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ҰЛТТЫҚ ҒЫЛЫМ АКАДЕМИЯСЫ» РҚБ

# Х А Б А Р Ш Ы С Ы

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## DILEMMAS OF INCLUSIVE EDUCATION: LESSONS FROM LITERATURE

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**Abstract.** Inclusive education aims to integrate students with intellectual and social disabilities into the mainstream education system as far as possible. However, this approach faces many dilemmas related to selective exclusion, such as modified grading, special classrooms, classes for gifted students and differentiated treatment of students with special needs by educators. This study uses sociological systems theory to analyse these challenges at all three levels: the functional macrosystem of education, the organisational level and the individual level of daily classroom interaction. The conflicts between these levels highlight the complexity of inclusive education and emphasise the need for a more nuanced and systematic approach. The findings suggest that the tensions between inclusion and exclusion are inherent to the education system, but can be addressed to better serve students with special needs academically and socially. By analysing and understanding these dilemmas and exploring possible solutions, key stakeholders such as educators and policy makers can develop a more inclusive and supportive educational environment for all students in academic settings. Furthermore, by exploring the dilemmas of inclusive education in the literature, this study makes a valuable contribution to the ongoing dialogue on inclusive education and develops tolerance-based values by offering practical lessons to improve inclusive educational practice.

**Key words:** inclusive education, inclusion, barriers, collaboration, exclusion.

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## **ИНКЛЮЗИВТІ БІЛІМ БЕРУДЕГІ ДИЛЕММАЛАР: ӘДЕБИЕТТЕН АЛЫНҒАН САБАҚТАР**

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**Аннотация.** Инклюзивті білім беру – интеллектуалдық және әлеуметтік дамуында ауытқулары бар оқушыларды жалпы білім беру жүйесіне мүмкіндігінше біріктіруге бағытталған. Дегенмен, бұл тәсіл таңдамалы оқшаулау үрдісіне байланысты көптеген дилеммаларға тап болады; мысалы, мұндай оқшаулаулардың қатарына ерекше қажеттілігі бар балаларға өзгертілген бағалардың қойылуы, арнайы аудиторияларда оқыту, дарынды оқушыларға арналған сыныптардың болуы және педагогтардың ерекше қажеттіліктері бар оқушыларға сараланған әдіспен қарауы сынды факторлар жатады. Бұл зерттеу барлық үш деңгейде де аталмыш қиындықтарды талдау үшін социологиялық жүйелер теориясын пайдаланады. Олар: білім берудің функционалдық макрожүйесі, ұйымдық деңгей және күнделікті сыныптағы өзара әрекеттестіктің жеке деңгейі. Бұл деңгейлер арасындағы қайшылықтар инклюзивті білім берудің күрделілігін көрсетеді және неғұрлым нюансты және жүйелі тәсілдің қажеттілігін нақтылап көрсетеді. Зерттеу нәтижелері инклюзия мен оқшаулау арасындағы дилемманың білім беру жүйесіне тән екендігін, бірақ ерекше қажеттіліктері бар оқушыларға академиялық және әлеуметтік тұрғыдан жақсырақ қызмет көрсету үшін мәселені азайтуға болатынын көрсетеді. Аталмыш дилеммаларды талдау және түсіну, сонымен қатар ықтимал шешімдерді зерделеу арқылы оқытушылар мен саясаткерлер сынды негізгі мүдделі тараптар академиялық ортадағы барлық оқушылар үшін анағұрлым инклюзивті және қолдау көрсететін білім беру ортасын қалыптастыра алады. Сондай-ақ, әдебиеттердегі инклюзивті білім берудің дилеммаларын зерттей отырып, бұл зерттеу инклюзивті білім беру бойынша жалғасып жатқан диалогқа құнды үлес қосады және инклюзивті білім беру тәжірибесін жақсарту үшін практикалық сабақтар ұсыну арқылы толеранттылыққа негізделген құндылықтарды қалыптастырады.

