Comparative Case Study of Jordanian Inclusion Policies and Practices:

Dissertation Linking Document

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In 2020 the United Nations will release a Global Education Monitoring Report detailing the state of inclusion in education systems around the world. Over the past 20 years there has been a renewed focus on ensuring the right of all students regardless of impairments, to access an appropriate education (Artiles, Kozleski & Waitoller, 2015; Peters, 2007). As a result of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2007) and follow up monitoring, many countries are addressing the inequalities in their systems with new legislation. Jordan is one such country, and after passing a law in 2007 to correspond to the original declaration, they have renewed their legislative efforts with the Public Law n. 20, Law on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act (2017). This law, coupled with the Human Resources Strategic Plan 2016-2025 and Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2018-2022 has brought renewed focus to inclusionary efforts.

In Jordan, there are still a significant number of students with disabilities not enrolled in public schools and while the numbers vary widely, the Ministry of Education (MoE) reports only 20,600 students with disabilities in MoE schools. This represents only 1% of the total student body for the year 2016, meaning a substantial proportion of students with disabilities are kept at home or attend public and private day care centers (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Alkhateeb, Hadidi, & Alkhateeb, 2016; ESP, 2017). This disparity continues to occur despite legislation reaching as far back as 1953, that mandates accessible education for all students, regardless of gender, ability or nationality (AlKhateeb, Hadidi, & AlKhateeb, 2016; Benson, 2020). Many scholars in the field identify cultural shame and stigma as the largest barrier to full

inclusion, but the use of developing research methodologies in comparative and international education offer a more complex narrative.

Comparative education scholars and especially those within inclusive education, often refer to a policy-to-practice gap. Winzer and Mazurek (2009), use the term rhetoric-to reality-gap, to label practices in developing nations at odds with the law. This is a common phenomenon in developing countries who adopt international education policy without sufficient resources or a cultural-historical context inhospitable to carry out inclusion principles (Bines & Lei, 2011; Croft, 2013; Winzer & Mazurek, 2009). It is true that there seems to be a gap between the policy that is written by legislative bodies and implemented in schools (Ainscow & Miles, 2008; Engelbrecht et al., 2017; Hettiarachi & Das, 2014). Studies throughout the globe identify the most difficult challenges as teacher training, shame or stigma and resource poor schools; these issues have also been documented in Jordan.

While these general barriers to inclusion are seen throughout the world, the root cause of inaction in Jordan has not been identified. A more nuanced discourse can happen by investigating the multidirectional flow of legislation through different implementation levels: macro (international), mesa (national) and micro (local). Schuelka (2018) posits that the use of comparative case study, as developed by Vavrus and Bartlett (2006; 2009), will better explain shifting definitions of inclusion policy as it is adopted in new contexts. This comparative case study of Jordanian inclusive education takes into account the multiple levels, activity systems and sociocultural factors impacting inclusion.

To date no comparative studies have been conducted in Jordan, and there is limited qualitative research that frames inclusion as it is defined by Jordanians. To fill this gap in research, in addition to using a comparative case study, all three of the following manuscripts

utilize cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT). As an analytical tool and research framework CHAT and activity systems analysis reveals the complex interactions between a context and the subject and object of a case study (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010). Artiles and Dyson (2005), among other scholars, push for the use of methods that engage the sociocultural and historical narratives of countries to better understand the unique challenges. Using CHAT to analyze Jordanian systems provides a strong organizational structure to interrogate cultural concerns raised in the existing research.

Planned Manuscripts

Taking into account the limited empirical research on Jordanian inclusion policy, this dissertation aims to fill the gap in research between policy and practice. Given the current groundswell of support by international and national stakeholders for inclusion, this research is both timely and poised to have significant impact. Following are descriptions of three

Table 1. Planned Manuscripts

Manu-script	Title	Candidate's role	Status
1	Evolution of Jordanian Inclusion Policy and Practice	First author	Accepted in *Forum for International Research in Education: Beyond Access and Barriers: Inclusive Education and Systems Change*
2	Into the Mesa: A Comparative Study on Jordanian Inclusive Policy	First author	Accepted chapter in *Global Directions in Inclusive Education: Conceptualizations, Practices, and Methodologies for the 21st Century*
3	Contextualizing Inclusion: Sense-making by Jordanian Special Education Teachers	First author	Planned submission to *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*

manuscripts (See Table 1) that create a comparative case study that provides insight into the flow of inclusive policy and practice in Jordan. The manuscripts are each focused on a comparative level, the international (macro), national (mesa) and local (micro) level of inclusion in Jordan.

First Manuscript

Inclusion has a long history within international policyscapes, its roots can be traced to the UN Convention on Human Rights in 1948 and multiple global education initiatives reinforcing the right to an education in the present (Artiles et al., 2015). However, it is the 2007 UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities that explicitly states what inclusion is and how it should be implemented (Artiles et al., 2015; Peters, 2007; Winzer & Mazurek, 2012). The adoption of similar legislation in individual countries has still resulted in disparate practices that require localized research to understand the patchwork interpretations of inclusion. Comparative case study is the best methodology for an analysis of this phenomena because it recognizes the multidirectional flow of policy from macro to micro levels (Schuelka, 2018).

In addition, policy transfer theories developed by Steiner-Khamsi (2004; 2008) trace the adoption and renegotiation of international educational policies. This theory is applied to the Jordanian context in the first manuscript to examine the transfer of international inclusion policy throughout the legislative history and its ensuing effect in schools. The manuscript uses policy transfer theory in conjunction with a comparative methodology to look across implementation levels and through history. The research questions answered are: (1) What are the international and regional factors that have influenced Jordanian adoption of inclusion practices? (2) How are Jordanian inclusionary laws being resourced and implemented by local schools?

A review of international policy demonstrates how Jordanian inclusive legislation followed international initiatives, influenced by the numerous international donors. This policy

analysis focused on the macro and mesa levels which fall on the vertical axis of a comparative case study. Traditionally researchers have then selected multiple research sites to develop their understanding of the policy at the micro level (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006; 2009; 2014). The author demonstrates how a literature review can simulate field research in investigating how the local context has responded to policies. This review and analysis revealed Jordanian inclusion legislation amounts to a 'hollow' policy (Hettiarachichi & Das, 2014); it echoes the international precedents in tone and language but has not created widespread change in schools. The candidate was the first author of the manuscript, which has been accepted in the special issue of *Forum for International Research in Education: Beyond Access and Barriers: Inclusive Education and Systems Change*.

Second Manuscript

Jordanian inclusive policy is hollow and as such students with disabilities remain marginalized in the school system. To understand what is occurring between the writing of policy to the implementation in school, it is necessary to investigate the mesa-level of inclusion in Jordan. Lisadou (2012) argues that policy is neither a static document nor is it created in a vacuum, but instead crafted by humans who are influenced by multiple socio-cultural and historic elements. Yet, inclusive analysis is conducted in multiple countries, without researchers addressing the stakeholders (Ahsan & Mullick, 2013; Johnstone & Ensig, 2014; Schuelka, 2012). Policy analysis has created benchmarks for successful legislation that create an emergent theoretical framework with which to evaluate legislation (Eleweke & Rodda, 2002; Hunt, in press; Pijl, Meijer, & Hegarty, 1997). While these studies are influential, none address the intentions of policy makers directly, which the candidate has undertaken in this manuscript.

Previous work on other education policy transfer has demonstrated stakeholders at the mesa level bring many different viewpoints to policy adoption that impact implementation (Anderson-Levitt & Alimasi, 2001). This in-depth analysis is largely missing from the canon of inclusion research, although many scholars have petitioned for more to be done (Hettiarachichi & Das, 2014; Schuelka, 2018). In response to this gap in the literature, the second manuscript is a case study of the Jordanian policy-scape, bound by the discourse between policy-level stakeholders and the recent legislative initiatives. The research answers the questions: a) How do Jordanian legislative stakeholders, including foreign governments and development organizations, understand and interpret Jordanian inclusive policy? b) How is inclusive education policy transferred from an international context to national level governments?

Data collection occurred over three months and consisted of 18 semi-structured interviews, ethnographic field notes and document collection. Interview participants were representative of the multinational effort to reform education in Jordan. Each interview was 45 to 90-minutes; the semi-structured interviews provided local contextual knowledge through participant voice, as stakeholders ascribed their own meaning to inclusion (Yin, 2017). Several new legislative initiatives and strategic plans were analyzed in discourse with the interviews, providing data triangulation and demonstrating the flow of policy between international knowledge transfer to local context.

The data was analyzed using activity systems analysis, based on CHAT and revealed a complex set of challenges impeding progress towards inclusion. While most previous research has concluded a lack of teacher training and cultural shame are the largest barriers for inclusion, this research revealed more mesa-level challenges. Division and conflict between government institutions allowed responsibility to be shifted, so no single agency was held accountable.

International donors and governing bodies fueled these tensions through donations and work agreements that favored specific entities. Additionally, the first renegotiation of inclusion occurred among policy stakeholders from both Jordanian and international organizations. So, even before inclusion is presented to schools the meaning had already shifted, which changes the narrative of a policy-to-practice gap. The candidate was the sole author of this article and it has been invited as a chapter in the forthcoming book, *Global Directions in Inclusive Education: Conceptualizations, Practices, and Methodologies for the 21st Century*.

Third Manuscript

In Jordan multiple barriers to children and adults with disabilities being fully included in educational settings have been recorded through survey work with teachers (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Alkhateeb, Hadidi, & Alkhateeb, 2016). Forty-two empirical studies of inclusion literature conclude that the majority of teachers in Middle Eastern countries have negative attitudes towards inclusion practices (Alkhateeb, Hadidi & Alkhateeb, 2016). Further qualitative work is needed to understand how these beliefs developed and the impact on inclusion policy.

The way special education teachers make sense of their roles through the surrounding activity systems provides insight into the underlying attitudes and beliefs that shape policy from the micro level. There is a growing body of international research showing many factors that influence special education teachers' professional sense-making and the impact this has on their success (Engelbrecht & Savolainen, 2017; Howes, Grimes & Shohel, 2011; Matthews, Rodgers & Youngs, 2017). It is important to understand how the practices of responsible teachers can be in conflict with or promote inclusion policies touted by national governments (März & Kelchtermans, 2013; Klang, et al., 2017). To understand how this might impact inclusion in Jordan, the final study answers the research questions: 1) How do Jordanian special education

teachers make sense of their roles in relation to recent inclusion policies in Jordan? 2) How do special education professionals define and implement inclusion*?*

The third manuscript completes the comparative case study through a micro level of analysis in Jordanian schools. Four special education teachers were recruited to participate. To reveal how the teachers understand their positions and negotiate the meaning of inclusion policy in practice they participated in WhatsApp journaling and two semi-structured interviews. This research continues to utilize CHAT frameworks to guide data collection and analysis. In order to triangulate data, semi-structured interviews were also conducted with cooperating administration and general education teachers. Interview protocols and journaling were adapted from previous sense-making studies (Mathews, 2019) and aligned with an activity system analysis frame. The present candidate is the sole author of the manuscript titled, *Contextualizing Inclusion: Sense-making by Jordanian Special Education Teachers*.

The results of the study indicated that despite many scholars demonstrating there is little to no support in the education community; when provided the appropriate resources, including supportive leadership, substantive physical materials and through awareness-raising inclusion on a limited scale can be successful. It was found that special education teachers who are provided adequate teaching resources, and are supported by their leadership, are viewed as professional mentors to others in the school building. These supporting factors have allowed the special education teachers to push inclusion, socially and academically in their school building, in turn generating community wide support for the effort. However, special education teachers without the support of their leadership can continue to struggle in developing relationships with general education teachers and inclusion beyond the primary years remains limited in scope.

Future Research

This research line demonstrates the candidate's commitment to understanding the impact of global inclusive initiatives on specific cultural contexts. Beyond an analysis of the policy and practice of inclusion in Jordan, this body of work also demonstrates the utility of methods and theories that have previously had limited use in inclusive education research. The candidate's future research will continue to engage with emerging inclusive school systems in the Middle East and Gulf region, where there is a strong ideological commitment by governments but limited technical capacity or community support for inclusion. Future research will involve partnerships with local universities and teachers. The relative youth of inclusive education in the region, extreme wealth gaps between countries and many socio-cultural similarities across communities creates a unique opportunity to understand how economic prosperity and cultural norms affect the spread of inclusion.

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Manuscript 1

The Evolution of Jordanian Inclusive Education Policy and Practice

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Abstract

Research on the internationalization of inclusive policies for students with special needs is still developing alongside the shifting implementation of practice. This analysis seeks to understand the process of adopting inclusive policies in Jordan and the subsequent implementation through a modified vertical case study framework. Current research demonstrates how global forces have led to the adoption of a national inclusive education policy that local programs redefine and negotiate in implementation. The paper utilizes emerging frameworks from Schuelka (2018b) and existing vertical case study methodology from Bartlett and Vavrus (2006; 2009; 2014; 2017) to structure an in-depth analysis of the macro, mesa and micro levels of inclusive policy adoption and implementation across time. Jordan is a developing nation and in a strategic geographic location, two factors which bring multiple international organizations into its borders. This has had a significant effect on the development of education policy. At the same time, local construction of disability and inclusion continue to marginalize students with disabilities, especially in rural communities. This paper will outline the current state of inclusive education at the international, national and local levels in Jordan based on a review of policy and academic literature**.**

The Evolution of Jordanian Inclusive Education Policy and Practice

International promotion of inclusion has led to policy adoption in a large majority of countries; however, the practice of inclusion varies widely within and between nations, making it imperative to understand not only the micro-level practices in schools, but how and why the policy was originally adopted. To better understand the differences between global aspirations and local practices of inclusion, scholars must take both into account when studying specific country contexts (Artiles & Dyson, 2005; Schuelka, 2018). Culture is an ongoing negotiation and reinterpretation of objects, beliefs, and circumstances by persons who regularly interact to make meaning of the world, not a static set of ideas and beliefs that can be predicted or changed through law (Anderson-Levitt, 2004). World culturalists believe there is a predictability in how global norms are spread and that all ideas can take root regardless of new contexts. This happens, according to world culturalists, through international law, development agencies, and global governing organizations (Baker, 2014). Inclusion has long been presented as a global norm; this paper will trace its roots in Jordan to demonstrate how—despite promoting the practice as a human right, a signifier of a modern and progressive education system, as well as a touchstone for most global development initiatives—it remains a practice deeply rooted in classroom and cultural contexts created primarily at a national and local level. International imperatives to adopt inclusion have led to a slew of national-level policies in Jordan that lack adherence in school-based practices according to the limited in-country research (Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; AlKhateeb, Hadidi, & AlKhateeb, 2016).

This vertical case study addresses both policy and practice, understanding that neither exists in isolation. Utilizing a unique interpretation of vertical case study structures, I will conduct an analysis of policy and practice at multiple levels, while also addressing Jordanian

education policy through time. Although this paper follows inclusion from international conception to the Jordanian adoption and into classrooms, the goal is not to separate these levels of implementation but rather to show the relationship between them.

The Jordanian government has demonstrated a political commitment to inclusive policies, yet research in the country demonstrates that services, research, and intervention efforts are significantly lacking (Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; AlKhateeb, Hadidi, & AlKhateeb, 2016; Al-Natour, AlKhamra, & Al-Smadi, 2008). The spread of inclusion into Jordanian law demonstrates the limits of world culture as it attempts to spread educational initiatives deeply dependent on historical, social, and economic contexts. Tracing the history of inclusion through global and national policy analysis demonstrates common definitions and goals in law, yet the literature review of inclusion in practice highlights how it is reimagined and changed to meet the local context. The limited scope of current research presents a narrow view of inclusion policy and practice, but it is imperative to critique these in order to set a path for future research. By analyzing the policies and practices together, over time, this paper documents the global mandates, the subsequent national-level commitments to inclusion, and the ensuing practices within schools. Ultimately a duality of challenges that better explains the ambiguous policy-to-practice gap often noted in inclusion literature is exposed in the country. The goal of this paper is to answer the research questions: What are the international and regional factors that have influenced Jordanian adoption of inclusion practices, and how are Jordanian inclusionary laws being resourced and implemented by local schools? To address these, I will present a history of the adoption of inclusion in Jordan through an analysis of global (macro) policies, national (mesa) policies, and local (micro) inclusion implementation.

Demographics

Jordan is located in the Middle East, bordered by Syria to the north, Iraq to the east, Palestine and Israel to the west, and Saudi Arabia to the south. The majority of Jordan's population is young and lives in cities; 21% is between 10 and 19 years old, and 84% lives in an urban area. The gross national income per capita, based on the US dollar, is $5,160; the Jordanian government receives 8% of its gross national income as official development assistance. It spends 4.9% of gross domestic product (GDP) on education, although this number fluctuates when compared across data sets, and there is no currently available data for 2016 (UNESCO, 2019; World Bank, 2015). Within Jordan's borders are 9.46 million people, including Palestinian, Syrian, and Iraqi refugees, many of whom attend Jordanian schools, exacerbating an already overburdened system (Human Rights Watch, 2016; United Nations Statistical Division, 2016).

The government is a constitutional monarchy in which the upper house of Parliament is appointed by the King and the lower house is elected. The country is divided into 12 governorates with governors appointed by the King. There are 25 ministries conducting the day-to-day governance of the country. The responsibility for special education services is spread among the Ministry of Social Development, the Ministry of Education (MoE), and the Ministry of Youth (Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; UNCRPD, 2015).

There are several international organizations also operating within the country that have independent special education and inclusive programming, including the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF), and private foundations (UNICEF, 2014; UNRWA, 2017). UNRWA contributes a significant amount to the education expenditure, running 174 schools in Jordan for Palestinian refugees

(UNRWA, 2017). The following assessment of inclusionary practices is focused only on Jordanian government schools, as the UNRWA schools operate outside the jurisdiction of the ministries and thus have a different conception and regulation of inclusion (Rodriguez & Dieker, 2018).

There is a sharp decline in enrollment from primary to secondary school. More than 97% of students were enrolled in primary school in 2014, and only 82.4% remained in school through secondary (UNICEF, 2014). The United Nations predicts one-third of all out-of-school children are those with disabilities (UNICEF, 2014). There are no accurate counts of disability in Jordan, with some sources quoting 1% and more recent estimates citing 12%; these statistics are based on WHO estimates of the global population of persons with disabilities and reported rates from Jordanian ministries (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; WHO, 2014).

Conceptual Framework

Inclusion practices vary widely around the globe; models are different from country to country as well as between jurisdictions within a single country. Because of the lack of cohesion, it is not enough to rely on a single definition when studying inclusion practices. Instead, a rich description of the legislative history and contextual cultural practices must be developed for each context (Artiles & Dyson, 2005). To understand the implications of global policy for national laws and local contexts in Jordan, I will rely on comparative case study developed by Bartlett and Vavrus (2009, 2014, 2017; Vavrus & Barlett, 2006), originally referred to as vertical case study. This methodology has been used in educational ethnographies to shed light on the flow between global and local contexts in an ever more internationally governed world. In addition to the comparative structure underlying the analysis is policy borrowing, reception, and translation

theory as outlined by Steiner-Khamsi (2008, 2010, 2014, 2016). Education ethnography scholars including Vavrus (2005), Anderson-Levitt (2004), and Schuelka (2014) have contributed to the body of research that aims to understand the borrowing and translation of international policies in practice; these studies will inform my methodology in this analysis of the Jordanian context.

Comparative Case Study

Vavrus and Bartlett (2006) used comparative case study to demonstrate how multiple actors in Tanzania were both impacted by and shaped education policies from the highest levels of government to the coffee-growing communities at the base of Kilimanjaro. They were able to present a comprehensive flow of policy and practice interpretation by tracing the shifting meanings of a specific policy from international origins to the implications for specific villagers. Schuelka (2018) has applied the comparative case study to inclusionary studies in Bhutan, showing the relevancy of such methodologies across different educational policy-scapes. By doing so, Schuelka (2018) answers the call of inclusion researchers across the globe to use a more robust methodology to address the varied interpretations of inclusion on a global scale (Artiles & Dyson, 2005). As inclusion policy is transferred throughout the world by means of policy borrowing, governments, administrators, and practitioners bring their own context and interpretation, shifting how it is implemented.

Comparative case study provides a methodological framework to study the flow of meaning when an international-level mandate for inclusion is adopted into law and the way it is disseminated into local schools (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Schuelka, 2018). It is often depicted with a single vertical axis on which each level of adoption and subsequent interpretation is arranged, micro (local practice), mesa (country level government), macro (international). Vavrus and Bartlett (2006) draw a horizontal axis of study as well, to represent multiple research sites,

each community providing local context for international policies. Using data from multiple sites recognizes culture is not monolithic but made of ongoing social interactions in individual communities (Anderson-Levitt, 2012). Most recently, scholars have drawn on cultural, historical activity theory to show that the simple vertical-horizontal axis is not enough to represent the shifting meanings of a policy (Artiles, Kozleski, & Waitoller, 2011; Schuelka, 2018). A more robust visual model includes a transversal axis, in addition to the vertical and horizontal, to demonstrate changes over time, because the historicity of a policy and country bears on the modern-day implementation. Taken all together, the comparative case study creates a robust multidimensional understanding of the flow between policy and practice.

This unbounding of case study is useful when considering such a widespread and frequently amorphous education initiative as inclusion. One goal of comparative case study is to avoid the silos of binding and holding constant certain factors, instead this methodology acknowledges the flow of ideas through organizations, communities, and nation-states (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Schuelka, 2018). Using comparative case study, inclusion research can advance beyond a macro, top-down, universal approach or a micro, bottom-up, phenomenological study, which so often dominates the research (Schuelka, 2018). Bringing this multidimensional lens to inclusion in Jordanian schools exposes a dual narrative more complex than theoretical or empirical articles have described.

Using comparative case study methodology in this literature review lifts the restrictive lens of large, generalized cultural challenges to inclusion while shedding a clearer light on how and why localities are interpreting the practice differently. Following the international influences, national history, and local understandings, this study of inclusion in Jordan moves beyond the policy-to-practice gap and presents a more interconnected understanding of how

inclusion manifests. The vertical axis of analysis is structured to describe the macro-mesa elements of international policy and national education policy. The current literature base is used to describe the practices, attitudes, and beliefs prevalent in Jordanian schools, which run the length of the horizontal or contextual axis. Research in this area is limited, and this paper aims to begin closing the gap in literature that masks the interactions between policy and practice creating significant hurdles for progress.

Policy Transfer

Inclusive policies in first-generation nations—that is, countries that adopted inclusion practices early—were a result of parental and disability advocacy groups that pushed for legislative change and ultimately resulted in greater inclusion (Artiles et al., 2011). Current inclusion policies are heavily borrowed or transferred from first-generation inclusive countries by international institutions to developing nations, with differing effects (Artiles et al., 2011). Second-generation countries are those that adopted inclusion as an official educational policy after the Salamanca Statement and generally have done so using a top-down approach that has left policy and practice at odds (Artiles et al., 2011). While many agencies operating in Jordan, from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to international and foreign-donor governments, push for a well-defined and cookie-cutter transfer of inclusion policy, the context of the classroom invariably shifts how policy is implemented.

