our public education system. Education policies towards the intellectually impaired has changed dramatically over the years: from Exclusion and possible private care to Special Education beginning in the 1960's to Mainstreaming and now "Full Inclusion" in the late 1980's. However, my research indicates that it is not working.

This research explores the problems and apparent failure of the full inclusion policy in one high school in Montreal with a high enrollment of "coded" students. I interviewed 2 administrators, 2 parents and 10 teachers. To collect data on aspects ranging from participants beliefs about inclusion as a policy in there school board to the financial cost of the inclusion policy.

Following these interview I offer a number of recommendations to implement a policy of partial inclusion, which recognizes the special and unique needs of individual students.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This body of work is dedicated to my little brother Sheldon; you will always be remembered and loved.

Thank you to my family for all their help and encouragement. You're always there when I need you most and for that I'll always be truly grateful.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the early 1990's, the Quebec Ministry of Education has embraced 'full inclusion', which can be defined, as the integration of students with a spectrum of special educational needs into the regular education setting, as the solution to the special education dilemma in public high schools across the province. However, the results of inclusion programs have been mixed, and some research has shown that some students with an array of non-physical disabilities do not benefit from inclusion (Hunt & Goetz, 1997). I say some due to the fact that data on anything other than physical disability is scarce when it comes to investigating inclusion, the norm of our public high schools. This thesis will explore the degree, to which the implementation of inclusion in school boards is the answer for the special education dilemma, and the circumstances under which inclusion is effective and circumstances in which it is not.

Coded students are those students who are allotted a number to identify their impairment (refer to Appendix B) ranging from mild to moderate and even severe mental disability, including those with learning disabilities and/or emotional and behavioral disorders. Their integration into general classrooms rather than special education classes has been a topic of hot debate. Historically, these students, for the most part, have received their academic lessons outside the regular educational classroom. The challenge to meet the needs of an

academically diverse student population is especially great at the high school level. Though the intentions of 'inclusion' are supposedly in the best interests of the children, in practice the policy is frequently counter-productive, and fails many children. The unilateral placement of all students, mentally disabled and gifted in a "one size fits all" model simply sets intellectually impaired students up for not only academic failure but also societal failure. The policy of 'full inclusion' is not for all disabled students particularly the intellectually impaired.

The recent past has seen an increase in the integration of low functioning children with significant intellectual disabilities into mainstream education, specifically at the public high school level. Parents and teachers of children with varying intellectual abilities came to believe that special education (being separated from the mainstream students) was not meeting the needs of their children (Andrews & Lupart, 1993). The students were therefore not achieving their desired goals (e.g., academic and social competence, and equal access and opportunity to educational experiences). It was assumed that individual programming; instructional modifications in mainstream classrooms, and teachers specially trained in areas of exceptionality would lead to more effective educational experiences for children with special needs in the mainstream classroom. These ideas formed the basis of the 'full inclusion' policy in the educational system. My argumentative stance is that the ideas of full inclusion should be debated as an educational innovation and verified or falsified by research, not enforced as dogma.

In the following chapter I will explore theories regarding education and disability and how they relate to my study. In chapter 3 the methodological parameters will be outlined and explained. Chapter 4 presents the findings from my interviews with two parents, ten teachers and two administrators from a public high school with a high enrollment of intellectually impaired students. Chapter 5 examines the benefits and consequences inclusion has on the intellectually impaired and the normal stream students. The situational interaction of the mentally disabled and the non-disabled is explored within inclusion and will be assessed. Chapter 6 is a call for reform, as I report on the recommendations of parents and teachers, who suggest that "full inclusion" fails. I recommend a policy of partial inclusion for the intellectually impaired. Concluding remarks and suggestions for future research are provided in chapter 7.

CHAPTER 2

EDUCATION AND IMPAIRMENT

2.1 HISTORIC OVERVIEW OF EDUCATION AND INCLUSION

Education is a prime mode of social mobility for individuals in contemporary Canada. It helps them to become more capable of leading healthier, happier, more productive lives as human beings. For the average person this idea of education is functional but when attention is focused onto the intellectually disabled the educational system does not provide the same opportunity. Historically, education serves five major manifest functions in society:

1. Socialization. In primary and secondary schools, students are taught specific subject matter appropriate to their age, skill level, and previous educational experience.

2. Transmission of Culture. Schools transmit cultural norms and values to each new generation and play an active part in the process of assimilation.

3. Social Control. Schools are responsible for teaching values such as discipline, respect, obedience, punctuality, and perseverance.

4. Social Placement. Schools are responsible for identifying the most qualified people to fill available positions in society.

5. Change and Innovation. Schools are a source of change and innovation. As student populations change over time, new programs are introduced to meet societal needs. (Ballantine, 1997)

There has been a steady, forward shift toward inclusion within our schools and our country over the past century to bring the functions of education to intellectually disabled individuals. Earlier times were significantly isolationist and exclusionist for those considered negatively different. Individuals who were deemed "different" from others in the community were often subject to much suffering and in many cases, death. People with obvious handicaps were either abandoned or ostracized, from the communities they were born into. To have such ill fortune was a plague on the family, and it was widely sanctioned for parents to practice euthanasia (Winzer, 1996). Thus, the predominant theme for those considered "handicapped" in early Canada was "exclusion". Education in Canada in the 1800's was strictly reserved for the children from privileged classes. However, during the turn of the twentieth century, as the country began to grow and prosper, considerable emphasis was put on the development of a public education system. All efforts and resources were duly allocated to provide Canadian children with a basic education, giving particular emphasis on learning to read and write (Lupart, 2000). Even though education was still not available to many, the impact of industrialization and new child welfare laws contributed to a positive, emerging view that schools were a vehicle for improvement of

individuals and society, a view that predominated in the first fifty years of public education.

For the first fifty years into the twentieth century, only limited education was provided for students with exceptional needs within the public education system. Their care and education was typically left up to parents, and often with the support of the church, some form of group care was established in homes and churches across the country (Lupart, 2000). For students with exceptional needs, notably the mentally disabled, this time period flamed a counter movement that focused on the hereditary permanence of "feeblemindedness" and the belief that mental retardation was the cause of most of society's problems including crime, delinquency, poverty, prostitution, and immorality (Lusthaus & Lusthaus, 1992). Consequently the practices of mandatory segregation in asylums and sterilization were sanctioned widely across Canada. These latter practices were only recently eliminated from existing legislation by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1986 (Lupart, 1998).

It was during the 1950s and 1960s that parents began to lobby for services for their exceptional needs children. Advocacy groups like the Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded (currently the Canadian Association for Community Living) and the Canadian Association for Children and Adults with Learning Disabilities became powerful influences on future education direction and the growth of special education within the public school systems (Andrews & Lupart, 2000). At the time, services that were informally provided for children with exceptional learning needs, in most provinces "operated separately from the

education system, with parents, volunteers, and occasionally trained teachers mostly responsible for funding, developing, and delivering instructional programs" (Andrews & Lupart, 2000, p.33). From these settings came educational practices that were more personalized and relevant to the needs of the students, and this precedent was an important factor as public schools gradually began to assume greater responsibility by creating special classes for children with exceptional needs in regular schools. Most often these services were organized and implemented on the basis of classification and categorical distinctions (particular codes assigned to students refer to appendix B) (Lupart, 2000). Concurrently, schools began to use testing and assessment procedures as the principle means of diagnosis and labeling of different categories of special needs children. Thus, began a system of educational service provision, for students with exceptional learning needs, recognized today as "Special Education."

2.2 SPECIAL EDUCATION

The widely adopted special education approach was embraced in the 1970s and has continued to be a strong element in present day schools. Recently, educational leaders have charged that the approach simply perpetuates the isolation and discrimination of students with exceptional learning needs (Andrews & Lupart, 2000; Skrtic, 1996). The special education approach, in practice, allowed schools and regular educators to carry on the way they always have. When certain students were considered to require something different from what was offered in regular education classrooms, they were

simply "decoupled" from regular education and put in a special class with a special teacher, and not much else had to change (Skrtic, 1996). This arrangement was successfully practiced for about three decades in Canadian schools, with the apparent satisfaction of regular and special education stakeholders. However, with increasing emphasis on inclusion and the mass return of exceptional students to regular education classrooms in the 1990s, alarms began to sound. Teachers became confused and overwhelmed about their changing roles and responsibilities. Students and parents raised their concerns about a "watered down curriculum" and the lack of services for students with exceptional learning needs.

Despite the fact that the "special education approach" perpetuated the isolation and segregation of students with exceptional needs, educators believed that the special students were better served in special classes because of reduced pupil-teacher ratios, special teaching methods, resources, equipment, and programs that were particularly geared to the unique needs of each category of students (Lupart, 2000). More important, parents and advocacy groups, jubilant at the victory of winning a place for their children in the public education system, were generally satisfied with the special education classes that were set up. In fact, an explosion of special education classes and exceptional student categories in public schools throughout the country that didn't stop until well into the 1980's (Lupart, 2000). The extent and range of educational services that were being offered to students with exceptional needs in the public education system included individual education programs, curriculum modifications, special

devices, special classroom arrangements, counseling services, speech/language therapy, occupational/physiotherapy, other therapies, medical services, and social services.

This began to change, however, in the 1980's and early 1990's school districts experienced continuous funding cuts. The special education system was becoming too expensive and was in direct competition with the regular education system, as both resources and personnel started to decline. Oddly enough it was the broader, public commitment to the social welfare and normalization of individuals with disabilities in communities across Canada, which led to the demise of special education within the public education system (Friend, Bursuck, & Hutchinson, 1998).

Meanwhile in the United States beginning in the 1970's, the influence of the civil rights movement and the federal legislation Public Law 94-142 which mandated that all children, regardless of disability, had the right to a free, appropriate education in the least restrictive environment passed in 1975. In the United States, as well as the growing social commitment in Canada, to foster normalization practices for persons with disabilities and handicaps in our communities, led to changes in Canadian public schools. As it was commonly practiced, this simply entailed the removal of segregated special needs students from the special education classroom and placing them in regular classrooms. It wasn't too long before complaints from both teachers and parents were voiced. How could we expect special education students, who had been removed from the regular education classroom, to be returned to the very setting where they

had failed in the first place? In an attempt to improve regular classroom services for students with exceptional needs, schools in the 1980's had to have an individualized education program developed and approved by the child's parent(s), and all special services and curriculum modifications were to be clearly specified and planned out beforehand. For many students with exceptional learning needs this meant that they would spend most of their time in a regular classroom setting with some within classroom modification, and/or some specialized pull-out classes. These "symbols" and "ceremonies" as Skrtic (1996) calls them, became the norm for what was generally referred to as "mainstreaming." Fashioned after U.S. special education systems, Canadian students with special education needs were placed in the "least restrictive environment" and were removed from special settings and placements to more normal educational settings as soon as possible.

Unfortunately, even though the services were up-dated and offered some regular class experience for most students, the onus was still placed on the individual with special needs to change in ways that would allow regular education to fit them into the "one size fits all" system of regular education. Around the 1990s, the inclusive education movement emphasized a unified system of education in which all students could be provided with an appropriate education (Andrews & Lupart, 2000; Lupart, 1998). Adopting a platform of human minority rights, proponents argued that schools needed to change classroom instruction and educational services to meet the diverse needs of all students. If

there were obstacles to the learning of any student, these were to be removed and/or adjusted so as to ensure their successful learning and development.

Unfortunately, this policy created so much misunderstanding and distrust, that the majority of school systems became paralyzed in a battle over regular and special education funding and resources, and opportunistic administrators began to systemically close down special education classrooms under the false guise of promoting inclusive education. The ultimate paradox was that the philosophy of inclusion that schools and school boards were promoting was in direct contradiction to actual practice. More and more students were being identified as requiring special education, and regular classroom teachers were becoming less tolerant of student diversity in their regular classrooms.

In concluding this brief historic overview, it is certainly apparent that many gains have been achieved in our schools and in the provisions to support students with exceptional learning needs. Policies have swung from exclusion (up to the 1950s) to "special education" in the 1960s and 1970s to "mainstreaming" in the 1980s and 1990s, in large part due to budget cutbacks, to the somewhat chaotic and immensely variable range of policies in the new millennium. The boundaries of students considered to be at-risk in our schools spread over to non-traditional special education categories such as students from cultural minorities, students who are culturally different, and students who are from poverty backgrounds. Clearly, radical change in our educational systems is required. This research will hopefully clarify the recommendations of teachers, administration, and parents.

2.3 MEDICAL VS. SOCIAL MODELS OF DISABILITY

Until recently sociologists have displayed little interest in disabilities, particularly intellectual disabilities. Most research on disability refers to body not the mind: perpetuating an unfortunate dichotomy that goes back to Descartes and Plato. One reason for this is offered by both Len Barton and Mike Oliver who argue that very often disability is seen as non-sociological as a consequence of the medical hegemony existing within modern societies (Barton, 1996). Barton draws attention to the negative imagery provided within the bio-medical model as a consequence of labels such as spastic, retarded, crippled etc. each of which serves to promote the idea that disability is synonymous with inferiority. In this way identity is being imposed by others and is not conducive to the self-development of identity.

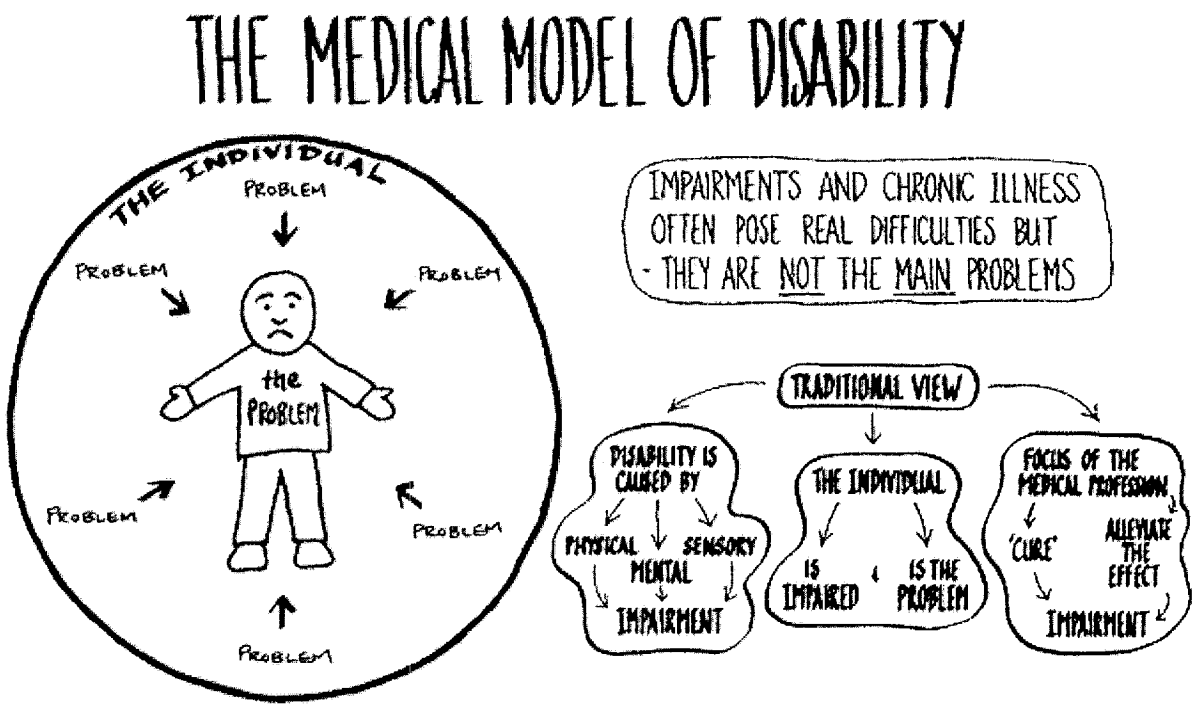
This is not to say that sociological studies are totally absent from disability studies but rather to illustrate that at the moment such sociologists are not operating from within a central position and are quite marginalized. At the same time both contemporary and classical sociology offer scope for studies concerned with explaining the social nature of disability in opposition to dominant views of disability as being either medically based or an issue for individuals to contend with (Barton, 1996). There is nothing new about this. Our culture represents disability almost exclusively as an individual problem requiring remedy (Titchkosky, 2003). The medical model of disability enforces the cultural

representation that disability is a 'problem' embodied in a person in need of remedial techniques and technology (Titchkosky, 2003).

