

Social justice, equality and inclusion in Scottish education

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Social justice, equality and inclusion are complex and inter-linked concepts and feature prominently in Scottish social policy rhetoric. This paper begins with an overview of the discourses surrounding these concepts and the ways in which they are used in Scottish education policy, which, in general, is founded on principles of universalism. The need for some degree of redistribution has been recognised for certain children, but less attention has been paid to recognising the identity of marginalised groups. Children with additional support needs are seen as a group requiring extra resources, but decisions on the nature of that support and which groups should be prioritised has been left to professionals, with little input from parents or children. Overall, there has been inadequate additional resourcing to support mainstreaming, which has made little progress despite having become the policy orthodoxy. There is also evidence to suggest that categories such as learning disabilities and social emotional and behavioural difficulties are applied disproportionately to children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, cementing rather than challenging their marginalisation. Major beneficiaries of inclusion policies, particularly in relation to disabled students in higher education, are students with a diagnosis of dyslexia, who are particularly likely to be male and middle class. The paper concludes by suggesting that children with additional support needs require more, rather than less, redistribution and recognition, but policies need to be couched within a discourse of rights, rather than individual needs.

Introduction

Scotland is a country with a strong belief in education as the means of creating a strong democracy and a meritocratic social system (Devine, 1999). Many policy texts produced by the previous Labour and present SNP administrations express commitment to equality, inclusion and social justice. For example, the Skills Strategy (Scottish Government, 2007a) identified, as one of its major aims, the achievement of equal access to and participation in skills and learning for everyone, including ‘those trapped by persistent disadvantage’. Some commentators, for example contributors to the collection of papers edited by Mooney and Scott (2005) are somewhat sceptical of the imaginary of Scotland as a collectivist and egalitarian society, but the strength of

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the rhetoric in Government publications, particularly those relating to education and lifelong learning, cannot be denied. In this paper, I consider the following questions:

- (1) How are the concepts of social justice, inclusion and equality currently understood, and what are the tensions and contradictions between different understandings?
- (2) How are these concepts understood and enacted in Scottish educational discourse?
- (3) In the field of additional support needs, what discourses of social justice, equality and inclusion are employed, and to what extent are these reflected in practice on the ground?

Social justice, equality and inclusion are complex and inter-linked concepts, so the paper begins with an overview of the discourses surrounding these concepts and the ways in which they are used in Scottish policy rhetoric. It then goes on to examine some of the evidence on the extent to which education in Scotland can reasonably be regarded as socially just, inclusive and egalitarian, drawing on data relating to pupils with additional support needs in schools, adults with learning difficulties, and disabled students in higher education. Finally, some suggestions are made in relation to what might be done to promote social justice in Scottish education, whilst recognising that this is always likely to be a contested area.

Conceptualising social justice, equality and inclusion

Competing understandings of social justice – The politics of redistribution and recognition

Many theorists of social justice have acknowledged the need to pay attention to both cultural and economic injustices as the means to understand and remedy the situation of socially marginalised groups (for example, Fraser, 1997; Sen, 1985; Young, 1990). Young (1990) argued strongly that a politics of redistribution based solely on class, as in the 1970s, which saw the economic base as the source of all other inequalities, was no longer defensible. There was a need to focus on differences based on gender or race in order to avoid the development of a politics which privileged the interests of the dominant sex or ethnic group.

Whilst Young always maintained in her writing that there was a need to balance concerns with redistribution with those of recognition, other theorists, such as Honneth (1995) went much further, maintaining that recognition is the fundamental concept of justice and can encompass distribution. The shift towards the politics of identity, which was a major feature of the 1980s and 1990s, produced a reaction in the other direction, with writers such as Fraser (1997) maintaining that the politics of social class had been displaced by the politics of recognition. This, she said, was extremely concerning, since the rise of identity politics coincided with the rapid growth of economic inequality in the US, and celebrating the difference of the black or gay community might serve to reinforce, rather than challenge their marginalisation. Fraser also believed, unlike Young, that the politics of redistribution and recognition were fundamentally contradictory, the former seeking to remove differences between groups, and the latter seeking to celebrate them. These tensions between the principles of universalism and diversity, as I explain below, are evident in current Scotland education policy debates.