Steiner-Khamsi (2008, 2010, 2014) has extensively studied and analyzed how educational policies are transferred through the economic and hegemonic powers of international organizations, both governmental and nongovernmental. Jordan has a unique position as a politically stable country in the Middle East and as a result draws a multitude of international actors. This makes the country a dynamic place to apply the policy-transfer theories advanced by

Steiner-Khamsi (2008, 2010, 2014) by analyzing the complex policies and practices of inclusion. Countries considered receptive to policy transfer demonstrate significant political changes and economic conditions that make education transfer appealing (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014). Jordan exhibits both a political will for change and economic needs, with the monarchy and Parliament advocating for a knowledge-based economy by creating a world-class education system. To accomplish these goals, Jordan relies significantly on external funding sources, making it subject to the powerful strings attached to funding packages (MoE, 2013; World Bank 2011, 2017). The borrowing and lending of educational policy is often done for political and economic gains, with countries of the Global North exporting, at a cost to importing countries, educational initiatives (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014). While inclusion has not been a documented money-making education initiative, the global push for inclusion has made it a measure of a modern school system, tying it to other economic gains (Artiles & Dyson 2005). Therefore, throughout this analysis, it is important to recognize how international aid to Jordan has potentially directly and indirectly compelled the government to adopt inclusion policies.

Policy-transfer theory works congruently with comparative case studies because it attends to the process of policy making, not just the resulting policy, shaping the transverse axis of a comparative study. Both theories require researchers to devote significant study to the history, power flows, and influence behind the transfer or borrowing of specific policies (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014). Policy-transfer theories acknowledge the reimagining of policies as they are transferred, and using comparative case study, we can open the black box of transfer to reveal how policies shift at each level of implementation.

Global Inclusive Education (Macro)

The Salamanca Statement (1994) is the foundation of the modern inclusive education movement, which extends to the most recent 2006 United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). The Salamanca Statement, ratified by 92 governments and 25 organizations, is the first and defining document of inclusion-based policies (Peters, 2007). Many scholars identify the statement as the first coherent step toward global inclusion, which culminated in the passage of the CRPD through awareness campaigns and policy shifts. Article 24 of the CRPD reaffirms the commitments of Salamanca and indicates a broad government-level acceptance of inclusion (United Nations General Assembly [UNGA], 2006). According to these foundational documents, the goals of inclusion are to (1) provide a general education that responds to the needs of all learners, including those with disabilities; (2) implement curricula that meet diverse learner needs, taught by qualified teachers; and (3) allow access to schools in the home community and as a result attain complete social integration (UNGA, 2006). Although the majority of countries have ratified the CRPD and pledged to implement inclusion in their school systems, no uniform set of practices exists (Anastasiou & Keller, 2011; Artiles et al., 2011; Peters, 2007; Winzer & Mazurek, 2012).

International Path of Inclusion

The complete history of inclusion policies and practices begins well before the Salamanca Statement. The roots of inclusionary ideals are found in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNGA, 1948). With the Universal Declaration, the United Nations first recognized and made steps toward including individuals with disabilities by removing societal barriers. This declaration laid the foundation for the practice of inclusion as a human right for students with intellectual disabilities (Artiles et al., 2011).

Twenty years later, the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation in the United Kingdom introduced the idea of the social model of disability (Thomas, 2004). This groundbreaking work began dismantling the medical model of disabilities, which encouraged welfare-based solutions and segregated persons with impairments (Thomas, 2004). The new social model deemphasized individual impairments as a barrier to participation in society and instead identified societal structures that disable people through exclusionary practices (Gabel & Peters, 2004; Thomas, 2004). The changing perspective encouraged advocates and persons with disabilities to push for legislative changes that made communities and schools more inclusive.

This shift in thinking placed the United States and the United Kingdom in particular on the trajectory toward more inclusionary policies and practices in the workplace and education spaces (Gabel & Peters, 2004; Thomas, 2004). Major advocacy efforts by parents, persons with disabilities, and professionals in the United States and the United Kingdom led to inclusion legislation, such as the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (1975), now known as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (2004), in the United States. This landmark legislation established the right of persons with disabilities to have free and appropriate access to schools (US Department of Education, 2002). This cultural shift moved communities to change practices and provide accommodations so persons with disabilities were more included in physical spaces and also accepted in daily interactions. This cultural shift and legislative gains in the US, UK, and other Global North countries now inform education policies engineered by international organizations and leaders.

While the social model has come under critique in recent years for neglecting the very real impact of impairments on the daily life of individuals with disabilities, it is still relevant in Jordan (Shakespeare, 2014). In legislative initiatives and new projects, the need to move toward

the social model of disability is explicitly stated (Jordan Information Bureau, 2000; MoE, 2008, 2013). The laws of Jordan echo the social model's attempt to remove societal barriers for persons with disabilities, but the model is used as a static framework, which neglects the dynamic nature of medical impairments and social barriers. This implementation is ineffective in most places, and a main critique of models of disability is that they have led to an either-or view of disability and left out important discussions and provisions for persons with disabilities (Shakespeare, 2014). In fact, most disabled Jordanians are in favor of a rights-based model that recognizes the sociopolitical barriers but also emphasizes prevention and treatment when appropriate (Nagata, 2008).

After the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the next major declaration to promote inclusion was the 1960 Covenant Against Discrimination in Education, which enshrined the right of access to quality education for all persons. In 1990 the World Declaration on Education for All (EFA) began a global effort to ensure the right of education to all individuals and led to 92 nations gathering in Salamanca, Spain, in 1994 to affirm the rights of students with special needs and promote inclusion with the Salamanca Statement (Peters, 2007). As mentioned above, the most recent disability-specific mandate is the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNGA, 2006), with its Article 24 outlining the goals of inclusion and standards for global implementation. To date, the adoption of CRPD is the defining moment of the global inclusion movement (Peters, 2007; Winzer & Mazurek, 2012). Inclusion has continued to be highlighted in all subsequent global development efforts, including the 2020 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These modern international efforts to promote inclusion are particularly salient for Jordan, a country that is heavily reliant on international organizations for education aid and support.

Adopting Inclusion

The United Kingdom and the United States, both first-generation inclusion countries, wield disproportionate power, directly and indirectly, in setting the agenda for international bodies. The significant impacts can be seen in education reforms through grants, public-private partnerships, and other award structures that prioritize education initiatives developed in these nations (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004, 2008). Jordan receives significant grants and assistance packages owing to its strategic geopolitical location in the middle of the Middle East (Salameh, 2017). Since its economic crisis in the 1990s, Jordan has received large World Bank loans; almost 25% of its GDP between 1963 and 1985 came from military and economic assistance from Western countries eager to influence regional politics (Salameh, 2017). The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the European Union have been integral in providing capacity development loans, in addition to education assistance provided by the World Bank, UNESCO, and UNWRA (Clark, 2012; Salameh, 2017).

The influx of money from these various agencies has allowed Jordan to steadily increase the amount of GDP spent on education: 6% in 1990 to 10.8% in 2007 (Abugattas-Majluf, 2012). Research in other developing nations demonstrates the influence of foreign money on education reforms, and educational policies adopted by the Jordanian government follow this trend. It is both explicitly stated in policies and also seen through the hegemonic influence of granting institutions, many of which support inclusive education as a mark of a progressive and modern school system and write these expectations into grant agreements and promote an inclusive education agenda in project development schemes.

Jordanian Policy (Mesa)

Jordan has been a signatory on all the major international mandates establishing goals for students with disabilities that have been developed by the UN over the past 60 years. It has also supported regional efforts, such as the Covenant of the Rights of the Child in Islam (Organization of the Islamic Conference, 2005; UNCRPD 2015). Following the history of disability rights development internationally, these initiatives have driven policies for persons with disabilities in Jordan over time.

General Education Reform

The Jordanian education system has been undergoing systematic changes since the Education Reform Law (ERL) of 1952, and these changes have improved the overall quality of the Jordanian education system (Abbas, 2012). The ERL established that students have the right to an education *free from discrimination* and made the first seven years of school compulsory (Abbas, 2012). This was a tumultuous time in Jordan. Its constitution was formally ratified in 1952, and as Jordan declared its independence, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict threatened the creation of the new state. The UN, which had just recently passed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), had also just establish UNRWA to assist Palestinian refugees, many of whom were fleeing to Jordan. This began a long history of involvement of the UN in Jordanian government affairs, including the education sector.

The next countrywide reform was the 1964 Education Law, which began to shape an educational philosophy for Jordan. Drawing on the Jordanian constitution and national values, the 1964 law was meant to create an inclusive school system (Abbas, 2012; Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008). It expanded access to education, increasing public school enrollment by over 500,000 students, more than half of which were girls (Abbas, 2012). The MoE undertook these

reforms and, through decentralization, also began conducting more monitoring and evaluation in schools (Abbas, 2012). The Permanent Education Law 3 (1994) charged the MoE with increasing spending on teacher and school leadership training and developing and utilizing new curriculum in addition to the basic goals (Abbas, 2012).

The primary mission of the MoE (2008) is to develop citizens who (1) believe in Allah and have a clear understanding of Islam, (2) are loyal to country and Arab nations, (3) are aware of their rights, (4) have a balanced personality and openness to others while maintaining their own identity, and (5) have the skills and knowledge to contribute to a knowledge-based economy. To accomplish these goals, the MoE (2008) (1) provides education for all, (2) creates equality and equity in its services through education appropriate for "students' learning levels," (3) efficiently provides the administration to run schools, and (4) creates and runs a school system that is competent both internally and externally. Over four years, approximately 13% of the government budget was spent by the MoE (UNESCO, 2019). This budget was derived from Jordanian government revenues but heavily supplemented by outside loans and grants from the World Bank, USAID, and other international governments and governing agencies (World Bank, 2015).

Inclusive Education Reforms

Jordan has passed significant pieces of legislation targeting persons with disabilities, in addition to acknowledging their rights in the previously discussed national education legislation. In 1993 Law 12 for the Welfare of Handicapped Persons was passed and established the responsible ministries: the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Social Development, and the Higher Council of Affairs of Persons with Disabilities (Jordan Information Bureau, 2000). In its

opening paragraphs, Law 12 acknowledges the historical influences already discussed in this analysis:

> The philosophy of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan with regard to its disabled citizens springs forth from Arab-Islamic values, the Jordanian constitution, the National Charter, the Laws governing education and higher education, the World Declaration on Human Rights, and the International Declaration on Disabled Persons.
>
> Article 3, Law 12, Welfare for Handicapped Persons, retrieved from Jordan Information Bureau (2000)

Within this law, the right of students with disabilities to access schools and receive a free and appropriate education is reiterated by making public schools physically and academically accessible. Law 12 made permanent a provisional law written and passed in 1989, a direct result of the UN's 1981 International Year of Persons with Disabilities, which inspired advocacy efforts by the monarchy and Western-backed NGOs (Turmusani, 1999). While the law enshrined these values and promoted an inclusionary school system, there was limited money and limited school-based support for the policy, so very little change was seen.

It was not until 2007 that a second disability rights–specific policy was enacted. Law 31 on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed by the Parliament immediately following the 2006 UN Convention on the Rights of Disabled Persons. In addition to reestablishing many of the nondiscriminatory policies and free education provisions of the 1993 law, Law 31 also initially established the Higher Council for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (HCRPD) to promote and enforce disability rights throughout the country. The council is staffed by members of each government ministry, persons with disabilities, their families, and "distinguished-persons" in the area of disabilities, as well as members of the Paralympic Committee (HCRPD,

2018). Both Laws 12 and 31 were written and passed in concert with international pushes for inclusive education, yet current research in schools shows neither has significantly affected the implementation (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008).

Several agencies are responsible for carrying out these laws. The MoE is one-half of the administration that controls special education policy and practice in Jordan (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008). In 1979 the Ministry of Social Development (MoSD) was established, and a major task of this ministry is to attend to the needs of persons with disabilities, as students and as adults (UNCRPD, 2015). The HCRPD was officially created in 2007 and is responsible for coordination between not only the MoE and MoSD but also the Ministry of Health and other concerned agencies (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; UNCRPD, 2015). While these laws are progressive, they do not provide clear directives or procedures for implementing inclusive practices or consequences for lack of implementation (Sakarneh, 2014).

Most recently, Law on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities No. 20 was passed in 2017 and is now in effect (Law No. 20, 2019). The law addresses multiple facets of full inclusion in daily living for persons with disabilities. Articles 17–22 are specific to the educational rights of students with disabilities, but like previous laws, Law No. 20 lacks legislative details that would make it effective. The court system does not support legal challenges by parents or advocates, so it is up to various bureaucracies to define vague language in the law, such as “lack of reasonable accommodations.” Responsibility for inclusion of students with disabilities in schools remains under the jurisdiction of the MoE, while HCRPD supports and consults to ensure appropriate and free educational opportunities. The Ministry of Health and MoSD are tasked with providing therapies necessary to support students in inclusive educational settings.

A large showing of public support for inclusion has not been seen in Jordan, where there is limited parental or advocate involvement at all levels of the education system (Abbas, 2012; Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014). A World Bank–funded education project aimed at increasing the capacity of Jordanian students to contribute to a knowledge-based economy also includes provisions to increase parental participation and inclusive education (Abbas, 2012; MoE, 2008; World Bank, 2011, 2017). The project called for higher engagement from the community and greater accountability through evaluation and teacher-training programs, all of which were lacking in general and in special education practices (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; MoE, 2008; World Bank, 2011, 2017). These efforts remain largely siloed and have little impact on wider societal changes, where attitudes toward disabilities remain negative (Nagata, 2008).

McBride and Al Khateeb (2010) cite the lack of consistent funding, coordination between ministries, and clear standards or benchmarks for teachers or students as barriers to inclusive education efforts. Research from across Jordan refers to vague direction from the ministries and discord between the multiple government agencies that impedes inclusion in schools (Al-Natour et al., 2015; El-Zraigat & Smadi, 2012; Sakarneh, 2014). In one interview, the director of the Special Education Division of the MoE stated, “We do not have written goals for the Directorate” (El-Zraigat & Smadi, 2012). The generalities of the laws in Jordan have created a vacuum of meaning for teachers and schools, leaving individual localities to develop and implement their own inclusive programs.

The lack of governmental coordination is confounded by a cultural and historical loyalty to the tribe or personal connections that actually govern much of Jordanian society in day-to-day matters (Al Oudat & Alshboul, 2010; Bani Salameh & El-Edwan, 2016). Historically, Jordan has struggled to create a cohesive state structure, many scholars believing it is held together by the

King's autocratic control and necessity, not by a shared national identity (Al Oudat & Alshboul, 2010). Thus, there is tension between the government and citizens, which has become more fragile in the wake of the Arab Spring, economic downturns, and ongoing pressures on the country by regional conflicts that flood its cities with refugees. Some scholars point to the historical and cultural practice of *wasta* (literally meaning, "go between"; broadly defined as social connections) as fueling this more person-driven approach to governance and business (Barnetta, Yandleb, & Naufalc, 2012; Brandstaetter, Bamber, & Weir, 2016). The impact of *wasta* has only just begun to be studied in business. Applying these studies to the education sector might explain why the slew of federal laws regulating inclusion have very little impact on daily teaching and learning as well as why teachers rely on individual school administration and culture to develop inclusive practices.

School and Social Context (Micro)

Given the ongoing development of national policy and adherence to international initiatives, it would appear Jordan has a robust system of inclusion. However, according to available literature, the practice of inclusion is not being implemented with fidelity owing to unclear directives, lack of resources, and cultural beliefs about disabilities. Utilizing available Jordanian literature, it is possible to discern how inclusion manifests in context, which is frequently different than the ideals laid out in international or national law. These limited empirical studies on practice in Jordan are analyzed in the context of the previous macro and mesa elements. This provides insight into how teachers and schools are defining and implementing internationally based inclusion policies within local contexts. When these policies were adopted in Jordan, available resources, the prevalent community attitudes, and teacher training created a unique interpretation and limited implementation. This analysis makes up the

horizontal axis of the comparative case study, demonstrating a multisite analysis through literature review, necessary because culture is created through daily interactions, exchanges of information, available resources, and power dynamics within a specific locality (Anderson-Levitt, 2012). This complex system of making meaning necessitates multisite research to understand how different localities understand inclusion in different ways. The literature review creates a facsimile of multisite analysis that provides a more cohesive understanding of inclusion.

Including current practices recognizes that parents, teachers, and students are all stakeholders and the policy process is not a static top-down implementation but a flow of meaning, negotiation, and interpretation at each level (Schuelka, 2018; Sutton & Levinson, 2001). What becomes clear through an analysis of these empirical studies and academic essays is there is not a gap between policy and practice, but differing interpretations due to cultural constructions of disability, teacher capacities, and the availability of resources in the community.

Resources

Many impacting factors have been identified, including limited financial and physical resources, insufficient or reliable data on disability, and community barriers and limited coordination between agencies (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008). All of these influence how teachers within the education system negotiate inclusion and impact educational outcomes for students with disabilities. Challenges arising from financial and physical resources are not uncommon and frequently create barriers to inclusion, which are unrecognized by agencies promoting the policy (McBride & Al Khateeb, 2010; Schuelka & Johnstone, 2012). Resource scarcity is frequently an impediment to achieving inclusive education throughout the globe; in Jordan it is pervasive, as suggested in recent analyses of the

Jordanian education system (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; McBride & Al Khateeb, 2010; UNCRPD, 2015).

The lack of reliable statistical data on students with disabilities, stemming from inadequate diagnostic tools and community attitudes, is a problem across the world, especially in developing nations (Bines & Lei, 2011; Fujiura, Rutkowski-Kmitta, & Owen, 2010; Tomlinson et al., 2014). Insufficient data hampers the efforts of governmental and nongovernmental agencies in serving students with special needs and their families. Appropriate financial or personnel resources cannot be allocated if population data is missing, and having no accurate count of individuals with disabilities in Jordan masks the magnitude of the problem. Government surveys from 2004 predict just over 50,000 persons in Jordan have been diagnosed with a disability (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008). This is far below the best global estimate of persons with disabilities, which is 5–10% of any given population (WHO, 2011). Using that estimate would indicate Jordan has at minimum 800,000 persons with a physical or intellectual disability (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; UNCRPD, 2015).

The high rates of consanguineous marriages and the resulting increased rates of genetic disorders are likely to increase the number of people with disabilities (Alkhateeb, Hadidi, & Alkhateeb, 2016; Gharaibeh 2009). While in Jordan the rate of consanguineous marriages has declined from approximately 57% in the 1990s to 35% in 2012, the poor resources for identifying resulting genetic disabilities contributes to the lack of clear data that would demonstrate a higher demand for better special education services in schools (Gharaibeh, 2009; Islam, Ababneh, & Khan, 2018).

There are 17 centers around the country established to diagnose disabilities, but they are not fulfilling their obligations owing to a lack of diagnostic materials and specialists (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008). Stigma in the community also contributes to fewer people with disabilities being identified through community or government agencies as families feel a shame that can lead to hiding persons with disabilities (Hadidi & AlKhateeb, 2014; UNCRPD, 2015; Gharaibeh, 2009). The problems are exacerbated for students with less visible disabilities, such as learning disabilities, attention-deficit hyper-activity disorder, and emotional or behavioral disorders. These individuals are frequently undiagnosed and do not receive any services; special education teachers are having to make eligibility decisions for students with learning disabilities without formal testing procedures or input from other professionals (Al Shoura, 2015). Without the necessary financial capacity, many other resources remain scarce and impact the school's ability to provide inclusive settings.

The first hurdle to get students with disabilities into schools is often structural, due to physical barriers. For example, blind or deaf students attend special schools during the primary grades and then matriculate to secondary facilities that do not have adequate accessibility to the physical building (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014). Physical accessibility is important not only for the obvious reasons, but also because the availability of accessible buildings has been shown to increase acceptance of inclusion among Jordanian teachers (Al-Zyoudi, 2006). In the same attitudinal survey, the majority of teachers noted the largest barrier to inclusion was lack of space in classrooms for wheelchairs, ramps, and other building modifications and indicated they had favorable views of inclusion of students with physical disabilities (Al-Zyoudi, 2006). These attitudes reveal an underlying truth in Jordan, noted in several studies, that inclusion is defined as

pertaining to students with physical disabilities, not learning or intellectual disabilities (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Al-Zyoudi, 2006; Bines & Lei, 2011).

In addition to the physical structure, the location of school buildings can also impact inclusive practices. Locality is a physical barrier for many students with disabilities, as urban centers house the majority of services and schools (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014). Students living in remote rural locations do not have regular bus service to urban centers, and existing rural schools face teacher shortages (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014). A low and inaccurate count of how many students with disabilities live in rural areas, unable to access inclusive schools with appropriate supports, lessens the pressure on the government to supply them with additional resources. Additionally, many of the NGO efforts to increase student enrollment are concentrated in urban areas, where there are large numbers of refugees. Northern cities and Amman have higher concentrations of donor organizations providing outreach and inclusive services than the rural areas in the eastern and southern portions of the country.

Teacher Attitudes

Teacher attitudes, abilities, and training contribute to the policy process by interpreting and defining practices within the schools. Consideration of how these professionals carry out the inclusionary policies of Jordan should inform policy, research, and training going forward. Like many developing nations, teachers in Jordan cite lack of training, poor resources, and a reluctance to include students with special education needs (AlKhateeb, Hadidi, & AlKhateeb, 2016; Bines & Lei, 2011). Universities introduced special education teacher training programs in the 1980s, and now nine universities, both public and private, offer degrees aimed at graduating special education teachers (Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008). These are primarily four-year degree programs that provide education on general disability, teaching practices, and diagnosis. Despite

the availability of university training programs and scholars in the field of special education, attitudes toward inclusion remain skeptical and teacher experiences indicate ongoing marginalization of students and special education teachers (AlKhateeb, Hadidi, & AlKhateeb, 2016).

The majority of general education teachers still feel ill-equipped to manage students with disabilities because of either training or time constraints (AlKhateeb, Hadidi, & AlKhateeb, 2016; Al-Natour et al., 2015). Echoing statements that could have been made in any general education classroom, teachers in Jordan acknowledged they know differentiated instruction is a best practice in inclusive classrooms but lack the time to develop and prepare lessons accordingly, while others decry insufficient training to apply the methods (Siam & Al-Natour, 2016). A separate mixed-methods study showed even when general education teachers have access to special educators, there is a low level of collaboration between the professionals (Al-Natour et al., 2015). Al-Natour et al. (2015) acknowledge the 1993 law creating inclusionary requirements but found that this was interpreted by the state-level directorates as necessitating resource rooms for students. Some of this is compounded by rigid teacher-centered classrooms, where there is high pressure for Jordanian teachers to strictly adhere to the national curriculum, leaving little time, ability, or willingness to develop more student-centered lessons (McBride & Al Khateeb, 2010).

