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The Development of Inclusive Practice under a Policy of Integration

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The Development of Inclusive Practice under a Policy of Integration

In 2015, South Korea hosted the World Education Forum as it considered issues of education for all and improving inclusion worldwide. Yet, as is the case in many countries, pupils with special educational needs in South Korea are often included by way of ‘special or additional’ support as ‘compensation’ for disability, raising questions about the extent to which support is a tool for inclusion or a reproduction of exclusion in the classroom. This study examined teachers’ views and practice regarding teaching and support, the actual work of the support assistant, and the extent to which practice reflected the model set by official policy and guidelines. The modified Wider Pedagogical Role (WPR) model (Blatchford, Russell and Webster 2012) was used as reference for the data collection and analysis. The development of inclusive practices was also examined relative to the inclusive pedagogical approach developed by Florian & Black-Hawkins (2011) to determine how the three principles of inclusive pedagogy were enacted in South Korea. Findings demonstrate how practice can comply, stretch or, in some cases, disregard the limits of policy. The study provides practical support for the implementation of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 4 which calls for inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning opportunities for all.

Keywords: inclusive pedagogy, inclusive practice, support assistant provision, South Korea.

Subject classification codes: include these here if the journal requires them

Introduction

In 2015, South Korea hosted the World Education Forum as it considered issues of education for all and improving inclusion worldwide. At this meeting, the United Nations’ Education for All (EFA) agenda was extended by adoption of the Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action. This framework set worldwide education goals for 2030, following UNESCO guidance (UNESCO 2017) in support of the UN Sustainable Development Goal 4: (SDG 4) - *Ensure inclusive and equitable quality*

education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all. These policies reflect global agreement to improve education systems worldwide to ensure that all children benefit from a good quality education (UNESCO 2010). Developing inclusive and equitable quality education is an ongoing process (Ainscow 2007; 2014) that is influenced by national, cultural and socio-economic contexts. The study reported here examines the role of learning support in promoting inclusive education in South Korea (S. Korea).

Development of inclusive education in S. Korea

As has been the case in many countries, S. Korea began the journey toward inclusion by addressing the exclusion of children with disabilities. Initial policies and laws promoting inclusive education were introduced in the 1990s to educate pupils with disabilities in special classrooms in mainstream schools rather than in separate special schools (Kim 2014). After several significant revisions of the initial 1977 Act, the 2012, 'Act on Special Education for the Disabled Persons, etc.' (Korea Ministry of Government Legislation 2012) replaced it as the major legal basis for special and inclusive education. Accordingly, eligibility for access to special educational provision, including assessment for Individual Educational Programmes (IEPs), the allocation of support assistants and the provision of alternative programmes, depends entirely on having a Statement based on a medical diagnosis of disability or impairment. In S. Korea, pupils with Statements are referred to as having special educational needs (SEN). While mainstream schools accommodate over 70% of pupils with Statements, over two-thirds of these pupils are taught in special classes either full-time or part-time (Ministry of Education 2017).

Despite the use of the term inclusive education, the S. Korean model is based on the traditional remedial approach to special educational need pervasive in the early self-contained delivery model of special education in which education for pupils with disabilities in mainstream schools was a special service (Giangreco 2013). Consequently, S. Korea's policy of inclusion relies on special education practices that focus on the needs of pupils with disability rather than responding to learner diversity more broadly. Although this model has been criticised as a reductionist form of inclusion whereby an individual learner's condition is considered to be a problem (Liasidou and Antoniou 2013), and Slee (2011) has argued that inclusive education cannot succeed where it is used as a euphemism for special education, the policy context for S. Korea offers an opportunity to test this assumption.

The study reported below was prompted by the first author's experience as a learning support teacher (called special education teacher) in S. Korea. During this experience, it seemed contradictory that the basic assumption of support provision as additional support for a few pupils would be unquestioned in a system where the seeking of support was considered a natural part of learning for every pupil. This led to questioning what makes the use of learning support different at class level- the support system or something else? In considering this question it seemed important to investigate the ways in which support assistance intersected with a teacher's individual support to pupils in a lesson.

