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TRADITIONS AND CHALLENGES

SPECIAL SUPPORT IN SWEDISH INDEPENDENT COMPULSORY SCHOOLS

Gunnlaugur Magnússon

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Akademisk avhandling

som för avläggande av filosofie doktorexamen i didaktik vid Akademin för utbildning, kultur och kommunikation kommer att offentligens försvaras fredagen den 23 oktober 2015, 13.00 i A 407, Drottninggatan 12, Eskilstuna.

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Akademin för utbildning, kultur och kommunikation

Abstract

This thesis has two overarching aims. The first is to generate further knowledge about Swedish independent schools, specifically regarding the organisation and provision of special support and how these relate to special educational traditions and inclusive education. This is conducted through four empirical studies, utilising data gathered in two total population survey studies. The first survey was a total population study of Swedish independent compulsory schools (N = 686, response rate = 79%), and results from this study are presented in articles I, II and IV. Article III presents results derived from a total population survey of special pedagogues (SENCOs) and special education teachers in Sweden educated according to the degree ordinances of 2001, 2007 and 2008 (N = 4252, response rate = 75%).

Article I contains a general description of special education issues in the total population of independent schools. Article II continues with comparisons of these issues in different groups of independent compulsory schools. Article III studies differences in organisational prioritisations regarding special support and special educators in municipal and independent schools. Finally, article IV presents qualitative content analysis of over 400 responses regarding special support at independent schools.

The second overarching aim of the thesis is to further develop the discussions initiated in the articles about how special education and inclusive education can be understood in light of the education reforms that introduced the independent schools. A critical theoretical analysis and contextualization of the empirical results from the articles is conducted to explain and describe the consequences of the new (market) education paradigm.

Results show that, generally, the independent schools have not challenged special educational traditions to a significant degree. Rather, traditional conceptions, explanations and organisational measures are reproduced, and in some cases enhanced, by market mechanisms. However, there are great differences between the different types of schools with regard to both their perspectives on special education and their organisational approaches. There are also indications that the principle of choice is limited for this pupil group as compared to some other groups. Additionally, the increasing clustering of pupils in need of special support at certain schools replicates a system with special schools. In this case, market mechanisms are contributing to a system that is in contradiction to the idea of an inclusive school system.

The theoretical interpretation of the results suggests that Skrtic's theory can largely explain the empirical patterns found. However, his theory gives rise to different predictions or potential scenarios depending on what parts of his theory are underscored. Moreover, his theory must be complemented with additional perspectives to more fully account for diversity within the results, particularly as the results indicate that discourses/paradigms of special education and inclusive education often occur simultaneously and can thus be seen as expressions of practices taking place in a complex social and political environment.

Keywords: Special education; inclusion; school choice; education reform; independent schools; compulsory schools; pupils in need of special support, SENCOs; special education teachers; critical pragmatism; Thomas M. Skrtic

*For my daughters,
Hildur Saga and Hafþís Freyja*

*Ljósín í lífinu
sem skína svo skært
að ég tárast af birtunni*

List of Papers

This thesis is based on the following papers, which are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals.

- I. Göransson, Kerstin; Magnússon, Gunnlaugur & Nilholm, Claes (2012). Challenging Traditions? Pupils in Need of Special Support in Swedish Independent Schools. *Nordic Studies in Education*, 32(3-4), 262-280. (available from http://www.idunn.no/np/2012/03-04/challenging_traditions_-_pupils_in_need_of_special_support)
- II. Magnússon, Gunnlaugur; Göransson, Kerstin & Nilholm, Claes (2015). Similar Situations? Special Needs in Different Groups of Independent Schools. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*. 59(4), 377-394. DOI: 10.1080/00313831.2014.904422 (available from <http://www.tandfonline.com>)
- III. Magnússon, Gunnlaugur; Göransson, Kerstin & Nilholm, Claes. (Submitted). Different Approaches to Special Educational Support? Special Educators in Swedish Independent and Municipal schools. Submitted to *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs* January 13th 2015
- IV. Magnússon, Gunnlaugur. (Submitted). Images of (Special) Education? Independent Schools' Descriptions of their Special Educational Work. Submitted to *European Journal of Special Needs Education* May 27th 2015

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Appendix I - II

Acknowledgments

“To read your own texts is like hearing your own voice, with a tenth of a second’s delay, during an intercontinental telephone call. Eventually, you’ll go insane.”
(Engdahl 2012, p.89, my translation)

Writing is often a lonely activity, conducted in relative isolation while friends and family are having fun in the sun. A thesis is nevertheless the product of a process involving several people. Ideas and texts are workshopped and discussed, mangled and rebuilt, condemned and praised, and finally pushed forth through collective support. I would thus like to thank the following:

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¹ The music of Bert Jansch, Townes Van Zandt, Jose González, Death from Above 1979, Sepultura, Pearl Jam, Rage against the Machine, Pantera, Massive Attack, Samaris, Subterranean, Ghostpoet, Wu Tang Clan, Silvana Imam, and my hard/grind-core playlist on Spotify helped me focus and to hit the keys.

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Last, but far from least, my wife Sandra and my daughters Hildur Saga and Hafdís Freyja.

Hvað væri ég án ykkar?

*Hrörnar þöll
sú er stendur þorpi á,
hlýr-at henni börkr né barr.
Svo er maðr,
sá er manngi ann.
Hvat skal hann lengi lifa?²
(Hávamál)*

Mikið hlakka ég til að lifa lífinu með ykkur!

² A tree unsheltered withers,
neither needles nor bark shelter it.
Such is the man,
whom no one loves.
For what should he live long?

Part I
Paradigms Shifting

1 Introduction

A theory of education is – by definition – a social theory. Our policies and practices in education are deeply influenced by the economic, political, and ideological relations of a given society. Thus concerns about education – what it should do, how it should be carried out, and whom it benefits – are not simply internal to education. Rather, they are about the very nature of the relationship between social groups and differential power.
(Apple, 1997 p. 11)

The importance of education is rarely questioned and is, for the most part, taken as a given in political discussions. But as the quote from Apple above emphasises, questions about what education is, what it should accomplish and how, who is to be educated, and definitions of access to and quality of education are often left implicit in political discourse, as if there were a general consensus about what the answers to these questions are. The different answers to these questions, answers formed by different world views and rationalities, have crucial implications for educational practice and in turn for the pupils being educated.

In February 2015, I stumbled upon a debate article in one of the leading Swedish newspapers. The article presented a report about how principle organisers of independent schools maximise profits by school profiling, by establishing schools in well off areas, and by maintaining low teacher-student ratios and thus keeping costs down (Suhonen, Svensson & Wingborg, 2015). It did not take long until responses and critiques towards the report's premises and assumptions appeared from principal organisers (Bergström, 2015) and representatives of The Swedish Association of Independent Schools (Valtersson & Hamilton, 2015). In August 2014, a report from the Research Institute of Industrial Economics concluded that the school choice reforms had not had a negative effect on pupils from disadvantaged families and that the choice alternatives had either no effects or slightly positive effects (Edmark, Frölich,

& Wondratschek, 2014). Two years earlier, a report published in Norway claimed the results of marketization in terms of “privatisation and competition” in Sweden to have been a “free fall” (Boye, 2012), whereas an even earlier report written by Sahlgren (2010) claimed the profit motive was decisive in producing benefits for students from less-privileged backgrounds and that competition raised attainment levels and parental satisfaction and improved teacher conditions.

These examples are illustrative of a debate climate that is highly polarised. Frequent reports and debates are published from both proponents and opponents of school choice, with more or less explicitly politically biased premises and assumptions. Henig’s (2009) critical discussion about how research findings are used and abused as political weapons for posturing in public and political debate in the United States seems uncannily accurate in the Swedish context. Kallstenius (2010) argues that, as conclusions in research on school choice are far from consensual, they can be seen in the light of the disciplines producing them, i.e. the premises, methodology and formulations of research questions/hypothesis and research contexts. The Swedish National Agency for Education (SNAE, 2009) similarly concludes that results from research can, with a slight exaggeration, be categorised as follows: political scientists and economists find that the reforms have not contributed to or have slightly decreased segregation, whereas education scientists and sociologists conclude that the reforms have increased segregation (SNAE, 2009 p.142).

While the scope or topic in focus of the studies in question and the phrasing of questions/hypothesis are influential, the limitations of impact evaluations of the reforms can also be raised. Evaluations of the impact of reforms are important, but they can only tell us so much. Aside from methodological issues, such as isolating reform effects from those of other factors (e.g. housing segregation), which is often difficult (cf. Lindbom & Almgren, 2007; Gustafsson, 2007), the choice of time spectrum is also hard to define: the reforms took place in the early nineties, but the real explosion in the number of independent schools took place after 2000 (SNAE, 2009). More importantly, many of these studies are far removed from the school context, drawing far-reaching

conclusions based on statistical relationships between abstract variables³ rather than on tangible consequences in everyday practices and experiences.

Another question to be raised is what all of these opposing impact studies are to lead to in a political climate where, despite recent governmental gambits, there are few indicators that the school choice reforms and the independent schools have anything but firm and comprehensive political support (SOU 2013:56). It also seems safe to conclude that school choice has broad and growing public support, as the proportion of both independent schools and pupils attending them increase every year (SNAE, 2013a). As Plank and Sykes (2003) put it, “Choice is here to stay” (p. xv). A report written by representatives for most political parties in Sweden even has this as its point of departure: “The independent schools are here to stay” (SOU 2013:56, p. 15). If that is the case, the question is then how the system should become better. Consequently, the question “better at what?” must be raised. Such an ambition should allow results from varied disciplines to be critically reviewed and must acknowledge different political rationalities behind what is defined as good (Apple, 2004; Biesta, 2011; Cherryholmes, 1988).

This thesis, despite necessary limitations in scope, is about consequences of different competing rationalities for pupils receiving education in the Swedish education system. Specifically, it is about prerequisites for and the organisation of the provision of special support in the portion of the Swedish school system, particularly the compulsory schools, run by private actors. The Swedish independent schools are a manifestation of the marketization of Swedish education, a result of reforms of the education system in the 1980s and 1990s in which decentralisation, school choice and privatisation were prominent concepts (cf. Daun, 1996). Arguments preceding the introduction of the independent schools by no means lacked ambition. Struggling for survival in a market competition, schools would be forced to adapt to pupil and parent

³ For example, a report was published in June 2015 (SNS, 2015) in which Swedish independent schools were claimed to have better leadership based upon a statistical relationship between pupil attainment and a measure of management (Bloom, Lemos, Sadun & Van Reenen, 2015). The Swedish sample of 88 schools is well below 2 per cent of all Swedish schools, independent school sample is disproportionately large, pupil intake was not fully controlled for and the management coefficient was not statistically significant, to name just a few problems with the conclusion above.

wishes. They would also be more democratic, as the distance from power would be diminished for the pupils and parents, who would also have the power to relocate to another school if not satisfied. Schools in a market would therefore be forced to find innovative measures and practices as well as more effective use of resources (Prop 1995/96:200; Prop 1992/93:230; Prop 1995/1996:200; Lundahl, 2000; Daun, 2003; Bunar & Sernhede, 2013).

The ideas and concepts realised in these reforms of the Swedish education system were very much in line with educational reforms implemented in several different countries (Walford, 2001; Plank & Sykes, 2003; Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004a; Waldow, 2009). They have been seen as a shift in the conceptualisation of education in Sweden and have even been termed “a paradigm shift in education politics” (Englund, 1998a). Because the introduction of independent schools can be seen as the result of a new rationality of education, one that revolutionised the conceptualisation of education and educational organisation in Sweden (Englund, 1998a, 1998b; Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000; Lundahl, 2000), the terminology of education (Säfström & Östman, 1998; Lindensjö & Lundgren 2000; Englund & Quennerstedt, 2008), a return of traditional conceptions of knowledge and teaching (Englund, 1998b; Apple, 2006) and a shift in focus from equity to excellence (Skrtic, 1991a, 1991b; Labaree, 2010), independent schools are an important field for research.

The independent schools have been researched and discussed thoroughly during the almost twenty five years that have passed since their introduction. Nevertheless, certain aspects of the independent schools have remained largely ignored. In particular, there has been a lack of research on special education questions, not least on consequences for pupils in need of special support and prerequisites for organisation of support. Pupils in need of special support are not defined in any clear terms in Swedish legislation (SFS 2011:185; SFS 1997:599; SFS 2010:800; SFS 1985:1100), but the key definition has been connected to educational attainment, i.e. pupils at risk of not reaching the educational goals of the curriculum are seen as in need of special support (SFS 2010:800). As children can come to be in such situations for a variety of reasons, the concept can be seen as an intersection of several social categories and definitions of school problems, often encompassing the most disregarded groups of pupils within the education system. As Ramberg (2015) points out, although there are several data bases and registries of educational data, there are no national data bases gathering statistics regarding special education. This

is probably due to unclear definitions and ethical problems with the construction of data registers for such sensitive issues, but it is also a factor that complicates research on a national level. Assuming that any education system is only as good as its most vulnerable pupils are treated, it is of great importance to follow up and study what consequences political reforms have for all pupil groups, and perhaps most importantly, to try to see what situations these pupils are in and what the prerequisites are for their needs to be met.

Public education in democratic societies has explicit democratic ends (Skrtic, 1991a, 1991b, Biesta, 2007). However, following Skrtic, the bureaucratic rationality of how the practical work is organized, i.e. the means of education, can contradict these democratic ends. The organisation of the education system, regulated through policy texts (Lundahl, 2000; Apple, 2004), tells us a great deal about the intentions and ideas intended to shape the education system (Apple, 1997, 2004; Ball, 2009; Popkewitz, 2008a). Thus educational reforms can also be seen as an assembly of constant adjustments of policies or ‘repairs’ of perceived problems to come a little closer to the panacea that education should be and lead to (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). Policies are seen here as a collection of statements “about practice—the way things could be or should be—which rest upon, derive from, statements about the world—about the way things are. They are intended to bring about idealised solutions to diagnosed problems” (Ball, 1990, p. 26). Modern political discourse about education often focuses on a perceived crisis of education (Apple, 1997; Ball, 2009), educational attainment (Apple, 2004), excellence (Skrtic, 1991a, 1995) and accountability (Daun, 2007a). The actual processes and reforms set in motion by this discourse indicate new relationships between different actors on different levels (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004a, 2004b; Daun, 2007b) and redefine the citizens of the future, including the qualities and competences the citizens are to have and maintain in future society (Popkewitz, 2008a). By doing so they also define certain pupils as outside the scope of regular education; these pupils are the pupils that need additional resources to fall under the category of “all pupils” that “education for all” is supposed to accommodate (Popkewitz, 2008a, 2009). These pupils, whatever social category they may belong to, are thus implicitly placed outside of the scope of “regular education” and under the realm of special education (Slee, 2011; Skrtic, 1991a; Thomas & Loxley, 2007).

The increase in segregated provision of special education (e.g. Giota & Lundborg, 2007; SNAE, 2003, 2011, 2014d) indicates that the shift in educational discourse, from a focus on equity to a focus on excellence and from “a school for all” to individual choice, has affected definitions of *who* is to be educated, as well as *how* and *where*. Such changes can have significant implications for how special education and inclusive education are understood and defined in educational practice and organisation and, consequently, for the experiences of pupils. There is therefore not only a need for an empirical contribution as regards the consequences of the introduction of school choice and market rationality for pupils in need of special support, but also a need for a theoretical discussion as regards the consequences of these reforms for the understanding and conceptualisation of special education and inclusive education. With reference to Clark, Dyson & Millward (1998), there is an important theoretical task to be performed in that it is necessary to “identify the broad trends which characterise current thinking”, as these trends “tell us something about ourselves: they tell us about the assumptions which we are coming to share, the values which are implicit or explicit in our work and the priorities which we are embodying in our theories” (p. 157).

Following Skrtic’s organisational analysis (1987, 1991a, 1995c), special education is defined here as a phenomenon emerging to deal with pupils defined as problematic when the standard practices of regular education fall short. Thus education as an organisation can continue to claim to offer education to everyone, while actually differentiating between pupils the system assumes it can and cannot accommodate, often on arbitrary grounds, and thus maintaining dual systems of education. The alternative, inclusive education, is seen as an educational organisation that questions a dual system and arbitrary differentiation, including segregated provision, aiming to accommodate all pupils and taking their experiences and views into serious account when planning educational provision.⁴

There is thus a normative political aspect to be acknowledged as regards this thesis. A general objective here is to study whether or not the independent

⁴ Of course, there is an array of definitions of what both special and inclusive education mean, both theoretically and in practice. Further discussion regarding these concepts is to be found in chapter 3.

schools have challenged traditions of dual systems of special education, developing more inclusive manners of conceptualising (special) education, on a system level. It must therefore be recognised that education is seen here as a societal project and that the potential segregation of pupils from particular social groups is seen as problematic from a democratic perspective.

1.1 Aims and Scope

The thesis has two overarching aims. The first overarching aim is to generate further knowledge about the Swedish independent compulsory schools, specifically regarding the organisation and provision of special support and how this relates to special educational traditions and inclusive education. This is done in four steps, each conducted in the articles included in the thesis. In the first step a general description of the population of independent schools and special education issues is given. Second, comparisons of different groups of independent schools are made. The third step is a study of differences in organisational prioritisations regarding special support and special educators. Finally, the fourth step consist of analyses of replies from the independent schools to open-ended questions regarding special support.

The second overarching aim of the thesis is to further develop the discussions initiated in the articles about how special education and inclusive education can be understood in light of the education reforms that introduced the independent schools. A critical theoretical analysis and contextualization of the empirical results from the articles is conducted to explain and describe the consequences of the new (market) education paradigm. The central theoretical concepts are discussed, inadequacies presented and developments suggested.

The thesis can thus be seen as proceeding through a three-pronged approach. First of all are results that are principally of an exploratory and descriptive character. These gather empirical material regarding the schools' work and perspectives concerning pupils in need of special support. Here focus is laid upon how independent compulsory schools describe their work and their organisation of special education issues, including an analysis of the special education perspectives and images that can be delineated from the replies. This is conducted in articles I, II and IV.

The second prong, conducted in article III, can be seen as a subset of the first, although the data are of a different character in that they have a wider scope (they include both municipal and independent schools, from preschools through adult education) and are on a different level (individual practitioners rather than school level). Article III explores the occupational situations for the two occupational groups primarily associated with special education in Sweden. The occurrence of these occupational groups in different types of schools and their occupational situations are understood as expressions of a certain understanding and, consequently, of a certain organisational prioritisation by the schools. Comparisons are made of the responses from special educators employed in municipal and independent schools.

Finally, the third prong, mainly conducted in the thesis, regards the critical theoretical analysis of the results from the articles. Here a summary and contextualisation of the results are provided, and implications for our understanding of the independent schools and special education and inclusion are discussed. The theoretical contribution can thus be seen as twofold: partly an analysis of empirical material using recognised theoretical tools and a development of these tools in the light of their limitations, and finally, a sketch of how this analysis contributes to our understanding of the consequences of the independent schools (as an expression of market rationality) for special education and inclusive education.

These results are unique, as they concern research of total populations on a national level, both regarding these particular occupational groups and regarding special education questions among independent compulsory schools. The empirical material presented here comes from two different large scale research projects, both financed by The Swedish Research Council. The projects are described in more detail in chapter 5. Project a) *Independent schools work with pupils in need of special support*, (project number: 2008-4701) focused on the primary school level. The data utilised and presented here were gathered via a total population survey and represent all Swedish independent compulsory schools in the spring term of 2009. Project b) *Special occupations? A project about special teachers' and special education needs coordinators' (SENCOs') work and education*, (project number: 2011-5986) focused on the professions primarily and traditionally associated with special support in the Swedish education system. The data studied and presented here were gathered in a total population survey of SENCOs and special teachers examined according to the degree ordinances of 2001, 2007 and 2008. These data include

actors working on all levels of the education system, including preschool, compulsory school, secondary schools and adult education in both independent and municipal schools.

1.2 Specific Aims and Questions of Each Study

The articles constituting the empirical base of the thesis have the following aims and questions:

Article I: The aim is to provide a general analysis of the work undertaken with pupils in need of special support in Swedish independent schools, i.e. how they meet the challenge of pupils needing special support and whether they challenge traditions in their work with these pupils.

The overarching questions are (1) In what ways do independent schools challenge the Swedish tradition of special education? and (2) How does the notion of inclusive education relate to the practices of the independent schools? The former question is analysed via questions about proportions of pupils in need of special support (PNSS), occurrence of refusals of admittance, the importance of diagnosis and the organisation of support, and how problems are explained. The latter is answered via theoretical analysis and contextualisation of the results.

Article II: The aim is to explore differences regarding work with pupils in need of support (PNSS) between different groups of Swedish independent compulsory schools.

The questions are (1) What are the differences regarding the prevalence of PNSS between the groups? (2) Does the occurrence of refusals of admittance differ? and (3) Are there differences in the special education perspectives that can be discerned in the different groups of schools? The special education perspectives are approached via questions about (3a) the importance of diagnosis, (3b) organisational solutions, and (3c) the explanation of school problems.

Article III: The aim of is to explore particular prerequisites of special educational work in independent schools and municipal schools, with particular focus on SENCOs and special teachers. The overarching questions regard a) the occurrence of educated special educators and their occupational situation, and

b) what specific values regarding identification and work with school problems/special-educational issues the special educators express/represent.

Results are presented regarding i) the demography of the groups, ii) the experience within the occupation, iii) part-time or full-time employment, iv) the function of employment, v) the level (within the school system) of employment, vi) prior education, vii) the importance of diagnosis, and viii) explanations of school problems.

Article IV: The aim is to explore images of special educational support the independent schools emphasise when free to comment on their work with pupils in need of special support and how these images can be understood in terms of special educational traditions and innovations.

The questions posed in the questionnaire are *Is there anything you would like to add regarding your work with special support?* and *Other comments?* The questions raised in the analysis are (1) What images can be delineated in the responses? (2) How can these images be understood in light of special education perspectives and inclusion? (3) Do different groups of schools respond differently? and (4) How do these results respond to ideas of innovation in the provision of (special) education?

1.3 Disposition

The thesis has the following disposition:

Aside from the introduction, part I of the thesis describes the educational shift that took place in the 1990s. Utilising theoretical tools from curriculum theory and the terminology of Skrtic (1991a, 1991b, 1995c), the emergence of a market of education is described as a paradigm shift in the conceptualisation of education. School choice and the independent schools are discussed as a clear practical manifestation of a new conceptualisation of education, and the present situation as well as prior research of the independent schools of the Swedish education system is presented. Subsequently, special education and its development, as well as theoretical developments of inclusive education and education for all, are also discussed and described. The current state of affairs and legislation regarding special education and inclusion in the Swedish education system are described, and prior research specifically on the subject of

special education and school choice is presented. Prior research is thus presented in two chapters, pertaining to the relevant topic.

Part II describes the theoretical framework and positions the thesis's perspective through a 'reading' of the two paradigm shifts. This is done utilising a grounding in critical pragmatism and educational philosophy and analytical concepts from Thomas Skrtic.

Part III contains the empirical contribution of the thesis. Methodological procedures are presented, and the four articles the thesis is built around are summarised.

In Part IV, a critical theoretical discussion of the results from the articles is presented, and conclusions are drawn regarding implications for education, inclusive education and future research. Also, developments in the form of theoretical supplements are suggested to further nuance and widen the scope of the theoretical framework.

2 School Choice and Market Reforms in Education

In the following chapter a paradigm shift in how public education was and is understood and organised is presented as a shift from an adhesive element for equity and social cohesion for the public good to a market commodity and a private good. First, the introduction of school choice and the rise of the independent schools in Sweden is set in relation to international trends and reforms. Second, the development of market education in Sweden is presented. Finally, research regarding the consequences of the independent schools for public education is presented.

2.1 Education Reforms

Acknowledging the importance of contextualisation, it is in order to set the development of the Swedish education system in the 1990s in relation to changes and reforms that took place internationally at a similar time. The Swedish independent schools are difficult to understand separately from the global reform movement that preceded their introduction (Plank & Sykes, 2003; Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004a), reforms that have been discussed as part of an increasing policy-borrowing between countries (Walford, 2001; Schriewer & Martinez, 2004; Phillips, 2004). Such borrowing often happens silently or without acknowledgement of their international origins (Waldow, 2009; Ball, 2012). From an international perspective the central ideas in the global reform movement have been adapted to the different national/local contexts and have taken on different organisational features. Nonetheless, they have market terminology and argumentation in common (Daun, 1996; Levin, 2001; Plank & Sykes, 2003; Rizvi, 2004; Labaree, 2010).

Three central concepts are of particular interest for the understanding of the Swedish reforms leading to independent schools: namely, *decentralisation*, *choice*, and *privatisation* (Daun, 1996; cf. Fiske & Ladd, 2000). *Decentralisation* refers to the process of a transfer of power and fiscal responsibilities

from a higher level to a lower level of administration (Daun, 1996; 2007a; Bray, 1999; Jarl, Kjellgren & Quennerstedt, 2007). In the Swedish context power was decentralised in both a functional and a territorial/regional sense (Daun, 2007b; Bray, 1999), as authority and fiscal responsibility were moved from the state (national level) to the municipalities and in some cases to the school level. Decentralisation and centralisation are not as distinct as the terminology might imply, as there are often, as in Sweden, parallel movements in opposite directions with regard to centralised power and governance of education (Hudson, 2007; Nordin, 2014; Rönnerberg, 2008). Being of either administrative or political character, or both (Bray, 1999), arguments for decentralisation most often revolve around moving power closer to—or all the way into the hands of—those affected by it, thus increasing local control and participation. The process was thus often argued for as a democratic principle as well as a means for increasing the efficient use of resources (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000; Nordin, 2014).

In an international perspective *choice* is no new phenomenon in education (Daun 1996; Plank & Sykes, 2003), and it is difficult to give a general image of choice initiatives because they are highly contextualised, differing between countries and ranging from choice among schools within a certain geographic or politically defined region (cf. Kosunen, 2013) to choice between private and public actors (Plank & Sykes, 2003). In other words, choice policies do not necessarily imply the introduction of private actors; educational choice can regard choice between different municipal schools. Despite these complications, two key features of choice policies have been defined. First of all “they give parents more choices about the schools their children attend” (Plank & Sykes, 2003 p. viii), rather than strictly assigning pupils to particular schools within catchment areas or by some other logic. Second, they “produce an explicit or implicit competition among schools for students and revenues” (Plank & Sykes, 2003 p. viii). The public funding for education follows the child, as opposed to belonging to the catchment area school, creating an economic initiative for the schools to attract and retain pupils.

Privatisation is yet another concept riddled by contextual differences; it refers to different processes in different contexts. Ball (2009) views privatisation as a policy tool with influence that stretches across the organisation and provision of education services to the policy level to the understanding of the roles and (preferable) attributes of pupils and teachers, including their behaviour

and practice (c.f. Ball, Maguire, and Braun, 2012; Ball & Vincent, 2008; Popkewitz, 2009). A more compressed definition views privatisation as the introduction of private actors as principle organisers in a market of public education (Daun, 1996; Levin, 2001). This does not necessarily imply an introduction of school fees; voucher systems allowing pupils to bring the funding with them to different school alternatives are common examples of the contrary.

The arguments for privatisation and school choice often coincide and are reflected to a certain degree in the arguments for decentralisation, i.e. arguments for increasing democracy by giving power to those affected by education. Economic arguments that regard the effective use of resources and better outcomes as results of competition and accountability are also prominent (Woods, Bagley & Glatter, 1998; Fiske & Ladd, 2000; Levin, 2001; Plank & Sykes, 2003). More specifically, arguments for and against school choice and privatisation revolve around the freedom to choose as a democratic principle and thus increased profiling towards the needs and preferences of different individuals/families/communities (Plank & Sykes, 2003; Levin, 2001; Fiske & Ladd, 2000; Reich, 2008). Arguments for increased variety among schools and for incentives for educational innovation were important and combined the above-mentioned ambitions for economic efficiency in the form of better results/attainment for lower costs and the profiling towards individual needs and preferences (Plank & Sykes, 2003; Fiske & Ladd, 2000). An international comparative study of several countries has indicated, on the other hand, that the innovation in quasi-market education systems has revolved around administration and marketing/branding rather than educational methods and classroom practices (Lubienski, 2009).

As opponents raised concerns regarding equity issues—for instance, that affluent families would choose to a higher degree and that privatisation and choice would result in “greater inequities in educational resources, opportunities and results according to gender, social class, race, language origins, and geography” (Levin, 2001, p. 9)—proponents argued that choice would allow pupils locked into inferior schools to ‘opt out’ and that choice would thus increase equity (Brighouse, 2008; Levin, 2001; Whitty, Power & Halpin, 1998; Raywid, 2006; Sweetland, 2002; Coulson, 1999). The economic arguments assume that competition for pupils will ultimately lead to more efficient use of resources in terms of increased ‘output’ and quality of education, i.e. that results will improve in terms of educational attainment, and, successively, pupil and parental experience (Levin, 2001; Plank & Sykes, 2003; Raywid, 2006;

Sweetland, 2002; Coulson, 1999; Whitty, Power & Halpin, 1998). Although arguments for and against school choice and privatisation vary in quality, Plank and Sykes (2003) argue that perhaps even more important than the various arguments in favour of choice is the “virtual absence of a politically viable alternative” (p. x)—or what I would translate to the Swedish context as a lack of any arguments in favour of state-centred provision of education that are sufficiently convincing to the general public and politicians.

Reforms can also be seen as a form of governing practice where a particular image of society is imposed and delineated (Popkewitz, 2000; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). Governance regards the structure and monitoring of relationships between the state, the economy and the civil sphere (Daun, 2007a), and reforms of education are then a manner of altering the control of education. Lindblad and Popkewitz (2000) define two complementary notions of governance: the means by which activities are controlled and directed for a specific range of outcomes and the systems of knowledge “that govern through distinctions, differentiations and categories that construct identities for action and participation” (p.8). These notions can be seen as the practical implementations of hegemonic political discourses as regards *what* education is to achieve and *how*, and *who* is to do *what* in order to achieve those goals. Further delineation of such discourses follows in the section below.

2.2 A Shift toward Market Terminology and Rationality

The key concepts presented and discussed in the preceding chapter are descendants of a market, or economic, discourse. Reconnecting with Apple’s quote on page 1, it can be argued that what took place was a paradigm shift⁵ including redefinitions stretching from of the conceptualization of society and democracy, to the, the individual citizen (Apple, 2004). The reforming of education and the governing of education is, in other words, not only about re-writing the map of the structure of the education system or about reallocating

⁵ Skrtic (1991a, 1995c) argues that encompassing alterations of organizations can be seen as analogous to paradigm shifts (cf. Kuhn, 1962), as both organizations and paradigms affect our way of viewing the world, explaining relationships and defining acceptable standards of practice and behaviour, thus influencing the thoughts and discourses of the members. I utilize this analogy throughout the thesis and further elaboration of it is to be found in chapter 4.

power relations—it is also about the shaping of future citizens (Apple, 1997, 2004; Popkewitz & Lindblad, 2004; Popkewitz, 2009).

It is common to describe the shift from the communal understanding of education (associated with a social-democratic tradition of public education) to an individualised understanding (associated with the market view in which pupils and parents are seen as consumers) as having to do with the rise of neo-liberalism (Nilsson, 1997; Daun, 1997, 2003; Apple, 2004, 2006; Blossing, Imsen, & Moos, 2014) or the emergence of a right wing coalition of neo-conservative values and neo-liberal agendas (Apple, 1997, 2000; Ball, 1990/2006).⁶ However, these ideas are not isolated to a specific array of politics, as the terminology above indicates; both left and right wing parties promoted, prepared for and implemented such measures (cf. Hwang, 2002; Plank & Sykes, 2003; Ladd, 2003; Daun, 2003; Apple, 2004; Lundahl, 2010; Wiborg, 2014; Volckmar & Wiborg, 2014).

To be a little more to the point, the paradigm shift in focus here entailed a shift from a state governed, centralised education system towards a market of education in which consumers—i.e. pupils—are to choose from an array of possible providers of education, both private and public. Hence it is a different conceptualisation of democracy and the individual (Popkewitz, 2009) and includes a re-conceptualisation of state welfare (Apple, 1997, 2006; Thomas & Loxley, 2007) and a new rationality of schooling (Popkewitz, 2000, 2009; Thomas & Loxley, 2007; Englund, 1998a). As discussed above, one of the most prominent arguments for school choice has been that increased autonomy and accountability of schools, including adaption to pupils'/parents' particular wishes and preferences, would lead to educational innovations and plurality of pedagogical orientations (Levin, 2001; Fiske & Ladd, 2000; Reich, 2008), thus increasing the democratic power of the individual. However,

⁶ The concept of neo-liberalism denotes different things in different contexts (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004a) and can be seen as an elevator word, a term without content that tautologically refers to itself (Hacking, 1999) and not to 'things in the world' such as processes and systems. Thus, the term risks becoming somewhat of an epithet that opponents of marketization can use to denote shadowy figures on the other side of the argument. However, the term neo-liberalism is commonly used in research to denote economic terminology and market rationality in discourse (Rizvi, 2004), including a belief in individualism, free and unregulated markets, free choice, decentralized power arrangements, and reduced influence of the state (Apple, 1997; Ball, 1990/2006; Schüllerqvist, 1998). Those things are discernible in debate and policy and have visible consequences for individuals, practitioners and institutions such as schools.

choice must inevitably be insufficient as a democratic intervention, as the freedom to choose within a market cannot constitute democracy. “Consumers can choose from a set menu. But democracy only exists when the citizens have been involved in decisions on what should be on the menu from the beginning” (Biesta, 2011, p. 106). This might be a key problem in the debate when public education is adapted to market rationality: the citizen-in-the-making is a consumer rather than a participant in the shaping of future society (cf. Säfström, Månsson & Osman, 2015). In a market society the individual consumer of education is to be able to choose according to his/her preferences and particular and private wishes, as opposed to the maximisation of collective or public needs. However, a contradiction arises in that *general* education cannot be *particularistic* (Biesta, 2011). In fact, a general system often goes right against the individual’s particular wishes.

So as new definitions are made of the roles of the actors involved in education, new partnerships are shaped. Previously viewing education as a public good, partnerships monitoring and controlling education were between, for instance, professions, the state and politicians. In a market system, on the other hand, the relationship is defined as being between a customer and a “business”. Hence, the new reform strategies put “together discourses about a) social planning that strives for greater control of change with the promise of social betterment and b) a democratisation that provides individuals and communities a greater say and preparedness to operate more flexibly and productively in the new worlds of global work” (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004b, p. 76). Note that this does not necessarily imply that the state is withdrawing from its roles and responsibilities. Rather, it points to a recalibration, where the governance of education might become even more centralised in several respects, for instance, through state controlled curriculum and school inspections (Hudson, 2007; Carlbaum, 2014) and through the growth and merging of principal organisers of independent schools into successively larger corporations (Nordin, 2014; Lundahl, Arreman, Holm & Lundström, 2014).

2.3 The Introduction of School Choice in Swedish Education

In the light of the preceding passage on school choice reforms as an international phenomenon, it is appropriate to delve into the how these reforms were

established in Sweden. The following subchapters describe the process preceding the introduction of the independent schools, the current situation and prior research that regards their establishment.

2.3.1 Background

There may be several reasons for why states decide to restructure their education systems, but aside from any country-specific features, Daun (1996) summarises five general reasons for the “emergence and rapid adoption” of educational restructuring in capitalist countries “of the North” [sic]: (i) economic decline or recession, (ii) decreasing legitimacy of the state, (iii) cultural revitalisation, (iv) declining levels of educational achievement, and (v) purely ideological and political factors. The Swedish reforms can best be understood as influenced by a combination of the above-mentioned reasons, in particular,

- Economic decline or recession (Jarl, Kjellgren & Quennerstedt, 2007; Lundahl, 2010; Ringarp, 2011; Blossing & Söderström, 2014);
- Decreasing legitimacy of the state (Pierre, 2007; Ringarp, 2011); and
- Ideological and political factors (Englund, 1998a; Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000; Ringarp, 2011 Daun, 2003; Lundahl, 2000).

The reforms in Sweden can also be understood with the help of the concepts discussed in the previous chapter—decentralisation, choice and privatisation (Daun, 1997; Lundahl, 2005)—as these were crucial elements of the order and rationality of the implementation of the reforms (Lundahl, 2005; Pierre, 2007).

The independent schools were introduced in the Swedish education system in the early 1990s. They were the consequence of intense educational reforms that included the decentralisation of the education system, where the responsibility for the education system was moved from the state to the municipalities. The process of decentralisation was crucial in the implementation of the later reforms that introduced school choice (Pierre, 2007) and were seen at the time as means of improving democracy by moving the power closer to the people, i.e. actors within the schools, and shortening the distances to those with decision making powers (Daun, 1996, 2003; Ringarp, 2011; Bunar & Sernhede, 2013). The introduction of choice within the school system was a subsequent reform and included a move from a catchment area system to allowing municipal schools to admit students as long as they had space, and

later to the choice between public and private principal organizers of education (Daun, 2003). The reforms included a particular shift in terminology; economic and marketing concepts became prominent (Daun, 2003; Rizvi, 2004; Arnesen & Lundahl, 2006; Arneback & Bergh, 2010).

Hence, what emerged in the Swedish context was a different conceptualisation of society and democracy in which, as Englund (1998a) argues, education is seen as a private good rather than a public good, a move from a collectivistic view towards a more individualistic one (Englund & Quennerstedt, 2008). Thus, if education was formerly seen as a public good that should contribute to society and therefore be controlled by society, it would now be seen as a private good, a matter of parental and individual preferences (Bunar & Sernhede, 2013; Englund, 1998a; Labaree, 2010). This would give parents and pupils the power to choose the educational profile and, up to a point, the educational ingredients that suited their preferences.