**Түйін сөздер:** инклюзивті білім беру, инклюзия, кедергілер, ынтымақтастық, эксклюзия.

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## ДИЛЕММЫ В ИНКЛЮЗИВНОМ ОБРАЗОВАНИИ: УРОКИ ИЗ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ

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**Аннотация.** Инклюзивное образование направлено на максимальную интеграцию учащихся с интеллектуальными и социальными нарушениями в систему общего образования. Однако этот подход во многих случаях сталкивается с некоторыми дилеммами из-за процесса выборочной изоляции; например, такие исключения включают измененные оценки для детей с особыми потребностями, обучение в специальных классах, классы для одаренных учеников и дифференцированное отношение учителей к ученикам с особыми потребностями. В этом исследовании используется теория социологических систем для анализа этих проблем на всех трех уровнях. Это: функциональная макросистема образования, организационный уровень и индивидуальный уровень повседневного взаимодействия в классе. Противоречия между этими уровнями отражают сложность инклюзивного образования и подчеркивают необходимость более детального и систематического подхода. Результаты исследований показывают, что дилемма между инклюзией и эксклюзией является неотъемлемой частью системы образования, но ее можно смягчить, чтобы лучше обслуживать учащихся с особыми потребностями в учебе и социальном плане. Анализируя и понимая эти дилеммы, а также изучая возможные решения, главные стейкхолдеры, такие как преподаватели и политики, могут создать более инклюзивную и благоприятную образовательную среду для всех учащихся в академических кругах. Кроме того, изучая дилеммы инклюзивного образования в литературе, это исследование сможет внести ценный вклад в продолжающийся диалог по инклюзивному образованию и формировать ценности, основанные на толерантности, предлагая практические уроки по совершенствованию практики инклюзивного образования.

**Ключевые слова:** инклюзивное образование, инклюзия, барьеры, сотрудничество, эксклюзия.



## **Introduction.**

The education of students with intellectual disabilities is still a controversial topic in modern welfare states. Many educators find the idea of educating a particular group of students by partially segregating them into a separate education system with permeable but clearly separate boundaries from mainstream schooling problematic. However, we believe that the calls for more inclusion of children with special educational needs in political and educational contexts are often based on a limited understanding of the core characteristics of today's education systems. Therefore, this study proposes that the debate on school inclusion should be enhanced by a thorough sociological examination of these institutions. To support our thesis, we will draw on the theory of social systems formulated by the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann. The most important theses we put forward are:

Both inclusion and exclusion function on three different levels: the social, the organisational and the interactional level. At these levels, there are notable and seemingly contradictory conflicts between the concepts of inclusion and exclusion. For the sake of clarity, we will defer the theoretical arguments to the following section. In this introduction, we will instead provide a brief historical and political sketch of the contested environment. In the 1960s and 1970s, several affluent nations faced growing criticism of the education of children with disabilities, most of which took place in segregated and isolated settings. Educational policy goals such as normalisation and integration were formulated (Baglieri, 2022). Since the 1960s, education authorities in many countries have been legally obliged to ensure that every child has the opportunity to be educated in a normal class in the local school together with their peers or at least to attend the same school. The strategies that have been developed to achieve this goal include the following: an inclusive curriculum that applies to all school levels; compulsory education for all students, regardless of whether they attend a mainstream school or a special school.

As a result, the majority of children with disabilities today attend a mainstream school or a special school that is structurally linked to a mainstream school. Nevertheless, children with intellectual disabilities are still a rarity. The inclusion of disadvantaged children in mainstream schools and classes is a fundamental objective of the political vision of universal education and has become a prominent goal of educational programmes in several industrialised countries. This strategy is based on the conviction that a segregated education system is inappropriate, taking into account ethical, economic and political factors. However, it is debatable whether this policy has been fully implemented in all educational institutions and administrative procedures.

The adoption of the Salamanca Declaration was a decisive turning point in the debate on inclusive education. In the "Salamanca Declaration and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education" (1994), the term inclusion was used instead of integration to express the process of providing non-discriminatory education in mainstream classrooms. The 1994 Salamanca Declaration affirms that inclusive education should be the fundamental principle of special needs education. It



emphasises that people with special educational needs should be able to attend mainstream schools that are equipped to meet their needs through a child-centred teaching approach.

Inclusive education is recognised as the most efficient way to combat discriminatory attitudes and provide an excellent education for the majority of students. This approach improves the overall efficiency and cost-effectiveness of the entire education system. The statement emphasises the need for the school system to proactively adapt to the specific learning conditions of children with special educational needs in order to facilitate the development of their abilities. From a sociological perspective, it is important to emphasise that the desire to change the education system to meet the needs of all children is consistent with the view that disability is influenced by the environment. According to this view, the welfare state should not only take into account a person's intellectual and/or physical disabilities, but also make the necessary changes in the environment to ensure full participation in all important social activities.