MEDICAL MODEL OF DISABILITY

Our society often considers disability to be a tragedy for the individual and a burden for the family and society. Identification of learning disabilities and research regarding their etiology and appropriate treatment is always presented as offering neutral and objective facts about the 'problem' (Titchkosky, 2003). This is based on an individual or medical approach to disability. This model focuses on the lack of physical, sensory or mental functioning, and uses a clinical way of describing an individual's disability. There are certain 'norms' in development and in functioning against which the person is judged. This model leads to a dehumanizing view, where only the nature and severity of the impairment is important, together with the extent to which the difference can be put right or minimized. It defines and categorizes disabled people by their impairment, and it casts the individual as the victim or problem (Disability

Discrimination Act, 2002). Figure 1:



(Disability Discrimination Act, 2002)

Many disabled people have rejected this model. They say it has led to low self-esteem, undeveloped life skills, poor education and consequent high unemployment levels. It has also resulted in the segregation of disabled people, thus breaking natural relationships with their families, communities and society as a whole. Since this medical or individual approach results in emotions such as fear or pity, society has traditionally not recognized disabled people's needs as "rights". Where their needs have been met, it has often been through charitable giving - reinforcing the idea of disabled people as passive recipients. In this view, the medical model is the problem, as much as or more than the disability. The model disables, rather than enables or empowers.

Oliver critiques this medical model by turning to Talcott Parsons discussion of the sick role. This leads down two paths. Parsons sick role assumes that sickness brings with it a suspension of normal obligations but this is accompanied by an intention to "get better" through compliance with the medical profession (Turner, 1995). For disabled people there is an immediate problem in that they are not seen as able to "get better". We can sense a normative process implicit within Parsons ideological work. As such disabled people either end up as second-class citizens by virtue of unrelenting dependency or must seek, via expert help, to live as normal a life as is possible, where normal is ultimately unattainable. For Oliver this approach can be seen as reflecting "personal tragedy" as it locates the problem within the individual who has been designated as disabled (1996). An interesting slant on the Parsonian approach is offered by Wolfensberger who sees the category disabled as a product of agencies acting on behalf of the State to meet the needs of those deemed to be requiring of help (Barton, 1996: 44-45). The real unintended consequences are to create a group of workers who meet these needs and have, therefore, a vested interest in maintaining dependency.

A discussion of Wolfsenberger is offered by Oliver & Barnes who illustrate the ideology of normalization within the provision of services (1998: 52). They point out that Wolfsenberger's work may be of use to understanding disability within society but argue that it is more accurately a theory of services rather than a theory of disability. The aims of such service providers are paradoxical in that by trying to enhance the lives of disabled people through enabling them to live

lives that move towards normal they reinforce the notion of normal/abnormal and so contribute to the problems faced by those who may be placed within the category of abnormal by wider society. However they fail to make any recommendations towards Wolfensberger work.

In concluding the consideration of Functionalism, the implications for disability studies are obvious. Functionalism has always acknowledged that social structure may disable us. When we ignore this as a central feature of society we segregate certain groups and compound their disability. On the other hand the medical model of disability disables people's inability to join in society as a direct result of having an impairment and not as the result of features of society which can be changed.

Oliver's second concern is with Interactionist understandings of disability, which construct the disabled person as deviant. He suggest that Parsons sick-role sees the freedom from obligations as a consequence of an individual inability to be responsible within industrial society (Oliver,1996). The notion that the disabled are deviant can be found within Erving Goffman's discussion of stigma (which focuses on physical disabilities) in which disability is seen as a marker of inferiority wherein the process of stigmatization emerges within social interaction (Oliver, 1996). Although Goffman fails to address the underlying forces that enable some to be stigmatized as a consequence of social structures he does enable us to see disablement to be rooted within society rather than the individual. The weakness with Goffman is that he puts forward the idea that

disabled people in some way attract stigmatization by virtue of their condition rather than seeing the meaning of their condition as an imposed concept.

What is needed is an understanding of disability, which moves away from individualistic accounts rooted in medical understandings and normative models. The Social model is such an understanding of disability that moves away from the medical model and the old sociological models of Talcott Parsons and Erving Goffman.

SOCIAL MODEL OF DISABILITY

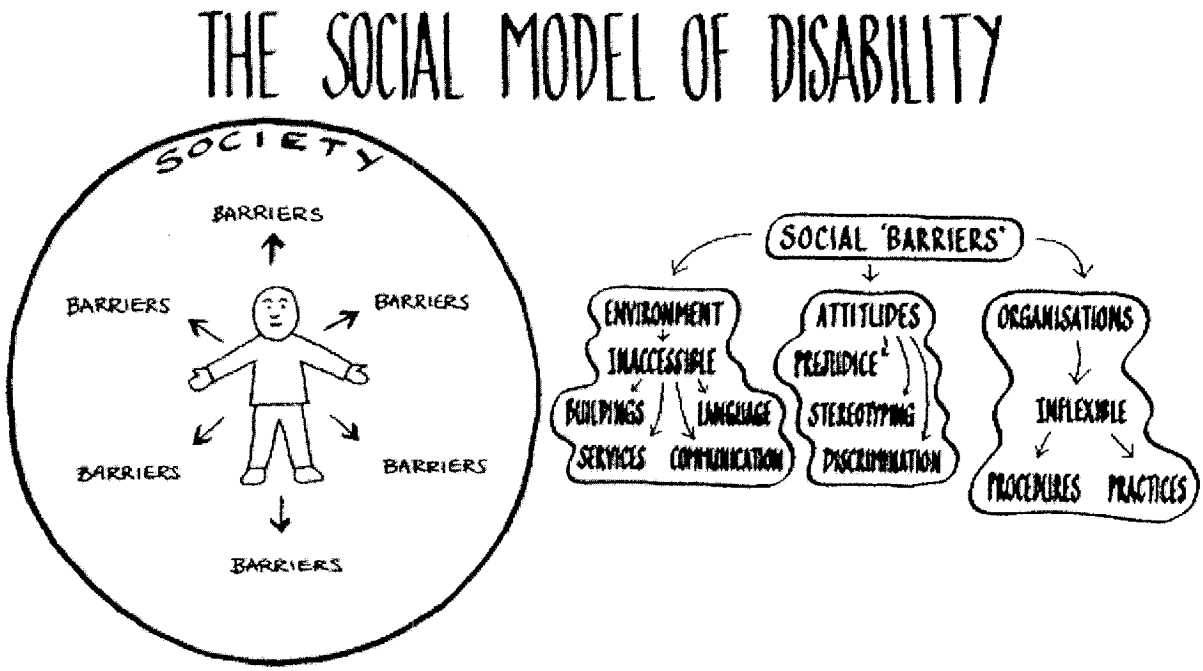
Disabled people have arrived at a different model to help understand the situation. They are challenging people to give up the idea that disability is a medical problem requiring "treatment", but to understand instead that disability is a problem of exclusion from the ordinary (BPTRP, 2002).

Rene Gadacz (1994:4-5) says that:

> *Disability can mean many things. Disability is a socially created category rather than an attribute of individuals. At the same time, disability is a formal administrative category... The essence of disability is the social and economic consequences of being different from the 'majority'... Disability can be viewed as a relationship between a person with a physical or mental impairment and the social and physical environment around him or her.*

That 'disability can mean many things' suggest that every move a disabled person makes is done in the midst of the many meanings disability holds (Titchkosky, 2003). Disability holds and views in the medical model as

burdensome. The social model holds a different view of the disabled offered in Figure 2:



This is what is known as the "social model" of disability, requiring a change in society's values and practices in order to remove the barriers to participation that result in discrimination against disabled people. It is clear that this is possible and does happen, e.g. changing steps into ramps, providing information in Braille and other formats, providing text phones, valuing different learning styles, providing public transport, offering special parking privileges, outlawing discrimination, special funding, etc... The social model does not deny the existence of impairments that may affect disabled people daily lives, but it shifts the emphasis onto the real barriers, which affect participation. The social model of disability demonstrates that removing barriers for disabled people benefits everyone (Saraga, 1998). This happens for example, by making the built environment more accessible (thus assisting parents with buggies, people with heavy luggage, older

people etc); or providing more accessible information (plain, jargon-free language clear typefaces and layouts or other methods of communicating information). This assists a wide variety of people. The social model locates the "problem" outside the disabled person and therefore offers a more positive approach because:

- it doesn't "blame" the individual or turn them into the problem
- it involves everyone in identifying solutions
- it encourages co-operative problem solving
- it removes barriers for others as well as disabled people, that is, it is an equal opportunities model
- it acknowledges disabled people's rights to full participation as citizens.

(Best Practice Trainers Resource Pack, 2002)

Writing in 1976 Paul Hunt writes:

> *"It is society which disables impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation of society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society." (Barton 1996:25).*

For Oliver it is this that paves the way for an understanding of disability as social emerging out of the interplay between socio-economic structures and individual impairment. This approach opens up two avenues for understanding disability in society. Firstly, it places disability alongside both sexism and racism as unacceptable ideologies and practices, and secondly it places it within a structural approach (1996). In respect of the former we can recognize how

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The goal of this thesis is to gain insight into the practice of inclusion in the public high school setting. This is a qualitative study and not an ethnographic study in which interviewing was the prime source of collecting data. Qualitative methods were used in order to obtain in-depth and detailed data. Armstrong and Armstrong (1983:32) commented on qualitative research, stating:

> *Qualitative research can... look at the meaning of experience in a way that cannot be measured by multiple choice questionnaires that generate machine readable answers. They can permit the investigation process to be an exchange which allows those being studied to participate actively in the description and definition of their lives.*

The interviews conducted encouraged a free flow of thoughts on the parts of the parties involved made up of teachers, administration and parents. Interviewing three distinct groups and using an open-ended interview style encouraged open discussion through participatory listening. These three distinct perspectives (teachers, administrators and parents), helped to triangulate the various attitudes toward inclusion in our public high schools. It also presented different views on the successes and failures of this educational policy.

3.0 THE HIGH SCHOOL

The high school I researched which I will fictitiously name Pleasant high school for confidentiality purposes was made up of 900 students in 2002/2003.

During the time of the research out of the 900 students, 163 of them were deemed coded. What makes this high school special is the fact that in the past decade or so Pleasant high school changed its mandate to become a full inclusive school. They accept all students regardless of ability level, mental or emotional disabilities, hence the high number of coded students at this particular high school. Though the school is promoted as a fully inclusive environment it actually practices to certain extent segregation. There are resource rooms with resource teachers and integration aides who are more or less responsible for educating the intellectually impaired in these separate environments. This is what makes Pleasant high school so unique and the fact that I am employed in this unique environment working with these intellectually impaired students made it the perfect environment to conduct my research.

3.1 INTERVIEW AND PROCEDURES

The interviews were conducted in the winter and fall of 2002/2003 at Pleasant high school where I am presently employed. After explaining to the principal the nature of my study, he was quite supportive and helpful. Interviews were tape recorded with the permission of the respondent, then transcribed. None of the interviewees objected to the interviews being recorded but six of the ten teachers were a little apprehensive at first. After explaining the nature and objectives of the research study and the anonymity of the respondents, their nervousness subsided. Each respondent signed a statement of informed consent. Thirteen of the fourteen interviews were conducted at the high school

and the fourteenth one was with one of the parents and it was conducted at her place of residence. Her boyfriend who was also interviewed is employed at the school in this particular school board in question. Each interviewee had one interview session lasting approximately thirty to forty minutes. Usually, the teachers and administration preferred to conduct the interviews at school during their one hour break. A wide selection of themes was covered in an attempt to generate a comprehensive understanding of inclusion and to take advantage of the open-ended interview style implored.

3.2 SAMPLE RECRUITMENT

Fourteen people, 10 teachers, 2 administrators and 2 parents participated in this study. Since I am employed at the high school I was familiar with the participants except for one of the parents (the mother). There was a core group of four teachers whom I knew I could interview, and from there I proceeded in a snowball manner, asking each of the four interviewees if he or she knew another teacher within the school who could give me another perspective. However, I cautioned them to only inform teachers that have had at least a year experience in an inclusive environment dealing with intellectually impaired students. The views of the teachers were both negative and positive but mostly negative in nature. The most positive aspect of full inclusion, which was consistent throughout the interviews, was the social aspect of exposing normal stream students to intellectually impaired students. The negative aspects of full inclusion was the main focus due to the discontent of the policy by one major group of

stakeholders namely teachers who's responsibility is primarily to implement the full inclusion policy within their classrooms.

I approached the administrators in the school to get their perception of inclusion at the high school level in order to find any commonalities or differences. The same idea was explored when I sat down with the parents of an intellectual impaired child. As mentioned above, it was important for me to enlist all these individuals in order to triangulate a purposeful view of inclusion in the high school setting (i.e. to get as many points of view as possible). Along with these three distinct groups views regarding full inclusion my own perspective has been induced throughout the thesis. The main focus and perspective is on the individuals interviewed.

3.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE

The participants ranged in age from 24 to 56. The interview sample is comprised of 10 women and 4 men. The reason for this discrepancy when looking at gender is that when looking at the impaired and who works with them it is actually made up of more females than males, at least in this high school. The four men in this study have experience with the intellectually impaired; they are an administrator, gym teacher, technical worker teacher and a husband/integration aide.

All the respondents have had at least one year of experience with the intellectually impaired. Nine of the ten teachers have had some sort of training in regards to special education. The teachers and administration have been at this particular high school for at least two years. The subjects in which the teachers

taught ranged from English, History, Physical Education, Resource (remedial classes in different subjects), Technical (Shop, Photography), Math, Science and Geography. Due to the nature of the study and the sensitivity of the topic, the names of all participants were changed.

The mother of the intellectually impaired child is forty years old and her son is fourteen years of age. The step-father is thirty-six years old and they have been together for five years. He has been working at the high school in question for five years to date. To preserve anonymity I decided not to tabulate the respondents.

3.4 METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

This study is not a random sample of the population studied, but it is representative of the teachers and the administrators. I studied a small number of individuals from whom I could receive the most data in terms of inclusion and its positive and negative effects on students, teachers and on the intellectually impaired academically and socially. The high school has fifty-five different teachers but only ten were interviewed. The reason for the small number of teachers is that not all teachers work with the intellectually impaired students. In high schools many teachers teach French immersion, advance enriched classes, and the upper level grades 10 and 11, and rarely see intellectually impaired students because they cannot fulfill the requirements. As for the lack of parent representation it comes down to the sensitivity of the issue and trust. Fortunately for myself I was able to gain the trust of the parents I spoke to by working with

the step-father in the same high school; hence it opened the door for me to speak to the mother of their impaired child. The administrators in the school were very cooperative. In all there are 3 administrators, two of the three sat down to talk with me. It was imperative to get the views of both administrators, to give me an overall view of inclusion in high school. Also, to give me specific views pertaining to the impaired kids entering inclusion in high school. The third administrator responsible for the upper level grades never got around to granting me an interview.

The conclusions drawn from this research can be generalized to the larger population within this particular school board, due to the fact that is based upon a representative sample of individuals within the school board. But this study cannot be generalized to all high schools within all school boards. The objective of this study is to explore the reality of inclusion in the public high school setting and illuminating the pros and cons of this policy. The mentally impaired have been neglected in the sociological realm. To date there is a lack of sociological research done on the mentally impaired and their role in society, larger studies must be conducted to provide a more balanced view of the mentally impaired. Follow up studies of intellectually impaired students leaving high school under the Full Inclusion policy is required to test whether it is working which opens the door to needed research. My research is merely a stepping stone into further much needed research on a topic that has been abandoned by sociologist.

CHAPTER 4

EXCLUSION OR FULL INCLUSION

In the following two chapters each topic will be introduced, quotes from the respondent (s) will follow, and then a discussion of the findings will be provided. The goal of this format is to present the views of the respondents as much as possible in their own words. I want to reiterate that the findings provided can be generalized to the larger scope of the school board in question therefore making their responses valuable in terms of what they bring to our understanding of inclusion.

Can developmentally disabled children learn more in a full inclusion classroom than they would in a special class? Thirty-five years ago, most mentally disabled children were excluded from any form of education in public schools (Lupart, 2000). Today, the pendulum has swung full force in the opposite direction placing larger number of disabled students in full inclusion classes and reducing the school system's reliance on separate special education programs.