The introduction of the independent schools was argued for as a democratic principle, as a tool to engage parents in education, and as a tool of educational development. Competition for pupils would lead to more efficient use of resources and an increased variety of educational methods within the system (Prop. 1991/92:95; Prop 1992/93:230; Lundahl, 2000; Bunar & Sernhede, 2013). In other words, it was seen as an important and logical continuation of the decentralisation process. The right to choose education and the ability to influence decisions made regarding one's education were later called "one of our most important democracy issues" (Prop 1995/96:200, p. 37, *my translation*). It can therefore be argued that the proponents of the independent school system viewed its existence as a crucial democratic question and an intervention that would develop not only the education system but democratic participation as well. This, as it was deemed the "pupils' and the homes' responsibility to participate and contribute to a good education and to take their own active standpoints" (Prop 1992/93:230, p. 27, *my translation*). The individualist market view can, in other words, also be understood as an attempt to promote and administer pluralism that stretched beyond political borders (Reich, 2008). Economic responsibility was moved from the state to the municipalities, administrative responsibility to the headmasters, and responsibility for the quality of children's education from the state to the private sphere of parental and individual preference and choice. On the other hand, the state still decides the content (goals) to be strived for and maintains control over

evaluative functions and inspections of schools (Whitty et al., 1998; Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000; Daun, 2007b).

Although the introduction of the market terminology and rationality in education is derived from neo-liberal conceptions and right wing politics, ascribing neo-liberal conceptions to one side of the political sphere is misleading: social-democratic parties were, for instance, fundamental in the implementation of the reforms in the Nordic countries, and in Sweden in particular (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000; Daun, 2003; Wiborg, 2013; Volckmar & Wiborg, 2014; Blossing & Söderström, 2014). It is important to acknowledge, however, that parties on different political sides in Sweden have approached the terms differently and in the light of traditional left/right values. For instance, the right wing government that pushed the choice reforms through in the early nineties did so with arguments rooted firmly in their rhetoric from the 1970s (Lundahl, 2010). The social-democrats, concerned about the influence on equity and segregation and therefore initially sceptical of the implementation of choice, did not do much to alter or turn back these fundamental changes when they came back in power (Lundahl, 2010), but rather adapted the new rhetoric (Hwang, 2002) and currently advocate choice as a principle in education. However, traditional social democratic values and policies, such as equal funding of schools and absence of fees, are still visible in the Swedish education system (Lundahl, Erixon Arreman, Holm & Lundström, 2013; Arnesen & Lundahl, 2006).

2.3.2 Current Situation

The Swedish education system has moved from being one of the world's most centralised systems to becoming a remarkably decentralised system, and it did so without much political controversy (Lundahl, 2005, 2010). It is now characterised by marketization and often debated in binary terms where the distinction lies between independent schools and municipal schools. The independent schools, from the policy perspective, are supposed to be equivalent options to municipal schools; they adhere to the same legislation and curricula as that of schools run by the municipalities. They are financed as a voucher system: the municipalities finance a fixed sum per pupil to cover annual costs. The systems for financing vary considerably between municipalities (SNAE, 2013d). Independent schools are not allowed to charge their pupils tuition or fees, and they must fulfil the same goals and quality markers of education as

other schools (SFS 2010:800). The popularity of independent schools is constantly increasing. The proportion of pupils attending independent schools has grown exponentially, and independent schools currently educate approximately 13 per cent of pupils in the compulsory school and approximately 25 per cent of upper secondary school pupils (SNAE, 2013a, 2013b, 2014d).

The Swedish education system encompasses many years of Swedish citizens' lives, from preschool (ages 1–5 years) through compulsory education that includes a preparatory year (6–16 years) on to upper secondary school (16–19 years), and then to different varieties of adult education ranging from complementary secondary courses to university education. Education is publicly funded and free of charge at all levels, with the exception of a low fee paid by parents of preschool children. The municipalities are responsible for financing preschool through upper secondary school. There is generally high participation in the education system at all levels, with 85 per cent of eligible children attending preschools and 98 per cent of eligible pupils registered into upper secondary education in 2011 (SNEA, 2013a). It is worth noting that both upper secondary school and preschool are voluntary.

The Swedish education system is based in a historical tradition of centralised state governance. Prior to decentralisation reforms of the late 1980s, the state both financed and organised public education in Sweden and thus served as employer to all school teachers and administrative staff (Englund, 1998b; Lindensjö & Lundgren, 1998; Daun, 2003; Pierre, 2007; Ringarp, 2011; Blossing & Söderström, 2014). On the compulsory level, ambitions had long been to create and structure a comprehensive compulsory school, and this was finally realised in the 1960s as a replacement for the previous parallel school for children of different backgrounds, thus to a certain degree accomplishing “a school for all” (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 1998; Blossing & Söderström, 2014). Today, despite the decentralisation reforms and increasingly individualised focus, the Swedish education system still bears the mark of the idea of a unified education system that is governed to a high degree by centralised policy and legislation and inspected and controlled by state authorities. Nordin (2014) also points out several tendencies towards centralisation on both the state level and as a consequence of market mechanisms that run counter and parallel to decentralisation processes. The school inspectorate can be seen as a particularly conspicuous example of this (Rönnerberg, 2008; Carlbaum, 2014), as can the merging of independent school owners into ever-growing corporations.

The Swedish education system is heavily controlled through legislation and regulations and is monitored and authorised by several governmental agencies. Compulsory education is governed by several legislations (most importantly the Education Act, SFS 2010:800) and regulations (SFS 2011:185) as well as centrally defined curricula (Government Office, 2011a; SKOLFS 2010:37; Government Office, 2011b; SKOLFS 2010:255). There are three governmental authorities in charge of monitoring and overseeing the Swedish education system. The Swedish National Agency of Education (SNAE), *Skolverket* in Swedish, is commissioned to work for the attainment of the goals specified in legislation and curricula and to supervise, support, follow up and evaluate schools in order to improve quality and outcomes. To this end, the Agency draws up goals and knowledge requirements, provides support for the development of preschools and schools, and develops and disseminates new knowledge such as statistics and reports (SNAE, 2015). The Swedish School Inspectorate (SSI), *Skolinspektionen* in Swedish, inspects schools and school owners, receives and follows up complaints regarding schools and has the mandate to impose economic fines if the schools have not fulfilled the aims and goals required. The Inspectorate also assesses and approves or rejects applications for running independent schools and can withdraw licenses from principle organisers and hence shut down independent schools (SSI, 2015; Carlbaum et al., 2014). Finally, the National Agency for Special Needs Education and Schools (NASNES), *Specialpedagogiska skolmyndigheten* in Swedish, is to ensure that children, young people and adults—regardless of functional ability—have adequate conditions to fulfil their educational goals. This is achieved through measures such as special needs support, education in special needs schools, making teaching materials accessible and specified government funding (NASNES, 2015).

The tradition of an egalitarian perspective and emphasis on education for all (Blossing & Söderström, 2014; Englund, 1998a; Lundahl et al., 2013) is still viable and influential and, despite the individualised market perspective that now permeates education politics (Englund & Quennerstedt, 2008), can be seen as a point of departure for education (SFS, 2010:800; SOU 2013:56). In that sense, Swedish education lives with a tension of two contradicting discourses, rather than having fully shifted from a discourse of public good to one of private good.

There are public and political concerns regarding several aspects of the independent schools. Changes in the Swedish education market are rapid and frequent. Sales of schools, bankruptcies of owner companies and establishments of new principal organisers pose challenges to creating and maintaining an overview of developments (SNAE, 2012a; Lundahl et al., 2014). Principal organisers of independent schools have been able to create margins for economic surplus that have been taken out of the schools in the form of bonuses, profits or yields to investors. The profits have been one of the most prominent issues in political debates regarding the Swedish education system in the 21st century (Vlachos, 2011). Sweden is now unique worldwide as regards the possibilities for private actors to profit from the provision of publicly financed education (Lundahl et al., 2014). Most independent schools belonging to for-profit companies are on the upper secondary level, yet in 2009/2010, a quarter of independent school pupils went to schools belonging to one of the ten largest principal organisers (SNAE, 2012a). This proportion has in all probability risen. Paraphrasing Bunar and Sernhede (2013), few people in the 1990s would have foreseen that individual companies would own more schools than large cities, that venture capitalists would buy and sell schools at will, and that the issue of profits would dominate the political discourse 25 years after the reforms.

Other issues have been considered important areas for regulation as well. A parliamentary investigation (SOU 2013:56) suggested further regulations with regard to investigating the seriousness of principal organisers of independent schools concerning their financial prospects and intentions and their long term prospects of ownership. A suggestion was also made for municipal consultation before independent schools would be established in a municipality. Increased transparency and openness regarding bookkeeping and school practices were also suggested, along with firmer sanctions when schools failed to do what was expected. Further investigations were suggested for regulations of company constellations, minimal teacher resources, and whistle-blower protection. Carlbaum (2014) has asked whether this increased need and suggestions for control and regulation of the independent schools can be seen as a failure of the market. She concludes, however, that these interventions are to be seen as a manner of upholding market principles rather than as a manner of deconstructing the market.

2.3.3 Prior Research

The following section is not to be seen as a complete review of literature regarding the independent schools. Inspired by Kallstenius (2010), I would rather define the review as a variant of a scoping study (Arksey & O'Malley, 2005; Levac, Colquhoun, & O'Brien, 2010). Although comprehensive, the studies presented below have been chosen with relevance for the thesis topic and questions in mind. Such topics and questions primarily regard historical descriptions (primarily described in the previous section); official reports; studies about efficiency and other economic focus areas; and finally, those that regard equity and segregation.

As discussed above, the number of independent schools has increased dramatically. In the years between 2005 and 2009, the increase of principal organizers was 23 per cent on the compulsory school level (SNAE, 2012a), despite a notable decrease in the compulsory school age population. Thus more schools have been competing for fewer pupils. Most principal organizers of independent schools own only one school, but the increase is primarily among companies publicly traded on the stock market companies that own larger concerns of schools. The image of a diversity of smaller schools owned by cooperatives of parents and/or teachers is therefore becoming less representative (SNAE, 2012a, 2014d).

As mentioned earlier, the research regarding the consequences of the school choice reforms is far from unanimous in its conclusions, and the various results can often be related directly to the academic discipline and methodologies of the researchers (Kallstenius, 2010; SNAE, 2009). What can be stated for sure is that the proportion of independent schools has increased dramatically. They now constitute approximately 18 per cent of schools on the compulsory level, serving approximately 13 per cent of that pupil population, whereas they make up 48 per cent of secondary schools, serving 25 per cent of that population (SNAE, 2014d). As these numbers indicate, the independent schools are usually smaller than municipal schools, although there are several examples of independent schools with up to 1000 pupils. The independent schools also vary considerably (SNAE, 2005b), and they generally have higher educational attainment results than municipal schools (SNAE, 2005a, 2005b, 2009, 2013b). Myrberg and Rosén (2006) attribute this discrepancy to a high degree to socio-economic factors and social selection.

Several studies have indicated a relationship between the rise of the independent schools in Sweden and decreasing equity and increased social segregation within the education system (von Greiff, 2009; Vlachos, 2011; Trumberg, 2011; Böhlmark & Holmlund, 2011; Andersson, Malmberg, & Östh, 2012; Östh, Andersson, & Malmberg, 2013; Bunar, 2009, 2010; SNAE, 2009, 2012). While one could say that there is a solid empirical foundation for the conclusion that independent schools are a contributing factor, it has not been easy to isolate factors within the relationship. For instance, there has also been an increase in housing segregation, and how this interacts with school segregation is a complex question (Lindbom & Almgren, 2007; Gustafsson, 2007; Lindbom, 2010; SNAE, 2009; Andersson, Malmberg, & Östh, 2012). Another issue to take into account is that conceptual definitions complicate the comparisons of reports and studies. For instance, the concept of equity (Swedish: *likvärdighet*) is not defined in the same manner in different sorts of research and is often focused upon educational attainment, i.e. pupil results and pupil demography. While these are important factors, these definitions are contained within a market discourse of education rather than the understanding previously attached to it. Prior to the school choice reforms, equity was defined in terms of access to and contents of education. It was later redefined to being about the quality and outcome of education (Lindensjö & Lundgren, 2000; Hwang, 2002).

Yet another factor of importance, in the light of the scope of this thesis, is that schools are getting more and more homogenous in terms of socio-economic factors and increasingly ethnically segregated in terms of 'ethnic Swedes' and immigrants (Andersson, Malmberg & Östh, 2012; SNAE, 2012b; Kallstenius, 2010; Bunar, 2010; Trumberg, 2011). Official statistics also indicate that pupils that have families with higher education are overrepresented in independent schools (SNAE, 2014a; 2003). These issues are to be considered important regarding school choice and the pupil group in focus here, as pupils with lower socio-economic background and with migrant backgrounds are overrepresented among pupils in need of special support (Giota & Lundborg, 2007; Berhanu, 2010, 2011; Dyson & Berhanu, 2012; Dyson & Gallannaugh, 2008; Richardson & Powell, 2011), and these groups tend to be less likely to exercise school choice (Bunar, 2010; Daun, 2003, Fiske & Ladd, 2000; Ladd, 2002). Studies have also shown that independent schools generally have a lower proportion of pupils in need of special support than that of municipal schools (SNAE, 2013c; SNAE, 2003; Giota & Emanuelsson, 2011; cf. Nilholm, Persson, Hjerm, & Runesson, 2007). Schools with a particular focus on special

support, which designate their target group as pupils in need of special support, have been becoming more common and have received increased legitimacy through parental choice (SNAE, 2014c). These schools claim to take care of pupils whom ‘the regular school’ has failed, pupils who have thus ‘opted out’. This is yet another indicator of increased segregation on the system level that is dependent upon pupil demography (cf. Giota & Emanuelsson, 2011)—in this case, the need for special support. The National Agency for Education (SNAE, 2014c) has expressed concerns about the consequences of this for the goal of inclusive education, especially because there has been an increase in the provision of segregated forms of special support (Giota and Lundborg, 2007; Nilholm et al., 2007; Heimdahl Mattson, 2006; SNAE, 2011, 2003), particularly in the larger cities (SNAE, 2014c). An additional risk is that special educational competence may become concentrated at schools that are particularly marketed as such and that other schools may either not be able to attain and develop such competence or may even choose not to do so when there are other options available (SNAE, 2014c).

2.4 Summary

To summarise, this chapter has outlined a paradigm shift within education: from viewing education as a common good and an element of social cohesion and equity to viewing it as a private good to be chosen as a commodity in order to further individual objectives. This is described as an international phenomenon, and the Swedish education reforms presenting school choice and instigating the independent schools in the 1990s are seen as inspired by this international reform movement. Research results regarding the independent schools in Sweden indicate that segregation within the school system has increased. While the segregation follows the housing segregation to some degree, this is not a sufficient explanation, as choice mechanisms and school profiling and reputation are important factors as well. Additional complicating factors are that certain social groups are likely to exercise school choice to a lower degree than others. Tendencies to choose schools in order to opt out of one’s closest school are further complicated as regards special education, where pupils might choose schools specifically marketed towards special support, thus contributing to further eroding the goal for an inclusive education system. Thus a clash between different conceptions of what constitutes democratic education can be noted on a system level.

3 From Special Education to Inclusive Education

The following chapter begins with a presentation of the historical development of special education and inclusive education. Prominent theoretical concepts are introduced and theoretical tools utilised in this thesis are presented. Central concepts and terminology regarding the provision of special education in Sweden are presented along with prior research, specifically such that focuses on special support and the independent schools.

3.1 Special Education

“It all started with ‘special educational needs’ (as we now call them — in the past much more offensive terms were used)” (Topping & Maloney, 2005, p. 2). While the origins of special education are multiple rather than singular, concerns about children with serious learning difficulties have led to the organization of “whole industries providing ‘special education’ in ‘special schools’” (Topping & Maloney, 2005, p. 2). Special education has been said to have its ideological origin in the ideals and ideas of the Enlightenment, the institutionalisation of care and control of the ‘ab-normal’, and can as such be said to predate contemporary schooling (Richardson & Powell, 2011, p. 30). Yet the institutional arrangement of special *education* must be seen as a relatively recent convention (Skrtic, 1991a; Richardson & Powell, 2011; Rosenqvist & Tideman, 2000).

Several researchers have endeavoured to advance the theorisation of special education (cf. Skrtic, 1991a, 1995a, 1995b; Clark et al., 1998; Allen, 2008). Much of it has revolved around defining available theoretical positions (Ainscow, 1998; Clark et al., 1998; Haug, 1998; Rosenqvist & Tideman, 2000; Skidmore, 2002, 2004; Nilholm, 2006; Ahlberg, 2007). These positions delineate different lines or traditions, often in different terminologies and thus with different focuses. To simplify, most often two basic perspectives within the field are delineated (Nilholm, 2006). One line of reasoning sees educational

difficulties in terms of individual shortcomings and thus suggests differentiation and often segregated solutions. This line of reasoning has been termed, for instance, a compensatory view (Haug, 1998) or a deficit perspective (Ainscow, 1998), as the objective is to compensate for the individual's deficits and normalize him or her for future participation. As a consequence of a critique toward this approach (Clark et al., 1998), alternative approaches have arisen focusing more upon social processes and organisational pathologies (Skrtic, 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1995a), or a relational perspective. Skidmore (2004) splits these lines of arguments into three types of approaches: a psycho-medical paradigm, a sociological tradition, and an organisational tradition (see also Clark, Dyson, Millward & Skidmore, 1995). This third perspective is emphasised in more recent debates regarding how to construct and practically implement inclusion as a goal for special education in the complex environment of education (Skrtic 1995b; Skidmore, 2002, 2004; Haug 1998, 1999; Thomas & Loxley, 2007). Nilholm (2006) also develops a third alternative perspective in line with Clark et al. (1998), a perspective that reveals paradoxes that emerge in practice when dilemmas arise, such as categorisation in order to receive support versus an acknowledgement of individual differences (see also Nilholm, 2005). The two former perspectives, here named the *deficit perspective* and the *relational perspective*, are used as ideal types for analytical purposes in articles I–IV, inspired in part by Skrtic's (1991a) work with ideal types (also, Persson, 1998; Nilholm, 2006; Lindqvist, 2013a). The use of ideal types as tools for research is discussed further in section 4.3 and 5.3.2 as well as in articles I–IV.

Richardson and Powell (2011) point out, relating to Foucault's work, that the origins of categorising and defining different groups of people as different, deficient and as "other" have much older roots than the idea of education systems as tools to practically implement education for a defined population. They also highlight the issue of the disproportionality of certain groups within the scope of special education.⁷ Disproportionality can be understood in different ways, of course, such as a consequence of the education system reproducing itself and the norms and values of the privileged classes, thus categorically excluding other groups (cf. Bourdie & Passeron, 2013). Another view

⁷ Compare Giota & Lundahl (2007) and Berhanu (2010, 2011) for specific discussions about disproportionality in the Swedish context.

is to see it as an interplay of structural and individual forces that shape oppression perpetuated in and by special education (McCall & Skrtic, 2010). In other words, special education is articulated as a democratic problem by relating it to the question of inclusion as an ideal of/for education (Skrtic, 1991a, 1991b, 1995a, 1995d; Haug, 1998; for the Swedish context: Nilholm 2006; Carlsson & Nilholm, 2004; Haug, 1999; Rosenqvist & Tideman, 2000). The democratic dilemma we are faced with here regards the exclusion of individuals from a social collective following a potentially arbitrary categorisation of pupils that are somehow in the margins of the education system and therefore assigned to special education. Such interventions are seemingly ineffective in terms of increasing educational attainment, and the results of exclusion are often lifelong. The paradoxical nature of special education as a *solution toward* social justice, where categorical definitions and segregated provision were central, has thus led to its being understood as a *problem of* social justice, as research has shown that injustices have followed in its tracks (Florian, 2008).

The way school problems are defined and understood is dependent upon different contexts and societal discourses, which vary over time (Slee, 2006a, 2006b; Florian & McLaughlin, 2008). The way pupils in need of special support are educated and taken care of can even be related to the professions that are influencing educational discourses at any given time (Hellblom-Thibblin, 2004; Lindqvist, Nilholm, Almqvist & Wetso, 2011; Richardson & Powell, 2011). Special education is therefore far from a static or homogenous field, and conflicting interests are seen here as inherent to and continuously influencing special education. Although special education has traditionally been busy with compensatory work that has often been conducted in segregated environments, moves have been made towards more inclusive methods and work, particularly on a theoretical level, following both internal and external criticism (Skrtic; 1991a, 1991b; Clark et al., 1998; Thomas & Loxley, 2007).

The most scathing critique has come from those that denounce the epistemological roots of special education, questioning the status of special education as a science or a field of knowledge. Whereas Richardson and Powell (2011) delve into the organisational and historical roots of special education, Thomas and Loxley (2007), inspired by Skrtic, discuss the construction of special education as a concoction of positivist ideals of science, including methodologies of research and construction of categories to construct scientific truths. The epistemological basis of special education is thus questioned, and other types of experiences and evidence are raised that shake the basis of special

education, in particular its claims of effectiveness. Skrtic's critique went even deeper, questioning the very ontological basis of special education and assumptions of truth and showing the professions as benefiting from the construction of special education (1991a, 1991b, 1995a, 1995b). These writers can be seen as taking a radical approach against special education, as denouncing its legitimacy completely. This, of course, has consequences for what alternatives can be offered instead.

3.1.1 Integration

As the traditional approaches to special education became increasingly questioned, not least in terms of efficiency, the idea of integration was proposed as a replacement, arguing for reintegration and increased integration of pupils 'with special educational needs' (SEN) in mainstream schools. Additionally, integration was broken down into different levels of integration termed, for instance, 'locational integration' (being in the same building but educated separately), 'social integration' (sharing out-of-classroom activities), and 'functional integration' (joint participation in educational programmes) (Florian, 2005). None of these levels account for the qualitative experience of the individuals in question but are focused, rather, upon the 'geographical' placement of pupils. Aside from assumptions of normalization, that is, that the 'different' should become 'more like the others' (Florian, 2005), the concept of integration also carries with it the assumptions of traditional special education based upon a medical and psychological model. Here the individual is seen as the carrier of flaws or deficiencies to be cured or compensated for, and it is assumed that there is an inherent difference between pupils in mainstream education and those that should be integrated into it.

Vislie (2003) suggests that integration can be understood as an attempt at systemic reform. Integration just turned out to be insufficient, in part because it still accepted some of the tenets of traditional special education thinking. This called for resolution in the shape of a more radical concept. The move from integration to inclusion must therefore, as Vislie (2003) argues, be seen as something larger and more important than just a shift in terminology, or a linguistic shift. The terms often overlap, however, and they are frequently confused, particularly when used to describe similar processes. For instance, a broad definition of integration can come close to the idea of inclusion.

Nevertheless, the “two notions have different foci and should not be mixed” (Vislie, 2003, p. 19). Integration was an attempt at system reform with three cores: the rights to schooling for disabled children, that is, the question of their having access to education at all; the rights to education in local schools for children with disabilities, as opposed to specific institutions sometimes located long distances from the home; and a call for a reorganisation of the special education system. The intentions of inclusion can, on the other hand, be said to cover more issues than those mentioned above, such as the quality of the pupils’ experience. Inclusion also avoids assimilation tendencies that followed in the tracks of integration, thus acknowledging the history of exclusion and its consequences (Florian, 2005). It is thus not simply a shift in terminology. The concept of inclusion can be said to transcend integration, as it has its origins in similar roots (that is, a critical view of special education and its consequences) but leaps further.

3.1.2 Inclusive Education

The concept of inclusion in education was officially launched in the Salamanca statement in 1994 (UNESCO, 1994), and in the two decades that have passed since the adoption of the statement, the meaning, range and scope of inclusion is still a matter of debate (Nilholm, 2006; Norwich, 2000; Allan, 2008; Kiuppis, 2013; Göransson & Nilholm, 2014). The debate about inclusion is not only about the meaning of the concept or about possible positions within a continuum of inclusion. The idea of inclusion can also be seen as being questioned by teachers, principals, parents and pupils (Allan, 2008; 2012), and not least by societal discourses promoting an individualised view of society and market values (Blossing, Imsen & Moos 2014; Skrtic, 2009). However, to proponents of inclusion it is a central democratic issue. The legitimacy of democracy is dependent upon the degree of inclusion and influence of those affected by decision making (Young, 2000).

But what does it mean? One could take a cynical approach and call it an “international buzz-word... cliché—obligatory in the discourse of all right-thinking people” (O’Hanlon & Thomas, 2004, p. ix). The point is not that the concept is meaningless and part of political consensus but rather that it has become a conversation filler, adding “progressive gloss” to what people, and politicians in particular, say (O’Hanlon & Thomas, 2004, p. ix). As Nilholm (2006) points out, positively connoted words, in particular those that can ap-

peal to several instances, have a tendency to get incorporated into many discourses—becoming elevator words that only refer to themselves or that can be filled with content by the speaker (cf. Hacking, 1999). For some proponents they can therefore seem to have been kidnapped and to have lost their meaning (cf. Skrtic, Sailor, & Gee, 1996). Also, the appearance of the word inclusion in a text also says little about how practice is formed, and it often appears without any sort of definition of what (and perhaps whom) it is to be about (Topping & Maloney, 2005).

Topping and Maloney (2005) argue that the concept of inclusion has also been expanded by connecting to a higher degree to social inclusion and human rights. Despite the original focus on disability and SEN, the concept has expanded to be about *all* pupils' participation and achievement, to be about celebrating diversity, and even to be about families and communities in general. This raises questions about another related concept, namely 'education for all', often used synonymously with inclusion or even as a concept to translate the concept of inclusion (Arnesen & Lundahl, 2006).⁸

Kiuppis (2013), attempting to disentangle these concepts, coins the phrase 'Salamanca process' to denote the twenty years of the events and developments following the Salamanca statement. He views the Salamanca conference and the Salamanca statement as a starting point where the concept of inclusion was launched as distinctly different from integration and as a new understanding of special education. While it is not quite clear how these two conceptions (i.e. inclusion and 'education for all') are different in aims and rationale, Kiuppis's argument is that the two movements have two different origins and therefore different scope. Whereas 'education for all' grew out of general education—aiming for *access* to education for all—inclusion emerged from within a programme in special education. UNESCO, according to this argument, developed inclusive education within a programme with primary focus upon disability, and since this focus has been made less explicit in the historical development of the scope of inclusion, it has made the concept increasingly similar to education for all. Kiuppis summarises as follows:

⁸ See, for instance, Blossing, Imsen, & Moos (2014), where the concepts "inclusion" and "education for all" are used interchangeably, practically as synonyms.

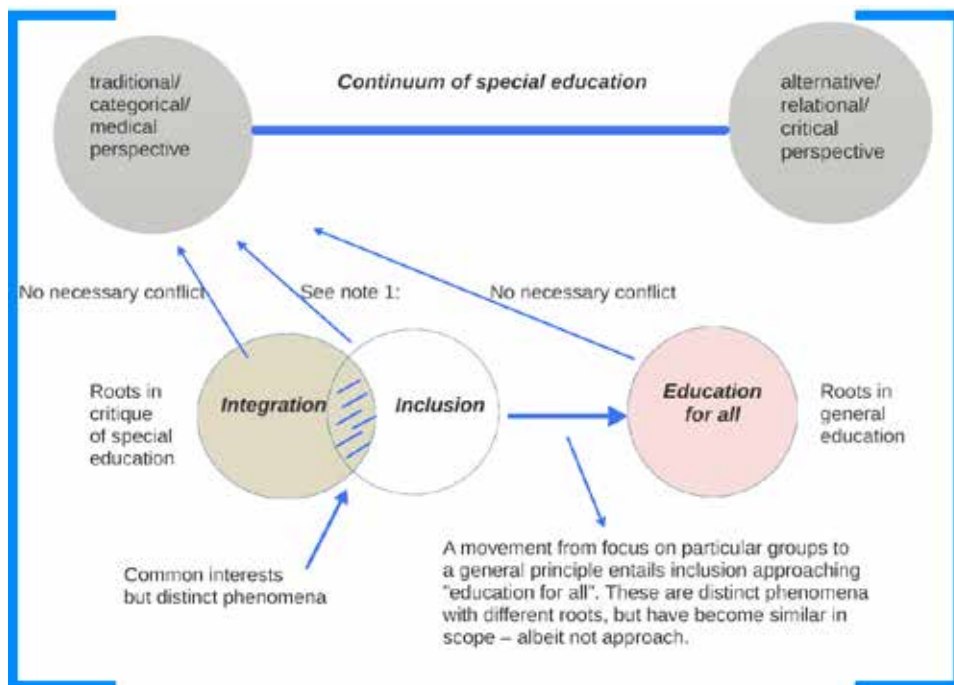
- During the ‘Salamanca Process’ inclusive education has – as an education theme of UNESCO – become similar to education for all.
- During the transition from an ‘old thinking’ to a ‘new thinking’ in special needs education, UNESCO’s focus on disability weakened considerably. (Kiuppis, 2013, p. 4).

The concepts therefore have different roots in time, with education for all preceding inclusion, and origin, with education for all stemming from general education and inclusion having its roots in special education. However, because of logical and practical consequences, a withdrawal of specific focus upon disability and SEN has taken place within the ‘inclusion camp’, thus making it more similar to the demands of the ‘education for all’ movement. ‘Education for all’, however, tends to overlook certain groups, particularly children with disabilities or SEN, but the reason (according to Kiuppis) is that those target groups belonged to another category of education. As ‘education for all’ may regard everyone’s access to and provision of education, the education they receive also has to be inclusive (Nes, 2003; Miles & Singal, 2010). Miles and Singal (2010) argue therefore that there are good reasons, in particular in countries where education is not available for all, to maintain both projects but to also attempt to reduce the polarization and find opportunities for parallel initiatives and context-appropriate policies.

Figure 1, featured below, is an attempt to sketch out the relationship between and development within the concepts of special education, inclusion, integration and education for all.⁹ It thus delineates the understanding of these different concepts applied in this thesis, i.e. that there are important differences between these concepts and that they can be seen as different projects. However, each of them can be seen as existing on a continuum with several possible positions, which complicates the delineation of them as clearly defined entities in practice. The consequences of that for special and inclusive education are more clearly illustrated in Figure 2 in the next section (3.1.3).

⁹ Figure 1 is partially inspired by a lecture held by Kiuppis in Lillehammer, Norway in November 2013.

Figure 1: A map of relationships between different concepts



Note 1: Inclusion brings a necessary break from traditional special education (moderate approach) and a potential demand for a complete denouncement of special education (radical approach). Alternative/critical or dilemmatic views of special education, on the other hand, can be tools to enforce inclusion by maintaining a moderate or dilemma-oriented interpretation of inclusion.

Note 2: **Integration** became less about quality and more about levels of integration and (to some degree) assimilation to the norm (see section 3.1.1 above).

Note 3: **Inclusion** can be said to exist on a continuum with two poles: depending on focus groups and positioning towards special education (see Figure 2 below). Also, inclusive education regards several dimensions, for instance, policy and political level, community level, school level, classroom level and individual level. Each level has its own implications and regards different processes.

Note 4: **Education for all** was primarily about provision of and access to education, not disabilities or SEN.

3.1.3 The Scope of Inclusion

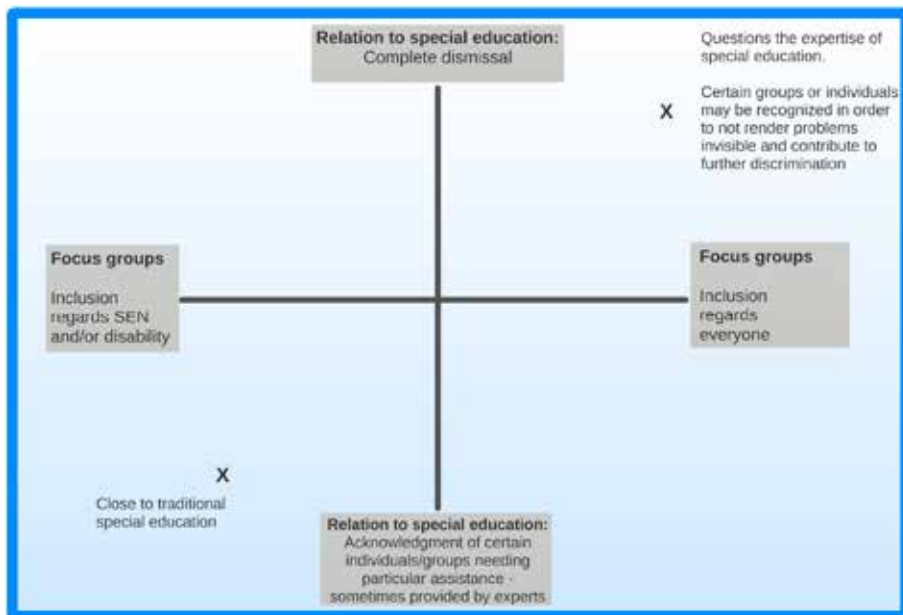
Kiuppis (2013) also delineates three approaches within the literature on inclusion. First is a “non-categorical, all-embracing approach (...) dealing with heterogeneous learning populations in which individual differences are not classified”. Second is an approach that frames inclusive education as embracing all children but focusing specifically on groups that are vulnerable. Third is an approach that understands inclusion as focused primarily upon disability and SEN (Kiuppis, 2013, pp. 4–5). The focus of the literature is, in other words, far from any particular consensus regarding the scope and focus of inclusion.¹⁰ Additionally, Kiuppis’s analyses can be seen as setting focus upon the close relationship between special education and inclusion. The logical consequences of the “new way of thinking” about special education can be more or less radical. Full inclusion would demand the abolition of special education and a questioning of any education system that is based upon categorical and segregated approaches to individual differences (see also Skrtic, 1991a, 1991b; Skrtic, Sailor, & Gee, 1996; Norwich, 2000; Clark et al., 1998). From that perspective one could say that the two paradigms are incompatible. On the other hand, one could argue in line with Nilholm (2006) that a less radical view of inclusion could approach traditional special education to a high degree.

Inclusion is a concept that belongs to several dimensions (Nilholm, 2006), ranging from educational research and national and international education systems/structures to classroom situations and individual experiences. Nilholm proposes a continuum of positions, ranging from a radical point of view that would “involve many dimensions, be critical of language built upon distinctions and evaluations of categories of children, have a short time perspective, and involve all children” (Nilholm, 2006, p. 437) to less radical points of view that emphasise individual experiences and school level events, “make evaluative distinctions between different groups of children, have a long time perspective and make exceptions for certain groups of children” (Nilholm,

¹⁰ See Göransson and Nilholm (2014) for an interesting four-level distinction of conceptions of inclusion appearing in research on inclusion. The distinction is based upon both the group in focus and the importance of placement. Level A regards the placement of pupils with disabilities in general education classrooms; Level B, meeting the social and/or academic needs of pupils with disabilities; Level C, meeting the social and/or academic needs of all pupils; and Level D, creation of communities with specific characteristics.

2006, p. 437). If this continuum of inclusion were to be aligned with a continuum of special education, one would see that the less radical perspective approaches tenets of traditional special education and that more relational aspects of special education can be seen as approaching inclusion. Radical positions within inclusion can be seen as completely denouncing special education, whereas moderate approaches might see value in providing support that could adhere to traditions within special education.

Figure 2: A matrix of inclusive education, including possible positions



The matrix in Figure 2, above, is stretched between the binaries of whether particular focus groups are defined for inclusive education or not, i.e. “who” is in focus, and between poles regarding the “distance” from a traditional understanding, organisation and practice of special education, i.e. “where” or “how” support is given.

In the light of the above, the confusion among practitioners, politicians and parents concerning what inclusion is supposed to be is quite comprehensible (Allan, 2012). Not only are the practical implications of the concept difficult to perceive, but the theoretical field that specifies the available positions proposes both divergent and incompatible concepts of inclusion. These range from learning the same curriculum at the same time and in the same place as others, to systemic definitions that are independent of curriculum or placement, to being an unending process of increasing participation (Norwich,

2000). The problem at hand has several surfaces. One regards the relationship to special education: with its roots set firmly in special education, proponents of inclusion are often forced to refer to special education, if only to denounce it. The second aspect regards the issue of practice: if the will to radically re-think educational practice is lacking, radical versions of inclusive education stand little chance of ever being implemented. The organisational structure, professional politics and public ideas of what education is to provide and how it should be provided will stand in the way (this will be discussed further in chapter 4). The third aspect regards the potential limits of inclusion and relates to what level we assume inclusion should be on. The fourth regards the degree of radicalism of inclusion.

Florian's (2008) analysis has an orientation towards practice. She pulls forth the problems arising from the connection between special and inclusive education based on the answer to the question: Is special education a solution to the problem or a part of the problem? If special education is seen as a tool for provision of support in order for children to develop, learn and participate (which is probably the definition most special educators prefer), then the question can revolve around the practical implications of that support. Inclusion has come to mean a great many things, from the very specific (the inclusion of a particular pupil group in regular schools) to the broad notion of social inclusion (schools responding to a diversity of learners). If the definition is too broad it risks meaning nothing at all, and in the worst case renders certain pupils and social groups invisible. If it is too specific it risks simply exchanging the term 'special' with the term 'inclusive'. Florian argues that "inclusive practice is about the things that staff in schools *do* which give meaning to the concept of inclusion" (p. 205). In that sense differentiating between forms of provision and the teaching is important. *Who* is being taught is of as much importance as *what* is being taught. Differences between individual learners are always multi-dimensional; thus, specific categories are less interesting than the decisions teachers make in particular situations with particular learners. In other words, although the teachers are not in a position to alter policy or reform school structures, they are in a position to alter their practices to a more inclusive orientation. For the purposes of this dissertation, this conclusion can be shifted up a level, problematising the practices and values on the school level, dependent, among other things, upon local school ideologies (Göransson, Malmqvist & Nilholm, 2013). Thus inclusion is necessarily connected with ideas of power structures, and the issue of *who* is

to decide upon issues regarding inclusion, if the principle is given limits, becomes important. Where do the limits lie, who is to be excluded, and who is to decide this and how? (Nilholm, 2006; Hansen 2012)

Both Florian (2008) and Hansen (2012) focus upon the individual teacher's classroom practices as the place to implement inclusive education. Topping & Maloney (2005) show the expansion of inclusion as an expansion from the very specific (i.e. children with SEN in mainstream schools) to the very general, encompassing all children, parents, and the community as "equally achieving and participating in lifelong learning in many forms in and out of school and college" (p. 6), thus making it an issue that has to do not only with education, whatever level we might choose to focus upon, but also with society. They build on Skrtic (1991a, 1995d), who requires the complete reorganisation of how we conceptualise and organise education on a more abstract level.