Different theories which have emerged around particular equality strands, for example, gender, race and queer theory, also involve discussion of the priority to be given to economic and cultural factors as causes of or remedies for inequality. Disability theory, which developed in the 1990s in the UK, provides a particularly interesting example of these tensions. Oliver (1990) outlined the enormously influential social model of disability in his book *The Politics of Disablement*. Drawing on marxist underpinnings, he maintained that a distinction should be drawn between impairment and disability, analogous to the distinction between sex and gender. Impairment reflected the underlying condition or characteristic impeding an individual's functioning. Disability, on the other hand, was a reflection of the way in which a given impairment was experienced in a particular economic, social, cultural and political environment. Disabled people should be seen as a collectivity singled out for economic marginalisation as a result of their impairment. However, if environments were adjusted and barriers removed, essentially through redistributive measures, then people with impairments would no longer be disabled. Whilst Oliver's social model became the big idea of the British disability movement (but was never embraced by the US movement, which preferred to focus on culture and identity), it was also critiqued by disabled feminists such as Thomas (1999), who maintained that disability should be seen as only one facet of an individual's identity, interacting with other aspects such as their social class position, gender and age. She also maintained that the nature of an individual's impairment was critical to their life experiences, and for all these reasons disabled people could not be seen as a homogeneous group.

Within disability theory, there are clear tensions between the politics of redistribution, emphasising sameness, and recognition, emphasising difference. In the real world, differences surface in relation to conflicting views on genetic screening and selective abortion, which some oppose on the grounds that the rejection of some foetuses due to their perceived imperfection signals a wider devaluation of the lives of disabled people. In education, the debates are also reflected in areas such as deaf education (Corker and Shakespeare, 2002) and conductive education (Oliver, 1989). In relation to deaf education, there are clear tensions between those who feel that Deaf people should be regarded as a linguistic minority and their education should focus on mastery of British Sign Language (BSL), and others who support an oral tradition of education and advocate cochlear implants as the best means of enabling Deaf children to acquire speech. In the field of conductive education, which developed in Hungary and was popular in the UK in the 1970s and 1980s, the focus is on assisting children with cerebral palsy to walk, regardless of the effort which might be required and the cost to other aspects of their physical and intellectual development. This type of education was used by members of the disability movement as a prime example of the distorting potential of normalising forces, which focus on making disabled children conform rather than developing other aspects of their abilities and adapting the environment to accommodate their needs. The contrasts between Deaf education and conductive education in terms of their underlying politics are interesting. Both require significant input of additional resources, and are therefore redistributive. However, whereas Deaf education celebrates the distinctive identity of the deaf community, and is firmly rooted in a politics of recognition, conductive education denies the distinctive identity of children with cerebral palsy, and focuses entirely on removing difference. In deciding on what type of education to provide disabled children, and in what location, it is evident that the voices of disabled children and

their parents, and a discourse of disability rights more specifically, have tended to be marginalised (see below for further discussion).

Competing understandings of equality

As with social justice, there are different understandings of the nature of equality. Broadly, different approaches tend to emphasise equality of opportunity or equality of outcome, and within each approach, strong or weak versions may be identified. Equal opportunities, or liberal, approaches suggest that barriers inhibiting the social progress of particular groups should be removed, so that everyone begins life on a level playing field. However, social theorists such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) have argued that a certain way of reproducing inequality is to ignore the fact that children do not approach education from a similar starting point, since, by accident of birth, they have differential access to a range of economic, social and cultural capitals. Critics of the equal opportunities approach also point out its tendency to blame the victim, so, for example, in the 1970s, efforts were made to encourage girls to embrace science and engineering, rather than to consider the structural or cultural barriers which made these areas unattractive to girls in the first place. A stronger version of the equal opportunities approach suggested that some degree of compensation for inherited disadvantage might be required to enable all children to benefit from education. Programmes such as Head Start in the US and Sure Start in the UK, which invested in pre-school education for socially disadvantaged children, exemplified this approach.

