Children at risk Securitization theory and special education reforms

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Abstract
Special education is to a significant extent based on special education programmes and support to children who are identified as children at risk. These programmes and support are often framed in educational reforms that aim to reduce risk and barriers to equal opportunities for learning and wellbeing. This thesis sets out to explore processes of special education reforms, with a special focus on the implementation of certain reforms. Here, a theoretical framework almost unknown in special education – securitization theory – is introduced, drawing on a tradition of securitization studies within the fields of Political Science and International Relations. The Copenhagen School’s theory of securitization referred to in the thesis describes the handling of vulnerabilities, insecurities and perceived threats through the initiation and implementation of securitization processes, such as, for example, education reforms. In short, securitization theory helps us understand processes of educational reforms in terms of identified threats, such as, for example, those against equal education for a specific group of pupils. Firstly, the reforms themselves are understood as securitization projects aimed at reducing threats to the young generation and as a consequence for society. Policies that concern children who are at risk by not receiving equal education, are handled differently among various securitization actors depending on how they perceive threats and education reform as a way to handle the perceived threat. Secondly, I introduce a new term into the examination of securitization processes – extended securitization actor. This assists the comprehension of additional implementation procedures and turns of securitization processes in the analytical procedure. Thirdly – and here I also add to the existing securitization theory – I show how a specific reform might itself be experienced as a threat to the goals and interests of actors at the lower levels of the implementation chain, which as a consequence, produces counter securitization processes that seem to influence the implementation of the education reform. The empirical parts of the thesis consist of empirical studies from South Africa and Sweden. Discussed are those education reform policies between the mid 1940s and 1970s in South Africa and Sweden that were directed towards the indigenous populations. Children “at risk” here concern educational issues linked to identity- and ethnic belonging and access to equal education for all children. Another study brings up the perception of environmental threats and international claims of incorporating Education for sustainable development (ESD) into national education. Children at risk can here be understood as those exposed to environmental hazards and in exposed land areas. Still another study deals with threats concerning political and societal exclusion of ethnic and vulnerable groups. Education reform should here be seen against the historic background of former Apartheid policies and the need for democratic development with a special emphasis on teachers’ attitudes towards inclusion and perceived threats by teachers in connection with implementing inclusive education.

Keywords: Securitization theory, Special education reform, Education reform, Education policy.

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CHILDREN AT RISK
SECURITIZATION THEORY AND SPECIAL EDUCATION REFORMS
Helen Dwyer
Children at risk
Securitization theory and special education reforms

Helen Dwyer
Education is education. We should learn everything and then choose which path to follow. Education is neither Eastern nor Western, it is human.
— Malala Yousafzai
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Abstract

Children at risk. Securitization theory and special education reforms.

Special education is to a significant extent based on special education programmes and support to children who are identified as children at risk. These programmes and support are often framed in educational reforms that aim to reduce risk and barriers to equal opportunities for learning and wellbeing. This thesis sets out to explore processes of special education reforms, with a special focus on the implementation of certain reforms. Here, a theoretical framework almost unknown in special education – securitization theory – is introduced, drawing on a tradition of securitization studies within the fields of Political Science and International Relations. The Copenhagen School’s theory of securitization referred to in the thesis describes the handling of vulnerabilities, insecurities and perceived threats through the initiation and implementation of securitization processes, such as, for example, education reforms. In short, securitization theory helps us understand processes of educational reforms in terms of identified threats, such as, for example, those against equal education for a specific group of pupils. Firstly, the reforms themselves are understood as securitization projects aimed at reducing threats to the young generation and as a consequence for society. Policies that concern children who are at risk by not receiving equal education, are handled differently among various securitization actors depending on how they perceive threats and education reform as a way to handle the perceived threat. Secondly, I introduce a new term into the examination of securitization processes – extended securitization actor. This assists the comprehension of additional implementation procedures and turns of securitization processes in the analytical procedure. Thirdly – and here I also add to the existing securitization theory – I show how a specific reform might itself be experienced as a threat to the goals and interests of actors at the lower levels of the implementation chain, which as a consequence, produces counter securitization processes that seem to influence the implementation of the education reform. The empirical parts of the thesis consist of empirical studies from South Africa and Sweden. Discussed are those education reform policies between the mid 1940s and 1970s in South Africa and Sweden that were directed towards the indigenous populations. Children “at risk” here concern educational issues linked to identity- and ethnic belonging and access to equal education for all children. Another study brings up the perception of environmental threats and international claims of incorporating Education for sustainable development (ESD) into national education. Children at risk can here be understood as those exposed to environmental hazards and in exposed land areas. Still another study deals with threats concerning political and societal exclusion of ethnic and vulnerable groups. Education reform should here be seen against the historic background of former Apartheid policies and the need for democratic development with a special emphasis on teachers’ attitudes towards inclusion and perceived threats by teachers in connection with implementing inclusive education.
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I would like to thank Rolf Helldin and Örjan Bäckman for bringing me in to the co-joint project between UNISA and SU on Inclusion and inclusive education. Working with scholars from both Sweden and South Africa provided an opportunity to engage in scientific issues related to democratic development and inclusive education. Thanks also to Anders Skarlind for his part in the project for assistance in statistics.

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Tyresö March 2018
**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress of South African Trade Unions</td>
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<tr>
<td>BMZ</td>
<td>German Federal Ministry for Cooperation and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHRI</td>
<td>Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>COSATU</td>
<td>Congress of South African Trade Unions</td>
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<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Copenhagen School</td>
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<tr>
<td>CFR</td>
<td>Council on Foreign Relations</td>
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<td>DEA</td>
<td>Department Environmental Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>DoE</td>
<td>Department of Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>DoST</td>
<td>Department of Science and Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>DESD</td>
<td>Decade for Sustainable Development</td>
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<td>DRR</td>
<td>Disaster Risk Reduction</td>
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<td>Ds</td>
<td>Departementserien</td>
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<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>Environmental education</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESD</td>
<td>Education for Sustainable Development</td>
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<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education for All</td>
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<td>ESSP</td>
<td>Environmental Sector Skills Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOI</td>
<td>Försvarets Forskningsinstitut</td>
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<tr>
<td>GAP</td>
<td>Global Action Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>GCIS</td>
<td>Government Communication and Information System</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>IBA</td>
<td>International Bar Association</td>
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<td>IC</td>
<td>International Community</td>
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<td>IE</td>
<td>Inclusive education</td>
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<td>IIEP</td>
<td>International Institute for Educational Planning</td>
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<td>INEE</td>
<td>International Network for Education in Emergencies</td>
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<tr>
<td>INGO</td>
<td>International Non-Governmental Organisations</td>
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<tr>
<td>IR</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISDR</td>
<td>International Strategy for Disaster Reduction</td>
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<tr>
<td>LGR62</td>
<td>Läroplan för Grundskolan 1962</td>
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<td>LGR69</td>
<td>Läroplan för Grundskolan 1969</td>
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<td>LGR80</td>
<td>Läroplan för Grundskolan 1980</td>
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<td>Lpo94</td>
<td>Läroplan 1994</td>
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<td>Abbr.</td>
<td>Fullform</td>
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<td>LGR11</td>
<td>Läroplan för Grundskolan, förskoleklassen och fritidshemmet 2011</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>MSB</td>
<td>Myndigheten för Samhällsberedskap</td>
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<tr>
<td>NC2005</td>
<td>National Curriculum 2005</td>
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<td>NCS</td>
<td>National Curriculum Statement (South Africa)</td>
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<td>NCESS</td>
<td>National Committee on Special Needs in Training (South Africa)</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>PITP</td>
<td>Past in the present history</td>
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<tr>
<td>SANBI</td>
<td>South African National Biodiversity Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>SARVA</td>
<td>South African Risk and Vulnerability Atlas</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDG(s)</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goal(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEN</td>
<td>Special Education Needs</td>
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<td>SGU</td>
<td>The Geological Survey of Sweden</td>
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<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMH</td>
<td>The Sydney Morning Herald</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOU</td>
<td>Statens Offentliga Utredningar</td>
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<tr>
<td>SU</td>
<td>Stockholms Universitet</td>
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<tr>
<td>SKOLFS</td>
<td>Skolverkets föreskrifter</td>
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<td>SPSM</td>
<td>Specialpedagogiska Skolmyndigheten</td>
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<tr>
<td>SÖ</td>
<td>Skolverket's regulations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNFCCC</td>
<td>United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children's Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nations Environment Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNISA</td>
<td>University of South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>WESSA</td>
<td>Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>WWF</td>
<td>World Wildlife Fund</td>
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<td>WWII</td>
<td>World War II</td>
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Tables:

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Figure 4b. Second order securitization process.
The introduction chapter sets the scientific and dispositional frame for the dissertation, including its scientific position within the field of special education in connection to a security outlook. The thesis discusses the application of securitization theory in connection to education reforms – considered as special education reforms – and their implementation which may have implications for children at risk.

The thesis is a multi-disciplinary study that mainly combines theories and concepts scientifically recognized within Political Science/International Relations (IR) (securitization theory) and Special education (children at risk). Specific attention will be given to explore different types of perceived societal vulnerabilities and their possible bearing on educational reforms within the field of special education in policies and implementation.

The purpose is to introduce this approach as a point of departure for understanding educational reforms and their implementation, with special focus on security policy agendas and securitization processes. The overall aim is to (1) increase our understanding for special education reform processes by (2) attempting to see them as securitization projects (3) at different societal levels. This approach entails to highlight the implications for children who in political and societal terms can be defined as being at risk within education policies and in education reform. In this study I work with a wide definition of special education framing all policies, interventions and research that focuses on pupils at risk within education. I am fully aware of the fact that this includes more than what is usually referred to in special education. However, the focus on pupils at risk highlights a dimension of special education that makes the values of securitization theory visible and demonstrates its use within the field of special education.