TABLE 1 : PERCENTAGE OF THE DAY IN A REGULAR EDUCATION CLASSROOM

	Percentage of the day in a regular education classroom						Separate facilities		Residential facilities		Home/hospital	
	80 or more		79-40		Less than 40							
Type of disability	1988-89	1998-99	1988-89	1998-99	1988-89	1998-99	1988-89	1998-99	1988-89	1998-99	1988-89	1998-99
All disabilities	30.5	47.4	39.0	28.4	24.3	20.1	4.6	2.9	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.5
Specific learning disabilities	19.6	45.1	57.9	38.4	20.9	15.5	1.3	0.6	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Speech or language impairments	75.6	88.5	19.0	6.6	3.8	4.5	1.4	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Mental retardation	5.9	13.8	22.4	29.2	58.9	51.1	11.3	5.0	1.2	0.5	0.3	0.4
Emotional disturbance	14.1	25.5	30.0	23.0	35.8	33.2	13.4	13.3	3.8	3.6	2.9	1.4
Multiple disabilities	7.0	10.5	14.1	16.6	46.2	44.8	25.9	22.9	4.0	2.9	2.8	2.3
Hearing impairments	26.9	39.6	21.0	18.7	33.5	25.3	8.5	7.1	9.8	9.0	0.2	0.2
Orthopedic impairments	29.3	45.6	18.6	20.5	33.5	27.3	11.1	4.5	0.7	0.2	6.9	1.9
Other health impairments	29.9	44.3	20.3	33.2	19.6	17.2	7.8	1.6	0.8	0.3	21.6	3.4
Visual impairments	39.8	49.6	25.4	19.4	20.3	16.5	4.7	6.8	9.4	7.1	0.5	0.6
Autism	—	20.3	—	13.1	—	51.1	—	13.5	—	1.4	—	0.4
Deaf-blindness	11.6	14.1	5.3	9.4	29.9	34.8	25.9	22.6	26.1	17.4	1.2	1.7
Traumatic brain injury	—	31.2	—	26.3	—	29.8	—	9.0	—	1.4	—	2.3

This chart is taken from the National Center for Education (2000) in the United States. It demonstrates the shift over a 10 year span from 1988 to 1998 of the disabled student population into mainstream classes. Notably the dramatic increase in the proportion of students with disabilities who spend 80% of their day in regular classrooms : up from 31% to 47% a significant increase. Increases have been high for students with all types of disabilities, but especially for those with problems of mental disabilities.

The new term, full inclusion, sounds democratic and forward thinking, but does it really address the needs of the children? I argue that the concept of full inclusion is deceptive because it helps parents and society believe their children are being normalized. It takes away the stigma of 'special education,' or 'disabled'. It makes administrators feel good because they are integrating all students into one common program. In reality, inclusion is creating a nightmare for the teachers and is harming both regular and special students.

I have interviewed teachers, administrators and parents on their experiences of inclusion, and their views on it as educational policy. The purpose of inclusion will begin the discussion, not least because this was the starting point of all of the respondents. The implications of inclusion are considered; the effects of inclusion on the teachers, administrators and parents is explored in addition to the problems faced with in high school.

Between 1986 and 1999, the number of students in Canada with learning disabilities who were educated in regular classrooms increased to nearly 30 percent, whereas the percentage served in resource rooms or separate classes decreased substantially (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1999). When we consider that many students were first identified as being learning disabled precisely because of their lack of academic success in general education classrooms, we must ask, is it educationally reasonable to place these students back in inclusive classrooms? To answer this question and others inclusion raises, the responses from teachers, administrators and parents will be the foundations of these upcoming chapters.

Many teachers in my research have a passion for their profession and are committed to holistic student learning. When it comes to the topic of inclusion the teachers interviewed expressed levels of concern. The commonality between all the teachers and their views on how inclusion has affected them professionally is unique and at the same time a cause for concern. These concerns start with their difficulty in carrying on with traditional duties; and it is a daunting task to free up the energy, time and good will needed for the

intellectually impaired, especially given the feeling that they have not had sufficient time to prepare. Ultimately, teachers feel that the intellectually disabled are not benefitting from inclusion. The challenge to meet the needs of an academically and socially diverse student population is especially great at the high school level. Most high school teachers work with more than 100 students daily and the time for individual students is quite limited, and often teaching different subjects at various levels is time consuming and difficult.

In 1996 the president of the Lakeshore Teachers' Association, Jim Wilson was prompted to investigate the teachers attitudes pertaining to inclusion. Mr. Wilson published his concerns and findings in the Montreal Gazette and made an astounding discovery :

> *When we polled our membership we decided to do so by secret ballot, which permitted individuals to express themselves without being subjected to any pressure. The results were overwhelming. With more than 85 per cent of our members casting ballots, more than 90 per cent thought the system was not effective. (Montreal Gazette, Oct 26, 1996).*

After getting a vote of such magnitude from those individuals that carry out the mandate of inclusion, one would think a change would be made. On the contrary, one commissioner claimed he was "offended" by it. Had the teachers in 1996 crossed the line? Francine, a Math teacher, responds:

> *Because unfortunately we have to listen to superiors, the powers that be have decided to remove them. Teachers were not asked "does this work? Have you been doing your best?" The decision has been made. If asked I would give my opinion, but no one comes to check on you or give*

alternate solutions. This is just the way things are suppose to be now regardless of if it works or not.

Too often, many students with disabilities are placed in inclusive classrooms because of human rights, legal decisions, and ethical considerations instead of the educational and social needs of the child (Hunt & Goetz, 1997, Manset & Semmel, 1997). Some students with mild disabilities can be successful in inclusionary classrooms, but full inclusion is presently not superior to more traditional special education models (Manset & Semmel, 1997). The teachers interviewed concurred, Beth a resource teacher of twenty-five years responds:

> *I don't think we are preparing these students for independence, I think we can though. If we go back too the good old days, (the days people don't like to talk about) when there was special education programs which were successful in the past things would be better. Success for these students is being able to succeed at their own level. We can prepare every single student at their own level if we realize their level. It can be anything from counting change to go shopping, to preparing meals, or being prepared for if they can college or university. Right now we are not doing this; instead we are pretending that everyone can learn the same thing at the same time. I don't understand how anyone in the field of education can pretend such a thing.*

Teachers are being asked to go over and beyond the call of duty at the end of the day who is it benefitting? It should be the intellectually impaired students, but vice-principal Henry sums it up very clearly :

I feel high school does not meet the needs of all students. Any school or school board that has one plan for student achievement certainly will not get the best out of their students. There are those students who will always need to be directed to work study programs because they cannot cope with the academics. And I think all school boards are obliged to make sure those programs are provided. There are those that will make the academics, but they are going to take longer than the 19 years that the government and school boards requires. It should be made possible for these students to attain some level of training in high school this may mean smaller classrooms and additional personnel at all levels. As it stands these students aren't coping, and so by the time they leave high school they know they don't have a certificate. Most are not even prepared for the job market and I think students look back and say "Well I wasn't helped in school, I wasn't prepared". That is the downside of inclusion, not preparing students appropriately to take part in the job market.

Placing students with disabilities in the general education classroom without regard to their needs does not support the goal of providing appropriate educational programs (Smith & Dowdy, 1998). As it stands now in the school board we do not have appropriate educational programs that benefit these impaired students.

4.1 TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATION

Despite the growing trend toward inclusion, some studies have revealed reluctance on the part of many general education teachers to participate in inclusive practices (Lackaye, 1997). One study has suggested that this reticence

may be due in part to a perceived lack of preparation to teach exceptional learners (Austin, 2001).

The importance of teacher attitudes toward inclusion is reflected by the numerous studies conducted in that area. For example, Scruggs and Mastropieri's (1996) meta-analysis of 28 studies conducted from 1958 to 1995 found that overwhelmingly teachers support the general concept of inclusion. On the other hand, only one third of the teachers felt that they had the time, preparation, resources, and skills needed for successful inclusion. These findings highlight the difference between espoused theories and theories in use (Senge, 1990). The gap is between how teachers would like classes to be, i.e., inclusive, versus the realities of the demands of every day school life.

Teacher attitudes about inclusion change when it is viewed from the inside of the classroom. Van Reusen, Shoho, and Barker (2001) found that high school teachers reported negative attitudes toward inclusion, viewing "it as an obstacle to the current teaching assignments and responsibilities" (p.14). Van Reusen et al. (2001) noted that successful inclusive education in high school is dependent upon the attitudes of the teachers involved, as well as the support they receive during the implementation process. They recommended that, "high school principals and other administrators contemplating inclusive education programs need to consider teacher attitudes and beliefs about inclusion prior to its implementation" (p.13). These researchers felt that one-day workshops or one time orientation meetings were not effective; there must be a move away from a purely technical approach of inclusion to an understanding of the larger issues

involved. Further, they recommended that in order to improve teacher attitudes toward inclusion, on-going workshops and professional development programs should address their concerns about inclusion.

However, an examination of teacher or faculty attitudes toward inclusion does not provide sufficient insight regarding the core issue: working with children with disabilities. Cook, Tankersley, Cook, and Landrum (2000) pointed out that positive teacher attitudes toward the concept of inclusion do not correlate with successful outcomes for students in inclusive settings. The researchers found that "...certain students with disabilities present themselves outside of teacher tolerance" (p.131). Therefore, the attitudes of teachers towards atypical students do more profoundly affect student-teacher interactions and learning outcomes than the predisposition of these teachers towards inclusion. In a study of high school teachers, Cook et al. (2000) found that general education teacher attitudes toward students with disabilities reflect a feeling of insufficient preparation for teaching students with differences. Thus, the feelings of lack of efficacy in the classroom and personal attitudes toward individuals with disabilities on the part of the classroom teachers become key issues in creating successful inclusive classrooms.

Because general education teachers appear less receptive to students with disabilities (Cook et al, 2000), the question then arises as to which type of disability, if any, and what degree of severity these teachers might consider appropriate for inclusive education? Such a determination may reflect teacher attitude toward disability. Avramidis, Bayliss, and Burden (2000) described

research that found educators varied greatly in their perceptions of which students should be included. In addition, these researchers reported on a study by Bowman (1986) that identified a hierarchy of students with disabilities who were considered acceptable for inclusion. Students with severe mental disabilities and multiple disabilities were considered least acceptable, whereas students with medical or physical disabilities were considered most acceptable. Similarly, Clough and Lindsay (cited in Avramidis et al., 2000) found that some teachers were concerned about including students with learning difficulties as well as those with emotional/behavioral disorders. This finding and those of related studies leave very little to choose from in identifying an "acceptable" population for inclusion.

Normal stream teachers teachers who were interviewed expressed feeling overloaded with work to begin with, they support some inclusion but feel unskilled, untrained and lacking in the expertise to work with students with mild-moderate and sometimes severe disabilities. According to Marie, who was fortunate enough be adequately trained responded :

> *I was shocked to learn that McGill doesn't even have a special education program anymore. They're not training special Ed teachers anymore; they have an inclusive program now. You're trained in inclusion. So they're going to waste 5 to 6 years and have at the end of that period, no special Ed teachers to show for it when they are most in need of them. Because in 5 to 6 years they will see that this was a mistake and that it's not working. So let's hire some special Ed teachers and do it the way we used to, but*

there aren't going to be any. They're not training them. So there's going to be a big need at the end of my career. I know someone will come to me and say "god, we really need you to..." and I will say no. We need to see this and I hope it doesn't take too long. I hope someone has some smarts and go back to training some special education teachers.

Many teachers are skeptical about inclusion for intellectually disabled students, fearing that also the lack of training and expertise in implementing the best practices for these students will lead to frustration on both the teacher and the child.

When it came to inclusion and its impacts on Lisa an English teacher of twenty-five years responded :

Inclusion to me equals aggravation because instead of doing 1 or 2 lesson plans, you are doing 4,5 and sometimes 6 each period and as a high school teacher teaching 4 to 5 classes a day, it's a lot of work. It has made my job impossible, really impossible. I have such a number of coded kids with learning disabilities, behavioral problems, autism. You can see everything and anything in my class. The numbers are growing to the point now that I can't possibly teach a regular grade 7 class, because I have to find the balance where the average student won't become bored, and the coded kids won't become frustrated and act out. So the level of what I'm teaching has dropped, and that's not fair to anybody.

This is not the only concern of teachers when it comes to inclusion, Susan a special education teacher of twenty-two years, became a normal stream teacher out of frustration with the way special education was going. She responds:

Teaching is a rewarding and frustrating profession. Teachers like me, want to do everything possible for students. My frustration level quadruples because I can't do my best for these intellectually impaired students. I am frustrated due to the fact that I can't help them but I have to which in turn distracts me from teaching the normal stream students. I feel cut into pieces; I come out of lessons feeling like students did not get all they could have gotten from the class, because I had to fracture myself into so many parts.

After posing the question of how inclusion has affected you as a high school teacher? The responses of all ten teachers shared the same sentiments of the exerpts taken from above. There is no surprise that professionally teachers have ambivalent views on inclusion. Teaching is an increasingly stressful occupation, even in the classroom which does not include students with obvious disabilities.

The challenge for administration in a high school is to sell something that sounds good on paper and makes it a realization in one's own school. Because the principal and vice-principal are seen as the leaders of the school, it is imperative that the commitment to inclusion be reflected in the school. The administration of high schools serves as the mouthpieces of the school board. They are expected to develop the policies, which consist of supposedly three essential components. These components are supposed to be implemented by the administrator's of public high schools within the school board. Schools must provide enough time for in-services and training required to implement specialized instructional programming in the inclusionary classroom (Villa,

Thousand, Myers, & Nevin, 1996). Time required for training could be as long as a full year before implementing a new inclusive program model. During this year, monthly meetings should be conducted to discuss various aspects of inclusion like behaviour management skills, social skills, modifications, and others. These meetings should also include all individuals involved with the inclusion program: the general education teachers, the special education teachers, administrators, students with and without disabilities, parents, secretaries, custodians, counsellors and nurses. Involving everyone increases the chance of successful inclusion (York-Barr, Doyle, Kronberg, & Crossett, 1996).

The notion of merging the current separate systems of education into a unified system of education that can meet the needs of all students has been around for at least two decades (Andrews & Lupart, 2000). Although the idea of reconstructing our public high school systems into a unified system of education that captures the best of what we have in regular education and special education is appealing to administrators, finding the way and means of actually doing this has been difficult. There is no lack of strategies and approaches that have not been tried, but why have we decided to stick with the promotion of full inclusion. Too often, administrators are forced to implement inclusion in their schools. The board believes inclusion is the best course of action to deal with the special education dilemma in our public high schools. Inclusion has put administrators into a tough situation. In an attempt to grasp how the administration deals with some of the implications of inclusion I interviewed two

administrators, a principal and a vice-principal. The principal, Mr. Todd Smith, expressed to me his views on inclusion:

> *I'm a firm believer in inclusion, from kindergarten to probably to most of high school. However, in extreme cases that changes to only grade 7 or 8 of high school, kids should have programs specifically designed for them. I'll give you an example if we get a grade 7 or 8 with a mental age 5 years old and will never function higher than that, what is the point of having he/she sitting in the back of the class drawing. To me that is a waste of time. A child like that would be better off in an environment more appropriate for his/her level where we would be basically be teaching them life skills. I believe that inclusion works in 80-85% of the cases, but in the extreme cases we are not doing these kids any service.*

The principal is therefore "a firm believer in inclusion" he thinks it works in "80-85% of the cases" except by grade 9 it no longer works. Martha Henry the vice-principle seems to agree with Todd Smith:

> *If we look at the old days, these kids never observed or didn't function in a real classroom setting. Inclusion is realistic because there is a whole spectrum of people they are exposed to. It is more realistic to life. On the other hand, the more severe cases the kids just go through the motions and don't learn independence, but dependence.*
> *Inclusion really means having as many students with varying disabilities working within the same program. But, I think once students get to high school, I think we're fooling ourselves to think that they don't recognize that they can't cope, and they begin to act out. They become very much aware that by grade 9 they are not passing. They realize they are failing and we are fooling ourselves to think that those students aren't aware that they are not going to pass high school.*

It would be an acceptable option to put a child with severe disabilities into a more appropriate setting. But then we as society are taking away the child's principle of normalization, which suggest that all individuals have a right to live, learn, and work in the mainstream of society (Richler, 1991). The educational practice of supported inclusion rests on a belief that all individuals are intrinsically worthy, and that all individuals have a right to the goods of society (Richler, 1991). Education is such a good. Yes, education is such a good but when the mental capacity of an individual cannot absorb the goods the philosophy of inclusion cannot be warranted.

Mrs. Martha Henry adds:

> *These special needs students are put into classes with students who can cope with the program. Classes are often at their maximum capacity and the number coded students just aren't able to cope; and the teachers can't, as much as they want to, give the time needed to help the students individually.*

Schools do not provide enough support staff for inclusion to succeed, this will be examined in the upcoming chapter. If students with disabilities are going to be placed in the general education classrooms, the teachers should have some direct assistance. The premise of inclusion is that it is geared toward assisting "every student" in the classroom but this is not being done. Teachers become discouraged, with good reason, and this becomes a problem for administration to deal with: the actual acceptance of inclusion. The principal suggested another reason why inclusion works better in elementary than in high school:

> *Teachers have not accepted inclusion at the high school level. It seems to work a bit better in elementary schools in high schools it is relatively a new phenomenon. What typically happens in high school is you have teachers that are content driven. So if you go to a high school teacher, they will see themselves as a History teacher, a Math teacher or a French teacher, they see themselves as teachers so for them, the most important thing for them is making sure they cover the content,* which doesn't serve us well.