Support assistant provision as a lens to examine inclusive practice in S. Korea

As shown in Figure 1 below, support assistance is generally considered to be an 'additional resource' for some pupils. Mainstream class teachers are required to respond to the needs of pupils with SEN and access to additional provision for these pupils

depends on a service delivery system where mainstream primary schools usually deploy one (but sometimes two) support assistants to meet the needs of pupils with SEN. The time spent by these pupils in mainstream classes varies according to the level of need of the pupil, the subject, and the preference of the mainstream class teacher. Although there is broad agreement about the value of the work of assistants (Chambers 2015; Thomas, Walker, and Webb 1998; Veck 2009), there is no such consensus about how they spend their time.

Figure 1. S. Korean Education System

General information	Special Education	Inclusive Education
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 6-3-3 year system. 9 years basic education. Separate teacher education programmes for special teachers and general teachers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Act on Special Education for the Disabled Persons, etc. (2012). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disability/medical- based classification. Eligibility: statement issued by LEAs. 75% of pupils with SEN receive part time mainstream education (Ministry of Education 2015). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inclusive Education is an agenda of special education. Support assistant (Special Education Assistant) provision is the main instrument of educational inclusion. Special class teacher has no responsibility to engage in learning and supporting in mainstream class.

The study reported below examined teachers’ views and practice regarding teaching and support, the actual work of the support assistant, and the extent to which practice reflected the model set by official policy and guidelines. It was underpinned by an assumption that teachers’ perspectives on inclusive education influence pedagogical decision-making as well as how learning support is used (Drummond and Hart 2014). Understanding how these perspectives vary is important because inclusion is enacted at the level of classroom practice. Further underpinning the study was a theoretical view of inclusion as a learning process that invites us to challenge and question current practice in a continuous effort to improve it (Ainscow 2007; 2014). This view is respectful of human diversity on the grounds that differences between learners are to be expected rather than seen as problematic, and posits that the ways that teachers use teaching

strategies and approaches is essential to inclusion (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011; Florian 2014a).

Three elements of Inclusive Pedagogical Approach to examine class practice

Florian and Black-Hawkins' (2011) study of how practitioners make sense of a policy of inclusion led them to argue that it is not what but how support is provided that is important. This finding preceded the development of the inclusive pedagogical approach (IPA) (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011; Black-Hawkins and Florian 2012), which argues that assistance can be used to provide rich learning opportunities in ways that are ordinarily available in the community of the class rather than as additional provision for some, different to that which is available to others.

Inclusive Pedagogy (see Figure 2) is an approach to teaching and learning whereby learners' differences are presented as a challenge to teachers to respond to in ways which include all pupils, and encourages an open-ended view of pupils' potential (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011). Difficulties that pupils may face are understood as factors to be given consideration in learning and teaching. Extending forms of activity in order to widen opportunities for everyone to learn can meet individual needs by encouraging participation and allowing pupils to monitor their own progress at their own pace within the learning community of the class. The belief underpinning this approach is that every pupil has potential and will make progress in a different way and at a different pace. Equality of opportunity is assured and individual diversity is respected.

The third principle of the IPA approach, 'working with and through others' was particularly relevant to this study of support assistant provision in S. Korea. For this reason, the IPA was selected as a stimulus to ask participants about fundamental values,

i.e. respect of diversity, dealing with difficulties and difference, self-belief in one's responsibility and working with a support assistant.

Figure 2. Theoretical framework: Inclusive Pedagogical Approach

Method

Study design

The study was designed within a methodological stance that enabled us to focus on understanding multiple realities of contemporary practice of inclusive education in S. Korea. We were interested in understanding the perspectives of the participants, how they interacted with each other as well as how they were influenced by the particular circumstances of a given moment (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba 2011; Seale 1999). To this end, an instrumental case study design (Thomas 2011) was utilised to examine the use of learning support in five primary schools in Seoul where a support assistant regularly helped pupils with SEN in mainstream classes. Seven non-representative cases were selected so that practice could be studied by exploring diverse perspectives on a complex topic (Bryman 2015; Lincoln and Guba 1990; Stake 1995). Table 1 presents anonymised case information including class, participant teachers and assistants.