Equality of outcome, or radical approaches, maintain that if social inequalities are to be challenged rather than reproduced, then the system must be regarded as fundamentally flawed and in need of radical change. In the US, where forms of positive action for black people were pioneered in certain arenas such as access to higher education in the 1970s, there was evidence of improved access to higher status institutions and areas of employment, but also something of a backlash amongst groups who felt that they were disadvantaged but had not been similarly supported. Whilst positive action has fallen out of favour particularly in the US, strong arguments are still made by political philosophers such as Phillips (2004) in favour of equality of outcome approaches.

The Equalities Review (Cabinet Office, 2007) recognised these different approaches to equality and sought a theoretical position which could combine elements of redistribution and recognition. Drawing on the work of the economist and philosopher Amartya Sen (Sen, 1985, 1992), the following definition of an equal society was proposed:

An equal society protects and promotes equal, real freedom and substantive opportunity to live in the ways people value and would choose, so that everyone can flourish.

An equal society recognises people's different needs, situations and goals and removes the barriers that limit what people can do and can be. (Cabinet Office, 2007, p. 16)

This definition combines aspects of approaches based on equality of opportunity, process and outcome, and measurement tools have been designed to capture these various dimensions (Burchardt & Vizard, 2007a; 2007b). The framework also emphasises 'different needs, situations and goals', implying that people may choose to prioritise and value different social outcomes. This might be seen as fundamentally problematic since, as noted by Fraser (2001), there are inherent dangers in assuming

that people have the insight and power to make meaningful choices throughout their lives. For example, boys from socially disadvantaged backgrounds in Scotland may actively reject academic achievement and adopt ‘laddish’ styles of behaviour because this accords with their performance of masculinity, without recognising that this rejection of schooling may well reinforce their long-term social disadvantage. A criticism of the capabilities approach to equality, which now lies at the heart of GB government equality policy, is that it may over-emphasise individual agency and the politics of identity, and may under-emphasise the immense power of structural forces which reproduce a range of social inequalities.

Further areas of debate in the field of equality concern the strands which should be recognised and the extent to which a ‘mainstreaming’ or single strand approach should be adopted. European and GB equality policy (Breitenbach et al., 2002; European Commission, 2004; Rees, 1998;) recognises six equality strands (gender, race, disability, age, religion/belief, sexual orientation), and advocates mainstreaming, wherever possible focusing on the inter-section of strands. Within the Scotland Act 1998, equality is defined in terms of ‘the prevention, elimination or regulation of discrimination between persons on grounds of sex or marital status, on racial grounds, or on grounds of disability, age, sexual orientation, language or social origin, or of other personal attributes, including beliefs or opinions, such as religious beliefs or political opinions’. Scottish public sector bodies are now required by law to produce a single equalities scheme, allowing them considerable discretion to decide which strands to prioritise and how to deal with intersections.

There are also debates about the place of social class within the broader field of equality and until recently there was a sharp divide between equality policy (focusing on recognition) and social justice policy (focusing on redistribution). The GB Equality and Human Rights Commission did not include social class as one of its strands, however at the time of writing (February 2009) discussions are underway on legislation placing a duty on public sector bodies to tackle inequality based on socio-economic disadvantage.

Competing understandings of inclusion

Since the election of a Labour administration in the UK in 1997 and in Scotland in 1999, reducing social exclusion and promoting inclusion have been major government preoccupations, in line with many other European governments. Levitas (1998) identified three particular political discourses associated with the concept of social exclusion (RED, MUD and SID). The redistributive discourse (RED) identified poverty as the principal cause of social exclusion, with economic redistribution as the most appropriate remedy. Whilst Labour rhetoric has shied away from espousing this discourse too overtly for fear of being accused of the politics of envy, some redistributive measures have been pursued through measures such as family tax credits, although the effects of these measures have been eclipsed by the steady trend towards increasing inequality (Hills & Stewart, 2009). The moral underclass discourse (MUD) deploys cultural rather than material explanations of social exclusion, suggesting that people are excluded because they fail to fit in with established social norms. The remedy is therefore to change people’s attitudes and culture, and such thinking is evident in aspects of policy such as the New Deal programmes, which have urged people to develop a ‘work ready’ outlook. The moral underclass discourse is, however, more evident in recent utterances by Conservative Party politicians, who