The Salamanca Declaration promotes human-environment interaction as an alternative to a narrow focus on individualism. It suggests that problems should be understood in the wider context of the environment, society and culture (Dignath, et al, 2022). This approach also implies that there is a need to gather resources, adopt policies and create programmes. When attention is focussed solely on the individual, learning challenges are seen as inherent personal limitations. However, when looking at the connection between the individual and their environment, learning difficulties are understood as the result of a complicated interaction of various elements. These elements include the curriculum, the organisation of the school, the ability of teachers to respond to different needs and the lack of self-confidence and motivation of the disabled person. This view suggests that children with learning difficulties face barriers to educational due to a lack of physically accessible education, education tailored to their individual needs and education that develops their potential.

The concepts set out in the Salamanca Declaration have significant implications for the ongoing debate in Kazakhstan. Currently, the prevailing view is that the inclusion or exclusion of students does not depend on their different talents or impairments, but rather on society's views and reactions to these differences. Society's progress towards integration and inclusion depends on the people who have the power to shape policy. It is therefore a question of political principles and the introduction of an all-inclusive approach to education.

In Kazakhstan and elsewhere, the education of children with intellectual disabilities is divided into two categories: those who attend special remedial classes and those who are integrated into mainstream schools. The former group is not taught in regular classes, but is still considered part of the school system due to compulsory education. There are classes for students with intellectual disabilities at both comprehensive school and upper secondary level.

According to the Education Act, children with intellectual disabilities are obliged to be enrolled in normal schools and the municipality is obliged to provide the

necessary support. Most children with intellectual disabilities are currently placed in such institutions (Cerna, et al, 2021). People with severe cognitive disabilities who are unable to attend mainstream school or secondary school participate in special programmes tailored to their particular needs. Special support courses, adult education programmes for adults with intellectual disabilities and training schools are tailor-made educational formats that are adapted to the extent of the disability. Over time, special needs classes have become more and more comparable to mainstream classes, with the goal of providing education that is very similar to that provided in mainstream classes.

Special support classes are aimed at students with intellectual disabilities who are unable to achieve the standard learning objectives of secondary schools. Both mainstream schools and special education classes follow the same curriculum, with the difference that children in special education classes are assessed using grades tailored to their individual educational needs. This practise emphasises the basic principle of providing equal educational opportunities for all students, regardless of their learning abilities. The problem with moralistic objections does not lie in the lack of universality of the ideals being invoked. Indeed, hardly anyone would deny the importance of tolerance or equality in today's society. The problem, however, lies in the potentially unfavourable oversimplifications fostered by existing 'critical' conversations about inclusion. The main cause of this impact can be attributed to the communication logic of values that prescribe goals that are almost impossible to achieve, so that any situation can be perceived as inadequate. Social philosophers often recognise that all values have paradoxical properties (Börnert-Ringleb, et al, 2021).

Since ideals have the potential to render any social scenario inadequate, arguments based on values may overlook practical factors such as the cost or practicality of implementing an inclusive policy (Downes, 2024). Therefore, the main aim of this article is to present the potential and constraints related to the inclusion of children with disabilities at three levels of the social structure: The social level refers to the educational system and its interaction with other activities within society. The second focus is on the organisational level, particularly schools. The third focuses on the level of engagement, particularly the dynamics within the classroom. The following sections will adhere to this framework and show that inclusion faces significant challenges at each of these levels.

### **Materials and methods**

This section describes the approach used to collect and analyse the study data. The study used systematic literature analysis as a research method. A comprehensive compilation of articles on inclusive education was created by initially entering relevant keywords. Subsequently, a clear compilation of articles was created by analysing the abstracts and concluding paragraphs of the articles. Therefore, seven articles were selected to examine and determine recurring patterns related to the research topic.

## **Findings and Discussion**

### *Inclusion and exclusion at the societal level:*

In modern times, almost all advanced and many advanced countries have introduced comprehensive, complex and state-run social systems that provide children with an education of no more than 13 years. If we define “inclusion” in these systems as children receiving some kind of publicly administered education, then we can say that educational systems in industrialised countries are overwhelmingly inclusive. The far-reaching scope of inclusion may be the reason why so little attention is paid to the integration of children with intellectual and behavioural disabilities into the educational system.

Despite possible criticism of the quality of education they receive, the fact that they are taught is generally considered sufficient. In this section, we will use the theoretical framework of social systems theory to illustrate the uncertainty associated with the actual inclusion of children with intellectual disabilities in the educational systems of these countries.