Table 1. Case information

Case	School	Class			Teacher		Assistant		
		Year	Age	Obs. unit	Name	Interview	Name	Employer	Interview
1	Nalma Primary	P5	10	3	Mr. Yoo	46'17''	Mr. Park	Ministry of National Defence	46'35''
2	Kawie Primary	P6	11	3	Mr. Jo	55'15''	Ms. Kim	Local self-governing body	30'48''
3	Kawie Primary	P4	9	3	Ms. Park	42'04''	Ms. Cha	Private	28'37''
4	Yewon Primary	P4	9	3	Ms. Kim	81'23''	Ms. Lee	Seoul L.E.A.	62'29''
5	Koron Primary	P6	11	3	Ms. Lee	53'30''	Ms. Choi	Seoul L.E.A.	35'28''
6	Yewon Primary	P6	11	3	Ms. Oh	60'09''	Ms. Lee	Seoul L.E.A.	62'29''
7	Dawon Primary	P1	6	3	Ms. Han	51'55''	Ms. Shin	Seoul L.E.A.	44'39''

The study design combined data from observations and interviews so that each case consisted of three sets of material (class observation, teacher interview, and assistant interview). Class observations revealed how the stakeholders (the teacher and assistant) responded to pupils' diverse needs. Teacher interviews explored how teachers developed inclusive practice within (or departed from) the context of support assistant provision. Due to the lack of autonomy of the support assistant, interviewing assistants was important in obtaining descriptions of their work which identified various support contexts. The study investigated two questions: (1) how support assistance was combined with the teacher's practice in responding to pupils' needs; (2) how that practice expressed the teacher's view of learning, teaching and supporting all of the pupils in the classroom.

Procedures

With the informed consent of each participant, over a four week period in May and June 2016, each of the seven classes was observed three times (each 40 minutes, twenty-one units in total) without the observer's involvement. Before interview, the interviewees were reminded of their right not to answer any questions and to terminate the

conversation whenever they wanted. Each interview was scheduled for between 30 and 60 minutes and they were recorded as audio files for subsequent analysis. Interview questions were generated from the notes of observations and conversations during the induction meeting at the start of the study and after observation.

What appeared to the observer to be significant moments were selected to discuss with the teachers along with a sequence of themes covering the three principles of the IPA using a tool developed by Florian and Spratt (2013) to gather evidence of the enactment of the principles of inclusive pedagogy in diverse contexts. This tool, the Inclusive Pedagogical Approach in Action (IPAA) framework links principles to action (Florian 2014b).

Assistants were invited to give rationales for their support strategies that appeared from observation. The context of support assistants, their work and responsibilities, the range of pupils they supported, and their level of co-operation with teachers were linked to the three components of the modified WPR model (Blatchford, Russell, and Webster 2012).

At the end of each interview, photo elicitation was carried out (Bryman 2015; Törrönen 2002). Two photos taken at the school where the pilot study was conducted were used (with consent and without identifying children). One showed a support assistant working with one pupil while the teacher worked with the other pupils, and the other showed support assistants working with various groups along with the teacher. Without prompts, each teacher and assistant were asked to describe them. It was useful to understand how each interviewee saw and interpreted the situations (Bryman 2015; Edwards and Holland 2013).

Data collection and analysis

The modified Wider Pedagogical Role (WPR) model (Blatchford, Russell, and Webster 2012) was used for data collection and to assist analysis. The three components of this framework, *preparedness, deployment and practice* were used to identify support assistance in its various forms, its nature, context and interaction in each of the seven cases. Table 2 provides an illustration.

Table 2. Modified WPR model and topics covered

Feature/Method	Topic	Explanation
Preparedness/ Observation, Induction meeting and Interview.	The teacher's view of the work of the assistant.	Attitude and mind-set towards support assistance.
	Practical preparedness.	Training and professional development. Day-to-day preparation (Planning, preparation, and feedback).
Deployment/ Observation and Interview.	General activities of assistant.	Range of activities directly or indirectly supported by assistant.
	Diversity of classroom contexts for support provided by assistant.	One-to-one/ Small group (2-5 pupils)/ Medium group (6-10)/ Large group (11+)/ Roving the classroom/ Leading the whole class.
	Range of pupils supported by assistant.	SEN pupils with Statements or without Statements/ Low attaining pupils/ Others.
Practice/ Observation and Interview.	Interaction between teacher and assistant, pupils and assistant, teacher and pupils.	Context of interaction in which support arises/continues/finishes.