The vice-principal also seems to blame the teachers:

> *Teachers have not accepted inclusion and I have no problem saying that. I think you have to have at least the training, you have to be informed, you have to be able to work in teams.*

The principal and vice-principal recognize that learning problems are contextual. They exist within the context of the classroom where the curriculum design and the instructional strategies employed by the teacher influence the degree to which exceptional students can be served. A commitment to inclusion means that teachers commit themselves to resolving problems that may arise in the classroom. Teachers are expected to solve problems that they are not trained to resolve. Principal Smith commented on the lack of training of teachers, and the lack of resources:

> *Typically what happens is that high school teachers are trained in the content area, their trained in delivering instruction to a class of 30 students who are more or less on the same page. That's not the reality of teaching today, in a typical high school class today; you may have students with a reading range in a class from grade 2 to grade 11. The teacher is supposed to differentiate instruction, and modify curriculum. Have they been given formal training? No. Should there be? Yes. Are we there? No.*

Teachers need to be trained and given more time and resources in order to carry out proper inclusion.

There should be widespread concern about the attitudes and capacity of teachers and school leaders to provide appropriate educational services in regular classrooms to those who are not typical, mainstream, classroom students. These concerns are primarily focused on the following issues:

- Classroom teacher expertise to construct and deliver appropriate educational services to those with mental disabilities and effectively.
- Classroom teacher and school administrator attitudes toward working with students with disabilities
- Inadequate material, curricular, technological, and human resources.

School leaders must put careful time and effort into the planning and implementation process. They must work diligently to develop and impart a clear vision of what an inclusive classroom is if that is the course of action they choose to deal with the intellectually impaired students. Because the majority of teachers who have been in the educational system for a while are used to the traditional approach to special education which encouraged the classroom teacher to refer any difficulties to experts who would diagnose, prescribe, and invariably provide alternate instruction for the impaired student (Little, 1985). The implicit message back then was that regular classroom teachers were not qualified to provide education to a student with significant learning disabilities. If

teachers are not qualified and administrators are aware of this, why do parents subject their intellectually disabled children to public high school?

4.2 PARENTS

Some parents advocate for full inclusion on the basis of human rights. They believe that individuals should be able to read and write and to have equal opportunity in life. Others argue, if your child does not know how to read and write and sits in back of class drawing or putting together jig saw puzzles how does full inclusion benefit this student? I have witnessed this myself, kids wasting away day after day in a normal stream classroom instead of having qualified individuals supporting and helping these children. I have spoken about the birth of inclusion and how parents played a huge role in developing this policy. Jim Wilson the then president of the Lakeshore Teachers' Association explained the difficulty of conflicting viewpoints:

> *"When a board determines to adhere to full-inclusion policy, there are significant implications for all students, their parents and the teachers. The first impact is on choice. I distinctly remember talking to a mother who wished to have her child placed in a "closed" special-education class. She believed her daughter's needs would be best met in that kind of environment. The school board official refused the daughter entry, unless the mother agreed to have her "included" in a regular class." (Gazette, Oct 26, 1996, B6).*

Teachers are not the only group of individuals who have concerns about inclusion. Parents also have their reservations with good reason as seen in the

above quote. Clearly, the concern of parents and me is not so much with inclusion as with full inclusion. Parents' concerns are forged out of their struggles to get appropriate educational services for their children and those others. They are concerned that, with the shift of primary responsibility for the education of these children from special education teachers to regular classroom teachers, there will be a loss of advocacy (Skalaroff, 1994). Parents of those with learning disabilities also have significant concerns about the wholesale move toward inclusion. Their concerns stem from the fact that they have had to fight long and hard for appropriate services and programs for their children (Liberman, 1992). They recognize that students with learning disabilities do not progress academically without individualized attention to their educational needs. These services have evolved primarily through a specialized teacher working with these students individually or in small groups, usually in a resource room setting. Many successful practices have been researched and identified (Lyon & Vaughn, 1994). Special education professionals and parents alike are concerned that regular education teachers have neither the time, nor the expertise to meet their children's needs (Lyon & Vaughn, 1994). Some parents of students with more severe disabilities are concerned about the opportunities their children will have to develop basic life skills in a regular classroom setting. They are also cautious about inclusion because of fears that other students will ridicule their children.

These same fears and concerns drove my next interviewees to find another option for their son Tommy. I sat down with Tommy's parents to attain a

parental perspective of inclusion and to give them an opportunity to voice their concerns. The stepfather, whom I work with, was the major force who pushed for an alternative setting for his stepson. They explain why they were so eager to find alternative means to educate their son:

> *We live right across from the high school, but my husband works there and he told me "listen don't send him there". As much as I wanted my son to be there because he would be close to home and my husband would be there, the school just did not provide adequate learning skills for Tommy. The reason we decided to take Tommy to a school downtown is because they have a class specifically for Tommy. The high schools here in the West Island do not have the type of services that we needed for Tommy. They said they had classes but they really don't. What this particular high does downtown is half inclusion, where they can have lunch and recess with the high school students. They have a regular system like everyone else, except that they have a room by themselves and they're taught life skills. A bus is provided for him to go all the way there because their program is more thought out.*

Tommy receives adequate support in an environment that is geared to his needs and the end result is:

> *Tommy loves it. His high school experience is very good because he has the best of both worlds. He has his classroom that his classmates are in, where he gets to see them and interact with them and at the same time he also gets to interact with the normal stream kids.*

Why deny the right of children to reach their potential? These parents I interviewed proactively looked for other means for their child to meet his

potential. In high schools across Canada and in fact the world has practiced segregation of students. Parents of prodigies, brilliant children are put into advanced classes away from the average student because they are better served when they are able to work with other gifted students. Parents demand for their kids to put into a situation that challenges their children so they can reach their maximum potential. Others argue that impaired students benefit more from being heterogeneously grouped with other students of various levels of ability (Tompkins & Delony, 1994). Sofer points out that "students who have been identified as 'gifted' or as 'disabled' need not be segregated from others in order to have their needs met, nor dumped with others without differentiation or appropriate treatment" (1994: 27). However, their parents and other advocates have fought for specialized services (occurring in segregated settings), and they are reluctant to allow inclusion to be the wave of the future, a reform which is perceived to them as a move backward. This is Jim's take on inclusion. He has been a physical education teacher for two years; his attitude expresses the concerns of many teachers and more importantly parents:

> *Well inclusion is a broad sweeping statement that includes all kinds of kids that have physical, mental, and social, all kinds of problems. I think unfortunately instead of sweeping them all together what should have happened is that they should have looked at each case individually and said "ok, for this child inclusion will work, for this child inclusion may not be the best alternative". Nobody has done that. They just made a broad sweeping statement that we will include everybody and a way we go. I think it hurts the kids that get included and I think it could hurt the other kids in the school too. Now again, there are some pros and cons to it, but I*

think overall from what I've seen it's not as productive as it was thought that it would have been.

With the onset of inclusion teachers, administrators and parents alike within this school board are left to scramble to deal with the shortcomings of inclusion. These parents of these intellectually impaired children are left to wonder what will become of the future of these children, who are dispersed throughout the school board.

CHAPTER 5

THE STUDENTS AND INCLUSION

By far the most important element of education is quality learning, and this cannot be compromised by desires for belonging. Every child should have a full range of options in order to obtain an equal quality of education. If they do not have that full range of quality education the outcomes can be detrimental. This chapter examines the students and inclusion, the components that make up the full inclusion policy (Individual Education Plan) and life after high school for the intellectually impaired students.

The movement toward full inclusion of students with disabilities into general education classes has become the overwhelming trend in education (Chow & Kasari, 1999; Mamlin, 1999). This is especially the case at the elementary level where full inclusion seems to work better. Elementary schools are smaller in comparison to high schools, teachers are with their homeroom classes for 90% of the day unlike high schools where teachers can see up to 100 different students in the course of their day, elementary schools curriculum can be viewed as basic life skills training learning the basics of various topics, high schools curriculum is content driven, where marks and grade point averages matter to students. So when looking at full inclusion and the pros and cons of this policy the educational environment makes a considerable difference. There

is a lack of research on the positive side of full inclusion in high schools because the positives are far an few between in such a setting.

It has been said by pro-inclusionist that inclusive education has brought about improved academic functioning for children with disabilities (Manset & Semmel, 1997; Sideridis et al., 1997), but it also offers them the opportunity for socialization with their peers without disabilities in general education classrooms (Giangreco, Dennis, Cloninger, Edelman, & Shattman, 1993; National Center for Educational Restructuring and Inclusion, 1994). While early studies have investigated the academic performance of children with disabilities in inclusive settings, there has been increased interest in and attention to the social adjustment and social functioning of children with disabilities in inclusive settings (Vaughn, Elbaum, & Schumm, 1996; Vaughn, Elbaum, Schumm, & Hughes, 1998).

Data exist regarding the effects of inclusive education settings on the social functioning of students with disabilities. Vaughn and others (1996) found full inclusive classrooms to have a positive impact on the peer relationships and self-concept of students with learning disabilities; but the inclusive situation can do more harm than good according to Shirley Micheals a math/ English teacher of 21 years expresses her concerns regarding the effect inclusion has on special needs students:

> *I've only seen it for 3 or 4 years, one example in particular I noticed a couple years ago it was concerning a girl in grade 7. She was a very depressed girl. I am not a psychologist and none of us are; we are only teachers and we only*

observe what we can observe. Part of this girl's depression was caused by her not being able to keep up and by her having enough intelligence to see that she was never going to be able to do or participate in some of the things her supposed inclusive environment peers were going to be able to participate in. I would be really worried that some of these children that we are trying to plunk into the regular classroom environment, for the sole purpose of socialization and all academic subjects are ***nonsense****. There are places for some of these children to be in inclusion and able to socialize but not in the strict academic surroundings of high school. These students tend to recognize in each other the fact that they also have a problem of some sort and will tend to hang around with each other. They are not going to intermingle and honestly, I don't know that the regular students are too welcoming to them. You know, they'll say 'hello' in the hallway, but we have sort of trained our students at large to be aware of and be polite to and to be tolerant, but they're not going to socialize with them. They are not going to exchange phone numbers and become best buddies after school.*

The dark side of inclusion is that students can become stigmatized, stereotyped, and excluded; and students may suffer from peer rejection and lowered self-image. Labels define a social construct rather than fixed attributes or characteristics of individuals (Andrews & Lupart, 2000). This is the case for some of these impaired students so why do we push forward with it?

We push forward because many pro-inclusionist researchers have given lists of reasons for integrating students with disabilities into the general classroom:

- To allow students with disabilities to benefit from the general education programs (with appropriate teaching strategies and support).

- To give students with disabilities the opportunity to interact with age appropriate peers without disabilities.
- To let students with disabilities take part in all aspects of school life, and to better prepare students with disabilities for life within the social community (Idol, 1997; Smith, 1998; Staub & Peck, 1994), .

Staub and Peck (1994), who studied the outcomes of inclusive classrooms for non-disabled students, asked the following questions:

- Will inclusion reduce the academic progress of non-disabled students?
- Will non-disabled children lose teacher time and attention?
- Will non-disabled children learn undesirable behaviors from students with disabilities?"

The answer to all questions was no. In fact, they believed there were potential benefits for the non-disabled students. Staub and Peck (1994) found these results when they conducted a study in an inclusive high school. They went on to show that non-disabled students became more tolerant of their disabled peers and more aware of their needs and after spending time with them, reported more positive feelings about themselves.

Despite the advantages of inclusion, suggested by early research, more recent research has suggested a number of limitations to inclusion and integration as a general policy. Challenges do not only lie in meeting the needs of the intellectually impaired students academically but also socially in a diverse student population, especially at the high school level. Often parents are concerned that their child will be teased or taunted by their non-disabled peers.

Research seems to contradict itself, and no conclusions can accurately be drawn from it. While some research reports social benefits, other studies "report that students included have experienced isolation and frustration" (Hines 2001). In issue 1427 of *Community Care*, author R. Jackson states that "putting children with special needs in mainstream schools can lead to unhappiness" (2002).

The major concern for most parents and teachers involved in inclusion is that the individual needs of the disabled child simply cannot be met in a regular classroom. Their special training and education needs cannot be overlooked because of a desire for a feeling of belonging (Hegarty, 2001). Some parents and special education experts argue that the pulling out of special needs students came about from the fact that integrated schools could not adapt to adequately meet the needs of disabled students; and that this new process of inclusion will ultimately lead to "rediscovering the needs for a separate system in the future" (Tompkins & Deloney, 1995).

A poll conducted by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in West Virginia revealed that "78 percent of respondents think disabled students don't benefit from [inclusion] (Leo, 1994, p. 22). All of my respondents, who actually work with the mentally impaired students, share the same sentiments as the AFT. Citing numerous concerns expressed by many of its national membership, the AFT has urged a moratorium on the national rush toward full inclusion. Their members were specifically concerned that students with disabilities were "monopolizing an inordinate amount of time and resources and, in some cases, creating violent classroom environments" (Sklaroff, 1994, p. 7).

Inclusion may also present some hazards to the learning of children without disabilities. Some frequent concerns raised include that the presence of a disabled child takes away teacher time from other students, creates a disruption in class and lowers standards of curriculum. The most frequently mentioned dilemma is the issue of behavioural problems (Winzer, 2000). In her article "The dilemmas of inclusion," Susan Glazer describes the plight of one teacher who struggled with the presence of special education children in her classroom. Two of the students were ADHD and were constantly out of their seats and off task. Other students suffered from more severe disabilities, including cerebral palsy, which required separate attention and grouping of students according to their specific needs. All of the students' behaviours were unintentionally disruptive and also caused the teacher to allocate more time to the special education students. (1996). Often, even with the presence of special education aides, many disruptions occur and students cannot concentrate properly to complete their work (Hewitt, 1999). Too much seems to be demanded from already overworked teachers (Peltier 1997), as "the range of abilities is just too great for one teacher to adequately teach" (Tompkins & Deloney, 1995).

Another concern is that the special needs child will suffer from poorer academic grades in a regular classroom setting, which has higher standards and material not necessarily tailored to their every need. Dr. Diane Hudson of Athens State University writes that many teachers are not prepared to teach disabled children and this results in "more students at risk for failure in regular classrooms" (2003). By including special education students in classrooms and

holding them to higher standards that they may not be able to meet, according to their level of ability, "there is the danger that...more disabled students [will] drop out of school"(NYSSBA 1998).

Seamus Hegarty of the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales worries about the quality of academic education diminishing as a result of the inclusion of disabled children. According to Hegarty, the main two purposes of education are to develop potential in children and equip them for adult life. He believes that this should be done in as inclusive an environment as possible, but warns that inclusion should not become the primary objective of children's education. We don't want to produce "ethically rounded but otherwise ill educated" students by focusing too much on inclusive values and not enough on the academic material to be taught (2001). Even when teachers do focus on the material to be taught, it can be difficult to develop a curriculum that suits the needs of all students. Many children with disabilities require high-interest, low vocabulary material (Mastropieri 2001), and the inclusion of this material into the general education curriculum may not be challenging enough for the "normal" students. Many researchers have seriously criticized the inclusion policy: "The biggest mistake is made by those who adopt inclusion as a universal principal and who thus ignore cases where exclusion is clearly preferable. That is as unwise as adopting exclusion across the board" (Johnson & Johnson, Markovchich & Putnam,1996:13).

5.1 THE INDIVIDUAL EDUCATION PLAN (IEP)

Instead of special education (exclusion) the IEP (refer to Appendix C) is a mechanism within full inclusion. This is the process of involving parent-teacher-administrator cooperation in the formulation of the curriculum or program for a pupil with a mental handicap. In my own experience it is very rare that all parties are actively involved in formulating a curriculum or program for such a student, but it is supposed to have the input of all three parties. If a pupil with a mental handicap is forced to follow the same curriculum as pupils without a mental handicap he or she will fail (Zigmond & Thornton, 1995). For the time being, the best vehicle for cooperation is said to be the Individual Education Plan (IEP), followed with an Anecdotal report card for students who have are deemed impaired and cannot fulfill the normal requirements. They receive letter grades (refer to Appendix D). IEP's were originally introduced in the United States because teachers lacked experience in teaching exceptional pupils and it was deemed necessary to impose a mechanism to ensure parent involvement and teacher accountability. In that context, IEPs were a productive mechanism, and they can still be helpful.

The IEP is supposed to provide a means of measuring what an exceptional pupil learns, making it more difficult to blame the pupil if things do not go well. An IEP should be drawn up carefully and cooperatively but without becoming a major production (Andrews & Lupart, 2000). The regular classroom teacher may sometimes want to turn to a resource person for advice on the program and its implementation, and the parent may want to turn to another

experienced parent. The pupil can often be involved. In exceptional cases, a psychologist or even a doctor may be involved. Having all these individuals involved is a production.