Slee (2011) also relates the issue of inclusion/exclusion to societal discourses on a higher level than that of education and schooling. Educational discourse cannot be distinguished from political discourse about schooling (Skidmore, 2002; Ballard, 2003; Blossing et al., 2014; Apple, 2004; Rosenqvist & Tideman, 2000). With somewhat different angles, they relate to the influx of market rhetoric and economic rationality—in Ballard's (2003) case termed the 'new right' and in Blossing et al. (2014) and Slee (2011) called neo-liberalism. These discourses bring with them rhetoric not only about choice, efficiency and market governance but also about individualisation, accountability, assessment and control. Thus they see the increasing exclusionary processes such as individual control, assessment and categorisation as consequences of increased demands for effective education at the expense of a participatory view of democracy. Ballard (2003) and Slee (2011) contend that parents will naturally seek advantage for their own children as long as the system is organised as it is and that this will lead to increased segregation on a societal level. This is highly relevant in light of the discussion about the independent schools. The other side of that coin regards what Norwich (2000) calls 'choice-limited inclusion'. Here an opening is made for 'elective inclusion/exclusion', i.e. that pupils, and parents in particular, are given the power to 'opt out' of educational environments defined as inclusive (although one could argue they often reflect notions of integration). This dimension would allow for special schools that focus on particular diagnoses, ability groupings, withdrawal teaching, group and individual teaching, and so on, with reference to serving the individual's

needs and/or preferences (Norwich, 2000, pp. 23–25). A similar situation was called ‘organised segregation’ by Persson (2000), who warned about this potential consequence as a result of school choice in Sweden. This calls attention to a contradiction for inclusive education within a market-based education system, i.e. that it would be possible to consider a system in which parents choose what would normally be seen as segregating measures as ‘inclusive’ (cf. Arnesen & Lundahl, 2006).

3.2 Special Education in Sweden

The concept of ‘pupils in need of special support’ (*elev i behov av särskilt stöd* in Swedish) is of great importance in the Swedish education system (SFS 2010:800). The formulation of the concept bears the mark of the paradigm shift described in the preceding section. The emphasis is on the preposition being altered from ‘with need’ to ‘in need’, thus subtly shifting the focus from the pupil as bearing the need to potential explanations in the physical, social and organisational environment. Legally this change was made in the Education Act in 1999 (SNAE, 2011).

As can be seen, the concept is both broad and encompassing. The legislation emphasises goal attainment as an indicator of a need for special support (SFS 2010:800; Göransson, Nilholm & Karlsson, 2011). A pupil that risks not achieving the goals is to be seen as in need of special support. This is also the case for pupils that “due to a disability” risk not achieving the goals; thus the connection with goal attainment is crucial. However, there is an opening for investigations of the need of support in light of ‘other difficulties’. As soon as a pupil is seen as being in need of support, procedures such as an investigation of the need, individualised intervention plans and extra resource allocation are to be set in motion (SFS 2010:800; SNAE, 2014b). This could be seen as a new focus on individual deficits. The head teacher of the particular school is legally responsible and accountable for ensuring that this takes place (SFS 2010:800 § 3, 5, 7–12). The head teacher has quite a lot of room, however, to interpret what support is to be provided and how (Göransson et al., 2011). The support should be provided in the ‘regular context’ if possible, yet §10 leaves room for other (i.e. segregated) solutions if necessary.

In light of the broad and unspecific definition, a great number of pupils are defined as being in need of special support, and although there has been a shift

in terminology, definitions of this pupil group often depart from a traditional deficit perspective (Nilholm et al., 2007; Giota & Emanuelsson, 2011; SNAE, 2011). For instance, pupils regarded as having concentration problems and/or having problems with social relations are often provided with special support (SNAE, 2003). Giota & Lundborg (2007) estimated that approximately 40 per cent of pupils receive special support at some time during their compulsory school education, and figures indicate that up to approximately 20 per cent of compulsory school pupils are seen as being in need of support at any specific time (Giota & Lundborg, 2007; Nilholm et al., 2007; SNAE, 2003). More recent official statistics show that approximately 14 per cent of compulsory school pupils have intervention plans for special support (SNAE, 2013c). There are also indications that a high proportion (up to 20 per cent) of these pupils do not receive the support they are entitled to (SNAE, 2011).

As mentioned above, the legislation stipulates that the support is to be given in a 'regular', not segregated context, if possible, and that if necessary, such measures should be temporary and confined to the topics the need relates to. Prior research has shown that segregated solutions have a tendency to become permanent rather than temporary, that the pupils assigned to such situations rarely reach the goals intended or at the same level as their peers, and that there are negative social consequences of being assigned to the 'special' group (Emanuelsson & Persson, 2002; Giota & Lundborg, 2007; SNAE, 2009; Hattie, 2009). Despite this, several Swedish studies have shown that such measures are used on a regular basis and increasingly so (Heimdahl Mattson, 2006; Giota & Lundborg, 2007; Nilholm et al., 2007; SNAE, 2003, 2011, 2014d; Emanuelsson & Persson, 2002; Emanuelsson, Persson, & Rosenqvist, 2002). Recent official statistics show that roughly 1.5 per cent are educated in segregated groups within their schools and that the amount grows exponentially over age groups, with approximately 3 per cent of pupils (3.5 per cent of the boys) in the last grade receiving such support (SNAE, 2013c). Research also indicates that school difficulties are often explained in terms of individual factors, or from a deficit perspective, rather than in terms of organisational factors (Giota & Emanuelsson, 2011; Giota & Lundborg, 2007; Nilholm et al., 2007; SNAE, 2003; Emanuelsson, Persson, & Rosenqvist, 2002; Haug, 1998). This is true of most occupational groups within the schools, with the exception of the special educators, particularly SENCOS (Lindqvist, 2013a, 2013b; Nilholm et al., 2013; Lindqvist et al., 2013).

The Swedish education system is internationally recognised as being inclusive (EADSNE, 2003), but the results presented above, along with recent policy analyses, show that there are reasons to question that image (Göransson et al., 2011; Isaksson & Lindqvist, 2015; Göransson, Nilholm, & Magnússon, 2012).

3.2.1 The Special Educators

There are two occupational groups that are primarily associated with special support in Sweden, special education teachers and special pedagogues (SENCOs).¹¹ There is a long tradition of special education teachers in the Swedish school system, (Malmgren Hanssen, 2002). The education for special teachers was shut down in the early 1990s and replaced with the SENCO education. The Swedish welfare state can be seen as having intervened to increase the inclusiveness of the education system following intense criticism (see DsU 1986:13 as discussed by Malmgren-Hansen, 2002; Rosenqvist, 2007; and von Ahlefeldt Nisser, 2009). In order to implement this policy, a new occupational group (SENCOs) was introduced. This replacement of occupational groups has been called a paradigm shift in the understanding of special education (SNAFHE, 2006; c.f. Richardson & Powell, 2011) in which educational discourse began evolving from a traditional deficit perspective to a relational perspective (Clark et al., 1998; Skrtic, 1991; Ainscow, 1998; Haug, 1998; Thomas & Loxley, 2007; Nilholm, 2006). As discussed above, the relational perspective has been more explicitly part of the aim to conceptualise inclusion in practice (Booth & Ainscow, 2002).

The special teacher education was revived in 2007, with specific topics chosen as focus areas (reading, writing and mathematics). In 2008 specific diagnoses were added as focus areas as well. Otherwise the special teacher degree ordinance is quite similar to the SENCO degree ordinance. The differences are

¹¹ The latter are referred to as SENCOs (special educational needs coordinators) following the precedent of Lindqvist (2013a). Special pedagogues have commonalities in theoretical foundation and practice with occupational groups abroad that share this internationally recognized term (cf. Lindqvist 2013b; Takala, Pirttimaa, & Törmänen, 2009; Cole, 2005; Abbott, 2007; Szved, 2007; Poon-McBryer, 2012). There are differences in the level of education; Swedish special educators have post-graduate degrees (SFS, 2007:638).

that the SENCOs are to focus on organisational features, development of work, and counselling, whereas special teachers have specific diagnoses and/or school topics as their focus (SFS 2007:638). There is a distinct and explicit emphasis that these new and reformed occupational groups are to have “scientific and research based” knowledge in order to be able, among other things, to assist and counsel teachers and organise work relating to pupils in need of special support, to conduct inquiries and design interventions of problems at all levels, and to develop the educational organisation (SFS 2007: 636). Swedish and international research indicates that SENCOs have had difficulties maintaining their legitimacy and defining their role and jurisdiction (Abbott, 2007; Cole, 2005; Lingard, 2001; Pearson, 2008; Szwed, 2007a, 2007b; Lindqvist, 2013a). SENCO practices are dependent upon local needs of the individual school, and the work is contextualised to a high degree rather than defined once and for all (Mackenzie, 2007). Researchers differ on whether they argue for increased contextualisation (Lingard, 2001, Szwed 2007a, 2007b) or a centralised definition of the SENCO role (Cole, 2005; Mackenzie, 2007; Rosen-Webb, 2011).

As discussed above, there are differences in how different professions define and explain special support (Skrtic, 1991; Hellblom-Thibblin, 2004; Lindqvist et al., 2011, Lindqvist et al., 2013). Lindqvist et al. (2011) touch upon the question of professional jurisdiction by asking whether different professions may have different agendas. In prior research, special educators tend to express values and opinions in line with a relational perspective more than other occupational groups do (Lindqvist et al., 2011; Lindqvist et al., 2013; Nilholm, Almqvist, Göransson, & Lindqvist, 2013; Göransson, Lindqvist, Klang, Magnússon, & Nilholm, 2015). The consequence is that special educators are working in a traditional organisational framework of special education, whereas they are less likely to consider such frameworks appropriate (Lindqvist, 2013b; Göransson et al., 2015).

There is relatively little research regarding Swedish special educational practice (SNAFHE, 2006). Nevertheless, specific aspects of special educational practice have been studied: for instance, the role of SENCOs as consultants (Ahlberg, 1999; Bladini, 2004; Sahlin, 2004; von Ahlefeld-Nisser, 2009, 2014) and pupil and special teacher experiences of special educational interventions (Groth, 2007). A recent state-run inquiry suggested that SENCO education could be combined with special teacher education as a specific organisational track (SNAFHE, 2012). A survey from one of the teacher unions

concluded that the two groups were considered two separate groups that fulfilled different functions within the school system and that there was a need for both of them (Läraryrörbundet, 2012). The government decided not to alter the SENCO education based on argumentation similar to that emphasised by the teacher's union.

Special educators are studied in article III, where they are defined as important educational resources available to schools as organisational features of and for the provision and prevention of special support.

3.3 School Choice and Special/Inclusive Education

In the following pages I will give a short review of international and Swedish research on school choice and special and/or inclusive education. There are several issues to be wary of when looking for and comparing studies that regard special education and school choice on an international level. These issues regard both local and national organisational structures of education as well as varying traditions of school choice (Daun, 1996) and special education (Richardson & Powell, 2011). The issue of terminology is an additional complicating factor, for instance as regards the definition of pupil groups in focus. The articles use different terms for these groups, for instance "special needs students", pupils "with special needs" or (learning-) "disabilities". Although a translation might indicate that these groups are identical or that the terms are synonymous (they are not), I have chosen to replace these terms with the term "pupil in need of special support", as translated from Swedish, for conformity and readability. That is also the term used in the remainder of the thesis. Terminology can also sometimes render intuitive interpretations inapplicable. For instance, there are organisational nuances to keep in mind when discussing 'charter schools' or 'voucher schools', common in the United States, or as in England, 'public schools' (that are private schools) and 'free schools' and 'academies' that are publicly funded but run by private actors.¹² Finally, in the

¹² Charter schools are independent, publicly funded (public) schools with higher autonomy and demands for accountability, typically signing contracts for a few years at a time (Rhim, Ahearn & Lange, 2007; Patrinos, 2009). Vouchers are a form of financing education in a choice-based education system. A voucher follows the child to the school of his or her choosing (Patrinos, 2009; Ladd, 2003); a charter school can thus be a voucher school. Schools in Sweden and Denmark are financed via vouchers. Free schools and academies in England have higher autonomy and exemptions from curricular demands and public control. In principle they are similar: free

United States, private schools are sometimes available for choice via voucher programs, but can otherwise be significant financial expenses for families (as they can be in England).

Most of the articles and research reviewed below regard English speaking countries, primarily the United States, which are therefore disproportionately represented in the following review.

3.3.1 International Research

There are several issues that arise in the international literature on special education and choice, among them conceptual and philosophical tensions between ideals of inclusion. Done, Murphy and Knowler (2015) argue that recent legislation in England embodies this tension, as it “perpetuates the dichotomization of ‘mainstream’ and ‘special’ education and the medicalization of socio-cultural constructs or labels and continues to promote a neo-liberal version of inclusion in which it is assumed that pupils and their parents will choose to participate in interventions that offer the hope of a ‘best possible future’” (p. 87). This is a vivid formulation of the tension between the individualist aspects of choice and the collective ideals of inclusion, an essentially political tension (Riddell, 2000). Similar concerns are expressed by Selvaraj (2005), who argues that neo-liberal policies in New Zealand have swept up inclusive education ambitions in policies and practices that polarise and rationalise special education services.

On the other hand, researchers in the United States have pointed to contesting philosophical assumptions between the charter missions, with their flexibility and tailoring to individual needs as a focus, and federal legislation regarding special education, which is more rigid and revolves around eligibility for special educational provision (Rhim & McLaughlin, 2001). The consequential exclusion would then be unintended because charter schools would not be able to provide what is demanded in federal legislation and would thus have to refer the child to other facilities (Morse, 2010; McLaughlin & Rhim, 2007; Stillings, 2005). Also, charter schools are often relatively new and thus lack

schools are a form of academy (West, 2014), and differences regard the initiative of starting a school and the organization of ownership.

the same level of infra-structure that exists in the public school system. Likewise, they are often small and have difficulties amassing financial and staff capacity to tend to pupil needs (McLaughlin & Rhim, 2007). Thus strict demands of accountability pose problems. Legislative and policy ambiguities and dilemmas are frequently discussed in the literature from the United States, perhaps due to the complicated environment of local regulations, state laws and regulations, and federal legislation. The first two are often a matter of exemptions for charter schools, whereas federal legislation is to be followed by all (Rhim, Ahearn & Lange, 2007; Stillings, 2005; McLaughlin & Henderson, 1998). Charter school principals' and administrators' knowledge and qualifications regarding legislative demands and requirements can also be poor, further complicating the organisation and provision of support (Taylor, 2005; Estes, 2000, 2003, 2004; McLaughlin & Henderson, 1998).

Whether or not school choice will lead to increased segregation is a highly contested issue, and opponents and proponents of choice make very different interpretations of existing statistics and data (Henig, 2008; Etscheidt, 2005).¹³ Concerns about choice policies leading to separation of children into different types of schools and resulting in unequal opportunities are serious, of course. Market mechanisms and consumerism in education will inevitably lead to parents seeking the best option for their children, yet each child is affected by the aggregated choices made on behalf of other children (Riddell, 2000; Whitty, Power & Halpin, 1998; West, 2014).

In a study of the influence of Denmark's voucher system on attainment, Rangvid (2008) noted a certain clustering of pupils in need of special support at certain types of schools also associated with lower completion rates at upper secondary level. Similar clustering is found throughout the United States (Rhim & McLaughlin, 2007; Estes, 2004; McLaughlin & Henderson, 1998; Morse, 2010; Etscheidt, 2005). This may be due to fact that the often smaller charter schools are considered potentially positive environments for inclusion (Estes, 2004). However, pupils in need of special support are often more ex-

¹³ An interesting example of this is Etscheidt's (2005) comparison of contradictory evaluations of a special education voucher program in Florida by The Cato Institute (proponents) and by People for the American Way (opponents) using the same data.

pensive, as well as a potential liability to schools when held up against academic accountability standards. This could be an incentive to denial of enrolment (Etscheidt, 2005; Howe & Welner, 2002), also leading to clustering.

Yet another issue is the question of the type of minority pupils charter schools enrol. Garcia, McIlroy and Barber (2008) show that Arizona pupils moving from district to charter schools had lower academic achievement than pupils making other choices. They argue that charter schools are therefore not “cream-skimming” academically skilled pupils from district schools. Rather, they gather academically and demographically disadvantaged pupils, which may “work to the advantage of district schools” (p. 211). On the other hand, Howe and Welner (2002) argue that school choice has led to exclusion of pupils in need of special support, particularly by schools that market themselves on the basis of performance. They also suggest that, while charter schools may have similar or even higher proportions of pupils in need of special support compared to public schools, they may be enrolling pupils with less severe (and less costly) needs than in the public schools (see also Garcy, 2011; Frankenberg, Siegel-Hawley, & Wang, 2011). They argue that state funding models can work as incentives to do so and that numbers from Arizona showing much lower spending on special education within charter schools are indirect evidence for such exclusion.

Several authors have pointed out that there are potentials for market incentives for starting special education schools which might be chosen by parents, leading to re-segregation based on market niches (Howe & Welner, 2002; Etscheidt, 2005; Anastasiou & Kauffman, 2009). Of course, this would be a contributing factor as regards the clustering of pupils in need of special support at specific schools. It is therefore important to consider mechanisms of choice. Lange and Lehr (2000) maintain that a large proportion of parents of disabled children in Minnesota opted out of the previous schools due to dissatisfaction with special educational services. Similar conclusions come from Finn, Caldwell and Raub (2006). Lilley (2015) analyses parental strategies of choice among mothers of children diagnosed with autism (in Australia), referring to Ball and Vincent’s (1998) ‘hot knowledge’, gleaned from personal experiences and anecdotes from other parents and pupils, and ‘cold knowledge’, gathered from formal statistics and attainment scores produced by the schools. While official rhetoric is pervaded by the language of choice, Australian pupils ‘with significant needs’ are still placed by professionals in segregated classrooms or schools. The parents then face a dilemma as they weigh the risks

regarding their children's best interest: whether to heed the arguments for inclusion or for specialist provision. Weighing both 'hot' and 'cold' types of information, these mothers would opt for either mainstream environments or segregated provision, and the decisions would often be subject to reconsideration as experiences accumulated. The interesting aspect here has to do with not only the parental information strategies for choice but also the restraint of choice when the professional recommendation is for a particular educational provision, such as a segregated environment. Additionally, parental class background can influence the level of services parents are able to argue for and obtain for their children (Ong-Dean, 2009).

Finally, Estes (2000) reminds us that charter schools are schools of choice and "hopes" that parents make informed choices about participating in the programmes offered there. However, in the United States for instance, opting out of public schools and using special education vouchers can lead to families' forfeiting other legislative rights, such as access to public special education resources (Etscheidt, 2005; Rhim & McLaughlin, 2007). Given the above, and the fact that parents are often unaware of the legislation stipulating service levels, West's (2014) conclusion that policy is unlikely to solve the negative consequences of segregation seems legitimate.

3.3.2 Swedish Research

Few studies have been conducted regarding special education in the independent compulsory schools in Sweden.¹⁴ A small interview study in the late 1990s studied a selection of independent schools and their discourse about pupils in need of special support (Lahdenperä, 1999). A representative survey study of schools' work with intervention plans (SNAE, 2003) concluded that the independent schools were generally more pleased with their special education work, that they were content with resources allocated for special support, and that they had higher pupil participation in the intervention process as well as higher goal attainment. They also believed to a higher extent that all pupils could succeed in reaching the goals compared to municipal schools (SNAE, 2003, p. 47). The results from this study thus describe the independent schools

¹⁴ This is also true as regards the upper secondary schools, see however Ramberg, 2015 for a total population survey thereof.

as what can be seen as generally innovative in light of special educational traditions. The authors do raise the question, however, of whether independent schools have to approach parents and pupils more as clients and whether they therefore must maintain a belief in everyone's possibility to achieve the results. Rosenqvist and Tideman (2000) discuss this adaption to client focus as well and maintain that such a focus also emphasises the individual attributes and qualities from the organisation's perspective rather than the individual's perspective. The adaption to needs may therefore revolve around needs defined by the school rather than the pupil and his/her parents. Further consequences of such adaptations to market logic are that categorisations and diagnosis become a necessity in order to allocate and require resources.

Since these studies were published the education market in Sweden has expanded dramatically, and the overall composition of the ownership organisations has changed completely (SNAE, 2012a, 2014a). The changes have been so rapid and encompassing that one could even argue that those studies were not conducted on the same education system. The study of the intervention plans is conducted in a system in which independent schools, educating 5 per cent of the total pupil population, were mostly run by ideal organisations with a specific profile and pedagogical ideas which were said to permeate the work (SNAE 2003). The independent school market is now mostly governed by publicly traded companies with general profiles educating almost three times as large a proportion (13 per cent) of the total pupil population (SNAE, 2012a).

Results from Giota and Emanuelsson's (2011) more recent research give a different image than the studies above. Here, approximately 25 per cent of head teachers in independent schools claimed that fiscal resources for special support were insufficient. Comparisons of municipal and independent schools indicate that proportions of pupils in need of special support are higher in municipal schools than in independent schools and that independent schools use segregated groups to a higher degree. Independent school head teachers also conclude that the overall competence at the school is insufficient to a higher degree than head teachers in municipal schools (Giota & Emanuelsson, 2011). The authors also conclude that there is a general tendency to explain school problems from a deficit perspective and that pupils in need of special support in all types of schools risk being further marginalised through segregating organisational solutions. However, they speculate whether the relatively higher

participation of head teachers and pupils/families in intervention plan processes may be a contributing factor to the higher goal attainment within those schools. A study of eight independent schools by Göransson et al. (2013) further shows that local school ideologies can influence inclusive values significantly and that such ideologies reflect political ideologies to some degree. This is likely to be valid for municipal schools as well, of course, as the results reflect competing policy objectives on the national level between individualism and communalism or between choice and inclusion. Gustafsson and Hjärne (forthcoming), who study one independent school described as successful with inclusive measures, draw the conclusion that the school's small size and proximity between teachers and pupils is a contributing factor to the success of the school's work. However, they also conclude that this small scale and proximity is threatened by demands for efficiency and growth that follow a market logic. These results, along with research on municipal schools (for example Nilholm et al., 2007; Lindqvist, 2013a; Lindqvist, Nilholm, & Almquist, 2013) show that the paradigm shift of special education is not a question of an actual shift from one time to another. Rather, it is a continuing process, and the discourses delineated in the deficit and relational perspectives, for instance, exist simultaneously and parallel to each other, fluctuating depending upon political influences on practice and policy discourse (Isaksson & Lindqvist, 2015).

3.4 Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to clarify developments within the fields of special education and inclusive education, as well as the relationship of these developments to the concepts of integration and education for all. I argue that there is an ongoing paradigm shift as regards the scope and objectives of special education following internal and external criticisms towards its epistemological roots and its practices. Alternative paradigms to special educational traditions have been proposed in the shape of integration and, more recently, the more encompassing concept of inclusive education. Inclusive education is acknowledged as a concept for which there is no consensus upon a single definition, and it is argued that a continuum of different positions can be delineated that regard both the groups that are the subject of its focus and the importance of placement and practices. These, on the other hand, can also be seen as different positions relative to special education: a moderate view would come close to traditional special education, whereas a radical view

would denounce it. Certain positions within inclusive education have also widened the scope and have started to become more like the concept of education for all, which, despite often being used synonymously with inclusion, has different roots and objectives. Finally, the work of several researchers who have expressed concerns about the consequences of choice and market ideals for inclusive education is presented.

The situation of special education in Sweden has been presented, including the occupational groups most often associated with special education. Finally, both international and Swedish research that regards school choice and special/inclusive education has been presented. While the international research is far from a state of consensus concerning what can be seen as ‘desirable results’ of school choice, concerning what constitutes special educational needs, and concerning what is seen as a problem in the situation, the results presented here lean to the conclusion that school choice can be problematic in relation to inclusive education. Clustering of pupils in need of special support (or SEN) at particular schools is one problem, but aside from the issue of disproportionality, issues are also raised as regards the ‘type’ (i.e. expense) of SEN pupils enrolled in different types of schools. Also raised are issues regarding conflicts between ideals of school autonomy and state—or federal—standardisation and accountability and regarding the preparedness of the new schools and their management with respect to how to accommodate all pupils. Older Swedish research showed a generally positive image of independent schools’ work with special support, even approaching more inclusive practices than that of municipal schools. Newer Swedish research, however, shows a general disproportionality of pupils in need of special support in independent schools and an increase in segregating methods and traditional special education values (following a deficit perspective). It is argued above that the shift in results over time may be related to alterations in the ownership structures and profiles of schools and even increased competition within the education market and shifts within the political discourse from equity to excellence.

Part II
Theoretical framework

4 Theoretical Background and Analytical Framework

This thesis advances from a point of departure inspired by critical pragmatism. Although there are good reasons for discussions of pragmatism and its influence and potential future as a philosophy and progressive force in education, the aim of this chapter lies elsewhere. Nevertheless, there are several approaches to pragmatism, and because there is often a general misunderstanding among both critics and proponents regarding the foundations and beliefs of pragmatism and how they influence research (Biesta & Burbules, 2003; Baert, 2003), it seems sensible to clarify the contribution of pragmatism in this specific case (Biesta, 2009). The aim of the first section of this chapter is therefore to stake out the primary philosophical assumptions behind the analysis of the research presented here and to make a distinction between ‘pragmatism’ and ‘critical pragmatism’ before describing the foundation of the choice of analytical tools and theories.

4.1 Pragmatism

Pragmatism as a philosophy was initially developed around the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century by Charles Saunders Peirce (1997, 1998), William James (1975, 1978, 2004) and John Dewey (1911, 1917). Although pragmatism is an inherently American philosophy (Biesta & Burbules, 2003; Popkewitz, 2008b; Baert, 2003), it has had—Dewey’s writings on education in particular—an important influence on education internationally (Popkewitz, 2008; Biesta & Burbules, 2003). This includes Sweden, where Dewey has been called “an epistemic figure” (Olsson & Petersson, 2008; Burman, 2014; Månsson, 2014).

Pragmatism has a radical approach to the objectives of philosophy, science and research. Critical of the correspondence theory of truth, pragmatism places the search for knowledge and conceptions of truth *in* reality (rather than a search *for* or *of* reality), as inseparable from action (Dewey 1911, 1917;

James, 1978). Biesta and Burbules (2003) formulate this with the notions of transactional realism and/or transactional constructivism, i.e. we construct our knowledge in reality, and reality is contingent upon our perspective, beliefs and power struggles. Viewing truth and knowledge as contingent on perspectives, power relations and beliefs, and also as inseparable from action, makes knowledge claims and truth statements necessarily political—expressions of power—as the primary objective of stating truths is related to influencing the conduct of others. “The prima-facie meaning of truth—of seeing things as they are and reporting them as they are seen—is acceptance of the beliefs that are current, that are authoritative, in a given community or organization”. (Dewey, 1911, p. 10). While the intention might appear neutral, “Telling things how they are, however, is subtle endorsement of things as they are” (Cherryholmes, 1988, p. 22), a more or less conscious adherence to hegemonic discourses.

Stating truths is inseparable from a notion of authority and therefore philosophy and science are inherently political. This political nature is often ignored in the attempt to make philosophy and science appear ‘neutral’. Here however, science is seen as an “endless battleground for competing and shifting opinions” rather than a secure and definitive way to knowledge, hence “scientists practice their trades in different worlds”, and, *in some areas*, “see different things” (Bernstein, 1983, p. 3).

Thus pragmatism acknowledges incommensurable world-views and seeks to move on beyond polemics (Rorty, 1982; Bernstein, 1983). There are no algorithms or methods for choosing between incompatible opinions on important topics, only values based upon our assumptions about what would be preferable consequences (‘good’, ‘right’, ‘beautiful’) of our choices. These values can, for instance, revolve around various notions of democracy, balancing conceptions of equality and individualism differently. Therefore, the values we base our decisions on need to be revealed and analysed with regard to the consequences our actions have.

James (2003) and Dewey (1917) stressed inquiry and research as tools for constructing knowledge but also saw experience as central for our understanding of reality. With a pluralist understanding of the world (James, 2003), a pragmatist endorses a multitude of methodologies and avoids constraints to inquiry (Rorty, 1982). The verification of knowledge claims are then functional and regard the consequences of action based upon the new knowledge (Biesta & Burbules, 2003). We should therefore study the world openly and

take note of different views, experiences and perspectives (Bernstein, 1983; Skrtic, 1995b).

4.2 Critical Pragmatism

The pragmatist assumptions described above are the foundation of later developments of the critical pragmatist approach (Cherryholmes, 1988, 1999). Cherryholmes argues that the distinction between pragmatism and critical pragmatism is one that partly depends upon a distinction from what he terms as ‘vulgar pragmatism’ (what Skrtic calls ‘naïve pragmatism’). This ‘vulgar pragmatism’ is an instrumental approach that is “premised on unreflective acceptance of explicit and implicit standards, conventions, rules, and discourse-practices that we find around us” (Cherryholmes, 1988, p. 151). It is thus oriented towards functional efficiency, standards and criteria rather than being critical towards these things as problematic in themselves. Critical pragmatism has also taken inspiration from post-modern and, in particular, post-structural theoretical developments (Cherryholmes, 1988, 1999, 2007; Skrtic, 1991a, 1995b), which contribute (radical) criticism to the basic tenets of the pragmatic approach sketched above. Whilst later developments of pragmatism (also termed neo-pragmatism) have developed the notion of ‘the linguistic turn’, the relationship between language, understanding and action (Rorty, 1983, 2009; Bernstein, 1983), critical pragmatism has a focus on discourses and their role in the construction of reality, knowledge and science, as well as deconstruction as a tool to find alternative interpretations (Cherryholmes, 1999; Skrtic, 1995b).

Translated to an education arena, the use of critical pragmatism as a philosophy of inquiry/research has several consequences. First of all, knowledge is seen as contextual and dependent upon action and consequences and thus political. Second, the critical dimension highlights the importance of different educational discourses regarding educational organisation. For the focus of this thesis, two particular levels of knowledge claims become important: 1) the knowledge and traditions that construct the educational organisations and systems and 2) the knowledge claims and traditions that regard the special educational practices and discourses.

This interest is directly derived from a curiosity of the practical consequences of political strategies and alternating discourses. From a (critical) pragmatist

point of view, there are no clear distinctions between knowledge and ideology/power/interest. To become a “good” teacher means to master appropriate discourse-practices of teaching (Cherryholmes, 1988, p. 35). Translating that to the educational organisation and schools, what constitutes a good school and/or a good education system is dependent upon discourse-practices of what constitutes ‘good’ or ‘successful’ schooling. These political dimensions are of central interest for this thesis.

4.3 Central Analytical Concepts

Thomas M. Skrtic’s work from the 1990s constitutes the backbone of the theoretical framework used for analysis in this thesis. His work has been placed among “the most comprehensive and thoughtful theoretical accounts of inclusive schools that are available” (Dyson & Millward, 2000, p. 13), and his major works are said to be able to “lay claim to being the single most important theoretical contribution to current debates in inclusive education” (Dyson & Millward, 2000, p. 20). It should be noted that these comments come from critics of his work. While Skrtic constitutes an almost obligatory point of reference in literature on special and/or inclusive education in the Swedish context, his theories are rarely applied in analysis and theoretical development.¹⁵ Skrtic’s work influences this thesis in three ways: first, as an inspiration in the application of critical pragmatism as a philosophical foundation; second, by his use of ideal types as analytical tools; and third, in that his theoretical analysis and terminology offer tools for the analytical process of delineating different discourses as regards education and educational organisation.

Skrtic is outspokenly inspired by Cherryholmes’s (1988) critical pragmatism yet has a different focus and terminology.¹⁶ Skrtic has a specific focus on special education and professional discourses surrounding special education.

¹⁵ See, however, Lindqvist (2013a) for a recent exception.

¹⁶ Skrtic mentions three aspects in which their critical projects differ. First of all, while both “draw insights from American and Continental forms of postmodernism (which he [Cherryholmes, my clarification] calls “poststructuralism”)", Skrtic leans more on an American form, whereas Cherryholmes leans on a Continental form. Second, “whereas Cherryholmes applies his version of critical pragmatism directly to general education, I [Skrtic, my clarification] apply my version to special education and, to a somewhat lesser extent, educational administration....

However, his analysis and conclusions on special education have considerable consequences for general public education (Skrtic, 1987, 1991b). Skrtic uses critical pragmatism in two manners: first, as a method of inquiry, a way to look “behind special education” and to question assumptions and knowledge traditions within that field of practice, revealing a crisis in the field (Thomas & Loxley, 2007; Clark et al., 1995; Clark et al., 1998); second, as a suggestion for practice and discourse in education—a critical practice with constant evaluation and reflection and a search for new and better expressions. His project is therefore critical and descriptive as well as emancipatory and prescriptive, wishing to alter the conceptualisation and organisation of education. It is also outspokenly normative, as it suggests certain tools for professional practice and discourse, with particular aims in focus. This normative and prescriptive feature for practice is outside the scope of this thesis; however, his notion of the adhocracy as a model for schooling is explained and utilised below (section 4.3.4).

Skrtic’s work is also inspired by Max Weber. This theoretical inspiration is two-dimensional: conceptual and analytical. The analytical dimension revolves around Skrtic’s use of ideal types (Weber, 1904/1949, referred to by Skrtic, 1991a, p. 33). As analytical devices, ideal types are “both sensitive to and capable of relating cultural ideas and actual social phenomena” (Skrtic, 1991a, p. 33), but they are theoretical constructs, not to be found empirically in ‘reality’. As utopias, ideal types describe world views from a certain perspective (Skrtic, 1991a, 1991b) and function as heuristics, useful for understanding social phenomena and their cultural significance. They expose divergences between themselves and existing cases and help to explain implications of such divergences. They are, in other words, analytical tools for comparison and measurement.¹⁷ The conceptual inspiration from Weber regards the focus

Finally, although we both use critical pragmatism as a method of inquiry and a mode of professional discourse, I am also interested in the organizational conditions that would support such a project in public education...”. (Skrtic, 1991a: 46, note 1)

¹⁷ Ideal types are also used for analytical purposes in the articles of this thesis. The way this is done is described in more detail in the method chapter below, section 5.3. The ideal types in question are defined in chapter 3.

on professions and Weber's interrelated definitions of organisations and bureaucracies (cf. Weber, 2008, 1991).¹⁸ Skrtic therefore applies Weber's thinking on two interrelated but distinct features of education: the first feature being the organisation of education and schools and the second feature being professional work, i.e. educational practice.

4.3.1 Professions and Organisations as Paradigms

Skrtic argues that professionalism is contextualised in theoretical paradigms and presuppositions that are historically situated in professional culture: the profession's knowledge traditions, theories, practices and discourses (Skrtic, 1991a, 1991b). He thus defines particular professional cultures as analogous to scientific paradigms (Kuhn, 1962).¹⁹ With further reference to Kuhn, Skrtic adapts the idea of paradigm shifts to both organisational developments and professional developments in his analyses. Making an analogy between professional culture and Kuhn's scientific culture, Skrtic argues that a profession is dependent upon a theoretical paradigm in order to organise a complex and ambiguous world (1991a). Things taken as given and natural aspects of the profession are often not mentioned, yet professional discourse is only possible because of them. That which happens among educators results from choices that are not value- or interest-neutral. Those values are, however, often obscure. Though a paradigm is usually not made explicit, professionals can be reflective about particular aspects of a paradigm and the implications of those aspects. After all, asks Cherryholmes (1988, p. 5), "If people are free to choose what to do, why is it they choose activities coincident with rules and narrative commitments of established practice?" Paradigms do not evolve or develop without regular crises, as nothing would otherwise compel people to question their practices or knowledge traditions. (Cherryholmes, 1988, p. 27). A crisis, therefore, has a positive potential as well as a traumatic effect. Similarly, major changes of educational organisation can be understood as paradigm shifts.

Skrtic reminds us that organisations are social actors that have considerable power. Their power is not only defined by what they do *for* society but also,

¹⁸ Skrtic also draws upon institutional theory, in particular Mintzberg (1979, 1983). He has been criticised for this issue, and the critique is discussed in section 4.4.

¹⁹ Skrtic's use of the paradigm concept is also inspired by Burrell & Morgan, 1979

and often more subtly, by what they do *to* society. Organisations do not only administer and carry out functions for society. They also influence society's image of those functions, and consequently the social structure, by shaping the goals society uses organisations to achieve (Skrtic, 1987, 1991a, 1995c). Education can be seen as a case in point: "Society wants education, but what it gets is a particular kind of schooling, one shaped by the particular kind of organization used as the mechanism to provide it" (Skrtic, 1991a, p. 144).

As discussed above, Skrtic views organisational change as analogous to paradigm shifts, defining paradigm as "a general guide for perception, a conceptual map for viewing the world" (Skrtic, 1995c, p. 206). Organisations are thus analogous to paradigms in the sense that they affect our way of viewing the world, and organisations explain cause-effect relationships as well as standards of practice and behaviour (Skrtic, 1995c) and the thoughts and discourses of their members (Skrtic, 1991a). As paradigms, organisations change only when forced to do so in the light of increasing occurrence of anomalies that the organisations cannot explain or handle within their scope. Paradigmatic shifts of this kind are slow and difficult, even traumatic, not least because paradigms tend to distort information/examples of anomalies and either incorporate or refute them in some manner. In the end, when sufficient pressure forces a change, a new paradigm emerges, and practice continues under the new regime. Organisational paradigm changes can be compelled through different processes. For instance, societal values and preferences change, and, as a new social theory emerges that is inconsistent with the prevailing organisation, the older organisational paradigm falls. Also, anomalies can be introduced through the availability of information that the paradigm in question is not working. This can happen through confrontations with individuals or groups who reject fundamental assumptions of the paradigm, or when corrective measures taken to correct a recognised flaw in the system expose other flaws, which then accumulate until a reconceptualisation of the system becomes necessary (Skrtic, 1987, 1995c).