The development of inclusive practice was also examined relative to the inclusive pedagogical approach developed by Florian and Black-Hawkins (2011) to determine how the three principles of inclusive pedagogy were enacted in S. Korea. The IPAA (Florian 2014b) provided the main theoretical basis for data interpretation.

In the interests of consistency and accuracy in analysis and to avoid making connections between whole cases at an early stage, each of the three sets of material (teacher interview, assistant interview, and class observation), were analysed separately.

While analysing the teacher interviews, a code list was developed from the framework. Coding was necessary to categorise raw interview data into the three principles of the IPAA that ultimately revealed the diversity of developing inclusive practice. To identify the underlying pattern in each case, the number of coded fragments were tabulated, and divided into three categories, *inclusive*, *exclusive* and *neutral*. The tracking codes that appeared frequently helped to identify the ways in which thinking and practice in any single case were contradictory or consistent. Figure 3 provides an illustration.

Figure 3. Coding and quantifying in a case

Code List and Label				Findings and Interpretation			
An upcoming Final V. (9. June 2017)				- Number of codes (including plural codes in plural principles but excluding plural codes within principles): 43			
1	Dealing with difference: In any conceptualisation of learning, difference is to be considered to be an essential aspect of human development.		IE				
Code	Description						
Concept (1-C)							
1-C-1	Deterministic view on ability	8 (n)	2				
1-C-2	Open-ended view of learning potential	9	1				
1-C-3	Acceptance that differences are part of human condition	15	1				
1-C-3-1	View that difference is something special	6	2				
1-C-4	Rejection of idea that presence of some will hold back progress of others	6	1				
1-C-5	Adherence to idea that presence of some will hold back progress of others	1	2				
1-C-6	Belief that all children can make progress	21	1				
1-C-7	Belief that some or most children can make progress	6	2				
Evidence (1-E)							
1-E-1	Creating an environment in which learning opportunities are sufficiently available in practice to all learners	24	1				
1-E-2	Creating (Accepting) an environment of learning opportunities for some or most	3	2				
1-E-3	Facilitating participation in classroom-life by all learners	30	4				
1-E-4	Facilitating (Accepting) that some or most are able to take part in classroom-life	2	3				
1-E-5	Extending to all learners what is ordinarily available	4	1				
		4	2				
		16	2				
		1	1				
		0	1				
1-E-9	Using ability as sole or main criterion for organising learning groups	0	2				
1-E-10	Using language which assumes the value of all learners	7	1				
1-E-11	Using language which implies the lesser value of some learners	2	2				
1-E-12	Focusing teaching and learning on what children can do	7	1				

Principle 1	Principle2	Principle3	total
10	7	9	26
5	5	7	17

The examples of fragments are from the data analysis paper.

As may be seen from the table above, teacher's thinking, like two sides of a coin, was not consistent. He did not see difficulties to be overcome. He recognised the need for special support, but was not clear about the level that special support should be. He spoke of his experience in creating learning opportunities for all (1E1, 40) through reflecting and improving his practice on the basis of his experiences. Difficulties in learning is a challenge for teacher (2C1, 30) and that all pupils could make progress (1C6, 30).

Quantifying numbers of fragments according to principles with reference to labels.

Tracking of codes

Describing empirical evidence to see pattern and complexity of each teacher's practice as case.

For class observation, as for the teacher interviews, recurring codes were tracked as examples of practice. Inclusive practice and any circumstances that appeared to inhibit inclusive support by the teacher or assistants were recorded in the summary. Table 3 illustrates an example of observation analysis.

Table 3. Class observation analysis (Case 2)

Principle 1	Principle 2	Principle 3
1E1, 1E2, 1E6	2E2, 2E4, 2E9	3E1, 3E5
He sometimes made opportunities available to Chloe (non-academic activities, 1E1) but usually did not (academic activities, 1E2). Different or additional contexts and material were provided to Chloe on the assistant's initiative (1E6).	He provided continuous and spontaneous support to pupils, driven by their needs (2E9), (though usually not to Chloe), and focused on who was to learn the lesson (2E2) based on pre-determined levels (2E4). Chloe was occasionally supported by him when the assistant was struggling to keep up.	He respected the assistant's decision for Chloe on adjusting the task level, dealing with behaviour and meeting personal needs (3E1). However, that pupil was not an equal member of the class community as she was not primarily under the teacher's attention (3E5).
The teacher often gave individual attention to a pupil to monitor progress or to help them. However, Chloe was not included. The assistant seemed almost joined to Chloe. She tried to see some way in which Chloe could take part in lesson. Neither the teacher nor any of the other pupils initiated interaction with Chloe.		