The law supports disabled children's rights to "free and appropriate education" in the "least restrictive environment" using an Individualized Education Plan. (ASCD 2002). The dictionary of educational terms produced by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development defines an Individualized Education Plan (IEP) as a:

> "document [that] specifies the decisions and anticipated outcomes [of the special program designed for the student], and it includes the child's current level of educational performance, specific services to be provided, who will provide those services and when, the amount of time the child will be in regular and special classrooms, and short- and long-term goals." (2002).

The IEP is supposed to be reviewed and revised cooperatively at regular intervals and should be treated as a guide, not a straitjacket. It also does not guarantee that all will suddenly be well; in fact, educational crimes have been committed against pupils in the name of IEPs. An IEP is best viewed as a confidence-building mechanism for the parent, the teacher and the administrator, and the pupil. The parent and teacher must be honest and realistic. Parents can tell the teacher how the pupil learns best, what he is interested in, how he reacts in particular situations, how to avoid problems, and so on. If things go wrong or there is dissatisfaction, all concerned must avoid any temptation to blame

someone, and instead concentrate on finding solutions cooperatively (Andrews & Lupart, 2000). This is reality according to Brenda, a History teacher:

> *We can't evaluate them the same way. We've arrived at that epiphany right now and we are now told that although we are promoting inclusion, it's no good to their self-esteem that they're only getting 30% in the grade 8 math class. So let's give them a special report card and just evaluate their effort. So it is a totally different evaluation system, because we see that they are not going to be able to do this academic work, they really should be learning something else. If we are going to be using a philosophy of inclusion, using different evaluation systems, already tells everyone that inclusion doesn't work.*

Lisa questions the value of the IEP's:

> *Most of the special needs students are not because they cannot be graded. You can't give an exam to a student who is incapable of reading. We have to go to IEP (Individual Education Plans) and anecdotal reports a whole other process. These kids will never have marks or credit while in high school, so what is the point of inclusion? If they cannot be measured in the same way as their peers, why is the system forcing them to be in normal stream programs they can't cope with? There are a million reasons they can't cope but there are real reasons they cannot be graded. They are getting letter grades, anecdotal reports which are not satisfactory to these students or parents and cumbersome for teachers and time consuming and in the end serve no purpose*

Vice principal Martha Henry is more positive about IEP's, but she does not teach the intellectually impaired on a daily basis:

We have IEP's of kids that are getting letter grades and are doing their best at their level. The letter grade is accompanied with a comment, telling the parent that the child is working or not, doing their best, or at least trying. This is necessary so kids feel that they are rewarded for what they do even though they cannot achieve what their peers can.

IEP's are a good tool and a step in the right direction but are not enough according to the respondents. Every child should have equal opportunity for education and should feel like they belong. Yet there is a danger in assuming everyone should be placed in the same classroom, regardless of their level of ability, because certain students require more structured, specialized environment. "By denying the essence of special education and by inappropriately including students with disabilities, we denigrate the quality of instruction for normally developing students and deny students with disabilities instruction that is tailored to their needs" (Winzer, 2000). Full inclusion in a classroom may actually harm, not help, some students, especially those with severe medical or behavioural problems (Cromwell, 1997).

The best answer for now would be to take the issue of inclusion case-by-case, and sincerely do what is in the best interest of each student academically and socially, not what seems "right" or "fair." In many cases what should be implemented is a term I have coined as "partial inclusion". Partial inclusion considers these students needs and does not compromise their education. The intellectually impaired students would get the benefits of both an inclusive and special education environment. Students can be included in the hands on

classes such as Physical Education, Art, Music, etc... for part of their day with the normal stream students. The other half of the day would be filled with life skills programming and work study programs. The more serious the impairment of the students the more the focus of education would shift to life skills training.

5.2 LIFE FOR THE IMPAIRED AFTER HIGH SCHOOL

Many students with disabilities experience high failure rates in high school as it stands, especially in 9th and 10th grades. Course failure, in turn was one of the strongest predictors of dropping out (grades in Appendix E note "PN" stands for Pas de Note: No Mark). Dropping out, a negative result in itself is related to other negative results in the next several years after students leave school. Time in regular education then is related to positive results for those who can earn passing grades. For those who can't, the results can be extremely detrimental. Research has been conducted on the high school outcomes of students with disabilities for the past 35 years (Chadsey-Rusch, Rusch, & O'Reilly, 1991). From these efforts, some fairly clear findings have emerged. School-leavers with disabilities tend to:

1. Leave school by dropping out at a higher rate than is typical for the general population.
2. Be unemployed and underemployed at higher rates than is characteristic for the general population
3. Reside in the home of their parents after leaving high school for longer periods of time than is characteristic of the general population.

4. Experience major problems in the area of social and inter-personal functioning.

These findings present strong and unequivocal evidence that the transition from school to adult life is fraught with severe problems for many school-leavers with disabilities. Many explanations have been offered for these findings. Perhaps the most prevalent suggestion is that school-leavers with intellectual disabilities often lack the skills that are required to succeed in a competitive job market and in the complex social environment that structures most of our living communities (Chadsey-Rusch, Rusch, & O'Reilly, 1991). Lack of opportunities is another explanation often suggested. A school-leaver may be prepared to work, but appropriate jobs are simply not available. Some have even argued that this represents a structural characteristic of our capitalist society (Edgar, 1988), whereby people with disabilities are likely to be part of a "surplus population". The term "surplus", in this context, means that the basic structure of our society requires that there will always be more people desiring placements than there are available "slots" in the social order to accommodate such placements. The perpetual unemployment that is always prevalent would support this explanation. A third possible explanation, more recent in origin due to present mandates, suggest that poor transition outcomes may be a function of lack of community support for school-leavers with disabilities (Wolfensberger, 1989). These people argue that we tend, inadvertently and inappropriately, to regard the social world as being totally defined by the interactions between service users and service providers. Within such a model (inclusion), we tend to regard people with

disabilities as needing to be "fixed" in order to fit into the social order (Edgar, 1988). These are the grass roots of the medical model of disability. It defines and categorizes disabled people by their impairment, and it casts the individual as the victim or problem.

While 'inclusion' may be an ethical and moral issue, it is a problem in our educational system. As it stands, children with special needs, be they behavioural, intellectual, or physical handicaps have no real place in the Canadian educational system. Legal frameworks derived from the social-ethical discourse guarantee the right to free public education within the least restrictive framework for all children. We live in a knowledge-based society and a significant number of Canadian children, are not being given the opportunity to develop the skills and abilities that will enable them live and work to their full potential (Quebec Ministere de l'Education website, 2.1, 2001). One of my interviewees Brenda concurs with the Quebec Ministere de l'Education and responds:

> *Inclusion does not help these kids because you are not teaching these students a skill that they are going to be able to use when they come out into the world on their own. If we are not teaching them how to cook something for themselves or to make sure they keep order to their finances, if we are not teaching them those basics we are not doing them any service. Those are the things they need to learn. Those are the things we better be heading towards. They don't need to sit in a math 436 class and observe that is not useful to them at all. We need to teach them very specific life skills that they are going to be able to use and that are going to help them function on their own or in a group as adults.*

We live in a society in which the motto is "education is the key to labour market success of young Canadians". The more education and skills a young person has, the greater the likelihood of getting a job, keeping a job and earning a good income. Youth who have not completed high school have an unemployment rate of more than 18 percent, compared with 7 percent for those with a university degree (QMDE website, 2.1, 2001). Most of the children that fall into the special needs category make up a huge amount of the unemployment rate according to Quebec Ministere de l'Education. As the demand for better-educated and trained workers increases, it is likely that the under educated people with intellectual disabilities will fall further and further behind. In every aspect of life, Canadians with disabilities period endure greater hardships and have fewer opportunities than they are able bodied peers.

The educational system is not providing the adequate resources or tools for these special needs children to succeed after high school, if they even finish. Being able to give individual's options is the key to success for the intellectually impaired. Inclusion should be one of many ideas to reform the educational system not the dogma that runs rampant throughout the educational system. Francine is equally critical of full inclusion, noting that mainstream students are being prepared for CEGEP, but coded students are not:

> *I don't think inclusion, full inclusion that is, really helps them be prepared for life, although I think at some level it might make them feel good to know that they are in regular high school with regular kids, but it's kind of a lie. They are here and they do fit in and they do belong, but at the same time they're not*

learning what the other kids are learning and they are not being prepared for anything. The rest of the kids are being prepared for, ideally, CEGEP and then to move on for whatever else. But the kids that we're talking about, they're not going to CEGEP.

Many authorities argue that resorting back to traditional methods of educating the intellectually impaired is a more productive way of ensuring a future for students with intellectual disabilities. Albert Shanker wrote an article "Inclusion can hurt everybody", and in this article he shared a personal account from his own life that sheds light onto special education, he wrote:

> *Andrew, our down syndrome son, was born 37 years ago today. The doctor suggested he be placed in an institution, but we ignored the doctor's advice and brought up Andrew as an integral part of our family. Andrew benefited from the individual attention of specially trained teachers in special education classes in the Chicago public schools. A partial mainstreaming program in Kenwood Academy helped his social adjustment and taught other students to accept him.*
>
> *Placement in special or regular classes should be adjusted according to a student's progress. If, in his early formative years, Andrew had been included in a regular elementary classroom with his own age group, he would have foundered as he struggled to learn. Failure would have destroyed his self-esteem.*
>
> *As a result of his educational experience and home life, Andrew acquired confidence and the skills to function in the working world. He now lives at the Lambs Farm, a community for the handicapped in Libertyville, Illinois, where he enjoys an active social life under*

the umbrella of a well-run residential program. For the last 12 years, he has worked full-time at a supermarket in Lake Forest, Illinois. He is known for his conscientiousness and outstanding punctuality. Customers ask for him because he packs their groceries so carefully.

The partial mainstreaming program served Andrew positively because it focuses on his need that is what the education system needs to be moving towards. Instead what we have presently is special education teachers coping with full inclusion who are left to worry about their students reaching high school without being able to write a simple sentence or count money because an aide did their homework for them. It is important to teach these children the basic skills of living. For some, a work-study program will enable them to find jobs and live independently. Special education encompasses a wide range of disabilities, from high-functioning children who can benefit from being included in a regular classroom setting to the severely disabled who need one-on-one training in a separate program.

There are too many variables. All children will suffer if the pressure for inclusion eliminates valuable special education programs. Disabled students should have their needs assessed individually and be placed in settings that will provide them with the best training for life. This mass production education system with "one size fits all" full inclusive philosophy is not educating most of our intellectually disabled students: not for jobs and not for life.

CHAPTER 6

PARTIAL INCLUSION

Full inclusion has been strongly supported by research, professional organizations, and parent advocacy groups, who hold the view that those students with intellectual disabilities will blend into and become a part of the general education classroom community (Mamlin, 1999). From previous chapters covered an argument can be made that intellectually impaired students may not become part of the general education classroom. This chapter examines closely through interviews, the conflict between the stakeholders involved with the policy of full inclusion (teachers, parents, administrators). Along with the conflict, a closer look at the finances full inclusion will be considered.

According to Mamlin full Inclusion does have some benefits for students with intellectual disabilities:

- To give students with learning disabilities the opportunity to interact with age appropriate peers without disabilities of any kind.
- To let students with learning disabilities take part in all aspects of school life (Mamlin,1999).

But according to my informants there are also serious limitations to the policy of full inclusion. The public high school system has failed to teach some of these students the skills that they need to be good employees and independent livers. In all societies, people must acquire certain knowledge and skills in order

to survive. But intellectually impaired students for the most part can not learn or progress with their normal stream peers within the full inclusion realm. Jillian the resource teacher recommends different levels in the classroom and notes that coded students fit in better in smaller schools:

> *I don't think inclusion is for everyone. I think inclusion is for kids who are on the edge who could work into the mix, with help. But I think there are just some kids who can not do it, for whom it is not realistic to have them in a regular class setting. We have some kids who are low functioning and have enough intellect to realize that, "hey I'm not doing what everyone else is doing, why is my work different?" Then they set themselves up to be picked on, or they refuse to do the work because it doesn't look like everyone else's and they realize they are out of the mix. Where in a place like John Grant, and I'm not saying that's the answer to everything, those students were in a class with a variety of levels where they were grouped according to their level. In one class, I had 4 different groups at different levels. But, their needs are more likely to be met in that type of setting than in a high school where they get lost. Another thing that sets them off is the size of the building. High schools are too big for them. They get lost in the shuffle of things, so they find people to attach themselves to and that's the group they stick to. And who do they make friends with? The kids that are just like them. The super smart kids don't make friends with these kids. They are not in their social circle, so what are we achieving?*

Maria thinks that full inclusion does not help these special need students at all but in fact hinders them:

> *Inclusion is not helping the special education problem at all. I know of several cases of students who were in some academic support program and were in fact too weak for that program. So we've now generated what we call the resource program, which is for even weaker students. But, they're not lasting*

even through that 'cause there is nothing for them to go to. So I run into a student like this in the shopping centre and I ask him what he's doing now and he says "well, they fired me from my job, Miss, because I was too slow" is what he told me. "So what are you doing now?" "Well nothing right now". And this is a 16-year-old boy who was in the building last year, who was part of a math skills program, which they cut for a year. Which should have continued and now they've kind of tried to regenerate it this year. But, there's nothing for him, he's kind of just floating around. He should have been in a program in high school where it was for special students, and that had a link to some sort of job. Also something that didn't require too much from him, because he is a slow learner. He's not going to be able to do anything high level. It's very discouraging for him to be out in the market place, with no guidance from school. He's still very young. He should have someone helping him to get an attachment to the work place. So, it's very frightening for students like that and parents too. They don't know what to do. The school needs to better guide these families. We're not doing a good job.

Education is the social institution responsible for the systematic transmission of knowledge, skills, and cultural values within a formally organized structure. According to Maria "We're not doing a good job", when it comes to educating the intellectually impaired. In order for these individuals to lead full, successful lives, we must give them the opportunity to do so in their community-based schools. So I asked the teachers interviewed what kind of alternatives they would offer. Lisa the English teacher offers, and insists on the primacy of students' needs, and the importance of parental involvement:

I'd go back to previous years when programs were put in place to meet these student's needs. Also, get parents on board and informing them that "If your child goes into this program they will get life skills, be able to be self

sufficient". Every case is different but it is a start in the right direction. I don't think ultimately we would be doing society a disservice quite the contrary we would have less people who are dissatisfied and angry at the school system. If we are here to educate, let's do that.

Maria the Math/English teacher emphasized the necessity of working in small groups, developing the skills the students have:

To place these children in an academic environment in which they face a tremendous burden is ludicrous. We will only start seeing the negative effects of inclusion as we do it year to year and at some point we are going to say: "Oh my God this is not a good idea, let's go back to having students with impairments put into small groups and work with them and with the skills they have and improve on those skills."

Kelly Jamison the English teacher is deeply critical of the inclusion program as failing both students and parents:

I'm not a big fan of inclusion. I'm very certain that this is a program that we're not going to see very many benefits, if any benefits. I think we're fooling ourselves. We're paying lip service to some program that has come from outside, from the United States. And from what I read, they're on their way out from inclusion. They're going back to streaming in terms of student ability and level of skill learning. We keep doing this in Canada, trying to imitate somebody else's programs, but we're 20 years too late. So we're going to go through the same process that they've just gone through. And we're going to try to include I'm strongly in favour of, have students who are at risk because of their academic difficulties and social difficulties, to be in an environment that caters specifically to their needs, with trained teachers, qualified teachers coming out of the Universities. Maybe Ottawa or somewhere will offer a one-year program. They need to do this or they are going to be very sorry. Parents are being duped as well. Parents always want their kids to be just like

everyone else's. So I can understand a parent saying "oh yeah, I want my kid to be in a regular class." I think part of it is being in denial. When you have a child who is not like everyone else, you spend a lot of years sometimes denying that your child is any different then anyone else's. We've seen that as teachers. It's taken us 3 to 4 years sometimes with a specific student, to get that parent to see that the special help, the special one on one with a qualified teacher, is not a bad thing. It's helping your child. We've had letters written to us and personal interviews, where parents have said "I'm really sorry I was a pain in the butt when my child first came to your school. I didn't realize how valuable this type of help would be for my child." Then again the child is now struggling in grade 9, and should have already been in grade 10. These children it's not the grade thing anymore. They should have been in a program where they were being helped and when they come out of high school, or out of the 5 to 6 years they spent in the building, they had something concrete that they could go to. And it's a shame; the inclusion philosophy is not what we should be looking at now.