4.3.2 Bureaucracies

The next move in this theoretical navigation is to take a closer look at the organisation in focus. Skrtic describes school organisations as two interrelated bureaucracies. School organisations simultaneously encompass two bureaucratic rationalities: the *machine bureaucracy* and the *professional bureau-*

cracy (1987, 1991a, 1991b). Organisations are configured as machine bureaucracies when their work is understood as a rational series of routine tasks, performed by separate workers in a specified manner. Coordination of the work is done by standardisation of processes and formalisation of specifications and rules. The parts are *tightly coupled* (to each other) and *re*-formalisation and *re*-rationalisation of parts within the machine are assumed to have a direct effect on the machine's output. This stable machine bureaucracy, where each part is assumed to have a specific objective and role, constitutes the outer façade of schools. To translate this to education, rules and legislation formally govern the educational machines (schools), and public assumptions about the schools' role, work, and what their 'output' is supposed to be both influences and is influenced by the schools. When anomalies regarding efficiency and/or attainment accrue or when schools fail to fulfil ideas of justice and equality, reforms are enacted to 'fix the problem'. The assumption is that as the system is re-formalised and re-rationalised and as the parts get coordinated and adapt to their new roles, the schools will function better (Skrtic, 1991a, 1991b, 1995c).

The actual work conducted within schools is governed by the rationality of professional bureaucracy. While both rationalities are functionalist, or based upon assumptions about technical efficiency and standardisation, professional bureaucracy performs more complex tasks. These tasks are more ambiguous and hard to specify beforehand and therefore dependent upon the individual professionals' discretion and thoughts, which are in turn dependent upon particular theories and sets of practices. The professionals use theoretical knowledge to adapt or, at best, invent practices that fit the needs of clients. However, increased demands for standardisation and efficiency effectively dismantle the relationship of theory and practice and minimise the use of professional discretion and thought. This leads to professional bureaucracy building its efficiency upon 'pigeonholing', i.e. differentiation and distinction of clients into known categories and the application of a known set of practices, as opposed to finding innovative ways of meeting clients' needs (Skrtic, 1991a, 1991b, 1995c). Professionals in organisations are *loosely coupled*, meaning that they share a sort of interdependency in facilities, resources, education and theory but often 'serve clients' in isolation from each other. In a tightly coupled system workers are heavily dependent upon each other because they each do part of a bigger job. Coordination is necessary as part of getting the job done right. In a loosely coupled system it suffices that workers

have a rough idea of what other workers do through common professionalization. Coordination to a new set of rules and regulations lies within each professional rather than the whole system. Loosely coupled systems are therefore not generally adjustable from outside via, for instance, reforms.

Attempts to reform the machine bureaucracy assume that changes will follow in the inner work. They fail to recognise that the work is not governed by the outer façade of machine organisation but rather on the political playing field of professional bureaucracy. Therefore changes in rules and regulations do not necessarily affect the work conducted with clients because professional bureaucracy and the machine bureaucracy are *decoupled* from each other. In other words, the organisation of schooling in terms of regulations and standards can be altered, while the educational work (e.g. teaching) continues as it always has to a high degree. Nevertheless, outer conformity is necessary: workers must, at least symbolically, adjust and adhere to the new order and to their potential new roles. In this sense, professionals are forced to serve standards rather than students, and the changes extend rather than implement rationalisation and formalisation in schools, successively reducing professional thought and discretion (Skrtic, 1995c).

4.3.3 Special Education

In the preceding sections I have described Skrtic's central concepts and analytical approaches in relation to general education. However, the importance of Skrtic's contribution regards his subject matter, special education, and his emancipatory project of deconstruction/reconstruction. Skrtic argues that special education was dealing with yet another wave of introspective criticism of its practices and organisation following an external sociological critique of professional practice, a philosophical critique of professional knowledge and political critique of professional power.²⁰ His argument is that the extended crisis of special education revolves around the institutional discourses and practices that surround special education as a part of public education. Without understanding the conditions that limit professional thought and practice,

²⁰ It is worth noting that, although Skrtic is discussing developments of the late 1980s and early 1990s in the United States, the developments he discusses were also prevalent internationally and in Sweden, among other countries.

the current problems of special education will only be reproduced in the future, albeit perhaps under a new organisational paradigm (Skrtic, 1991a).

Following Foucault, Skrtic maintains that the way to understand society is to study the perspectives of the professions created to accommodate society's failures. When society demands fundamental changes, schools deal with their inability to change by adding decoupled programs and specialists, incidental rather than fundamental changes (Skrtic, 1995d). With special education as a side sphere to public education, the schools can claim to provide all children with education, thus fulfilling the demands of education for all without altering institutionalised practices or theories. Special education is then defined to be the profession(s) emerging to "contain the failure of public education to educate its youth for full potential, economic, and cultural participation in democracy" (Skrtic, 1991a, p. 24)—central objectives of education. Special education is, in other words, an institutional practice that emerged to contain the contradictions between the ends of public education, which are formulated in democratic terms, and the bureaucratic means used to achieve them, the professional bureaucracy. Skrtic delineates four grounding assumptions of traditional special education:

- 1) Student disability (due to which school problems emerge) is a pathological condition.
- 2) Differential diagnosis is objective and useful.
- 3) Special education is a rationally conceived and coordinated system of services that benefits diagnosed students.
- 4) Progress in special education is a rational-technical process of incremental improvement in conventional diagnostic and instructional practices. (Skrtic, 1995c, p. 211)

Skrtic aims various criticisms towards these assumptions through a deconstructive process. First he attacks the knowledge base of special education by questioning professional knowledge from a critical perspective on science and knowledge, setting a crisis in motion. Following this logic, i.e. viewing professional knowledge/theory as subjective, contextual and temporary, professional knowledge can hardly be seen as an objective foundation for rational development and judgments. This in turn questions the practices of professions, as professional practice is necessarily dependent upon paradigmatic maps explaining complex and diverse systems with simplified conceptual models prescriptive for action. Finally, if both professional knowledge and

practice are based upon insecure foundations, their power and preferential privileges of interpretation can be questioned.

While these general and external criticisms have evoked a crisis for the special education professions (Skrtic, 1991a, 1991b), the internal critique of the special education paradigm based on the increased frequency of anomalies unexplainable or unmanageable within it is perhaps more devastating. The increase in pupils defined as falling outside the realm of public education and into the parallel organisation of special education, shifting societal values and the insight of special education's inefficiency were elemental to setting that internal critique in motion (Skrtic, 1987, 1991a, 1995a, 1995b),

At the basis of this comprehensive external and internal critique lie policy documents that are the consequences of official acknowledgements of the shifting societal values. Corresponding to societal shifts and policy moves in Sweden and Europe, Skrtic focuses upon American policy moves towards decreased occurrence of direct segregation/exclusion of particular pupil groups, those most commonly assigned special educational support. These policies were also fuelled by the acknowledgment of unexplained disproportionality of different social groups in special education (cf. McCall & Skrtic, 2009; Skrtic & McCall, 2010). Skrtic, however, emphasises that while these policies may denounce the first two assumptions of special education, they accept the second two assumptions, thus directing any potential reforms of special education to the façade and not necessarily to practice. A radical restructuring of special education is then made impossible (1995c).

Skrtic's project is radical: "...student disability and special education are institutional categories created by a perfect storm in the historical development of public education—the fateful convergence of a dramatic increase in student diversity and the extensive bureaucratization of schools in the first half of the 20th century" (2005, p. 159). By explicitly deconstructing the four underlying assumptions of special education, he also questions the practices and discourse of public education and educational administration. He points out the inherent contradiction in the ends and means of public education, and thus his argument is that we can have either democratic public education *or* traditional educational organisation. Special education was constructed to facilitate public educational practices that were obviously not fulfilling their democratic objectives. Therefore, if we wish to hold on to the ends, we must reconstruct the means of public education. Skrtic's mission is not only to advocate for inclusive education on the grounds of the critique of the professions. Rather, the

critique serves as a tool in his arsenal, a tool he utilises to advocate for public education without arbitrary distinctions between ‘the worthy’ and ‘the problematic’, in contrast to the current system that weeds out those it cannot accommodate and places them ‘somewhere else’.

4.3.4 The Adhocracy

Skrtic embarks on this emancipatory agenda with a normative view governed by values that are “democratic, progressive and egalitarian” (Skrtic, 1991a, p. 203). The emancipation is aimed not only at the pupils who are usually set aside. It is aimed just as importantly at the professionals, who are encouraged to embrace critical pragmatism as means for collaboration and critical practice and reflection. His alternative suggestion for school organisation is the inverse of bureaucracy: the adhocracy. This is an ideal type of a school that strives to encounter the variation of its ‘clients’ with new and innovative ideas, rather than the professionals’ sets of theoretical categories and distinctions and standard practices. As professional bureaucracy seeks standardisation, pigeonholing the diversity of pupils into ready-made categories, “it can do nothing but create students who do not fit the system” (Skrtic, 1995d, p. 248). Student diversity is therefore a problem only for schools that are organised as bureaucracies. Its opposite, the adhocracy, is seen as a problem-solving organisation that invents new practices for new contingencies.

In the professional bureaucracy, the professionals are loosely coupled and somewhat isolated from each other in their practice, working in their classrooms or with smaller groups and individuals. In an adhocracy the different professional groups would collaborate in different constellations, attempting to solve problems as they appear and creating a discursive coupling premised on reflective thought and the theoretical and practical background of the team of workers.

Aside from giving the professionals more power and autonomy from external regulation and policy networks that reduce professional discretion and thought, this would also make schools more democratic. This point would be attended to almost automatically, since practice would be more in line with the democratic ends of public education by making schools more inclusive and—as implied—more successful, as they would reach excellence through equity (Skrtic, 1995d, 1991b). This latter conceptual pair is important. Education discourse in the 1980s and 1990s moved from equity towards excellence

as central goals for education, creating a false dichotomy, in Skrtic's view, because they go hand in hand—equity being a prerequisite for excellence.

Skrtic has demonstrated a convergence between school reform movements of the 1980s and 1990s and special education reform movements of a similar time frame (Skrtic, 1995c; Skrtic, Sailor & Gee, 1996). First of all was the school efficiency reform movement that emphasised efficiency, excellence and attainment. At a similar time the mainstreaming movement arose, criticising special education and arguing for integration in mainstream classrooms (see section 3.1.1). From Skrtic's perspective the problem with both these movements is that they emphasised restructuring the machine bureaucracy and reproduced the professional bureaucracy. By advocating for higher standards through increased standardisation, they retained the classroom model, the specialised division of labour and coordination and the loosely coupled interdependence between professionals. In other words neither movement questioned the bureaucratic structure of the schools but rather attempted to make them more efficient, leaving professionals to continue confusing the needs of their clients with the practices they have to offer and interpreting anomalies of practice as pupil pathologies.

Later, however, two other movements appeared: the school restructuring movement and the inclusive education movement. Skrtic argues that suggestions from the school restructuring movement were welcomed by the inclusive movement, as they were similar in intent (Skrtic, Harris & Shriner, 2005; Skrtic et al., 1996). Both movements called for “eliminating rationalization, formalization, tight coupling, the misplaced structural contingencies of the outer machine bureaucracy configuration of traditional school organizations” (Skrtic, 1995d, p. 248). Second, they both called for “the elimination of specialization, professionalization and loose coupling, the structural contingencies of the inner professional bureaucracy configuration of the schools” (Skrtic, 1995d, p. 248). Both debates therefore proposed an adaptable system with an individualised approach for ‘all’ students, where different occupational groups collaborate innovatively to solve problems with ‘the client’ in focus, similar to the adhocracy. The school restructuring movement, however, did not question the foundational assumptions of special education but rather embraced them (Skrtic et al., 1996).

In the Swedish context, arguments from what Skrtic terms the school restructuring movement and the school efficiency movement appear concurrently in policy texts, where school efficiency, greater attainment and client focus are

seen as products of the increased autonomy of schools and the competition between them (Lundahl, 2000; Daun, 2003).²¹ The Swedish context thus differs somewhat from the description Skrtic gives of the reform movements in the United States by simultaneously encompassing the arguments from both of these movements.²²

4.4 The Application of the Central Analytical Concepts

The intention here is to apply Skrtic's theories and terminology to empirical results for explanatory purposes, thus contributing an empirical foundation for the theoretical tools. The central concepts regard school organisation, and I will use them to denote both abstract discourses and school level organisation as an expression of those discourses. In other words, the theoretical framework is constituted by a critical pragmatist approach utilising Skrtic's work viewing:

- organisational changes (and reforms) as paradigm shifts
- public education as an organisation constituted by two interrelated bureaucracies (resisting change)
- special education as an organisational artefact of public education's failure to accommodate diversity
- adhocracy as an alternative organisational approach to respond to diversity

I find Skrtic's paradigm shift metaphor useful for understanding developments in special education (chapter 3) and the different discourses surrounding education reform (chapter 2). Viewing the education reforms of the 1990s that presented school choice and the independent schools with those concepts, we can understand them as a paradigm shift where societal values changed and an individualist focus became prominent. Economic rhetoric and concepts entered education, and the results of education—both in terms of attainment and

²¹ See further discussion in section 2.3.1).

²² See also Apple (1997, 2004) for an account of the convergence of different political rationalities in education politics, despite internal contradictions. He argues that neo-liberal economic rationality, intent on modernizing and "liberating" the economy and institutions with market approaches, and a neo-conservative rationality, wishing for "high standards" and competition, takes place in education politics that emphasise the market.

equity—were questioned. The special education paradigm shift follows a similar pattern. As criticisms of the efficiency, legitimacy and results of special education grew, new conceptualisations took place more in line with inclusive education. However, as education is organised as the decoupled machine bureaucracy and professional bureaucracy, changes made in the machine bureaucracy (e.g. policy) do not necessarily alter practices because professional bureaucracy resists change. Traditional segregated approaches within special education can be seen as a case in point, where the professional bureaucracy resists changes by adding a parallel system to deal with the pupils not fitting the practices of general education. The shift from special to inclusive education follows a similar logic. Symbolic adaption to new rhetoric is made, but otherwise the work follows traditional forms. In other words, the paradigm shift of special education can be seen as ongoing.

Following Skrtic, two scenarios can be set up as potential explanations of the results of the introduction of independent schools for special/inclusive education. First, viewing the argumentation for the independent schools in the 1990s in the light of Skrtic's idea of adhocracies, they can be seen as

- a) potential challengers of traditional (special) educational organisation, where innovation and focus on client needs would lead to more inclusive provision of special support.

On the other hand, viewing educational organisation as two interrelated bureaucracies that resist organisational change, and the reforms as primarily aimed at the machine bureaucracy, the independent schools can be seen as

- b) likely to adhere to and maintain the professional bureaucracy and thus reproduce, or even emphasise, special educational traditions.

These are extrapolations that mirror different aspects of Skrtic's theories as they are presented above and which I will elaborate on further in the last part of the thesis. In order to do so, however, some 'theoretical blind spots' need to be supplemented. I attend to this in the next sections.

4.5 Critique of Skrtic

Clark, Dyson and Millward have criticised Skrtic in numerous publications and various constellations,²³ and have suggested supplements to his theoretical arsenal. Skrtic and other strong proponents (e.g. Thomas & Loxley, 2007) of what has been termed the critical perspective have been criticised for oversimplifying the complexities that education has to solve (Dyson & Millward, 2000). Simply adding a more radical perspective on (special) education for a new understanding does not solve the problems faced by (special) education. This resonates in the work of Norwich (2000), who aims a hard critique towards fuzzy definitions of inclusive education, arguing that without specification there would be no way of knowing whether school practices were any closer to achieving inclusion or not. This critique also regards a lack of credible alternative organisational suggestions: How do we know whether specific organisations of educational provision are more or less inclusive?

Yet, arguably, the critique of the credibility of the adhocracy as a model for future schooling is the harshest. Skrtic has been criticised for his reliance upon Mintzberg's adhocracy given that the references are seemingly outdated. More importantly, he has been criticised on the grounds that the empirical basis for his prescriptive conclusions is practically non-existent (see also Clark et al., 1999; Dyson & Millward, 2000). In particular, Skrtic's rationalistic approach is criticised, as he deduces that an "adhocratic" approach to schooling *must* be more democratic and inclusive simply because it is inverse to the current school organisation, which he sees as neither inclusive nor democratic (Clark et al., 1998; Clark et al., 1999). Further, as a school system has to be tangible and existing in practice, they argue that simply removing notions of disability is unlikely to end differentiation between people and that such an argument disregards the practical dilemmas professionals must deal with in their everyday existence, balancing demands for individual accommodation with economic efficiency (cf. Nilholm, 2005, 2006). Clark et al. (1998) refer to the 'post-positivist paradigm', as they call it, as a contemporary hegemony, but the limitations of the paradigm, they and others argue, are several: it fails to

²³ See, further, Clark, Dyson, Millward, & Skidmore (1995); Clark, Dyson, & Millward (1998); Clark, Dyson, Millward, & Robson (1999); and Dyson & Millward (2000).

address how to respond to individual differences, it ignores the fact that special needs continue to surface despite continuous deconstruction of the term, and that it is ideological and lacks an empirical foundation. Finally, Skrtic's approach is generally very binary. He paints a picture of competing paradigms or discourses that are hegemonic in the sense that practitioners (or organisations) belong to one side or the other. This misses the fact that organisations and practitioners must simultaneously balance competing discourses as well as goals and policies that are often in contradiction to other goals and policies and open to interpretation themselves.

In summary, the critique can be said to revolve around three points. First of all, that a fuzzy and open definition leaves no markers for seeing whether education has *really* become more inclusive, or if there is just a chimera of 'more inclusion'. Such an approach does not give indications of what could be considered more or less inclusive measures. It also risks revolving more around placement than accommodation of individual needs (c.f. Norwich, 2000). Second, that there is a problem with the construction of utopian ideal types that oppose current situations, assuming the suggested alternatives must be better simply because they approach the issues from a different ideological perspective. This also regards the construction of ideal types as a manner of generalising what one opposes. Even if we might recognise the descriptions of the processes and organisation of the "traditional schools", do they represent actual schools to a significant degree or do they constitute a straw man for argumentative purposes? This leads to the third tenet, which claims that Skrtic's approach is reductionist in that challenges and dilemmas that education must solve are not acknowledged, or because it is implied that they can be permanently solved with *a* solution, rather than just temporarily resolved (see further in section 4.6 below).

Finally, to add to the critique, I find a lack of awareness of societal discourses regarding education and special education in Skrtic's earlier writings. The 'school' or education is not an entity separate from society, and the idea that a deconstruction and reconstruction of (special) education would be possible without consideration of society's influence seems paradoxical in light of Skrtic's critical pragmatist approach. Pupils carry with them distinctions based upon gender, ethnicity, socio-economic factors and dis/abilities, among other things, and these distinctions have meanings and consequences outside of schools. Schools and practitioners collaborating in an adhoc manner would not render social distinctions existing outside of schools meaningless.

Perhaps the hope is that as soon as the professional groups within schools are emancipated from their theoretical shackles and start practicing their occupations in different manners, everything else will follow. Then again, even if ideas and conceptions regarding difference and disability can be said to be social constructions, contextual in time and place, that does not mean that they are meaningless and without real consequences for people's lives (cf. Hacking, 1999; Searle, 1997). While categories may be constructed, they may not be entirely arbitrary (Clark et al., 1998). Ignoring such conceptions risks turning a blind eye towards particular difficulties and social groups.

4.5.1 Supplementary Theoretical Tools

A theoretical framework and perspective is helpful in explicating and shedding light upon certain aspects of objects of study in a transparent manner. Nonetheless, while theory illuminates objects from certain perspectives, other sides remain in the shadow and are in some cases rendered invisible. In line with critical pragmatism and Skrtic's acknowledgment of the inevitable limits of theoretical choices, it is reasonable to recognise the limits of what can be explained with his tools and to add other appropriate measures to enhance the scope of the analysis. For instance, Skrtic's earlier theoretical work does not explicitly consider market mechanisms.²⁴ The consequences of the market for special education are, however, a focal point in this thesis. A historical perspective is necessary because there are continuing historical processes behind the changes in distinctions and organisational provision (cf. Richardson & Powell, 2011). A historical perspective on market developments in education is provided in chapter 2 and further developed in the discussion (chapter 7).

²⁴ Skrtic does discuss market issues in later works (Skrtic, 2005, 2009; Skrtic, Harris, & Shriner, 2005; Skrtic & McCall, 2010). Skrtic et al. (2005) define three American education reforms in the 1980s and 1990s that revolved around a deconstruction of public education and introduced economic rationality in education. The emphasis on public choice, economic efficiency and consumer-market relationships "submerges the broader democratic values of *responsiveness and participation*" (Skrtic, 2009 p. 422, emphasis in original). These (neo-liberal) reforms were more likely to emphasise social mobility and efficiency than equality. This discussion is, however, relatively limited in comparison to and detached from his prior, more comprehensive work. It is therefore noted but not utilised here.

Clark et al. (1998) and Clark et al. (1999) developed a dilemma perspective that is quite useful for understanding difficulties and ambiguities arising in practice, illuminating organisational changes as beset by contradicting objectives and micro-politics (cf. Nilholm, 2005, 2006). With a dilemma perspective practitioners are seen as “facing a series of complex dilemmas which are, of their very nature, ultimately incapable of solution” (Clark et al., 1998, p. 165). For instance, education rarely promotes single values at any given time. Rather practitioners are often faced with contradictory values. Additionally, even single values are rarely unidimensional, ‘equity’ is a case in point. Yet another issue is educational provision which is, however it is structured, bound to emphasise and prioritise certain values over others, and thus to neglect the needs of some pupils to some extent. Viewing pupil differences as artefacts of school organisation or the curriculum also tends to ignore the existence of differences however arbitrary their social construction may be. While the crude differentiation process of ‘special’ vs. ‘normal’ educational provision is admittedly a blunt instrument to cope with diversity, the need for differential response to pupil diversity is not removed simply by abolishing the existing organisational binary. Such a view also risks rendering vulnerable individuals and groups invisible.

Clark et al. (1998) and Clark et al. (1995) suggest a dialectical approach to amplify the dilemma perspective in an analytical process. Here, (special) education is viewed, not as a stable phenomenon but as “the product of multiple forces and processes which temporarily find a point of resolution but which create endemic stresses in that resolution which ultimately cause it to break apart” (Clark et al., 1998, p. 170). This allows an accentuation of the dimensions *complexity*, *history* and *power*. *Complexity* relates complex features of special education to the complex processes that produce it; *history* makes it possible to study the processes that create special education over time; and *power* regards the study of forces and social groups producing and controlling special education. A different perspective on the nature of organisations is also suggested. Rather than describing organisations as morphologies of structures and relationships, they are viewed as processes. The term ‘organisation’ implies stability and unity, which may not exist. Organisations can also be seen as sites of ongoing social productions, sustained by people, historically and in practice. They are thus in a continuous state of becoming, generating contradictions (Clark et al., 1999) as they try to balance contradicting policy goals and political ambitions. This can be related further to the discussion in section 3.1.2 about inclusive education and special education as separate processes

existing on continuums (rather than their being polar opposites), where different positions within the fields can be similar in scope and focus.

This last point can also be connected to the idea that schools enact rather than implement policy (Ball et al., 2012). Policy is “the product of compromises at various stages...typically the cannibalized products of multiple (but circumscribed) influences and agendas” (Ball, 1993, pp. 44–45). It is therefore also in the state of becoming, continually contested and interpreted by those initiating it, by those supposed to implement it and by external actors. As policies contain contradicting goals, such as inclusive ambitions for educational provision and an emphasis on educational attainment and pedagogical differentiation, schools must find ways to enact them in a meaningful manner in a micro-political context in which different groups struggle for power of interpretation.

4.6 Summary

To summarise, the theoretical framework of interpretation and analysis is presented above. The general theoretical perspective is critical pragmatism, which departs from older forms of pragmatism but has a specific focus on different discourses and competing rationalities (paradigms)—in this case, within education and special education. A particular emphasis is placed on studying the consequences of these paradigms for pupils and school organisation. Skrtic’s earlier work from the 1990s is the theoretical backbone of the thesis and influences it in three ways: first, as an inspiration for using critical pragmatism as a philosophical foundation; second, as regards the use of ideal types as analytical tools; and third, with his theoretical analysis and terminology, which offer tools for the analytical process of delineating discourses as regards (special) education and the organisation thereof. This last aspect regards four points: 1) viewing professional and organisational changes as paradigm shifts; 2) viewing organisations as two interdependent but decoupled bureaucracies, i.e. machine bureaucracy, which regards, for instance, policy and legislation, and professional bureaucracy, which regards the practical work; 3) Skrtic’s view of special education as an artefact of general education’s inability to accommodate diversity; and 4) the adhocracy as an alternative model for educational organisation.

The limits of Skrtic's theoretical tools are acknowledged via an account of criticisms aimed at his work, and supplemental theoretical perspectives are suggested to both widen the scope and sharpen the analysis. These are primarily aimed at viewing (special) education practices as enactment of policy that has several concurrent yet contradicting goals. A dialectic approach is added to reveal elements of complexity, history and power relations. Contradictions arising in the results can then be seen as naturally occurring in a dilemmatic practice that constitutes (special/inclusive) education. The (special/inclusive) educational organisation is therefore seen, not as a stable phenomenon, but rather as a process simultaneously influenced by internal and external forces. Expressions of special and inclusive education can thus be seen as different entities existing on a continuum of practices within educational organisation rather than as polar opposites.

Part III
The Empirical Contribution

5 Method

The following chapter presents the methodological considerations of the studies involved in the dissertation. This regards the choice of research method along with considerations regarding the advantages and limitations of the methodology, the procedure of data collection, the construction and analysis of data and, finally, ethical considerations.

5.1 Data Collection and Procedure

Given that the aim was to obtain a comprehensive image of the total populations, survey studies were deemed a reasonable research method because they “involve systematic observation...to describe a natural population and, generally, draw inferences about causation or patterns of influence from systematic covariation in the resulting data” (Sapsford, 2007, p.12). More specifically, and in line with the goals of these studies, data is gathered at a particular point in time, and the intention is to describe existing conditions or to identify standards to compare these conditions against (Cohen & Manion, 1994). From a more pragmatic point of view, the survey can be seen as a snapshot, but not necessarily a snapshot describing reality as much as a snapshot of a description of a particular setting (Sapsford, 2007) that will inevitably change, perhaps even through the influence or as a result of the study (Neuman, 2003).

Postal questionnaires are comparatively simple to administer in terms of resources and time when studying large populations: they can be sent out to a large group of respondents simultaneously; the questions are addressed in a standardised manner; and the range of answers can be defined beforehand. A certain amount of standardisation is essential to survey research because “the whole point is to get consistent answers to consistent questions” (Sapsford, 2007, p.7). For more nuanced answers, open-ended questions can be offered. Finally, the respondents can answer the questions when time is available and

can access information if anything needs to be looked up (Neuman, 2003; Cohen & Manion, 1994). The disadvantages of surveys are that the information must be seen as second-hand information rather than direct observation, inasmuch as it is a description of current situations. There is also a delicate balance to be kept regarding the standardisation of questions and answer alternatives. A rigid format will lead the researcher to miss nuances and information that were not conceived of during the study's design, whereas too much flexibility will make analysis and comparisons more difficult (Troost, 2012). Clarifications of terminology and phrasing of the questions are difficult to make, and important "follow up" questions can be missed. Finally, in terms of validity and reliability, it is difficult to ensure that the persons intended to answer the questionnaire are in fact the ones answering, let alone that they have the relevant information and motivation to answer the full questionnaire as intended (Neuman, 2003).

5.1.1 Project a): The Independent Schools

Because independent schools need licenses to operate, the population of independent schools is known and defined by national authorities. Information regarding the population was sought via Statistics Sweden. Statistics Sweden (SCB) was involved in the procedure of constructing and posting the questionnaires to the schools as well as receiving the replies, constructing data files, and computing the statistical weights used in order to generalise the results for schools that did not respond to the questionnaire (see section 5.4). The questionnaire was constructed and written during the spring of 2009. In order to simplify comparisons, it was largely based upon a prior total population survey of Swedish municipalities (Nilholm et al., 2007). The questionnaire included 36 questions, or around 150 items if all subcategories are accounted for.²⁵ Two open-ended questions were to be found at the end of the survey (results reported in article IV), but otherwise the questions were standardised, as were the responses. Additional fields for handwritten responses were offered in several questions, in case the standardised answer alternatives did not suffice.

²⁵ Both the questionnaire and the letter (in Swedish) can be viewed in appendix I.

Four independent school head teachers were asked to review an initial version of the questionnaire, as were statistical experts from SCB. Some minor alterations were made to the questionnaire according to the reviewers' suggestions before it was sent out to all registered independent compulsory schools in Sweden (in total 686) during the spring of 2009. The questionnaires were addressed to the head teachers of the schools, as they are accountable for the schools as well as legally responsible for the work done with pupils in need of special support (SFS 2010:800). A letter explaining the study and specifying the responsibility of the head teachers for the answering of the surveys was sent with the surveys. The letter also stated that the respondents were allowed assistance from other staff members. In some cases this led to a delegation of the task, usually those in charge of special education work and organisation within the school (e.g. SENCOs). Three reminders were sent to the schools as time passed. The second reminder contained a new questionnaire in case the first one had been misplaced or had not been received. In order to increase the response rate, a list of 200 schools that had not responded to the questionnaire was prepared, and each of these schools were contacted by phone or e-mail by myself and two other researchers. Finally, completed questionnaires were received from 546 schools (79.5 per cent).

5.1.2 Project b): The Special Professions

The results presented here were gathered in a survey of the total population of SENCOs and special education teachers examined according to the examination acts of 2001, 2007 and 2008 ($n= 4244$). The questionnaires were constructed by a team of researchers (including myself) in late autumn 2011 and early spring 2012 and were partly based upon the prior questionnaire of Nilholm et al. (2007) and on the one used for the independent school study described above. An early version was reviewed by six professionally active and experienced special educators, by a senior lecturer and an associate professor with comprehensive experience of educating these occupational groups, and by statistical experts from SCB. The final version was sent out in cooperation with Statistics Sweden in spring 2012. Statistics Sweden supplied the information about the population to be contacted and subsequently administered the posting of questionnaires, the processing of completed questionnaires, and the construction of data sheets, including the computation of statistical weights (described further in section 5.4). A letter describing the objectives of the research was attached to the questionnaire, including the contact infor-

mation of the leaders of the project.²⁶ Reminders were sent out twice, and finally the reply rate of 75 per cent was achieved, which can be seen as representative for the group. In order to diminish the effect of nonresponse, statistical weights were constructed, so the results are presented in terms of the whole population. Here results are presented from the respondents working in independent schools (5.9 per cent), and comparisons are made to the population working in municipal schools.

5.2 Data and Analysis

As mentioned above, Statistics Sweden was involved in the process of administering the procurement of data and the construction of data files. The completed questionnaires from the independent schools were sent to us and were categorised and organised for future reference and kept in a locked safe. With regard to project b), the individual identification of the SENCO/special teacher study were never given to us, and the questionnaires were destroyed following the coding and construction of data files by SCB. Each individual case (either school or individual SENCO/special teacher) was given a unique code or identification number. The data files were SPSS files in which questions and responses had been categorised into different variables; this was administered somewhat differently for different questions, depending upon the nature of the information being measured (Kent, 2001). In some cases the question was set up as a variable with several values, each representing a particular response. In other cases the responses were coded as unique variables. I added several variables at later stages by recoding existing variables into new ones, by calculations of variables, or by creating variables for identification that were added in order to categorise cases into groups for future comparisons.

The answers to some questions had been written by hand, such as the year the individual schools had been started or the percentage of PNSS at the schools. These answers were scanned into SPSS files. Answers to open-ended questions were otherwise scanned and gathered into separate Word files and made searchable by the aforementioned identification numbers. During the control check of data files some corrections had to be made to the data files of the

²⁶ Both the questionnaire and the letter can be viewed in appendix II.

independent school questionnaire. This was due to a formatting failure in the questionnaire that led to faulty forms of responses that the scanners could then not cope with. These were all corrected by hand by thorough control of the physical copies of the questionnaires.

5.2.1 Statistical Analysis

Most of the statistical analyses made are descriptive analyses of statistics. Descriptive statistics can be seen as appropriate measures, in particular when working with total populations, because the proportions represent true values. These analyses were done both using written command syntax in SPSS or by particular routes available in the program. Comparisons of cases or groups of cases were conducted either through cross tabulations via identification variables or through selections of cases that were then copied to separate files for further isolated analysis. Calculations were made to uncover information concealed in some variables in order to simplify further comparisons. This was the case, for instance, regarding the total population of pupils at each independent school, as the pupil group was divided up into different variables depending upon age and curricula. Some simple correlation analyses were conducted as well (reported in article II).

5.2.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

In addition to statistical analysis, article IV contains analyses of answers to open-ended questions in the survey from project a). The questionnaires contained two open-ended questions at the end, and approximately 45 per cent of the respondents wrote replies to one or both of the questions, yielding approximately 400 replies in total. The replies were analysed using what has been termed conventional qualitative content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This methodology is mostly built upon measures described by Krippendorff (2004), with additional considerations of developments and clarifications in both terminology (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004) and procedures of analysis (Cho & Lee, 2014; cf. Tedenljug, 2011).

Qualitative content analysis has been developed from traditional content analysis methods (Boolsen, 2007; Krippendorff, 2004). Contemporary content analysis is an “empirically grounded method, explorative in process, and predictive or inferential in intent; it transcends traditional notions of symbols, content and intents, focusing on messages as metaphorical for meanings,

through different channels (mediums), in order to communicate something to someone else” (Krippendorff, 2004, pp. xvii-xix). The notion of content is not tied to an idea of a fixed entity, however, shipped to be unpacked and rendered anew ‘as it was intended’ to be received. There is, in other words, a contextual and interpretive postulation embedded in content analysis. Finally, content analysis “has been forced to develop a methodology of its own” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. xx) in order to “plan, execute, communicate, reproduce, and critically evaluate analyses”, because we face increasingly complex and larger contexts calling for theories and concepts not needed earlier. This growth also leads to a greater number of researchers collaborating in large scale analyses. This collaboration needs to be organised and use a vocabulary that researchers can work with together. Finally, new types and availabilities of data call for qualitatively different techniques.

There have been an array of methods developed within the methodology of content analysis, utilised to analyse all sorts of data. While the distinction between qualitative and quantitative content analysis can be questioned (Krippendorff, 2004; Åsberg, 2001), the distinction has been used to denote alternative approaches such as discourse analysis, conversation analysis and rhetorical analysis based in different theoretical paradigms such as symbolic interaction, critical theories and feminist theory (Krippendorff, 2004). As some of the more recent methodological developments build on this distinction (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Cho & Lee, 2014), I have chosen to follow this distinction. Qualitative approaches share characteristics such as close reading of small amounts of material, re-articulation (interpretation) of texts into narratives for different theoretical traditions, and acknowledgement of cultural and social contingencies that influence and permeate the interpretations (Krippendorff, 2004; Cho & Lee, 2014).

In line with the above, content analysis can be said to fit well with a pragmatist approach with a contextual acknowledgement of interpretive readings (cf. Cherryholmes, 1999), rejection of methodological limitations (Rorty, 1982; Bernstein, 1983; Cherryholmes, 1988) and (radical) empiricism (James, 2003; Dewey, 1917). As a method of analysis, it follows an inductive logic and increasing complexity of categorisations (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004) through interpretative phases. The steps of analysis conducted within the scope of this thesis followed procedures described by Hsieh and Shannon (2005) as ‘conventional content analysis’ and utilised terminological clarifications and definitions by Graneheim and Lundman (2004).

The process of analysis was conducted in four steps or phases. First, a preparatory phase was initiated and an overview of the responding schools was conducted; statistical information regarding several variables was gathered and comparisons were made to the population as a whole. The responses ranged from a simple “no” to minor essays of several sentences; often the replies were relatively short, containing between one to four sentences. In several cases the responses stretched outside of the allocated box and were thus outside of the automated scanning device’s scope. Questionnaires that seemed to be missing text in the scanned file were collected from an archive (a locked safe), studied and either corrected or rescanned. The second phase included the initial analysis of the text. The responses were read and re-read to enable immersion in the data, and first impressions of the texts’ themes were sketched. Then each individual sheet, containing 3 to 4 scanned responses, was cut into smaller slips, and the responses were categorised into piles of ten overarching themes that emerged from the reading. Each pile was then re-read, and some slips were moved to different piles during that process of re-evaluation. Finally, each pile was re-read, and some categories and subcategories were abstracted.

Data reduction was conducted in a third phase of analysis, and a selection of five of the ten overarching themes was made for further, more in-depth analysis. The selection of the themes was made according to four criteria: a) they encompassed material of sufficient depth for further analysis, b) they regarded issues of similar levels and content, and c) there was the possibility of a logical, in-depth analysis in the light of prior research. In addition, and perhaps most importantly, the responses belonging to the remaining five themes were not responses to questions regarding the special education work at the schools but regarded other issues. All in all, the results reported represent approximately 36 per cent (250 schools) of the total population, or approximately 85 per cent of the received responses. During a rearrangement and re-interpretation, one of the chosen themes was split up and folded into categories within other themes because this was deemed more justifiable and in line with the content of the themes. Thus article IV reports four themes as results from the analysis. Further discussion regarding validity and reliability (trustworthiness) of the method and analyses are to be found in section 5.4.