Due to the difference in the nature of the work of support assistants, the code list did not correlate to their interviews. From the assistant interviews, themes related to the research context, e.g., 'the roles of the assistant', 'the forms (nature) of support' and 'circumstances affecting the work of the assistant', were identified with reference to the modified WPR model (see Table 2).

While generating and analysing data, methodological memos (P. A. Adler and P. Adler 2009; Bryman 2015; Young and Florian 2013) were used for critical reflection and to ensure the research process was transparent.

Identifying pattern of the class practice

After analysing the three types of data separately, they were collated as cases to see the patterns of class practice. The structure of each case illustrated the teacher's thinking (from interviews) and practice (from observations and interviews) and any consistencies and/or inconsistencies between them.

The resulting dynamic and enriched description of each case was evidence for the debate about the nature and degree of inclusive practice developed in the specific context of the study. Figure 4 provides an illustration of this process.

Figure 4: Structure of class practice

Findings

Wider application of support assistance benefits the class community

Support assistance was given primarily in response to the needs of pupils with SEN but the level of that engagement varied widely. To varying degrees, however, support assistance included helping other pupils. All seven participant assistants recognised that pupils' needs were diverse and complex and that teachers could not be available to respond to every individual need. All of them had various experience of helping other pupils in their classes, either naturally in response to an obvious need in various circumstances, on their own initiative or because of requests by pupils and class teachers. As two participants noted:

(Ms. Shin, support assistant) Pupils often come and ask me to help them. There are 25 pupils and it is impossible for the class teacher to give support on every single point. (In the past in one class) some wanted help from the teacher but, if the queue was too long, then they came to me... The need for support varies according to the subject. In science, pupils have asked me about the order of an experiment or when they have struggled to understand how to write an experiment observation note. In PCE (Practical Course Education), when they were learning how to knit and sew, I was asked for a lot of support. Boys especially found difficulty in knitting and sewing, so that required individual teaching and support. The teacher alone was not able to cope with that due to the limited time available, so I taught them how to do it - holding their hands - sometimes even during break time with 3-4 boys.

(Mr. Park, support assistant) There are teachers who want me to provide extended help, especially female teachers in PE classes. I give a lot of help in those classes (laughs). They say to me, "Could you please teach the boys?" In PE, when pupils were learning to play basketball and badminton, a class teacher asked me to demonstrate and then I helped the SEN pupils. I support Sohee (the pupil with SEN) three times a week in PE. The PE teacher treats me like a class assistant...

At the same time, the research found that teachers broadly recognised the positive impact of a wider application of support assistance as being potentially to the benefit of the whole class. Those teachers justified universal support as helpful and desirable for the class community.

(Ms. Kim, class teacher) It would be ideal if the support assistant gave support to whoever in the whole class needed help... It would be good for all the pupils because, if they asked for help, there would not only be the one teacher but another adult too to help them... For academically able pupils, when they finished a task before others, it would then be possible for them to be challenged (by a new task).

(Ms. Lee, class teacher) When pupils ask Ms. Choi (the assistant) for help, if she is available and can afford to do it, she helps, and that is desirable for the class ... Even though she comes into the class to help Chris (the pupil with SEN), the justification for Chris being in the mainstream class is that Chris is together with other children. We all are equal members of one society.

As seen above, the class community was a valued consideration in the deployment of the provision (Booth and Ainscow 2002). Unlike the researchers who found that systemic change originated in SEN centred provision to embracing diverse needs, e.g., Singaporean, (Lim, Wong and Tan 2014), U.S. (Giangreco and Doyle 2014) and South Africa (Dreyer 2011), here, the practice itself engendered proactive movement, through the perspective of the teacher, in valuing equality of the members. This reinforces the view that support assistance should be available in the class for every pupil, as suggested by Blatchford and colleagues (2012).

Developing inclusive pedagogical practice

Teachers have the authority and responsibility to decide how to use educational resources for their pupils, but they also have their own perspectives on inclusion, which they then apply in the pedagogical decisions that they make (Drummond and Hart 2014). With regard to patterns of practice, the evidence from this study showed how inclusive practice can be accommodated by the three principles of the IPAA (Florian 2014b).