have adopted the theme of ‘broken Britain’ with enthusiasm. Finally, the social inclusion discourse (SID) has been drawn on extensively by both the UK and Scottish Governments. Lack of labour market attachment is viewed here as the principal cause of social exclusion, and the remedy is to encourage or require individuals to participate in paid work. These discourses of social exclusion and inclusion are, of course, not mutually exclusive, but co-exist in various aspects of social policy at Scottish, UK and European levels. Clearly, there are close inter-connections between discourses of inclusion and exclusion on the one hand, and those of redistribution and recognition on the other.

This review of the discourses surrounding social justice, equality and inclusion indicates their interconnectedness and inherent complexity, and underlines the point that terms such as social inclusion may be used to legitimate widely differing policies and practices. In the following section, the way in which these concepts have been deployed in Scottish education is considered.

The construction of social justice, equality and inclusion in Scottish education

The type of social justice policies evident in Scottish education have traditionally emphasised redistribution rather than recognition. Since the 1960s, unlike England, all state schools have been comprehensive and co-educational, with the exception of one single sex school in Glasgow. Eighty per cent of state schools are non-denominational, and 20% are Roman Catholic. The 5-14 Curriculum is taught universally, although this is shortly to be replaced by the Curriculum for Excellence, which allows for more local flexibility and has been criticised by Paterson in his 2008 British Educational Research Association keynote address on the grounds that it undermines the fundamental principle of equal curricular access for all which forms a major plank of the Scottish education tradition. Overall, then, the Scottish education system is based on the egalitarian idea that, with the exception of separate faith schools for Catholic children, all children should have access to a common curriculum in equally well resourced schools.

However, as pointed out by the recent OECD report (OECD, 2007), Scotland mirrors other developed countries in that children’s educational experiences and outcomes are strongly associated with their social background, and in order to mitigate these effects, a range of redistributive measures have been adopted. The previous Labour administration, for example, set itself targets for reducing socially differentiated outcomes in education and other social policy fields (referred to as Closing the Opportunity Gap). At higher education level, a range of widening access programmes was implemented. The present SNP minority administration has placed less emphasis on redistributive measures, and its economic strategy, which includes the goal of creating a ‘wealthier and fairer society’, is based on the premise that wealth creation will lead to more resources for all. Overall, its policy documents seem to be more closely geared towards an equal opportunities, rather than an equal outcomes, discourse.

Social justice concerns, with their emphasis on redistribution, have therefore featured prominently in Scottish educational policy, at least until recently, but there has been far less focus on equality arenas such as gender, race and sexual orientation and the recognition of pupil difference. The establishment of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, with its Scottish Commissioner, may begin to change this, but,

with the possible exception of religion, the emphasis within the system has been on universalism and pupil sameness, rather than difference and diversity.

Inclusion and additional support needs

In this section, I consider the nature of social justice policies for children with additional support needs, which have generally fallen under the inclusion discourse. Inclusion has featured as policy orthodoxy for at least a decade in Scotland, and there is much evidence within this arena of tensions between the politics of recognition and redistribution. Fulcher (1989) drew attention to the discursive use of the term 'inclusion' in order to justify particular policies which were sometimes diametrically opposed. In this way, the language of inclusion was used as tactic, in order to justify particular practices. Radical versions of inclusion maintain that all children should be in mainstream classes for the whole of their education, irrespective of their disabilities. Weaker versions place far less emphasis on educational location, and instead suggest that as long as the learning styles and resources are matched to the needs of the students, then inclusion may be regarded as taking place (see Riddell, 2006, for further discussion).