5.2.3 Special Education Perspectives as Analytical Tools

Inspired by the work of Skrtic (1991a), as well as Nilholm (2005, 2006), Persson (1998), and Lindqvist (2013a), special education perspectives have

been used as ideal types for analytical purposes in articles I–IV. The perspectives themselves are described in more detail in section 3.1, the theoretical basis of using ideal types for analytical purposes is described in section 4.3, and ethical issues in section 5.3.2. It is thus in order to discuss how they have been applied within the scope of this thesis. Here, the special education perspectives have been defined as binary opposites of each other, stemming from different epistemologies, so to speak, regarding the definition of school problems, the explanation for school problems and, consequently, the organisation of work to eliminate or prevent such problems. The different special education perspectives can be seen as practical consequences of two paradigms: the deficit perspective the consequence of an older, already existing paradigm and the relational perspective the consequence of an emerging paradigm that is challenging the traditions and hegemonies of the deficit perspective.

Granted, the paradigm shift is not something that ‘has taken place’. Rather, it is an ongoing struggle in which different occupational groups and individuals within them seek the preferential rights of interpretation and jurisdiction (cf. Abbott, 1988; Lindqvist, 2013a; Skrtic, 1991a). As can be seen in the articles, and as prior research has shown (e.g. Lindqvist, 2013a; Giota & Emanuelsson, 2011), they both exist parallel to each other, and individual practitioners can express and describe practices and discourses belonging to both perspectives simultaneously, despite logical contradictions (Clark et al., 1995). They are not real and separate entities to be found naturally occurring in educational practice; rather, the perspectives are theoretical constructions used to understand how expressions and practices follow particular trends or discourses.

In the surveys the results of which are reported here, the perspectives were used both beforehand and post hoc. They were used beforehand when questions and response alternatives were formulated. Questions were constructed specifically to delineate what special education perspectives were prominent in, for instance, the explanation of school problems and the organisation of work. The response alternatives were distinguished in line with these perspectives. For example, question 15 in the independent school survey is phrased as follows: “What do you believe are the usual reasons for pupils being in need of special support?” The response alternatives such as “These pupils have individual deficiencies” are in line with a deficit perspective, and “The school is poorly adapted to handle diversity” is in line with a relational perspective. Fields for handwritten responses for other potential responses were provided as well. This approach and the alternatives are grounded in both prior research

and theoretical literature. Additionally, the formulation and phrasing of questions and alternatives were tested for statistical purposes and response patterns by Statistics Sweden and for practical and contextual purposes by four head teachers of independent schools before the posting of surveys. The post hoc use of the ideal types regards the interpretative work concerning responses, particularly handwritten responses to open-ended, free-text questions, as well as interpretations and definitions of patterns over several questions, such as when doing comparative analyses of responses to questions regarding explanations and organisational solutions.

5.3 Ethical Considerations

There are, of course, several ethical considerations to be discussed. These primarily revolve around the following key issues:

- 1) Ethical codes of research [The Swedish Science Council, 2011; ALLEA (2011)], which concern a) information about the research, b) the consent of the participants, c) the confidence and anonymity regarding the information given, and d) the use of the results as confined to the aim of the research and prohibited for commercial use or for interventions that may affect the individuals
- 2) Ethical aspects that lie outside the scope of the codex
- 3) The ethical consequences of methodological measures

To begin with 1) the ethical codes of research, the four demands can be said to have been dealt with in the following manner.

a) A letter explaining the objectives and the importance of the surveys, as well as information regarding how the results would be utilised and to what end, was attached to every survey. This letter also specified that participation was voluntary and that participants had every right to withdraw their participation at any time. Also included was contact information of the projects' leaders as well as contacts at Statistics Sweden.

b) Replying to the questionnaires demanded both time and motivation from the respondents. In addition, the questionnaires were to be put into a supplied envelope and posted back to Statistics Sweden. A high proportion of the populations responded to the questionnaires, and the internal nonresponse to the questionnaires was low. In light of the information given to the participants in

the above-mentioned letter, the return of answered questionnaires can be seen as provided consent from the responding participants.

c) This demand concerns the anonymity of the participants. Here, two different ways have been taken. As regards the independent school project the head teachers were the respondents, but they responded for their schools. In order to be able to contact the schools for the later parts of the projects (that included visits, observations and interviews), the principals supplied contact information in the questionnaires. Every case was given an identification number in the data material, and the information about each school was kept separately from the codes. The questionnaires were kept in a locked safe. As regards the SENCO/special teacher project, the respondents participated as private individuals. As a state authority, Statistics Sweden has access to registers over all individuals who have been examined from Swedish Universities. These registers were administered by Statistics Sweden and were not accessible at any time to the research team. As the questionnaires were handed in, Statistics Sweden coded the individual cases, scanned in the information and then destroyed the questionnaires. Thus the information was made completely anonymous to the research team as well as to outsiders and is not relatable to specific individuals. Legislation regarding personal integrity and handling of sensitive information was taken into account in the development of both projects (SFS 1998:204).

d) The demand for clarification of usage is twofold. First of all, it demands that the information gathered will not be used commercially, but only for the objectives for which the data was gathered. The primary aim of the data gathering was and is research, and the information will not be used for any other purpose. Second, it regards that the information will not be used in order to affect the individual. In the case of the SENCO/special teacher survey, the information has been made completely anonymous and thus unrelatable to particular individuals. In the case of the independent schools, the information is anonymous to external actors and is otherwise kept in a safe place in order to avoid it ending up in situations beyond the control of the research group.

5.3.1 Ethical Dimensions Outside of the Four Principles

There are ethical considerations that fall outside the scope of the four principles above. These can be said to be in line with good research conduct in general, but I wish to consider them as ethical challenges as well. I am primarily

considering two aspects: 1) the ethical consequences of representation and 2) ethical consequences that regard terminology.

With regard to the first challenge, the ethical consequences of representation, I am mainly concerned with *who* it is that responds to the surveys and thus gets to represent the individual schools that the inferences are drawn about in articles I, II and IV. The problem of who is responding is not a new one as regards survey studies (Neuman, 2003), and it is an interesting question when it comes to ethical consequences of knowledge claims (Skærbæk, 2012). In this case the issue is that generalisations are made regarding perspectives and practices at a school based upon the responses of the head teachers, who were responsible for responding to the questionnaires and who were asked to present “the school’s overarching view” in their responses. Usual concerns of validity, such as the concern that head teachers may be further removed from the practical reality at the school or issues regarding the “school leadership paradox”²⁷, can be taken into consideration and controlled for to a certain degree in the analysis by comparisons over several questions and to prior research. However, as different occupational groups tend to view and explain special education issues differently and advocate different measures (Nilholm et al., 2013; Skrtic, 1991a, 1995a), the very generalisation of the views expressed in the survey replies could be seen as problematic. Nevertheless, head teachers are legally responsible for the special educational support and are to have an overview of and administrative control over every single case of a pupil’s being defined as in need of special support. In light of how important head teachers are for special education and inclusive education (Heimdahl Mattson & Malmgren Hansen, 2009; McLeskey & Waldron, 2000), the choice seems justified as regards presenting the schools’ views.

The second concern regards terminology. Both in the articles and in this thesis the official term ‘pupils in need of special support’ has been shortened to the

²⁷ The school leadership paradox refers to research results showing that school leaders act as defenders of their schools when identifying possible explanations for school problems. They often choose factors outside the school, such that they cannot influence, and more seldom identify factors such as teaching, as contributing to school problems. This can be related to the fact that they work closely with their staff and are responsible for the work with special education (Nilholm et al., 2013; Lindqvist, 2013a). Additionally, market competition could be an influencing factor, as it is in the schools’ and the school leadership’s best interest to give a positive image of the schools’ work.

acronym 'PNSS' in several places. This measure originated from a simplification in the analysis process because short variable names were easier to handle when writing syntax. It was later used as a measure of increasing readability, as the term appears several times in the article texts. The ethical concern does not regard the term in its long form, but rather that a constellation of vulnerable pupil groups is denoted here with an acronym liable to objectify rather than acknowledge diversity and context. Let it be noted that the acronym had purely practical purposes and that the intentions were far removed from these potential consequences.

5.3.2 The Ethical Dimensions of Methodological Measures

Statistical weights

The statistical analyses were all done using statistical weights constructed to compensate for the nonresponse, which, though relatively low, still had to be controlled for to permit generalisations for the whole population. Statistical weights are a form of imputation and, as such, follow statistical theories. The weights were constructed by Statistics Sweden following a comparative analysis of demographic features of the responding schools and, in the case of special educators, the individual respondents. The details regarding the process of these calculations are contained in the technical reports that accompanied the data material shipped to the research group.

The ethical concerns of using such measures are primarily based upon scepticism towards theoretical assumptions behind the construction of weights in order to hinder effects of nonresponse. These theories are highly dependent upon the idea of normal distributions and 'natural variance' (Moore, McCabe, & Craig, 2009), thus assuming that a case with certain characteristics will resemble cases with similar characteristics. Although these statistical theories follow logic that is internally sound and, more importantly, although the rate of nonresponse was generally low in all demographic groups, there is still reason to note that our cases are complex social organisations that are by definition dynamic and variable entities. My purpose is therefore to show critical thinking towards the method of imputation, in particular to avoid unnecessary ecological fallacy (Connolly, 2006). To emphasize, this is considered proper method, recommended and implemented by consulting experts on large scale

and total population statistics. Additionally, the numbers and inferences regard total populations (i.e. true values) and not samples, which also makes the use of weights a more credible measure.

Ideal types

The use of ideal types can be ethically sensitive as regards generalisations over large groups of schools. In this case it concerns the potential interpretation of results that would indicate that certain types of independent schools would generally work from a relational perspective or a deficit perspective. This is important in relation to article I because in article I results are reported for the whole population and could be sensitive in a debate climate where independent schools and municipal schools are frequently discussed as opposites, encouraging the ecological fallacy of not acknowledging the diversity within the groups. This is also an issue in article II and to a certain extent in article IV, where different groups of independent schools are looked at. I have attempted to handle this by acknowledging and emphasising the variation within the groups and through transparency in how results are reported.

5.4 Validity, Reliability and Credibility

When it comes to issues regarding the validity of the results, there is reason to note that there are several aspects of validity to take into account. In the first part of this section I will focus on statistical validity and reliability. Here, validity revolves around the questions *Are we measuring what we intend to measure?* and *Are we drawing correct inferences from our results?* Relevant types of validity for this thesis are statistical conclusion validity; internal validity (that regards the exclusion of alternative explanations of covariance); conceptual validity (that regards whether or not operational definitions reflect the concepts); and external validity (regarding generalisation of results) (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002).

The validity of statistical conclusions regards the validity of the inferences made from the material and the occurrence of covariance between dependent and independent variables. This is usually controlled for with hypothesis testing, where type I and type II errors might occur. This is not really in question here, as the research that has been conducted and is presented regards descrip-

tions of total populations and thus does not conduct hypothesis testing. However, statistical assumptions behind different types of statistical tests always regard particular types of material. As most of the analyses conducted are descriptive statistical analyses, analyses that are not relevant to the material have been avoided. The internal validity regards the strength of covariance and the statistical significance of measured relationships. Efforts to address such issues regard both the size of effects as well as analyses of the statistical power (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). Again, this regards hypothesis testing rather than descriptions of populations. The populations being studied here are total populations, and not samples from populations; therefore the need for measurements of statistical significance are mostly irrelevant.

Other aspects of internal validity that are relevant to the types of analyses and populations we have been working with here regard attrition (Shadish, Cook & Campbell, 2002). The attrition in this material is twofold. Partly it is the occurrence of nonresponse. Certain groups are more likely to reply to the questionnaires than other groups. For instance, the occurrence of nonresponse among the independent schools was higher among i) smaller schools, ii) schools outside of the larger cities, iii) schools with higher proportions of pupils born outside of Sweden, and iv) schools whose pupils' parents had lower levels of education. To address this issue, statistical weights were constructed, and responding schools were given a factor of multiplication in order to reflect the whole population. However, there is also the question of internal attrition, i.e. the number of respondents that leave some or several of the questions unanswered. The rate of missing answers was analysed and accounted for in each of the questions. In some cases this led to further readings of particular questionnaires in order to see whether the missing responses were the result of actual omission by the respondents or whether it was related to problems with the scanning procedure, and several cases were revised following this process. The end result is that missing answers to questions rarely exceed ten per cent of the group supposed to respond to particular questions (some questions are only intended for certain portions of the groups). These are taken into account in the presentation of results. As for the issue of external validity, the analyses are done on a total population basis. That means that any results presented are either done on a total population basis, or, when certain groups are studied, they in turn are total populations of certain cases, for instance, a total population of SENCOs in independent schools or a total population of Waldorf schools, and as such the numbers are true values representing the whole group in question.

Finally, the conceptual validity is important. Can we be sure that the concepts being used are in fact reflective of the phenomenon we are attempting to acquire information about? Both terminology and phrasing of questions and concepts can alter respondents' interpretations as they answer the questions. This was addressed in various ways: First of all, the questionnaires were reviewed by people representing the population who could indicate problems with the terminology and phrasing, and Statistics Sweden was consulted regarding the construction of questions and alternatives; second, conceptual definitions were given in relation to the questions; and third, the results were compared to prior studies.

Regarding the reliability of the results, this concerns both congruence and precision. Questions regarding who the respondents are, whether they have the necessary information and whether the questions are properly constructed all affect whether or not the answers are reliable. The issue of the construction of the questions has been discussed above. Whether or not the respondents are in fact those we intend to answer is difficult to control for, especially when questionnaires are sent out to large groups of people, as in this case. The information required in the questionnaires is of such nature, on the other hand, that the likelihood of unintended people answering is low and thus unlikely to affect the results to any significant degree. This can also be controlled for when the data sheets are checked and as results are compared with the results of prior studies. Finally, whether or not the respondents have the information necessary has been attended to in three manners: i) by the study of internal attrition; ii) by adding open-ended questions for the respondents to clarify their answers; and iii) in the case of the independent schools, by encouraging the head teachers to receive assistance from colleagues with more specific knowledge regarding the area into which the questionnaire inquires. Regarding the head teachers as reliable respondents, I refer to the discussion in section 5.3.1 above.

The concepts of validity and reliability are usually associated with quantitative research methodologies. Article IV, however, primarily uses qualitative content analysis. Krippendorff (2004) approaches reliability and validity in line with quantitative traditions, suggesting stability, reproducibility and accuracy as types of reliability and several different approaches to empirical validity. While there are good reasons to consider Krippendorff's discussion, the conceptual approach somewhat contradicts the contextual and interpretative dimensions he is otherwise careful to emphasise. Graneheim and Lundman

(2004) suggest *trustworthiness* as more valuable for the qualitative method of content analysis, and they include credibility, dependability and transferability as interrelated concepts under that overarching concept. They are followed in that recommendation by both Hsieh and Shannon (2005) and Cho and Lee (2014).²⁸ *Credibility* deals with the confidence in how well data and processes of analysis address the focus of the study. This issue is primarily dealt with when searching for respondents potentially having the information one wants to obtain as well as methodological approaches. Both these issues have been discussed to some degree above. Another notion of credibility has to do with the selection of meaning units. This is perhaps more relevant given the nature of the data used in article IV. Transparency—illustrations of how the analytical process has been conducted, including condensation and abstractions of categories and themes—is the primary measure that has been followed in article IV to increase credibility (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Yet another issue to take into account as regards credibility concerns the risk of including irrelevant data and/or excluding relevant data. This also regards the similarities within categories and differences between them. I have attempted to maintain a transparent process of analysis and consultation with colleagues with examples of responses to avoid such pitfalls.

Dependability regards how data change over time and alterations of the researcher's decisions during the analytical process. An example from article IV is that, during a process of evaluation of categorisation, one of the overarching themes was split up and folded into different categories and subcategories. As the interpretative capacity of the researcher can be understood as growing with his or her familiarity with the material, I would argue that this is not necessarily a problem. Quite the contrary, a repeated re-reading and re-evaluation of categorisations is also a measure to increase dependability and credibility. Finally, *transferability* is a form of generalisation. Could the conclusions and inferences drawn here tell us something about other groups or contexts? To this I have three responses: First of all, again, as the material consists of handwritten responses, it represents only the responding population of independent schools. There are really no reasons to attempt to transfer the results to other schools, nor in fact to the total population of independent schools. Rather, in

²⁸ For other conceptual approaches to qualitative validity see for instance Larsson, 2005; Scott & Usher, 2011; and, Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006

a qualitative spirit, there are lessons to be learned from the answers, which reveal dilemmas and discourses that are interesting to take note of. Second, from a pragmatist perspective, the results tell us something about the responding group at the time of their response. Research is a snapshot of a presentation of something, and the results are therefore not transferable in any sense other than that stated above. Finally, transferability in this meaning denotes a sense of objective content to be revealed in similar situations. Of course, the categorisations made are tied to the interpreter of the information given. As such they cannot be removed from the text–researcher relationship. Transferability would assume, on the other hand, that similar categorisations could be made with answers from other contexts by the same—or different—researchers. That seems highly improbable and would, in my view, not be a token of dependability given the inductive nature proposed as central in the methodology.

6 Summaries of Studies I–IV

In the following chapter each of the studies that the thesis is based upon is summarised. A summary of the results from all four studies concludes the chapter, and a theoretical analysis of the results is conducted in the discussion in chapter 7. The articles are attached in full as appendices for further reading.

6.1 Article I: Challenging Traditions? Pupils in Need of Special Support in Swedish Independent Schools

6.1.1 Aim

The aim of this study is to provide a general analysis of the work with pupils in need of special support in Swedish independent compulsory schools. It is a contextually grounded, critical investigation of the consequences regarding special needs education and of the challenges to public education from the rise of independent schools in Sweden. The overarching research questions are: In what ways do independent schools challenge the Swedish tradition of special education? How does the notion of inclusive education relate to the practices of the independent schools? More specifically, the research questions are i) What is the percentage of PNSS in independent schools? ii) How are school problems explained? iii) What is the occurrence of pupils being refused admittance to independent schools? and iv) What forms of special educational support are provided?

6.1.2 Method

The study is based upon a total population survey study in which all independent compulsory schools in Sweden replied to a questionnaire (described in section 5.1.1). Responses are presented through a descriptive analysis of frequencies.

6.1.3 Results

The results indicate that the independent schools pose relatively few challenges to traditional manners of conceptualising special education, both in terms of organisation of support and in terms of how school problems are explained and understood. The proportion of PNSS is estimated to be lower than what prior studies have indicated within the municipal schools, but there are great differences within the population, as the proportion varies from 0 to 100 per cent. Clustering of PNSS is evident at particular schools, specifically schools that market themselves towards pupils in need of special support. These schools constitute 11 per cent of the independent school population. Diagnosis is deemed to be important in order to receive special support by approximately 70 per cent of the schools, and 44 per cent indicate that diagnosis ought to be important in order to receive special support. Just over 15 per cent of the schools have refused pupils admittance due to the municipalities' refusal to supply resources or because the problems would cause the school economic or organisational difficulties. Thirty-eight per cent of the schools claim that the resources they receive for special support are not equivalent to the resources municipal schools receive. Finally, no specific forms of support can be said to be typical for independent schools in general; rather, a variation of methods are used.

6.1.4 Conclusions

The conclusions of the article primarily regard the implications of the results in terms of special education perspectives and in terms of inclusion. The population of independent schools is acknowledged as very diverse. However, concerns are raised that because the independent schools as a whole have a lower proportion of PNSS than municipal schools whilst holding relatively traditional views and understandings of special education problems (the deficit perspective is very influential), this may indicate that school choice is not equally open to all pupils—particularly given the high proportion of schools that have had to refuse admittance to pupils and the clustering of PNSS at certain schools. Previous research indicates that pupils with parents with lower socio-economic backgrounds are overrepresented among PNSS. These groups of parents are less likely to choose schools, adding to the potential risk of further marginalisation of this group of pupils. In addition, independent schools are often established in areas of higher socio-economic status, potentially increasing further the segregation of the education system.

6.2 Article II: Similar Situations? Special Needs in Different Groups of Independent Schools

6.2.1 Aim

The aim of this article is to investigate differences in how different groups of independent compulsory schools in Sweden describe the work with and situations of pupils in need of special support. In focus are differences regarding the prevalence of pupils in need of special support, the occurrence of refusals of admittance, and the special education perspectives that can be discerned in the six following different groups of schools: i) schools with a pedagogical profile, ii) schools with a Waldorf orientation, iii) schools with a focus on special support, iv) confessional schools, v) schools that have particular subjects as a profile, and vi) schools with a general orientation but no particular profile. Combined, these mutually exclusive groups constitute the total population. Additionally, results are related to economic organisation of the ownership of the schools, i.e. whether they belong to companies publicly traded on the stock market and whether their owners own more than one school. The questions are as follows: (1) What are the differences regarding the prevalence of PNSS between the groups? (2) What is the occurrence of refusals of admittance? and (3) Are there differences in the special education perspectives that can be discerned in the different groups of schools? The special education perspectives are approached via questions about (3a) the importance of diagnosis, (3b) organisational solutions, and (3c) the explanation of school problems.

6.2.2 Method

The study is based upon a total population survey study in which the total population of independent compulsory schools replied to a questionnaire (described in section 5.1.1 above). Responses have primarily been analysed through a descriptive analysis of frequencies. The groups have been grouped into the relevant categories using indicators the schools themselves have verified, either directly in the relevant question or with responses to open-ended questions in the questionnaire. The group categories are based upon official categories given by the educational state authorities.

6.2.3 Results

Results further confirm the conclusions drawn in the previous article (Göransson et al., 2013) but also show differences in the population, as the groups differ in various important aspects. There is considerable variation in the proportions of PNSS at different types of schools. The highest mean proportion (aside schools specifically marketed towards PNSS) is at the Waldorf group, where the mean proportion is almost 21 per cent, whereas the lowest mean proportion (12 per cent) is among schools with a particular topic as a profile. The Waldorf schools also had the highest occurrence of refusals of admittance (40 per cent). The lowest occurrence of refusals, 11.2 per cent, was among the schools with a general orientation. Viewing this question in the light of economic organisation, it was less common for schools belonging to publicly traded companies than for schools with other economic organisations to have refused pupils admittance, and the occurrence was lowest among schools belonging to publicly traded companies with more than one school (9 per cent). The importance of diagnosis is high among all groups, ranging from almost 60 per cent among the confessional schools to 88 per cent among schools profiled towards special support. The results regarding the explanations of school problems and the organisation of support were used to assign the groups characteristics. If two thirds of the schools either chose or didn't choose a specific explanation or marked a specific method, this was designated as a characteristic of the particular group. What becomes evident is that most school groups use several different methods and explanations simultaneously but also that some of these are more common for certain groups than for others, even to the degree of being a characteristic of the group in question.

6.2.4 Conclusions

The conclusions are that there is a clustering of PNSS at certain types of schools. This can be seen by the proportion of PNSS at different schools, but different rates of refusals of admittance can also be indicators of this, as some schools are perhaps more popular choices for certain groups of pupils than for others. The deficit perspective is more apparent than the relational perspective in the responses from all groups, but the schools also use a variety of perspectives in their explanations of problems and organisation of support. On the other hand, the "school leadership paradox" could be influencing choices of explanations, as all the groups tend to explain problems as caused by factors outside the schools rather than by factors they can influence and that could

affect the schools' reputation. The fact that diagnosis is deemed important in order to receive support is problematic, not only because it defies what is stipulated in the legislation but also because it risks excluding pupils in need of support who are without a diagnosis from resources they are entitled to. Market rationality and competition can be influencing factors here. Implications for practice are seen as being on both the political and practical levels, but in both cases they revolve around discussions about the goals of education and a delineation of the perspectives that permeate it. These discussions regard democratic ideals and the aims of education. The dilemma of a clash between the ideals of choice and inclusion is discussed.

6.3 Article III: Different Approaches to Special Educational Support? Special Educators in Swedish Independent and Municipal Schools

6.3.1 Aim

The aim of this article is to contribute to the knowledge of special educational support in different organisations by exploring particular prerequisites of special educational support in independent schools and municipal schools. The prerequisites for special educational support that are in focus here are the occupational situations for special educators, i.e. special pedagogues (SENCOs) and special education teachers, the occupational groups traditionally associated with special educational support in Sweden. The occurrence of special educators and their occupational situations are studied as well as the specific values regarding identification and work with school problems/special education issues the special educators express. More specifically, the results presented regard i) the demography of the groups, ii) the experience within the occupation, iii) part-time or full-time employment, iv) the function of employment, v) the level (within the school system) of employment, vi) prior education, vii) the importance of diagnosis, and viii) explanations of school problems.

6.3.2 Method

The study utilises data gathered in a total population survey study of all special pedagogues and special teachers examined according to degree ordinances

from 2001, 2007 and 2008 via questionnaires (described in section 5.1.2 above). The respondents were split into two groups, those employed in independent schools and those employed in municipal schools, and comparisons were made between the responses from the groups. Results are presented in descriptive statistics.

6.3.3 Results

The results show that the groups are demographically quite similar; however, the special educators working in municipal schools more often have longer experience working within the occupation and hold full-time positions as special educators to a much higher degree (80 per cent compared to about 50 per cent in independent schools). On the other hand, the special educators working in independent schools more often hold other positions than do special educators in municipal schools; most significantly, 9 per cent of them hold positions as head teachers. There is a tendency to work on a different (higher) school level than what prior education would indicate in both municipal and independent schools. Although neither group indicates that diagnosis should be important in order to receive support, both groups claim diagnosis is demanded for the release of resources, and to a higher degree so in municipal schools. The explanations for school problems are generally in line with what would be termed a relative perspective within special education.

6.3.4 Conclusions

The conclusions are that it is apparent that independent schools and municipal schools utilise special educators in different manners. The independent schools do so to a much lower degree than municipal schools. Also, the independent schools that do employ special educators do so to a higher degree in part-time positions and other functions within the schools. This might indicate that the independent schools in question may approach organisation of special support in alternative ways to the traditional approach, where it is conducted as a parallel function to regular education. While other occupational groups within the school, such as teachers and head teachers, tend to view school problems in line with a deficit perspective, the special educators adhere more to a relative perspective. Thus when working within other functions of the schools, they may be able to influence the special education work in different and perhaps innovative ways. Given that these differences are likely to influence the everyday situation for pupils in need of special support, that they are

very different between different schools, and that they are probably not very apparent for parents and pupils who are about to choose schools, these are issues that need further investigation and research, particularly as school choice mechanisms have not been studied to a high degree in Sweden.

6.4 Article IV: Images of (Special) Education? Independent Schools Descriptions of their Special Educational Work

6.4.1 Aim

The purpose of this article is to explore what images of special educational support the independent compulsory schools emphasise when they are free to comment on their work with pupils in need of special support and how these images can be understood in terms of special educational traditions and innovations. The questions in focus are as follows: i) What images/issues can be delineated in the responses? ii) How can these images be understood in the light of different special education perspectives and inclusion? iii) Do different types of schools respond differently? and iv) How do these results respond to the ideas of variation and innovation in the provision of (special) education?

6.4.2 Method

The data gathering was done through a total population questionnaire of Swedish independent schools, described in section 5.1.1. The empirical material consisted of handwritten replies to the open-ended question *Is there anything special you would like to add regarding your work with pupils in need of special support?* and the directly following *Other comments?* Approximately 45 per cent of the schools replied to either or both of the questions, and the replies ranged from single words to minor essays stretching between and outside the box-fields assigned for the replies. The analysis of the data utilised qualitative content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004) in which replies were read and re-read, and themes and categories were abstracted through detailed categorisation of the replies (further described in section 5.2.2). Initially ten themes emerged, of which five were chosen for further analysis. One of those themes was subsequently folded into the other four themes, thus reducing the themes presented to four. Some statistical analyses

were carried out on the material as well, primarily to see how the responding population compared to the total population and to see how the themes were distributed among the different groups of schools.

6.4.3 Results

The results show that the responses revolved around four main themes, labelled as follows: *Our school...* included descriptions of the school, the school's profile, organisation, staff, pupils and/or parents. The theme *resources* revolved around the systems of resource allocation, specific problems regarding these systems, and consequences of resource issues. The third theme, *how to succeed*, contained replies that were formulated as suggestions or descriptions of things that would improve matters or were considered good practice. It contained categories such as competence, pedagogy, milieu (environment), inclusion and cooperation. The last theme, *areas for improvement*, regarded issues that were formulated in terms of what would have to be improved for the work with special education to work better.

The statistical analyses showed some over- and underrepresentation of school types in the responding population; for instance, schools with a general orientation were very overrepresented among the respondents compared to the total population, whereas schools with specific subjects were underrepresented to a corresponding degree. It also turned out that the different groups were both over- and underrepresented within the themes and that the themes occurred to a different degree in the groups' replies. To name one very interesting example, half of the replying Waldorf schools discussed resource allocation, and they were very overrepresented as a group within the theme. This is interesting in the light of results from article II, which show that Waldorf schools have a relatively high number of pupils in need of special support and a very high prevalence of refusals of admittance because of resource issues.

The results can be seen as confirming some suspicions that arose in the prior articles. First of all, the replies are generally not visionary as regards images of special education but are rather descriptions of practices, situations and problems. In many cases the responses are more of a 'marketing' of the schools' qualities, and their prerequisites for competition, than substantial or innovative issues regarding special support. It is also clear that the independent schools have very different issues to deal with and are a varied field, dif-

difficult to encompass in generalisations or to clearly categorise into either a traditional deficit perspective or a more 'innovative' relational perspective. For instance, responses about school size and competence often approach education from a professional bureaucratic rationality, with specific competence for specific problems, and view group size as positive/negative in terms of tending to pupil deficiencies—or making them visible. On the other hand, school size was also mentioned in relation to professional collaboration and pupil participation and adaptation to individual needs. The schools' descriptions of their work, organisations and demographics mirror current discourses of what is and is not positive for a school to be/have or which groups they serve. Pupils and parents are seen as problematic for a variety of reasons in several responses.

6.4.4 Conclusions

Several of the dilemmas that are raised are directly dependent upon problems inherent in the system of financing education, which can be seen as an example of the independent schools' dependence on the infrastructure of Swedish public education. Without denying the issue of lack of resources as problematic, it can also be argued that the replies that connect the lack of resources from the municipality to the problems schools face are examples of traditional thinking around special education. There are serious consequences, however, as a few responses discuss how the resource issues may threaten the free choice principle for pupils in need of special support. Setting this in relation to schools that market themselves towards PNSS, there is also a clear threat to ambitions for an inclusive education system. The flip side is that, although the Swedish education system is generally viewed as inclusive and tending to individual needs, there are clear indications that the inclusiveness of the education system is becoming more "choice limited" as choice mechanisms contribute to social segregation and clustering of PNSS at specific schools (Norwich, 2000).

The view that municipal schools are "traditional schools" and independent schools are challengers to them is questioned in the article. The municipal schools become the bearers of an image of a traditional school in public discourse, and a binary is created of 'the old and not good' schools as opposed to the 'new and innovative'—but struggling to survive—-independent schools. This notion of innovative practices, on the other hand, might be seen as one of the methods originating in a traditional perspective, i.e. to be innovated

from there. The competition between schools seems to develop a mistrust and scepticism, quite visible in some of the replies regarding resources, creating and emphasising competition rather than collaboration between schools and/or principal organisers. This can be viewed in light of prior research that questions market mechanisms as increasing innovation within education (cf. Lubienski, 2009). The final conclusions of the article are that further large-scale research is needed, in particular such that studies schools and practice rather than abstract variables on a system level.

6.5 General Summary of the Results

The results from the four articles can be summarized briefly as follows. On a population level the independent schools have lower proportions of pupils in need of special support than the proportions indicated for municipal schools by prior research. This is in line with prior research both internationally and in Sweden. However, there is great variation between different schools within the field, with proportions of PNSS ranging from 0 to 100 per cent. There are also several indicators of clustering of PNSS in specific types of schools. For instance, Waldorf schools and confessional schools have higher proportions than other types of schools, whereas schools with specific school subjects as profiles have the lowest. These proportions are relatable not only to profiles but also to ownership, with publicly traded companies owning more than one school having the lowest proportion of all groups. In addition, almost 11 per cent of the independent schools are schools that have special support as a profile, almost exclusively enrolling pupils in need of special support and thus having up to all of their pupils defined as PNSS. The number of these schools has increased since this questionnaire was conducted (SNAE, 2014c). Here ownership structures also play a role; for instance, almost all Waldorf and confessional schools are run as economic organizations other than publicly traded companies, whereas 80 per cent of the special support schools are owned by publicly traded companies.

A high number of schools (38 per cent) deem that the resources they receive for special support are not equivalent to the resources municipal schools receive for special support, and 15 per cent of the schools had denied pupils admittance with reference to resource issues. This number also differs greatly between different types of schools and can be seen in relation to the propor-

tions of PNSS at the schools—Waldorf and confessional schools, again, having the highest incidence of refusals and stock market companies with more than one school having the lowest incidence. These results indicate that school choice as a democratic principle is limited with regard to certain pupil groups, in this case pupils in need of special support. This limitation is clearly related to issues regarding economic resources.

On the system level independent schools employ special educators to a much lower degree than municipal schools do. These results are in line with both official statistics and prior research. However, what was not previously known is that the special educators employed at independent schools more often had shorter work experience, worked part-time to a much higher degree, and were employed in other positions in the schools (as head teachers, for example) to a higher degree. Otherwise the populations of special educators were almost identical demographically. It is clear, in other words, that the independent schools utilise special educators differently. Special educators are an expensive resource, and that might be a contributing factor to the lower proportions and the lower degree of full-time work in independent schools. However, it is also possible that the independent schools that do employ special educators and then utilize them in other positions as well might be approaching special support in an alternative manner, in particular where the special educator is also an educational leader.

The deficit perspective is alive and kicking. The results show that traditional explanations of the need for special support are the most commonly chosen in all groups of schools, with minor variations. The same conclusion can be drawn as regards the organisation of the provision of special support; traditional segregated methods are common in all groups of schools, although in varying proportions. However, there are also plenty of examples of alternative methods, approaches and explanations that can be seen as belonging to a more relative perspective. The fourth article further contributes to this image, where several different images of the schools are portrayed, both in line with a deficit perspective and a relational perspective. However, the replies analysed were generally more descriptive than visionary. There was also unexpected variation as regards the themes. For example, half of the Waldorf schools discussed resources, and they were over two times overrepresented within the theme compared to their proportion of the responding schools. The schools most inclined to describe their work in positive terms or to give examples of good practice were the schools with a general orientation.

These results show that schools use a variety of approaches in the organisation of support, but the results do not support a notion of the independent schools contributing alternative and innovative thinking as regards the provision of special support. This is in line with prior research regarding innovation in education in general (Lubienski, 2009) and with more recent research as regards special education in Sweden (Giota & Emanuelsson, 2011). The results contradict earlier results in Sweden, where the independent schools were generally more pleased with their special educational support and the resources they receive for special support and where they were described in terms that can be seen as innovative and, to a degree, more inclusive (SNAE, 2003). However, as pointed out above, the earlier research was conducted in the Swedish education system in the years prior to the explosive growth in number of independent schools and, more importantly, prior to the exponential growth of principal organisers that organise their ownership as publicly traded companies. In other words, those conclusions were drawn from research of a significantly different school population.

Further theoretical analysis of these results is to be found in the following chapter.

Part IV

Theoretical Interpretation and Discussion of the Results

7 Discussion

In the following pages, I will discuss the results from the empirical studies in this thesis in the light of the theoretical framework and in relation to prior research. This theoretical discussion will be the basis of an ensuing theoretical discussion about special and inclusive education in the light of the new paradigm of education. Following this, implications for policy, practice and further research are discussed. Finally, some limitations of the study and the theoretical framework are discussed.

As discussed in the first chapter, the thesis has two overarching aims. The first is to generate further knowledge about the Swedish independent schools, specifically regarding organisation and provision of special support and how this relates to special educational traditions and inclusive education. The second overarching aim of the thesis is to further develop the discussions initiated in the articles about how special education and inclusive education can be understood in the light of the education reforms that introduced the independent schools.

Departing from Skrtic's theoretical framework, and as elaborated in more detail in section 4.4 above, the independent schools can be seen as a) potential challengers of traditional (special) educational organisation, developing more innovative and even inclusive measures. On the other hand—possibly stifling this type of challenge—they may also be b) likely to adhere to professional bureaucracy and thus only reproduce, if not emphasise, special educational traditions.

7.1 Recapitulation of the Theoretical Framework

The subject matter of the thesis is broad and encompassing. It is also highly political, and debates about both special education and school choice tend to be politically fuelled. I have therefore attempted to contextualise the thesis firmly in prior research and a clearly outlined historical perspective and to be

transparent regarding the central definitions of the concepts in question. This has required the construction of a relatively complex theoretical framework that is summarised below.

The theoretical framework of the thesis encompasses a contextualisation including

1. A historical approach to the explanation of the Swedish school choice reforms and the marketization of education in both an international and a national perspective, including an account of prior research (chapter 2)
2. A theoretical and historical navigation and explanation of the differences between and developments within special education and inclusive education and related terms, including an account of prior research (chapter 3)

More important for this chapter, the framework contains a battery of theoretical concepts for analysis and interpretation of the empirical results from articles I–IV. These can be summarised as

3. A critical pragmatist approach utilising Skrtic’s work regarding
 - a. Organisational changes as paradigm shifts
 - b. Schools as bureaucracies
 - c. Special education as an artefact of general education
 - d. Adhocracy as a suggestion for an alternative approach to respond to diversity
4. Supplementary theoretical tools in the form of
 - a. A dilemma perspective and a dialectical approach to organisations and practices within them (Clark et al., 1998; Clark et al., 1995)
 - b. A view of policy as the result of a series of compromises and interpretations, including inherently contradicting objectives to be *enacted* rather than *implemented* in practice (Ball, 1993; Ball et al., 2012)

In the section immediately following this, the empirical results will first be discussed and explained with the help of Skrtic’s theories and the supplementary theoretical perspectives. Thereafter conclusions are drawn, and the implications of the thesis are discussed.