Within this field, reforms are commonly occurring on a general basis, and they are often politically driven. In Sweden, for example, it is possible to see that special education reforms have in general terms historically been included in curriculum- and syllabus change. For instance, in the national syl-
labus of 1955 a particular section deals with “Special education” and is related to guiding principles for help classes. In the following curricula, LGR62 and LGR69 special education is specified through differentiation in order to meet individual learning needs. LGR80 introduced actions plans for pupils who would meet the required knowledge goals. Action strategies as a kind of special education measure can still be found in the present national curriculum – LGR11 and more specifically as action plans in the present Education Act 2010 (see Kungliga Skolverstyrrelsen, 1955; SÖ, 1964, 1980; LGR69, 1969; LGR11, 2011; DoE, 2010; Erdis, 2011). Education support has in the past and over time often taken place in special education environments preceded by different types of measures to discover which children may be at risk for not reaching the established aims in comprehensive education (see Säljö & Hjörne, 2008).

The expression at-risk is often used to describe children or groups of children who are seen to have a higher probability of failing education or dropping out of school. While educators often use the term at-risk to refer to general populations or categories of children, the term can also be applied to signify individuals who have drawn attention to their behaviour that may indicate they are more likely to fail or drop out (Education reform, 2016). Within the field of special education, the meaning of children at risk can be connected to special education initiatives – including specific reforms – in order to meet their educational needs. Nilholm (2011) argues that special education is an alternative perspective to comprehensive education. Usually when we speak of education this standpoint implicates didactics or pedagogical practices in general terms, whereas special education can be said to implicate forms of particular didactics and practices. Of relevance here is that, historically, special education was set up as a response to meet the needs of children who did not meet the requirements for taking part in regular education. Special education should therefore be understood as a kind of education designed for when regular education is not enough. Special education has as a result become strongly connected to differences between children, deviance and “normality” (p. 13). The application of securitization theory can be considered as adding a new perspective to the field of special education.

A security policy approach to education and education reform policies reflects ideas of how to handle education in situations of emergency, crisis and societal reconstruction (see UNESCO, 1999; IIEP, 2009). These kinds of educational policies deal with security issues and the political situation in crises-stricken areas and are directed towards children who may not have full access to education. As such, these kinds of education reform policies can be seen as special education reforms in a wider sense by focussing around meeting educational needs among children at risk. Risk may here be seen as twofold – there is a risk of not gaining access to equal education and being exposed to vulnerabilities making it difficult or unmanageable to reach established aims in education.
UNESCO (2003a) argued that numerous conflicts have arisen both internally and between states. Several states are at risk in terms of future conflict. These arisen risks are sometimes due to fragile situations where socio-economic factors may lead to escalated danger as well as environmental disasters (p. 6). Children and adolescents should under these circumstances be seen as groups that are specifically exposed to different kinds of insecurities and vulnerabilities during emergencies.

Children in particular are victims of such conflicts, with schools serving as military targets or barracks, children and adolescents recruited as combatants, girls raped, teachers sometimes assassinated, and education systems partially or completely disrupted (UNESCO, 2003a, p. 6).

Different types of international and national threats may therefore have implications for the carrying out and establishment of national education that reaches all children within emergency stricken areas. Various kinds of societal insecurities may therefore interfere with fulfilling the Right to Education (UN, 1989) and other rights as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948). Children who are unable to take part in education due to emergencies and/or displacement, or whose formal right to education cannot be fulfilled, thereby become “children at risk” due to emerging crises. Based on the writings and comparisons of Franklin (1994), Helldin (1997), Haug (1998), Säljö and Hjörne (2008) and Nilholm (2011) the designation of children who can be categorized as being at risk seem to vary between societies and over time (op cit.). In special education, the terminology of children at risk generally involve pupils who have learning and behavioural problems. Low- or underachievement and learning disabilities are other forms for consideration (Franklin, 1994, p. 4). The statement that those “who are presently eligible for special or compensatory education” (Slavin, Karweit & Madden, 1989 in Franklin, 1994, p. 4) signifies a broad definition of children at risk. Al-Rodham (2007) additionally suggests that education determines how well people will be able to adjust to the realities in their surroundings. Education verifies who will be able to meet maintained and prolonged challenges in society (p. 14). In the thesis, a broad perspective regarding the definition of “children at risk” will be utilized. “Children at risk” can be connected to children who have difficulties in meeting the present and educational challenges that lie ahead, mainly due to societal circumstances. A security theme that is directed towards the special education sphere is here suggested to involve examining the impact of educational reforms and their effects on children that can be defined as “at risk” in connection to political and ideological standpoints and their development over time in combination with the perception of different types of threats towards society. This approach includes examining different challenging issues linked to community building, societal vulnerability and societal maintenance, which may have a
bearing on participation and the rights to access equal education for all children. Although a security approach within special education is not frequently used, it touches upon issues of children at risk in connection to meeting different types of educational challenges.

The thesis will be set in the tension field between viewing children at risk from outlooks that can be linked to individual vulnerabilities as well as to different types of vulnerabilities at the societal level. Both these outlooks may generate children at risk at the group level. This standpoint involves defining societal insecurities that may bring about educational reform. The examination of certain special education reforms will therefore in connection to individual and societal safekeeping address the special educational needs of “children at risk” through special education reform policies that include ideas of inclusion, differentiation, exclusion and marginalization. Reforms that address different types of societal and individual risks connected to learning needs will therefore in the thesis refer to a wide understanding for what constitute special education reforms.

A discussion further below will describe the formal rights to education from a special education perspective and its societal and individual implications, providing these rights cannot be fulfilled.

A security outlook on special education reform

The singled out special educational reforms in the study will reflect ideas of relevance concerning the educational needs of children at risk. These ideas within reform-based polices are brought into the analysis of a security policy-based outlook in special education.

Originally, the security policy perspective is generally linked to state interests including political autonomy, protection of borders, relations with other states and the preservation of the state (see Buzan, 1991). A security outlook involving education is argued by Nelles (2003) to contain the following issues:

Security concerns are linked to broader challenges such as community building, democratization, conflict mediation or resolution, preventing war and building or sustaining civil society or regional and international peace generally. More scholarly analysis, comparative and case study work including field evaluations are needed to assess specific concepts or types of implementation involving education (p. 15).

Hence, the quote illustrates the complexity of issues involving security analysis in connection to issues of societal maintenance, protection and development where education is one part.
According to Brauch (2011), the terminology of security is related to societal or individual values systems. The concept of security can, however, be attributed to two aspects:

‘Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked’ (Wolfers, 1962 in Brauch, 2011, p. 61).

Brauch (op cit.) continues:

From the perspective of social constructivist approaches in international relations (Adler, 1997; Fearon/Wendt, 2002; Risse, 2003; Wendt, 1992, 1999) ‘security’ is conceived as an outcome of a process of social and political interaction where social values and norms, collective identities and cultural traditions are essential. From this perspective, security is always intersubjective or ‘security is what actors make of it’ (Wendt, 1992 in Brauch, 2011, p. 61).

In the thesis the introduction of a security outlook to education is inspired by and draws on a social constructivist outlook to security as developed by the Copenhagen School’s (CS) and their concept of securitization. Securitization theory is the analytical tool for examining how special education reform policies come about in connection to perceived insecurities and their bearing on special education reform policies in connection to issues related to children at risk. Securitization theory may be of relevance to use within problem areas that have a bearing on special education and special education reforms with specific attention towards children at risk. This includes defining and distinguishing children being at risk. It includes the ideological labelling as well as the special educational requirements for deciding which children are being categorized as children at risk.

The securitization outlook will be further applied to describe reform-based educational policies of relevance for the special education field in order to examine their contextual meaning in connection to different types of perceived insecurities.1 Securitization theory will also facilitate in exploring the implementation of the special education reform.

The empirical parts of the thesis consist of three studies. The studies define and examine education reforms in Sweden and South Africa from 1945 and onwards. These two countries have been selected to serve as examples for examining securitization processes in connection to special education reform policies and their impact on children at risk. Emphasis has therefore been placed on how to comprehend how special education reform, through different measures, handles the issue of children at risk in connection to different types of vulnerabilities. Thus, vulnerability and what comprises different

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1 Context refers to ideology, beliefs and values within society. See for instance Balzacq (2011a, 2011b).
types of perceived threats to society are suggested to constitute the parameters for defining what makes children be viewed as at risk. At risk children should also be understood as having an increased probability for being defined as children with special education needs (SEN).

Special education – security and SEN

A term crucial to special education and often discussed is the formal right to education. It implicates education for all but does not necessarily mean the same education for all children. Subjects concerning who will receive education, what kind and level of knowledge will be taught, and under what circumstances and to whom, are thus themes that can be linked to different views within the field of special education (op cit.) (see for instance Franklin, 1994; Helldin, 1997; Haug, 1998; Säljö & Hjörne 2008; Nilholm, 2011). This societal angle within special education generally focuses on theorizing around the critical aspects of, for instance, democracy, equality and justice (Nilholm, 2005, 2011).

Further, the societal angle within special education generally refers to preventing and working against different types of barriers to learning – thus promoting the stated aims of the Right to Education (UN, 1989) and United Nations Salamanca Statements (UNESCO, 1994). The Salamanca statements specifically stress the need to implement inclusive education in order to work against barriers to learning and marginalization (op cit.). The main concern here is looking for different types of societal vulnerabilities in combination with issues related to participation. This implicates to identify potential societal vulnerability areas that may influence the number of children in educational enrolment: who is to take part, under what circumstances and under what conditions? These are questions that will be taken under consideration from a securitization perspective in the three studies.