Similar results are seen in survey research on special educators' attitudes toward inclusion of students with autism spectrum disorders (ASD); only 19% of the teachers had received training about inclusive education. However, bigger predictors of their positive attitudes toward inclusion were age, level of education, and type of school (Abu-Hamour & Muhaidat, 2013). Al-Hiary, Almakanin, and Tabbal (2015) surveyed preservice teachers enrolled in special

education programs at Jordanian colleges and universities. The majority of teachers surveyed expressed dissatisfaction with their training programs and insufficient university educators. Survey research throughout the Middle East presents similar issues, but no studies have addressed the underlying issues of how educators define inclusion or construct an understanding of disability. This is an important gap in the literature. Understanding how inclusion is defined and implemented on a daily basis could lead to stronger programming to increase services.

Interviews conducted with preservice early childhood teachers by Fayez et al. (2011) not only support the concerns expressed above by teachers but also provide initial insight into how inclusion is defined. Many of the students interviewed express acceptance and eagerness to practice inclusion in their future classrooms; however, further questioning reveals they are only referring to physical and mild learning disabilities. Fayez et al. (2011) recommend further research should be conducted examining teacher preparation programs and training opportunities to increase teacher confidence. In addition to these measures, focusing on the underlying belief structures that create a definition of inclusion that pertains only to students with physical and learning disabilities needs to be conducted, some of those beliefs lie in historical-cultural values (Fayez et al., 2011).

Community Attitudes

Community and familial acceptance and attitudes toward persons with disabilities are widely varied but often include feelings of shame, which can present an obstacle to the families' seeking help or educational opportunities (Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; Al-Shoura & Ahmad, 2014). It is likely these same views have contributed to the negative attitudes of general education teachers toward inclusion and to the marginalization of special education teachers. More research is needed to determine the effect of community beliefs on both general and

special education teachers. Jordanian parents traditionally believe they should not intrude in their child's school, which means parents of students with disabilities are largely absent from the education process (Abbas, 2012; Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014). As previously discussed, parents and communities in many first-generation inclusion countries brought about change through advocacy efforts to include and educate their children (Artiles et al., 2011). In Jordan the lack of parental involvement for students with disabilities constitutes a major barrier for progress as there is no one to advocate for the students when the government fails to enforce education policies.

There is no available research in English of campaigns to address community acceptance of persons with disabilities in second-generation inclusion countries. Survey research across many Arab countries has concluded pervasive negative attitudes toward disability (Alkhateeb, Hadidi, & Alkhateeb, 2016). Jordanian communities, both rural and urban, across the socioeconomic divide, demonstrate negative attitudes toward disability as measured on the Scale of Attitudes toward Disabled Persons (Nagata, 2008). Community programs, such as Special Olympics, that might contribute to changing attitudes do operate within Jordan. However, there are no available monitoring and evaluation reports that could increase understanding of how these programs attract students and their families to programs, despite community stigma toward people with disabilities. Qualitative research to understand the belief systems about disability and intervention research to determine effective programs that could decrease stigma must be undertaken. Such future research that addresses these questions could greatly improve the education of students with disabilities.

Discussion

Jordan's pivotal position within the Middle East and the world at large has brought it into regular contact with international influences for decades. Like many countries in the developing world, Jordan has adopted inclusion as part of larger education reforms intended to increase access for all students. The comparative literature review has revealed while the structure of inclusion has transferred into Jordanian laws, the policies have neglected to include pragmatic details of how to implement the practice (McBride & Al Khateeb, 2010; Sakarneh, 2014). The policy-to-practice gap cited in systemwide analyses, such as that undertaken by McBride and Al Kahteeb (2010), cannot be solved through either-or research that only addresses resources or attitudes but must explore both resources and cultural beliefs as attitudes impacting inclusion.

While the empirical research indicates schools are facing a lack of resources and training, it also demonstrates those inadequacies in the system contribute to the negative attitudes of teachers. Academic essays addressing disability in Jordan, and the wider Middle East, indicate negative attitudes are a result of long-held cultural beliefs. This comparative literature review demonstrates the challenges are more complex. Multiple studies revealed teachers were unwilling and reluctant to implement inclusion because they did not feel they were prepared with adequate resources and training; they did not cite cultural beliefs (Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; Al-Natour et al., 2015; Amr, 2011; Siam & Al-Natour, 2016). Empirical studies indicated the availability of resources influenced teacher attitudes; however, interviews with teachers conducted by Sakarneh (2014) indicated there is a cultural dimension to how teachers make sense of their roles and perceive students with special needs.

The academic essays that cite cultural barriers to inclusion are not empirically based and do not explore how these attitudes are developed or maintained (Hadidi & Al Kahteeb, 2015).

Throughout the literature, including empirical research, these negative attitudes are alluded to by the authors but not supported by interview or observational data. Instead, resource scarcity seems to be the greatest barrier to inclusion. This comparative literature review has revealed the governing policies for inclusion in Jordan are not robust; they are instead ambiguous reiterations of international guidelines. It is possible this is a result of long-standing beliefs about disability, but more empirical evidence from in-depth qualitative studies of governing bodies that focus on the attitudes and beliefs of ministerial bodies must be gathered. It is clear there is a complicated flow between government policy and implementation that is influenced by multiple factors and warrants more extensive research into the flow of meaning between policy makers and teachers.

Conclusion

By employing a comparative lens to Jordanian inclusive policies and practice, it is possible to track the influence of international initiatives for inclusive education and also international development aid that has influenced the adoption of inclusion in Jordan. The unique geopolitical space that Jordan exists in has created enormous opportunity for influential education agencies to advocate for inclusionary policy and practice. Thus far, however, the survey and limited case study research demonstrates limited efficacy if measured by the international and national laws governing the practice in a top-down approach. Currently, the practice is under-resourced, and this contributes to a broad interpretation of inclusion that results in limited or nonexistent services. More insight needs to be gained from teachers and schools about their success in creating parental advocates, community inclusion, and classroom practices.

It is clear that Jordanian government policies are supportive of special education programming in the schools and their goal is inclusion, but implementation is limited by inadequate resources, training, lack of community support, and physical resources. These

challenges are not unique to Jordan; educational policies adopted across nations often face similar challenges. Creating and utilizing a more localized solution to special education would likely create better results (Bines & Lei, 2011; Schuelka & Johnstone, 2012). Past research efforts in Jordan have highlighted problems affecting inclusionary education through analysis of resource barriers and surveys of teachers; however, there is little evidence of intervention research that might improve education for students with special needs in Jordan. AlKhateeb, Hadidi, and AlKhateeb (2016) and Keller and Al-Hendawi (2014) cite the lack of empirical research available in both English and Arabic that addresses inclusionary initiatives in Middle Eastern nations generally. This indicates that very little local knowledge is being disseminated. Current policies inspired by international efforts and research have done little to make a difference outside the halls of government. To better implement and improve special education services, donor organizations and the Jordanian government need to focus their resources on developing local advocacy efforts, parental supports, and ongoing teacher training efforts, which have shown to be effective in other developing-country contexts (Schuelka & Johnstone, 2012). The next steps in research need to be ethnographic education study to develop a contextual understanding of inclusion in Jordan in order to generate knowledge that attends to both the cultural influences and the resource needs of inclusionary education.

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Manuscript 2

Into the Mesa: A Comparative Case Study of Jordanian Inclusion Policy

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Abstract

Inclusion as a concept and policy shifts its definition and legislative goals as it crosses boundaries between and in countries. To better understand how inclusion is being legislated and ultimately implemented, it is necessary to trace the flow of information among vertical, horizontal, and transversal axes in each new location. Jordan has long been an adopter of inclusive ideals, as reflected in its education laws, and it is a signatory on major human rights and education agreements promoting inclusion of students with disabilities. Utilizing the comparative framework laid out by previous scholars, cultural-historical activity theory, and analysis of the discourse surrounding policy, this research attempts to understand how Jordanian policy makers have defined inclusion in practice and legislation. As inclusion is increasingly tied to educational grants made to the Jordanian government by international bodies, it is important that the multiple stakeholders are working toward common goals. This research reveals that as international ideals are filtered through the government, meanings begin to shift, and these new meanings affect how teachers receive and understand the same terms and legislation. Policy actors perform an important role in the dissemination of educational legislation. This comparative study demonstrates the necessity of creating thick, rich descriptions of each level of implementation to understand how policy flows through the vertical axis of comparative research.

Into the Mesa: A Case Study of Jordanian Inclusion Policy

Jordan, a small country located in the heart of the Middle East, has a long history of inclusive policies for students with disabilities. Its history and geographic location at the crossroads of numerous regional conflicts provide a unique opportunity to study the mesa-level policy transfer and adoption of inclusion. Owing to its strategic geographic location and economic needs, Jordan has historically partnered with international agencies to fund and develop its education system, and this has resulted in multiple reforms intended to include children with disabilities (Benson, 2020). However, current literature in the field demonstrates that despite the history of inclusive education policies, students with physical, learning, and intellectual disabilities remain marginalized in schools and communities (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Alkhateeb, Hadidi, & Alkhateeb, 2016; Benson, 2020). Researchers often use the term "policy-to-practice gap" to describe this phenomenon. Innovative comparative case study methodology encourages researchers to look beyond a gap and instead understand how the flow among international, national, and local contexts influences practice, while practice also influences policy (Schuelka, 2018). Developing inclusive education theory suggests broad and vague policy documents are a barrier to successful implementation, so generating insight into how policy is created is necessary to create change in the field (Bines & Lei, 2011; Eleweke & Rodda, 2002; Winzer & Mazurek, 2009).

Previous comparative work has contextualized Jordanian policy within international agreements and local practices. This research demonstrated the need to further understand how national-level policy decisions are being constructed (Benson, 2020). To investigate the complex web of inclusive initiatives throughout the globe, comparative scholars have called for case studies that reject a single level of analysis (international, national, or local) and instead provide

robust and multidimensional analyses that attend to the way knowledge is constructed through all three levels, across cultures and time (Artiles & Dyson, 2005; Schuelka, 2018). This research will build on comparative frameworks to demonstrate the utility of in-depth studies at the mesa, or national, level to understand how inclusion is transferred, adopted, and interpreted in Jordan. The emergent and established theories used in this research can improve how scholars approach the complex issue of studying a socioculturally nuanced policy like inclusion. At the same time, this research provides valuable insight into the Jordanian policy-scape.

Literature Review

Jordanian Governance and Policy

Jordan is a stable kingdom but bears significant social and economic burdens as a result of many regional conflicts throughout the Middle East. The country has limited natural resources, and while it rates as a middle-income country on economic measurement indices, it relies heavily on development aid, especially within the education sector (Saif & Choucair, 2010; US Department of State, 2018; World Bank, 2017). The influx of refugees from surrounding countries has taxed the government's ability to provide basic services, and as a result, international governing bodies and nongovernmental organizations (NGO) have stepped in to provide technical and financial resources to the social sector (Abugattas-Majluf, 2012; Fishman, 2014). Thus, research focused on the politics of the country must address all policy-level institutions, including foreign donor governments and international governing bodies.

Jordan is a constitutional monarchy, governed by King Abdullah II, who assumed the throne in 1999 (Salameh & El Edwan, 2016). While the king promised positive democratic reforms and an increased adherence to the democratic process, the follow-through on these commitments has been slow to nonexistent (Salameh & El Edwan, 2016). The lack of progress

on reform can be attributed to the multiple conflicts in the region and Jordan's role as a safe haven for Palestinians, Iraqis, and now Syrians. This tumult provides the government with justification to concentrate power and suppress a robust democracy in order to maintain stability (Fishman, 2014; Salameh & El Edwan, 2016). During the Arab Spring, Jordan faced fewer and less-violent uprisings than the rest of the region, and the government remained in power because it appeared to generate reforms, even as it retained high levels of control (Beck & Hüser, 2015; Salameh & El Edwan, 2016). For example, King Abdullah II maintains the power to appoint the prime minister and the other ministry leaders, despite calls for this power be transferred to parliamentarians (Beck & Hüser, 2015).

The king's reaction to public outcry in Jordan is often to replace the prime minister. Over the past ten years, there have been seven prime ministers, five of whom served in the same two-year period during the Arab Spring (Ryan, 2016). These new appointments provide the appearance of reform but, given the king's power to appoint the prime minister, actually change very little in the way government operates (Barari, 2015). The 2017 reshuffle of ministers resulted in upheaval within the Ministry of Education (MoE). The current prime minister, Dr. Omar Al-Razzaz, was pulled from his role at the MoE after the largest demonstrations since the Arab Spring over International Monetary Fund–directed tax increases (Al-Khalidi, 2018). While in his role at MoE, Dr. Al-Razzaz worked on large-scale reforms to the education sector, with significant funding from international donors and a focus on inclusive education (Al-Khalidi, 2018). His replacement, Azmi Mahafzah, was the president of the University of Jordan and is now heading a combined Ministry of Education and Higher Education. Dr. Mahafzah seems to be continuing the reforms of his predecessor. His commitment to inclusion is unclear, but given the influence of international donors, most of whom include an inclusive agenda in their funding

agreements, the focus on inclusion is unlikely to abate. The volatility in Jordanian politics, the refugee crisis, and an unstable economy have strengthened the technical and political influence of donor governments in education policy and created an optimal environment to study the policy transfer, adoption, and implementation of inclusion (Benson, 2020).

Inclusion Policy

Winzer and Mazurek (2009) describe the general global policy-scape of inclusion following the Salamanca Statement and Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), as having a "rhetoric-to-reality gap." This description is echoed in other comparative education research and is often cited as the "policy-to-practice gap." Recognizing there is a difference between written policy and school-level practices is certainly an important contribution, and this gap should be flagged for further exploration. Unfortunately, it has yet to be sufficiently explored. Building on the work done by previous scholars to analyze policy documents, this research adds the voice of the policy stakeholders who have crafted legislation.

Global Inclusion Movement. The migration of inclusion across the globe is traced through a series of international agreements and worldwide policy goals. The idea of inclusion is most often associated with students with disabilities, but recently the definition is expanding and is frequently used to refer to the ability of an education system to include girls, refugees, disadvantaged youth, *and* students with disabilities. The multiple interpretations and definitions of inclusion combined with the cultural construction of disability create a patchwork of implementation by various international, national, and private foundations around the world (Ainscow & Cesar, 2006; Artiles et al., 2015; Peters, 2007; Winzer & Mazurek, 2012). For the purposes of this research, the term "inclusion" refers to policy designed to include students with

physical, intellectual, learning, and behavioral disorders who need accommodations in a school setting in order to access curriculum and successfully matriculate.

The first of two international agreements recognized as the foundation of modern inclusion policies is the Salamanca Statement. Ninety-two nations gathered in Salamanca, Spain, in 1994 to affirm the rights of students with special needs and promote inclusion with the Salamanca Statement. In 2006 inclusive education was singled out in the CRPD. Article 24 of the CRPD outlines the goals of inclusion and sets the standards for the global implementation of this policy. To date the adoption of CRPD is the defining moment of the global inclusion movement (Peters, 2007; Winzer & Mazurek, 2012). Jordanian law has followed these international agreements throughout history, and most major education legislation pertaining to inclusion comes within a year of these international milestones (Benson, 2020).

Mesa Policy-scapes. This litany of global inclusive policy has been extensively analyzed by scholars throughout its growth (Artiles et al., 2015; Peters, 2007; Winzer & Mauzurek, 2012). However, literature investigating the role of policy makers in this process is limited. While some have tackled the broadest terms of best practices of adoption (see Eleweke & Rodda, 2002; or Winzer & Mazurek, 2009), others have undertaken specific policy reviews (see Ahsan & Mullick, 2013; or Schuelka, 2012). There remains a major gap in the literature when it comes to in-depth research to understand how policy makers create meaning and develop inclusive education policies.

Previous policy analyses have developed frameworks and identified common barriers in policy documents, which has helped influence the comparative inclusion theory explained in more detail later in this paper. Engsig and Johnstone (2015) demonstrate challenges in the Danish inclusive education policy through analysis of the document and historical comparisons.

They identify competing views of inclusion that complicate implementation within the Danish system. What remains unclear after this analysis, though, is whether the stakeholders who crafted these laws understand the difference between the two competing models, whether the law is a result of compromise, and how they negotiated policy for the Danish context. Similarly, Schuelka (2012) provides valuable insight into the Bhutanese inclusive education policy, using systematic, historical analysis to understand the current inclusive education law. However, even this analysis stops short of engaging the policy makers, which would provide clarity for future policy development.

By not considering the motivations of stakeholders, and how they create the meaning of inclusive education, discourse continues to be stalled around the policy-to-practice gap. Ainscow and Miles (2008) identify policy as a performance indicator in the inclusive education framework for success. As a part of this indicator, three of the four measures identify policy-level leaders as key to making an inclusive school system; yet there is no model of how to engage the policy-level leaders in research. Academics have engaged stakeholders before legislative initiatives to assess needs (Alborz, Slee, & Miles [2014] in Iraq; Kalyanpur [2011] in Cambodia). While Alborz, Slee, and Miles (2014) and Kalyanpur (2011) identify concerns and beliefs of stakeholders, they do not expose the ongoing negotiations by legislators of the finalized law. Duke et al. (2016) moves in this direction in Samoa by engaging in direct observation of policy-level meetings and model schools but again stops short of providing empirical evidence gained through direct stakeholder interviews. Thus, the cultural clashes that are identified through observations, researcher reflexivity, and policy analysis remain a part of a black box, with no clear point of origin.

The importance of analyzing the intentions of policy stakeholders directly is emphasized by Liasidou (2012), who recognizes the complex and multidirectional nature of writing and enacting policy. Given that the policies created are not stand-alone documents but were crafted by humans, we must interrogate the influences, ideologies, and assumptions of those writing the law. Steiner-Khamsi (2016) and Anderson-Levitt (2004) present multiple research studies over their long careers demonstrating how international education policy is reinterpreted and negotiated as part of larger power structures, yet the inclusive education field has not similarly engaged the policy stakeholders in these conversations.

Purpose

Inclusion, as defined and promoted by the UN and other international governing bodies, remains an abstract and unlikely ideal for many nations that continue to struggle in providing adequate educational facilities and curriculum for any student (Eleweke & Rodda, 2002; Winzer & Mazurek, 2009). This holds true in Jordan as well, where despite passing laws related to inclusion beginning in the 1950s and being a signatory on major human rights and inclusion declarations, resources are still inadequate to create inclusive classrooms. Understanding why, despite this history of inclusive legislation, students with disabilities remain marginalized requires recognizing policy is not static. By analyzing the ongoing, dynamic discourse of stakeholders and the way they negotiate meaning to align with international pressures and cultural, historical realities, this research answers the following research questions: (a) How do Jordanian legislative stakeholders, including foreign governments and development organizations, understand and interpret Jordanian inclusive policy? (b) How is inclusive education policy transferred from an international context to national-level governments?

This study uses a comparative case study framed by policy borrowing and global inclusion theory. Empirical evidence gathered through stakeholder interviews and policy documents is analyzed using activity systems analysis based in cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT). The results demonstrate how inclusion is being legislated and implemented by Jordanian government officials and international legislative stakeholders.

Theoretical Framework

While globally inclusion has been adopted into law by a majority of countries, these laws are often written as direct translations of the international conventions, without consideration of country contexts, creating what Winzer and Mazurek (2009) term the "rhetoric-to-reality gap." Research on the macro level—rhetoric used by international organization—and the mesa level—country-specific realities—can illuminate that gap, demonstrating that instead of a gap it is a complex flow of knowledge between differing contexts. Both established and emergent theoretical frameworks are used to frame the discussion of the policy-scape in Jordan. Policy-transfer theory and a developing global inclusion theory will be used to understand the Jordanian context as framed by CHAT.

Policy Transfer

Policy-transfer theory posits that, while global commitments often appear to be uniform at the international level, on a country-by-country basis practices are negotiated, redefined, and adapted for particular contexts (Anderson-Levitt, 2004; Steiner-Khamsi, 2008, 2010, 2014). The adoption, subsequent redefinition, and influence of multiple stakeholder perspectives provide the basis for understanding how inclusion has developed in Jordan. The strong presence of both governmental and nongovernmental donor agencies, government reform, and global education discourse leads to policy borrowing and lending (Anderson-Levitt, 2004; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004,

2016). This is particularly relevant in the Jordanian context because of an influx of these organizations over the past ten years due to regional instability. Donor agencies have redoubled efforts to supply experts and finances to support an educational system taxed by a growing refugee population, lack of funding, and other systemic issues (Benson, 2020). While these international organizations purport to be working side by side with the ministry and local implementing agencies, there are often competing visions of reform efforts based on the perspective of the stakeholder (Anderson-Levitt & Alimasi, 2001; Burde, 2004).

Education researchers have explored the borrowing process in depth, demonstrating how national governments translate, redefine, and negotiate external influences. Anderson-Levitt and Alimasi's (2001) study into reading policy and textbook adoption in the Republic of Guinea utilized stakeholder interviews to document the process of negotiating external policies. By interrogating the policy stakeholders, the underlying motivations and, in some cases, subversive actions are exposed (Anderson-Levitt & Alimasi, 2001). Utilizing this more complete analysis of policy makers who are involved in borrowing and lending illuminates how and by whom the renegotiations take place. Within inclusive education, this is a missing area of study, despite clear conditions for policy borrowing.

In 2017 Jordan received $3.65 billion in aid, a portion of which was funneled directly to the Syrian refugee crisis, but a larger amount went directly to social development and reform efforts (Petra News Agency, 2018). The MoE receives a large amount of donor funds—approximately $208.4 million in 2016 from just six donor countries—in order to undertake reforms and provide education for the Syrian refugees (Human Rights Watch, 2016). The World Bank underwrote both Education Reform for Knowledge Economy projects, major reform efforts spanning over ten years, and the concept of inclusive education can be found throughout

the second iteration (World Bank, 2017). World Bank loans are often more than simple funding structures and also act as policy-change instruments, pushing the World Banks' view of education on the loan holders (Jones, 2004). These historic and ongoing relationships with international monetary and governance organizations, as well as the close relationship with outside governments eager to maintain a stable country in the region, have contributed to the adoption of inclusion laws in Jordan.

Policy-transfer theories help explain the mechanisms by which inclusion is spreading and the potential impact on not only policy but practices. As an internationally transferred policy, inclusion has spread widely over the past 20 years and is considered the mark of a progressive school system (Artiles & Dyson, 2005; Winzer & Mazurek, 2009). Policy-transfer theories have shown many countries adopt educational policies with little commitment to adhere to the underlying principles, changing the language to reflect the new policy but rarely changing practices or redefining the policy to fit existing practice (Burde, 2004). Inclusion is not immune to this occurrence, and several scholars note that adoption of inclusion tends to be hollow (Hettiarachichi & Das, 2014). Policy borrowing rarely results in an exact replica of international policy, as nations negotiate and redefine policies to meet their contextual needs (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). Study at the mesa level exposes these negotiations and nuances relevant in a country with multiple national and international stakeholders.