In Scotland, the policy of inclusion has been reinforced by a raft of legislation. For example, the Education (Standards in Scotland's Schools, etc.) (Scotland) Act 2000 established the presumption of mainstreaming, albeit with significant caveats. These stated that children might be placed in special provision if their presence in a mainstream class would be detrimental to their own education or those of other children in the class, would involve unreasonable public expenditure or was against the wishes of their parents. The Disability Discrimination Act 1995 was extended to education in 2001, prohibiting discrimination, which was defined as failing to make reasonable adjustments or treating a disabled person less favourably for reasons associated with their disability. Scottish legislation placed an obligation on local authorities to produce accessibility strategies to record progress over time in relation to creating inclusive environments. A loophole in the legislation, however, meant that auxiliary aids and services were exempt, so that there was no legal obligation on local authorities to provide additional personnel or resources, thus blunting their redistributive potential (Riddell, 2006). The Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004 (the ASL Act) not only broadened the definition of additional support needs to include a wider range of children, but also placed a duty on local authorities to identify and meet the needs of all children requiring additional support.

As a result of these measures, to what extent, have Scottish schools become more inclusive of disabled pupils? One somewhat blunt way of assessing this is to examine the proportion of children with additional support needs who are educated in mainstream classes.

(Insert Figure 1 and Table 1)

Figure 1 apparently shows a steady increase of children with additional support needs spending all of their time in mainstream classes. However, as Table 1 shows, this is partly accounted for by a widening definition of which children are counted as having additional support needs, rather than children who were previously in special settings being moved into mainstream. Tellingly, the proportion of children educated in special schools or units (about 1% of the pupil population) has remained almost static for at least 20 years, and whilst some special schools have shut down, special units attached to mainstream have mushroomed. Beneficiaries of inclusion policies tend to be able children with physical or sensory impairments, who might once have been taught in special schools, but are now routinely educated in mainstream. However, teachers' tolerance for children with behavioural difficulties appears to have decreased.

Insert Table 3 here

Figures on school exclusions illustrate a trend towards greater rates of exclusion, albeit with dips in 2002/03 and 2007/08 following the publication of Scottish Government guidance on exclusion, strongly advising that it should be used as a very last resort. Anecdotal evidence suggests that exclusion rates may actually be higher, since not all children sent home from school are recorded as formally excluded.

Overall, it appears that inclusion is firmly endorsed in policy rhetoric, but is not evidenced by data on pupil location. A review of accessibility strategies (Scottish Executive, 2003) which local authorities are required to produce suggest that far greater emphasis is placed on adjustments to the physical environment, and far less to modification of approaches to teaching and learning and school policies. Clearly, putting inclusion policies into practice necessitates redistributive measures; indeed, a child is defined as having additional support needs if they require additional resources to benefit from education, so that redistribution is intrinsic to its definition. However, research currently being conducted by myself and colleagues (Riddell & Weedon, 2009 forthcoming) suggests that parents are often placed in a situation of having to struggle for additional resources for their children, and that their relationship with professionals is sometimes characterised by hostility rather than respect. The following are comments written on to a questionnaire by parents in relation to children educated in both special and mainstream settings:

The school's attitude to my son's disability was to send him to a special unit. The support that was supposed to be put in place failed badly. Teachers either shouted at him or talked to him as if he was an idiot. One example was a comment made by a teacher "Oh I forgot, I have to spell everything out for you". This comment was made in front of a full classroom. He was assaulted by a teacher and, last but not least, he was seriously beaten by seven pupils in the yard after I was promised these bullies would be kept in line. His diagnosis was confidential but his personal details were left on a staff member desk and pupils accessed these details and spread word to other pupils. At this point I had to consult a lawyer as the Council failed to speak to me and the education department ignored my telephone calls. My case was taken to the Disability Conciliation Service. (18) (Parent of child with Asperger's Syndrome, LA 21)

There has been no support whatsoever, even though he is starting P7 and was diagnosed in P2. The school has been unhelpful, even issuing a letter of exclusion. We have had to fight for basic rights. (43) (Parent of child with ADHD, LA 15)

The ASL Act placed duties on local authorities to inform parents of their additional support needs policies, including new dispute resolution mechanisms. Our research suggests that the majority of local authorities do not publish their policies on websites or inform parents of their dispute resolution rights. A principal educational psychologist, quoted in the Times Educational Supplement, explained:

We do not have big posters in all our schools that say, 'You can access dispute resolution by using this service'. However, I am not sure that we really want that to be the flavour in our schools'. (TESS, 6th February 2009).