It is within the societal perspective that securitization theory will be applied. Securitization theory should therefore be understood as an analytic tool utilized to examine security political angles and their relevance for grasping the societal perspective within special education. For instance, these would include societal settings and discourses that form and define children at risk. Thus, external factors that influence the usage and definition of the term children at risk.
Children at risk

The application of the term “children at risk” is usually built around societal and individual factors. According to Anderson-Moore (2006), the term “children at risk” is flexible and rather diffuse. Some would argue that all children should be understood as being at risk while some would say that there are children who face more risks than other children. Children identified as being at risk may, for instance, refer to their being disabled or exposed to abuse. Another view holds that children at risk should not refer to the children themselves as being at risk. Rather, there are external factors such as the environment where children develop that place them “at risk”. Possible causes could be poverty, low or no education among parents. A third approach focuses on community factors where, for instance, school-context can be considered a risk environment. Low-income communities with high crime and drop-out rates may be regarded as contributing factors for considering children at risk. Other community factors mentioned are toxins and pollution (op cit.). For example,

In most cases, “risk factors” are situational rather than innate. With the exception of certain characteristics such as learning disabilities, a student’s perceived risk status is rarely related to his or her ability to learn or succeed academically, and largely or entirely related to a student’s life circumstances. For example, attending a low-performing school could be considered a risk factor. If a school is underfunded and cannot provide essential services, or if its teaching quality and performance record are poor, the school could conceivably contribute to higher rates of student absenteeism, course failures, and attrition (Education reform, 2016).

Thus, several risk factors are mentioned that can be linked to societal as well as individual factors that need to be taken into consideration in order to define educational needs for those who have been categorized as “at risk children”. Further, the terminology of at-risk children is often interlinked with targeting different kinds of special education needs (SEN). SEN, from this standpoint, includes working against and preventing barriers to learning as stated in the Salamanca statements (UNESCO, 1994).

In addition, some educationalists do not like the use of the term at-risk because they see it as imprecise and giving rise to overgeneralizations that may lead to stigmatization of children. In particular, this concerns when the term at-risk is applied to large, diverse groups such as children from low-income households or minority groups (Education reform, 2016).
Children at risk, special education needs and barriers to learning

According to OECD (2012), special needs education (SEN) is country specific and therefore varies between countries in line with its national legislation. In fact,

Some countries define SEN using a general definition of disabled children, others categorise SEN pupils into more than ten different categories. However, differences in national definitions should not be exaggerated and do not preclude international comparisons of the available data (op cit., p. 1).

Thus, definitions and categories of SEN and disabilities vary across countries. In a similar manner to SEN, other barriers to learning are also country specific (OECD, 2012). A barrier to learning is anything that stands in the way of a child being able to learn effectively. A learner may experience one or more barriers to learning throughout education. A child with a disability will experience an intrinsic barrier to learning and will require varying levels of support. Barriers to learning may also be extrinsic, such as societal or environmental barriers. Extreme poverty, abuse or neglect will all act as barriers to a child’s learning (DoE, 2001; see also Vetenskapsrådet, 2007).

According to OECD (2012), there is a strong connection between what constitutes barriers to learning and SEN. They are not synonymous, but they both relate to overcoming potential risks of societal marginalization. However, together the concepts of SEN and “barriers to learning” share the essentials for what constitutes “learning needs”. The focus lies on what kind of support the child needs in relation to meeting the demands of access to equivalent education for all (op cit.). Here Sweden may serve as an example to show the relationship in education policies between SEN and equal access to education for all children:

There is no legal definition of SEN. In Sweden education follows the principle of ‘a school for all’ and the focus is on what kind of support the student needs – access to equivalent education for all. This means that pupils in need of special support should not be treated or defined as a group that is any different from other pupils and their rights are not stated separately. The obligation for schools to attend to all pupils’ needs is, however, emphasized (OECD, 2012, p. 10).

2 The basic learning needs of the people comprise both essential learning tools and the basic learning content required to be able to survive, develop their full capacities, live and work in dignity, participate fully in development, improve the quality of their lives, make informed decisions and continue learning (UNICEF, 1990, p.11)

3 Figures from 2010 show that in Sweden 96.3 % of pupils attended comprehensive schooling (OECD, 2012, p. 3).
From a special education perspective the quote above entails the formal right to participate in education without being discriminated against or treated in a manner that does not meet all the child’s educational needs. This intends to ensure that educational measures should be directed towards meeting all children including those with SEN and those at risk. Educational measures for meeting different types of special needs are thus relevant to examine within education reform policies. This is necessary in order to find out how special education reforms and SEN can be connected in international and national educational policies to target learning needs among children defined “at risk” and identify different types of barriers to learning. This broad definition of children at risk will refer to children who do not have the opportunity to take part in education on equal terms and may experience different types of external barriers to learning due to situational and societal risk factors.

Special education reform and the perception of threats

There is a great interest in trying to understand the development of special education reforms. Discussions on the subject matter often concern why implementation differ one way or another from the political goals and intentions behind the reform. Special education reforms that stress the impact of inclusive education may provide a typical example.4 After the introduction of advocating the importance of inclusive education in international settings for children with different kinds of special education needs, numerous reforms have been carried out in many countries. Also, a whole literature has emerged concerning this matter (see Nilholm, 2005, 2011; Franklin, 1994). Behind questions like “why-implementation-does-not-always-work” there is also the possibility to find issues concerning the motives and driving forces behind the reform itself. Here too, securitization theory – as described by the Copenhagen School – may provide a frame of possible understanding. Securitization theory will thus be utilized in order to help us understand special educational reforms as motivated by an interest of securitization, similar to what it is described within the field of international relations. From an IR perspective, securitization is often understood as a response to perceived threats to society. In the three empirical studies, it will be shown how securitization theory can be applied in the field of special education.

4 It is not the purpose of the thesis to define the concepts of inclusion or exclusion, rather to show the two concepts in connection to education reform policies and from a securitization perspective.
Often a security policy perspective is based on weighing the intensity of insecurities against other factors. National security is, however, a very complicated phenomenon. Indeed,

Each state exists, in a sense, at the hub of a whole universe of threats. These threats define its insecurity by the way they interact with its vulnerabilities, and set the agenda for national security as a policy problem (Buzan, 1991, p. 141).

Thus, differences in background between countries’ security outlooks influences the adoption of education policies in order to respond to different types of threats and societal vulnerabilities (see Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007). This is an argument that may relate to how special education reform policies are formed and established to reflect the societal and security needs of the state. Such an approach would reflect both the ideological outlook of the state in relation to the response to perceived threats as well as the educational needs of society required to obtain societal maintenance for its citizens. Hobsbawm (1994, pp. 76-77) states that the role of education can be seen as a state tailored discourse that contains the moulding of the citizen, primary education and institutional set up. These three components reflect the image of the state – its ideological and constructive components. Hence,

Thus, to consider education as one sphere where security policies are utilized for responding to different types of insecurities involve a considering how education and security are linked to each other. On one hand, there is the ideological and institutional set up of education. On the other hand, security issues and arrangements surround access to education. Access should here be understood in terms of the possibility to participate in education linked to educational rights, community building and societal maintenance.

A national report launched by The Council of Foreign Relations in the USA may serve as an example where security and the recognition of SEN have been interlinked. The following quote shows the connection between educational achievements and economic success and their effect on national security by stating that one can make

a compelling case that the failure of the United States to maintain its leadership in education ultimately threatens not just U.S. prosperity but its national security (CFR, 2015).

The report pinpoints a few areas where national security within the US may be challenged due to poor student achievements. First, although there is
sustained unemployment, employers find it difficult to find Americans with skills that meet the requirements of job-positions. Secondly, a high percentage of young people between the ages of 17 and 24 do not qualify for military service due to inadequate levels of education. Thirdly, the state and intelligence agencies cannot find people with sufficient language skills to meet the strategic security interests of the state (CFR, 2012, pp. 3-4). Thus, the country specific security approach is directed towards addressing vulnerability areas where the need for special education reform is supposed to meet the national claim of responding to different types of vulnerabilities and security interests.

The key issue in the above example is to find measures for increasing the knowledge base among students and to avoid children dropping out of the school system. Thus, there is in the above example a call for discovering children who are at risk and making educational adjustments in order to meet special educational needs and avoid poor educational outcomes that may negatively influence national security interests over time.

Children at risk, perception of threats and reform policies

Historically, educating children at risk in the early 20th century was connected to beliefs of deviance, the need for social control and how to restore social unity. Attention often shifted between focusing solely on children at risk and improving conditions so that education became accessible for all children. Those who stress focusing on children at risk tend to advocate differentiated programmes. Another aspect has been to differentiate through the curriculum by establishing alternative schools or schools-within-schools. These alternative schools may not only provide assistance for children at risk, they may also serve a particular “at risk population” – for instance, labelling indigenous populations as being at risk (Franklin, 1994, pp. 9-10, 139-142). From a security perspective, special education reform could therefore be understood as providing measures for security arrangements that meet different types of societal vulnerabilities in order to respond to perceived threats. A security approach that addresses the connection between ideology and access to education is therefore suggested to include the following: (a) education is a fundamental right for all children; (b) children exposed to different types of vulnerabilities have been classified as a concern for security analysis (see Tadjbakhsh & Carnoy, 2007; UNDP, 1994); and (c) it is important to widen the concept of security (Buzan, 1991; Buzan et al., 1998).

In the thesis, the education sphere, defined by Nelles (2003) as a matter for policy making and societal security concern (p. 24), will be evaluated.
against different types of insecurities, political incentives for education reform policies and the carrying out of these policies. The security perspective includes the perception of different types of insecurities at the global level, the national level, the societal level and the group/individual levels of society. The security approach also includes defining what constitutes children at risk, examining incentives for special education reform, and their outcome in connection to political ideology. Essential for the security approach in connection to special education are therefore issues connected to gaining access to equal education and targeting educational needs.