Comparative Inclusive Education Theory

To establish successful inclusive systems, scholars have identified several specific needs that make up emergent global inclusive education theory. Components leading to successful implementation of inclusive education fall into the three broad categories, outlined by Pijl, Meijer, and Hegarty (1997): *external factors*, which include cultural concerns, legislation,

funding, advocacy groups, and parental and nongovernmental organizations; *school factors*, which extend from the physical structures to the internal systems, curricula, and available therapeutic supports; and *teacher concerns*, which encompass the level and availability of training, acceptance, skills, teaching resources, and instruction time. Pijl et al. (1997) do not include parental advocacy and support as external factors; instead they have added them as a fourth tier. I contend because parental groups often act at the policy and judiciary levels, they can be considered external factors. Each of these three categories are explored in more detail throughout the canon of comparative inclusion literature and are relevant to discussions focused on improving capacity. This study applies a focused lens on the *external factors*, specifically legislative decisions and decision makers.

Hunt (in press) calls on scholars to use the nine key features in the UN's General Comment n. 4 (GCN4) to evaluate inclusive policies. GCN4 provides a template for countries working toward inclusive schools and so is useful to include in developing a global inclusive education theory. GCN4 recognizes the different starting points of countries enacting inclusive education. Hunt (in press) contends this strategic policy document can be a benchmark for all countries. GCN4 calls for countries to work toward inclusion through a "whole systems" approach by (1) putting maximum resources toward the effort, (2) embedding inclusion in the "whole education environment," (3) recognizing the abilities of the "whole person," (4) providing training and education to ensure "supported teachers," (5) making all learners welcome by embracing "diversity" in schools, (6) creating "learning-friendly environments" that allow all students to learn, (7) supporting students during "effective transitions" to tertiary or vocational education, (8) developing community-wide "partnerships," and (9) engaging all stakeholders, including those who are beneficiaries in "monitoring" these system (Hunt, in

press). Each of these nine standards can be mapped onto the three factors and subject areas outlined by Pijl et al. (1997). Thus, individual country policy that uses the GCN4 as a guideline will be better able to address all three factors leading to school systems that are accessible, adaptable, and relevant within their own particular contexts.

This study identifies comparative inclusive education theory as a three-tiered cohesive system of analysis that should focus and organize future inclusive education research. This emergent theory will allow researchers to identify individual factors within inclusive education systems but draws relational lines to demonstrate the interconnectedness of this complicated ideal. Examining the legislative branch of this theory closely leads to demonstrative ways to evaluate policy.

Eleweke and Rodda (2002) provide six further markers found in legislation that make inclusion successful: (1) protective safeguards that guarantee the rights of the beneficiary to receive specific services; (2) time of onset and phase plans; (3) consequences (that is, punishment) for noncompliance; (4) room for litigation; (5) accountability, evaluation, and monitoring procedures; and (6) financial backing and structure (p. 119). These marks of a high-quality policy can be identified throughout global inclusion literature.

Combining Hunt's (in press) call to better utilize the GCN4 and the six necessities of law outlined by Eleweke and Rodda (2002), it is possible to develop a fluid set of markers that can be applied, regardless of a country's income status, to ensure a government is working toward a more inclusive education system. Global inclusive education theory is emergent and a new way to approach policy analysis in the field, as well as a valuable tool for future researchers to apply as they conduct in-depth study of the inclusive systems. It is also a way to begin standardizing

these studies in order to create a more cohesive body of work in the field that can encourage progress.

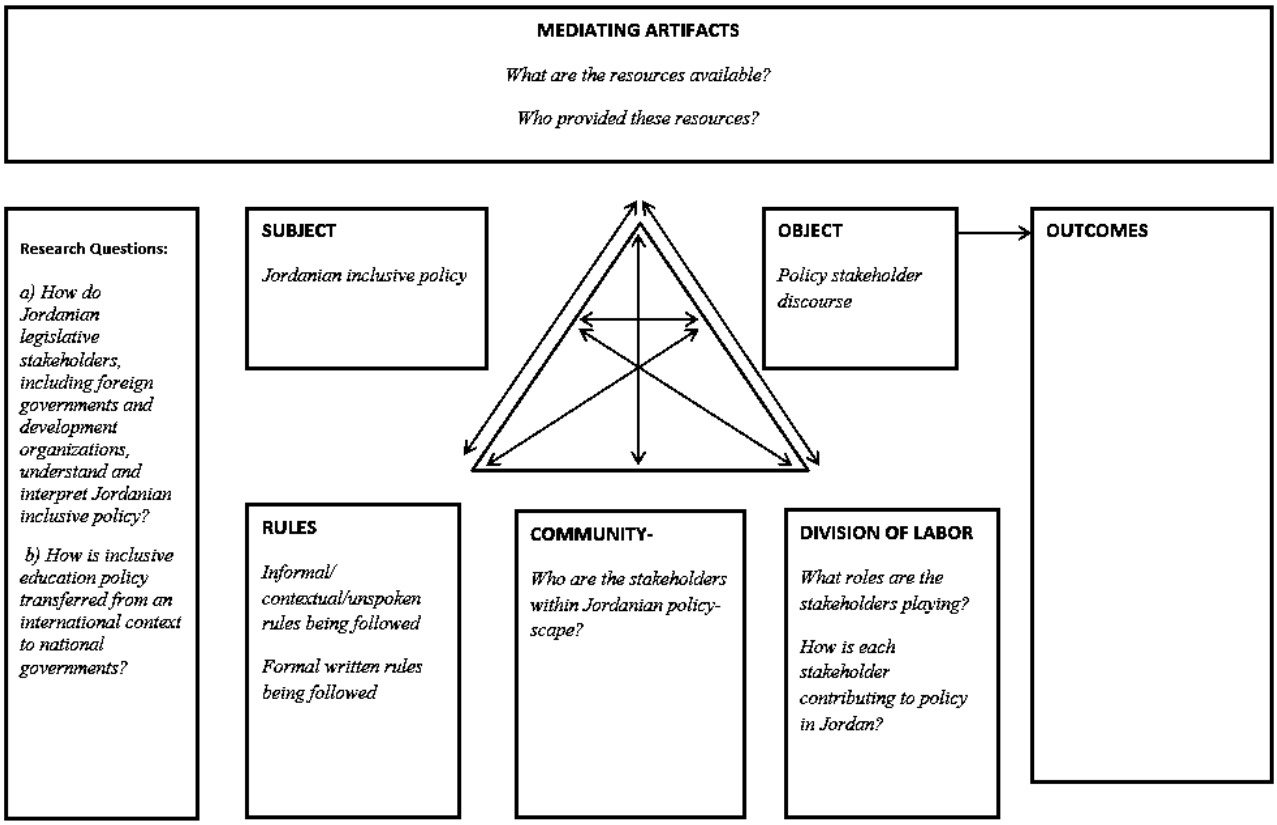
Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT)

CHAT as a research framework brings many aspects of a context into focus and highlights the impacts of culture and historicity in an activity system. CHAT is an internationally recognized framework for conducting research and was originally conceived by Lev Vygotsky, a Russian scholar (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010). The theory was further developed by scholars throughout Russia and Europe over the decades, and the most recent iteration used comes from Engeström, a Finnish researcher (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010). CHAT uses activity systems analysis to understand how the most relevant parts of an activity system interact. This lens provides insight into how sociohistorical and cultural contexts impact the construct of meaning in legislation.

An activity system comprises the rules, mediating artifacts, community, and division of labor that are governing subjects and objects. Within this study, inclusive policy represents the subject, and policy stakeholder discourse is the object. Rules include the informal and contextual rules that are followed in addition to the written laws and policies. Community refers to the actors present in a particular activity system. The community is connected to the division of labor in order to understand not only who the stakeholders are but what their role in the activity system is and how they are contributing to the outcomes. Mediating artifacts are defined as any resources available to and utilized by the community. These can include material and nonmaterial goods. Artiles and Dyson (2005) have called for including cultural and historical influences of a location when studying inclusive education. Activity system analysis allows researchers to reach a deeper understanding of these cultural and historical influences by

Figure 1.

CHAT Matrix



(Adapted from Yagamata-Lynch, 2010).

focusing on the interactions in a system (see Figure 1). The arrows represent the interactions within the system that can expose the sociocultural and historical issues that might be creating a rhetoric-to-reality gap within inclusive education.

Methods

This research relies on comparative case study to situate the findings in a larger discussion of Jordanian inclusion policy, practice, and global research methods. This methodology was originally defined and used in education by Vavrus and Barlett (2006, 2014, 2017). Schuelka (2018) demonstrated the utility of comparative case study when researching inclusive education and its multilayered interpretations in Bhutan. The goal is to unbound a

single country case in order to trace the flow of knowledge through multiple levels of influence from international to localized interpretations (Schuelka, 2018). As a result of the sociocultural construction of disability, scholars have long been calling for inclusion research to engage historicity and multiple viewpoints, which is in part answered through comparative case study (Artiles & Dyson, 2005).

Unbounding this case study from a specific time or location requires a clear *subject-object* of study; as defined by Thomas (2011), *subject-object* boundaries establish a clear purpose of study that ensures strong credibility. The subject, a key case or phenomena, for this study is Jordanian inclusive policy. The discourse of policy stakeholders is used to frame the inclusive policy and therefore is considered the object, or analytical frame (Thomas, 2011). The way policy makers—both Jordanians and influential donor organizations—understand and define inclusion is then discussed in relation to the policy-borrowing and global-inclusion theories.

Data collection occurred over three months and consisted of 18 semi-structured interviews, ethnographic fieldnotes, and document collection. Interview techniques were based on Seidman (2006), the methods of data triangulation were outlined by Yin (2018), and the ethnographic field research practices of Lofland et al. (2006) were used. Data collection focused on inclusion policy—the subject. The analysis and interpretation of the policy is provided by the object—discourse of influential policy makers and technical experts working in the field.

Participant Interviews. Interviews took place with Jordanian nationals working within ministries and other organizations as well as international partners from public and private organizations. The participants are representative of the multinational effort to reform education in Jordan. Participants engaged in 45- to 90-minute interviews that provided local contextual

knowledge (Yin, 2017). The semi-structured interview format allowed stakeholders to ascribe their own meaning to inclusion, without limiting participant's voice.

Most interviews were conducted in English, but Arabic interpreters were contracted when

Table 1.
Summary of interview participants

Date	Interviewee	Nationality	Organization	Funding Structure
21/1/19	Education Specialist	North American	Government	Donor
4/2/19 (a)	Head of Department	Jordanian	University	n/a
4/2/19 (b)	Professor	Jordanian	University	n/a
5/2/19	Director of Department	Jordanian	Ministry	Recipient
10/2/19	Program Manager	Australian	Government	Donor
14/2/19	Program Manager	European	Government	Donor
17/2/19 (a)	Communications Director	Jordanian	Quasi-governmental	Recipient
17/2/19 (b)	Education Coordinator	Jordanian	International Government Agency	Donor
19/2/19	Program Officer	European	International Government Agency	Donor
19/2/19	Program Officer	Jordanian	International Government Agency	Donor
20/2/19	Deputy of Department	Jordanian	Ministry	Recipient
21/2/19 (a)	Program Manager	Asian	Nongovernmental Organization	Recipient
21/2/19 (b)	Director of Department	Jordanian	Ministry	Recipient
24/2/19	Program Manager	Jordanian	Nongovernmental Organization	Recipient
24/2/19	Program Manager	Jordanian	Nongovernmental Organization	Recipient
25/2/19	Head of School	Jordanian	Private School	n/a
27/2/19	Head of Mission	European	Government	Donor
6/3/19	Teacher Trainer	Jordanian	Nongovernmental Organization	Recipient
19/3/19	Professor	Jordanian	University	n/a
1/4/19	Director	Jordanian	Quasi-governmental	Recipient

Note. Interviews that had two participants are listed separately, but not differentiated in citations.

requested. For a list of participants and their positions in the network of policy stakeholders by nationality, agency, and funding see Table 1.

Document Review. In addition to interviewing multiple participants, several different documents provided data triangulation to show the flow of policy and practice between international knowledge transfer and local context. Multiple policy documents concerned with inclusive education, the primary subject of this research, were collected and analyzed. These included the Education Strategic Plan 2018–2022 (ESP), Public Law No. 20: Law on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act (2017) (PL n. 20), the 10 Year Inclusive Education Plan, and the National Human Resource Strategy 2016–2025.

Analysis

Analytic strategies relied on a multicycle and systematic coding of oral and written discourses of inclusion. The first cycle, descriptive coding, used activity systems analysis to code and organize data from multiple participants into broad categories (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). Using this deductive coding revealed issues specific to each part of the activity system and provided a more comprehensive way of looking at data from multiple stakeholders with various backgrounds. The systematic structure of activity systems analysis captured commonalities across stakeholders and triangulated discourses between stakeholders to increase credibility in data analysis. While first-cycle coding captured the multifaceted activity system of Jordanian policy, second-cycle coding was needed to capture the nuanced discourse and sociocultural and historical influences impacting inclusive policy.

Second-cycle coding was inductive coding within the activity system; in vivo codes were developed for each block in conjunction with coding techniques that were specific to the data sets. This created a strong structure for understanding the complex system while valuing

participant voices. Values coding was applied to *rules*, which gave priority to the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the participants and the way both written and unwritten rules are developed (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). Process coding, the analysis of stakeholder actions, was applied to the divisions of labor (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). This coding focused on how stakeholders described their actions as well as how others described them. First-cycle coding of community revealed many evaluative judgments about the merits of various members, so evaluations and judgment statements were coded to demonstrate recurring views about various community members.

Discourse analysis is not only the study of linguistics and the minutiae of language but an empirical and systematic way to understand how meaning is made, transferred, and understood (Johnstone, 2018). Because it is a broad study of not only language but the construction of meaning through past experiences, daily interactions, and individual knowledge, analyzing the language of policy makers offers a strong tool for understanding complicated globalized localisms such as inclusion (Anderson-Levitt, 2004; Johnstone, 2018). Discourse within this research encompasses multiple modes of communication, including official documents, formal and informal conversations, and correspondence. By applying the same descriptive activity systems and in vivo coding to policy documents, it was possible to place these in discourse with the stakeholders. The deductive categories have been used to organize the results, while each activity systems component is presented in isolation; the connections and influence of each category on others is addressed as well.

Results

Mediating Artifacts

Throughout the data coded for mediating artifacts, three broad and intersecting issues occurred frequently: physical resources, personnel resources, and funding. From Jordanian nationals to international donors, these three issues were at the heart of policy and implementation challenges, and these challenges were also echoed in the various policy documents. These three themes also have significant impact on the remaining portions of the activity system. Especially within community and division of labor, donor funding creates tension between various community members, which has led to siloed labor practices in order to not lose or have to share valuable donor dollars.

Funding Sources. Struggles with both personnel resources and physical resources can be traced to an inconsistent and seemingly limited budget for the Ministry of Education and other government or quasi-governmental agencies. Funding sources impact all areas of the activity system. Inconsistent or uneven funding creates tension in the community and leads to the siloing of activities, and as a result, efforts to build an inclusive education system are stymied by uncoordinated efforts. The government-level stakeholders were heavily focused on budgeting concerns as an impediment to inclusion. However, after speaking to a broad range of stakeholders, it became clear that it is not necessarily a lack of funding but the distribution and management of the available funding that is creating barriers to inclusion.

The majority of funding for inclusion comes from outside donors, to the point that the MoE has had to create a separate department dedicated to managing donor relationships and coordinating various projects across the education sector. The Donor Coordination Unit (DCU) has little technical expertise in any educational area but controls how the funds are distributed,

involving unit staff members in work that is beyond their professional capabilities. This is frustrating for some donors: “So it’s like a bit of a struggle and the DCU is taking over things which shouldn’t be done by them” (27/2/19). Yet other donors appreciated how easy and progressive this unit is as a result of its regular contact with international donors (14/2/19; Fieldnotes, January 21, 2019). For others, this unit also represents the corruption and *wasta* involved with doing business with the MoE (Fieldnotes, February 22, 2019).

The MoE is the main recipient of millions of dollars, and to protect its status, it has siloed its work efforts, neglecting other government stakeholders and slowing progress toward a sustainable inclusive education system. For example, the Higher Council for Persons with Disabilities (HCRPD) and other organizations dedicated to ensuring inclusive education were not allocated a budget in the upcoming fiscal year, despite the supposed focus on inclusive education (27/2/19; 17/2/19a; 17/2/19b). HCRPD is not the only Jordanian governmental organization being left out of the funding frenzy. The Ministry of Social Development (MoSD) receives limited funding from international donors. This results in ministry officials being left out of planning meetings and generally sidelined owing to their lack of international backers.

> Why they exclude the Ministry of Social Development because maybe now it’s not their table, there is no fund to include them. Once they decide, or there is a fund, you will find they will interfere in this process. (24/2/19)

For some agencies, the MoSD is too cumbersome and opaque to make it an attractive recipient agency. There is more disorganization and less technical capability within this ministry, which is frustrating for donors and Jordanians alike (Fieldnotes, February 20, 2019). It is possible this is a circular issue: because the MoSD does not have the funding, it is neither forced nor able to develop more sophisticated procedures. A similar phenomenon is happening in universities in Jordan. The universities are at the mercy of the MoE, which can make them bureaucratic and not

attractive to donors, so many international donor agencies have chosen to spend their millions with private teacher training institutions, most notably the Queen Rania Teacher Academy.

The politics behind who does and does not get funding impacts relationships within the community. Funding in Jordan is a constant concern, and many Jordanian stakeholders cite the lack of funding as the major impediment to progress. However, as seen in the MoE's Development Coordination Unit, the MoE budget, and donor cost sheets, there is significant money coming in. Implementing parties indicate a lack of cohesive vision and collaboration among policy agencies, and so the money coming into the country tends to be put toward small, unsustainable projects or model schools that cannot be replicated on a larger scale.

> What is pushing them to work on it [inclusion]? Number one, the new law […], number two because of the donor interest, you know if this fund or project will be supported the ministry, they will accept it. (24/2/19)

The lack of sustainable funding efforts means there is no strategic budgeting for the different plans for inclusion. Without strategic planning by the MoE and because of instability of funding from donor governments, inclusion is being set up for failure.

> Um, we don't have the long-term vision to see exactly how things will be in 10, 20 years. So we just want something which is solution for now and sadly only for now.[...] [Donor government] came into some schools, they want to do some physical accommodations or changes within the environment itself, to begin at least doing something about inclusion and later on they like the idea of special education, so they [Donor] hire a special educator and, she began working with students.[…] A few months ago, the funding ended, so they requested that the ministry [MoE] would hire this person to continue working. But they didn't hire her. So the whole project eventually stopped, that's it, *khalas* [finish]. (4/2/19)

Funding scarcity is a real problem. Schools and universities in Jordan are struggling to develop modern, accessible, and capable personnel, which takes money. Funding itself is not an insurmountable challenge given the number of international donors, but the agencies' inability to

coordinate among themselves is creating the appearance of a funding shortage. Unfortunately, funding is also the root of many other conflicts in the activity system.

Physical Resources. According to the ESP, schools that have been rendered physically accessible and are scheduled to be renovated are to be the focus of the MoE's Special Education Department. This demonstrates the fixation on inclusion as a physical act, not as a whole school change. Physical resources have been provided by outside donor agencies, and there have been a limited number of schools renovated with funding from the US Agency for International Development (USAID). Many of the stakeholders in the community consider the renovated schools examples of progress and models for the future of inclusion.

> It is one year since the launching of the new law and we implemented the 10 year plan and we wrote immediately an MOU with the Ministry of Education and said, we are ready to help […] we have a draft, an action plan for the strategic plan for the coming 10 years. […] Developing like around 75 schools. We will be starting with schools already have the infrastructure to helps us to do that. And we mean by that we might be starting with the schools that is already built with the generous donation of the USAID because the infrastructure is there. It's physically, it's accessible for persons with disabilities. (17/2/19a)

> So we are doing things that are aligned with the plan. Let's ensure we have a minimum number of schools all across the kingdom that are accessible and basics, ramps, specially equipped classes in the first floor and on the ground floor for students with mobility issues. (5/2/19)

These statements from multiple stakeholders, international and national, represent a cohesive, if limited view of resources for inclusion, driven by the MoE's redefining inclusion as primarily targeting students with mild learning disabilities and physical impairments.

This tension was highlighted by several donors who noted the HCRPD and other outside agencies would handle the technical aspect of inclusion, while the MoE was mostly focused on physical renovations. One stakeholder expressed frustration that writing strategic proposals tied directly to the Inclusive Education Plan became impossible because donors would go directly to

the MoE, which in turn would request renovations for school buildings, not a strategic buildup of capacity *and* structures. This was problematic to her because "if you look at the action plan each pillar is related to the others, you cannot say I will fund this if it is not a prerequisite for the second pillar, it has to be done in a very strategic way" (1/4/19). Other stakeholders expressed a similar concern with the money being funneled to physical resources that did not contribute to a sustainable and systematic implementation of inclusion. A diagnostic center built with a large European donation was completed and dismantled just a year later when another organization needed the technology and space in the building. This seemingly arbitrary disbursement of funds impacts how community members, including the public, view government officials, often resulting in distrust and skepticism.

Personnel Resources. Many of the international organizations focus efforts on building renovations, inclusive playgrounds, and other physical resources because there are clear targets and tangible outcomes. However, it is clear from previous research in Jordan and the data collected in this study that there is a lack of qualified, well-trained, and capable teachers to support inclusion efforts. Interview data supports two root causes creating this resource scarcity. The first is insufficient training at the university level, and the second is unsustainable efforts in professional development after graduation. As discussed earlier, the lack of sustainable funding sources also impacts the higher education system, which is continually blamed for creating subpar teachers, and higher education faces challenges in developing high-quality and motivated teachers.

University placements in Jordan are based on individual student *towjihi* (secondary final exam) scores, which determine what areas of study are available in university. Historically, students who have placed the lowest on the *towjihi* have been given the option of teaching, and

even lower scores are funneled into special education. Thus, these university cohorts have not voluntarily chosen their field of study. This results in students who are unmotivated and less academically inclined and ultimately creates a resource poor pool of teaching candidates.

> The problem with the Ministry of Education teachers, they were not motivated. They really did not believe in it. […] And we were very, very few people who were there because of our choice. You know, rather than we are stuck with education, and actually I changed my major from education to psychology, because people there they had have better grades and they were more motivated because I really was demotivated with the people that I have in education. (25/2/19)

> And I mean we just met him yesterday and we talked about the teacher reform, not only because of special needs teachers, the whole thing is a messed up, you know they are taking the worst. And that's the same thing that frustrated me yesterday, because I also hope that we could advise him on really changing some things, I said you must take your clever students to be teachers. And I mean like Finland that or also South Korea, it's not only the funds, the salary, if you can also change other things it is possible. (27/2/19)

The universities struggle with their student base but also face limited funding and significant bureaucracy from the MoE, which only continues to perpetuate the perception that they are producing inadequate teachers. Multiple professors cited the lack of available textbooks in Arabic to use with their students, the inability to place students in public schools for internships because of MoE paperwork, and their limited firsthand experience, given the lack of true inclusion in any schools.