Policies of both redistribution and recognition are therefore needed in order to ensure that children with additional support needs are able to benefit from policies of inclusion. At the same time, the diversity of pupils in this group is a striking feature.

Insert Figure 2 and Table 2 here

Figure 2 and Table 2 illustrate the inter-section of a range of key social variables in the way in which pupils are categorised. For example, Scottish Government data show that almost four times as many boys as girls are identified as having social emotional and behavioural difficulties, and pupils who are looked after by the local authority, have free school meal entitlement and have been identified as having additional support needs are 13 times more likely to be excluded from school than other pupils. At the other end of the spectrum, compared with girls and pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, boys from more socially advantaged backgrounds (Riddell et al., 1994), are likely to be identified as having dyslexia, subsequently benefiting disproportionately from additional support in higher education (Riddell et al., 2005). This illustrates the strategies which may be employed by the sharp-elbowed middle class, and also the difficulty of parents of children with additional support needs organising collectively to demand better resourcing and more respect.

Finally, it is worth bearing in mind that recognition and redistribution policies may have negative consequences in practice. An ethnographic study of 30 adults of different ages with learning disabilities illustrated the negative consequences of being thus labelled (Riddell et al., 2001). The people we worked with were generally poor, lived with parents or in institutional settings, had not married or had children and were rarely engaged in paid employment. In many ways, they were trapped in a dystopic version of the learning society, spending their entire lives engaged in special training programmes without ever getting a 'proper job'. The label of learning disabilities which had been applied to them for the purposes of service delivery contributed to the maintenance of their 'spoiled identity' (Goffman, 1990), which they themselves rejected.

Summary and conclusion

In this paper, I began by reviewing the tensions within theoretical conceptualisations of social justice, equality and inclusion, where disagreements abound about causes of and remedies for social marginalisation. Across all three concepts, the main area of disagreement centres on whether people are disadvantaged because they are poor or because they are treated with insufficient respect. At the same time, there are disputes about how radical the remedies for inequality need to be, with some arguing for major social change in order to produce equal outcomes, whilst others suggest that as long as the rules of fair competition have been satisfied, then social justice has been achieved. The capabilities approach, which now informs British equality policies, attempts to gloss over these tensions, justifying some degree of unequal outcomes on the grounds that individual and group diversity will lead to people making different choices about their goals and priorities. Recognising difference is used here as a justification for some degree of

unequal social outcome, although worrying questions remain about how far individual choices and identities may be regarded as independent of the social structures within which they are formed. In addition, the problem also remains of deciding at what point inequalities have become too large, requiring the application of redistributive measures in order to remedy unacceptable levels of inequality and marginalisation.

Scottish education, it is argued, has generally been shaped by ideas rooted in meritocracy and universalism, with some focus on redistribution, but less on recognition. Within this broadly universalistic context, the idea of additional resourcing for some groups of children with learning difficulties has been accepted, however, clearly issues still remain in terms of achieving sufficient resources to enable children to be included in mainstream schools and classes, and in ensuring that children and their parents are treated with respect. The power to determine which children receive additional resource and in what form still lies firmly with professionals, with efforts to include parents in decision-making often resisted.

In relation to the politics of recognition, the experiences of particular sub-groups, such as children with social and emotional and behavioural difficulties and learning disabilities, illustrate the dangers of being singled out as different and meriting special treatment, since the benefits of any additional resourcing may be outweighed by the weight of stigmatisation. The problem here too may be that professionals retain the power to categorise children, and again efforts of parents and young disabled people to become more actively involved in these decision-making processes have often been resisted.

As noted by Fulcher (1989), and demonstrated in the analysis of statistics on school inclusion and exclusion presented earlier, there is a strong tendency in this area for practice to remain remarkably constant, even if the official discourse has shifted. In both Scotland (Tisdall & Riddell, 2006) and England (Armstrong, 2005), one of the greatest barriers to systemic change in the field of additional support needs is the continued adherence to a discourse of individual needs, determined by professionals, with little development of a rights discourse. This means that weak forms of redistribution and recognition are implemented, but on a scale which does not seriously undermine the general tendency of education to reproduce, rather than undermine, existing inequalities. In the field of additional support needs, there is a need to gather and analyse outcome and process data much more systematically, to ensure that there is much better articulation between policy discourse and practice. The extent and nature of redistributive measures to children with additional support needs will certainly continue to be debated, but at the same time, there needs to be far better articulation and implementation of a rights discourse in schools, so that teachers and administrators accord much greater respect to children with additional support needs and their parents, rather than treating them as unwelcome customers.