7.2 A Theoretical Discussion of the Results

To summarise,

- Although the independent schools were seen as potential innovators of education and as more client oriented, they have not constituted a general challenge towards special educational traditions on the system level. There are examples of variations both between and within different types of schools and between individual independent schools, however.
- Educational discourses/paradigms do not exist independently from each other. They exist in parallel and in relation to each other. Special educational perspectives—and practices—are a case in point, as is the tension between the emphasis on education as a social project, with diversity and inclusion as general goals, and the individualist market paradigm, with choice as a democratic principle.
- The paradigm shift from traditional special educational provision to the inclusive education paradigm has not (in line with Skrtic) denounced the professional bureaucracy.
- Following Skrtic, educational reforms focused on ‘the machine’. The professional bureaucracy was accepted and utilised—even emphasised—hence the problems were only reproduced. Additionally, the education reforms of the nineties did not denounce the founding principles of special education but rather emphasised them via a shift in focus from equity to excellence.
- There are several indicators that the choice model of education in Sweden contributes to a segregating system, grouping pupils according to different social categories, including diagnosis—i.e. that it ushers in a new era of special schools that pupils and families choose to go to. This brings to mind Persson’s warning from 2000 concerning organised segregation as a consequence of market-oriented segregation and Norwich’s (2000) writing about “choice limited inclusion”.

Why haven’t the independent schools offered more of a challenge regarding special education? One reason, following Skrtic, is that the education reforms introducing the independent schools were only focused upon the machine bureaucracy and accepted professional bureaucracy (1991a, 1995c). Hence, professional authority, expert allocation of roles and organisational measures

based on the pigeonholing of pupils continue to rule education. Viewing education as an organisation with two distinct bureaucratic rationalities would emphasise the decoupling of the machine bureaucracy and the professional bureaucracy. The independent school reforms most certainly included a dramatic alteration of the conceptualisation of public education, shifting the focus in several respects: from a public good to a private good, from a focus on social cohesion and educational content of equal worth to a focus on individual attainment and economic efficiency, and from equity to excellence (Skrtic, 1991b). The hopes that the independent schools and the competition for pupils would generally lead to more innovative organisation, higher educational attainment, and economic efficiency all assumed that alterations in legislation and policy (including shifts in power relationships and responsibilities) would lead to alterations in practice. However, the professional bureaucracy has maintained its power because the reforms did not entail a general questioning of professional hierarchies or jurisdiction. Also, there was no questioning of the four founding principles of special education within these reforms.

- 1) Student disability (due to which school problems emerge) is a pathological condition.
- 2) Differential diagnosis is objective and useful.
- 3) Special education is a rationally conceived and coordinated system of services that benefits diagnosed students.
- 4) Progress in special education is a rational-technical process of incremental improvement in conventional diagnostic and instructional practices.
(Skrtic, 1995c, p.211)

Similar explanation can be aimed at what has happened to inclusion. Clearly, the lack of a particular definition of inclusion creates both confusion and opportunity. In one sense, the confusion makes it easier for special education to stand out as a well tried methodology: when insecure about what to do, do what you always do. On the other hand, the opportunity gives schools and head teachers the chance to define their own versions of inclusion and still be in line with the policy intentions (Göransson et al., 2011). For example, a school might focus on placement (local integration) under the notion of education for all but still apply special education as a remedy to the pupil, who is seen as the problem. Persson (2000) speaks, for instance, of forced integration, where the child is placed in his/her regular class, without any additional resources, and then blamed for increased deterioration of educational attainment in the class. Such a placement along with the removal of resources are excellent means of reducing costs in a system constantly beset by cutbacks and

efficiency demands. Following that notion, another explanation (in line with Apple, 1997, 2004; Popkewitz, 1998a, 2008; Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004) would see the market ideologies as a potential explanation for the independent schools' failure to offer more of a challenge in terms of inclusion. Capitalist venture emphasises efficiency in terms of low costs and high output, typical for the machine bureaucracy. The market is therefore more likely to push schools towards more conformity and specialisation, as such measures are more economically efficient. The measures proposed by Skrtic for inclusive education can be considered unpredictable and experimental and likely to fail every once in a while. Pigeonholing, even on an organisational level (i.e. by profiling schools towards specific pupil groups), is more predictable and can be claimed to rest on prior knowledge about good practice. Market models of education also emphasise excellence, attainment and accountability to a high degree (Apple, 2006; Ball & Youdell, 2008; Labaree, 2010). Differentiation and ability grouping, gathering of specialised resources, and categorisation (including consequential pathologisation or even exoticisation) of human diversity are therefore not only not problems within such a perspective but can even be seen as legitimate and desirable—even necessary—tools.

Skrtic suggested the adhocracy as a model that would alter and break down professional hierarchies and thus allow for alternative, innovative and more client-focused approaches, including trial and error processes. Market models of educational organisation are, however, driven by standardisation and efficiency. Additionally, from the perspective of the state, when schools are given autonomy as regards the organisation and process of educational provision, it becomes necessary to control the results of the education via various accountability measures, further emphasising standards and bureaucratic organisation. So even though the independent schools were seen as receiving greater autonomy and even though they were argued for as a means of increasing educational diversity, innovation and client-focused approaches (similar to elements of the adhocracy), they are also embedded in structures and processes that they are both dependent upon (e.g. fiscal resources) and have little influence over. This, combined with the necessity of setting up an organisation for the provision of special support, which is most effectively accomplished in line with the traditions of professional bureaucracy, would seem to make the creation of adhoc models of education highly unlikely. That is not to claim, of course, that the adhocracy would (or should) be a desirable solution altogether for school organisation.

The supplemental theoretical tools that were suggested in section 4.5.1 above, mainly revolve around three things. Primarily, there is a different and more central view of organisations than what is emphasised by Skrtic, including a dilemma perspective on practices and organisations (Clark et al., 1998; Dyson and Millward, 2000). This overarching view allows for an analytical approach (referred to above as a dialectic approach) that emphasises notions of complexity, history and power in analysis (Clark et al., 1998; Clark et al., 1995). Such emphasis calls for elaboration of the role of policy both as historically situated and as a complex and often self-contradictory tool of power and for elaboration of the dilemmas practitioners (and organisations) face when enacting (rather than implementing) them (Ball, 1993; Ball et al., 2012). These tools can help explain diversity within the field and the concurrent existence of contradicting paradigms/rationalities, which Skrtic's tools tend to miss. Setting this in analytical action with the discussion above has important consequences.

First of all, viewing organisations as processes that include collections of practices influenced by forces both within and outside them, rather than as stable and given entities, allows for a more nuanced understanding of contradictory results. Taking policy as a case in point, Swedish education policies are far from clear in their expression of inclusive goals for education. Policies are products of several compromises and express contradicting objectives (Ball, 1993); in this case, policy emphasises school autonomy and diversity while also maintaining an overwhelming threat of fines and even closure for schools that fail to meet legal requirements. They emphasise choice as a democratic principle, an individualised perspective on the goals of learning and a focus on excellence and attainment (even in the definition of the need of special support), and they simultaneously stress the importance of common goals, social cohesion and standardised testing as measures of school success. As schools and practitioners are to enact these policies (Ball et al., 2012), they must handle these dilemmas, either by temporarily resolving them or by simply choosing a side (Clark et al., 1998). This can help explain the occurrence of concurrent contradicting discourses in our results: for instance, that schools use several different organisational solutions bearing both deficit and relational perspectives. The same holds for the varying explanations of the need for special support. The need for diagnosis as a necessary tool for obtaining allocation of economic resources is another indicator of how school practices can be forced into the categorisation of pupils and their need for support.

Along the lines of Skrtic's argument, one would explain these dilemmas as due to the insufficient questioning of bureaucratic rationalities of school organisations and to the fact that the paradigm shifts in question have not been fully implemented. The supplemental theoretical tools, however, help us understand the complexity of school organisations. School organisations are not of an 'either-or character'; rather, they encompass different rationalities (or paradigms) simultaneously, partly because of internal hierarchies and power structures but also because of external influences, such as contradicting political objectives expressed in both policy and organisational structures outside of the schools' control. Following this, the polarisation between municipal and independent schools not only seems a blunt instrument, but also directly misleading. The variation within each group is likely to be much greater than between them, and is arguably more complex and affected by more factors than the type of the principal organizer, although that certainly is also important to take into account. I wish to also emphasise that far from all independent schools can be seen as accepting of the hegemonic market paradigm. Several independent schools have been started, for instance, in order to keep schools in areas where the municipal schools were closed; several schools have been started with different educational and pedagogical ideals as their main objective; and there are several examples of independent schools working in line with more inclusive values and practices (c.f. Göransson et al., 2011; Gustafsson & Hjärne, forthcoming).

Additionally, the hegemonic market paradigm within the organisation of Swedish education (Lundahl et al., 2013), with its focus on efficiency, attainment and excellence, accentuates goals other than those emphasised by inclusive education and contributes to a revival of traditional special education as means to achieve those goals within the economic and bureaucratic organisational structure of education. Aside from contributing to an increased use of segregated provision of special education, the consequences can be reduced inclusion on the societal level when clustering of pupils in need of special support at particular schools increases. Another problem from a democratic perspective arises when schools refuse to enrol pupils in need of special support with reference to organisational and/or economic problems. This risks contributing to a centralisation of special education resources at particular schools, further contributing to a lack of choices for these pupils, as schools may come to the conclusion that they cannot or need not accommodate such pupils because there are other schools specialised to do so.

7.3 Theoretical Conclusions

The relationship between education and democracy is a delicate one; education is defined as a human right and is assigned great value in international and national policies and legislation. Democracy can thus be seen as a question not only *for* education but also *of* education. Education is expected not only to educate future citizens about democracy and to prepare them for future participation. It is also expected to form democratic subjects who will be able to partake in it and who need to exercise democracy currently (Biesta, 2003). As the quote from Apple (1997) on page 1 states, the organisation of education is always political, always dependent on ideas and theories about the purpose of education and about who is to gain access to it. A democratic problem therefore arises when groups of people are excluded from the possibility of influencing decision making about their lives and when certain groups of people are categorised based on potentially arbitrary assumptions and excluded from social and educational contexts that are supposedly of great importance for their future. Education reforms and restructuring of the organisation of education are acts of governance (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004b; Daun, 2007a); they redefine the power structures and practices of education. As such, they are also highly political, grounded in ideas of how to make education better and fixing the problems associated with it as it is. However, as education is reorganised and structures are created to practically implement changes, new dilemmas rise to the surface. Some of these we recognise from earlier parallel systems of education, those based on gender, class or race, for instance. The dilemmas in focus here regard the children understood, for a variety of reasons, as problematic within public education, i.e. pupils in need of special support.

We can view both of the paradigm shifts described in chapters 2 and 3 as attempts of reorganisation that were supposed to make education better and more democratic. The logical relationship between the two ‘new’ paradigms can be seen as dependent upon societal discourse and a questioning of social engineering connected with the welfare state. On the one hand, it regards the organisation—and output—of education; on the other, it regards the organisation of—and access to—education. This potential relationship is not in focus, however, for this discussion. Rather, it is the intersection of ideologies, the clash of democratic conceptions.

In the case of the market rationality and the introduction of school choice, the arguments from choice proponents primarily emphasise the democratic aspects of giving the power to ‘the clients’ and thus forcing bureaucratic organisations to become better. The improvements were to be in terms of both economic efficiency and educational innovations that would match the clients’ needs. These choice reforms are heavily influenced by economic theory, human capital theory and ideas of constant progress, and the individual is viewed in the light of these ideas as a rational actor making decisions for his or her own good, and in a larger perspective, this group of rational actors, each making decisions for his or her own good, is assumed to make things better for everyone. Whether or not one agrees with the premises or the means, this must be seen as an approach to shaping democratic society, an approach with its point of departure in an individualised political perspective, demanding the market as a means for free development.

The other paradigm shift regards a new understanding of the dilemma of special education, i.e. the function of special education as potentially oppressive and arbitrary in its organisation and foci, and it attempts to address this. A new approach is the relational perspective, related to inclusive education. This approach questions the categorisation and pathologisation of human diversity as arbitrary, and it questions the bureaucratic power (of special education) as founded in fallacies and demands, in line with proponents of choice. It favours an individualised approach to education, innovative methodologies, and participation in decision-making for those affected by the decisions made. This is also an approach to shaping a democratic society, one that stems, however, from collective politics, where plurality and diversity are necessary elements.

While one can be critical of either one or both poles in a debate, the important thing here is to try to understand the rationality behind the changes proposed, particularly when attempting to understand the consequences of the alterations made, as would be in line with a (critical) pragmatist project. So what happens when ideals of school choice, as a means for innovative approaches of education, encounter new ideals of how to approach special support within education?

The results above, in relation with results from prior research, are further indicators that the marketization of Swedish education is contributing to segregating processes. In this case the results regard pupils in need of special support. As mentioned earlier, this is not a group isolated from other social groups; rather, several other disenfranchised social groups are overrepresented

within that broader concept, and it can thus also be seen as an intersection of different social groups, some of which are the most deprived in society and also less likely to exercise school choice. This segregating influence of the market can be seen operating on at least two levels. Partly it regards an increase in segregating organisational provision of support and a revival of special schools as marketing strategies. Another influence regards the potential limitation of this group's ability to practice school choice because they risk being denied enrolment with reference to resource and organisational reasons or because other schools are becoming more or less specialised to accommodate pupils with particular needs.

As regards the prior dimension, the consequences can be seen as dire for inclusion on a system level as well as on the school level. A deficit perspective and categorical thinking about human diversity are still common, and incentives for such thinking are built into the system of resource allocation. Traditional special education can then be seen as undergoing a revival, including a revival of special schools, partly as a consequence of the market reforms that emphasise attainment, individual choice and efficiency as well as standards and accountability via bureaucratic structures. As regards the second dimension, it must be seen as deeply problematic from a democratic perspective when certain social groups are not only less likely to exercise school choice but are also being diverted from it to a degree. Surely, if choice is a democratic principle, it is to be so for everyone—or can it be acceptable that some schools are not for everyone?

What are the implications of this for a theoretical understanding of special and inclusive education and the relationship there between? The differences between special and inclusive education have been described previously as belonging to different paradigms viewing human diversity and the ethical implications of the interventions used to accommodate diversity within education differently. However, it has also been emphasised that both special and inclusive education can be seen as existing on continuums on which several positions are available and on which some of the positions of one continuum approach positions within the other continuum. The results here indicate that discourses from both paradigms, or rather continuums, exist simultaneously: the schools both reason about the need for support and use measures in terms that can be seen as more or less traditional and/or more or less inclusive. That can be seen as the expression of an enactment of self-contradicting policies (Ball et al., 2012) in which practitioners try to resolve dilemmas that arise in

complex social environments (Clark et al., 1998). It can also be seen as the expression of an ongoing struggle between different paradigms rather than as paradigm shifts that have already happened. It could also be considered evidence that traditional social democratic objectives of education are still influential in the otherwise very marketized Swedish education system (Lundahl et al., 2013). Either way, a view of inclusion and special education as completely separate and incommensurable is not very descriptive of practical work in the independent schools.

7.4 Implications

The contribution of this thesis is twofold: empirical and theoretical. As the first comprehensive mapping of issues regarding the provision of special support in the total population of Swedish independent compulsory schools, it constitutes an important empirical contribution to the discussion and knowledge base as regards the independent schools and the consequences of the marketization of Swedish education. In an international perspective it can be seen as an encompassing case study of an important part of a national compulsory education system. In particular, education systems seeking inspiration from the Swedish model can learn several lessons from this research.

As regards the theoretical contribution, the thesis shows that Skrtic's theoretical work is useful for interpretation of encompassing empirical results on the system and school levels. In both cases Skrtic's theoretical constructs have proven to be helpful devices for explaining and clarifying several aspects that surface in data. Additionally, I have attempted in the preceding section to outline an empirically based theoretical contribution to the understanding of special and inclusive education in the light of market reforms of education, along the lines of the discussion initiated in the articles.

The implications of the thesis regard several levels. Although I do not believe policy can become sufficiently clear and prescriptive as regards practice (I am doubtful as to whether policy should become too prescriptive), the results of the thesis indicate a need for discussions regarding the political objectives of school choice within a market of education and the consequences thereof for various pupil groups: increased segregation on both social and school levels. At the very least, the political establishment needs to express the will and the

intention to emphasise and clarify inclusive values to some degree in the primary policy documents and legislation.

The thesis can hardly be seen as a prescriptive contribution as regards practice. However, it can be seen as a contribution to professional discourse about the values that govern practices and local school organisation and the consequences of those values for the pupils. There is no reason to assume that professional educators are doing anything other than what they assume is the best they can do for their pupils in complex organisational situations. On the other hand, viewing the aggregated consequences of school level practices on a system level can be a harsh wake-up call. I do not wish for the thesis to be seen as condemnation or praise of either independent schools or municipal schools as better or worse in terms of inclusion of special educational provision. Rather, I hope that it can be seen as a contribution to a more nuanced understanding of how the market model of education affects practices and experiences of and in education.

As regards the implications of these results for future research, they certainly indicate a need for further research of choice mechanisms in the Swedish education system. This regards both families of pupils in need of special support and other social groups. Further large scale studies of inclusive education and special education are also needed. So far most studies of these topics are either large scale and de-contextualised or highly contextualised and of very small scale. A middle ground is needed, with studies gathering contextualised (quantitative and qualitative) data on a large scale. Finally, further comparative analyses of educational policy as regards special support and education reform seem to be in order. While there have been a few studies comparing two countries or, for instance, the Nordic countries, the scope of those studies has often regarded either special support or reforms.

Swedish Summary

8 Sammanfattning

8.1 Inledning och syfte

Denna sammanläggningsavhandling presenterar resultat från fyra delstudier om specialpedagogiska frågor i de fristående grundskolorna i Sverige. De fristående skolorna är ett kontroversiellt ämne i den svenska skoldebatten. Rapporter publiceras flitigt från både förespråkare och motståndare till skolvalet (t.ex. SNS, 2015; Suhonen, Svensson & Wingborg, 2015; Boye, 2012; Sahlgren, 2010), forskningsresultat om skolvalets och de fristående skolornas påverkan varierar i hög grad och forskare från olika forskningsområden drar väldigt olika slutsatser (SNAE, 2009; Kallstenius, 2010). Stor del av den forskning som bedrivits är dock avlägsen från den vardagliga skolkontexten, då den fokuserar på statistiska samband mellan abstrakta variabler i stora dataregister, snarare än erfarenheter och formuleringar som uppstår i den verksamhet som närmast berör både lärare och elever.

Det fria skolvalet och de fristående skolorna har brett politiskt stöd (SOU 2013:56) och eftersom andelen elever som går i fristående skolor på både grundskolenivå och gymnasienivå ökar år för år (SNAE, 2013a; 2014d) kan det även anses ha relativt brett stöd bland allmänheten. De fristående skolornas och skolvalets existens verkar därför varken vara ifrågasatt från politiskt håll eller från allmänheten, även om det finns markant opposition från till exempel Vänsterpartiet och ett antal andra samhällsaktörer. Om, såsom friskolekommittén formulerade det, ”Friskolorna har kommit för att stanna” (SOU 2013:56, s.15), finns det all anledning att diskutera hur systemet kan förbättras. En sådan diskussion måste då självklart ta sats i gedigen kunskap om hur situationen ser ut, och kritisk granskning av resultat från flera olika forskningsområden.

Det finns en hel del forskning om de fristående skolorna i allmänhet, framför allt har det genererats stort kunskapsunderlag i form av olika effektstudier, inte minst med fokus på segregation och likvärdighetsproblematik. Däremot har forskning om specialpedagogiska frågeställningar varit relativt begränsad,

särskilt forskning på större skala (se dock Giota & Emanuelsson, 2011; Lundahl et al., 2013, 2014; Ramberg, 2015).

Denna avhandling har två övergripande syften. För det första, att generera kunskaper om de fristående grundskolorna i Sverige, mer specifikt om organisationen och tillhandahållande av särskilt stöd och hur detta kan förstås i ljuset av specialpedagogiska traditioner och inkludering. Arbetet för att uppnå detta syfte genomförs primärt i de empiriska artiklarna (I-IV) som avhandlingens kappa omfattar. Det andra övergripande syftet är att utveckla den teoretiska diskussionen som initierades i artiklarna, om hur specialpedagogik och inkludering kan förstås i ljuset av de utbildningsreformer som presenterade skolval och fristående skolor i Sverige. En kritisk teoretisk analys och kontextualisering av de empiriska resultaten från artiklarna genomförs för att förklara och beskriva konsekvenserna av det nya (marknads) paradigmet inom svensk utbildning. Avhandlingen har därför ett par kapitel som placerar de svenska fristående skolorna som fenomen i internationella diskurser och historisk kontext, både vad gäller utbildningsorganisation och specialpedagogikens utveckling samt framväxten av inkludering som ideal för utbildning. Det analytiska verktyget, dvs. det teoretiska ramverket som beskrivs mer detaljerat nedan, är i första hand baserat på Thomas M. Skrtic's skrifter från det tidiga 1990-talet.

8.2 Bakgrund

8.2.1 Utbildningsreformer

Utbildningsreformer kan ses som politiska styrmedel där specifika visioner om samhället går att definiera (Popkewitz, 2000; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). Från det perspektivet ses reformer som praktiska tillämpningar av hegemoniska politiska diskurser om *vad* utbildning ska uppnå, *hur* den ska uppnå det, och *vem* som ska göra *vad* för att uppnå det (Apple, 1997). Den förändring som gjordes av det svenska skolsystemet på 1990-talet var väldigt omfattande och resultatet kan ses som relativt unikt i internationell jämförelse. Det är dock också en följd av internationella diskurser om vad som utgör en bra skola och hur den ska skapas. Reformerna som introducerade skolvalet och fristående skolor i Sverige (Prop. 1991/92:95; Prop 1992/93:230; Prop 1995/96:200) är därför att betrakta som likartade med internationella diskussioner om utbildning. De

centrala idéerna inom de globala reformrörelserna anpassas till olika nationella och lokala kontexter, och därmed får de olika organisatoriska uttryck. Marknadsterminologi och argumentation för privata driftsformer är dock gemensamma element. (Daun, 1996; Levin, 2001; Plank & Sykes, 2003; Rizvi, 2004; Apple, 2004).

Från ett internationellt perspektiv kan tre begrepp ses som centrala och gemensamma för 1980 och 1990 talets reformarbete, *decentralisering*, *val*, och *privatisering* (Daun, 1996, 2003; Fiske & Ladd, 2000). *Decentralisering* beskriver processer där makt och ekonomiskt ansvar flyttas från en högre instans till en lägre instans av administration. (Daun, 1996; 2007a; Bray, 1999; Jarl, Kjellgren & Quennerstedt, 2007). Decentraliseringsprocessen i Sverige var både funktionell och territoriell/regional eftersom ekonomiskt ansvar och beslutandemakt i hög grad flyttades från stat till kommuner, och i vissa fall till enskilda skolor.²⁹ Vad gäller *val* inom utbildningssektorn (dvs. skolval) så har två nyckelfaktorer definierats inom skolvalspolicy i olika kontexter. För det första att ge vårdnadshavare fler val om skolan deras barn ska gå i snarare än att barn ska placeras utifrån t.ex. närhetsprincipen. För det andra att skapa en konkurrens om elever och resurser bland skolor (Plank & Sykes, 2003). *Privatisering* i sin tur kan ses som introduktionen av privata aktörer som huvudmän på en utbildningsmarknad (Daun, 1996; Levin, 2001). Privatisering behöver inte medföra skolavgifter eller andra sorters avgifter. I länder som tillämpar så kallade vouchersystem (som t.ex. Sverige) finansieras utbildningen med offentliga medel som följer den enskilde eleven till den skola hen väljer.

Argumenten för skolval och privatisering har ofta flera gemensamma nämnare vilka även kan ses bland argument för decentralisering, det vill säga att de ses som demokratiska reformer där makt ges till dem som antingen arbetar inom utbildning och/eller de som tar del utav utbildningen, eleverna och deras familjer, då beslutsvägar och distans till makthavare kortas. Det finns däremot också en stark argumentation där konkurrens mellan skolor och huvudmän antas leda till effektivare resursanvändning, nytänkande i organisation och ökad anpassning till olika individers/familjers behov (Woods, Bagley & Glatte, 1998; Fiske & Ladd, 2000; Levin, 2001). Med andra ord handlar stor del

²⁹ Det har påpekats att decentralisering och centralisering inte nödvändigtvis är åtskilda processer eftersom det kan finnas rörelse i båda riktningarna samtidigt avseende olika delar av administrativ makt och ansvar, såsom i Sverige (Hudson, 2007; Nordin, 2014; Rönnberg, 2008).

av argumentationen för decentralisering, skolval och privatisering, bättre resultat och ökad anpassning till individers behov och preferenser för lägre kostnad (Plank & Sykes, 2003; Fiske & Ladd, 2000).

I Sverige följde argumentationen för skolvalet i stort sett samma mönster som i andra länder, dvs. att skolvalet sågs som en demokratisk princip, ett verktyg för att öka vårdnadshavares engagemang och för nytänkande och ökad variation inom skolan samt att det skulle leda till effektivare resursanvändning (Prop. 1991/92:95; Prop 1992/93:230; Prop 1995/96:200; Lindensjö & Lundgren, 1998; Lundahl, 2000; Bunar & Sernhede, 2013). Skiftet från den sammanhållna statliga skolan till den konkurrensutsatta skolan har kallats ett ”utbildningspolitiskt systemskifte” (Englund, 1998b) eller ett paradigmskifte, där utbildning numera ses och diskuteras som en vara att handla på en marknad snarare än som en kollektiv samhällsangelägenhet (Säfström & Östman, 1998; Schüllerqvist, 1998; Daun, 2003).

8.2.2 De fristående skolorna idag

Antalet fristående skolor har ökat exponentiellt under de senaste tio åren, ökningen i antal fristående huvudmän var till exempel 23 procent inom grundskolan under åren 2005-2009 (SNAE, 2012a). Medan de flesta huvudmännen endast äger och driver en skola så har ökningen av större koncerner som huvudmän inom skolmarknaden varit stor, och bilden av att flertalet skolor ägs och drivs av vårdnadshavare och/eller lärare har därmed blivit allt mindre representativ (SNAE, 2012a; 2014d). Numera utgör fristående skolorna 18 procent av grundskolepopulationen och utbildar ungefär 13 procent av grundskoleeleverna (SNAE, 2014d). Det är stora skillnader mellan olika typer av skolor, men generellt har fristående skolor högre studieresultat än kommunala skolor. Denna skillnad har dock förklarats som beroende av socioekonomiska faktorer bland eleverna, och som ett resultat av socialt urval (Myrberg & Rosén, 2006).

Ett flertal studier har påvisat ett samband mellan minskad likvärdighet och ökad social segregation inom utbildningssystemet och de fristående skolornas etablering och ökning (t.ex. von Greiff, 2009; Vlachos, 2011; Trumberg, 2011; Böhlmark & Holmlund, 2011; Andersson, Malmberg & Östh, 2012; Östh, Andersson & Malmberg, 2013; Bunar, 2009; 2010; SNAE, 2009; 2012). Att skolvalet och de fristående skolorna kan vara en bidragande orsak till detta

är en relativt väl belagd empirisk slutsats. Det finns emellertid även ett samspel med andra faktorer, till exempel den ökande boendesegregationen (Lindbom & Almgren, 2007; SNAE, 2009; Lindbom, 2010; Andersson, Malmberg & Östh, 2012). Offentliga siffror visar att barn till högutbildade vårdnadshavare är överrepresenterade inom de fristående skolorna (SNAE, 2014a; 2003) och skolorna har i allmänhet blivit mer socioekonomiskt och etniskt segregerade (Andersson, Malmberg & Östh, 2012; SNAE, 2012a; Kallstenius, 2010; Bunar, 2010; Trumberg, 2011). Detta är viktigt att beakta inom forskning om särskilt stöd eftersom elever med lägre socioekonomisk status och med migrationsbakgrund³⁰ är överrepresenterade bland elever som betecknas som i behov av särskilt stöd (Giota & Lundborg, 2007; Berhanu, 2010, 2011; Dyson & Berhanu, 2012; Dyson & Gallannaugh, 2008; Richardson & Powell, 2011), då dessa grupper är mindre benägna att utnyttja skolvalet (Bunar, 2010; Daun, 2003, Fiske & Ladd, 2000; Ladd, 2002).

Både tidigare forskning och offentliga siffror, som presenteras i denna studie, visar att de fristående skolorna tenderar att ha färre elever i behov av särskilt stöd (SNAE, 2013c; SNAE, 2003; Giota & Emanuelsson, 2011; Nilholm et al., 2007). Det varierar dock mellan olika skolor. Till exempel har skolor med specifikt fokus på elever i behov av särskilt stöd fått ökad legitimitet genom skolvalsprocesser då vårdnadshavare väljer sådana skolor för sina barn. Dessa skolor har då ofta fokus på elevers specifika diagnoser eller svårigheter och har en hög andel, eller tar uteslutande emot, elever i behov av särskilt stöd. Detta kan ses som en indikator på ökad segregation på systemnivå vad gäller denna elevgrupp (Giota & Emanuelsson, 2011), och Skolverket har uttryckt oro för vad detta innebär för ambitionerna på att skapa en inkluderande skola (SNAE, 2014c). I en rapport där skolors arbete med åtgärdsprogram studerades (SNAE, 2003), drogs slutsatsen att fristående skolor var allmänt mer nöjda med sitt arbete med åtgärdsprogram, att de var nöjda med resurstilldelningen från kommunerna, att elevers delaktighet i åtgärdsarbetet var högre, och att de hade högre måluppfyllelse än vad förekom i kommunala skolor. Denna studie

³⁰ Bunar (2009) argumenterar för användning av begreppet "migrationsbakgrund" snarare än "invandrarelever", "nysvenskar" eller "elever med utländsk bakgrund" och liknande begrepp. Detta gör han med hänvisning till att dessa begrepp inte är tillräckligt precisa då det gäller vilka elever de betecknar och de kan ses som stigmatiserande och som "nationalromantiskt eufemiserande" (s. 20). Samtidigt bär dessa elever på erfarenheter och upplevelser som behöver uppmärksammas inom forskning och utbildning. Detta begrepp är då jämförelsevis precist, men har samtidigt en öppenhet för att olika individers historia påverkar dem på olika sätt.

beskriver alltså de fristående skolorna i positiva termer vad gäller specialpedagogiska arbetet. Dock ska det påpekas att skolsystemet har ändrats dramatiskt i både sammansättning och ägandeformer från att denna studie genomfördes år 2003.

8.2.3 Specialpedagogik och inkludering

Eftersom avhandlingens fokus ligger på fristående skolors arbete med särskilt stöd, ägnas det stort utrymme åt att särskilja begreppen specialpedagogik, inkludering, integrering och begreppet en skola för alla, samt åt att visa relationer och likheter dem emellan.³¹ Förutom att positionera avhandlingens perspektiv, har denna redogörelse som syfte att förklara hur olika perspektiv leder till olika sätt att förklara skolproblem och olika sätt att organisera särskilt stöd. På så sätt blir skolornas sätt att resonera kring och organisera särskilt stöd begripliga. Positioneringen ger även verktyg för diskussion om hur specialpedagogik och inkludering kan förstås i ljuset av friskolereformernas konsekvenser.

Specialpedagogik beskrivs här som ett organisatoriskt fenomen som uppstår då oro väcks för de elever som på olika sätt kräver institutionaliserad omsorg (Topping & Maloney, 2005). Specialpedagogiken återspeglar på så sätt upplysningsideal som gör distinktioner mellan det ”normala” och det ”ab-normala” (Richardsson & Powell, 2011), men som en organisatorisk och institutionell lösning är den ett nyare fenomen (Skrtic, 1991a; Richardsson & Powell, 2011; Rosenqvist & Tideman, 2000).

Det bör betonas att specialpedagogiken är långt ifrån ett enhetligt fenomen, snarare kan den förstås som ett spektrum av betydelser inom vilket det finns ett antal positioner. Med hänvisning till tidigare teoretiserande av specialpedagogik (Skrtic, 199a; 1995a; 1995b; Ainscow, 1998; Clark et al., 1998; Haug, 1998; Rosenqvist & Tideman, 2000; Skidmore, 2002, 2004; Nilholm, 2006; Ahlberg, 2007;), definieras två idealtyper av specialpedagogiska perspektiv där skolvårigheter förklaras på olika sätt, på olika nivåer och där olika lösningar eller åtgärder föreslås som följd av dessa skillnader (Nilholm, 2006).

³¹ Se t.ex. s. 36, där en förståelse av relationen och utvecklingen av dessa begrepp skissas upp.

Det äldre, traditionella perspektivet kallas *deficit perspective*, eller bristperspektiv. Där ses den individuella eleven som bärare på brister som leder till de svårigheter som uppstår i skolmiljön. På så sätt förespråkas en tydlig definition av problemet ifråga (t.ex. genom medicinsk diagnos) och riktade åtgärder som ska kompensera eleven för dennes brister för framtida normalisering och deltagande (Haug, 1998; Ainscow, 1998; Clark et al., 1998). Som en konsekvens av intern och extern kritik mot detta perspektiv uppstod det relationella perspektivet (ovan nämnt *relational perspective*) där svårigheterna ses som en produkt av mötet mellan individ och miljö. Problemen förklaras då med faktorer i den fysiska – och/eller sociala miljön, och skolans organisation eller lärarnas undervisning (Skrtic, 1987; 1991a; 1991b; Clark et al., 1998).

Bristperspektivet och det relationella perspektivet har använts som analytiska verktyg i artiklarna i avhandlingen. Bristperspektivet ses då som beteckning av den specialpedagogik som har blivit hårt kritiserad för att vara orättvis, diskriminerande och ineffektiv (Richardsson & Powell, 2011; Thomas & Loxley, 2007; Florian, 2008) och för att bygga på felaktig syn på kunskap, forskning och vetenskap (Skrtic, 1991a; 1991b; 1995a; 1995b). Med andra ord, ett demokratiskt problem inom offentlig utbildning. Det relationella perspektivet har däremot blivit förknippat med försök att förändra specialpedagogiska praktiker mot en mer inkluderande verksamhet i den komplexa sociala miljön som skolan är (Clark et al., 1998; Skrtic, 1991a; Haug, 1998; Nilhom, 2005, 2006). Inom det relationella perspektivet finns det en ambition att vända ryggen till särskiljandet av elever med hänvisning till deras ”avvikelser”. Integration definieras då som ett steg på vägen men där finns det fortfarande element av den traditionella specialpedagogikens medicinska och psykologiska grundbultar, normaliseringstankar gentemot elevers brister samt bristande hänsyn togs till elevernas egna kvalitativa erfarenheter (Florian, 2005).

Inkludering ses som ett demokratiskt viktigt steg där elevers upplevelse och erfarenheter är centrala och där ett avståndstagande från traditionell specialpedagogisk praktik ses som nödvändig. Inom inkluderingsfältet finns ett antal positioner som sträcker sig från det radikala, där alla elever ska vara omfattas och ingen särskild beteckning av dem är nödvändig, till mjukare positioner där vissa grupper behöver definieras, t.ex. för att inte riskera att ignorera elevers behov eller rättigheter, och utan särskilt föreskrivande om var och hur stöd ska ges (Slee, 2011; Skidmore, 2002; Ballard, 2003; Rosenqvist & Tide-man, 2000; Nilholm, 2006). I forskningslitteraturen kan definitioner av begreppet inkludering omfatta allt från skapandet av gemenskap till ett fokus på

placeringen av elever med funktionsnedsättningar i ”vanlig klassrumsmiljö” (Göransson & Nilholm, 2014).³² Begreppet inkludering kan därför dels förstås som ett paradigm, väsentligt annorlunda från traditionell specialpedagogik som då ses som ett annat paradigm. Däremot kan dessa begrepp å andra sidan även förstås som olika spektrum, där olika positioner omfattas. Denna syn kan vara mer konstruktiv för att förklara det att till synes motstridiga perspektiv och lösningar förekommer samtidigt i skolans komplexa verksamhet.

I Sverige är begreppet *elev i behov av särskilt stöd* juridiskt och organisatoriskt väsentligt (SFS 2010:800). I den målstyrda skolan betecknas en elev som i behov av särskilt stöd om hen riskerar att inte nå målen som läroplanen föreskriver. Beteckningen är med andra ord inte begränsad till diverse medicinska eller psykologiska diagnoser, däremot kan elever med olika funktionsnedsättningar definieras som i behov av särskilt stöd. Elever kan även definieras som i behov av särskilt stöd på grund av ”andra svårigheter”, såsom sociala svårigheter och beteendeproblematik (Göransson et al., 2011; SFS 2010:800). Detta medför att eleven har rätt till stöd oavsett om hen har en medicinsk eller psykologisk diagnos eller inte, och att rektor är juridiskt ansvarig att se till att behovet av stöd utreds och att lämpliga åtgärder tillämpas (SFS 2010:800; SNAE, 2014b). Begreppet är inte bara juridiskt och organisatoriskt viktigt, utan även avgörande för hur behovet av särskilt stöd ska förstås. Begreppet *elev i behov av särskilt stöd*, såsom det är formulerat, kan ses som ett försök att flytta fokus från eleven ifråga till andra faktorer inom organisationen. Uttrycket är därför mer i linje med det relationella perspektivet än det tidigare begreppet *elev med behov av särskilt stöd* (SNAE, 2011). Dock ska det påpekas att rektorer och huvudmän har ett brett tolkningsutrymme för vem som ska omfattas av begreppet, om vilka åtgärder som ska tillämpas och hur stöd ska genomföras (Göransson et al., 2011).