Figure 1 below describes an overall view of education reform utilized as a means for coping with insecurities. Figure 1 shows the suggested stages of a security response to threats through the initiation of education reform. The figure is based on ideas developed by UNESCO (2003a) and Bensalah (2002) concerning educational strategy planning during times of emergencies. According to Bensalah (2002), emergency and reconstruction issues will dominate the entire educational plan, although plans will vary greatly due to the scenario (pp. 7, 21). Four main stages have been singled out in the security response to support the implementation of special education reform. Bensalah (2002, p. 21) suggests that strategic planning is mainly based on defining and settling on targets in order to meet the threat. This includes settling on a fundamental framework in order to form strategic policies, allocate resources and implement educational programmes (op cit.). This first part is exemplified in the figure by defining the threat and settling on utilizing special education reform as an emergency response (Boxes 1 and 2). Next, emergency educational planning generally makes use of techniques of conventional educational planning even when states have been affected by an emergency (UNESCO, 2003a, pp. 23-24). This part corresponds to the third box and may involve different types of reforms. They will here be understood as special education reforms in a wider meaning, containing, for instance, the introduction of a new and sometimes temporary curriculum shaped to meet specific educational needs for children perceived as being at risk. Finally, the strategy plan needs to focus on the strengthening of educational institutions. This final stage includes, for instance, resource allocation and estimated time for settling on new educational arrangements (Bensalah, 2002, pp. 6, 26; UNESCO, 2003a, p. 24). This part is concerned with the implementation of the special education reform and constitutes the fourth box.
Figure 1. Perceived threats, insecurities and special education reform – an overview.

All three empirical studies in the thesis are supposed to reflect these four stages accordingly:

- the perception and management of different types of threats,
- settling on special education reform,
- the classification of children at risk and the implementation of special education reform policies.

Previous research on securitization in connection to special education

A search in the Proquest data base (Social sciences) on international dissertations and theses showed that securitization and education were displayed in texts (2018-03). It should be noticed that securitization in combination with education showed 2934 findings. The search for “special education and securitization” resulted in 2712 findings. A search for “special education” in combination with “securitization” and “Buzan” could be linked to 354 documents. In order to look for dissertations that could be connected to political and ideological standpoints in combination with the above mentioned search words, “education sociology” was added to narrow the search. Two dissertations were shown. Neither of these was within the field of special education or education reform. Applying the same search words within the field of education policy revealed only two dissertations. Neither of these two could be connected to the Copenhagen school of securitization and education reform. In the Scandinavian database Diva (2018-03), a search for securitization in research publications showed 61 results. Dissertations on securitization showed 9 results. None of these were in the education field. However, an article in the international journal The Pacific Review revealed an interest for the subject matter securitization and education reform. “Securitization,
Frankenstein's Monster and Malaysian education” by Alan Collins (2005) discusses the application of securitization theory in conjunction with the introduction of English as the teaching language in Malaysian primary schools, opposing Mandarin interests in the Malaysian school system.

A possible explanation for the low amount of dissertations and theses linked to securitization in conjunction to education may depend on the recent development of the securitization concept itself. Furthermore, the poor outcome of securitization in the Scandinavian database is a matter for further concern. Several reasons may come to mind. For instance, the subject may be of no concern for Swedish conditions since society as a whole cannot be defined as being exposed to severe danger and therefore the subject matter may be regarded as a non-emerging issue in the political context.

Outlining the special education perspective on issues of security

Based on the discussion in the above sections, there seems to be a need for further studies that examine the link between special education, security and securitization. A special education perspective directed towards security would focus on the perception of threats and how these perceived threats are communicated and applied within educational policies. The idea is therefore to illustrate – through the application of the Copenhagen School’s theory of securitization – the handling of vulnerabilities, insecurities and perceived threats through the initiation and implementation of education reforms in South Africa and Sweden. A special education/security approach would also address underlying factors concerning why the political level opts for different outcomes in special education reform policies. A security outlook thus adds to the recognition of threats and can be suggested to shed light on why politicians and decision makers decide between inclusion, differentiation and exclusion in special education policies. The meaning of security in relation to securitization theory builds on presenting and examining the impact of possible perceived threats on different levels of society. This would involve not only the policy level of education but also the lower levels of the education sphere.

A securitization perspective would also contribute to the assessment for understanding how special educational reform comes about. It may also add to our understanding for how children at risk are defined and paid attention to in special education reform polices. This is in turn connected to the emergence, reduction and avoidance of barriers to learning linked to perceived threats and different types of emergencies. Furthermore, in terms of viewing the security approach in connection to special education it has been difficult,
as mentioned above, to come across data that relate to these subjects in conjunction. Hence, the conditions for bringing together these theoretical themes have not yet been fully explored.

The examination will focus on the utilization of different types of uttered and communicated perceived threats. Utterances such as security responses in special education reform processes can be found in, for instance, international and national political documents, national curricula and syllabi. Thus, the intent is to understand the shaping of security measures and how these are being politically utilized in special education reform policies where the result is opting for a solution that intends to bring about societal maintenance. However, it needs to be noted that the special education perspective concerning the formal right to education is not always shared by the policy level whose foremost interest lies in arguing for state security. As stated by Buzan (1991) and Al-Rodham (2007), the protection of individual and human rights in connection with security implicates that if state interests are threatened the state may find it necessary to contrast individual rights with the overriding security interest of the state. Thus, it is between the interests of the global community, the state and the interests of the lower part of society where security policies take place – and where special education reform in its ideal form can be suggested – to share the interests of the IC and state, as well as individual rights and interests.

The global level and the state levels refer to the CS’ traditional utilization of the concept of securitization in the thesis. The utilization of the group- and individual levels in connection to securitization theory serves the purpose of this study to further elaborate on the utilization of the concept of securitization.

Disposition of the thesis

The thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapter 2 contains the theoretical outlook of securitization theory. The chapter starts with a general discussion on security and the implications of a widened security concept. This is followed by a presentation and discussion of the different parts of securitization theory and its scientific placement within social constructivism. In chapter 3 the aims and objectives of the thesis are presented. The empirical studies are briefly presented in connection to the aims and objectives.

In chapter 4, securitization theory is connected to the application of special education reforms. Special education reforms refer to political strategy planning – for instance reports, White Papers, curriculum design and educational law-making. Further, an overview of different implementation strategies in connection to the special education reforms will be discussed.
Chapter 5 deals with the methodological framework. Idea analysis (Beckman, 2007) is the main method used exploring a possible securitization process in education reform policies in connection with discourses that can be identified in contextual settings (see Balzacq, 2011a, 2011b). The data analysis of the different analyses of ideas, speech acts and the setting of societal contexts – where threats are perceived – have been compared and summarized in line with Trankell’s (Gustavsson, 2000) formal data structure analysis.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 are empirical studies of possible securitization processes. In these chapters, a widened security outlook is applied including societal-, political-, economic- and environmental threats. In these three studies the discussions are deepened concerning how special education reform can be utilized in order to respond to different types of threats – as inspired by the Copenhagen Schools securitization theory. This approach builds on developing the theoretical outlook of securitization theory so that it can be applied within the scientific field of special education.

Chapter 6 is concerned with how to grasp the intent and utilization of special educational reform and targeted education against the background of securitization theory in order to detect a possible securitization process directed towards the indigenous populations in Sweden and South Africa. The security outlook is foremost connected to perceived societal threats. The study examines special education reform policies in South Africa and Sweden directed towards the indigenous populations between the 1940s and 1970s. Reform policies included differentiation and implementing programmes of targeted education. Children “at risk” here concern societal and educational issues linked to identity, ethnicity and group belonging and equal access to education for all children.

Chapter 7 discusses the recognition and implications of environmental threats that are defined as urgent at the international level. The study brings up the perception of environmental threats and international claims of incorporating education for sustainable development (ESD) into national education. The starting point for the discussion is to see if these kinds of threats can be traced in national education policies in a manner similar to the international level’s claims for urgency and the development of a specific international curriculum that includes ESD and information on how to respond to and/or prevent environmental threats. ESD is here examined against recent reforms and curricula in South Africa and Sweden. Special education needs are here linked to maintaining access to education in environmental crisis-stricken areas. Children concerned as “at risk” are those who live in areas prone to environmental disasters and degradation where climate change may affect access to schooling. For instance, policies need to address climate change, improve infra-structural conditions and build earthquake or climate resistant school buildings.
In chapter 8 the onset of a democratic South Africa stands in the forefront for grasping the political development after Apartheid. Special education reform is put forward as playing an important part in the transition from autocracy into democracy, a transition that included several insecurities at the political and socio-economic levels of society. General reform policies bring to the fore the necessity that all children gain access to equal education. Special education reform refers to “White Paper No. 6. Special needs education. Building an inclusive education and training system” (see DoE, 2001). The definition of children at risk is here linked to different types of societal factors as well as barriers to learning as developed in the Special needs reform – White Paper No. 6. The study also contains securitization analyses that reflect two earlier studies carried out in a joint project between University of South Africa (UNISA) and Stockholm University (SU) on teachers’ attitudes towards inclusion and inclusive education. The study attempts to grasp the expressed fears among the teachers’ with specific emphasis on South Africa in connection to implementing reform policies.

The final chapter, chapter 9, discusses the experiences of perceived threats in connection to special education reform, children at risk and the measures taken in each of the three empirical studies, which may result in differentiation, inclusion and/or exclusion. Reflections are made concerning the choice of theory, conceptual concerns and the application of theory. Further, additional theoretical perspectives and organizational standpoints in relation to the usage of securitization theory are also considered.