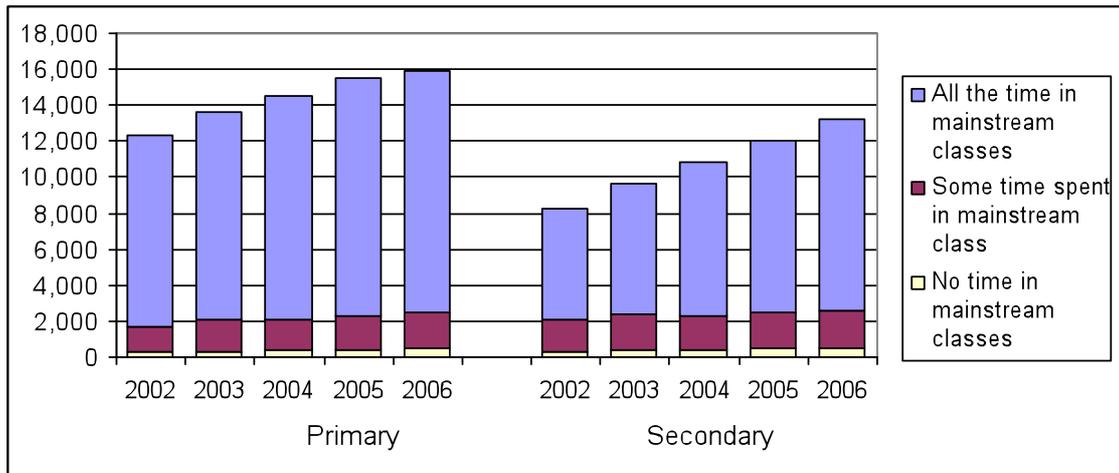
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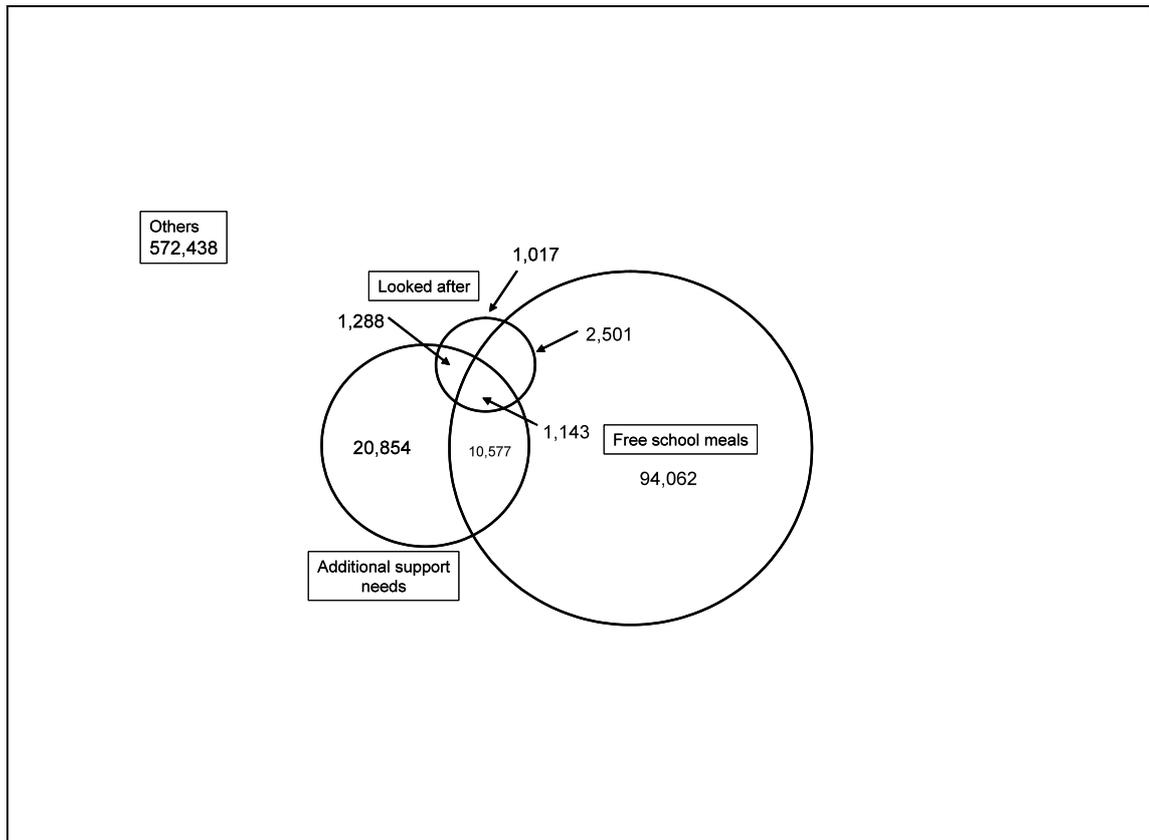
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Figure 1: Pupils with Additional Support Needs, in mainstream schools, primary and secondary, 2002-2006⁽¹⁾