Rules

Written policy rules are regularly subverted in Jordan because of the unspoken and cultural rules that govern the acceptance of persons with disability in the country. Shame and stigma surrounding disability significantly impacts who is accepted into schools and how disability is defined; this finding empirically supports what has been written in many academic essays (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Alkhateeb, Hadidi, & Alkhateeb, 2016). The rules in written policy that state what a disability is and who must be accepted into schools shifted

regularly in conversations with both Jordanian government officials and international implementing partners. If discussing the ESP, PL n. 20, or international agreements, all parties cited similar definitions that were closely aligned with the UN vision. However, when those stakeholders were pressed on implementation, a different standard of inclusion that actually excluded students who had intellectual disabilities, emotional and behavioral disorders, or autism was revealed. The exclusion was driven by not only cultural and historical values that emphasize the shame and stigma but also the technical and financial resources of the education system.

During interviews with both Jordanians and foreign nationals, negative attitudes were referenced as barriers to implementing inclusion:

> We have so many barriers like physical, communication, attitude and all. […] I think the attitudinal barrier is very, very strong, you know, and it is not only in terms of teachers and schoolchildren but also in terms of families, because there's social stigma that is attached to disability that is still a very strong factor. (19/2/19)

These attitudes are tied to parents' concerns about marriage opportunities for their children and stigma within the family (17/2/19a). Many parents keep their children with disabilities in the home to avoid the social repercussions. According to the ESP, only an estimated 138 total students with intellectual disabilities were enrolled in public schools in the entire kingdom. This does not include the segregated centers run by the MoSD or private centers that provide opportunities for students with intellectual disabilities.

While some interviewees reflected on recent changes, the sentiment that social stigma was still a significant factor in creating inclusive schools was pervasive.

> We worked really hard with their parents not to feel ashamed because one more time, in our culture, if you have you know a child with a disability, most of the time they are ashamed, there's a huge feeling of, not only shame but loss, all the dynamics at home become really depressed and gloomy. (25/2/19)

A direct result of this shame and stigma is a lack of acceptance in the community, school, and government for persons with disabilities. Participants were likely to use the word “acceptance” when speaking about inclusive schooling but used “shame” when speaking about disability, indicating that the goal for inclusion is not necessarily to change the societal views around shame but to compromise inclusive principles enough for schools to accept some level of learner diversity in classrooms.

> There is a law that accepts them, but the people don’t. (6/3/19)

> So far, people cannot accept the idea that these students can be in the school with regular people, because we have this heritage with this mindset, a lot of people consider them as mad students. (24/2/19)

The direct link between the social shame and stigma for persons with disabilities and the lack of acceptance for full inclusion in schools has progressed little. Inclusion policies have been in effect for more than 50 years in Jordan, but because schools at large have not accepted the formal written rules, students with disabilities continue to be marginalized by cultural shame and stigma.

> I am a person with disabilities, I was in the regular school, even the teachers they put me beside the wall, like I am nothing, whatever I said I was wrong, but I was like no, I am a person, I am here. (Fieldnotes, February 20, 2019)

The idea that students with any type of disability; physical, intellectual, behavioral impairments; or autism create an undue burden on schools and teachers leads to students with any disability being marginalized.

The denial of full inclusion is perpetuated by the lack of acceptance demonstrated in the MoE. Ministerial employees and external agencies supporting the ministry with financial and technical assistance express adherence to the current inclusion law but define disability as physical impairments or mild learning disabilities. The single small department within the

ministry for special education lacks technical expertise or strong leadership. Further, this small unit experiences high turnover. All this demonstrates there is not strong support or acceptance of inclusion policy within the ministry (19/2/19; Fieldnotes, April 11, 2019). The lack of acceptance at the ministerial level leads to no enforcement for principals and schools that do not accept students with disabilities, allowing exclusion to continue as illustrated by this interviewee:

> According to the ministry's rules and regulations, children with learning disabilities should be accepted, but they are not being accepted, so many are referred to [organization name] for support because they have not been accepted by the school. The principal simply says we are not ready or equipped to deal with disability. (21/2/19b)

Using the defense that schools are not physically equipped and teachers not technically capable, principals reveal the unspoken rules. Inclusion is defined by the physical and technical resources in a school building, which are often limited, meaning inclusion is only appropriate for students with mild disabilities that need the least accommodations. These unspoken rules are not challenged by community members, leaving exclusion, not inclusion, as the normative rule.

Part of the interview protocol asked stakeholders how schools and other implementing agencies were held accountable for implementing inclusive education. Only one organization was able to provide an answer and ultimately referred to PL n. 20, which defines discrimination as a violent act. This single definition does not amount to enforcement, especially because, as one interviewee noted, the rules about inclusion are not widely accessible to parents or students and they must know how to search for them; even then the only recourse they have, according to sources, is to petition a government agency. By weakening the written rules through inefficient enforcement, the implicit agreement that only students with mild disabilities can be included perpetuates exclusion within public schools. Further, this siloes work efforts in the community, with ministries shifting the responsibility when student needs become too great.

Community

Community members were identified through initial deductive coding; secondary coding applied positive, negative, or neutral value judgments to these members. The value judgments made about community members revealed cultural issues surrounding the royal family and government; interviews with both international actors and Jordanians revealed these judgments as a challenge to cohesive inclusion. The international community often displayed negative attitudes about the ministries, and this negativity influenced not only their funding direction but the way they viewed their partnerships. The policy-level stakeholder community in Jordan is characterized by silos; as one interviewee said, "You feel that each one of them is his own separate entity that's working its own projects, uh, no organization, no lines in between them whatsoever" (4/2/19a).

There was a pervasive negative attitude when speaking about the MoE or MoSD, especially when compared with value statements made about the HCRPD or other bodies closely associated with the royal family. Distrust of the appointed government and faith in the royal family is a cultural trait in Jordan that was emphasized throughout interviews with both Jordanians and international stakeholders. Sponsorship by the royal family demonstrated reliability, trust, and program success, while the government was derided as incompetent or difficult to deal with. Jordanian stakeholders were direct about the distrust and their negative attitudes about the ministries were clear.

> But when it comes to their understanding, knowledge, mind-set of the staff, board of the Ministry is still under expectation, they need more forward, more awareness, more capital, more competence. They need to increase their competence. Unfortunately, the Department of Special Education, at the Ministry is a bit, uh crap. I'm sorry. (24/2/19)

> Now we have this issue in Jordan, people do not trust the government and that is an issue we are trying to work on, especially with the changing identity from a service provider to a policy maker. (17/2/19a)

The negative values associated with the MoE and the MoSD contributed to the inability to develop and implement successful inclusive education because stakeholders are less willing to engage with the ministries to create sustainable and systemic change.

One explanation for the negative attitudes about the government is the system of *wasta* (literal translation: "intermediary"; colloquially refers to influence) and perceived corruption in the government. Both Jordanians and foreign investors believe the practice of *wasta* defines how, when, and by whom the inclusion agenda is pushed forward. An international donor scheduled to fund a multi-million-dollar inclusion project noted, "So why is it that they push for it? If they have the right *wasta*, if they have the power […]" (27/2/19). This was triangulated by a professor working on inclusion policy: "You see individuals or directors in the Ministry of Education, when they saw me, that I have good contact with [prime minister] they are more cooperative" (19/2/19). Inclusion is seen as a luxury to the school system and therefore not a priority of most ministry employees or the minister of education. The lack of internal motivation to create a system of inclusive education inhibits the impact of policies as the MoE is unlikely to enforce the policy or follow through with strategy.

In addition to the dependence on *wasta*, monetary corruption was brought up several times by Jordanians expressing frustration with statements by government officials that were contradicted by their personal experiences. Corruption allegations centered on how money did, or more likely did not, reach students in need and on the dichotomy between what was being said about financial and physical resources and the actual provisions (Fieldnotes, February 22, 2019). It is not only individuals who demonstrate a mistrust of the ministry; one stakeholder reported that in her experience NGOs do not always register with the ministry because they do not have the *wasta* needed. There are no clear regulations, so both the ministries and NGOs circumvent

them, and overall, there is no added value or necessity to register with the government (21/1/19). External agencies working with the MoE said many of their initiatives were motivated by the availability of funding from international donors, and not by a commitment to sustainable improvements.

> Sometimes the Minister of Education signs an agreement with an NGO, for instance, to train teachers, to train students for so much, and after the same Ministry might also sign a contract to make a training for the same teachers, the same students with a different institution—you see I know many things in the universe of the minister of education that's awful, it's unbelievable, it's truly ridiculous. (19/2/19)

The perceived corruption can potentially be traced to the tribal nature of governance in Jordan. Politics is tied to the large family structures in the kingdom, and most parliamentarians are elected by their tribe and use the position to provide monetary and other advantages to the larger family (Lust & Hourani, 2011). These advantages can include positions in ministries or favors filtered through the ministries, resulting in the perceptions of corruption in the government. There is a mix of personnel in the MoE, and while some have technical expertise and background in education, others are less experienced but gained employment through these tribal connections, which also contributes to a lack of trust.

For many of the stakeholders, the negative values assigned to the government did not come because of corruption but because of high turnover, inconsistency in implementation, and general bureaucracy.

> If one person comes up with an idea, a good idea, the problem is that person never sits in place for more than one, two, three years, and somebody else will be coming on having a different vision. (4/2/19a)

The lack of confidence in government ministries to provide a consistent vision and capable staffing was echoed by several international stakeholders as well. One program director complained she had seen three ministers of education in her first two years; another struggled to

locate ministry employees who had participated in extensive technical trainings and were still working in the department just six months later (27/2/19; 21/2/19a). The turnover in the departments creates a vacuum of technical expertise that frustrated all parties working with the MoE.

In contrast to these negative perceptions and distrust of the government, when speaking about the HCRPD and royal family, most stakeholders spoke with positivity and hope for change. The HCRPD has been able to make significant progress as both an advocacy agency and policy body because it is headed by Prince Mired Raad Zeid Al-Hussein. Stakeholders credited his involvement with making Jordanian citizens "more comfortable turning to the HCRPD for assistance because it is headed by the prince" and believe that he is more "proactive" than the government (19/2/19; 17/2/19b). In addition, the prince is seen to have *wasta*, or "influence," within the MoE to accomplish the goals laid out in the Inclusive Education Strategy.

Two of the largest international donors to education initiatives have decided to work with the Queen Rania Teaching Academy, citing the endorsement of the queen to bring consistency and power the ministry does not. To justify this decision, one program director cited the inefficiency of the Ministry of [Higher] Education and comparative effectiveness of working with the royal family:

> It's like they're slow. They're very bureaucratic. So I don't get a quick fix with a university; but I totally agree, this is what we need for sustainability, but Queen Rania Teaching Academy, they are doing it now. They're doing it now, and they're the ones most closely also now regarding teacher education for the ministry. […] I mean I have to say it's because you have the Queen behind it, usually that's something which has the power to be sustainable. (27/2/19)

This cultural mistrust of the government has impacted the international stakeholders, and as a result, inclusion policies developed and implemented by the government have little chance of success, while those endorsed by the ruling family have a higher chance of being accepted.

Division of Labor

Community members' negative views of government officials are directly tied to the way various agencies operate in the policy-scape. The negativity toward the MoE especially was also apparent when asking stakeholders how and by whom the work of planning, legislating, and implementing inclusive education should be completed. While coding within division of labor, roles and responsibility were the most frequently recurring, and eventually differing kinds of responsibility codes emerged.

Responsibility can be categorized as sharing responsibilities, when multiple agencies are working collaboratively toward their goal; divided responsibilities, when multiple agencies are working on the same or similar goals but doing so in isolation or even competition; shifting responsibilities, when NGOs try to give more responsibility to ministries and the ministries shift responsibility away from their offices. The ESP and PL n. 20 were coded with the stakeholder interviews, and while at multiple points *sharing responsibility* was coded, multiple responsible parties and external support responsibilities became the more dominate codes within legislation. In many instances the ESP split responsibilities between agencies that otherwise have little or no work within education, ultimately allowing agencies to abdicate responsibility because each believes another is in charge. A striking example within PL n. 20 and the ESP, frequently cited in stakeholder discourse, are the multiple references to diagnostic centers. These are currently run by the Ministry of Health, but there is a push in both documents for MoE to open its own centers, in coordination with external supporting agencies. Interviews with donor agencies reveled there is some funding for the MoE to open these centers. Funding is often the driving force behind creating multiple responsible parties, but ultimately, it encourages siloing the work in order to maintain the inflow of donations instead of coordinating care to create a more effective system.

Responsibility is further confused because donor governments and the Jordanians are using multiple planning and strategic documents to define priorities and the scope of work to be completed. This was apparent in interviews and in the ESP itself, and because of the multiple documents, donors, government agencies, and other stakeholders refer to the document they are most closely tied to, regardless of contradicting information, leading to no systematic progress. Given the confusion that arises in the policy documents and the distrust of the MoE, conversations around who was responsible for the inclusive policy became fraught.

Within PL n. 20, the HCRPD is clearly labeled as the coordinating body, both in Article 9, which outlines the specific roles of the HCRPD, and in the subsequent articles that lay out the responsibilities of the Ministry of Health, MoE, and MoSD. Unfortunately, in conversations with stakeholders, it became apparent there is significant tension between the HCRPD and the MoE. It is unclear how this tension began, but interviews revealed evidence of competition and distrust.

> The Higher Council also *supported* the Minister of Education with four inclusive schools. (17/2/19a)

> But it is very hard to *control* the Ministry of Education, very, very hard because as I told you most of the international organizations, they go directly to them [MoE] which makes it difficult. (1/4/19)

> How can the Higher Council *push* the Ministry of Education? (17/2/19b)

> There's like a fight, a war, indirectly between the Higher Council and the Ministry of Education, miscommunication is the professional way, put more confusion, more responsibility on [Organization Name] and the other NGOs that provide services. (24/2/19)

Clearly, the MoE and HCRPD are not collaborating with each other, creating divided responsibility that impacts the strategic implementation of inclusion. This division is tied to resource allocation. The MoE is responsible for budgeting for the HCRPD, and donors more

often give money to the MoE. Despite a push for inclusion within the MoE, no money has been allocated this budgetary year for the HCRPD's efforts in this arena.

The MoE is also in conflict with the MoSD, again dividing and shifting responsibilities as a result of distrust, lack of clarity, and conflict between the agencies. The two ministries without verbal acknowledgment have siloed their definition of disability, so they do not have to share responsibilities. The influence of unspoken rules can be seen at play between these two ministries, which define physical disabilities eligible for inclusion and intellectual disabilities as the purview of the MoSD's centers (20/2/19). Many interviewees supported this view, and as a result, neither ministry believes there needs to be coordination between them. In fact, the communication between the ministries is so low, one official when being questioned about collaboration, replied after a significant pause and uncomfortable silence:

> Listen at the policy level it's easy, but at the cultural level it's difficult. *So what is the conversation, how do the ministries talk to each other about those children?* Policies by writing policies. (20/2/19)

Inability to collaborate creates both divided and shifting responsibilities between these two ministries and further cements the low community opinions about them both.

The official policy documents offer little guidance or support to help bridge this gap. According to PL n. 20, the responsibility for educating all students is that of the MoE, and the MoSD is only responsible for administering and reforming residential and institutional day-care facilities. However, the underlying belief that students with intellectual disabilities, autism, or other intense needs do not belong in schools allows the ministries to continue operating independently. There has been a memorandum of understanding between the two ministries extending back to the 2007 law to bring them together and move all students into public schools.

> We sat with the MoSD once in order to gather some information about the children and what they do. And one of the things that they mentioned is that we have the MOU with

> the Ministry of Education, but they did not take on the responsibility of transitioning the students and said we don't know how to do it. So I ask OK, you have this MOU, do you have an operational plan for it? They said no. Did you agree on timelines with the MoE? No. So it is just signed, and it's sitting there. That is it. So the MoSD is happy because they remove this load and they throw it on the MoE and then the MoE suffers or complains from the lack of effort or services. (24/2/19)

The current policies have not updated this, and the primary role of the Department of Special Education within the MoE, as defined in the ESP, is not to facilitate the long-awaited transfer of responsibility for students with intellectual disabilities to classrooms. NGOs and international donors all noted the absence of the MoSD during ESP and Inclusive Education Plan meetings. Several interviewees noted the MoSD's lack of participation was because of both the internal conflicts between the ministries and the lack of external funding to support the MoSD—again financial resources impacted the community and division of labor (24/2/19).

The government ministries continue shifting or siloing responsibilities between each other; the external supports or international donors, cited throughout the ESP and PL n. 20, all push back asking the MoE to take more of a leadership role. From the international governing bodies to NGOs, all parties indicated the MoE needs to take on more responsibility for providing inclusive schooling that goes beyond physical access.

> We would like to hand over everything to the Ministry of Education. So this is where we are heading. However, the technical and financial support would continue to come from [International Organization] and other donors of course, but we want to see the ministry taking a leading role in terms of planning and implementing a program. (17/2/19a)

While this sentiment was common, the continued financial support of outside agencies and their distrust of the MoE's technical ability maintains a structure in which the MoE can shift responsibility to the external supports, and this is legislated within PL n. 20 and the ESP.

> So we were successful in bringing schoolchildren to schools, and to private schools in particular. And we supported their transportation fees so some students could go to the government schools. But at the same time, if you look at it from the other side, this gives

> the Ministry of Education the opportunity to rest and do nothing and do very little effort towards improving inclusive education. (17/2/19a)
>
> I mean honestly speaking, the department is not capable currently to have to do any strategic decisions. […] And then when the meeting came to a close, they didn't manage to allocate any budget. None. Which made me kind of freeze because we can invest now, but I'm really for sustainable solutions. […] So we need to facilitate the dialogue between the MoSD, the MoE, and the Higher Council, maybe even the Ministry of Health to make sure things are not duplicated or not done because the ministries all think someone else should be doing it. (27/2/19)

It was common to encounter donor agencies and NGOs that wanted to hand the reins of policy making and implementation projects over to the MoE, yet continued to assume responsibility and do so without developing capacity, making external donor support the only way inclusive education is supported technically and financially.

Discussion

Despite a long history of legislative education for persons with disabilities, research into practices demonstrates these policy actions are not producing results, and students continue to be marginalized despite the documented right to an education. Using an activity systems analysis to explore multiple stakeholder viewpoints and negotiations, the cultural and historical challenges have been exposed that go beyond the often used reasoning of shame and stigma toward persons with disabilities. Instead this study reveals the complexity of the relationships among government institutions, donor organizations, school-based personnel, and the underlying sociocultural reasons inclusion remains elusive.

Current inclusive education is being driven by a myriad of international donors that have flocked to Amman in the wake of the Syrian crisis and historically has been shaped by wide-reaching international agreements. As it did with other education policies adopted as a result of international pressures, Jordan has renegotiated the meaning of inclusion to fit its current capabilities. While most Jordanian and international stakeholders acknowledge the official UN

prescribed definition, in practice it is reimagined to mean inclusion of students with physical impairments and mild learning disabilities. Renegotiation is made possible through vague policy language that permits the ministries and schools to claim inability to provide adequate care. It is also driven by multiple implementing partners that each filter inclusion through their particular lens and shift responsibilities accordingly.

Recent policy documents do little to alleviate the confusion and, in many cases, encourage shifting responsibilities to other agencies, despite efforts to clarify responsible parties and develop systematic implementation. The policies and strategic plans that take on inclusion are often vague, allowing policy makers to avoid responsibility and prevent appropriate allocation of human or monetary resources. Additionally, because each document openly invites external help, multiple donor governments are each working from a different document with differing goals.

It becomes clear the greatest support for inclusion as defined by the UN is in the implementing partners who work closely with students and schools—the HCRPD and universities. But their efforts are thwarted by the political chambers that have the most engagement with international organizations and control the majority of funding. By redefining inclusion as primarily an issue concerned with physical disabilities, the MoE has been able to direct resources away from developing capable teachers and comprehensive plans to include all students. The conflicts among the MoSD, HCRPD, and MoE over responsibility have been created by funding, cultural norms, and unclear policies. These conflicts have stymied efforts to create a coordinated or systematic effort toward inclusion. It is unclear if the international donors truly understand the root of these conflicts and the way their funding programs are deepening the divides.

While persons who work closely with international donor agencies cite the CRPD definition of inclusion at abstract and policy levels, their description of inclusion shifts when they are pressed to discuss what it means for implementation. Demonstrating to donor institutions that inclusion is being achieved, through ramps, braille textbooks, and other renovations to physical barriers, is enough to continue bringing funding to the MoE. However, the less tangible and unmonetized changes necessary to achieve the full definition of inclusion—teacher training, acceptance in schools, and reduction of shame and stigma—have been negotiated out. Additionally, the MoSD has been left responsible for students with more significant impairments, without significant donor funding, meaning the stakeholder community can continue overlooking these students to redefine inclusion better suited to more tangible fixes to the system.

The results of this study demonstrate not only the interconnectedness of Pijl et al.'s (1997) external factors but also the areas of need when Jordanian inclusion is held to the GCN4 standards. The lack of collaboration between ministries in a struggle for financial aid and prestige has created competition and siloed efforts within inclusion policy, thwarting the whole systems approach recommended by the UN. Jordan meets many of the nine objectives on the surface. When further study is conducted, the rifts between organizations reveal systematic and collaborative support for programs is missing. The lack of coordination between governmental agencies has left donors seeking NGOs and royal family member projects to support inclusive efforts, but as a result, these efforts do not become sustainable by public entities. The patchwork of inclusive schools, capable teachers and administrators, and budgetary neglect creates limited systems of support for inclusion.

The six necessities of high-quality inclusive legislation as described by Eleweke and Rodda (2002) are all missing from Jordanian policy and practice. The time and onset of plans are demonstrably slow to nonexistent without influential donors or ministry officials, and when plans are not carried out, there is no accountability through litigation or other consequences. The financial backing for these plans is sporadic and unsustainable without continued external supports, which is written into the law, meaning there is no clear plan for a sustainable structure in the future. While this analysis of barriers might seem bleak, by identifying the underlying causes of a failing policy, instead of glossing over these issues with the general, policy-to-practice gap explanation, systematic changes can begin.

Conclusion

A comparative lens focused on the mesa-level of inclusive education in Jordan reveals a complex narrative told through many competing actors. This research demonstrates the importance of conducting in-depth studies of the policymakers, not only of the policies. A direct result is concrete steps stakeholders in Jordan can utilize to develop a more robust inclusive education system, moving beyond an opaque gap by identifying and analyzing the activity system this policy has been developed in. Legislative stakeholders, including foreign governments and development organizations are promoting a hollow inclusive education policy that is based in an international human rights perspective but openly redefined by each group when discussing their role in implementation. The international human rights basis for inclusive education is lost in competing narratives of multinational organizations and a divisive relationship in the Jordanian government. Through these complex relationships there is a general commitment to change and a generous amount of available monies that must be harnessed and synchronized to create sustainable and systematic change.