The challenge of this dissertation rests on establishing the demarcation for a security framework in relation to special education reform where South African and Swedish policy outlooks on threats are suggested to have a bearing on each country’s educational policy. This involves not only the examination of possible threats but also the prospect and conditions for preventative measures. Further, a security approach includes moving from insecurity (addressing the security matter) to security (solving the security matter). The security approach would therefore have to focus on the impact of security as a process of transformation (securitization). If present conditions within the educational sphere can be viewed as contributing to further a de-stabilization of society, special education reform may be instigated. Thus, the application of a securitization theory in connection to special education reform policies serves three purposes in a security-building process: First, to understand the ideological meaning of the perception of threats; second, to shape security measures in order to accomplish security and societal constancy; third, to define courses of action for preventing further insecurities in order to maintain security. A time frame (see Appendix 1) gives an overview of important periods in educational policies, educational reform policies and the release of curricula and political decisions taken in both countries.

5 The White Paper No. 6 is based on international writings (see for instance UNESCO, 2000).
2. Securitization theory

Below securitization theory is presented and discussed. The first part gives an overview of the main ideas linked to the security concept within international relations. This is followed by a presentation of the Copenhagen School’s securitization theory.

Towards a theory of securitization within special education

The thesis sets out to introduce securitization theory as an interpretative framework within special education. An additional aim is to develop and expand the application of securitization theory originally presented by the so-called Copenhagen School of securitization. This means that the theoretical approach is first of all inspired by the Copenhagen School but also that the application of securitization theory should not be seen as a direct application of this theory.

Three aspects can be mentioned where the theoretical framework differs from that of the Copenhagen School. Firstly, the application of the theory moves from the fields of political science and international relations to special education. This means that the focus of the theory shifts from understanding how states act and make decisions to a focus that includes different kinds of actors involved in a special educational reform – from politicians and administrators to teachers and the pupils and families concerned. Secondly, threats that lead to securitization are present in this further developed theoretical perspective, which is first of all concerned with what reform actors may experience during securitization processes and what the possible starting points are for their intentional work of reformation. This means that the perspective of securitization is here regarded as both interpretative and constructionist to its character in the sense that the intent is not only to look for realistic threats but also for circumstances that could be understood by the reform actors as threatening. Thirdly, securitization processes will be studied on all societal levels. This part includes how the state settles on how
to manage experienced threats at the state level. It also includes recognizing similar and/or dissimilar threats experienced by different kinds of actors involved in the implementation of a special education reform and a securitization process.

The content of security

The notion of security can be said to involve several issues that face humanity. The idea of security contains imperatives for meeting vulnerabilities and our need to feel secure. Further, our need for security – whether it is linked to individual, national or international security measures – involves how we perceive and understand threats and the way we respond to those threats. Buzan et al. (1998) and Balzacq (2011a) suggest that the perception of threats and security response are linked to the subject matter of how we define security.

The definitions of security have been heavily debated and have mainly been concerned with conceptualizing security as wide or narrow (Eriksson, 2004, p. 21). Difficulties in reaching consensus about its meaning have been noted by Eriksson (2000):

Redefining security has become a seemingly endless discourse on what “security” is, could be, or should be (op cit., p. 1)

Furthermore, Buzan et al. (1998) apply the security discourse to the perception and display of security issues resulting in politics of the extraordinary:

[A]n issue is dramatized and presented as an issue of supreme priority; thus, by labeling it as security, an agent claims a need for and a right to treat it by extraordinary means (op cit., p. 26).

Hence, by applying the idea of security to a challenging issue in combination with stressing its immediate need for attention, the subject matter becomes upgraded. If issues can be classified as significant security concerns, the likelihood of their reaching the highest level of policy agenda increases. Concern, security and urgency are thus emphasized in order for an issue to exceed other subject matters on the political agenda. Further, security, urgency and threats are themes that can be found in politics relating to all societal levels – from the global level down to the individual level. The response to threats reveals the perceived degree of urgency among decision-makers.  

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6 Decision-makers include those on the political levels but also those who implement policies. In Chapters 7 and 8 the terminology of decision-makers also includes and refers to the school-
Securitization theory has mainly focused on the national and international levels of security within the fields of IR and political science. However, in the three studies below it will be shown that actions on other societal levels can express urgency.

Depending on the intensity of a perceived threat (see Buzan, 1991, p. 140), it is possible to decide if the level of threat has a low probability or high intensity. Setting the limit for when a threat is regarded as serious depends on political choice rather than an objective scale. Fear is a vital component in the perception of threats. Setting the limit too low increases the probability for triggering paranoia, aggressive policies, and waste of resources, which affect domestic policies negatively. Setting the limit too high may lead to a failure in timely addressing threats (op cit., p. 115). Thus, deciding on when a threat can be considered an emergency builds on determining the threshold for when a matter of insecurity turns into an extreme and urgent situation. An urgent threat is here equal to high-intensity threats that may have severe consequences for society if not attended to (see, for instance, Buzan, 1991, p. 140 and Table 3.2 The intensity of threats). Thus, depending on societal and political conditions, threats that are perceived as high risk are supposed to lead to high response; low perceived risks are supposed to relate to low responses (see, for instance, SOU 2005: 104).7

A widened security perspective

Earlier studies of security have mainly argued that security was a matter for military concern and the protection of state borders (Holsti, 1995). Traditional security – the Realist model – has primarily been concerned with military threats and the balance of power where states were locked into the struggle for power (Buzan, 1991, p. 8). 8 Although realism still has a prominent role in international relations, additional theories are seen in contemporary studies on security (Donnelly, 2000, p. 31). Contemporary studies of security have widened both the scopes and the ontological perspective of threats. Additional scopes involve the economy, the environment and society as a whole (Buzan, 1991; Holsti, 1992; UNDP, 1994). Education is another area that is claimed to contribute to stability and security (see Nelles, 2003; level where teachers implement education policies as outlined in different types of policy documents.

7 For a more specific outline of these matters, see Buzan (1991, pp. 114, 140) for the types of state, vulnerability, urgency and level of threats.

8 Realism – an anarchic world system where no superior actor above the state exists. Within this system – the realism paradigm – states have to relate to each other by balancing their power against each other (see Hetne, 1990).
The Copenhagen School also stresses the constructivist understanding of threats in connection to the onset of securitization. In short, this means that not just “objective” threats are considered but also perceived threats. In accordance with this constructivist view, securitization itself should be understood from the perspectives of the individuals or groups supporting it. All three empirical examples illustrate securitization processes involving special education reform policies that function as important parts of a broad security response. This outlook entails the idea of securitization as a political initiation where education reform policies are used as a way to reduce perceived threats in order to restore societal stability. The security outlook also includes the effects and outcomes of educational reform policies and – as will be shown in the three empirical studies – that the implementation of a new reform may create new kinds of threats at the lower levels of society. These new perceived threats may in turn initiate new securitization processes targeting these new threats.


For too long, the concept of security has been shaped by the potential for conflict between states. For too long, security has been equated with threats to a country’s borders. For too long, nations have sought arms to protect their security. For most people today, a feeling of insecurity arises from worries about daily life than from the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Job security, income security, health security, environmental security, security from crime – these are the emerging concerns of human security all over the world (UNDP, 1994, p. 3)

The following statements can be said to sum up the ideas of security and the spheres where the expanded concept of security interconnects with different types of vulnerabilities linked to each specific sphere:

Thus, the economist looks at human systems in terms that highlight wealth and development and justify restrictive assumptions, such as the motivation of behaviour by the desire to maximize utility. The political realist looks at the same systems in terms that highlight sovereignty and power and justify restrictive assumptions, such as the motivation of behaviour be the desire to maximize power. The military strategist looks at the systems in terms that highlight offensive and defensive capability and justify restrictive assumptions, such as the motivation of behaviour by opportunistic calculations of coercive advantage. The environmentalist looks at systems in terms of the ecological underpinnings of civilization and the need to achieve sustainable development. In the societal sector, the analyst looks at the systems in terms of

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9 Compare to Blumer (1971) how social problems can be seen as social constructs in being defined by society.
patterns of identity and the desire to maintain cultural independence. Each is looking at the whole but is seeing only one dimension of its reality (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 8)

A widened security perspective thus shows the complexity of defining what constitutes threats in modern society but also brings to the fore several areas that have previously been left out of the security analysis. Still, a widened security perspective provides a better understanding for various types of threats and their impact on different levels of society. In the following sections, securitization theory – as developed by the Copenhagen School (CS) – will be presented and discussed. Securitization theory draws on a widened security perspective and forms the theoretical frame of the thesis.

Buzan et al. (1998) mention five sectors where securitization takes place: the military sector, the economic sector, the environmental sector, and the societal and political sectors. The societal, political, economic and environmental sectors will be examined in the thesis. The societal sector involves threats to our social identity. It is about categorizing who belongs to a certain group based on “we” and “them”. Belonging is based on settling certain criteria linked to the contextual or societal setting, for instance, the sharing of cultural values within a group. Political threats are often difficult to de-tangle from societal threats. Political threats include threats to ideology, institutions and borders. Economic threats can be connected to labour and economic flows. Environmental threats are natural or manmade environmental disasters, which affect all living species (op cit.). Securitization theory will be applied in connection to the different, above-mentioned types of threats.

Although the theory is mainly concerned with the state level and the societal level – as argued by the CS – the theory will be developed in the thesis to also include the global and group/individual levels. This entails being able to examine the possible impact that the global level, groups and/or individual levels may have in a securitization process. Impact refers to whether or not it is possible to detect if actions at the global and group and/or individual levels contribute to or prevent the implementation of an initiated securitization process. This is shown to varying degrees in the three different studies.