Where a teacher's own inclinations were consistent with official policy, support provision was available only to pupils with SEN. Where the teacher's inclinations were broader than official policy, they devised their own solutions to meeting pupil needs in an 'interaction between individual and system' (Mintz and Wyse 2015). In this case the class teachers were maximising support assistance by making it available more widely in the class. On the other hand, where a teacher's inclination disagreed with the policy, there was a tendency to disregard it.

Therefore, as shown in Figure 5 below, the legal structure and the formal guidelines for support assistance can be said to be complied with, stretched or

disregarded by factors which include teachers' perspectives and the way of responding to pupils' needs for support. The level of the assistant's responsibility also mattered but the work of the assistant was hugely affected by the teacher's views and practice.

Figure 5. Developing class practice

It is important to note that teachers' choices were not fixed, but were found to be changing and developing over time and in different circumstances. Nevertheless, a teacher's inclinations about inclusive education influences how to use support assistance in the classroom. Some examples of practice are provided that comply, stretch or disregard policy linked to the principles of inclusive pedagogy. Each is discussed below.

Compliance: exclusive use of support assistance

Compliant teachers took for granted the division between learners according to Statement of Need. They saw no problem in parallel systems of general and special education based on different expertise and accepted as satisfactory the structure of inclusive education in mainstream schools.

In Case 3, exclusive support was justified by the teacher's perspective and her practice of responding to learners' needs. Joy (a pupil with SEN) got hardly any attention from the teacher and was considered to be in the care of the assistant. The class teacher thought she was not capable of teaching the pupil with SEN and did not take responsibility. Inclusive practice was confined to physical attendance and both the assistant and Joy were in effect 'invisible'.

(Ms. Park) I used to be concerned about what I could do for Joy to encourage her to engage in the class, but I have recently concluded that letting her stay in her seat for the period of the class, 40 minutes, while she observes classmates taking part in the class activities, would be meaningful for her.

Although I do not know much (about the pupil) as I am not a family member of Joy, I and colleagues think it would have been more beneficial for Joy if she had been placed in a special school.

Whenever I look at Joy in the class, I think about what I could do for her but, in the class lesson, I do not put that thinking into practice. I just prepare the lesson for the rest of the class. It is difficult to make an effort to do something for her... I know that resources should be prepared for her according to her interest and her level of learning but I am not sure that I could do that... I think that the Special Class Teacher would be the person to take charge of that.

Stretching policy in practice: maximum use of support assistance

Where the teacher considered that all learners were interrelated to each other, learning together in the classroom, the policy division between special and general education was not applied rigidly. The stretching of formal policy meant that the assistant was available to respond to a range of needs in various circumstances to anyone in the class. This was a common finding in the study but there were differences between the cases. Three types of practice were found.

Working with the support assistant in partnership under special pedagogy

In Case 2, the teacher clearly recognised that everyone in the class should be his responsibility but that did not indicate that the class teacher accepted responsibility for all the pupils. While the teacher was leading the class lesson, the assistant took all decisions regarding Chloe (a pupil with SEN), including selecting tasks and adjusting the level of difficulty. The teacher often gave individual attention to pupils to monitor progress or to help them - but not to Chloe. The teacher relied heavily on the assistant's expertise and his lack of confidence became a barrier to a higher standard of inclusive practice across the three principles. On the other hand, he worked proactively with the assistant for the benefit all of the pupils. Support assistance was available to everyone. This unconventional example of inclusive practice was developed in a context of partnership. Mr. Jo (the teacher)'s interview is presented as follows.

I know that it is my responsibility to consider Chloe's educational plan. However, I am not capable of doing that because I haven't had experience of running a curriculum for '*special children*'. In other words, I have only done so for non-special children so I really appreciate Ms. Kim (the assistant), who compensates for what I am not good at... In Art, (drawing on rice paper), I thought it would be good to give her a bigger sheet, so actually, I had already prepared for that. However, I hadn't thought of drawing dots (on the sheet so that Chloe could draw a line aided by dots). I thought it was good idea so I thanked her (the assistant)...I have already told her (the assistant) that she did not have to ask permission from me (to do something for Chloe). I know that she is always concerned about Chloe, so... I said that she can do whatever (she thinks best) and let me see it before she leaves the class... I think Chloe's primary instructor is the assistant... I encourage Ms. Kim (the assistant) to help any pupils, so the pupils have come to respect her... When I am not available to give attention, she deals with it. That's why she is a second teacher in my class.