Source: Scottish Government (2007b)

Figure 2: Number of pupils with free school meals, Additional Support Needs, and looked after by local authority, 2006⁽¹⁾



(1) Data does not include grant aided special schools.
Source: Scottish Government (2007b)

Table 1: Pupils with Additional Support Needs in mainstream schools, 2003-2006⁽¹⁾

	Primary				Secondary			
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2003	2004	2005	2006
All the time in mainstream classes	11,514	12,452	13,246	13,487	7,324	8,547	9,542	10,661
Some time spent in mainstream class	1,749	1,731	1,852	2,001	1,998	1,881	2,027	2,067
No time in mainstream classes	319	386	423	450	362	366	450	506
Total	13,582	14,569	15,521	15,939	9,684	10,794	12,019	13,234
Percentage of school roll	3.3	3.7	4.0	4.2	3.0	3.4	3.8	4.2

Source: Scottish Government: (2007b)

Table 2: Reasons for support for pupils with Additional Support Needs, by gender, 2006

Occurrences. Pupils with more than one reason for support will appear in each row.

	Female	Male	Total	Rate per 1,000 pupils		
				Female	Male	Total
Pupils for whom reason for support is reported	5,744	13,378	19,122	16.6	37.5	27.2
Learning disability	1,581	3,018	4,599	4.6	8.5	6.5
Dyslexia	573	1,717	2,290	1.7	4.8	3.3
Other specific learning difficulty (e.g. numeric)	553	1,108	1,661	1.6	3.1	2.4
Visual impairment	236	340	576	0.7	1.0	0.8
Hearing impairment	226	287	513	0.7	0.8	0.7
Deafblind	15	15	30	-	-	-
Physical or motor impairment	637	1,033	1,670	1.8	2.9	2.4
Language or speech disorder	643	1,491	2,134	1.9	4.2	3.0
Autistic spectrum disorder	359	2,084	2,443	1.0	5.8	3.5
Social, emotional and behavioural difficulty	875	3,368	4,243	2.5	9.4	6.0
Physical health problem	368	526	894	1.1	1.5	1.3
Mental health problem	26	71	97	0.1	0.2	0.1
Interrupted learning	86	143	229	0.2	0.4	0.3
English as an additional language	143	216	359	0.4	0.6	0.5
Looked after	170	267	437	0.5	0.7	0.6
More able pupil	17	60	77	-	0.2	0.1
Other	1,351	2,474	3,825	3.9	6.9	5.4
Not known/not disclosed	41	67	108	0.1	0.2	0.2

Source: Scottish Government (2007b)

Table 3: Exclusions from Scottish schools

Year	00/01	01/02	02/03	03/04	04/05	05/06	06/07	07/08
Total	38,656	37,442	36,496	38,919	41,974	42,990	44,794	39,717

Source: Scottish Government (2008)