To understand this discovery, it is important to first analyse how the educational system interacts with other functional systems that can either include or exclude individuals (Hilton & Liberty, 2002). After a brief explanation of social systems theory’s viewpoint on this issue, we will claim that belonging to a functional system involves the ability to participate in and be recognised by the communications that fulfill the system’s main social purpose. Our study will show that cognitively impaired children are denied access to education because they are excluded from performance assessment, which is a fundamental aspect of the educational system.

Grades play an important role in the communication structure of educational institutions and in the way other social systems evaluate educated individuals. Grades in the educational system have a significant impact on various decisions, such as whether students should repeat a year, receive tutoring or private tuition to improve, or retain their membership in an organisation if their performance is deemed inadequate. Grades serve as an important control tool for schools over their teachers, as teachers are required to justify the grades they give. Furthermore, due to their quantifiability and the ability to calculate averages using simple statistical methods, grades provide higher authorities with a fundamental means of exercising control over schools. Grades not only reinforce existing structures, but also serve as a basis for evaluating changes and reforms and for assessing the effectiveness of these reforms once they have been implemented.

Outside of education, companies, universities and public authorities often rely on academic performance as a decisive factor when recruiting employees. The public also uses grades as a means to judge or deny a person’s social status. While there may be some misconceptions about the feasibility of abolishing grades, it is clear that such an attempt would lead to the emergence of a comparable alternative that would likely bear a strong resemblance to the concept of grades. In this paper we take a pragmatic approach and recognise grades as a social phenomenon.

Analysing the theoretical aspects of the structure of the educational system and its

connection to society helps to deepen our understanding of the impact of the inclusion or exclusion of individuals from the educational system. Functional differentiation refers to the separate regulation of inclusion or exclusion of people by each functional system. In many systems, the basic requirements for participation in communication are rather low. For example, to be part of the economic system, it is usually sufficient to own, spend or receive a small amount of money. In some systems, however, the opportunity to get involved is more restricted. For example, to engage in scholarly communication, it is often necessary to complete higher education and obtain an academic degree.

In industrialised countries, the first criterion for a child to be accepted into the educational system is simply that they have reached the age at which they are allowed to attend school. After that, the child's continued participation depends on the educational system's assessment of his or her academic performance. For those who are no longer in school, reintegration refers to the process of official employment as a teacher or as a member of the administrative staff in schools or other educational institutions. As far as school-age children are concerned, it appears that the vast majority of affluent countries have successfully achieved widespread inclusion in their educational institutions and there are very few cases of exclusion. In Sweden, even children with severe intellectual disabilities have had the right to receive an education since 1967. It can therefore be concluded that a modern educational system fulfills its basic educational mandate for almost all school-age children.

*Inclusion and exclusion at the organizational level:*

Organisational systems are a special type of communication system. Social systems are classified as organisations if they establish cohesion by distinguishing individuals into members and non-members. Membership is exclusive by nature and dependent on certain criteria, which means that organisations base their decisions on these criteria to determine who is included or excluded from communication. According to scholars, decisions are the primary form of communication that maintain organisational structures (Hoogerwerf, et al, 2021). Membership depends on selectivity and is subject to decisions. An individual, a committee or a set procedure determines, sometimes on the basis of previous judgements such as legislation, that a person is granted membership. From a systems theory perspective, schools can be seen as almost perfect examples of organisational systems. In schools, there are different categories of members, including teachers, administrative staff, students and helpers. Enrolment in schools is formally regulated, similar to enrolment in organisational subsystems. The decision as to whether a student is enrolled in a special school, a mainstream school, a mainstream class or a special support class within a mainstream school is based on an assessment of the student's cognitive abilities or impairments.

The educational system is characterised by the fact that the individual must be part of an organisation, often a school, in order to be accepted into this system. This relationship is not established by any other functional mechanism. In this section we will discuss the fact that even inclusion in educational organisations is characterised by a fundamental difficulty. As long as mentally disabled children are separated from

normal children in institutions, efforts to reintegrate them into organisations are likely to be accompanied by other types of exclusion from these organisations, which may not be as obvious, but are significant nonetheless.