Securitization theory – a constructivist security approach

Securitization theory draws on both constructivist and classical political realism where the main objective rests on defining securitization as a process-oriented approach that examines how a political issue is transformed into a security matter by an actor or actors (see Williams, 2003; Buzan et al., 1998). From being a theory which initially combined traditional and con-
structivist thought of security, securitization theory has developed into a further and clearer constructivist theory (see Eriksson, 1999, 2000).

The application of securitization theory builds on whether or not an issue can be defined as a security issue and as such become a prioritized area. The notion of securitization carries the features of a holistic view where security is connected to linguistic usage within the widened security perspective (Buzan et al., 1998, pp. 26-27). Linguistic usage builds on communicating what constitutes security. According to Buzan et al. (1998, p. 27), this entails “who can ‘do’ or ‘speak’ security successfully, on what issues, under what conditions and with what effects”? Hence, what constitutes threats and security rests on interpreting uttered arguments often linked to the political and societal context in order to determine if an issue can be defined as a matter of security concern:  

1. Existential threats – survival.
2. Emergency action – priority of action. If we do not address this issue at once it will be too late to make amends.
3. Effects if threat is not met – we will not exist to remedy our failure. In order to survive normal rules do not apply (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 26).

These three steps address in the securitization process the specific feature of securitization – its rhetorical outcome of who speaks and defines security

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10 In italics by the author.
11 Utterance may involve both speech acts and written texts. In the thesis, an utterance equals statements and content in text. Statement and content in text should be understood as speech acts.
and the contextual setting for security matters. The rhetoric of the securitization process would thus implicate (a) a definition of the threat, (b) how to meet the threat and (c) what would be the consequences if a threat was handled incorrectly.\textsuperscript{12} The following rhetoric of the post-war situation in Bosnia – where the Education Ministry promises to end ethnically divided schools – may serve as example. Expressions of existential threats, emergency action and the effects of a perceived threat that went unaddressed are articulated in the quotations below. The data has been taken from international e-news sites that analyse the political situation in the Balkans.

From a securitization perspective, the quotes below stand accordingly for the following: Quote 1 – (1) Existential threats; Quotes 2 and 3 – (2) Emergency action; Quote 4 – (3) The effects if threats were not met.

\begin{itemize}
  \item [A]fter the Bosnian war, which tore apart ethnic Croats, Bosniaks and Serbs, the ongoing school separation is sowing dangerous seeds (BBC, 2010, p. 1).
  \item The Education Ministry in the larger of Bosnia's two entities has unveiled a two-year plan to end the phenomenon of 'two schools operating under one roof' and unite children of different ethnic groups (Balkan Insight, 2012, p. 1).
  \item The problem of 'two schools under one roof' was not made because children wanted it, or because of parents or teachers, but because politics demanded it (Balkan Insight, 2012, p. 1) [.]
  \item It’s educational apartheid […] The young are taught that the other one is a threat to them. It generates ignorance and hatred and these are the main ingredients for future conflicts (BBC, 2010, p. 1).
\end{itemize}

The two first quotes seem to show how security needs are linked to perceived societal threats and politics in connection to ethnicity and belonging. The two following quotes discuss the effects of a securitization process where unity is not initiated. The final of these two quotes mentions the fact that the effects of ethnic separation may lead to further conflict. From a securitization perspective, the response would be to initiate a securitization process that brings to the fore the complexity surrounding the issue of ethnicity and how to address this challenge without leading to further disagreements or increased separation between ethnic groups.

Once a securitized issue has been solved, it should according to Buzan et al. (1998) be dismissed from the security agenda. After the security issue has entered the security agenda – and been dealt with within the securitization process – it becomes de-securitized. At what stage an issue enters and/or withdraws from the security agenda has been discussed by Eriksson (2000). An additional scenario is that an issue may be seen as a security issue but

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{12} Compare to Figure 1.}
will still not reach the agenda. Although perceived as a high profile security issue it is still kept off the security agenda (op cit.). That is, the security issue does not meet the enhanced security criteria to become a securitization issue. Further, based on the quotes above, the decision to end the security project of “two schools operating under one roof” would indicate that once the security strategy plan has been put into action, the issue becomes transferred to the policy realm as de-securitized.

In the following sections, we will take a closer look at the three units in the securitization process (see Buzan et al., 1998), as these build on the three steps of the securitization process. First, one must ask, what is threatened? Secondly, who defines the threat? That is, who claims the right to take action against the threat? Thirdly, who proclaims the effects of the threat if security measures not are taken?

Three units in the securitization process

The securitization process includes three units according to Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (1998). The first unit is the referent object and concerns what can be defined as a threatened object. The second unit is the securitization actor. This refers to who speaks “security”. The final unit in the securitization process is the functional actor. Functional actors refer to those who have a significant role in trying to influence the securitization actor. Functional actors are not part of the referent object or the securitization actor and do not always have to be present in the securitization process (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 36).

1. Referent objects: things that are seen to be existentially threatened and that have a legitimate claim to survival.


3. Functional actors: actors who affect the dynamics of sector. Without being the referent object or the actor calling for security on behalf of the referent object, this is an actor who significantly influences decisions in the field of security (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 36).

In IR and political science, the referent object is primarily linked to the state and its survival as a sovereign state. The referent object may also implicate the nation. If so, the referent object is connected to the survival of the people’s identity – for instance cultural identity (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 36).
In theory, anything can be said to constitute a referent object. In practice, those who define the referent object need support from a collective – citizens or groups – to transmit their ideas concerning what is necessary to protect. Recognition for what constitutes a threat is therefore essential in order to find legitimacy and support against a perceived threat. In more recent writings, Buzan and Waever (2009) have extended the referent object to include the global level. Threats towards the global include, for instance, nuclear emergencies and environmental disasters. These are threats, which need to be dealt with at the international level and generally involve different types of international actors as well as cross-border initiatives from states. Indeed,

Very few states have the capability to control these macro-developments by themselves, and so the appeal to national security has no practical logic unless it can be linked to collective action. (Buzan, 1991, pp. 132-133)

Global security arrangements (or security complexes, see Buzan, 1991) therefore take form in either regional settings between states or large-scale security arrangements advocated by the International Community (IC). Buzan et al. (1998) suggest that security complexes constitute the pattern of mutual references among its units and that this is based on the fact that states are independent actors within an interdependent and anarchic world system. At the regional level, they constitute, for instance, European states with different security interests. As independent states, they represent the referent object. Collective security does not require the different actors in the securitization process to view all security issues through the same lens, only that the actors acknowledge that there are top-ranked security issues they must relate to as significant while simultaneously pursuing their own security interests (pp. 169, 176). This standpoint may indicate that various views on security issues also influence how they are handled between actors at different levels of society. However, it is not clear if different types of securitization processes occur at different societal levels regarding a specific issue that would lead to a failed securitization process of that issue.

Securitization actor refers to someone or a group that performs the security speech act. Securitization actors are politicians, governments, bureaucracies, lobbyists and pressure groups. They argue from their own position the need to defend the security of the state, the nation, or a principle (for instance human rights), civilization or system (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 40):

13 The International Community (IC) is a phrase used especially by politicians to describe all or several of the countries in the world. The expression may also refer to their governments, considered as a group (Archer, 1992). Fassbender (1998) sees the UN Charter as the constitution for the International Community (op cit.). Thereby viewing the IC as identical to the member states of the UN. The terminology of the IC will be used in the thesis accordingly to the latter definition.
When states or nations securitize an issue “correctly” or not – it is a political fact that has consequences, because this securitization will cause the actor to operate in a different mode that he or she would have otherwise. This is the classical diplomatic (and classical realist) lesson, which holds that good statesmanship has to understand the threshold at which other actors will feel threatened and therefore more generally to understand how the world looks to those actors, even if one disagrees (Carr, 1939; Kissinger, 1957; Waever 1995d in Buzan et al., 1998, p. 30).

Some of these actors are in more privileged positions than others to perform the act of securitization (Bigo, 1994, 2002 in Trombetta, 2011, p. 141). This statement suggests that there is a power struggle between actors to gain recognition for what issues need to be securitized. In order to distinguish threats, Trombetta (2011) argues that there lies a difficulty in deciding who has the power to construct what constitutes a threat (p. 141). For instance, the ideology an actor advocates influences his or her perception of threats. Multiple actors, different interests and the perception of what constitutes threats therefore influence “the creation” of threats. Hence, in line with (Eriksson, 2000), the securitization process seems to include both traditional aspects of security, such as power interest, as well as political interactive models for communication.

The functional actors are those who influence the dynamics of the securitization process without being labelled a reference object or securitization actor. Functional actors are, for instance, the military industry, polluting companies, and NGOs (Buzan et al., 1998, pp. 36, 56-57). Functional actors do not have to be present in order to initiate a securitization process. This means that while examining what constitutes a threat, and those who define that threat, the functional actors should be understood to have a proactive role in the securitization process. By influencing the securitization actors in persuading them to recognize the severity of different types of threats, their role can be either covert or overt. This is an assumption that supports Trombetta’s (2011) argument that power struggles may lead to difficulties in entangling each actor’s role in the securitization process (op cit.). That is, it may be difficult to entangle the involvement and influence in the securitization process between the securitization actor and the functional actor due to different types of power struggles. For instance, who is responsible for intro-

14 NGO – Non-Governmental Organization. “Every international organization which is not created by means of inter-governmental agreements shall be considered as a non-governmental international organization” (ECOSOC, 1950 in Archer, 1992, pp. 38-39). In this context non-governmental actors are, for instance, exemplified by independent actors from the environmental sector in Chapter 7 in connection to ESD.