Begreppet *elev i behov av särskilt stöd* tillämpas brett, förmodligen på grund av den relativt oprecisa definitionen. Ungefär 40 procent av alla elever tar del

³² ”En skola för alla” används ofta synonymt med inkluderingsbegreppet, men det är viktigt att påpeka att det har både ett annat ursprung och ett annat fokus (Kiuppis, 2013; Nes, 2003; Miles & Singal, 2010).

av särskilt stöd någon gång under sin skolgång, och ungefär 20 procent betecknas som i behov av särskilt stöd (Giota & Lundborg, 2007; Nilholm et al., 2007; SNAE 2003). Nyare statistik visar att 14 procent av grundskoleeleverna har haft åtgärdsprogram läsåret 2012/2013 (SNAE, 2013c). Regelbunden användning av segregering lösningar verkar ha ökat under de senaste åren (Heimdahl Mattson, 2006; Giota & Lundborg, 2007; Nilholm et al., 2007; SNAE, 2003, 2011, 2013c; 2014d; Emanuelsson & Persson, 2002; Emanuelsson, Persson, & Rosenqvist, 2002) trots att det riskerar ha negativa konsekvenser för eleverna (Emanuelsson & Persson, 2002; Giota & Lundborg, 2007; SNAE, 2009; Hattie, 2009).

Det finns med andra ord all anledning att förhålla sig kritisk till bilden av att det svenska skolsystemet skulle vara särskilt inkluderande (Göransson et al., 2010; Isaksson & Lindqvist, 2015; Göransson et al., 2012), även om det kan betecknas som så i internationella jämförelser (EADSNE, 2003).

8.3 Teoretiskt ramverk

Det teoretiska ramverket har kritisk pragmatism (Cherryholmes, 1988; 1999; Skrtic, 1991a; 1991b) som utgångspunkt. Kritisk pragmatism tar sitt avstamp i den klassiska pragmatismen som utvecklats av t.ex. Peirce, Dewey och James (se avsnitt 4.1) men har inspirerats av postmodern och poststrukturell teoribildning. Olika diskurser och deras roll för verklighetsuppfattningar, kunskaper, vetenskap och olika tolkningar står i centrum för ett kritiskt pragmatiskt projekt. Skrtics teoretiska arbete från tidiga nittioalet utgör stommen i detta teoretiska ramverk. Hans projekt var uttryckligen kritiskt pragmatiskt och handlade om att dekonstruera *public education*, dvs. utbildning som har sitt uttryck genom den organisation som skolan är, och därför också även dekonstruera specialpedagogiken och behovet av den. Skrtics bidrag är alltså inte bara kritiskt utan även radikalt och förespråkar ett i grunden demokratiskt projekt där inkludering, individens behov och vilja är centrala som både mål och medel för en bättre skola (Skrtic, 1991a, 1991b, 1995a).

Skrtic använder Kuhns (1962) paradigmbegrepp för att beteckna grundläggande skillnader i hur människor förstår och tänker kring sin sociala verklighet. Olika professionskulturer ses som analogier till vetenskapliga paradigmen då professioner alltid är beroende av teoretiska referensramar, kunskapstraditioner, praktiker och diskurser (Skrtic, 1991a, 1991b). Tyst kunskap och det som tas som givet inom professioner är helt beroende av dessa paradigmatiske

element för att kunna organisera en mångtydig verklighet. Detsamma gäller organisationer, som administrerar samhället och formar vår uppfattning om vad som utgör själva organisationen och hur den förväntas fungera. Utbildning kan då nämnas som ett bra exempel, där utbildningsorganisationer (skolor) inte bara administrerar och ger samhället utbildning, utan också i hög grad påverkar vår uppfattning om vad utbildning och skola är och ska vara (Skrtic, 1991a; 1995a). Organisationer kan på så sätt ses som paradigm eftersom de påverkar hur vi betraktar världen, förklarar orsak-verkan-samband och ger oss standarder för hur praktik och beteenden fungerar (Skrtic, 1995c).

Paradigm utvecklas inte utan kriser och detsamma gäller då organisationer och de professioner som arbetar inom dem. Kriser kan uppstå när den professionernas arbete och/eller organisationen ifrågasätts eller när det inte går att förklara de anomalier som uppstår inom och runtomkring verksamheterna. De kan även uppstå när samhällliga önskemål och värderingar ändras så att behovet för professionen eller organisationen blir annat. Ändringen från den statliga enhetliga skolan i Sverige till en skolmarknad med olika huvudmän kan ses som ett paradigmskifte (se t.ex. Englund, 1998a). Ett annat exempel är då speciallärarutbildningarna ersattes med en ny professionsutbildning – specialpedagogutbildning – på 1990-talet (SNAFHE, 2006).

Skrtic argumenterar att skolans organisation är sammansatt av två olika men likvärliga funktionalistiska byråkratiska rationaliteter (Skrtic, 1991a; 1991b; 1995,c; 1995d). Skolans styrning är konstruerad som en maskinbyråkrati, där tanken är att effektivitet, standardisering och rutiner är i fokus och där det går att omordna strukturer och relationer och på så sätt få ut önskat eller förbättrat resultat. De som däremot arbetar inom skolan arbetar enligt professionella teorier och praktiker genom formella rutiner och hierarkier med standardiserade program, en professionell byråkrati. Detta leder till en professionell tendens att sammanblanda klienternas behov med de tjänster och arbetsverktyg som den professionella kan erbjuda. Elevers behov kategoriseras i redan kända fack och sedan erbjuds de åtgärder tillskrivna för just det facket eller kategorin, snarare än att åtgärderna anpassa efter de individuella behoven.

Eftersom de professionella ofta arbetar i avskildhet från kollegor inom skolan (t.ex. ensam lärare med en klass) är den professionella byråkratin inte lika enkel att ändra och det leder till att reformer som riktas mot skolans yttre struktur och organisation (maskinbyråkratin) inte nödvändigtvis får de effekter som eftersträvas. Professionella kan då med andra ord undvika att ändra sina rutiner genom att göra ceremoniella och symboliska anpassningar, som t.ex. att

skapa nya yrkesgrupper för att genomföra nya arbetsuppgifter. Skrtic ser specialpedagogiken som ett exempel sådan anpassning, skolan inte kan hantera variationen bland sina elever med de verktyg den brukar använda. Ett sidospår etableras därför för de elever som inte passar skolan där de erbjuds ytterligare standardiserade tjänster utifrån specialpedagogiska teorier och kategorier. Specialpedagogiken blir ett parallellt spår till den allmänna pedagogiken. Skrtic argumenterar att detta särskiljande är odemokratiskt och går emot skolans demokratiska uppdrag, och problematiserar därför både skolans organisatoriska struktur och som en konsekvens av detta även specialpedagogikens existens inom den.

Eftersom byråkratiska strukturer med nödvändighet bygger på funktionalistiska premisser där effektivitet och standardisering premieras, menar Skrtic att skolan bara kan fortsätta skapa elever som inte passar in, då skolan inte kan kategorisera all den mångfald den möter. Behov för särskilt stöd är enligt honom en produkt av skolans (byråkratiska) organisation i första hand, snarare än resultatet av elevernas egenskaper (Skrtic, 1991a; 1991b; 1995,c; 1995d). Istället föreslår Skrtic den *ad hoc* skolan, som motsatsen till byråkratin. I den *ad hoc* skolan samarbetar lärare med sina klienter (eleverna) för att skapa individuellt anpassade lösningar. Lösningarna finns inte på förhand och för att läras ut i professionella utbildningar, utan skapas i problemlösningsprocesser i team som omfattar medlemmar med olika bakgrunder och olika kompetenser. På så sätt bryts inte bara den klassiska skolstrukturen ner – tillsammans med det specialpedagogiska sidospåret – utan de professionella befrias också från maskinbyråkrats krav på effektivitet och standarder och får makt att själva definiera och lösa problem som uppstår i verksamheten.

Utifrån ovanstående teoretiska ramverk kan två alternativa scenarier målas upp. Införandet av skolval och fristående skolor, skulle, genom konkurrens mellan skolorna leda till ett nytänkande och ökad effektivitet. Detta skulle då kunna vara en öppning för ifrågasättandet av traditionella arbetssätt och den professionella byråkratin och utveckling av *ad hoc* arbetssätt. På så vis skulle a) de fristående skolorna kunna ses som potentiella utmanare av (special-) pedagogisk organisation då innovation och elevfokus skulle leda till mer inkluderande sätt att arbeta med särskilt stöd. Å andra sidan finns det anledning att tro att den byråkratiska strukturen som kännetecknar skolan skulle motstå ändringarna, inte minst då reformerna i första hand var riktade mot maskinbyråkratin. Därför kan det även ses som b) sannolikt att de fristående

skolorna skulle reproducera och eventuellt förstärka specialpedagogiska traditioner, som bland annat verkar genom den professionella byråkratin.

Skrtic har fått kritik från flera håll, främst för att den adhocratiska skolan är en helt teoretisk konstruktion och utan empiriska förebilder, för att hans teoretiska analys är reduktionistisk, samt för han att inte ger några konkreta förslag på hur vi ska kunna se om skolan har blivit *mer* inkluderande (Clark et al., 1998; Norwich, 2000; Dyson & Millward, 2000; Clark et al., 1999). I avhandlingen har därför några tillägg gjorts för att komplettera Skrtics teorier som förklaringsmodell. Dessa tillägg ska i första hand synliggöra skolans komplexitet som social miljö, samt synliggöra maktstrukturer och historiska processer (Clark et al., 1995; Clark et al, 1998). De har även som utgångspunkt att policy ”görs” eller iscensätts, snarare än implementeras eller genomförs (Ball, 1993; Ball et al., 2912).

8.4 Metod

Avhandlingen grundas på empiri som har samlats in i två forskningsprojekt, båda finansierade av Vetenskapsrådet. Resultaten i artikel I, II och IV har samlats in inom ramen för projekt a) *Fristående skolors arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd* (projektnummer: 2008-4701) medan resultaten i artikel III har samlats in inom projekt b) *Speciella yrken? – om speciallärares och specialpedagogers arbete och utbildning* (projektnummer 2011-5986).

Det förstnämnda projektet var en totalpopulationsundersökning av de fristående grundskolorna i Sverige. Enkäter skickades till totalt 686 fristående grundskolor under våren 2009 och svar återkom från 79.5 procent av skolorna. Det andra projektet var också en totalpopulationsundersökning. I det här fallet skickades enkäter till alla som hade tagit antingen specialpedagog eller speciallärarexamen enligt examensordningarna från 2001, 2007 eller 2008, allt som allt 4252 individer. Svar återkom från 75 procent av gruppen. Statistiska Centralbyrån anlätades för administration av enkäterna i båda projekten, både vad gäller statistisk kontroll av enkäternas konstruktion, lokaliseringen av respondenter, utskick av enkäterna, insamling av svar och upprättande av datafiler. Statistiska resultat har analyserats med programmet SPSS, främst genom deskriptiva metoder såsom frekvensanalyser och korstabeller. I artikel IV presenteras också en kvalitativ innehållsanalys av fritextsvar från enkäten i pro-

jekt a). För en mer djupgående redovisning av metodologiska vägval och analytiska överväganden, samt etiska beaktanden, hänvisas till artiklarna samt till kapitel 5 i avhandlingen.

8.5 Resultaten från artiklarna

8.5.1 Artikel I

Artikel I beskriver en generell kartläggning av de fristående grundskolorna i Sverige. Den har som huvudsyfte att ge en generell analys av arbetet med elever i behov av särskilt stöd i de svenska fristående grundskolorna. Den är en kontextualiserad, kritisk studie av konsekvenserna och utmaningarna som specialpedagogiken och den allmänna utbildningen står inför efter de fristående skolornas framväxt.

De övergripande frågorna är: på vilka sätt utmanar de fristående skolorna specialpedagogiska traditioner i Sverige? Hur relaterar idén om en inkluderande skola till verksamheterna inom de fristående skolorna? Mer specifikt är frågorna som resultaten redovisar svaren på i) hur stor är andelen elever i behov av särskilt stöd? ii) hur förklaras skolproblem? iii) hur vanligt är det att elever nekas antagning till fristående skolor? Och iv) vilka former av särskilt stöd används?

Resultaten visar att de fristående skolorna utgör en mycket liten utmaning till specialpedagogiska traditioner, både vad gäller organisationen av särskilt stöd och vad gäller hur särskilt stöd förklaras och förstås. Andelen elever i behov av särskilt stöd beräknas vara lägre i fristående skolor än vad tidigare forskning har visat inom kommunala skolor. Dock är det stora skillnader inom populationen då andelen varierar från 0 till 100 procent. Det finns en uppenbar ansamling av elever i behov av särskilt stöd på vissa skolor, i synnerhet i skolor som marknadsför sig som riktade mot särskilt stöd (11 procent av hela populationen). Diagnos bedöms som viktig för att erhålla särskilt stöd bland ungefär 70 procent av populationen och 44 procent menar att diagnos *bör* vara viktig för att erhålla särskilt stöd. Strax över 15 procent av skolorna har nekat elever antagning med hänvisning till att kommunerna inte ger resurser för att hantera deras behov av särskilt stöd, eller för att det skulle orsaka skolan ekonomiska eller organisatoriska svårigheter. 38 procent av skolorna menar att

resurserna de får för särskilt stöd inte är likvärdiga med de resurser kommunala skolor får från kommunerna. Till slut kan ingen specifik utformning av särskilt stöd sägas vara typisk för fristående skolor, snarare är det tydligt att flertal specialpedagogisk metoder används.

Slutsatserna som dras i artikeln handlar i första hand om vad resultaten betyder utifrån de specialpedagogiska perspektiven och vad gäller idén om inkludering. Populationen av fristående skolor kännetecknas av mångfald, i meningen att skolorna är väldigt olika varandra. Däremot är det oroväckande att andelen elever i behov av särskilt stöd är lägre i fristående skolor än i kommunala skolor, inte minst eftersom synen på, och förståelsen av skolproblem följer bristperspektivet i hög grad. Dessa resultat antyder att skolvalet är begränsat när det gäller vissa elever. Både då elever i behov av särskilt stöd riskerar att nekas antagning, och att vissa skolor har mycket högre andel av dessa elever. Tidigare forskning har visat att barn med lägre socioekonomisk bakgrund är överrepresenterade bland elever i behov av särskilt stöd. Den gruppen är också mindre benägen att utöva skolvalet vilket ytterligare ökar risken för marginaliseringen av denna elevgrupp. Dessutom etableras fristående skolor oftare i områden med hög andel av familjer med högre socioekonomisk status, vilket riskerar ytterligare spåda på segregationen i utbildningssystemet.

8.5.2 Artikel II

Artikel II är en fördjupad studie av de fristående skolorna. Syftet är att studera hur beskrivningar av arbetet med särskilt stöd och situationen för elever i behov av särskilt stöd skiljer sig mellan sex olika grupper av fristående grundskolor. Grupperna är i) skolor med pedagogisk profil, ii) Waldorfskolor, iii) skolor med särskilt stöd som profil, iv) skolor med speciella ämnen som profil, v) konfessionella skolor och vi) skolor med allmän inriktning och ingen specificerad profil. Dessa grupper utgör hela populationen fristående skolor, profilerna och inriktningarna följer de offentliga kategorierna som erbjuds vid ansökningsprocessen för att driva fristående skolor och grupperna är isolerade så att inga skolor ingår i mer än en grupp. Dessutom studeras resultaten med hänsyn till ägandeformen, dvs. om de tillhör aktiebolag eller inte och om huvudmännen äger och driver fler än en skola. Frågorna som studeras är de följande: (1) Vilka är skillnaderna i andelen elever i behov av särskilt stöd mellan de olika skolgrupperna? (2) Hur vanligt är det att elever nekas antagning? (3) Finns det skillnader vad gäller de specialpedagogiska perspektiven mellan

grupperna? Dessa urskiljs genom frågor om (3a) diagnosens betydelse, (3b) organisatoriska lösningar och (3c) hur skolproblem förklaras.

Resultaten bekräftar slutsatserna från artikel I, men belyser ytterligare de skillnader som finns i populationen då grupperna skiljer sig på flera olika sätt. Det är stora skillnader i andelen elever i behov av särskilt stöd i olika typer av skolor. Högsta genomsnittsandelen (förutom bland skolor som har särskilt stöd som profil) fanns i Waldorf gruppen, 21 procent, medan den lägsta var bland skolor med specifika ämnen som profil, 12 procent. Waldorfskolorna utgör också den grupp som har högst förekomst av nekande till antagning av elever i behov av särskilt stöd (40 procent). Lägsta andelen fanns bland skolor med generell inriktning. Det var mindre vanligt för skolor som tillhörde aktiebolag att ha nekat elever tillträde, och lägst bland aktiebolag som drev flera skolor (9 procent). Diagnoser ges stor vikt vad gäller att få särskilt stöd bland alla skolgrupper, från 60 procent bland de konfessionella skolorna till 88 procent bland de skolor som har särskilt stöd som profil. Vad gäller de specialpedagogiska perspektiven är det uppenbart att skolgrupperna använder flera olika metoder och förklaringar.

Slutsatserna är att det finns en ansamling av elever i behov av särskilt stöd på vissa skolor, inte bara på skolor med särskilt stöd som profil, utan även bland Waldorfskolorna. Dels kan det ses genom andelar elever i behov av stöd, men även förekomsten av antagningsnekande kan ses som en indikator. Vissa skolor är uppenbarligen mer populära hos vissa elevgrupper än andra. Bristperspektivet är mer synligt i skolornas svar i alla grupper än det relationella perspektivet, men skolorna använder också flera olika sorters förklaringar och organisering av det särskilda stödet. Det faktum att diagnos är så viktig är problematiskt både för att det går rakt emot styrdokumentens och Skollagens föreskrifter samt för att det riskerar att utesluta elever utan diagnos från det stöd de är berättigade till. Marknadsrationalitet och konkurrens kan vara påverkansfaktorer här. Resultatets betydelse har både politiska och praktiska implikationer. I båda fallen handlar det om diskussioner om utbildningens uppgift. Till slut handlar de om vilka demokratiska ideal som ska ha högst påverkan på skolans organisation och verksamhet. Frågan om en krock mellan två sådana ideal, dvs. skolvalet och inkludering, diskuteras.

8.5.3 Artikel III

Artikel tre skiljer sig från de övriga, dels eftersom fler skolnivåer än bara grundskolan studeras och för att data är på individnivå (professionella individer) snarare än skolnivå. Eftersom studien är en totalpopulationsundersökning av utbildade specialpedagoger och speciallärare är resultaten ändå tolkade på systemnivå. Syftet är att bidra med kunskaper om särskilt stöd i olika organisationer genom att studera specifika förutsättningar för särskilt stöd i fristående och kommunala skolor, i detta fall specialpedagogers och speciallärares arbetssituationer. Dessutom studeras de värderingar specialpedagogerna och speciallärarna uttrycker vad gäller identifikationen av och arbetet med behov av särskilt stöd, och jämförs mellan de som arbetar i kommunalt drivna skolor och fristående skolor. Resultaten som presenteras handlar då om i) gruppernas demografi, ii) erfarenheten inom yrket, iii) om de arbetar deltid eller heltid, iv) tjänsterna de innehar, v) vilken nivå de arbetar på inom skolväsendet, vi) tidigare utbildning, vii) diagnosens roll för särskilt stöd, samt viii) hur skolproblem förklaras.

Resultaten visar att specialpedagoger och speciallärare i både kommunala och fristående skolor är demografiskt väldigt lika, dock har de som arbetar inom kommunala skolor oftare längre erfarenhet inom yrket och har heltidstjänster i mycket högre grad (80 procent) än de som arbetar inom de fristående skolorna (50 procent). Å andra sidan har de som arbetar inom de fristående skolorna mycket oftare andra tjänster än de som arbetar inom de kommunala skolorna, till exempel har nio procent av dem skolledartjänster. Det är vanligt att respondenterna i båda grupperna arbetar på en annan nivå (högre) inom skolväsendet än vad deras tidigare utbildning skulle tyda på. Diagnoser anses ha hög vikt då resurser för särskilt stöd ska fördelas, i högre grad inom de kommunala skolorna än de fristående skolorna, men respondenterna tycker inte att det bör vara så. Majoriteten av respondenterna uttrycker värderingar som kan sägas vara i linje med det relationella perspektivet.

Slutsatserna är att kommunala och fristående skolor verkar använda personalresurser som specialpedagoger och speciallärare på olika sätt. För det första anställer fristående skolor dessa yrkesgrupper i mycket lägre grad än de kommunala skolorna gör. Dessutom innehar de som arbetar inom de fristående skolorna mycket oftare deltidstjänster än de som arbetar inom de kommunala skolorna och även andra befattningar än som specialpedagoger eller speciallärare. Detta kan vara en indikator på att just dessa fristående skolor närmar sig

organisationen av särskilt stöd på alternativa och eventuell innovativa sätt, jämfört med den traditionella organisationen där specialpedagogiskt stöd är ett sidospår till den vanliga pedagogiken. Medan andra yrkesgrupper inom skolan tenderar att betrakta skolproblem med ett bristperspektiv gör specialpedagoger och speciallärarna det oftare med ett relationellt perspektiv. Då de arbetar inom andra positioner inom skolan kan de eventuellt ha annorlunda påverkan på utformningen av det särskilda stödet. Sådana skillnader är intressanta för vidare forskning eftersom de kan ha en stor påverkan på elevernas tillvaro i skolan samtidigt som de kan vara relativt osynliga för vårdnadshavare och elever som ska välja skola.

8.5.4 Artikel IV

Denna artikel är ytterligare en fördjupning i materialet som samlades in från de fristående skolorna. Syftet är att studera hur de fristående skolorna skildrar särskilt stöd då de får formulera sig fritt om sitt arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd samt hur dessa skildringar kan förstås i termer av idéer om specialpedagogiska traditioner eller innovativa arbetsätt. En kvalitativ innehållsanalys av fritextsvar på två öppna frågor om särskilt stöd har genomförts. I fritextsvaren uppmanades skolorna att lyfta fram något särskilt om sitt arbete. En statistisk analys gjordes också för att se om olika typer av skolor diskuterade olika saker. Frågorna i fokus är: i) Vilka skildringar och problem runt särskilt stöd tecknas i svaren? ii) Hur kan dessa skildringar förstås utifrån de specialpedagogiska perspektiven och idéer om inkludering? iii) Ger olika skoltyper olika svar på frågorna? Och iv) Hur motsvarar dessa svar idéer om variation och innovativa arbetsätt inom utbildning och särskilt stöd?

Fyra övergripande teman presenteras som huvudresultat. Inom varje tema fanns det sedan ett antal kategorier och underkategorier. Det största temat benämndes *"our school"* (vår skola). De tematiserade svaren däri var i första hand allmänna beskrivningar av skolan, skolans profil, organisation, eleverna och/eller vårdnadshavare. Temat *"resources"* (resurser) handlade i första hand om olika resursfördelningssystem, specifika problem inom dessa system samt konsekvenserna av resursproblematiken. Tredje temat, *"how to succeed"* (hur framgång skapas) innehöll förslag och beskrivningar av framgångsfaktorer och exempel på bra yrkesutövning. Där var kategorierna inriktade på kompetens, pedagogik, miljö, inkludering och samarbete. Sista temat, *"areas for improvement"* (förbättringsområden) innehöll svar som i första hand var formu-

lerade kring sådant som behövde ordnas eller förbättras för att det specialpedagogiska arbetet skulle fungera bättre. De statistiska analyserna visade att de olika skoltyperna förekom på väldigt olika sätt i materialet. Skolor med allmän inriktning var till exempel starkt överrepresenterade som respondenter, om en jämförelse gjordes med deras andel av den totala populationen. Det motsatta gällde däremot skolor med specifika ämnen som profil. De olika grupperna förekom i varierande grad inom temana, och teman berördes på olika sätt av de olika skoltyperna. Till exempel diskuterade hälften av de svarande Waldorfskolorna resursfördelningen och de var starkt överrepresenterade inom det temat. Detta är synnerligen intressant i ljuset av resultaten från artikel II där de både visar sig ha hög andel elever i behov av stöd och hög förekomst av nekande till antagning.

Resultaten bekräftar en del misstankar som uppstod i de tidigare artiklarna. För det första så är svaren inte särskilt visionära eller innovativa vad gäller organisationen av särskilt stöd. De är snarare beskrivningar av praktiker, situationer och problem. I många fall är svaren mer ett marknadsföringsuttryck för skolornas kvaliteter och konkurrensförmåga än gedigna beskrivningar av arbete med särskilt stöd. Skolornas beskrivning av sitt arbete, organisation och demografi speglar på många sätt aktuella diskurser om vad som ses som bra respektive mindre bra för skolor att vara eller ha. I flertalet svar beskrivs elever till exempel som problematiska av flera anledningar, inte minst pga. egenskaper utanför deras kontroll, och detsamma gäller vårdnadshavare. Det är dock tydligt att skolorna har väldigt olika förutsättningar och olika problem att brottas med och att friskolefältet är både varierande och svårt att greppa i generella termer. Det är också svårt att genomföra kategoriseringar av svaren i antingen traditionellt bristperspektiv eller relationellt perspektiv. Till exempel kan kommentarer om skolans storlek eller personalkompetens närma sig utbildningsideal i linje med en professionell byråkratisk rationalitet och premisser där specifik kompetens ska riktas mot specifika problem. Å andra sidan förekommer svar som ser skolans storlek som förutsättning för professionellt samarbete och elevernas deltagande samt för att kunna anpassas till elevernas olika behov.

Flera av de dilemman som tas upp i svaren handlar direkt om hur finansieringen av det särskilda stödet fungerar i den aktuella skolan och relationen till kommunens fördelningssystem. Det är ett exempel på hur beroende de fristående skolorna är av det svenska utbildningssystemets infrastruktur. Utan att förneka den problematik som kan uppstå kring resursfördelning så väcks

frågan om inte en del av svaren om kommunernas bristande resursfördelning utgår ifrån ett traditionellt tänkande om specialpedagogik? Oavsett så finns det allvarliga konsekvenser, som också lyfts i ett antal svar, då resursproblemen riskerar att begränsa skolvalsprincipen för elever i behov av särskilt stöd. Om det belyses med det faktum att skolor inriktade på särskilt stöd har ökat, kan det finnas ett direkt strukturellt hot mot ambitioner för ett inkluderande skolsystem.

Det finns all anledning att ifrågasätta bilden av de fristående skolorna som innovativa och kommunala skolor som traditionella. I den offentliga debatten förekommer bilden av kommunala skolor som präglade av den traditionella skolan och en polarisering skapas mellan den ”gamla och sämre” skolan och den ”nya och innovativa” kämpande för överlevnad i konkurrensen – fristående skolan. En tidigare rapport beskrev de fristående skolorna som vara mer innovativa och effektiva i sitt arbete med särskilt stöd och, inte mindre viktigt, mer nöjda med de resurser de fick från kommunerna för att finansiera särskilt stöd (SNAE, 2003). Resultaten här ger en helt annan bild men skillnaden beror förmodligen på att ändringarna i skolsystemet, på de tolv år sedan den rapporten kom ut, har varit exceptionell. Konkurrensen bland skolor verkar också kunna bidra till skepsis och misstro, i synnerhet är det synligt i svaren i temat om resurser. Detta kan betraktas i ljuset av tidigare forskning som ifrågasätter marknadsmekanismer som drivande för nytänkande inom utbildning. Den slutgiltiga slutsatsen i artikeln är att fler storskaliga studier behövs, särskilt sådana som studerar skolor och praktik på nära håll.

8.6 Diskussion

I detta avsnitt kommer resultaten sammanfattas inledningsvis, för att sedan diskuteras och tolkas teoretiskt. Därefter förs det en teoretisk diskussion om specialpedagogik och inkludering i ljuset av resultaten och till slut sammanfattas avhandlingens bidrag.

Sammanfattningsvis visar resultaten att även om de fristående skolorna skulle utgöra en utmaning till befintliga sätt att organisera och genomföra utbildning, så utgör de inte en generell sådan vad gäller specialpedagogiska traditioner på systemnivå. Det finns dock ett flertal exempel, både inom och mellan olika skolgrupper, på skolor som är mer eller mindre innovativa i sitt sätt att organisera särskilt stöd. Diskurser om utbildning existerar parallellt med varandra

snarare än så att de skulle vara distinkta och åtskilda. De specialpedagogiska perspektiven, och den praktik som följer av dem, är bra exempel på detta. Spänningen mellan förståelsen av utbildning som ett socialt projekt med inkludering och mångfald som mål och det individcentrerade marknadsparadigmet där valet utgör en demokratisk princip är ett annat exempel. Därmed går det inte att säga att ett paradigmskifte från traditionell specialpedagogik till en relationell och inkluderande pedagogik skulle ha ägt rum. Enligt Skrtic beror det i hög grad på att den professionella byråkratin inte har blivit ifrågasatt. Eftersom reformerna i första hand fokuserade på regelverk och yttre organisation, (maskinbyråkratin) blev professionsbyråkratin både accepterad och till viss grad förstärkt. Dessutom har specialpedagogiken inte ifrågasatts, utan till och med betonats, då fokus flyttades från likvärdighet till excellens. Det finns ett antal tecken på att skolvalsmodellen inom svensk utbildning bidrar till och reproducerar ett segregerat system, där elever grupperas utifrån olika sociala kategorier, och diagnoser, dvs. att en ny tid för ”specialskolor” skapas genom att vårdnadshavare och elever väljer dem.

Utifrån det teoretiska ramverket föreslogs två scenarier, dvs. att a) de fristående skolorna kan ses som potentiella utmanare av (special-) pedagogisk organisation, då innovation och elevfokus skulle leda till mer inkluderande sätt att arbeta med särskilt stöd. Å andra sidan finns det anledning att tro att den byråkratiska strukturen som kännetecknar skolan skulle motstå förändringarna, inte minst då reformerna i första hand var riktade mot maskinbyråkratin. Därför kan det även ses som b) sannolikt att de fristående skolorna skulle behålla och följa den professionella byråkratin och på så sätt reproducera och eventuellt förstärka specialpedagogiska traditioner. På en generell nivå är den senare förklaringen rimligare utifrån de resultat som sammanfattas ovan. Däremot finns det skillnader mellan olika skolor, både vad gäller specialpedagogiska perspektiv och organisatoriska lösningar. Det finns dock tecken på att skolvalet kan vara begränsat när det gäller elever i behov av särskilt stöd. Både vad gäller att de eventuellt inte blir antagna på sin önskade skola med hänvisning till särskilda behov, men även då det skapas en tradition som innebär att de ska hänvisas till skolor med sådana inriktningar. En sådan samling av elever i behov av särskilt stöd på vissa skolor reproducerar ett system med specialskolor, något som inte är i linje med ambitioner för ett inkluderande skolsystem.

De tillägg som har gjorts i det teoretiska ramverket har i första hand syftat till att nyansera den annars polariserade bilden som Skrtic erbjuder. Genom att se

policy som en samling politiska kompromisser, där till varandra motstående mål presenteras, beaktas att ett antal dilemman uppstår i den komplexa sociala verksamheten som utbildning utgör. Praktiker ses då inte som antingen följande och levande inom ett eller annat paradigm utan snarare som iscensättare av policy. I Sverige framförs både det individuella valet med ett fokus på resultat och ett kundtänkande som viktigt och bra, samtidigt som mer kollektiva traditioner och ideal framträder som viktiga. Otydliga definitioner av t.ex. inkludering, eller vad som utgör behov av särskilt stöd, kan därför leda till väldigt olika sorters organisation och praktiserande. Dessutom behöver skolorna jaga resultat, effektivitet och minskade kostnader. Ett sådant fokus riskerar att ytterligare förstärka den traditionella specialpedagogikens, eftersom just kategorisering och differentiering av elever bli dels logiska – till och med önskvärda – verktyg. Ytterligare dilemman som uppstår handlar om de fristående skolornas beroende av skolsystemets infrastruktur. Särskilt stöd finansieras i första hand via kommunerna. Om kommunerna kräver diagnoser för att tillhandahålla resurser, leder fördelningssystemet till ökad användning av diagnoser och eventuellt segregering metoder. Detta gäller rimligtvis även kommunala skolor. Skolor är mer komplexa verksamheter än benämningen av deras huvudmannaskap kan omfatta. Skolor är inte av en 'antingen - eller' karaktär utan omfattar olika rationaliteter och diskurser samtidigt, påverkas av interna hierarkier och maktstrukturer och externa faktorer, som, t.ex. motsägelsefulla policydokument och ekonomiska faktorer bortom deras kontroll. Ytterligare en viktig slutsats i avhandlingen är därför att polariseringen mellan de kommunala skolorna och de fristående skolornas inte bara är ett trubbigt instrument utan också direkt missvisande. Olikheterna är sannolikt större inom grupperna än mellan dem.

Förhållandet mellan demokrati och utbildning är ömtåligt. Utbildning definieras som en mänsklig rättighet och ges stor tyngd i både nationella och internationella styrdokument, lagar och regler. Demokrati kan därför ses som en fråga *om* och *för* utbildning. Utbildningens roll är inte bara att skapa framtida medborgare, som då blir beredda att ingå och delta i ett demokratiskt system, utan även att forma demokratiska subjekt som utövar demokrati här och nu (Biesta, 2003). Såsom diskuteras ovan är utbildningens organisation alltid politiskt färgad, beroende av idéer och teorier om vad den ska leda till, hur det ska göras och vilka som ska omfattas av den (Apple, 1997). Utbildningsreformer och omstrukturering av utbildningssystem är uttalade styrningsmekanismer (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2004b; Daun, 2007a) där maktstrukturer och

verksamheter inom utbildningen omdefinieras. Ett demokratiskt problem uppstår då människor utesluts från delaktighet och makt de är berättigade till på godtyckliga grunder, och även utesluts från sociala kontexter (som utbildning) som kan ha stor inverkan på deras liv.

De två paradigmskiften som målas upp i avhandlingen (se kap. 2 och 3) ses som försök att omorganisera och förbättra utbildningen och göra den mer demokratisk. Å ena sidan handlar detta om organiseringen och resultatet av utbildningen, å andra sidan om organiseringen av och tillgången till utbildning. Mer intressant för den här diskussionen är dock vad som händer där olika ideologier sammanstrålar, dvs. träffpunkten mellan olika demokratiska idealbilder. I det ena paradigmskiftet (kap. 2) kretsade huvudargumenten för skolvalsreformer och marknadstänk inom utbildning, kring en syn på demokrati där makten skulle föras till "kunderna" och på så sätt skulle stelbent byråkratisk organisation tvingas bli effektivare. Detta kan vi förstå som ett försök att forma det demokratiska samhället, i det här fallet med utgångspunkt i ett individinriktat politiskt perspektiv som kräver marknaden som medel för fri utveckling. I det andra paradigmskiftet (kap. 3) drivs förespråkarna av en ny förståelse av specialpedagogik, där den ses som förtryckande och godtycklig i både organisation och fokus och olika angreppssätt att formulera lösningar på de problemen. Ifrågasättandet av kategorisering och patologisering av mänsklig mångfald och i ifrågasättandet av byråkratisk makt fanns det ett flertal beröringspunkter med skolvalsförespråkarna. Det handlar om t.ex. individinriktad utformning av undervisning, ett intresse för innovativa metoder samt elevdelaktighet i beslutandeprocesser. Det här är också ett försök att forma ett demokratiskt samhälle, i det här fallet med utgångspunkt i mångfald och kollektiv som nödvändiga element.

Vad betyder då resultaten och detta möte av de ovanstående demokratiska idealen för en teoretisk förståelse av specialpedagogik och inkludering och förhållandet däremellan? Tidigare olika förståelser av människors mångfald, skolproblem och lösningar på dessa beskrivits, där de etiska konsekvenserna av åtgärder för att hantera mångfalden och problemen kan förstås på olika sätt. Det betonas också att både specialpedagogik och inkludering kan ses som två spektrum där olika positioner och där vissa positioner inom det ena spektrumet kan ses som liknande positioner inom det andra spektrumet. De empiriska resultaten visar att olika perspektiv, som bristperspektivet och det relationella perspektivet, existerar parallellt och att skolor och praktiker resonerar och an-

vänder lösningar som ses som mer eller mindre traditionella eller inkluderande. Detta kan förstås som uttryck för iscensättandet av policyer som är delvis själv motsägande (Ball et al., 2012) där praktiker försöker lösa dilemman som uppstår i komplexa sociala miljöer (Clark et al., 1998). Det går även att förstå det såsom att kampen mellan olika paradig äger fortfarande rum snarare än så att ett paradigskifte redan skulle ha ägt rum. Oavsett så är bilden av inkludering och traditionell specialpedagogik, samt bristperspektivet och det relationella perspektiven, som vara motsatser och oförenliga fenomen inte beskrivande för hur de fristående skolorna beskriver sitt arbete.

8.7 Avhandlingens bidrag

Avhandlingens bidrag är både empiriskt och teoretiskt. Som den första helhetsstudien av specialpedagogiska frågeställningar i de fristående grundskolorna i Sverige kan den ses som ett viktigt empiriskt bidrag till både diskussionen och kunskapsläget vad gäller de fristående skolorna och konsekvenserna av marknadsreformer i det svenska utbildningssystemet. Vad gäller det teoretiska bidraget så skissar avhandlingen upp ett teoretiskt ramverk för att förklara de empiriska utfallen i denna forskning, och eventuellt för framtida studier på systemnivå. Dessutom är det avhandlingen ett empiriskt baserat teoretiskt bidrag till hur förhållandet mellan specialpedagogik och inkludering kan förstås.

I avhandlingen definieras även ett behov av en vidare politisk och allmän diskussion om skolans mål och medel, om samhällseliga frågor som inkludering och mångfald och om individuell delaktighet och självbestämmande. Vad gäller den praktiska vardagen inom skolan och den professionella diskussionen i densamma så finns det inget föreskrivande eller normativt bidrag att hämta i den här avhandlingen. Däremot finns det all anledning att diskutera de värden som styr lokala praktiker och lokal skolorganisation och vilka konsekvenser dessa kan ha för eleverna. Detta gäller självklart både kommunala och fristående skolor. Det finns ingen tvekan om att de flesta professionella skolmänniskor försöker göra så gott de kan för sina elever, men då konsekvenserna av den samlade praktiken synliggörs på systemnivå, kan andra mönster framträda än vad de kanske skulle se som önskvärda.