Taking responsibility for all the pupils under a mixture of inclusive and exclusive thinking

In Case 1, the teacher viewed disability as something special which was a barrier to learning with peers. However, this 'special needs' thinking did not transfer to become exclusion in practice. Observations showed the teacher making consistent efforts to include the pupil with SEN and to ensure everybody's participation in the subject (PE). He constantly juggled between responding to individual needs and leading the lesson. His teaching strategies were directed to all of the pupils and support assistance was universally available in the class. The teacher was willing to work in partnership.

As I repeatedly say, I think that pupils who have special educational needs should be educated in special school rather than mainstream school but, anyway, they are here so I have to accommodate them...There is a difference in ability between general pupils but they can communicate. However, Sohee (a pupil with SEN) cannot (communicate with others). In PE, he could take part to an extent in the activity but it would be difficult for him to take part in other subjects. I doubt if Sohee could write his name or do addition or subtraction in Maths. I often think, is it meaningful for him to stay in the Primary 5 class?

Through both success and mistakes in practice, I constantly try to reflect on my lesson so as to include everybody, including those pupils who have special needs in my subject, PE. I amend the rules of the game in various ways, depending on situations, to create circumstances which will allow all of the pupils to take part. There is no right or wrong practice and my strategies have constantly been developed through a lot of trial and error...

The assistant's support is helpful to encourage all to participate in the PE class... If a support assistant supported only one particular pupil, the other class pupils might be prejudiced against that pupil but, because the assistant supports several pupils or the whole class, the pupils consider him to be a helper for all of them, without any negative prejudice. I value the work of the support assistant in terms of supporting the whole class rather than supporting only one pupil (pupil with SEN)...If I had the authority, I would give the assistant a weekly teaching and learning plan and ask her (or him) to adjust the level of difficulty of task so that Sohee could take part.

Sharing responsibility with pupils and assistant as equal members of the community.

Case 5 illustrated ideal practice relative to the principle of inclusive pedagogy. The teacher saw difference and difficulty as expected and believed that any difficulties or needs should be responded to by the class community. She took responsibility for every pupil and made an effort to make her practice more inclusive but emphasised the mutual responsibility of the whole class. The support assistant's help was considered to be one form of support alongside peer support and her (the teacher's) own support. The universal availability of support assistance was justified by the teacher's view of learning, support and the class as a community.

I think that differences between pupils such as learning capacity, personality and ways of learning can be challenged and improved by mutual effort by me and the pupils... I do not think I run a class differently depending on whether I have a pupil with SEN. It depends on how the class community makes things. When the assistant is not present, support for Chris (a pupil with SEN) is available, depending on his partner. If his partner is good at English and finishes his/her task earlier, or if the partner is kind to him, they help him- it works in that way... If his partner struggles with his/her own task, sometimes I help the partner and then the partner helps Chris. When I am available to support pupils, I also support Chris. Several years ago, I was with an autistic boy. When I had him, I asked the Special Class Teacher what I could do for him and in what subject, to what level and how I could make teaching plans. At that time, I was confident about knowing his strengths. He was good at speaking and singing...

I consider the whole picture of the class community. In this context, Ms. Choi (the assistant) is good because she is with Chris but also looks after other pupils. She is in the class as a mature senior member of society rather than just doing a job... Even though she comes into the classroom to help Chris, the justification for Chris being in the mainstream class is that he is together with the other children.

Practice disregarding policy: minimal use of support assistance

In Case 6, the teacher's support of inclusive practice in terms of respecting individual

differences and exercising responsibility for everybody was evident. The teacher made constant efforts to encourage all the pupils to participate in lessons. A work routine for Luke, a pupil with SEN, had been established by the class teacher. While she was teaching, she constantly monitored the progress of pupils and gave individual support to everybody. Inclusive practice in this case has been enhanced by developing autonomy.