15 The presence of functional actors in the securitization process is not clear. Since functional actors are not defined in Buzan et al. (1998) in terms of being optional or non-optional in the securitization process, the conclusion is that functional actors do not explicitly have to be present in the securitization process.
ducing a security issue so that it later gains highest importance to the political agenda, thereby leading to a securitization process?

The audience – their role in the securitization process

A third actor is possible to detect in the securitization process, even though the CS does not label them a fourth unit. This consists of the receiving end of a securitization process – the audience. Although the audience is not defined by Buzan et al. (1998) as being a unit in the securitization process, they give further authorization or legitimacy to the securitization process by giving their support. The audience is in general composed of the citizens within the state. By including the audience into the securitization process, and into the decision making process of what constitutes a threat, the legitimacy of the securitization process increases (p. 31; see Balzacq, 2011b, p. 35).

Still, the level of influence from the audience in the securitization process seems unclear. Léonard and Kaunert (2011, pp. 58-59) argue that on one hand the audience consists of the ones who authorize the subject of securitization through an inter-subjective participatory process. On the other hand, the Copenhagen School downplays the role of the audience by stating that securitization lies in the hands of the securitization actor, thus negating the idea of the audience having a shared part in the securitization process. Further, Vuori (2008 in Léonard & Kaunert, 2011) suggests that an audience can be said to correspond to the function of the securitization process for which it is intended to serve. The securitization process can be broad and extensive and would then be relevant for a significant portion of the population, whereas other threats can be said to correspond to an exclusive audience only (p. 61). From this viewpoint, it seems reasonable to agree with the following statement that the audience consists not only of one but several audiences (Balzacq, 2005; Vuori, 2008; Salter, 2008 in Léonard & Kaunert, 2011, p. 61). This means that the position of the audience in a securitization process cannot be said to constitute one single audience in the securitization process or be related to size. For instance, an environmental emergency may strike only one part of a country. The audience in that scenario is initially those who in that area directly affected by that threat. However, if the environmental crisis spreads into additional land-areas, the securitization actors would need acceptance by those living in these areas to gain full legitimization of their actions.

But what happens if the audience acknowledges a potential threat and the decision makers’ do not find the issue a matter for security concern? In a similar manner, what happens if the politicians find a topic to be of security concern and the population does not acknowledge the possible threat? In
later writings, Waever (2003, 2010) discusses the limitations and delimitations of the audience in the securitization process:

Audience is those who have to be convinced in order for the securitizing move to be successful. Although one often tends to think in terms of ‘the population’ or citizenry being the audience (the ideal situation regarding ‘national security’ in a democratic society), it actually varies according to the political system and the nature of the issue (Waever, 2003 in Léonard & Kaunert, 2011, p. 59).

Still, the quote leaves out how to grasp the position of the audience in the securitization process, which means that the role of the audience nevertheless remains unclear. In order to create a foundation for further understanding of the role of the audience in the securitization process the issue of context seems of particular relevance. If context is brought into the process of securitization, as Balzacq (2005) suggests, underlying meanings of power struggles can be studied through the means of the audience’s support of policies or courses of action (p. 173). The audience of the securitization process can therefore be said to show two types functions leading to different behaviour in the securitization process: (a) they may opt to follow the securitization actors’ arrangements for how to solve a crisis in order to establish security and stability; or (b) they can take on a more active role as participants in deciding on what constitutes a threat. Hence, the audience are those who in the securitization process decided on by Buzan et al. (1998) – by referring to Arendt (1958, 1959), Waever (1990) and Huysmans (1996) – agree to what constitutes a threat. The ideal securitization process therefore takes place and gains support between an audience and the securitization actors. However, depending on the urgency and scope of crises, the securitization actors may find it necessary to leave out or even ignore the role of the audience. In those cases, the securitization actors need to act on a threat before finding the legitimacy of its audience.

Securitization and securitizing – acting on the subjective

Buzan et al. (1998) claim that the initialization of securitization includes the distinction between the subjective and the objective. Rather than stating that threats are visible objective facts, threats are viewed as being determined by the actors who make use of it. However, to see the act of deciding on threats is only partly subjective. That is, if an issue becomes securitized this is not decided by the individual alone (pp. 30-31). In the description below, securitization is described as an inter-subjective process. The inter-subjective quality is in the ideal form of securitization shared between securitization
actors’ and the functional actors’ perceptions of threats, including the shared acceptance from an audience:

Securitization is intersubjective and socially constructed: Does a referent object hold general legitimacy as something that should survive, which entails that actors can make reference to it, point to something as a threat, and thereby get others to follow or at least tolerate actions not otherwise legitimate? This quality is not held in subjective and isolated minds; it is a social quality, a part of a discursive, socially constituted, intersubjective realm (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 31).

For instance, environmental threats, such as tsunamis, can be seen and measured as objective threats to society. However, it is the perceptions of the threat that make politicians decide on how to act during an emergency (see, for instance, SOU 2005:104, pp. 101-182). Even though the effects of an emergency can be studied, this does not mean, according to Buzan et al. (1998), that a threat can be measured against an objective scale to establish what constitutes an emergency. Even if such scales would exist, it would not provide any help since different states have different thresholds for defining what constitutes threats (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 30). These thresholds for settling on when a threat becomes an emergency can be said to contain ideologically shared beliefs and values. They have been defined both politically and contextually, thus constituting the scenery and setting for when a security issue can be labelled an issue in need of securitization. To examine where these thresholds lie may contribute to our understanding of why similar security issues depart from the ideal and are responded to differently between securitization actors, functional actors and the audience.

The necessity to examine the contextual setting in any act of securitization has been stressed by Balzacq (2005, 2011a), in line with Eriksson (1999). Balzaq (2011b) points out that threats do not arise out of context. It is therefore necessary to capture the contextual setting for the meaning of any discourse. This involves settling on its social and historical meaning (p. 37). Contextual themes may involve the construction of society, its political formation, (class) structures (Balzacq, 2011b) and different types of interest put forward by different actors (Sjöstedt, 2011). Thus, the terminology of context refers to the strategic and pragmatic practice of securitization (Léonard & Kaunert, 2011, p. 61) as well as acts of discourses (Buzan et al., 1998; Balzacq, 2011a, 2011b). Consequently, acts of securitization build on defining perceived threats by cautiously capturing what constitutes threats to different types of communities. Including context in the securitization analysis would therefore suggest that societal settings need to be scrutinized for further understanding of the procedures surrounding the nature of securitization in a specific societal setting. This setting is what the analyst is supposed to catch in the analysis. Eriksson (1999) argues that since securitization theory addresses threats as social constructs, anyone who defines a security issue
as urgent makes a political standpoint rather than an analytic assessment. This means that the role of the analyst cannot be to observe threats. Instead, the role of the analyst is to settle on who speaks security, how is security defined, under what circumstances, and finally, what the consequences are when an issue is defined as an issue for securitization (p. 315). Thus, the analyst has to capture and search for how security is constructed within language use. This procedure entails to define the different units of the securitization process in connection to values, beliefs, context and ideological outlook.

Securitization as a speech act

The process of securitization is initiated and carried out through speech acts (Buzan et al., 1998). Speech acts refer to the pragmatic utilization of utterances (Johannesson, 1988, pp. 201-202, 378). Buzan et al. (1998) argue that the position that any actor holds in the securitization process influences its power. A speech act is thus claimed to contain social context, the social position of the speaker, and is socially constructed (pp. 26, 46-47). The usage of language and utterances in the securitization process can therefore be understood in terms of the relationship between language, society and societal phenomena. The following quote shows how the term of “security” can be interpreted in a political and institutional contextual setting:

Security is a power word, a “speech act” that operationalises state monopolisation of responses to a challenge once it is labelled a security issue (Waever 1995, 55 in Barnett 2001, 25). Interpreting a challenge as a security problem raises its status: it is no longer merely a problem to be dealt with through mainstream institutions, but instead requires extraordinary measures (Barnett, 2001, p. 25).

Trudgill (1983) argues that the speaker’s native language influence how the world is perceived. The native language is set up by series of categories that form a grid through which the individual categorizes and conceptualizes different types of phenomena, even to the degree where language is claimed to have an impact on society or even controlling the view of the world of its speakers (p. 24). From this standpoint, it seems reasonable to claim that the perception of threats rests on language use and different experiences between people due to societal context. This is an assumption that seems to be consistent with Buzan et al.’s (1998) utilization and definition of speech acts in a securitization process. This concerns the utilization and understanding of speech acts linked to a perceived threat among the securitization actors and
the audience. The following example constitutes a security speech act in a manner similar to that of Buzan et al.’s (1998, pp. 179-191) usage. The quote is taken from a Council of Foreign Relations’ report that stresses the connection between education reform in the USA and national security:

The domestic consequences of a weak education system are relatively well known. […] In 2011, CFR launched its Renewing America initiative, which examines domestic issues such as infrastructure, energy security, and the federal deficit that affect the United States’ ability to conduct foreign policy and compete economically. Education is a critical component of this initiative. A world-class education system is vital to preserving not just the country’s physical security but also to reinforcing the broader components of American leadership, such as economic dynamism, an informed and active democracy, and a coterie of informed professionals willing and able to live and serve around the world (CFR, 2012, p. x).

Thus, CFR as an independent actor attempts to influence the political agenda by arguing that education is a vital part of security policies. An efficient and stable education system is put forward as contributing to national security, economic growth and democracy. CFR can be categorized as a functional actor in a securitization process that tries to ensure their security interests stay on top of the political agenda. The rhetoric builds on both making one’s arguments heard in the securitization process as well as convincing others that one’s perception of what constitute a threat is valid. This outlook also causes constraint to power relations between actors.16 If language use is utilized as the means of power, constraints here relate to the position of power based on who utters them. Constrains are thereby not linked to the linguistic use of language seen in, for instance, language barriers.