In recent years, Kazakhstan has made attempts to reduce the organisational segregation of children with intellectual disabilities. The endeavour is anchored in the Kazakh motto One School for All. Opponents of this motto argue from a realist point of view, claiming that even with ample financial resources it is impossible to fully compensate for severe intellectual disabilities (Makoelle & Burmistrova, 2021). They also claim that the inclusion of mentally disabled children in mainstream schools would have negative consequences for non-disabled students. In today's Kazakhstan, however, those in favour of the slogan are clearly in the majority. They claim that any form of organisational differentiation that categorises students according to ability is a failure. They attribute this failure to the inability of teachers and pedagogy to address the learning difficulties of children with special needs. Typically, pedagogy expresses dissatisfaction with the need to select students in schools, as evidenced in the debate about the integration of mentally disabled children into mainstream classes. According to this idea, any selection contradicts the inherent characteristics of the educational system, as students cannot be accurately categorised according to their performance (Rollan & Somerton, 2021). Instead of focusing on the selection of students, the education system should focus on identifying alternative solutions, allocating additional resources and developing tailor-made programmes. This approach aims to improve learning opportunities for each individual. From a systems theory perspective, it is not surprising that achieving the goal of «one school for all» is proving challenging. This is because it requires the development of new codes and the introduction of new code usages such as 'pass/fail'. It also requires a change in attitudes, the development of new pedagogical philosophies and the management of much more complex classroom interaction systems by retrained teachers.

However, the fundamental problem with the concept of "one school for all" lies not only in the complexity of its implementation, but also in its inherent fallacy. We reiterate our previous argument against a purely topological interpretation of inclusion. Our approach is to view inclusion as a means of actively intervening in the communication that constitutes a social system. Allowing mentally disabled children to attend the same schools, and to some extent even the same classrooms, does not mean that they lose their unique organisational position. In fact, it is evident that schools that integrate both typical and intellectually disabled students into their classes are forced to implement new policies and procedures to reinforce the administrative differences between the two groups (such as assigning different expectations to teachers and providing personal assistants, among other measures). Therefore, it is fair to say that the inclusion of children with intellectual disabilities in an organisation is characterised by a fundamental difficulty. Essentially, the integration of students into normal classrooms requires the formal assignment of a separate identity or status which, at least in the eyes of the organisation, is equivalent to belonging to a special class or even a separate school. The «one school for all» concept offers a potential

advantage in that it enables the inclusion of children with intellectual disabilities through a modified form of organisational exclusion. The next section will show that even this expectation is rarely justified.

*Inclusion and exclusion at the interaction level:*

The process of inclusion or exclusion of children with intellectual disabilities takes place on many levels: on the macro-social level, which includes functional systems, on the meso-social level, which includes organisations, and on the micro-social level, which includes interpersonal interactions. At the level of individual interactions, the simplistic perspective of inclusion that we criticised earlier is very tempting, but also extremely deceptive. At first glance, it may appear that children are included in classroom interactions as soon as they are allowed to participate. A superficial look at the interactions might suggest that any problems are due to a «negative attitude» or lack of disability awareness. We suggest that adopting a communication-based perspective might help us to overcome the theoretical shortcomings associated with the topological concept of inclusion.

Interaction systems are not tangible configurations, but rather a series of messages exchanged between people who are physically present together. In this framework, engagement in communication is primarily independent of individuals' physiological or cognitive characteristics (such as mental disabilities) and their feelings towards each other. Therefore, the segregation of disadvantaged children from mainstream classes should be interpreted in terms of communication rather than differences in physical or cognitive frameworks. Exclusion from a particular interaction system, similar to functional systems, implies a lack of full participation as a sender or receiver in its interactions. In contrast to communication in functional systems or organisations, participation and non-participation in interaction systems are very temporary phenomena. For example, a person observing a conversation becomes an active participant when one of the people involved in the conversation asks them a question.

On the other hand, a participant stops actively participating in the conversation and becomes a non-participant when they leave the conversation or when other participants start talking in a way that excludes them. This is a common situation in interactions between people with and without intellectual disabilities. From an intuitive point of view, inclusion and exclusion should refer to states that are more permanent compared to participation and non-participation. Although it may be difficult to provide a universally accepted definition of interactive inclusion, we propose the following tentative explanation: A potential participant is considered to be actively involved if they fulfil the following criteria: (1) they are physically present and able to participate in the interactive communication, (2) they have the legal or ethical authority to assume the role of speaker and contribute to the conversation, and (3) their contributions can be expected to have an impact on the interaction, i.e. they are likely to receive responses, regardless of whether these are positive or negative (Sadeghi & Safari, 2012).