So what should we looking at? All these teachers have one goal: to prepare these intellectually impaired students for life after high school. I argue for a new reform that I call 'partial inclusion' and it should be proposed as an educational alternative for the intellectually impaired students who cannot function in a full inclusion environment. The partial inclusion I advocate for will incorporate 'life skills' and 'work study' programs. Because in contemporary, developed societies, the intellectually impaired individual needs some sort of academic and social ammunition to survive in society. As much as high schools may want to "help" these adolescents, they are not attaining what they need. Inclusion in high schools function from the perspective of "learned helplessness" making individuals dependent on a system filled with professionals.

Rather than having one policy that at the outset is impossible for some of the intellectually impaired students to achieve, indicators of continuous progress should stem from the abilities and talents of these particular students. There are many things these particular students can do to become functional and independent contributors to society (refer to Appendix F for list of professions). At the moment inclusion is not preparing them for anything, Kelly Jamison expresses her discontent about the way the school board is going about handling the special needs students:

> *The school board is doing the opposite of what I think they should be doing. They've gotten rid of things like auto mechanics, hairdressing, cooking, and all those hands on type of things. If these kids can't get the academics, at least prepare them with a skill that they can go out and earn a living with. If we want them to be independent, the main way we fuel our own independence is by being self-sufficient and moving into the world and looking after ourselves. These kids are leaving us with no skills what so ever. I mean the kinds of things that they could be learning, carpentry and what have you, they might have the odd course between they get from grade 7 to 11, but they are not really in a program that will prepare them to be an electrician, a plumber or whatever. I'm not suggesting that all electricians and plumbers are learning disabled, but I'm talking about some sort of hands on program so that these kids can learn some sort of skill of some sort.*

Shirley Michaels is concerned about the lack of vocational training not existing in the school system, which she thinks is a much needed alternative:

> *We're trying to scramble and find a kind of special program or vocational type programs, but Quebec isn't strong in these areas as they were once upon a time. That was all wiped out because the government felt that everyone needed to be academic and now we don't have hair dressing or*

cooking programs as part of the high school environment. Where some of these impaired students could do and may excel and this is where some of students should be. They should be in programs where they get some experience in a vocation and then they can have a link to a job when they come out. They don't have links to anything now. I don't know where they're going to go.

Mike a technical teacher concurs with Shirley Michaels and remembers a time in which schools such as John Grant catered to students that with special needs:

My wife spent many years at John Grant High School (a school specifically geared to students with intellectual disabilities), and a lot of people may have looked down their noses at John Grant, but when I saw some of the students that went into John Grant and saw the same students coming out of John Grant, because I went to many of their graduations, they were so proud. Some of them were down- syndrome individuals but recognized that they were dressed up for one night. They wore their lovely dresses, they wore their terrific suits they sat down at a dinner and they had their graduation. Now, they didn't achieve as the regular high school students, but they did achieve and they were either changed to recognize words or pictures in menus or whatever to the point of being able to do the basic reading. It was highly successful in that sense, I think. I thought it was great. I wouldn't be including these students in the high school because you don't do them justice and you're taking away from the regular student in high school.*

The paradoxes and inconsistencies and means of attempting to serve the needs of all students who come through the doors of high schools, can be eliminated. In order to do this, school boards will have to make some choices. It

begins with rejecting the current school structures and procedures of inclusion, it perpetuates the view that education is an instrument of selective mobility, and instead they must be seen as tools for empowerment of all students (Marcoulides & Heck, 1990). In concluding this section the words of Edmonds (1979) are most fitting: "We can, whenever and wherever we choose, successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us. Whether we do it must finally depend on how we feel about the fact we haven't done it so far" (p.29).

6.1 FINANCES

The history of inclusion illustrates, that much of the movement towards inclusion is legally motivated. However, there are other reasons for the desire to restructure the public high schools with inclusion. Many of the teachers whom I interviewed believe that the school boards motives for moving toward more inclusive approaches are often more of a budgetary (cost-saving and funding) measure than out of a concern for what is really best for students. Marie, one of the interviewees, feels that the educational system is more interested in saving money than investing into special programs:

> *It is much cheaper to have aides floating around classes where there are numbers of special education kids, than having them in a separate building or doing extra things with them. We have Elaine, the lady who does job search with special education kids. She goes to a variety of schools, she's not just assigned to one particular school. If all these kids were in one place, wouldn't it be easier to find them jobs and to give them work study programs? They are not going into the world and becoming millionaires, but they are capable of working if someone can find them a*

job. If they were all in one centre you could have them do a work study together as a unit. They are all looking for a job together, so I think that they are more likely to achieve a sense of accomplishment. I think it is much cheaper to hire an aid, a very nice person, to follow these students around and try to help them with something they may absolutely not be qualified in. You're walking around, class to class to help this child in what? Grade 8 math? The aid may not have grade 8 training. They only need a high school diploma to be hired as an aide. We don't know what their skill level is. They are nice people, but they're not educators.

Brenda states:

Unfortunately, a very high percentage of inclusion is financially driven. I find as individuals, teachers, and human beings, it is thoroughly disgusting. We cannot put a price tag on the future of our children, we can not do that. As a mother, I'd be appalled to know that my child is being prevented from attaining his/her goal because somebody has decided there just isn't enough money, which I do not believe. The thing is if we have enough money to put showers in certain people's offices, then we should have enough money to educate the intellectually impaired properly.

If students with disabilities can be served in regular classrooms, then the more expensive special education service costs due to additional personnel, equipment, materials, and classrooms, can be reduced and allotted funds given by the provincial government can be saved (Sklaroff, 1994). The provincial government is responsible for both funding policies and the allocation of funding. For example Ontario's government, and I choose Ontario because it is not only the largest province but it strongly supports full inclusion, want all their students with special needs to have the support they require to reach their educational potential.

Ontario's student-focused approach funded a Special Education Grant of over $1.2 billion in 1999-2000, to ensure that students with special needs have programs and supports that meet their individual needs (OCIE, 2002).

The Special Education Grant has two main parts:

1. The *Special Education Per Pupil Amount* (SEPPA) provides funding based on the school board's total enrolment. This provides flexible funding for programs and resources for all students with special needs.
2. The *Intensive Support Amount* (ISA) provided funding based on the specific needs of individual students who require intensive staffing supports in the classroom.

In 1999-2000 the government maintained ISA funding for students who need intensive supports in the classroom. Each school board received the same amount of ISA funding that was provided in 1998-99. The government increased SEPPA funding by $30 million (OCIE, 2002).

Special Education Per Pupil Amount (SEPPA)

The Special Education per Pupil Amount (SEPPA) provides each school board with an equitable amount of funding based on the total number of students enrolled in the school board (counting all students, not just students who have been identified as needing a special education program). In 1998-99, SEPPA provided over $590 million to school boards. In 1999- 2000, SEPPA provided over $620 million (OCIE, 2002).

School boards are supposed to provide programs and resources to all students with special needs with SEPPA funds. School boards use SEPPA to meet the costs of special education teachers (who are becoming extinct), other classroom supports (such as integration aides), and other professionals and para-professionals (such as social workers; psychologists; and speech-language, physiotherapists and occupational therapists).

Intensive Support Amount (ISA)

A small number of students require very intensive staffing supports in the classroom every day. These supports are very costly. To meet these costs, the government introduced Intensive Support Amount (ISA) funding in 1998-99.

In 1998-99, $522 million in ISA funding was provided to 25,000 students – just over 1 per cent of students in Ontario. School boards applied for this funding by showing specific students' needs for a modified curriculum and for intensive staff support:

- Students who required intensive support in the classroom for at least 50 per cent of the day were eligible for an ISA grant of $12,000.
- Students who required intensive supports in the classroom for over 80 per cent of the day were eligible for an ISA grant of $27,000.

6.2 WHERE ARE THE FUNDS GOING?

School boards report under-funding for special education, so where is all the money the provincial government handing out going? The Ontario Coalition for Inclusive Education implies that the government is being swindled by the school

boards, complains about the devaluation of students, the treatment of parents, and more:

- Students are referred to as 'ISA kids', or "files" that have a dollar value - $12,000 or $27,000. Even worse, perhaps, than those categorical exceptionality labels are the rankings now given to students whose documentation matches numbered criteria.
- It pays to devalue students. Money is lost if strengths are documented. So where is the motivation to provide accommodations that promote learning?
- The negative language of ISA has permeated documentation. Who would want to risk the money by reporting progress in IEPs and report cards?
- Such documentation will remain on file permanently, and will precede students throughout their educational experiences and follow them beyond graduation. A 4-year old starting school can be pre-judged as incapable of academic learning; it would not be surprising if this prophecy is fulfilled, if academic instruction is never provided!
- One way school boards get additional provincial money is to provide proof that students lack "impulse control". This means there is no financial motivation to ever allocate funding to accommodate students in ways that prevent behavioural outbursts. And criteria to provide extra funding for a student who presents such challenges are virtually the same as criteria to expel him or her!
- Many ISA-related assessments of students are neither reliable nor valid. Some of the intellectual assessments used are not based upon norms for students with other sensory impairments or who do not communicate with words. Test scores are not considered statistically valid at the extremes of the scales measured, and yet some students' documentation brings Boards money only if scores are in the 99th percentile. Parents feel "blackmailed" – they are told their child won't get educational accommodations unless parents give consent for the release of medical and psychological information. This documentation may have little or nothing to do with the accommodations the student needs. The Health Care Consent Act, 1996, permits parents to refuse such consent.
- ISA misdirects placement decisions. What has happened is that Boards are motivated by the ISA funding and not by the law or students' needs. Schools are less likely to consider regular class placements (contravening Regulation 181), when students with

the label of Developmental Disability, Behaviour, and Autism are described as abject failures socially and academically – to qualify their Boards for extra money.

- The provincial funding formula - and not a student's individual accommodation requirements – can now dictate the Individual Education Plan. We know that school boards changed the parameters of their computer-generated IEPs when ISA criteria were changed. For example, ISA leads to systemic discrimination of students with the label of developmental disability, because it predetermines what they should be doing in school, as follows: "Claims that meet this profile represent a student with an intellectual disability which results in a need for a program that is focused on the student's development of social skills, basic living skills, self-control skills and, as appropriate, the acquisition of academic skills". Ever more limiting and prescriptive labels, as opposed to individual student needs in an IEP, determine program. Historical harms - eugenics, segregation, and life skills - haunt us yet.

- Certainly, funding is needed to provide necessary accommodations. But ISA money need not be used specifically for the student whose file generates the dollars. The Ministry says ISA criteria are meant to be a "surrogate statistic" – just an arbitrary way to measure the cost pressures of school boards. Since 1999, the ISA funding that boards received has not been what they call "live" – that is, boards could retain ISA funding even after the student had left the school system – they had either moved elsewhere, graduated, stayed home or may even been suspended.

- As a result, Portability adjustments are now being made. Boards now lose ISA money when a student moves to another board. This, in effect, links the funding more closely to the student. How can accommodations be denied a student –especially by claims of hardship - when the student has generated dollars for the Board?

- The benchmark first used to establish ISA amounts was the wage of an Educational Assistant. Boards are obliged to tell the Ministry that they are providing that one particular kind of accommodation – i.e. half or full time Integration Aide support (individuals who are paid to shadow the impaired students). (Ministry validators do not check that this is really true, and we have been alarmed to hear educators talk about writing two IEPs – one for the Ministry and one for parents and students – and using whiteout to changes staffing schedules). (2002).

More and more students are thus being described in extremely negative ways. This translates into more funds from the government to the school board

and more funds to the school with the highest percentage of disabled students. Is inclusion a money maker for school boards? One of the parents I interviewed, and also work with, James thinks it is a money maker more so than a policy to help the intellectually impaired students:

> *The powers that be are financially motivated. They are actually telling my wife things that are not true. They are saying that they have things that are they really don't. I know this for a fact because I work for the very same school they want him to come to. They tell her they have this, when they don't have it but the other school does stuff that would benefit my step-son, things that would help him to further succeed in life. The more impaired the child is, the more money the board gets. The board is trying to do all they can to get him to Riverdale. No feelings for the kids, just the money. Where ever this kid goes, the money goes. That's exactly what they're fighting for, nothing else. You would figure that these people would turn around and say if this is the best for the child then they would sign the papers. But no, it's a fight between having him on this side or the other side. There is a fight between the boards and it has nothing to do with the child, only with the money.*

James is not the only interviewee with concerns. Francine expresses her opinion about where the money is being allocated:

> *I don't see that we are seeing the money here at Riverdale. I think the board is getting the money, but they are not allocating it properly. I think they're just holding onto the money to do certain things like repairing the school. I feel that the money is not going back towards the student. We could be using the money to get the apartment style room to teach them life skills.*

More and more money is being paid to boards. In three years the Ministry spent $127 million more than anticipated the first year, $30 million more the second, and now another $43 million more. Special needs spending totals almost $600 million - almost half of Ontario's special education spending and more than was ever anticipated (OCIE, 2002). There is a surplus of money where is it going? According to this data financially alternative programs such as "partial inclusion" can be implemented and serve the needs of intellectually impaired students.

This seems like a bottomless pit. The Ministry does not know how this money is being spent (OCIE, 2002). Boards keep demanding more money and keep telling parents there is not enough. Who knows? When Boards say they are spending more on special education than the Ministry provides, people have concluded that "regular" education is being "cannibalized". Such a backlash causes further harm to intellectually and physically disabled students (OCIE, 2002). The OCIE is concerned that School Boards are receiving more money than their valid ISA claims permit. Why then keep this formula? This is a dishonest way to distribute provincial money. A lot of money is being spent - but not for impaired students in the classrooms.

A lot of finger pointing and frustration becomes evident within the education system between the parties involved the teachers, parents and administration. Teachers do not receive information and support, parents feel that their special needs children are not attaining all they could within their respective environments and administration feels that teachers are not properly

train to properly handle this new regime of inclusion. All this can equal up to conflict between some of the major players in the educational system.

6.3 CONFLICT

All schools are sites of some conflict between students, parents, teachers and administrators: each in conflict with all the others on some issues, and allies on other issues. But full inclusion schools are particularly conflicted.

Teachers are the school-based professionals who have lengthy, personal relationship with each child in their classrooms. They are the ones who take the knowledge base as it is presented in the school curriculums, and who chart the course for the learning success of their students. Teachers play a pivotal role in the educational system; but very few general education teachers have been involved in the development of inclusion, though they are an integral part of the process (Snyder, 1999). When general education teachers are forced to accept inclusion, the result is resistance from teachers because they fear they are expected to teach children with disabilities without adequate training and education, and without the appropriate support (Shepherd & Brown, 2000). Teachers are at the 'sharp end' of policy decisions made including the inclusion mandate and meet challenges to the extent that their experience and levels of training permit.

Lieberman (1992) points out that many advocates (primarily parents) for those with learning disabilities also have significant concerns about the wholesale move toward inclusion. Their concerns stem from the fact that they have had to fight long and hard for appropriate services and programs for their

children. They recognize that students with learning disabilities do not progress academically without individualized attention to their educational needs. These services have evolved primarily through a specialized teacher working with these students individually or in small groups, usually in a resource room setting. Many successful practices have been researched and identified (Lyon & Vaughn, 1994). Parents are concerned that regular education teachers have neither the time, nor the expertise to meet their children's needs. "The learning disabilities field seems to recognize that being treated as an individual can usually be found more easily outside the regular classroom" (p. 15).

Teaching is an increasingly stressful occupation, even in the classroom which does not include students with obvious disabilities. The different stresses under which teachers and parents labor in their separate roles of responsibility for children with disabilities can result in tension. Teaching of students with disabilities is an area in which there is considerable potential for conflict between teachers and parents. It is an area which often requires considerable diplomacy. Inclusion place high demands on teachers and create tension between balancing the needs of the included student with the needs of the whole class. They can lead to serious undermining of support for teachers within the school community if there is a perception that the interests of particular students are either given precedence or ignored. Within that school community there lays the administration that realizes that there is a problem but go along with the inclusion policy even though they know teachers are not trained. One of the administrators interviewed expresses the needs of the teachers and the students:

I think teachers need training on how to approach inclusion within the high school, in terms of strategies they need to apply to deal with special needs kids. A lot more staff and qualified personnel, I truly believe these kids would do better with more teacher time. Finally, those students we have that function at lower levels, we are fooling ourselves to think they are going to get through high school. They need life skills programs, and schools are not providing it as a matter of fact the board is taking home economics out of the high schools now. For now we have to deal with the fact that day after day these low functioning kids sit in a classroom frustrated along with the teachers, it becomes a stressful situation for us to deal with.

The other administrator interviewed states:

Teachers are content driven and that is what they know. Teachers have a certain amount of time to go through the curriculum and those that are impaired are left in the class to fend for themselves because they can not keep up. They are not trained to handle the unique students we have in the system now.