Limitations

This study was limited by language, ethnicity, and time constraints. The researcher is an intermediate-low Arabic speaker and thus could not conduct all formal interviews in Arabic. Even those participants comfortable using English might have had different responses given the differences between their native-language thought process and second-language expression (Seidman, 2006). Additionally, the researcher's background as a student of special education and inclusion from the United States could have affected the way they spoke of inclusion because many participants identify the United States as a leader in inclusive policy, potentially creating an imbalance of power in the interviewing relationship.

While multiple interviews are preferred to establish better rapport and provide opportunities for follow-up questions, this research was bound by time. With multiple stakeholders involved in constructing policy, as many viewpoints as possible were represented through interviews, but given time constraints, not all involved parties were contacted. Additionally, interview data was only coded by the researcher—also a result of time and financial constraints. These limitations impact the generalizability of the study and offer future researchers areas to improve when replicating mesa-level studies.

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Appendix A
Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Introductory Questions

1. Can you tell me about your educational background and career history?

هل يمكن أن تخبرني عن خلفيتك التعليمية وتاريخك الوظيفي في الوزارة

2. Can you share some of your personal experiences with persons with disabilities?

هل يمكنك مشاركة بعض تجاربك الشخصية مع المعاقين

Personal Work/Inclusion Background

3. How would you define inclusion; what does it mean in your personal life?

سيتم تعريف الإدمج ماذا يعني ذلك في حياتك الشخصية

4. How did you get involved in disability and inclusion?

كيف شاركت في الإعاقة والإدماج

5. Describe a project you are proud of.

صف مشروعًا تفخر به

Ministry Policies (Ministry Only)

6. Can you tell me the history of inclusion in Jordan?

هل يمكن أن تخبرني تاريخ الإدمج في الأردن

   a. Have collaborations with international organizations influenced that history?

كيف أثر التعاون مع المنظمات الدولية على هذا التاريخ

7. When you work with teachers as a ministry official, how do you explain inclusion to them?

كونك مسوول في الوزارة عندما تعمل مع المدرسين كيف تشرح لهم سياسة الدمخ

   a. Additionally, when you speak with parents about inclusion, what do you tell them?

حول إدراج كيف تفسر ذلك عندما تتحدث مع الأم والأب

8. How does the ministry hold schools accountable for carrying out inclusionary policies?

كيف تقؤم الوزارة بمساءلة للمدارس ومحاسبتها تطبيق سياسات الدمخ

Success/Challenge

9. What resources are currently being provided to schools to support inclusive education?

ما هي الموارد التي يتم توفيرها حاليًا للمدارس لدعم التعليم الشامل

   a. Which do you believe are the most helpful or important of those resources?

التي تعتقد أنها الأكثر أهمية من تلك الموارد

10. What actions have been made possible as a result of these resources?

ما هي الإجراءات التي أمكن تحقيقها نتيجة لهذه الموارد

11. What additional resources do you think are needed to support inclusionary schools?

ما هي الموارد الإضافية التي تعتقد أنها ضرورية لدعم مدارس الإدماج

12. What is the result of not having those resources for the schools?

ما هي نتيجة عدم وجود تلك الموارد للمدارس

   a. How would having them change schools?

كيف سيكون لهم تغيير المدارس

13. What do you see as the next steps for inclusion in Jordan?

ماذا ترى كخطوات تالية لإدراجها في الأردن

Manuscript 3

Contextualizing Inclusion: Sensemaking by Jordanian Special Education Teachers

Sarah Benson

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Abstract

Jordan's 2017 Public Law no. 20, Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, has given rise to a renewed focus on inclusive education. Previous research has demonstrated there is resistance to inclusion within schools, but these studies are both limited and dated. To fill the gap in literature at the micro, or local level this research worked with four shadow teachers working in schools to promote inclusive education. Using Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) to guide data collection and analysis, the four teachers participated in interviews and weekly journaling prompts. The study used sense-making theory to shed light on how the shadow teachers are interpreting the most recent collection of policy documents promoting inclusion. This qualitative comparative case study provides insight into the factors that impact how schools are enacting inclusion, but also how it is defined and interpreted at the local level. Previous research demonstrated stakeholders at the mesa-level were redefining inclusion before it reached schools, this research demonstrates how individuals at the school level are also changing the meaning. The results showed strong support for inclusion by the community when there are adequate resources and supportive administration. Additionally, the shadow teachers have taken on a progressive role as coaches and mentors to general education teachers, while promoting inclusion as a social more than academic venture.

Contextualizing Inclusion: Sensemaking by Jordanian Special Education Teachers

Jordan has recently increased legislative efforts to strengthen inclusive education in the kingdom. In 2017 Public Law No. 20, Rights of Persons with Disabilities, was passed, and the companion Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2018–2022 highlights needs within the school system to increase access and opportunity for students with disabilities. However, scholarship in the field reveals multiple barriers to fully including children and adults with disabilities in educational settings (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Alkhateeb, Hadidi, & Alkhateeb, 2016). While inclusion of all students in general education has support at the policy level, stakeholders throughout the education system are involved in renegotiations of inclusion in practice, often these leave children with disabilities in the margins (Benson, *in press*).

Inclusion is an educational concept borne in Western education systems; its philosophical roots are found in human rights, and it has been exported throughout the globe by world governing institutions. This has resulted in globalized local practices, that is, global mandates that are reinterpreted at local levels in concert with cultural and historical beliefs (Anderson-Levitt, 2004). Thus, reliable empirical methods to study inclusion in different cultural and social settings are still emerging, and this research aims to contribute to emergent methodological practices in the field. To understand inclusion in different cultural and historical contexts, one must understand the localized practices through qualitative research, which provides deeper understanding than attitudinal surveys, the common practice in inclusion research.

To date, Jordanian research does not explore the deeper issues that are creating a different definition of inclusion at varying levels of implementation and in different localities (Ainscow & Miles, 2008; Artiles & Dyson, 2005; Hamaidi, Homidi, & Reyes, 2012). The limited research within Jordan decreases the potential to develop the capacity of teachers, agencies, and policy

makers working to advance inclusive education. This case study focuses on the micro (local) level of inclusive education in Jordan and is part of a larger comparative case study that has also considered the macro (international) and mesa (national) levels. Comparative case studies at the macro and mesa levels have begun to better explain how inclusion is being interpreted and adapted in Jordan (Benson, 2020, *in press*). This study reflects the micro level of implementation, the study of school level inclusion. Using sensemaking and CHAT to create a rich and in-depth understanding of how special education teachers are negotiating new policies, this research aimed to answer the following questions: (1) How do Jordanian special education teachers make sense of their roles in relation to recent inclusion policies in Jordan? (2) How do special education professionals define and implement inclusion?

Literature Review

Empirical literature on inclusion in Jordan is limited. Critical policy analysis and academic essays on culture make up the bulk, with some attitudinal surveys (Alkhateeb, Hadidi, & Alkhateeb, 2016). The research establishes foundational knowledge but is not extensive or in-depth enough to generate actionable knowledge. The following literature review outlines current inclusion research and policy in Jordan and provides an overview of international sensemaking literature that demonstrates the strength of this method in providing progressive conclusions.

Jordanian Inclusion Policy

Jordan has passed several laws specifically promoting the rights of persons with disabilities. These laws largely follow international precedent and reflect the ongoing and pervasive impact of international governing bodies, donor governments, and nongovernmental development agencies in Jordan (Benson, *in press*). In 1993 Public Law No. 12, the Welfare of Handicapped Persons, was passed—a year before the Salamanca Statement and following on the

heels of the UN International Year of Persons with Disabilities in 1981. Public Law No. 12 established the right of students with disabilities to access schools and reiterated their right to receive a free and appropriate education. Additional provisions to make public schools physically and academically accessible were included, and Public Law No. 12 also established the ministries responsible for enforcing inclusion policies (Public Law No. 12, 1993)

This law was not updated until 2007. Public Law No. 31 on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed by the Parliament, immediately following the 2006 UN Convention on the Rights of Disabled Persons. In addition to reestablishing many of the nondiscriminatory policies and free education provisions of Public Law No. 12, Public Law No. 31 also established the High Council for Persons with Disabilities to promote and enforce disability rights throughout the country (Public Law No. 31, 2007). In a renewed push for inclusive education several new policies and initiatives that uphold and extend these earlier policies have been passed.

Most recently in 2017, the Jordanian government passed Public Law No. 20 (PL n. 20), Rights of Persons with Disabilities. This law is supported by an extensive collection of strategy documents developed in various sectors. The Ten-Year Inclusive Education Strategy is the roadmap for the Ministry of Education (MoE). Confusingly, another guiding document, the Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2018–2022, also has a foundational pillar dedicated to inclusive education but with aims different from those in the Ten-Year Inclusive Education Strategy. The policy-scape is further muddied because many stakeholders are also working from the Human Resources Development Strategic Plan (launched in 2016), which aims to modernize the education system in Jordan. Among its goals is making schools more inclusive. These three documents are overlapping and contradictory, which stymies progress because stakeholders are

often working towards different sets of goals (Benson, *in press*). Despite the numerous international agreements and country-specific laws declaring full access and support for persons with disabilities, schools and teachers are still struggling to make classrooms inclusive (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Al-Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; Benson, 2020).

The MoE does not have an accurate count of students with disabilities in need of services. In fact, the entire country struggles to understand the magnitude of need owing to inaccurate data (Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014). The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates 15% of the Jordanian population has a disability, which is equivalent to 800,000 individuals, but reported numbers indicated just 1.2% (WHO, 2011; UN General Assembly, 2007; Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014). Reporting has increased owing to the use of the Washington Group questions. The 2015 census reports 10.6% of the country experiences a disabling condition. The ESP 2018–2022 reports,

> In 2016/2017, there were only 338 male and 420 female deaf students in public schools and 105 mentally challenged male students as opposed to only 33 female mentally challenged students, which reflects how families try to keep their mentally challenged female children at home for cultural reasons. The number of blind male students was 185 as opposed to 126 blind female students while the number of classes open to the deaf was 23 for females and 25 for males. The data above demonstrates that only a small percentage of students with special needs receive public education. (p. 9)

Low estimates and lack of available data are common throughout the government documents. Elsewhere the ESP 2018–2022 claims the MoE is educating 5% of students with disabilities, with the aim of increasing that number to 20% by 2022. These numbers are disproportionate to actual potential, but with limited research into practice, it is difficult to draw conclusions on the accuracy or reasons behind these numbers.

Implementation

Current research reveals many challenges to implementing inclusion: limited financial and physical resources, a lack of training, community barriers, and limited coordination between agencies (Abu-Hamour & Al-Hmouz, 2014; Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; Benson, 2020). The first and most often cited barrier is that teacher attitudes and training prevent full adherence to policy. Global and national research posits that a lack of training and poor resources often lead to a reluctance to include students with special education needs (AlKhateeb, Hadidi, & AlKhateeb, 2016; Bines & Lei, 2011; Sharma, Forlin, & Loreman, 2008).

The 1980s saw the inception of the first special education teacher training programs in Jordan, and now nine universities, public and private, offer a special education degree (Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; Turmusami, 1999). The programs are limited because teachers have limited and no quality opportunities to observe and participate in inclusive schools during their training (Benson, *in press*). The degree programs provide a general education on disability, teaching practices, and diagnoses. The materials, syllabi, and even professors leading the courses are all largely grounded in the United States system, presenting an unrealistic and unrelated concept of special education (Benson, *in press*). The reading materials are largely pulled from American textbooks, sometimes still in English, despite limited language abilities of the students. Due to the lack of successful legislative models in Jordan, students are taught about the US Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act, and No Child Left Behind legislation; despite having no connection to Jordanian laws or practice. However, the professors are left with little choice, as there are not textbooks being produced in Arabic, the laws within Jordan and across the Middle East are weak and ineffective, and the majority of their classroom experience comes from outside the country. These issues with the university programming go far to explain why,

despite undergraduate, graduate, and even PhD opportunities in special education, most teachers continue to have negative feelings toward and feel resistant to inclusion (Al Jabery & Zumberg, 2008; AlKhateeb, Hadidi, & AlKhateeb, 2016; Al-Natour et al., 2015).

While special education teachers carry negative feelings toward inclusion and feel unprepared, this is also true of the majority of general education teachers, who also marginalize their special education colleagues, compounding the problems for both professionals (AlKhateeb, Hadidi, & AlKhateeb, 2016; Al-Natour et al., 2015). To better understand the resistance to inclusion, some scholars have turned to sensemaking theory to explain how teachers are enacting and interpreting policies.

Sensemaking

Globally, sensemaking research has demonstrated a strong framework to study how teachers define and implement policy initiatives and develop role identity in schools. Sensemaking has provided researchers a deep understanding of the agency teachers exercise when faced with new curricula or policy. Multiple sensemaking studies have demonstrated that policies are not directly applied to schools; instead, they are interpreted and translated by the teachers who bring their own values and beliefs to the policy (März & Kelchtermans, 2013; Schmidt & Datnow, 2005). März and Kelchtermans (2013) were able to demonstrate how new math curriculum was embraced by teachers whose belief system and knowledge already closely aligned with the curricular changes. However, teachers who held different values and lacked specific skills in the new curriculum were resistant and found ways to subvert the changes. This was first explored by Coburn (2001) in relation to how teachers made sense of reading curricular changes in California schools. Recent sensemaking studies have continued to build on Coburn's

(2001, 2005) extensive work and to bring insights into how teachers shape policy, relevant for inclusive work as many nations adopt policy but do not see changes in schools.

When a teacher's belief system is at odds with a new policy, tension occurs. It is important to recognize and study this tension because the teacher's emotional reaction ultimately shapes the way he or she enacts the policy (März & Kelchtermans, 2013; Schmidt & Datnow, 2005). Often, negative emotions accompany policy changes, especially policy changes that question teachers' professional identity, threaten their current practices, or are in opposition to what they value as "good" education (Ketelaar et al., 2011; März & Kelchtermans, 2013; Schmidt & Datnow, 2005). This is particularly relevant to inclusive policy reforms because of the cultural beliefs, morals, and values associated with concepts of disability and human rights. Negative emotions can be heightened when teachers are asked to enact policy that is in opposition to their personal value systems. For example, Schmidt and Datnow (2005) trace the variety of emotions teachers have, including anxiety, frustration, and uncertainty with new reforms. According to previous research, the concept of disability already invokes significant anxiety among teachers and parents in Jordan owing to cultural constructs (AlKhateeb, Hadidi, & AlKhateeb, 2016). Those emotions are further heightened when policy is vague, when it does not provide clear constraints, and when teachers were not engaged in developing the reforms (Schmidt & Datnow, 2005). The result is a variety of practices, as teachers negotiate their own beliefs with those of the policy to inform practice (Schmidt & Datnow, 2005). All these pressures are present within the Jordanian system, and it is important to understand how this, among other factors, is shaping inclusion.

As has been demonstrated by the review of current inclusion practices in Jordan, a renegotiation of reforms is clearly happening at the school level, likely as a result of teachers'

emotional experience as they make sense of an ill-defined policy and struggle with their limited professional knowledge and historical-cultural beliefs about disability. Successful inclusion is dependent on shifts in the attitudes and beliefs of whole schools, and one key element to trigger this shift is the bridge special education teachers provide to general education teachers. The way special education teachers understand and enact their roles is pivotal in creating successful inclusive space.

Sensemaking studies have demonstrated special educators undergo a particular role development. In Jordan, special education teachers are often ostracized and struggle to develop working relationships with their general education counterparts (Al-Hiary, Almakanin, & Tabbal, 2015; Al-Natour et al., 2015). Kennedy and Ihle (2012) recognized the professional relationship gap between special and general educators as inclusion has become more widespread. It requires study of both general education teacher sensemaking around inclusion and the way trained special educators envision their roles in inclusive classrooms.

Thorius (2016) addresses the tensions of being a special educator in general education settings as schools increasingly move away from a medical model of disability that is in many ways the basis of special education. Jordan has explicitly stated a goal to move away from such a model and thus is focused on creating inclusive schools (PL n. 20, 2017). Yet Jordan never had strong special education programming, so this declaration is somewhat arbitrary. With limited opportunities to observe successful inclusion, historical-cultural factors, and inadequate resources throughout schools, cohorts of Jordanian special education teachers are potentially facing even greater tensions than a debate over social or medical models of disability. They have never been able to develop a strong practice of special education, segregated or otherwise, so they are working with weak skill sets and ill-defined roles, subverting inclusive efforts.

The social context of working with general education teachers, parents, and administrators creates a unique set of challenges for special educators as they make sense of their roles and develop a professional identity (Mathews, Rodgers, & Youngs, 2017). All inclusion policies necessitate that special education teachers work in multiple settings with a wide range of stakeholders as they take on the role of primary instructors, instructional coaches, support teachers, case managers, and disability experts (Al-Hiary et al., 2015; Mathews, Rodgers, & Youngs, 2017; Thorius, 2019). Indeed, Coburn (2001) asserts that sensemaking is not only an individual process of understanding, but also a collective process, because professional relationships and collaborations shape an individual's understanding of particular objects of study.

Culture is the daily and ongoing interactions between community members that creates meaning (Anderson-Levitt, 2004); collective sensemaking is akin to this as it looks at meaning making at the individual level and thus is the best way to understand the historical and cultural factors that come into play during identity development (Engelbrecht & Savolainen, 2017; Howes, Grimes & Shohel, 2011; Thorius, 2016). Explicitly incorporating culture and historicity into sensemaking research reveals many more factors influencing how teachers interpret and enact inclusion, in addition to the previously discussed emotional and structural factors. To address these complex interactions, this research will utilize sensemaking and Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) to understand the experiences of beginning Jordanian special educators as they develop their professional identities in a changing policy-scape for inclusive education.

Theoretical Framework

While policy makers might intend for policy to be carried out exactly as written, the school-based personnel exercise agency in interpreting and making sense of policies according to

their personal and cultural histories (Howes, Grimes, & Shohel, 2011). This process of redefining, negotiating, and developing an internal understanding of the policy is sensemaking. It has been established that teachers use information from their colleagues, their backgrounds, and their experiences to construct a deeply personal understanding of a particular object of study, in this case inclusion (Coburn, 2001).

Sensemaking theory is useful in studying inclusion practices in context because it foregrounds the voice and experience of teachers to answer the call of comparative scholars to unbind the traditional top-down view of policy (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2014; Schuelka, 2018). Teachers are independent agents, enacting policy as they understand it, according to personal and professional context or an individual belief system—often fitting the policy into their practice rather than fitting their practice into policy (Ketelaar et al., 2012; März & Kelchtermans, 2013). However, as the literature review demonstrated, multidimensional spheres of influence on special education teachers require an even broader scope of analysis. CHAT provides an analytical frame and theory that grounds this study in a specific context, attuned to the cultural and historical factors that shape the teachers.

Cultural-Historical Activity Theory

Artiles and Dyson (2005) believe it is necessary to conduct more research that accounts for multiple influencing factors, including the history of a region as well as its economics, culture, and local practices. Being able to chart these multiple influences is a complicated undertaking that is partly addressed by the comparative methodology employed in this study. To further construct the complex network of factors that impact how a teacher learns, understands, and makes meaning of his or her role, this study used CHAT to guide data collection and analysis. As a theoretical framework, CHAT brings many contextual aspects of an activity

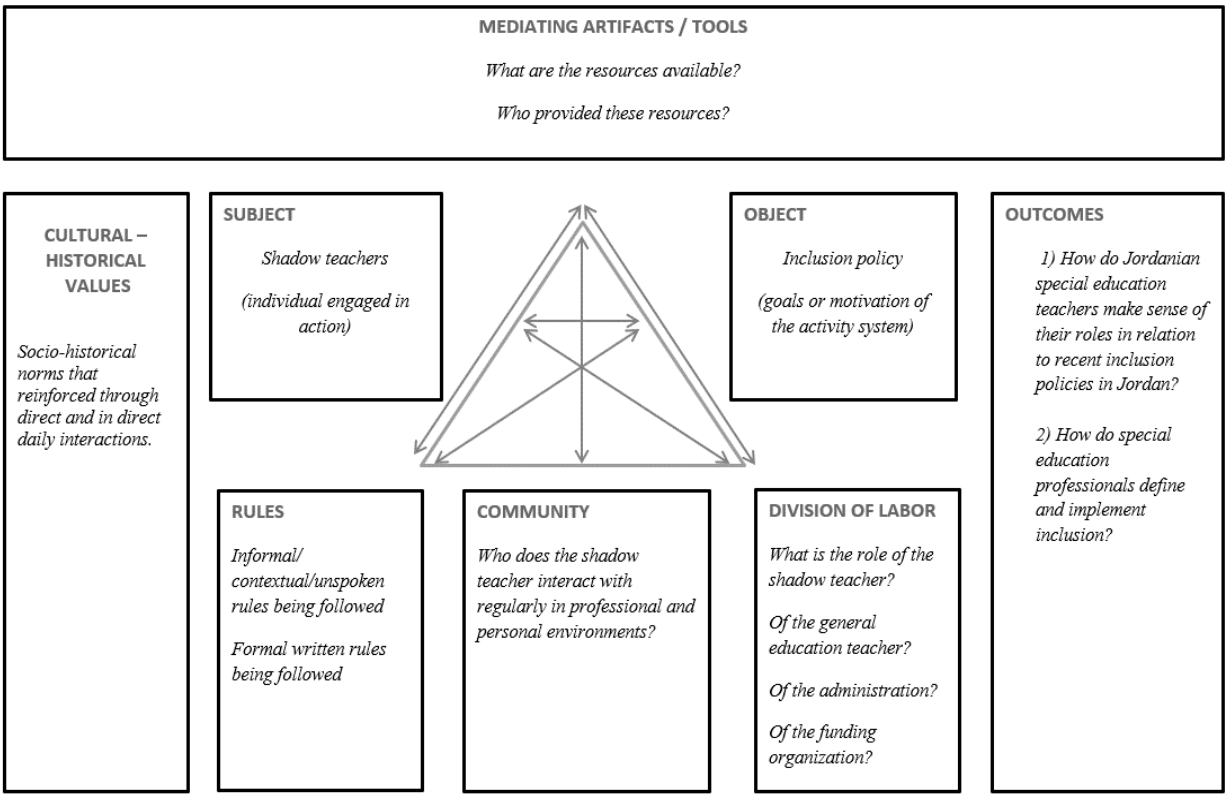
system into focus, framing the sensemaking of individuals through their social interactions, resources, and cultural and historical knowledge.

Recent education studies have utilized activity theory to address the complex structure of schools and to create an explicit understanding of actions, social patterns, and objects (Hashim & Jones, 2007). The intricate negotiations special education teachers regularly engage in are often internalized but influenced and shaped by external mediating artifacts, material and nonmaterial resources, and the community of practice surrounding them. Vygotsky originally proposed activity theory to provide social scientists a tool to study these internal and external negotiations (Edwards & Daniels, 2004; Yamagata-Lynch, 2010). In this way, activity theory supports and structures sensemaking studies within education. Incorporating the cultural and historical influences of an activity system reveals further tensions, which creates dynamism, making CHAT an effect tool to understand the interplay among policies, schools, and teachers.