Criterion (1) states that people are considered excluded from the interaction



if they are either physically absent or present but involved in other interactions, asleep or otherwise engaged. Criterion (2) states that individuals are excluded if their right to participate in the interaction and take turns is denied by other participants. If individuals disregard this prohibition and take turns anyway, the prohibition is effectively enforced by criterion (3). Criterion (3) states that individuals are excluded if it is unlikely that their contribution will be recognised in any way, including a negative response, or if it is likely that their contribution will be silenced with a response (e.g. “Shut up!”). Can we use the term «inclusion» when every contribution is subject to criticism? Indeed, it is important to distinguish between a conflict and ignorance.

A conflict is a dynamic system in which actors are forced to engage strongly and actively challenge assertions that strengthen the other side’s position and undermine their own. A conflict is a comprehensive and all-encompassing type of interaction. Ignorance, however, is something fundamentally different (Shaw, 2022). When a co-present participant is ignored, they are treated as if they do not exist. This experience can lead to considerable psychological distress and serve as a powerful deterrent to unwelcome contributions. From this perspective, a person who says little but has a significant impact on the conversation is actively included, while a participant who speaks a lot but never receives a response is actively excluded. While co-presence is an essential prerequisite for interactive inclusion, it alone is not enough.

In Kazakhstan, as in other countries, initiatives to promote the social integration of disabled and non-disabled students attending the same school generally focus on facilitating their participation in joint educational activities. However, instead of simply merging two classrooms, which is more successful in certain subjects (e.g. physical education) than in others, Kazakh schools generally use the concept of individual integration. For each student enrolled in a special needs class, it is determined individually which lessons they should attend together with students without disabilities. The student is then enrolled in this class, but follows the curriculum of a comparable lesson in a special needs class. This remarkable structure is practicable because in Kazakhstan’s mainstream schools, work is predominantly independent (e.g. exercises and self-study reading) and there is no close contact between teacher and pupil (Zholtayeva, et al, 2013). In addition, the presence of an assistant is necessary to support intellectually impaired students in maintaining their academic progress.

There are few studies on the interaction between disabled and non-disabled students in integrated classes, mainly due to the fact that classes that focus on individualised activities offer few opportunities for interaction. In a study conducted by Smith (2005), it was found that 75% of mentally disabled children in integrated classes were teased or bullied by their classmates. In addition, non-disabled children often showed a reluctance to participate in play activities with these children. In addition, 75% of children with intellectual disabilities were found to have low self-esteem. Tsegaye and Moges (2014) found that children with cognitive disabilities have lower social esteem in integrated classrooms.



From this it can be deduced that the inherent structure of the educational system prevents attempts to promote interactive inclusion by integrating mentally disabled and non-disabled children in the same classes. This situation could be described as a dilemma: Due to the mostly unchangeable structure of modern educational institutions, physical inclusion leads to interactive exclusion. In Kazakhstan, it might be appropriate to consider allowing mentally disabled children to remain in the protected and controlled environment of their classrooms, known as “natural enclaves” (Sultana, 2014). However, if the presence of individuals in the same physical space does not lead to active participation, how can physical distance be seen as a solution? Further studies on the interaction between intellectually disabled and non-disabled children both inside and outside the classroom are needed to formulate policy proposals.

### **Conclusion**

This article should show that marginalisation persists on all three levels, but in a more subtle and complex way than idealists have previously imagined. On the social level, when mentally disabled children are integrated into the school system, they are excluded from one of its most important tasks, such as performance assessment. On an organisational level, their integration into normal schools or courses requires certain administrative measures, such as the granting of special status. At the interpersonal level, intellectually impaired children are often exposed to discriminatory or stigmatising behaviour by their classmates or teachers when they are integrated into regular classrooms.

Ultimately, this paper argues that the idea of “one school for all” and the concept of increasing inclusion are deceptive. However, the integration of intellectually impaired children into the school system leads to their later isolation in all social spheres. Even more worrying is the emergence of a phenomenon known as the cascade of exclusion, where attempts to promote inclusion lead to the emergence of new forms of exclusion at later stages. For example, the introduction of basic inclusion in society has led to the emergence of new types of exclusionary distinction within organisations. The abolition of these recent distinctions has necessitated greater engagement between normally developed and mentally disabled children, but these interactions hardly fulfil the criteria to be considered ‘inclusive’.

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