In individual teaching, her practice was highly inclusive. So, in order to exercise inclusive responsibility without contravening formal policy, under which a support assistant was attached to one pupil, she minimised the assistance. That approach is consistent with the finding of a previous study, that teachers' professional integrity is premised on being able to cope alone, and with a degree of autonomy, with a class of pupils, with the result that some may miss the opportunity to develop professionalism through collaboration (Davies, Howes, and Farrell 2008).

Due to the fact that a class teacher decides whether and for how long an assistant may be present in the class, support assistance can be effectively dispensed with. In the early days of support assistance in S. Korea, that did happen, mainly because of the perceived burden of an 'extra pair of eyes' watching (Choi and Lee 2009; Ko 2009). However, surprisingly, the teacher's resistance in Case 6 was due to a belief in inclusion; 'dealing with things together in the class community'. She choose not to work with the assistant due to the fact that support assistant provision in its current form is a barrier to inclusive practice as it makes some unequal.

I do not agree with the idea that there is much help to be got from support assistants in general. The fundamental reason for implementing inclusive education is to encourage pupils with SEN to be part of a class community. However, the assistant kept trying not to allow any disturbance, which was a loss for the pupil with SEN, and those interventions by the assistant created a disturbance... I see that most assistants sit close beside the assisted pupil and take full charge. The

class teacher is physically in the same class but the pupil is on his/her own island and the assistant is his/her teacher.

I believe that pupils can make progress so I try to find what their strengths are... The most significant thing we have to bear in mind is, I think, that everyone is unique and equally important. Everyone in class should recognise that and we need to make every effort for everyone to become an equal member of this society. Every pupil has moods. I do almost the same with Luke (a pupil with SEN) as with others but sometimes in a different way... The reason why Luke is included in my class is that we should have a positive impact on one another, on Luke, the other pupils and on me. And I can totally agree that all of the pupils should be included and it should work well... I deal with things when Luke is treated unfairly by others. Luke has difficulty in verbal expression but I can communicate with him. I ask him what happened and try to read his reactions. Then, I try to figure out what actually happened. He is equally important and should be respected. All of my class pupils should know that including Luke... any issue that happens in my class is my responsibility.

Discussion

It is problematic that the 'special for SEN pupils' approach remains embedded in practice as the 'additional' or 'special needs' approach and justifies a narrow application of support assistance only to pupils with SEN. In this way, policy and practice of inclusive education remain a form of integration in which the structure reinforces special identity for certain pupils and produces inequality (Armstrong 1999).

On the other hand, use of support assistance has evolved in ways that are highly variable. This study has shown how the use of support assistance develops under a policy of integration through individual teachers' ongoing reflection (Ainscow 2007; Booth and Ainscow 2002; Drummond and Hart 2014) and is reinforced by pedagogical decisions that are beyond the structural boundaries of schooling (Armstrong 1999). But the extent to which they can be considered inclusive practice is not so clear cut. As

Florian and Black-Hawkins (2011) note, it is not what but how a resource is used that matters.

In this study, the three principles of IPAA, were evident in practice. However, the second, taking responsibility for everyone, emerged as the key factor that decided the quality of inclusive practice. This study supports the view that universal availability of support assistance is required to achieve equality in receiving support (Blatchford, Webster, and Russell 2012) but it also argues that universal availability itself is insufficient to achieve inclusion. Unless the teacher takes responsibility for everyone, her/his practice is not inclusive.

Where policy defines inclusion in terms of integration, practice may have to stretch, or even disregard the boundaries of policy to take practice forward. The special education practice of providing additional support on the basis of individual need brings important additional resources to the classroom, but it can lead to the repetition of exclusion when the additional support is focused only on the special needs of some pupils. The evidence from this study shows how support assistance to pupils with SEN under a policy of integration can be stretched, or in some cases, disregarded in support of a principled approach to inclusive practice. To paraphrase Ms. Lee (Case 5), the whole picture of the class community is relevant. The assistant comes into the classroom help to a particular pupil, but the justification for the pupil being in the class is to learn together with the other children.

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Table 1. Case information

Table 2. Modified WPR model and topics covered

Table 3. Class observation analysis (Case 2)

Figure 1. S. Korean Education System

Figure 2. Theoretical framework: Inclusive Pedagogy and the three principle

Figure 3. Coding and quantifying in a case

Figure 4. Structure of class practice (a case)

Figure 5. Developing class practice