Det finns även ett behov av ytterligare forskning om specialpedagogisk och inkluderande skolpraktik där både kvalitativa och kvantitativa data samlas

från stora men kontextualiserade underlag och där jämförelser görs inte bara mellan olika skolor inom Sverige, utan även med andra länder. Detta gäller även forskning om skolvalsmekanismer där både familjer till elever i behov av särskilt stöd och andra familjer ingår. Till slut verkar det finnas ett stort behov av forskning om utbildningspolicy, speciellt sådan som handlar om särskilt stöd, inte minst med fokus på konsekvenserna av de tätt duggande reformerna.

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Appendix I-II

Appendix I

Fristående skolors arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd

Denna enkät utgör en delstudie i projektet "Fristående skolors arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd". Studien är finansierad av Vetenskapsrådet.

Varför gör vi studien?

Vi har tidigare undersökt den kommunala skolans arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd. Nu vill vi öka kunskapen om hur fristående skolor arbetar med elevgruppen. Styrkor och problem i fristående skolors arbete med dessa frågor kommer att kunna identifieras. Vi kommer också att kontakta några skolor för en mer ingående intervjustudie där deltagandet förstås är frivilligt. Undersökningen är viktig och vi är tacksamma om Du tar dig tid att svara. Det tar ca 25-30 minuter att fylla i enkäten.

Vilka elever gäller det?

Vi utgår från Skollagens (4 kap. 1 §) definition av särskilt stöd: "Särskilt stöd skall ges till elever som har svårigheter i skolarbetet." De elever det gäller är alltså de elever som har sådana svårigheter att särskilt stöd behövs. Vi är intresserade av arbetet med elever i behov av särskilt stöd fr.o.m. förskoleklass t.o.m. skolår 9. Elever med utvecklingsstörning är inte i juridisk mening elever i behov av särskilt stöd. Om det finns elever som är mottagna i särskolan i er verksamhet ska dessa inte räknas som elever i behov av särskilt stöd. Dock innehåller enkäten specifika frågor om denna elevgrupp.

Vem ska svara?

Vi vill att skolans rektor ansvarar för att enkäten besvaras. Han/hon kan förstås ta hjälp av andra. Enkäten innehåller både faktafrågor och frågor som handlar om synsätt. Vad gäller denna senare typ av frågor så är det skolans övergripande synsätt vi eftersöker.

Om ni har några frågor är ni välkomna att ringa eller e-posta Claes Nilholm. Vi ser gärna att ni besvarar enkäten och skickar in den i medföljande kuvert senast den 15 februari.

Med vänlig hälsning

Claes Nilholm e-mail: claes.nilholm@hik.hj.se
Vetenskaplig ledare
Professor i pedagogik
Högskolan för lärande och kommunikation
Högskolan i Jönköping Tel: 0708-288286

Kerstin Göransson
Docent i specialpedagogik
Mälardalens högskola

Era svar är skyddade

Vi kommer att redovisa resultaten av undersökningen i tabeller där det inte framgår vad någon enskild skola har svarat. Numret på svarskuvertet är till för att vi under insamlingen ska kunna se vilka som har svarat och vilka som ska få en påminnelse. Efter avslutad bearbetning avlägsnas alla identitetsuppgifter.

Resultat

Ni kommer att informeras om undersökningens resultat. Ert arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd kan då jämföras med det arbete som bedrivs i andra fristående skolor.

Enkäten kommer att läsas maskinellt. När du besvarar enkäten ber vi dig därför tänka på att:



Fristående skolors arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd

Skola
Kontaktperson
Huvudman
Tjänstebeteckning
E-post
Telefon

Vi är tacksamma om vi får kontakta er om vi behöver ställa några ytterligare frågor eller diskutera något svar.

Frågorna gäller förskoleklass t.o.m. skolår 9. Särskolan ingår endast i de frågor där det anges.

A. Om friskolan

1. Vilket år startade skolan sin verksamhet?

--	--	--	--	--

2. Vilka verksamheter ingår i skolans ansvarsområde?

- 1 Grundskola f-9/skolår 1-9
- 1 Grundskola endast skolår 6-9/skolår 7-9
- 1 Grundskola, skolår f-5/f-6
- 1 Grundskola, annan skolårsindelning
- 1 Grundsärskola
- 1 Specialskola
- 1 Träningskola
- 1 Förskola/familjedaghem
- 1 Gymnasiala skolformer
- 1 Annan verksamhet

3. Hur många elever har ni i verksamheten i förskoleklass – skolår 9 (10 för särskolan) som följer nationella kursplaner för ...

a) ... grundskolan

--	--	--	--

Antal elever

b) ... särskolan

--	--	--	--

Antal elever

c) ... annan, t.ex. Waldorf

--	--	--	--

Antal elever





4. a) Finns individintegrerade elever?

Dvs. elever som är mottagna i sarskolan men huvudsakligen går i förskoleklass/grundskoleklass.

1 Ja

2 Nej → Gå till fråga 5

Om ja:

b) Hur många?

Antal elever

5. Vilken inriktning har er skola?

Inriktningarna utgår från Skolinspektionens klassificering. Speciell pedagogik, t.ex. Montessori, räknas enligt denna till allmän inriktning.

1 Allmän

2 Waldorf

3 Konfessionell skola

Vilken?

4 Internationell

6. a) Har en skola en särskild profil?

1 Ja

2 Nej → Gå till fråga 7

b) Inom vilken profilgrupp hör den hemma?

1 Speciell pedagogik

2 Särskilt stöd

3 Språklig/etnisk

4 Speciellt ämne

5 Annan

c) Skriv vilken profil

7. a) I vilken organisationsform drivs skolan?

1 Aktiebolag

2 Ideell förening

3 Stiftelse

4 Ekonomisk förening

5 Enskild firma

6 Handelsbolag

b) Har skolans huvudman flera skolor?

1 Ja

2 Nej





B. Fördelning av resurser

8. a) Erhåller er skola likvärdigt stöd från kommunen i frågor som rör elever i behov av särskilt stöd som kommunens skolor?

1 Ja → Gå till fråga 9

2 Nej

Om nej:

b) Hur skiljer det sig?

9. a) Har er skola varit tvungen att neka några elever utbildning under de senaste 3 åren pga. att kommunen inte lämnat erforderligt bidrag?

1 Ja

2 Nej → Gå till fråga 10

Om ja:

b) Hur många elever?

|

10. a) Har er skola varit tvungen att neka några elever utbildning under de senaste 3 åren pga. att det skulle medföra betydande organisatoriska eller ekonomiska svårigheter för er skola?

1 Ja

2 Nej → Gå till fråga 11

Om ja:

b) Hur många elever?

|

11. Hur fördelas resurser till elever i behov av särskilt stöd?

Flera svar kan markeras.

1 Särskilt centralt avsatta medel inom kommunen

1 Rektor har att fördela inom ramen för den generella tilldelningen från kommunen

1 Annan princip, ange vilken

1 Vet inte





C. Identifiering av gruppen

12. Ungefär hur stor andel av skolans elever (i procent) är i behov av särskilt stöd?

Med särskilt stöd menar vi att elever har sådana svårigheter att särskilt stöd behövs.

%

13. Ungefär hur stor del av skolans elever (i procent) får särskilt stöd?

Med särskilt stöd menar vi att elever har sådana svårigheter att särskilt stöd behövs.

%

14. Ungefär hur stor del av skolans elever (i procent) har åtgärdsprogram?

%

15. Vilka anledningar tror ni är vanliga till att elever är i behov av särskilt stöd?

Frågan gäller dessa elever i allmänhet, inte eleverna på er skola.

Markera ett kryss för varje anledning.	Mycket vanligt	Ganska vanligt	Ganska ovanligt	Mycket ovanligt/ förekommer inte	Ingen uppfattning
	1	2	3	4	5
a. Skolans mål är för svåra för dessa elever	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Dessa elever har individuella brister	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Skolan är dåligt anpassad för att hantera olikhet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Dessa elever har brister i hemmiljön	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Vissa lärare har brister	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Vissa klasser fungerar dåligt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Annat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. Vilken betydelse uppfattar ni att medicinsk diagnostisering har för att erhålla särskilt stöd?

- 1 Stor betydelse
 2 Ganska stor betydelse
 3 Ganska liten betydelse
 4 Ingen betydelse

17. Vilken betydelse uppfattar ni att medicinsk diagnostisering borde ha för att erhålla särskilt stöd?

- 1 Stor betydelse
 2 Ganska stor betydelse
 3 Ganska liten betydelse
 4 Ingen betydelse





D Personal

18. Vilka högskoleutbildade yrkeskategorier arbetar med särskilt stöd på er skola?

- 1 Specialpedagog
- 1 Speciallärare
- 1 Socionom
- 1 Beteendevetare
- 1 Annan

19. Hur har specialpedagogernas arbetsuppgifter på skolan förändrats under de senaste 5 åren?

- Ingen specialpedagog arbetar med särskilt stöd på skolan → Gå till fråga 20
- Skolan har varit verksam mindre än 5 år
Markera och besvara frågorna nedan.

Markera ett kryss för varje arbetsuppgift.

	Ökat	Minskat	I stort sett oförändrat
	1	2	3
a. Individuellt inriktad specialundervisning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.Handledning för lärarlag/lärare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.Handledning av elev	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Organisationsutveckling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Utredning och dokumentation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Elevvårdsarbete	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. Vilket specialpedagogiskt stöd har skolan från den egna organisationen?

- 1 Ingår inte i någon organisation → Gå till fråga 21
- Flera svar kan markeras.*
- 1 Rådgivning
- 1 Pedagogisk utredning
- 1 Kurs/fortbildning
- 1 Läromedelsanpassning
- 1 Visstidsutbildning
- 1 Deltagande i utvecklingsarbete
- 1 Annat
- 1 Inget stöd





21. Vilket specialpedagogiskt stöd har skolan från Specialpedagogiska skolmyndigheten?

Flera svar kan markeras.

- 1 Rådgivning
- 1 Pedagogisk utredning
- 1 Kurs/fortbildning
- 1 Läromedelsanpassning
- 1 Visstidsutbildning
- 1 Deltagande i utvecklingsarbete
- 1 Annat
- 1 Inget stöd

22. Vilket specialpedagogiskt stöd har skolan från kommunen?

Flera svar kan markeras.

- 1 Rådgivning
- 1 Pedagogisk utredning
- 1 Kurs/fortbildning
- 1 Läromedelsanpassning
- 1 Visstidsutbildning
- 1 Deltagande i utvecklingsarbete
- 1 Annat
- 1 Inget stöd

E. Organisationsformer i arbetet med elever i behov av särskilt stöd

23. a) Finns det någon på skolan som har det övergripande ansvaret för elever i behov av särskilt stöd?

- 1 Ja
- 2 Nej → Gå till fråga 24

Om ja:

b) Vilken befattning har denna person?





24. Hur vanliga är följande organisatoriska/personella lösningar för elever i behov av särskilt stöd på er skola?

<i>Markera ett kryss för varje lösning.</i>		Mycket vanligt	Ganska vanligt	Ganska ovanligt	Mycket ovanligt/ förekommer inte	Vet inte
		1	2	3	4	5
a.	Elever undervisas i särskild undervisningsgrupp mer än 50 % av tiden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Elever undervisas både i stor och liten grupp (mindre än 50 % av tiden)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	Eleven ingår i "vanlig" klass/grupp och får handledning av specialpedagog	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Anpassning av klasstorlek	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	Integrering i grundsärskolegrupper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f.	Extra lärarresurs i klassrummet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g.	Tillgång till assistent i klassrummet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h.	Särskild undervisning av speciallärare/specialpedagog under viss tid av veckan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i.	Annat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. Hur eftersträvansvärda för skolan är följande organisatoriska/personella lösningar för elever i behov av särskilt stöd på er skola?

<i>Markera ett kryss för varje lösning.</i>		Mycket eftersträvansvärt	Ganska eftersträvansvärt	Lite eftersträvansvärt	Inte alls eftersträvansvärt	Ingen uppfattning
		1	2	3	4	5
a.	Elever undervisas i särskild undervisningsgrupp mer än 50 % av tiden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Elever undervisas både i stor och liten grupp (mindre än 50 % av tiden)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c.	Eleven ingår i "vanlig" klass/grupp och får handledning av specialpedagog	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Anpassning av klasstorlek	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e.	Integrering i grundsärskolegrupper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f.	Extra lärarresurs i klassrummet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g.	Tillgång till assistent i klassrummet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h.	Särskild undervisning av speciallärare/specialpedagog under viss tid av veckan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i.	Annat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>





26. a) Finns det särskilda undervisningsgrupper där eleverna tillbringar mer än 50 % av tiden?

1 Ja

2 Nej → Gå till fråga 27

b) Hur många? grupper

c) Har grupperna en inriktning mot typer av diagnoser/problem?

Markera för vilka diagnoser/problem

1 Rörelsehinder

1 Hörselnedsättning

1 Aspergers syndrom

1 ADHD/DAMP

1 Språkstörning

1 Psykosocial problematik

1 Läs- och skrivproblem/dyslexi

1 Annat

1 Har ingen inriktning

F. Riktlinjer för och utvärdering av arbetet

27. Hur viktiga är följande styrdokument för skolans arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd?

Markera ett kryss för varje styrdokument.

	Mycket viktigt 1	Ganska viktigt 2	Ganska oviktigt 3	Helt oviktigt 4	Vet inte 5
a. Skollagen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Grundskoleförordningen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Läroplanen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Förordningen om fristående skolor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Nationella kursplaner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
r. Statliga utredningar inom området	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Utbildningsdepartementets policydokument	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Nationella handikappolitiska planen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Kommunal skolplan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. Barnkonventionen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k. FN:s konvention om rättigheter för personer med funktionsnedsättning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l. Salamanca-deklarationen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m. Annat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>





28. a) Hur tydliga tycker skolan att de statliga riktlinjerna är för skolans arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd?

- 1 Mycket tydliga
- 2 Ganska tydliga
- 3 Varken tydliga eller otydliga
- 4 Ganska otydliga
- 5 Mycket otydliga

29. a) Hur bra eller dåligt tycker skolan att statens uppföljning och utvärdering av skolans arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd fungerar?

- 1 Mycket bra
- 2 Ganska bra
- 3 Varken bra eller dåligt
- 4 Ganska dåligt
- 5 Mycket dåligt

G. Inflytande

30. Hur stort inflytande tycker skolan att olika grupper bör ha över det särskilda stödets innehåll när det handlar om en konkret elev?

Markera ett kryss för varje grupp.

	Stort inflytande	Ganska stort inflytande	Ganska lite inflytande	Lite/Inget inflytande alls
	1	2	3	4
a. Politiker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Tjänstemän	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Rektorer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Lärare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Personal med specialpedagogisk utbildning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Föräldrar/vårdnadshavare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Eleven	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Annan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>





31. Hur viktiga tycker skolan att följande former för elevinflytande är när det gäller elever i behov av särskilt stöd?

Markera ett kryss för varje form av inflytande.

	Mycket viktigt	Ganska viktigt	Ganska oviktigt	Helt oviktigt
	1	2	3	4
a. Inflytande i samband med utvecklingssamtal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Medverkan i upprättandet av åtgärdsprogram	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Inflytande via föräldrar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Inflytande i det dagliga arbetet i klassrummet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Medverkan i upprättande av individuell utvecklingsplan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Annat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

H. Arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd

32. Vilka personer deltar vanligtvis aktivt med att utarbeta åtgärdsprogram?

Flera svar kan markeras.

- 1 Rektor
- 1 Klass-/ämneslärare/mentor
- 1 Specialpedagog/speciellärare
- 1 Skolsköterska/skolpsykolog/kurator
- 1 Assistent/resurspersonal
- 1 Elev
- 1 Förälder/vårdnadshavare
- 1 Annan





33. Hur ofta tycker du att man ska använda följande åtgärder i arbetet med elever i behov av särskilt stöd på er skola?

Markera ett kryss på varje rad.

	Ofta	Ibland	Sällan	Nästan aldrig/ aldrig
	1	2	3	4
a. Placering av eleven i liten grupp	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Särskild färdighetsträning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Anpassade läromedel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Anpassning av den fysiska miljön	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Förändring av klass/gruppsammansättning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Tillgång till specialpedagogisk kompetens	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Stöd av expert/konsulter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Förstärkning med assistent/resurspersonal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Anpassning av arbetsformer/arbetssätt i undervisningen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. Lärarkompetens	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k. Arbetslagets funktion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l. Föräldrars attityder och åsikter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m. Barnets motivation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n. Barnets kunskaper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o. Annat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

J. Resultat och effekter

34. a) Följer skolan upp sitt arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd?

1 Ja

2 Nej → Gå till fråga 35

Om ja:

b) På vilket sätt?

Flera svar kan markeras.

1 Speciell ekonomisk redovisning av området

1 Ingår i skolans kvalitetsredovisning

1 Redovisning av sociala och pedagogiska utfall för elever i behov av särskilt stöd

1 Annat





35. Är det något speciellt ni vill lyfta fram i ert arbete med elever i behov av särskilt stöd?

36. Övriga kommentarer:

Tack för er medverkan!



Appendix II

UEnr

Specialpedagoger och speciallärare om yrkesutbildningen och dess relevans

Syfte

Den här enkäten utgör en delstudie i projektet ”Speciella yrken? – om speciallärares och specialpedagogers arbete och utbildning”. Studien är finansierad av Vetenskapsrådet.

Speciallärare och specialpedagoger har centrala funktioner i skolan eftersom de arbetar med ett av skolans viktigaste områden, det vill säga arbetet med elever i problematiska skolsituationer. Det finns dock förvånansvärt lite forskning om dessa yrkesgrupper. Undersökningen är därför mycket viktig och vi är tacksamma om Du tar dig tid att svara.

I den här första delstudien är det *utbildningen* inom specialpedagog- och speciallärarprogrammen som är i fokus. I en andra delstudie är det *arbetet* som speciallärare eller specialpedagog med elever i behov av särskilt stöd som är fokus. Det innebär att några av er kommer att få ytterligare en enkät under våren som gäller själva arbetet, och det är viktigt att svara på båda. Vi kommer senare också att kontakta några specialpedagoger och speciallärare för att få en mer djupgående kunskap om hur själva arbetet i vardagen utformas.

Datansamlingen genomförs av Statistiska centralbyrån (SCB) på uppdrag av Mälardalens högskola och Högskolan i Jönköping. SCB har hand om utskick, insamling och registrering av inkomna svar.

Alla svar är viktiga

Alla som har tagit svensk specialpedagogexamen eller speciallärarexamen enligt 2001/ 2007/ 2008 års examensordningar får denna enkät. Uppgiften om din examen är hämtad från Universitets- och högskoleregistret. Din medverkan är frivillig men ditt svar är mycket viktigt och bidrar till att undersökningens resultat blir tillförlitligt. Ditt svar kan inte ersättas med någon annans.

Vi ber dig svara på frågorna och skicka tillbaka blanketten i det portofria svarskuvertet så snart som möjligt.

Kontakta oss gärna

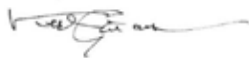
Undersökningens syfte eller hjälp med frågorna:
Kerstin Göransson
Telefon: 021 – 10 14 23
E-post: kerstin.goransson@mdh.se

Claes Nilholm
E-post: claes.nilholm@hik.hj.se

Insamling av blanketten:
Mattias Fritz
Undersökningsledare
Telefon: 019 – 17 62 67
E-post: mattias.fritz@scb.se
Postadress: 701 89 Örebro

Tack på förhand för din medverkan!

Med vänliga hälsningar



Kerstin Göransson
*Vetenskaplig ledare
Docent i specialpedagogik
Mälardalens högskola*



Claes Nilholm
*Professor i pedagogik,
inriktning specialpedagogik
Högskolan för lärande och
kommunikation
Högskolan i Jönköping*



Mattias Fritz
*Undersökningsledare
Statistiska centralbyrån*

Dina svar är skyddade

Dina uppgifter skyddas enligt 24 kap. 8 § offentlighets- och sekretesslagen (2009:400) samt personuppgiftslagen (1998:204). Det innebär att alla som arbetar med undersökningen har tystnadsplikt och att de insamlade uppgifterna endast redovisas i tabeller där ingen enskild persons svar kan utläsas. Dina adressuppgifter hämtades från Registret över totalbefolkningen (RTB).

Numret högst upp på blanketten är till för att SCB under insamlingen ska kunna se vilka som har svarat och vilka som ska få en påminnelse. Efter avslutad bearbetning hos SCB avlägsnas alla identitetsuppgifter innan materialet överlämnas till Mälardalens högskola för fortsatt bearbetning.

Resultat

Resultaten från undersökningen kommer att redovisas i en forskningsrapport under 2013.

Här placeras rutan med instruktioner om hur blanketten ska fyllas i.



Frågor om anställning och grundutbildning

1 Vad hade du för arbetsförhållande under mars 2012?

- Jag var anställd eller arbetade i eget företag
- Jag var *inte* anställd eller arbetade i eget företag → **Gå till fråga 9**

2 Var var du anställd under mars 2012?

Flera alternativ får anges.

- Jag var anställd inom förskola/skola/vuxenutbildning (ej universitet eller högskola)
- Jag var anställd inom habilitering
- Jag var anställd inom Barn- och ungdomspsykiatri (BUP)
- Jag var anställd inom Specialpedagogiska skolmyndigheten (SPSM)
- Jag var anställd på Skolverket
- Jag var anställd på universitet/högskola
- Annat

3 Var du anställd inom fristående skolverksamhet under mars 2012?

- Ja
- Nej → **Gå till fråga 7**

4 Vilken inriktning har den fristående skolan?

- Allmän
- Waldorf
- Konfessionell skola
- Internationell

5 Har skolan någon särskild profil?

- Ingen särskild profilgrupp
- Speciell pedagogik, t ex montessori
- Särskilt stöd
- Språklig/etnisk
- Speciellt ämne
- Annat, **ange vad i rutan nedan**





6 Vilken organisationsform har skolan?

- Aktiebolag med flera skolor
- Aktiebolag med enstaka skola
- Ideell förening
- Stiftelse
- Ekonomisk förening
- Enskild firma
- Handelsbolag
- Vet inte

7 Jag var under mars 2012 anställd som...

Flera alternativ får anges. Om du är anställd som speciallärare eller specialpedagog i kombination med en annan anställning gå sedan till fråga 9.

- ...speciallärare → **Gå till fråga 9**
- ...specialpedagog → **Gå till fråga 9**
- ...försköllärare
- ...grundskollärare tidigare år
- ...grundskollärare senare år
- ...gymnasielärare
- ...lärare inom vuxenutbildning
- ...rektor
- ...annat än ovanstående

8 Hur viktiga är följande anledningar till att du inte är anställd som speciallärare/specialpedagog?

	Mycket viktigt	Ganska viktigt	Ganska oviktigt	Inte alls viktigt
Det finns inte sådant arbete	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag trivdes inte i yrket	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det är svårt att få gehör för yrkesrollen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag fick annat mer lockande erbjudande	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annat, ange vad i rutan nedan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



9 Hur länge har du sammanlagt varit anställd som speciallärare/specialpedagog?

- Mindre än 1 år
- 1 – 5 år
- Mer än 5 år
- Aldrig

10 Vilken är din grundutbildning?

- Fritidspedagog
- Förskollärare
- Grundskollärare
- Ämneslärare, **ange vilket ämne i rutan:**
- Gymnasielärare
- Lärare inom vuxenutbildning
- Övrig utbildning (förutom speciallärar-/specialpedagogutbildning), **ange vad i rutan nedan**

OBS! Fråga 11 - 13 besvaras av dig som var anställd som speciallärare/specialpedagog i mars 2012.

11 Jag var anställd som speciallärare/specialpedagog under mars 2012 i...

Flera alternativ får anges.

- ... förskolan
- ... grundskollärare tidigare år
- ... grundskollärare senare år
- ... grundsärskolan
- ... gymnasium introduktionsprogrammen
- ... gymnasium yrkesprogrammen
- ... gymnasium högskoleförberedande programmen
- ... gymnasiesärskolan
- ... vuxenutbildning
- ... på central funktion inom kommun (t ex centralt stödteam)
- ... annat



12 Vad var din tjänstgöringsomfattning som speciallärare/specialpedagog i mars 2012?

Räkna endast med din anställningstid som speciallärare/specialpedagog.

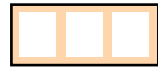
Heltid

Deltid

13 Hur stor del av din anställning som speciallärare/specialpedagog arbetar du med följande aktiviteter (räkna även in förberedelsestid där sådan förekommer)?

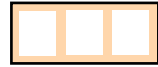
Uppskatta den procentuella andelen och fördela så att det summerar till 100%.

Undervisar barn/ungdomar/vuxna individuellt



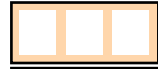
procent

Undervisar barn/ungdomar/vuxna i mindre grupper



procent

Undervisar i "vanlig" klass



procent

Kvalificerade samtal med enskilda barn/elever



procent

Konsultation, rådgivning och/eller kvalificerade samtal med elevassistenter



procent

Konsultation, rådgivning och/eller kvalificerade samtal med lärare/lärlarlag



procent

Samverkan med vårdnadshavare



procent

Samverkan med skolledning



procent

Verksamhetsutveckling utöver samverkan med skolledning



procent

Utredning, upprättande av åtgärdsprogram och dokumentation



procent

Samverkan med elevhälsan



procent

Samverkan med kommunal skolförvaltning



procent

Samverkan med externa stödfunktioner, BUP, Habilitering, Soc, SPSM, BVC



procent

Annat, **ange vad i rutan nedan**



procent





Frågor om specialpedagog-/speciallärarutbildningen

14 Vilket år tog du din speciallärarexamen?

- År 2010
- År 2011
- År 2012
- Jag har inte tagit någon speciallärarexamen

15 Vilket år tog du din specialpedagogexamen?

- År 2003
- År 2004
- År 2005
- År 2006
- År 2007
- År 2008
- År 2009
- År 2010
- År 2011
- År 2012
- Jag har inte tagit någon specialpedagogexamen

OBS! Fråga 16 - 17 besvaras av dig som examinerats som specialpedagog.

16 När påbörjade du din specialpedagogutbildning (gäller enbart specialpedagoger)?

- VT 2001 eller tidigare
- HT 2001 – VT 2007
- HT 2007 eller senare
- Vet inte

17 Enligt vilken examensordning examinerades du (gäller enbart specialpedagoger)?

- 2001 års examensordning
- 2007 års examensordning
- Vet inte

18 Vid vilket lärosäte gick du specialpedagog-/speciallärarutbildningen?

- Göteborgs universitet
- Karlstads universitet
- Högskolan i Kristianstad
- Linköpings universitet
- Malmö högskola
- Stockholms universitet
- Växjö universitet / Linnéuniversitetet
- Umeå universitet
- Örebro universitet





19 Genomförde du din specialpedagog-/speciallärarutbildning på helfart eller halvfart?

- Helfart
 Halvfart

20 På vilket sätt genomförde du din specialpedagog-/speciallärarutbildning?

- Campusförlagda studier
 Distanstudier
 Distanstudier med regelbundna campusförlagda träffar

21 Hade du någon ekonomisk ersättning från arbetsgivare under utbildningen?

- Nej, jag hade ingen arbetsgivare
 Ja, 81-100 procent
 Ja, 61-80 procent
 Ja, 41-60 procent
 Ja, 21-40 procent
 Ja, 1-20 procent
 Nej, jag hade ingen ekonomisk ersättning från min arbetsgivare

22 Hur vanliga var följande arbetsformer under utbildningen?

	Mycket vanliga	Ganska vanliga	Ganska ovanliga	Mycket ovanliga	Kommer inte ihåg
Föreläsning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lärlarlett seminarium	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grupparbete	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pararbete	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Individuellt arbete	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23 Ingick VFU (Verksamhetsförlagd utbildning) under en sammanhängande period med handledning av speciallärare/specialpedagog i utbildningen?

- Ja
 Nej → Gå till fråga 25

24 Hur stor betydelse hade VFU:n för din framtida yrkesutövning?

- Mycket stor betydelse
 Ganska stor betydelse
 Ganska liten betydelse
 Mycket liten betydelse



**25 I vilken grad har ditt examensarbete ...**

	I mycket hög grad	I ganska hög grad	I ganska låg grad	I mycket låg grad/ inte alls
... varit utvecklande för dig personligen?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... gjort dig förberedd för kommande yrkesutövning?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... använts i utvecklingsarbete på din arbetsplats?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... gett ett kunskapsbidrag till fältet?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... gett ett kunskapsbidrag till forskningen?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

26 I vilken grad har dina lärare under utbildningen ...

	I hög grad	I ganska hög grad	I ganska låg grad	I mycket låg grad/ inte alls
... varit insatta i specialpedagogiska teoribildningar?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... haft kännedom om hur det fungerar på förskolor?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... haft kännedom om hur det fungerar på skolor?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... haft kännedom om hur det fungerar inom vuxenutbildningen?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27 Under utbildningen hade jag klart för mig vilka ...

	Stämmer helt/i hög grad	Stämmer i ganska hög grad	Stämmer i ganska låg grad	Stämmer i mycket låg grad/ inte alls
... examensmålen var?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... examensmål som examinerades?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... kursmål som examinerades?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28 Hur stora möjligheter hade du som student att påverka utbildningen?

- Stora möjligheter
- Ganska stora möjligheter
- Ganska små möjligheter
- Inga möjligheter alls

29 Hur stor betydelse hade dina studiekamrater för din syn på din yrkesroll?

- Mycket stor betydelse
- Ganska stor betydelse
- Ganska liten betydelse
- Mycket liten betydelse





30 Hur stor betydelse hade dina studiekamrater för din kompetens att klara av ditt jobb?

- Mycket stor betydelse
 Ganska stor betydelse
 Ganska liten betydelse
 Mycket liten betydelse

31 Efter avslutad utbildning var jag väl förberedd att ...

	Stämmer helt/i hög grad	Stämmer i ganska hög grad	Stämmer i ganska låg grad	Stämmer i mycket låg grad/ inte alls
... arbeta individuellt med barn/ungdomar/vuxna i behov av särskilt stöd?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... arbeta med grupper/klasser där barn/ungdomar/vuxna i behov av särskilt stöd ingår?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... arbeta med rådgivning/konsultation av lärare?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... arbeta med dokumentation och utredning?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... arbeta med skolutveckling?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... arbeta förebyggande med att utveckla inkluderande skol- och lärmiljöer?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... arbeta med anpassning av lärandemiljöer?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... samverka kring pedagogiska frågor med kollegor, föräldrar och andra berörda?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... leda pedagogiskt utvecklingsarbete?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

32 Ta ställning till följande påståenden: Har utbildningen gett dig ...

	Helt/i hög grad	I ganska hög grad	I ganska låg grad	I mycket låg grad/ inte alls
... en vetenskaplig grund för dina framtida arbetsuppgifter?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... kunskaper för att möta olikheter inom elevgrupper?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... kunskaper för att öka barns/ungdomars/vuxnas inflytande över den egna lärandesituationen?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



**33 I vilken grad har utbildningen förberett dig att arbeta för barn/ungdomar/vuxna med ...**

	Helt/ mycket hög grad	I ganska hög grad	I ganska låg grad	I mycket låg grad/ inte alls
... rörelsehinder?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... hörselnedsättning?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... synnedsättning?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... utvecklingsstörning?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... neuropsykiatriska funktionsnedsättningar?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... tal-, språk- och kommunikationssvårigheter?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... generella inlärningsvårigheter?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... koncentrationssvårigheter?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... socioemotionella svårigheter?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... komplicerade livssituationer?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... läs- och skrivsvårigheter/dyslexi?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... matematiksvårigheter/dyskalkyli?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... andra former av svårigheter på individnivå?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

34 I vilken grad har utbildningen förberett dig för att arbeta med utvärdering av specialpedagogiskt arbete på ...

	Helt/ mycket hög grad	I ganska hög grad	I ganska låg grad	I mycket låg grad/ inte alls
... individnivå?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... klassnivå?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... skolnivå?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... kommunnivå?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



**35 I vilken grad betonades kartläggning och utvärdering av...**

	Helt/ mycket hög grad	I ganska hög grad	I ganska låg grad	I mycket låg grad/ inte alls
...individuella lärandemiljöer?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...individuella kunskapsmål?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...individuella sociala mål?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...individuella kritiska tänkande?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...individuella självständighet?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...individuella delaktighet?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...mål för klassers lärandemiljö?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...klassers kunskapsmål?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...klassers sociala mål?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...mål för skolans lärandemiljö?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...mål för rådgivning/kvalificerade samtal?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

36 Sammanfattningsvis, i vilken grad är du nöjd med ...

	Helt/ mycket hög grad	I ganska hög grad	I ganska låg grad	I mycket låg grad/ inte alls
... utbildningens innehåll?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... utbildningens arbetsformer?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
... utbildningens examinationsformer?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



Skäl till att börja utbildningen

37 Hur viktiga eller oviktiga för dig var följande skäl till att börja utbildningen?

	Mycket viktigt	Ganska viktigt	Ganska oviktigt	Mycket oviktigt	Vet inte/ kommer inte ihåg
Jag ville arbeta med rådgivning/kvalificerade samtal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag ville arbeta med konsultation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag ville arbeta individualiserat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag ville arbeta med liten undervisningsgrupp	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag ville arbeta med skolutveckling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag ville arbeta med att förebygga skolproblematik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag ville arbeta med barn/ungdomar/vuxna med specifika problem (t.ex, AD/HD, dyslexi)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag ville arbeta i ett team	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag ville hjälpa barn/ungdomar/vuxna i utsatta situationer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag ville öka kunskapsnivån hos barn/ungdomar/vuxna i utsatta situationer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag trivdes inte på mitt jobb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rektor tyckte att jag skulle gå utbildningen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag inspirerades av specialpedagoger/speciallärare i min närhet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag trivdes inte/upplevde svårigheter under min egen skoltid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Någon/några i min släkt/vänkrets har/hade en funktionsnedsättning/skolsvårigheter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag har själv en funktionsnedsättning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag bedömde att det skulle bli lätt att få arbete	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En möjlighet till personlig utveckling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En möjlighet till karriär	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Formell behörighet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annat, ange vad i rutan nedan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



Synen på skolproblem

38 Hur viktiga eller oviktiga tycker du följande orsaker är till att barn/ungdomar/vuxna får svårigheter i förskolan eller under sin utbildning?

	Mycket viktigt	Ganska viktigt	Ganska oviktigt	Mycket oviktigt
Skolans/förskolans mål är för svåra för eleverna	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Barn/ungdomar/vuxna har individuella brister	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Förskolan/skolan är dåligt anpassad för att hantera barns/ungdomars/vuxnas olikheter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Barn/ungdomar/vuxna har brister i hemmiljön	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vissa lärare har brister	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vissa klasser/grupper fungerar dåligt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annat, ange vad i rutan nedan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39 Hur viktiga eller oviktiga tyckte du innan du började utbildningen att följande orsaker var till att barn/ungdomar/vuxna får svårigheter i förskolan eller under sin utbildning?

	Mycket viktigt	Ganska viktigt	Ganska oviktigt	Mycket oviktigt
Skolans/förskolans mål är för svåra för eleverna	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Barn/ungdomar/vuxna har individuella brister	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Förskolan/skolan är dåligt anpassad för att hantera barns/ungdomars/vuxnas olikheter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Barn/ungdomar/vuxna har brister i hemmiljön	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vissa lärare har brister	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vissa klasser/grupper fungerar dåligt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Annat, ange vad i rutan nedan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

40 Hur viktigt eller oviktigt är det att barn/ungdomar/vuxna får diagnos för att få särskilt stöd i den skola/organisation du arbetar i?

- Mycket viktigt
- Ganska viktigt
- Ganska oviktigt
- Mycket oviktigt





41 Hur viktigt eller oviktigt tycker du att det *borde* vara att barn/ungdomar/vuxna får diagnos för att få särskilt stöd i den skola/organisation du arbetar i?

- Mycket viktigt
- Ganska viktigt
- Ganska oviktigt
- Mycket oviktigt

42 Hur stora eller små bedömer du dina möjligheter att påverka dina medarbetares syn på barns/ungdomars/vuxnas svårigheter?

- Mycket stora
- Ganska stora
- Ganska små
- Mycket små

Skolans roll och funktion

43 Vilken roll bör skolan ha i samhället?
Rangordna från 1 (viktigast) till 5 (minst viktig).

**Rangordna
(1 viktigast)**

Bidra till ett likvärdigt och jämlikt samhälle

Bidra till en ökad utbildningsnivå i samhället

Bidra till kontinuitet och kulturell värdegemenskap

Bidra till ett konkurrenskraftigt samhälle, där individens frihet och ansvar betonas

Skolan ska ha annan roll, **ange vilken i rutan nedan**

44 Vad bör skolan prioritera?
Rangordna från 1 (viktigast) till 4 (minst viktig).

**Rangordna
(1 viktigast)**

Elevers personliga utveckling

Kunskapsmålen och ansvar för det egna lärandet

Grupptillhörighet, trygghet och säkerhet

Skolan bör prioritera annat, **ange vad i rutan nedan**





Bakgrundsfrågor

45 Vilket år är du född?

År:

1	9		
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46 Är du man eller kvinna?

- Man
 Kvinna

47 Vilken utbildningsnivå har/hade din mamma?

- Ej fullgjord grundskola
 Grundskola eller motsvarande
 Gymnasium eller motsvarande
 Mindre än tre år på universitet/högskola
 Tre år eller mer på universitet/högskola
 Vet inte/minns inte

48 Vilken utbildningsnivå har/hade din pappa?

- Ej fullgjord grundskola
 Grundskola eller motsvarande
 Gymnasium eller motsvarande
 Mindre än tre år på universitet/högskola
 Tre år eller mer på universitet/högskola
 Vet inte/minns inte

49 I vilken grad har du känt stöd hemifrån för dina studier?

- Helt/i hög grad
 I ganska hög grad
 I ganska låg grad
 I mycket låg grad/inte alls

50 Är någon av eller båda dina föräldrar lärare?

- Ja
 Nej



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