By expanding the range of ability levels in a classroom through inclusion, Tornillo (1994) argues, teachers are required to direct inordinate attention to a few, thereby decreasing the amount of time and energy directed toward the rest of the class. Indeed, the range of abilities is just too great for one teacher to adequately teach. In turn this creates conflict between administration and the teachers. The fact that the administration knows their teachers are not properly

trained and putting an overwhelming amount of coded kids in a single class leads to frustration and discontent on the parts of teachers. Shirley, a teacher of History and Geography for fifteen years sees her classrooms become special education classrooms and the overwhelming work that comes along with the large number of coded students:

> *Well when I think of another teacher who was telling me last week that she has a class with thirty kids in which 19 of them that are coded. She looks at the class and doesn't know who to teach to because they are all at different levels. She has a particular lesson she has in mind to do, but she doesn't get it accomplished because she is running around catering to the individual needs of these coded kids and the regular kids are sitting there getting bored and waiting for something to happen. I'm hearing more and more teachers making this comment. So I do think it does work as a disadvantage to the other kids. What are we left to do? And you know what happens, we are the ones who are seen as the bad guys.*

As Shirley pointed out teachers are the ones caught in the crossfire when it comes to placing blame especially when it comes to the mentally disabled in the classroom. Tommy's mother Alex responds:

> *I would not say I did not send my child to my husband's school because of the teachers because I was in the unique position of having inside information and knowing the teachers are not responsible for the situation that has been created. If I did not have that type of information I could have seen myself blaming the teachers for my child not being educated properly, they are the ones paid to do it, right?*

Administrators, educators, and parents in the regular schooling system sometimes have mixed attitudes towards children with intellectual disabilities and

their inclusion (Bunch, 1992). While all participants to some degree agree that that these students should be included as much as possible, several doubt it is feasible, particularly for students with severe disabilities. These attitudes, resulting from concerns regarding these students' capabilities to operate in regular classes, often invites conflict between the three groups. Few issues in education generate more discussion, confusion, or apprehension than the topic of inclusion. It is an issue that has outspoken advocates on all sides, whether staunchly for, avowedly against, or somewhere in between. Certainly, it has created levels of conflict within and out of schools. Inclusion is more than reconfiguring special education services. It involves an "overhaul" of the entire educational system. Special education and regular education faculty/staff/parents roles and relationships have changed, as have the traditional rules under which "things" happen within the classroom. Therefore, a policy that brings this much change and issues for all parties involved obviously needs to be restructured. In the next chapter I offer such a restructuring in hopes of alleviating some of the pressures that inclusion has brought.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Some individuals in society encounter special roadblocks and "inclusion" offers no ability to overcome such obstacles. The teachers whom I interviewed, all of whom work with the intellectually impaired and for one reason or another low-functioning students, are deeply critical of the full inclusion policy implemented across Quebec. The teachers were very clear: "We're not doing a good job", "The inclusion philosophy is not what we should be looking at now", "The school board is doing the opposite of what I think they should be doing", "I don't know where they're (the special needs students) are going to go". Clearly there is immense unhappiness with the full inclusion policy currently in force in Quebec. There is also some suspicion that it is really only about money, not education. This is why school boards need to initiate change.

1. The intellectually impaired must be taught in our high schools how to engage in life skills. Such things as taking the bus, washing, cleaning and cooking for themselves which in turn, leads to some of these individuals beginning to take charge of their own lives in constructive and socially acceptable ways. Many potential barriers can be overcome and many desirable transition outcomes can be achieved, probably exceeding the expectations of teachers. This is by no means an easy cure to the special education dilemma, but it is a good place to start.

2. Adequate supports and services and well-designed individualized education programs must be put in place.

3. Sufficient professional development for all teachers involved in the area of Special Education.

4. Reduced class sizes based on the severity of the student's needs.

5. Sufficient funding so that schools will be able to develop programs for students based on student need (such as life skills and work-study programs), and adequate accounting of these expenditures.

While full inclusion is often seen as a moral and ethical issue, it is in failing to meet the needs of student's specific disability. As a result, many full inclusion programs are not successful and the intellectually disabled pay a heavy price. The five general recommendations above, reflects the opinions of the teachers, parents and administration whom I interviewed, need to be supplemented by curriculum changes along the lines: I offer this proposal to be considered for future consideration. It highlights the needs of the intellectually impaired and it would give these individuals a chance to be constructive and hopefully independent in the future. Finally, I put forward a detailed proposal of change to be considered:

6. LIFE SKILLS AND SEMI-SKILLED TRADES PROGRAM

Student Profile

- Is at least 14 years old and intellectually impaired
- Is at risk of dropping out

- May not have the aptitudes to complete high school
- Learns by <doing> rather than by <reading or writing>
- Could be a good candidate for a vocational program in 1 or 2 years time.

Location of the Program

- This program will be in place in every high school within the board.
- It is the responsibility of the administration of every high school to reserve the appropriate space within their school.

Program Structure

- The program runs 5 days a week over the course of one (1) school year (900 hrs).
- It consists of three (3) components:

- A general education in a normal stream environment (hands on classes, ex: science, gym, home economic, shop etc...) component
- A life skill education component
- A work placement component

School hours: 9:30 -12:00 – 1:00-2:30
3 days a week, 4 hours a day, 12 hours a week, 37.5 weeks, 450 hours a year.

Work hours: Dependant upon employer's requirement; no more than 7 hours a day, 2 days a week, 32 weeks, 350-450 hours a year.

Financing: Students will be financed from the school board by the funds

allocated to the special needs students from the government (explained in previous section).

Certification of Studies

- The student will receive an Attestation of Vocational Education (AVE) from the Ministry of Education (MEQ) once he has acquired a minimum of 3 competencies in the semi-skilled trade of his choice and successfully completed life skills and general English and Math.
- As well, the MEQ will provide the student with a statement or diploma listing the competencies developed in the semi-skilled program of choice.
- The student will receive marks for all 3 components and will receive a statement of marks from the MEQ.
- The Vocational Education department within the high school is responsible for all student result transmissions to MEQ.

Agreements and Obligations

- The student is not remunerated for the work component of the program.
- The CSST costs are covered by the School Board.
- The student is assigned to a designated person in industry who provides training and supervision.
- A partnership is agreed upon and signed by the school board, the business and the student. This clarifies roles and responsibilities.

Admission Process

- Students with mild to moderate intellectual disabilities within the school board will be given priority.

- A maximum of 40 students will be selected.
- Students must be referred by their administrator or guidance counselor.
- Two information sessions will be held for parents and students referred.
- Interviews with students will be done to assess student's abilities.

For those students who are more severely impaired the proposal would shift focus more so on the life skills component. As an example, in Brick Township, New Jersey there is a public preschool by the name of Brick Community Primary Learning Center. It is actually designed for the benefit of special education students but invites children of typical abilities to attend. At this school teachers are highly qualified, instruction is individualized and both social and cognitive development get their due. Teachers also encourage children to play, and try the kind of social experimenting that preschool experts fear is getting squeezed out of some programs. At this school, teachers are specifically required to nurture social skills by the individualized educational plans of some of their disabled students (Brenna, 2003). This program is so successful and the demand so high that there is actually a lottery system in place for normal stream children to be admitted into this school that is primarily for special need students.

By no means are my proposal or the preschool in Bricks New Jersey the perfect answers, but they both are alternatives and different educational environments that try to support the notion that each student should demonstrate that they are making continuous progress as a result of their schooling experiences (Smith & Lusthaus, 1995).

Inclusion should be debated as an educational innovation, not enforced as dogma. Methods of teaching students with special needs require a good deal more thought than what has proven to be a headlong rush into the implementation of the 'inclusion' mandate. Education should be as innovative as it can be to cater to student's individual needs, and 'inclusion' falls into that category but changes of this magnitude must be tempered with caution. The educational system must find the best educational path for each child, which means the system must be adapted to the child, and not the child to the system and an out-dated ideology.

In conclusion, inclusive educational policies have been premised on the basis of the desire to see children with disabilities given their full due as citizens in the making, with the same rights as everyone else, and provided with the same opportunities to reach their potential. The issue of how best to implement policies which recognize these values becomes more debatable.

The debate arises from the fact that for the most part, educationists and most parents see inclusion as having its principal effect on those who were once excluded. The effect of inclusion on those with disabilities would be to bring them into the mainstream of social life and learning. The desired effect on the rest of the school population is to have them accept as normal and valued the contribution made to school life by those with a disability. Just how a severely autistic child, or one suffering from multiple disabilities and a behavioral disorder, could be accommodated in a classroom is not an issue which can be satisfactorily addressed by inclusionists. For them, the goal is for the school to

become an agency for social change, effecting dramatically altered perceptions of the way people from diverse circumstances view each other. It is for this reason that inclusionists are critical of what they call 'special education' mindsets, which are most commonly on display when teachers and administrators start talking about how to overcome 'education deficits'.

It follows from this that the role of the school as an agent of change cannot evolve unless the school as an institution changes. This change will alter or even transform the structure of authority and the relationships between stakeholders in the teaching and learning process. It is not difficult to see why the teaching profession and the system administrators avert their gaze from this distant prospect. In the meantime, the full inclusion policy is failing coded students, regular students, parents and teachers.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions for Administration, Teachers and Parents

Interview Questions: Administration

1. How long have you been a high school principal?

2. What is "inclusion"?

Probe: How many intellectually impaired students (IIS) do you have in your school?

3. Do you think this total inclusion policy is working?

4. What are the drawbacks?

5. Being a administrator what impact has 'inclusion' have on you?

6. Would you say teachers have made a whole hearted commitment to inclusion or still struggling with the idea of it?

Probe: Are teachers properly trained to handle intellectually impaired students?

7. Individuals in general are encouraged to strive for independence and self-reliance due to the fact we live in a society founded upon expectations do you think "inclusion" fosters these abilities?

8. Have you followed up on any of your IIS?

9. Do you have sufficient resources to implement this inclusion program?

10. How can the school board policy be improved? What changes would you like to see?

Interview Questions: Teachers

1. How long have you been teaching high school? And out of those number of years, how many in an inclusive environment?

2. Do you have any training in teaching the intellectually impaired?

Probe: If yes what type of training? If not, in your opinion is it important to have specialized training?

3. What is your view of the social impact inclusion has on a child with intellectual disabilities?

Probe: What impact does it have on you as a teacher, with respect

to the curriculum and classroom management?

4. What kind of social relationships if any does 'inclusion promote between normal stream kids and the intellectually impaired?

Probe: To what degree does I.I.C participate in extra- curricular activities?
What type of interactions do you observe during lunch + recess duties?

5. Individuals in general are encouraged to strive for independence and self-reliance particularly at the high school level, in your opinion does 'inclusion' foster these ideals?

6. In the classes you have taught under inclusion how are the intellectually impaired performing academically?

Probe: Should academic performance be the main focus of an 'inclusive system'? If not what should be the focus?

7. Past research indicates that children with special needs have high drop out rates, in your opinion does inclusion combat this problem?

Probe: In what way? Is there any examples you can think of?

8. What would you do if anything at all to change the foundations of 'inclusion' so that the intellectually impaired children would get the most out of their high school experience?

9. Does inclusion reduce the academic progress of non-intellectually disabled students?

10. Do non-intellectually disabled students lose teacher time and attention?

Interview Questions: Parents

1. How many children do you have with an intellectual disability? What is it?
2. What grade is your intellectually disabled child/children in?
3. What school does your child go to now? What type of school is it?
4. Are you familiar with the term 'inclusion'? If so, what do you know of it?
5. Would 'inclusion' work for your child? Why or why not?

6. In your opinion would 'inclusion' properly prepare your child for society? Why or why not?

7. What are you looking for when you are selecting a high school for your child?

8. If you had the power to come up with the perfect school for your child and his/her needs what would the school include?

Appendix B

List of Different Types Coded Students

Code	Description
01	MLD = Mild learning difficulties
02	SLD = Severe learning difficulties
12	BP = Behavioural problems
13	SBA = Severe behavioural problems (agreement)
14	SBP = Severe behavioural problems
21	MIH = Mild intellectual handicap
22	MIH = Moderate intellectual handicap
23	SIH = Severe intellectual handicap
24	MSI = Moderate to serious impairment
31	MMD = Mild motor deficiency
32	SMD = Severe motor deficiency
33	MOD = Mild motor or organic deficiency
34	SD = Speech disorder
35	OD = Organic deficiency
36	SMI = Severe motor impairment
41	VI = Visual impairment
42	VI = Visual impairment
43	HI = Hearing impairment
44	HI = Hearing impairment
50	PDD = Pervasive developmental disorders
51	ATM = Autism
52	ADM = Deaf-mute
53	PP = Psychopathological problems
71	MIB = Mild intel. def. and behavioural problems
72	MIV = Mild intel. def. and visual impairment
73	MIA = Mild intel. def. and auditory impairment
74	MIP = Mild intel. def. and physical difficulties
75	MIM = Moderate intel. def. and maladjustment
76	MIV = Moderate intel. def. and visual impairment
77	MIA = Moderate intel. def. and auditory impairment
78	MIP = Moderate intel def and physical difficulties
79	BPV = Behavioural problems and visual impairment
80	BPA = Behavioural problems and auditory impairment
81	BPP = Behavioural problems and physical diff.
82	VAD = Visual and auditory deficiencies
83	VPD = Visual and physical deficiencies
84	APD = Auditory and physical deficiencies
98	MIH = Mild impairment handicapped recognized
99	ATD = Atypical deficiency

Appendix C

Individual Education Plan for High School Students

INDIVIDUAL EDUCATION PLAN
- Secondary -

Student Name:	*Date:*	*Level:*	*Homeroom Teacher:*
Date of Birth:	*IEP Participants:*		
Parent /Guardian:			
Home Phone:	*Business Phone:*		

Strengths	*Needs*

Annual Goals

Objectives (Term _____)

Strategies

Student: _____ *Parent/Guardian:* _____

Administrator: _____ *IEP Coordinator* _____

INDIVIDUAL EDUCATION PLAN
- Progress Report -

Student Name		*Teacher*		
Subject		*Level*		
Date / Term	*Regular Program*	*Modified Program*	*Mark*	*No Mark*

Please refer to the Individual Education Plan on the front of this sheet.

Progress:

Recommendations:

Teacher: _____ *IEP Coordinator:* _____

Appendix D

Modified Report Cards

Please carry out these instructions very carefully.

Modified Programme Reports - (a.k.a. Anecdotal reports) are prepared for students who have I.E.P's, who are not ABLE - because of officially recognised handicaps, learning difficulties or severe behavioural difficulties, - to meet the minimum requirements of the course:

They are NOT designed for students who have very poor marks simply because they do not complete assignments, or hand in projects on time, or are frequent absentees.

Use of letter grades.
In order that the regular school reports should be more meaningful for both these students and their parents, a letter grade - A, B, C, or D is entered in place of the entry PN - (see legend on the anecdotal report to explain each letter grade.)

Instructions: For these students:

a) enter A, B, C, or D in place of a mark. (do not enter PN)
b) enter the comment "modified programme, see attached report" -
--please ensure that you do, in fact, hand in your report to be 'attached'!!

2. Completion of the Modified Programme Report.

a) Behavioural Responsibilities

-circle the comments that apply

c) Main Objectives:Term # 3.

This section is for the teacher to state two or three objectives that he / she hoped the student would accomplish. It is not for a report on the student's performance.

Briefly describe those objectives. They can be related to those of the rest of the class, but at a simpler level, or they can be completely unrelated to the work of the class but in answer to the individual needs of the student. In a case where a considerable amount of time is spent away from the regular classroom, that part of the programme, determined and assigned by the teacher, to be completed with the assistance of an aide in an alternative location should be included.

c) Course Modifications

Check the boxes that apply. There is space below to write additional comments.

N.B.

When complete, please sign the report and make two(2) copies.
Keep one copy for your records and hand the other copy and the original to Anne Hryniak who is in charge of their collection and distribution.

Deadline

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Modified Program Report.

Student :

Level: 3 TAG: 229

Course: GEOGRAPHY 314 Teacher: _____

Report Mark Legend
A Excellent effort,
(B) Very good effort,
C Fair effort ,
D More effort required for progress to be made

Behavioural Responsibilities

Punctuality	VG	S	(N)	NA
Attendance in class with required materials.	VG	S	(N)	NA
Organisation of course materials.	VG	(S)	N	NA
Participation in class activities.	VG	(S)	N	NA
Completion and submission of assignments.	VG	S	(N)	NA
Classroom behaviour.	VG	S	(N)	NA
Willingness to work to reach potential.	VG	(S)	N	NA
Other: _____	VG	S	N	NA

Key: N=Needs improvement S= Satisfactory VG= Very Good NA=Not applicable

Main Objective(s) : Term # 1 .

To respect the rights and feelings of others

To take responsibility for one's action.

To maintain appropriate classroom behaviour, listening, recording etc.

Course Modifications.