The multiple components of sensemaking can be unwieldy, as can a comparative case study, but CHAT creates a comprehensive structure that allows the researcher to focus on pertinent relations among the subject, individual, or group as they work toward an object, the goal or motivation of the subject. The activity system surrounding subject and object includes the rules, mediating artifacts, community, and divisions of labor (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010). These points of study are represented in a triangle diagram to show the dynamic process of interaction and contradictions in the system (see Figure 1).

The complexity of social contexts means multiple layers impact how subjects mediate their understanding of the object (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010). Using activity systems as an analytic tool requires researchers to gather data on all aspects of the activity

Figure 1.
CHAT Diagram



(Adapted from Yamagata-Lynch, 2010)

system but to focus the analysis on a single layer—the personal, interpersonal, or institutional plane (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010). In this study, the personal plane is at the forefront, in order to understand individual teacher sensemaking. The interpersonal and institutional planes add context for individual actions and demonstrate the flow of inclusion policy between multiple levels.

The cornerstone of CHAT is mediated action, that is, the learning process or meaning making an individual engages in while working toward a goal (Yagamata-Lynch, 2010). Figure 1 illustrates the external foci of an activity system and the way those elements interact to influence not only each other but also the internal negotiations of special education teachers. These individual factors shaped the questions in interview and journaling protocols. During data

analysis, second-cycle coding focused on how the in vivo codes reify the interactions between CHAT elements and how those have impacted the sensemaking of each teacher. As shown in Figure 1, cultural and historical considerations are placed at the forefront of the movement, allowing for a more in-depth understanding of potential motivating factors within the system. This research contributes to the growing canon of literature that uses CHAT to explicate how education systems, in particular inclusive education systems, are developing by looking at a specific point in time but considering the movement through time as well (Edwards & Daniels, 2004; Hashim & Jones, 2007; Pearson, 2009).

Methods

To understand how Jordanian schools and communities interpret or define inclusion, this research is a part of a larger comparative case study modeled after Vavrus and Bartlett's (2006, 2009, 2014) vertical case study methodology. Vertical, or comparative, case study has been used in educational ethnographies to shed light on the flow of policy and practice between global and local contexts in an ever more internationally governed world. Artiles and Dyson (2005) have called for a more comprehensive approach by scholars to understand the cultural and historical movements shaping inclusive practices around the globe. Most recently, Schuelka (2018) has contributed to this academic dialogue by applying comparative case study to understanding Bhutanese inclusive practices, revealing the broad utility and depth of this method. Comparative case study envisions macro-mesa-micro levels of governance on a vertical axis; the macro level represents international policy, the mesa level studies national governments, the micro level addresses local schools. Objects, practices, and resources are represented along the horizontal axis with both axes transversed by historicity (Schuelka, 2018; Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006, 2009, 2014). The comparative methodology of this case study unbounds the activity system to include

mediating artifacts beyond the classroom walls and demonstrates how policy flows between the levels (Schuelka, 2018).

Setting and Participants

Amman, the capitol city of Jordan, is home to four million Jordanians and a large refugee population, including 1.5 million school-age children who attend a collection of private, public, and United Nations Relief Works Agency schools. The average general education classroom in Amman has a 32:1 student-teacher ratio (Jordan Times, 2010), although owing to the influx of Syrian refugees this average has likely increased. There are no statistics regarding average class size for students with disabilities or for the number of students with disabilities included in the general education classrooms.

Participants included four special education teachers, known as "shadow teachers" in Jordan. When referring to the participants in the study, the term "shadow teacher" will be used for accuracy and fidelity to their role. These teachers are working for a large internationally funded nongovernmental organization (NGO) and the MoE. The MoE employs a limited number of resource room teachers who do not necessarily have training in special education needs and are not placed in every school. In fact, according to the director of the Special Education Department at the MoE, the shadow teachers working in 86 schools across the country are the only acting special education teachers employed by the ministry via the NGO (Benson, *in press*). Shadow teachers employed by the NGO are university-trained special education teachers who also receive internal training and supervision as they support multiple general education teachers in creating inclusive classrooms. Through an established relationship with the MoE and the NGO, the researcher was granted access to recruit shadow teachers for this study. Table 1 provides demographic data on the four teachers.

Table 1.
Participant Demographic Data

Name	Gender	Age	Years teaching	Grades	Caseload
Hindy	Male*	24	3	Primary	12
Rahma	Female	23	3	Primary	8
Ida	Female	22	2	Primary	11
Razan	Female	23	3	Primary	15

**Note. All Jordanian secondary schools are segregated by gender. Girls' primary schools accommodate boys until age 11, while boys' primary schools are single sex.*

Data Collection

Primary evidence for local contextual knowledge came from participant journals and interviews. Teachers participated in initial interviews with a protocol developed and used in previous sensemaking research, modified to recognize elements of CHAT and the Jordanian context (see Appendix A; Mathews, 2018). Each initial interview lasted from 45 to 90 minutes. After the initial interviews, participants communicated with the researcher weekly over WhatsApp to answer prompts that tracked their daily activities (Appendix B). The goal of these interactions was to understand the ongoing professional interactions, daily activities, and implementation of inclusion. Tracking the ongoing activities of teachers is a way to understand what they believe by analyzing what they do, an external manifestation of their internal interpretations of inclusion. WhatsApp was chosen as the medium for weekly reflections because it allowed immediate feedback and reminders to be sent to participants in order to maximize their participation, this type of response has been used with success elsewhere in research efforts (UNDP, 2018). WhatsApp allowed teachers to respond both orally and through written word to a series of five questions about their practices (Appendix B).

Originally, these weekly check-ins were meant to inform the second set of interviews. In the fall of 2019, there was an unprecedented and extended teacher strike in Jordan, during which

the entire school system was shut down for five weeks. During this five-week period, teachers were meant to be communicating with the researcher weekly over WhatsApp. However, after the first week of school, the teachers were no longer seeing students, although none of the teachers in this study participated in the protests. This does represent a threat to the internal validity of the study; however, because of limited time and funding, the second round of interviews had to proceed as planned, after a month, despite limited weekly journal submissions.

The second round of interviews involved general education teachers and principals in the schools, as well as the shadow teachers. The principals and general education teachers participated in 30–60-minute interviews (Appendix C), these are used to triangulate data provided by shadow teachers. Additionally, the shadow teachers participated in second 30–60-minute interviews with an amended protocol (Appendix D). During these interviews, shadow teachers agreed to participate in another five weeks of WhatsApp reflections with the researcher in order to gather missing data. While these weekly reflections would no longer inform interviews, they did supply valuable insight that supported the interviews in describing the daily implementation of inclusion.

Analytic Strategies

Each data source underwent three stages of analysis—first-cycle and second-cycle coding—which prioritized participant voice, and a third matrix analysis that encompassed the elements of CHAT, and markers of the inclusive policy and framework. Interviews were conducted in Arabic with the use of a translator. The transcriptions were only of the English translation, but specific Arabic phrases or nuances were noted as a part of the analytical memo process.

First-cycle coding on all data used in vivo and descriptive coding. The initial shadow teacher interviews were coded first. After these initial codes were collected and revised, they were then applied to the general education teacher and principal interviews. Additional in-vivo and descriptive codes were used to capture unique data points from these interviews. Finally, the WhatsApp journals were coded using the complete set of codes developed during first-cycle interview coding.

The most frequently recurring codes from all data sets were then grouped into common themes and categories, and used in second-cycle coding (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). During the second cycle, analytical memos were used to highlight cultural-historical elements and activity systems interactions. Analytical memos allowed the researcher to begin tying the results into a larger discussion of how sociocultural and historical factors were impacting Jordanian inclusion. The different themes that emerged were placed in a CHAT matrix to present a visualization of these connections. Second-cycle codes shape the following results section, while the analysis from the CHAT matrix is presented in the discussion section.

Results

Coding revealed three issues were prevalent in how inclusion is structured and defined in schools by the shadow teachers and their colleagues. The emergent themes highlighted a limited definition of inclusion, the individual personalities driving inclusion, and a relatively progressive view of the shadow teacher role. Both rounds of interviews were supported by information provided by the shadow teachers during their WhatsApp journaling, and all contributed to a more complete understanding of inclusion in public schools. Data collection was focused on the role of the shadow teacher, but the results present a larger understanding of how inclusion is being imagined from all school-level actors. The shadow teachers are the crux of this interpretation, but

as shown through previous sensemaking studies, it is collective activity that ultimately creates meaning (Coburn, 2001).

Defining Inclusion

It has been well established that inclusion is a difficult concept to provide a single definition for, and many scholars point to inclusion as a philosophical framework rather than a concrete practice in educational settings (Florian, 2014). This means inclusion is necessarily going to appear differently in different localities owing to variations in resources, training, and education systems and many other factors. In the Jordanian system, as has been discussed, there is the pervasive view of a policy-to-practice gap; that is, inclusion is written in law but not happening in schools (Benson, 2020; McBride & Al Khateeb, 2010). The results of this research neatly demonstrate the principles of a comparative case study; inclusion is indeed happening and very successful but appears different in practice than in idealized policy because of the context in schools. The following results demonstrate what Jordanian practice looks like and how the shadow teachers are defining inclusion.

Pull-out programming. Most teachers educated in the United States would recognize Jordanian programs as a pull-out or resource-room model of traditional special education. Students attend regular classes for a portion of their days but are pulled into the resource room for supported academics by a special education teacher. Among the schools the participants worked in, the average class size was 30 students, with several classrooms reaching upward of 40 at the primary grades. It is difficult to imagine many students are able to be successful learners in this context, and the teachers feel overwhelmed: “It is difficult to explain inclusion to other teachers because they already have a large number of students in their regular classes and it’s adding to their regular workload” (Razan, 9/19). When Hindy was asked what resources he

would need to support students in a general education classroom, he replied, “It is difficult for them [students with disabilities] to focus or do anything, so it is difficult to work with students in regular classrooms. I would need smaller classes with 15–17 students in the room because right now we have 40–45” (Hindy, 9/19). One of Hindy’s students was struggling to communicate with the shadow and resource-room teachers; it was clear that adding him to a general classroom of 40 other students and a single teacher was not beneficial.

Available teachers or small classes are resources that are in short supply. Further compounding this issue, *all* resources are limited in the general education classrooms. Two schools had chalkboards painted on the wall, and students were sitting two to a 1950s desk. Faced with these realities, general education teachers are struggling to provide basic education to all students. In contrast, shadow teachers are operating in classrooms supplied by the NGO, which means there are plentiful books, adaptive technologies, iPads, individual whiteboards for students, and manipulatives for all subjects. Many of the teachers interviewed noted these materials were part of their initial learning curve when entering a new school:

> My colleague sat with the student and I to explain the stages and how to use the resources with the student, which was helpful because I didn’t have any experience. (Ida, 9/2019)

> I studied special education needs, so I am familiar with the topics, but I like working with the resources. This is a new thing I learned with [NGO]. I didn’t learn this in university. (Hindy, 9/19)

These teachers see their classrooms as a place where learning can occur not only because of the resources but because of the one-on-one attention students have. This reality makes pulling students out of a general classroom a necessity, not stigmatizing or segregating, as it is often seen in other places. Instead pulling students out is creating equal or better learning opportunities.

When the shadow teachers did try to help the students stay in the larger classrooms, they found a lack of educational attainment. Razan noted in her WhatsApp journal that while a

teacher responded to her suggestions on flexible seating arrangements, the child was still not being engaged in the lesson, and as a result, “Sanam is bored in the class because she can not understand what is going on” (Razan, 21/10/19). This point was emphasized later in Razan’s journals when she noted two deaf students were pulled out of the school; a lack of resources meant their academic levels had declined since they had transitioned into a general education setting. The shadow teachers were all passionate about seeing progress in their students, many citing mentors or peer groups they would utilize when they were struggling to reach their students.

Shadow teachers are deeply committed to the learning goals developed for the students but collectively had decided the majority of those goals could not be met in the larger classrooms that did not have resources and had large numbers of students. The pressure teachers felt also came from parents who demanded immediate academic results from the teachers. The reported relationships between shadow teachers and parents was highly variable, but a common theme was the high expectations parents had for their children. As stated, by Razan,

> For parents of students with disabilities, they have high expectations, they understand inclusion as their kids should be very close to normal students which is a difficulty in itself for the teacher. (9/19)

and this was echoed in other teacher interviews. There was a sense that if students were able to be in schools then success should look the same as their peers. This can be interpreted through a cultural lens and will be further addressed in the discussion section. Overwhelmingly though, parents were appreciative of having a placement for their children and the opportunities a strong inclusion program provided.

Social inclusion. Given the large class sizes and difficulty in teaching and learning throughout classrooms in Jordan, social inclusion has become the primary objective for many

shadow teachers. In initial interviews, teachers were asked to share how they explain inclusion to parents or new general education teachers. Their responses demonstrated the focus on social inclusion:

> The student needs to feel like he is in a safe space and a part of the classroom, teachers need to be easy with him, playing with him and use different ways of communicating with him to understand his needs. (Ida, 9/19)

> The parents want them treated as normal, especially because they might have 1, 2, 3 children. The parents accept inclusion because they love to see them with the regular students, even it is fighting or something! Because it means they are part of the group and the children happily welcome them. (Rahma, 9/19)

The idea of inclusion being a primarily social activity was supported in the WhatsApp journaling as well. Razan, Ida, and Hindy all reported on awareness-raising activities with the students in the schools. Indeed, it became clear the students in many places are leading the inclusion movement.

> There is a trend in my school where all of the students like to be involved in helping our students. In fact, when I am in the classroom trying to support him, his peers are trying to help, and I have explain we can help to an extent but we don't need to spoil him. (Ida, 9/19)

> The earlier the age is better, and easy because children can accept the inclusion idea, they like to help their peers, without their parents telling them too. (Razan, 9/19)

In their WhatsApp journals, teachers reported on completing awareness activities in the community with parents and students. Awareness training sessions that target social inclusion made up a large portion of their roles. This activity is financially and administratively supported by the NGO, which, despite the impact it is having on enrollment and attitudes, is unlikely to be continued or supported by the MoE.

Most of the teachers reflected on how beneficial social inclusion was to demonstrate the normalcy of difference and how accepting children were of others in the classroom. They felt this was the first step to making progress in the country toward a more inclusive community, but

later interviews also revealed the secondary schools rarely accept the children who have had such inclusive primary experiences. It was unclear what the barrier was at the secondary level, but it seems to relate to the principals, staffing, and lack of NGO presence within these schools and the MoE's inability and unwillingness to step in and provide the same backing. Continuity of programming for students with disabilities, even if for social purposes, ran up against the fact that most schools are autonomous and not held to legal standards when it comes to accepting students.

Individual Drivers of Inclusion

Sensemaking theory posits that professionals not only make sense of their roles based on their internal dialogues but also are influenced by those surrounding and interacting with them daily. Initial interviews indicated the importance of a supportive principal in creating a school environment that allowed the shadow teachers to flourish and develop a strong program. Second-round interviews plus WhatsApp journals not only confirmed this but provided significant data points supporting the hypothesis that individuals in the Jordanian education system are implementing and developing inclusion; the new policy or official government channels have very little to do with this implementation or development.

The presence of the shadow teacher program is in direct response to PL n. 20 (2017), the ESP, and the Human Resources Development Strategy. These plans are the most recent push by the Jordanian government and international stakeholders to create more inclusive schools. The pillars of the plan informed the final question of the WhatsApp protocol to measure how engaged teachers were with policy. These documents represent the formal rules that should be influencing the implementation of inclusion in schools; however, when asked about the new law, no teacher was able to identify the policy, had little to no familiarity with it, and was unable to identify

ways in which they were supporting it. Instead, teachers spoke most often of how their principal or other teachers informed their practice.

Principal support. The four primary shadow teacher participants were employees of both the NGO and also the MoE, making them responsive to multiple administrative demands but managed on a day-to-day basis by their principal. While two principals demonstrated unflagging support for and a strong interest in inclusion, one principal supported the efforts as a matter of policy, and the final was outright hostile toward the effort. The impacts on the shadow teacher and inclusion more generally were enormous.

Initial interviews with all four teachers highlighted the role of the principal in shaping inclusion in the school and the daily activities of shadow teachers. Central to this was the principal's willingness to accept students. In many countries with more resources and robust laws, this is also true; however, there are often more litigious avenues for parents to pursue if their child is denied an education. In Jordan, parents are simply told no, and the doors are closed:

> *<You have stated students must have an education, that it's law but you have said you would not accept more than 50 students, what happens then?>* "I know it is her right to be educated and these things but there are still other students who need their rights, so if the student is impacting the other 35 students I would prefer to take care of the other 35." (Principal- Razan, 10/19)

Most of the shadow teachers spoke proudly of how many cases the principals accepted and their involvement with the students:

> One of the things she does is she accepts a lot of cases that other principals wouldn't accept. And it is pressure for her, as a principal, to accept this number of cases. She takes the personal responsibility for it. (Razan, 9/19)

> My principal understands our job because he comes here and observes us while we are working. (Hindy, 9/19)

> She wants the students to be included in everything. She always supports them and visits to see how the students are doing. She provides everything for them. (Ida, 9/19)

Historically, parents of children with disabilities have not enrolled them in school, but in the schools that have a shadow teacher, all principals spoke of a spike in demand for services. Some principals were excited and energized by the increased enrollment, while others expressed frustration.

During the interviews with the principals, the impact of individual principal support on the shadow teachers was most visible. In a break from the formal Jordanian hospitality and hierarchy, Hindy's principal came to the resource room for his interview and, over a two-hour session with his teachers, pontificated on the importance of inclusion. Likewise, Ida's principal, despite being asked for a 45-minute private interview, insisted on keeping her teachers with her in the office and lead a two-and-a-half-hour discussion on how much work they are doing to increase participation of students with disabilities in their school. Cultural considerations meant it was not an option to insist on individual interviews with either of these principals, so the field notes, vocal inflection, and interruptions during the interviews were interpreted during coding to ensure this was a natural occurrence and the answers to questions were genuine. Analysis of both led to the conclusion that the teachers and principals shared an unusually close relationship and respect.

> <*teacher interrupting principal*> For example he entered the first day in a wheelchair, and he spoke to all the students about disabilities. And after the welcome sat on the wheelchair and moved within the classes, so since the first day you see the principal dealing in this way—with no compliments—you will become excited to work the whole year and do extra tasks. (Hindy, 10/19)

> Inclusion was new for me, but I attended the events that highlighted achievements of people with disabilities and who have studied to be engineers or doctors. And I saw my teachers of disabilities and they motivated me, that I felt I should do something, shame on me as the principal that I don't know the problem and how to help them. <*interrupted by*

> *shadow teacher*> The principal helped getting Faris approved to stay past third grade. She was able to get the exception because she went to the ministry. (Ida, 10/19)

The discussions remained focused on inclusion and students with special needs, with teachers spontaneously referring to ways the principals had supported them or the students. There was joking, and a lightness in the room, with frequent murmurs of agreement and interruptions to provide examples or statements of support, from both the principal and teachers.

In contrast, Rahma did not enter her principal's office during our interview, but there were several other people who came and went throughout the 70-minute time frame. At no time did the principal give the interview her full attention; she was concerned with the installation of new surveillance equipment and other periodic interruptions by teachers and parents. The 70-minute recorded interview only had 30 minutes of interview data. Throughout the interview, the principal was openly hostile to inclusion:

> Well, I don't have that belief [that students with disabilities should be included]. It is not suitable to be here, there is no availability for them, we don't make anything available for them, we just give them the room and put these students in it. This is their right, his human right to live a normal life, his right to exist, but there is no qualifications for the teachers, they don't know how to deal with the students. If the shadow teacher isn't here, she can't teach them—so if the ministry doesn't prepare, the school doesn't prepare the teacher, there is no program. (Principal, Rahma, 10/19)

In less openly hostile ways, this principal undermined inclusive efforts by devaluing the shadow teacher and her work. Twice she yelled at the shadow teacher, both times calling her by the incorrect name; the second time she resorted to calling out the name of the NGO to gain Rahma's attention.

One result of this hostility to the program is that Rahma, in individual interviews, expressed the most difficulty with general education teachers. The principal did not facilitate the relationships: "I give the shadow teachers permission to enter the general classroom when they want, at the time they want" (Principal, Rahma, 10/19). In contrast, the other principals referred

to the shadow teachers having agency in their relationships with other teachers. The opposition to inclusion expressed by Rahma's principal impacted her ability to do her job and her standing with other teachers. The general education teachers also expressed reluctance, and Rahma reported conflicts with the general education teachers, which was not an issue in other schools. This is an example of the control and influence principals have in shaping the role of shadow teachers and inclusion policy.

Shadow Teacher as Expert

The shadow teacher participants in this study have all developed a professional identity as a coach and mentor, this was apparent both from how they and others spoke of their role but also in the activities that were reported through journaling. As shadow teachers, these young educators were asked to coach often much older and more experienced teachers in developing inclusive practices, as well as to provide community-based training for parents. In a hierarchal society such as Jordan, being seen as an expert in their field gave them status and gravitas that is important to developing inclusion. The prestige of being closely linked to a foreign funding agency and the regular trainings the NGO provided helped shadow teachers gain the trust of their communities and ultimately be more successful in implementing inclusion.

Coaching and Mentoring. All teachers participating were young and in their first three years in the classroom, so they were novices tasked with coaching and mentoring older, often more experienced teachers. Yet all four of the shadow teachers spoke of this process with ease, and when questioned about their training to be coaches, each humbly rejected the notion it was a difficult position for them to be in. Most spoke of their individual personalities as conduits to developing the relationships needed to provide coaching and mentoring to their colleagues. Within the schools, the shadow teachers are regarded as the experts, but it must be noted the

personality of these educators clearly played a role in their ability to encourage and promote inclusion among an older, more established teaching cohort.

In Jordan, general education teachers report they do not feel prepared to include students with disabilities in their classrooms. This is not uncommon throughout the world. All the shadow teachers had more than 15 students on their caseloads and limited spaces in the resource rooms, which meant they had to be discriminating with their time. As a result, each constructed an expert consultant role demonstrating their progressive stances on the role of shadow teacher in schools. Using their university degrees and the high-quality professional development provided by the NGO, each shadow teacher is equipped with professional and practical knowledge to coach the general education teachers in inclusive pedagogy. What was most striking was the personal development of effective coaching stances these teachers created without formal training:

> The most important thing is the way you introduce things to them. For example, I don't give teachers instructions to do this or that with students, I ask them, "What do you think if we try this?" For example, if I see a student with a disability sitting at the back of the class, I don't tell the teacher you have to move the student to the front, I ask them if they have tried the student in the front, they might be less distracted and benefit from being closer to you. (Razan, 9/19)

This coaching stance is difficult to develop for many experienced teachers, yet all four shadow teachers demonstrated the ability in their interviews. General education teachers confirmed this role. Most referred to how they asked for help and welcomed observations by the shadow teachers.

In addition to providing advice and being a resource to the general education teachers, shadow teachers indicated they regularly conducted observations in the classrooms to provide feedback. By making the shadow teachers observers, not push-in help, the NGO and

administration have helped develop the shadow teachers' sense of professionalism and the general education teachers' respect:

> I ask the shadow teacher to provide learning plans for the students, so I can follow up on the progress they have made. Then the shadow teachers do observations and give me feedback to help change the way I am teaching and adapt inclusion. (General classroom teacher, Ida, 10/19)

From conducting trainings on behalf of the NGO to being an assessor, observer, and coach, the shadow teachers are treated more as trusted experts in their buildings than auxiliary members of staff. This contributes to shadow teachers' ownership, commitment, and understanding of their roles.

Community collaborations. Consistent in the interviews with shadow teachers and principals was how the work with parents and the larger school community shaped the roles of the participants. Journaling data supported these findings, as all teachers reported working with at least one parent or holding a training session for community members. The visible role in the community further developed the shadow teachers' strong identity as experts in the field of special education needs.

The impact of the work shadow teachers do with the community is often seen in new students' enrolling:

> At the beginning the parents were ashamed of their disabled students. They wouldn't ask about enrolling them, so we only had three to four students, then five. But now with the awareness sessions, people have started to learn, we have students from Sweifeh, Naur, and other places. A family came to the school after their cousins came to the school because they all had a hearing disability, and they saw their cousins improving so they came to register their girls too. (Principal, Ida, 9/19)

The increased enrolment is a source of pride and celebration for these teachers, further shaping how they see their role, not just in the school but within the larger community.

> The positive thing this week was incorporating a new case into school, the child had never come to school before and it was a beautiful thing for the parents to feel that their son had a chance to learn normally after they had given up hope. (Journal, Razan, 9/19).

The NGO provides materials and supports the shadow teachers in these efforts, and in principal interviews, it was noted several times that without this external support there would be less ability to conduct these key sessions. The sessions are not just key for parents, though; the knowledge that their work is contributing to significant changes in Jordan develops confidence and continues to cement the shadow teacher's role as expert and integral to the success of the school.

Discussion

The implications of these results are significant on their own, but the further application of CHAT provides a way to connect several important revelations from the data. The results demonstrate how the elements of the activity system put different and competing pressures on shadow teachers as they construct their own inclusive practice, but embedded cultural and historical beliefs provide further insight to the interactions.

The outsized influence that mediating artifacts, or resources have on a shadow teacher's ability to do their job is clear. Throughout interviews teachers decried the lack of available teaching materials. This included adaptive equipment to facilitate learning for hearing or vision impaired students', books and basic classroom supplies. When observing in general education classroom settings there were little to no supplies, general education teachers discussed buying paper and pencils because the school could not supply them. This is a widespread and historical issue in schools, demonstrated by the teacher strike, which while it posed a validity threat to this study, it also underpins the fact teachers are not being given the necessary resources. Shadow

teachers in this study had their limited resources due to the sponsoring NGO, which made it possible for inclusive practices to take hold in their school buildings.

Mediating artifacts also includes the availability of human resources that would reduce class size or case load. Increasing enrollment in all the schools in this research demonstrates high support and desire for services. Many schools even draw from villages beyond their boundaries. The shadow teachers reported overwhelming caseloads and parents' begging schools to accept their children because the wider community recognized the high-quality education being provided. This impacts shadow teachers' status in their school building but also increases their workload. Without an equal division of labor—i.e., without the MoE developing and supporting additional schools and with community demand continuing to increase—this problem will only be exacerbated. It becomes clear that these tangible constraints on inclusion in Jordan must be remedied. The participants in this study have revealed that if these immediate concerns over material goods and personnel support are overcome, the traditional barriers of community resistance and prejudice are falling away.

Historically, there has been less support for inclusion, due to prejudice and a culture of shame surrounding persons with disabilities and their families. This has been detailed by many scholars and has been used as an explanation for the lack of inclusion to take root in Jordan. Increasing enrollment in all of the schools in this study contradicts these studies, demonstrating high support and desire for services It is encouraging that historical attitudes toward disability are changing, and these changing attitudes provide proof that we can no longer rely on this excuse for a policy-to-practice gap in inclusive education in Jordan.

As more students are being enrolled in schools, the shadow teachers can create a vision of inclusion that works for them and their students. Throughout the interviews, many emphasized

the importance of social inclusion to continue making changes to their community, and they practiced pull-out education for students to ensure academic growth. This growth was important for all the participants; however, shadow teachers generally stressed that the social changes were the greatest benefit of inclusion. The teachers were often frustrated because parents frequently expressed a belief that once their students were in school and "included," they would also be achieving at the same level as their typically developing brothers and sisters.

Scholars have noted one reason children with disabilities were kept from schools historically was the shame it could bring to their families. With increased enrollment in schools, the same cultural construct that built a strong sense of shame in Jordanian society now pushes the once segregated students to academically achieve in order to bring honor. The concepts of honor and shame are deeply rooted in Levantine cultures, and it is important for children to carry their family's honor. One way they do that is through school achievements (Zeinoun et al., 2017). The teachers all reported families pushing for their children with disabilities to earn high grades immediately upon entering school or becoming frustrated with the length of time teachers were working on a single goal. While these family behaviors were sometimes frustrating for the shadow teachers, they demonstrate a new way to promote students with disabilities attending schools, because school success fits within the concept of honor and dignity, which are so widely admired in Jordanian society (Zeinoun et al., 2017).

The cultural value of honor benefits the shadow teachers in another way as well, by contributing to the strong hierarchal structures in Jordanian life. As previously discussed, shadow teachers occupy a unique space in the school. They are often seen as persons with higher training, skills, and access to greater resources, which elevates their status among peers. In other education systems, there are often rifts between special education teachers and general classroom

teachers, and this has been reported in Jordan as well (Al-Natour et al., 2015). The teachers in this study faced less of this conflict because they were associated closely with the NGO, which represented money, training, and resources. The resulting respect and elevated position in the hierarchy of the schools gave the teachers the confidence and platform to advance the cause of inclusion. Changing the role of a special education teacher to a coach and mentor for general education teachers, is a progressive stance in current special education teacher development and part of a wider debate on the specialist and inclusion schooling (Florian, 2007; Lewis & Norwich, 2005). The way shadow teachers are making sense of their roles is in line with a new vision for how to implement inclusion worldwide. In this way, Jordan has lessons for other education systems around the globe.

Conclusion

This case study contributes to the canon of knowledge on inclusion in Jordan as a complement to other published work about attitudes and beliefs by current Jordanian scholars, including AlKhateeb, Hadidi, and AlKhateeb (2016) and Abu-Hamour and Al-Hmouz (2014). By focusing on functional inclusionary programs and the ways the shadow teachers are constructing their roles in the system, other schools and teacher training programs can make generalizations to their own circumstances. The shadow teachers in this study show that structural changes must be made in schools, dependent on funding and follow-through on commitments from the MoE. With additional shadow teachers and other educational resources academic attainment is possible for students with disabilities. Participants in this study have demonstrated that progress can also be made in the wider community through social inclusion. A more supportive community, including parents, general teachers, and administration occurs through workshops and as a result of academic gains that demonstrate success. The importance

of the work of shadow teachers and the advanced skill sets they demonstrate, have shaped the development of their roles as experts and consultants. While the NGO receives the international funding as a result of new policies shaping inclusion, for the shadow teachers it is the more immediate community support and availability of resources that makes the most difference in their day-to-day work.

Credibility and Limitations

Data collection involved triangulation between interview participants to strengthen credibility (Yin, 2017). Language barriers can pose a significant hinderance to generating an accurate description of the circumstances faced by these teachers. Therefore, several steps specifically addressing language were taken to strengthen the credibility. Recognizing that language and culture are intertwined with the way persons make sense of situations, allowing the teachers to speak and write in Arabic was important in interviews and journaling (Seidman, 2006). All data was member checked after interviews by both the interpreter and teachers to ensure cultural or language barriers did not corrupt the understanding of the observer. Interview data was simultaneously translated into English and the researcher's Arabic language capability contributed to a second translation during transcribing and coding.

Cross-national research is mired in potential limitations due to cultural and social misunderstandings. My extensive work and study in Jordan have given me a strong grasp of cultural norms and expectations, and this partially alleviated these limitations. Language is an additional barrier that is also mitigated by my basic abilities in spoken Arabic.

Outside the challenges of completing cross-national research, it is also important to understand that culture is a locally produced phenomenon (Anderson-Levitt, 2004). The teachers in this study represent their particular locality, and while their experiences might provide some

generalization to other teachers in Jordan, their experiences should not be taken to represent every special education teacher's experience.

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Appendix A

Teacher interview protocol

Most questions will be based on teacher journaling; however the following questions will serve as the initial interview protocol.

Understanding Teacher Context

1. Thank you for being willing to share your thoughts with me today. To start, could you briefly describe your role for me? What does a typical day look like?

2. Tell me about the students on your caseload.

3. In an ideal world, how do you define the role and responsibilities of a shadow teacher? To what extent is this consistent with your present professional work?

4. I'd like to know more about how do you support inclusion in the schools you work with. How do you explain inclusion to general education teachers and administration, then how do you support them in implementing this vision? Do you have the opportunity to work with parents, if so how do you explain inclusion to them and support it in the wider school community?

Rules

5. Let's talk a little about the process of learning your job. What has been ***easiest to figure out*** professionally? Why do you think this easy for you? What has been ***most difficult to figure out*** professionally? What made this difficult? How did you deal with or approach this problem? What has been ***most unexpected or surprising*** in your work as a special education teacher? How have you dealt with or approached this "surprise"?

6. Who or what shapes or influences how you enact your role as a shadow teacher? Can you provide examples of ways in which these various rules or actors shape your work? *(e.g., educational policy, state mandates, formal or informal expectations from administration or from other teachers and colleagues, other sources of influence)*

Community / Division of Labor

7. What kind of formal and informal supports are available to you as a shadow teacher? To what extent do you believe these supports have been helpful? *(e.g., formal mentors, co-teachers, grade-level team, other special education teachers, instructional coaches, school psychologists, other sources of support)*

8. Describe the process of planning and implement lessons/activities to support students with special education needs in the general education classroom. If you don't work in a general education classroom how do you plan / implement lessons and activities? How often does and administrator or supervisor observe these lessons / activities?

9. To what extent do you find your administrators and general education teachers to be supportive of your work as a shadow teacher? In what ways does their support affect your work?

10. Are there any individuals you encounter through your work that you feel are unsupportive of inclusion or hinder your work with students with disabilities in your school? How does this lack of support affect your work?

Resources

11. Describe curriculum resources that you utilize in the classroom when working with students with disabilities, how did you access those or who provided those resources?

12. What other resources have been most useful in carrying out your work and who is primarily responsible with supplying those resources or how do you access them yourself?

13. From the curriculum or other resources you described above, are there any resources that could be provided by the schools, the Ministry of Education or AGENCY that would help you support students with disabilities? Are there other resources that would help you support teachers in the general education classroom?

بروتوكول مقابلة المعلم

تعتمد معظم الأسئلة على يوميات المعلم، لكن ستكون الأسئلة التالية بمثابة بروتوكول المقابلة الأولية.

فهم سياق المعلم

1. شكراً لك على رغبتك في مشاركة أفكارك معي اليوم. ولنبدأ، هل لك أن تصف دورك لي بإيجاز؟ كيف يبدو اليوم النموذجي؟
2. أخبرني عن الطلاب في حجم قضاياك.
3. في عالم مثالي، كيف تحدد دور ومسؤوليات معلم الظل؟ إلى أي مدى يتوافق هذا مع عملك المهني الحالي؟
4. أرغب في معرفة المزيد حول كيفية دعمك للإدماج في المدارس التي تعمل معها. كيف تفسر الإدماج لمعلمي وإدارة التعليم العام، ثم كيف تدعمهم في تنفيذ هذه الرؤية؟ هل لديك الفرصة للعمل مع أولياء الأمور، إذا كان الأمر كذلك، كيف تفسر لهم الإدماج وتدعمه في مجتمع مدرسة أوسع؟

القواعد

5. لنتحدث قليلاً عن عملية تعلم عملك. ما الذي كان الأسهل معرفته مهنياً؟ لماذا تعتقد أن هذا سهل بالنسبة لك؟ ما الذي كان الأصعب معرفته مهنياً؟ ما الذي جعل هذا صعباً؟ كيف تعاملت مع هذه المشكلة أو اقتربت منها؟ ما الذي كان غير متوقع أو مفاجئ في عملك كمعلم تعليم خاص؟ كيف تعاملت مع هذه "المفاجأة" أو قمت بحلها؟
6. من أو ما الذي يشكل أو يؤثر في كيفية وضع دورك كمعلم ظل؟ هل لك إعطاء أمثلة على الطرق التي تشكل بها هذه القواعد أو الجهات الفاعلة المختلفة عملك؟ (على سبيل المثال، السياسة التعليمية، التفويضات الحكومية، والتوقعات الرسمية أو غير الرسمية من الإدارة أو من معلمين وزملاء آخرين، مصادر تأثير أخرى).

المجتمع / تقسيم العمل

7. ما نوع الدعم الرسمي وغير الرسمي المتاح لك كمعلم ظل؟ إلى أي مدى تعتقد أن هذا العدم كان مفيداً؟ (على سبيل المثال، الموجهين الرسميين، معلمين زملاء، فريق الصف، ومعلمين تعليم خاص آخرين، مدربين تربويين، علماء نفس في المدارس، مصادر دعم أخرى)
8. صف عملية تخطيط وتنفيذ الدروس / الأنشطة لدعم الطلاب ذوي الاحتياجات التعليمية الخاصة في الفصل المدرسي العام. إذا كنت لا تعمل في فصل مدرسي عام، كيف تخطط / تنفذ الدروس والأنشطة؟ كم مرة يقوم المسؤول أو المشرف بمراقبة هذه الدروس / الأنشطة؟

9. إلى أي مدى تجد أن مديريك ومعلمي التعليم العام يدعمون عملك كمعلم ظل؟ بأي طرق يؤثر دعمهم على عملك؟
10. هل هناك أي أفراد تصادفهم خلال عملك تشعر بعدم دعمهم للإدماج أو يعيقوا عملك مع طلاب من ذوي الإعاقة في مدرستك؟ كيف يؤثر عدم الدعم هذا على عملك؟

المصادر

11. صف مصادر المنهج التي تستخدمها في الفصل الدراسي عند العمل مع طلاب من ذوي الإعاقات، كيف تمكنت من الوصول إلى أولئك أو من قدم تلك المصادر؟
12. ما هي المصادر الأخرى التي كانت أكثر فائدة في تنفيذ عملك ومن هو المسؤول الأول عن توفير هذه المصادر أو كيف يمكنك الوصول إليهم بنفسك؟
13. من المنهج أو المصادر الأخرى التي وصفتها أعلاه، هل هناك أي مصادر يمكن أن توفرها المدارس أو وزارة التربية والتعليم أو ميرسي كور من شأنها مساعدتك في دعم طلاب ذوي إعاقة؟ هل هناك مصادر أخرى من شأنها مساعدتك في دعم المعلمين في فصل التعليم العام؟

Appendix B

Journaling protocol

1) Describe an interaction you had with a general education teacher that centered on student support.

b) If you did not have such an interaction, describe an interaction with a general education teacher about curriculum or planning.

احكيلي عن تفاعلك مع معلمة الصف العادي الذي يركز على دعم الطالب

2) If you interacted with an administrator this week, explain who initiated the interaction and what was the substance of the conversation?

اذا كان هناك اي تفاعل مع مدير المدرسة هذا الاسبوع ، اشرح لي من بدأ الحديث وماذا كانت مجريات الحوار
واذا لم صح لك الفرصة للحديث مع مديرك ، اذا تحدثت مع احد اعضاء ميرسي كور

3) Describe an activity or lesson you lead with students this week? Was it in the resource room or general class?

b) What resources did you use to create and implement it?

احكيلي او اشرح لي عن درس قدمته للطلاب هذا الاسبوع
اذا كان الجواب نعم ، وضح اذا تم هذا النشاط / الدرس في الصف العادي او غرفة المصادر

4. Can you talk about something that was positive and negative this week?

احكيلي عن شي ايجابي او سلبي حدث هذا الاسبوع

5. What part of the 2017 Inclusion Policy did you engage in this week?

من القائمة التالية(سياسة التعليم الدامج2017) ماذا استخدمت وكيف ؟

2) awareness, media, advocacy; الوعي ، وسائل الإعلام أو المدافعة

3) identification, diagnosis and evaluation; تحديد الهوية والتشخيص والتقييم

4) accessibility; امكانية الوصول

5) learning and education; التعلم

6) human resources and capacity building; الموارد البشرية وبناء القدرات

7) preschool stage; مرحلة ما قبل المدرسة

8) children not enrolled in ‘regular’ schools; ؛ " العادية " الأطفال غير المسجلين في المدارس

9) research / databases. قواعد بيانات / ابحاث

Appendix C

Administrator Interview Protocol

1. What is your understanding of inclusion as it is laid out in Jordanian law? How are you implementing that vision of inclusion your school, what are the barriers or challenges to meeting the expectations of law?

2. Describe the role of the shadow teacher, what contributions does s/he make to your school and how do you support her in the role?

3. Can you think back to an interaction you had with the shadow teacher over the last two weeks and describe what you spoke about, what was the reason for the interaction?

4. How many students with special education needs do you have at your school and how often do you interact with these students? Why do you believe these children should be in your school building?

5. What structures have you put in place to support your general education teachers who have students with special education needs in their classroom? How have you facilitated work between the shadow teacher and general education teacher?

General Education Teacher Interview Protocol

6. I would like to talk about inclusion, can you explain what inclusion looks like in your school building? Who is responsible for implementing inclusion? Why does your school include students with special education needs and do you agree with this policy why or why not?

7. How many students do you have in your classroom and how many of those have been identified with special education needs? As a result what changes, if any, have you made in your classroom?

8. When was the idea of inclusion first introduced to you and what were your initial thoughts? How have your thoughts or feelings changed now that you are working with a a shadow teacher and what have been the benefits / challenges of having students with special education needs in your school?

9. Let’s talk about parental involvement, how often are you in touch with parents of students in your classroom generally? Do you contact specific parents more often, if so why? Have any of the parents of students in your class raised concerns about having students with special education needs in your classroom?

10. Can you talk about how you work with the shadow teacher from planning and implementing lessons/ activities to what support or resources have you gained as a result of this relationship and what additional support or resources would you like to have from the shadow teacher?

بروتوكول مقابلة المدير

1. ما هو فهمك للدمج كما هو منصوص عليه في القانون الأردني؟ كيف تطبقين رؤية دمج مدرستك، وما هي العوائق أو التحديات التي تعترض تحقيق توقعات القانون؟
2. صف دور معلمة الظل، وما هي الإسهامات التي تقدمينها لمدرستك، وكيف تدعميها في هذا الدور؟
3. هل يمكنك تذكر تواصلك مع معلمة الظل خلال الأسبوعين الأخيرين ووصف ما تحدثت عنه، وما كان سبب التواصل؟
4. كم عدد الطلاب من ذوي الاحتياجات التعليمية الخاصة في مدرستك وكل متى تتواصلين مع هؤلاء الطلاب؟ لماذا تعتقدين أن هؤلاء الأطفال يجب أن يكونوا في مبنى مدرستك؟

بروتوكول مقابلة معلمة تعليم عام

5. أود أن أتحدث عن الدمج، هل يمكنك أن توضحي كيف يبدو الدمج في مبنى مدرستك؟ من هو المسؤول عن تنفيذ الدمج؟ لماذا تقوم مدرستك بدمج طلاب من ذوي الاحتياجات التعليمية الخاصة وهل توافقين على هذه السياسة، لماذا نعم ولماذا لا؟
6. كم عدد الطلاب في صفك وكم عدد الذين تم تحديدهم من ذوي احتياجات تعليمية خاصة؟ ونتيجةً لذلك، ما هي التغييرات، إن وجدت، التي أجريتيها في الصف الدراسي؟
7. متى تم طرح فكرة الدمج عليك لأول مرة وماذا كانت أفكارك الأولية؟ كيف تغيرت أفكارك أو مشاعرك الآن بعد أن عملت كمعلمة ظل وما هي فوائد / تحديات وجود طلاب من ذوي احتياجات تعليمية خاصة في مدرستك؟
8. دعينا نتحدث عن مشاركة أولياء الأمور، كم مرة تتواصلين مع أولياء أمور الطلاب في الفصل الدراسي بشكل عام؟ هل تتصلين بأولياء أمور معينين بشكل متكرر، إذا كان الأمر كذلك فلماذا؟ هل أثار أي من أولياء أمور الطلاب في فصلك الدراسي مخاوف بشأن وجود طلاب ذوي احتياجات تعليمية خاصة في فصلك الدراسي؟
9. هل يمكنك التحدث عن كيفية عملك مع معلمة الظل من تخطيط وتنفيذ الدروس / الأنشطة إلى أي دعم أو موارد حصلت عليها نتيجة لهذه العلاقة وما الدعم أو الموارد الإضافية التي ترغبين في الحصول عليها من معلمة الظل؟

Appendix D

Amended Shadow Teacher Interview 2 Protocol

1) You've had a difficult few weeks! Can you explain what the teacher strikes were about, and how they had an impact on your work in the classroom and your students?

2) Last time we talked we spoke in general terms about inclusion, but I would like to focus our conversation this time more on a specific student. Can you choose one student you are working this year and describe what your goals and expectations are for this student this semester?

3) Walk me through this student's day and point out specifically how you support the student, and the other adults who interact with this student.

4) How does the general education teacher communicate her expectations about work to the student? What are this teachers' goals for the student and how did she create those? Can you describe an interaction between the student and the general education teacher that was positive? Negative?

5) In the community what do most people expect this student is able to do? What are the expectations of the parents? Does this match your expectations of the student why or why not?

6) I'd like to focus now on the 2017 RPD disabilities law, it states:
Article 19 b: Provide the ***optimal level*** of inclusive education for students with disabilities.
توفير الحد الأعلى من البيئة التعليمية الدامجة للطلبة ذوي الإعاقة

What does ***optimal level*** mean to you and what does that look like on a daily basis for the student you have been telling me about?

7) The 10 year plan to achieve the guidelines laid out in law states :
Implement inclusive education procedures according to the principal of either the least restrictive environment at regular schools or within Tiers "inside the classroom" depending on the type and severity of the disability.
تطبيق إجراءات التعليم الدامج وفقاً لمبدأ البيئة الأقل تقييداً في المدرسة النظامية وضمن مستويات Tiers " داخل الغرفة الصفية" حسب نوع وشدة الإعاقة
Explain what the least restrictive environment is and how do you put it in practice for the student in question?