Reduced content. Adaptation of regular assignments.	☐	Content significantly reduced. Individualised assignments.	☐
Reduced assignment length Modified tests.	☑	Alternative tests/No Tests	☑
Extra time to complete assignments/tests.	☑	Reader / scribe provided for tests.	☐
Aide assistance available.	☑		

Comments: His student did not hand in his project

_____ Teacher's signature: _____

Report Mark Legend
A Excellent effort,
B Very good effort,
(C) Fair effort .
D More effort required for progress to be made

Modified Program Report.

Student :_

Level: 1 TAG: _____

Course: Integrated Science Teacher:

Behavioural Responsibilities

Punctuality	(VG)	S	N	NA
Attendance in class with required materials.	VG	(S)	N	NA
Organisation of course materials.	VG	(S)	N	NA
Participation in class activities.	VG	S	(N)	NA
Completion and submission of assignments.	VG	S	N	(NA)
Classroom behaviour.	VG	(S)	N	NA
Willingness to work to reach potential.	VG	S	(N)	NA
Other:				
_____	VG	S	N	NA

Key: N=Needs improvement S= Satisfactory VG= Very Good NA=Not applicable

Main Objective(s) : Term # 3 .

To learn how to place the elements in an atom in there appropriate place. To learn how to assemble an element on the periodic table

Course Modifications.

Reduced content. Adaptation of regular assignments.	☑	Content significantly reduced. Individualised assignments.	☑
Reduced assignment length Modified tests.	☐	Alternative tests/No Tests	☑
Extra time to complete assignments/tests.	☐	Reader / scribe provided for tests.	☐
Aide assistance available.	☑		

Other: _____

_____

_____

_____ Teacher's signature: _____

Appendix E

Secondary School Report Cards

Secondary School Report Card 2003-2004

SURNAME AND FIRST NAME | DATE OF BIRTH

PERMANENT CODE | FILE | LEVEL 1

TELEPHONE | PERSON RESPONSIBLE

HOMEROOM | HOMEROOM TEACHER

COURSE CODES	GRP	CR	COURSE DESCRIPTION	TEACHER	TERM MARKS 1	2	3	4	GRP AVG	ABS	COMMENTS FOR CURRENT TERM	EXAM MARK	FINAL SCHOOL MARK: MARK	GRP AVG	Q N
539114	08	4	Ecology 114		PN				67	2	No mark this term		67		
544112	07	2	Phys Ed 112		PN						No mark this term				
560132	02	2	Tech Ed 132		PN						No mark this term				
568116	08	6	Math 116		PN				72		No mark this term		72		
576112	08	2	Moral Education		PN						No mark this term				
592114	01	4	Geography 114		PN				52	2			52		
630116	05	6	English 16		PN				51	2			51		
999110	10		Tea. Adv. Group		PN					2					

TERM AVERAGE :

OVERALL AVERAGE

EXTRA CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND / OR SPECIAL ACADEMIC PROGRAM

SUMMARY OF CREDITS

Org - School	Year	Lev	S.B.	MEQ	Total

ADDRESS OF PERSON(S) RESPONSIBLE

PRINCIPAL'S SIGNATURE DATE

MESSAGE FROM ADMINISTRATION

Please see enclosed letter

Parent-Teacher interviews:

November 20th 3:30-5:30
& 7:00-9:00

Infraction sheet enclosed

YES **NO**

Secondary School Report Card

2002-2003

URSE DES	GRP	CR	COURSE DESCRIPTION	TEACHER	TERM MARKS 1	2	3	4	GRP AVG	ABS	COMMENTS FOR CURRENT TERM	EXAM MARK	FINAL SCHOOL MARK MARK	GRP AVG	Q N
544212	05	2	Phys Ed 212		PN	50			75				50	75	
558244	02	4	Integrated Science I		PN	D			76	7	Modified programme - see attached report			72	
568110	20		Math Skills I		PN										
585214	02	4	History 214		PN	D			63	6	Modified programme - see attached report			69	
614244	01	4	Resource II		C										
630216	05	6	English 26		PN	D			57	14				58	
634214	01	4	French 24		PN	D			52	8				58	
670214	01	4	Drama 214		PN	65			79	13	Sincere effort being made Noticeable Improvement		65	81	
999110	29		Tea. Adv. Group		PN	PN				16					
				TERM AVERAGE :		58						OVERALL AVERAGE	58		

TRA CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND/OR
ECIAL ACADEMIC PROGRAM

SUMMARY OF CREDITS

Org - School	Year	Lev	S.B.	MEQ	Total
			0	0	0

ADDRESS OF PERSON(S) RESPONSIBLE

PRINCIPAL'S SIGNATURE DATE

03-01-17

MESSAGE FROM ADMINISTRATION

Secondary School Report Card

2002-2003

URSE DES	GRP	CR	COURSE DESCRIPTION	TEACHER	TERM MARKS 1	2	3	4	GRP AVG	ABS	COMMENTS FOR CURRENT TERM	EXAM MARK	FINAL SCHOOL MARK MARK	GRP AVG
544112	05	2	Phys Ed 112		PN	70			78				70	78
558144	04	4	Integrated Science I		PN	B			76	1	Pleasure to teach			77
560132	02	2	Tech Ed 132		PN	PN			85	37				83
568110	20		Math Skills I		PN									
576112	01	2	ME/Study Skill		PN	B			81	1	Modified programme - see attached report			81
592114	02	4	Geography 114		PN				71	1	Modified programme - see attached report			69
514144	01	4	Resource I		B									
630116	04	6	English 16		PN	B			64	1	Modified programme - see attached report			62
999110	15		Tea. Adv. Group		PN	PN				1				
				TERM AVERAGE :		70						OVERALL AVERAGE	70	

RA CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES AND/OR
ECIAL ACADEMIC PROGRAM

SUMMARY OF CREDITS

Org - School	Year	Lev	S.B.	MEQ	Total

ADDRESS OF PERSON(S) RESPONSIBLE

PRINCIPAL'S SIGNATURE DATE

03-01-17

MESSAGE FROM ADMINISTRATION

Appendix F

List of Semi-Skilled Work

Quebec's Vocational and Technical Education Network
Programs of Study – List of Semi-Skilled Occupations

Sector: Administration, Commerce and Computer Technology

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
CLERK – CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS	7688	
CLERK – HARDWARE AND CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS	7548	23 293
CLERK – USED FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD APPLICANCES	7602	23 293
CLERK IN A FABRIC STORE OFFERING SEWING SERVICES	7505	23 293
CLERK – COURIER SERVICE	7502	25 245
CONVENIENCE STORE CLERK	7507	15 989
CUSTOMER SERVICE CLERK	7503	28 132
DELIVERY DRIVER	7603	26 462
FILM DEVELOPER	7658	24 018
FRUIT AND VEGETABLE STORE CLERK	7509	19 552
GROCERY AND SUPERMARKET CLERKS	7601	
INVENTORY CLERK	7600	29 433
OFFICE CLERK	7606	27 173
SALES CLERK	7511	23 293
SHIPPING AND RECEIVING CLERK	7501	25 905
STOREKEEPER AND PARTS CLERK	7514	29 701

Sector: Agriculture and Fisheries

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
ATTENDANT – CARE OF WILD ANIMALS	7689	
ATTENDANT – PET CARE	7528	19 457
CANINE CENTRE ATTENDANT	7724	
DAIRY FARM WORKER	7518	
DOG TRAINER'S HELPER	7659	19 457
FARM WORKER	7596	18 583
FISH FARM WORKER	7519	23 577
FLORIST'S HELPER	7521	16 836
GARDEN WORKER	7604	23 702
GOLF – COURSE GROUNDS KEEPER	7526	23 702
GREENHOUSE WORKER	7520	16 836
HOG FARM WORKER	7595	18 583
INDOOR PLANT TENDER	7660	23 702
LABOURER – SUGAR-BUSH	7517	18 583
LABOURER ON A FRUIT FARM	7606	
LANDSCAPE LABOURER	7524	23 702
NURSERY WORKER	7522	
POULTRY FARM HELPER	7714	
RANCH WORKER – BEEF CATTLE	7593	
RANCH WORKER – SHEEP	7594	
STABLE HAND	7527	18 583
VINEYARD WORKER	7605	18 583
WORKER – PRUNING	7717	

Sector: Food Services and Tourism

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
ASSISTANT BAR TENDER	7612	14 870
BAKER'S HELPER	7530	26 504
BUTCHER'S HELPER	7529	26 504
CATERER'S HELPER	7609	18 187
CHEESE MAKER'S HELPER	7608	26 504
COOK'S HELPER	7531	18 187
FAST-FOOD COUNTER ATTENDANT	7534	14 649
FOOD AND BEVERAGE SERVER	7535	18 187
FOOD-PREPARATION WORKER	7613	23 293
FOOD-PROCESSING WORKER	7614	26 504
HOTEL CLERK	7536	22 299
INDUSTRIAL BUTCHER'S HELPER	7607	25 761
LABOURER – FREEZE-DRYING OF FOOD PRODUCTS	7690	
OUTFITTING CAMP WORKER	7611	
PASTRY-COOK HELPER	7532	
PROCESS CONTROL MACHINE OPERATOR-PASTRY	7533	31 615
RECREATIONAL TOURIST CENTRE ATTENDANT	7716	
SPORTS CENTRE ATTENDANT	7615	27 543
SPORTS EQUIPMENT ASSEMBLER-REPAIRER	7541	22 728
TOURIST CAMP WORKER	7610	27 543
TOURIST SITE ATTENDANT	7707	

Sector: Arts

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
CERAMIST'S HELPER	7542	32 375
DECORATOR'S HELPER	7709	
HELPER-ORNAMENTAL METAL WORKSHOP	7661	21 365
HELPER-SOUND RECORDING STUDIO	7616	31 579
OPERATOR – POTTERY KILN	7617	33 375
STAGE HAND	7543	31 579
TAXIDERMIST'S HELPER	7706	
TOMBSTONE CUTTER AND POLISHER	7544	32 375
WORKER – DECORATIVE PLASTER OBJECTS	7618	32 375
WORKER – NEON TUBE MANUFACTURING	7708	
WORKER – STAGE SETS AND EVENTS	7720	

Sector Woodworking and Furniture Making

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
ASSEMBLER – WOOD PRODUCTS AND OTHER MATERIALS	7552	19 559
BOAT FINISHING LABOURER	7718	
CABINET-MAKER'S HELPER	7549	21 980
CLERK – COVERING OF ORTHOPAEDIC DEVICES	7693	19 559
FINISHING WORKER – BATHTUBS AND SHOWER STALLS	7663	
FURNITURE ASSEMBLER – WOOD	7551	20 880
HELPER-OPERATOR – PREMOULDER PRODUCTS	7662	
KITCHEN CUPBOARD FACTORY WORKER	7684	
LABOURER- CHAIR MANUFACTURING WORKSHOP	7691	20 880
LABOURER – STAIRS MANUFACTURING WORKSHOP	7692	24 277
LAMINATOR IN A LAMINATION SHOP	7550	21 365
PAINTER-FINISHER – FURNITURE	7664	22 153
REINFORCED RESIN WORKER	7575	
TROPHY ASSEMBLER	7715	
UPHOLSTERER'S HELPER	7619	21 365

WOODPRODUCTION WORKER	7620	24 277
WORKER IN A DOOR AND WINDOW WORKSHOP	7553	24 277

Sector: Chemistry and Biology

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
CHEMICAL PROCESSING OPERATOR	7621	31 815

Sector: Building and Public Works

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
ASSISTANT – ADVERTISING SIGN INSTALLATION	7705	
BUILDING MAINTENANCE WORKER	7625	24 277
CARPENTER'S HELPER – MINING OPERATIONS	7694	27 199
CARPET AND FURNITURE CLEANER	7627	21 964
FINISHER'S HELPER – PREFABRICATED CONCRETE PRODUCTS	7623	32 375
GLAZIER'S HELPER	7547	27 199
INSULATION BOARD ASSEMBLER	7624	29 569
JANITOR'S HELPER	7545	25 507
MAINTENANCE WORKER	7721	
MAINTENANCE WORKER – NORTHERN BUILDINGS	7622	25 507
MUNICIPAL MAINTENANCE WORKER	7626	31 406
PREFABRICATED HOUSING PRODUCTION WORKER	7666	24 277
SECURITY GUARD	7546	26 092
SIGN INSTALLER'S HELPER	7665	25 573
SWIMMING POOL SERVICER	7654	21 964

Sector: Electrotechnology

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
ASSEMBLER – SIMPLE ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT AND APPLIANCES	7629	27 487
CLERK, - AUDIO-VISUAL AND FILM EQUIPMENT PREPARATION	7695	23 293
COMPUTER EQUIPMENT ASSEMBLER	7669	
ELECTRONIC MATERIAL ASSEMBLER	7557	
HELPER- COMPUTER AND ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT MAINTENANCE	7628	29 278
HELPER – OFFICE EQUIPMENT MAINTENANCE	7599	22 728
HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCE ASSEMBLER	7668	27 487
REPAIRER'S HELPER – HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCES	7667	25 314
SHOP WORKER – COMPUTER, ELECTRONIC AND ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT	7670	29 278

Sector: Motorized Equipment Maintenance

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY SERVICER	7633	36 718
AIRCRAFT SERVICE EMPLOYEE	7685	23 685
AUTOMOBILE SERVICER	7569	26 143
AUTOMOBILE UPHOLSTERER	7725	
HEAVY MOTOR VEHICLE SERVICER	7571	26 143
MUFFLER INSTALLER	7562	26 143
PREPARER OF MOTOR VEHICLES FOR SALE	7631	21 964
RAILWAY MAINTENANCE WORKER	7686	32 045
RECREATIONAL VEHICLE SERVICER	7570	25 930
RENTAL AGENT AND SERVICER – TOOLS AND LIGHT MOTORS VEHICLES	7564	25 659
SERVICER = TOOLS AND LIGHT VEHICLES	7672	
TIRE AND LEAFSPRING SERVICER	7656	
TIRE RETREADER	7632	26 143
TOOL AND MOTORIZED EQUIPMENT SERVICER	7568	34 797

Sector: Mechanical Manufacturing

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
BAGGING AND PACKING MACHINE OPERATOR	7674	21 365
BLOW-FORMING MACHINE OPERATOR	7698	
GENERAL WAREHOUSE WORKER	7574	28 705
MATERIAL HANDLER – PROCESSING PLANT	7712	
METAL PARTS FINISHER	7726	
METAL PRODUCTS ASSEMBLER	7573	19 559
PACKAGING AND ENCAPSULATING MACHINE OPERATOR	7697	
PLASTIC INJECTION-MOULDING MACHINE OPERATOR	7654	
PLASTIC PRODUCTS ASSEMBLER	7673	23 757
PLASTIC –ROTOMOULDING MACHINE OPERATOR	7554	
PREPARER OF MATERIAL FOR MACHINING	7635	33 805
RECONDITIONER OF DISK BRAKE ROTORS	7636	
RUBBER-PROCESSING MACHINE OPERATOR	7577	31 856
SILKSCREENING MACHINE OPERATOR	7699	32 101
SIZING/WAXING MACHINE OPERATOR	7696	34 202
THERMOFORM-MACHINE OPERATOR	7675	24 699
TOW TRUCK PARTS ASSEMBLER	7711	
WORKER-METAL PARTS ENGRAVING	7713	

Sector: Forestry and Pulp and Paper

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
ASSISTANT SHARPENER	7704	
CONVERTED PAPER PRODUCTION WORKER	7683	33 592
FOREST ROAD SYSTEM WORKER	7678	25 684
FORESTRY AND PULP AND PAPER	7579	25 083
LOGGING MACHINE OPERATOR	7677	25 684
PULP AND PAPER WORKER	7637	33 592
RECEIVING CLERK – WOOD	7676	33 592
SAWMILL WORKER	7580	33 592

Sector: Communications and Documentation

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
ASSISTANT BINDER	7700	
BINDERY WORKER	7679	21 365
COMPUTER GRAPHICS HELPER	7710	
LIBRARY WORKER	7639	27 515
PRINTER'S HELPER	7555	21 365
TELEVISION PRODUCTION WORKER	7638	31 579

Sector: Maintenance Mechanics

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
MECHANIC'S HELPER – INDUSTRIAL SEWING MACHINES	7582	23 685
MECHANIC'S HELPER – MAINTENANCE	7640	23 685
PUMP REPAIRER'S HELPER	7641	23 685
VENDING MACHINE SERVICER	7657	22 728

Sector: Mining and Site Operations

Job Title	Sesame Code	Average Yearly Salary
GEOLOGICAL DRAFTING TECHNICIAN'S HELPER	7598	N/D
MINE WORKER	7642	39 230
ORE-PROCESSING WORKER	7643	39 479