In addition, Balzacq (2011a, p. 22) sees the securitization process as an argumentative process that draws on practice. Security argumentation is a discursive practice, which builds on the constitutive and causal features of language use. The act of securitization is consequently formed by the performance of the securitization actor to persuade others to agree with the securitization actor’s interpretation of what constitutes a threat.

However, the utilization of the term security in speech acts does not always indicate that a securitization process has to be initiated (Balzacq, 2011b, p. 32). Securitization theory, from this standpoint, proposes that the speech act emphasizes the formation of what constitutes a threat, not the production of threats (op cit., p. 18). Hence, the speech act alone does not create the foundation of what constitutes a threat. Rather, what constitutes a threat it is formed by the contextual conditions of the uttered speech act.

16 These arguments are true in any political process, but here power relations are based on a social constructivist outlook of language practice (compare to the Arendtian way of defining power in Ball, 1992, p. 21). Power struggles can also be based on serving interest, coercion, class, gender, etc. (see Wartenberg, 1992).
According to the theory of securitization, the speech act is of essential value to the securitization process since it both supports and confirms the presence of perceived threats. On the one hand, the securitization process is subjective in its verification of threats. On the other hand, the factual parts of a threat – for example the demolition of a society from a tsunami – define the confirmed parts of a threat. Further, it is in the speech act analyses that processes of securitization or de-securitization become envisaged. Figure 2 gives an overview of the securitization process.

![Securitization Process](image)

**Figure 2. Securitization – perceived threats and units.**

Figure 2 shows the political arena and the units of the securitization process in an amfi-theatre setting. Placed on the stage, the securitization actor first perceives the threat. The securitization actor may have been influenced by the functional actor in acknowledging the perceived threat. An arrow between the functional actor and the securitization actor demonstrates this course of action. Since the functional actor does not have to be present in the securitization process, it has been placed next to the stage as waiting in the wings of the political arena. The functional actor’s box is surrounded by dotted lines to show that its role is not always necessary for securitization to
take place. The securitization actor proceeds in the securitization process by planning policies to respond to the threat. These planned policies then become implemented, for example in a reform, in order to neutralize the threat. The audience are those who give further legitimization to both the planning and implementation of policies. However, since Buzan et al. (1998) mention that the audience does not necessarily need to be included into the securitization process, the lines of the boxes are dotted.

Criticism of securitization

The overruling critique of securitization theory, used in political science and IR, is that the theory itself is too vague and diffuse in many areas. It is also claimed that the conceptual framework suffers from several weaknesses by ignoring several types of securitization processes (see Leonard & Kaunert, 2011; Salter, 2011). McDonald (2008) claims that the securitization framework is narrow to its design and that the forms for constructing security have not been fully elaborated. Context is another matter for concern. The nature of the act of securitization is narrow in that it only recognizes the perception of threats as leading to securitization (op cit.). A different critique stressed that there were limited studies on when securitization failed (Salter, 2011). Still additional comments included the combinations of different sectors and that the political consequences of a multi-sectoral approach had to be further examined. Questions arose concerning whether anything could be labelled as a security issue and if it was possible to invent new sectors to address a perceived threat (Eriksson, 1999, p. 317). Four different themes will be presented that deal with the critique. The first concerns the role of the audience in the securitization process, the second deals with power relations and ideology, the third deals with societal security complexes. The last theme relates to the definition of speech acts.

Audience. Waever (2003, 2010), one of the researchers who developed the theory of securitization, has acknowledged that the theory contains weaknesses regarding the constitution of what signifies an audience (Waever, 2010; see Waever, 2003:26 in Léonard & Kaunert, 2011, p. 57). The Copenhagen School is also vague about the constellation of the audience in terms of who the speech act is directed towards. Thus, who is the utterance directed towards while settling what constitutes a possible threat? Also, how can we be sure that the audience has accepted what constitutes a threat among the securitization actors if we cannot define the members of the audience (see Léonard & Kaunert, 2011, p. 58)? Questions that can be raised include how securitization actors communicate perceived threats to the audience and how they gain support from an audience. Are there alternative measures for the audience to react to a perceived threat that have not been
acknowledged or expected by the securitization actors? Is it solely the securitization actor who recognizes what constitutes a threat that may have devastating consequences for its receiving end—the audience? This last question relates to both the legitimization of what constitutes the audience and whether it is possible to settle on what constitutes an audience’s size.

**Power and ideology.** Criticism mainly involves how to address political ideology in connection to the securitization process. This includes the political and theoretical implications of securitization theory itself. Securitization theory has, according to Waever (2003 in Léonard & Kaunert, 2011) mainly been directed towards ideas surrounding the set up of Western democratic regimes. This standpoint implicates that different states may have different agenda settings for when to call for security measures that have not been included in the theory itself. Weakness in the security analysis may be brought to the fore since interpretation of threats cannot only be governed by utterances or notions of security needs. By adding context to the theoretical framework of securitization, societal factors such as structure or culture may contribute to a better understanding of the securitization process itself (p. 59). Struggles can, for instance, take place between those who argue for different angles on how to meet a threat. Hence, who has the political priority in the securitization process? This question relates to the struggle between potential securitization actors who perceive a consistent threat but have different ways for proposing how to solve the crisis situation. What makes “the speaker” of security come out on top in the securitization process? Is it the political actor who has the best argument or are there any other aspects involved in this process by ignoring the audiences’ response at the local level (see Wilkinson, 2011, pp. 95-96)? This kind of outlook includes adding context into the analysis as well as looking closer into securitization as a linear implemented process. Wilkinson (2011) asks if the top-down approach in securitization analysis is the most relevant. By not taking into consideration that the beliefs of the lower levels of society may not correspond to the beliefs and values recognized within state policies, “local understandings and meanings will often remain unexplored and unarticulated in the securitization analysis [...] (p. 96)”.

Further, accepted beliefs systems and values are generally connected to the utilization of ideology and the exercise of power. However, incorporating values from the lower levels of society into the analysis may contribute to the understanding of how threats can become shaped and adopted by others, not just those whose power interest the securitization process was initially designed for.

**Societal security complex.** Another critique relates to what constitutes the referent object. Wilkinson (2011, p. 96) notes that the CS’ model is trapped around the concept of the state as the prime referent object in the securitization process, which complicates the matter of bringing additional referent

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17 In italics by the author.
objects into the analysis. Buzan et al. (1998) only touch on the issue of societal security complexes. Societal complexes function in the same way as security complexes (p. 169). Viewing society as the prime referent object within a societal security complex has been brought up by Kelstrup (1995). Within the societal security complex it is the state that has the authority to carry out power within its realm. If, for instance, its institutions or constitutional mechanisms are weak, it is more likely that fear of state power may emerge among societal entities (Kelstrup, 1995, pp. 183-187). As such, newly established states may not have found their institutional status and stability. By not having a stable state apparatus, this may lead to further instability through spill-over effects into other areas of society. Reform policies in South Africa prove as an example of this. Gumede (2008) states that the political governmental level in South Africa does not recognize or admit to different types of threats at the lower levels of society. The following quotes raise different societal entities’ fears and insecurities:

South Africa’s fragile new democratic institutions will be tested (Gumede, 2008, p. 261).

Poorer South Africans are now demanding democratic dividends: they expect democracy to protect them (Gumede, 2008, p. 262).

This disjuncture – between the reality of life in the townships and rural areas, and the shining mirage of the economic boom in the suburbs – has fuelled a deep sense of resentment among those on the margins. This is increased by the falling standards in public services, such as health, education and the police; sluggish service delivery; and rising perceptions of public corruption. These problems have been particularly acute at local government level (Gumede, 2008, pp. 262-263).

Still, the CS brings to the fore that it is within the securitization move where securitizations can be determined as separate or defined by each other within a security complex (see Buzan et al., 1998, p. 177; compare to Wilkinson, 2011, p. 96). This viewpoint implicates that societal security complexes may contain different types of securitization processes with reference to one security issue. Thus, a securitized issue at the national level may be handled differently at another level of society, a standpoint that suggests that a securitization process can be interpreted differently at any involved socie-

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18 Within traditional security studies this phenomenon is labelled the “Westphalian straitjacket” and refers to the state as the referent object (Ružić, 2003, p.2).

19 Security dilemmas in international politics build on the following: (a) the international system is anarchic in character and uncertainties and threats are posed by other states in the system; (b) response to threats are made in order to defend the autonomy and sovereignty of the state, including military defence; (c) other states may consider this as hostile and retaliate in a similar manner. The security dilemma is one explanation for escalating processes in the international anarchic system (Kelstrup, 1995, p. 185).
tal level other than where it has been initiated. This indicates that a securitization process that makes use of any kind of education reform at the national level may be interpreted differently at another societal level.

Speech acts. Speech acts in the securitization process can, according to Balzacq (2011a), be divided into a linguistic and philosophical use of speech acts and a sociological one where context has a vital part. The philosophical type of speech act is performed and examined in terms of sets of linguistic rules, which may complicate how to grasp the linguistic set up for securitization as an inter-subjective process (op cit.). The philosophical use of speech acts implicates that certain linguistic sets of wordings need to be followed in order to establish if a securitization process can be initiated. This approach may be difficult to put into realization since securitization is defined by Buzan et al. (1998) as an inter-subjective process. However, the approach raises the question of how to come to a shared understanding of what constitutes a threat between different actors’ since actors usually utilize different linguistic sets of rules and patterns. Another type of criticism is directed towards whether it is only by making a security utterance that securitization can be initiated. Hansen (2000) suggests that there even exists a silent securitization process whereby actors who, due to powerlessness, cannot make their voices heard still are able to find measures to securitize perceived threats.

Examples of speech acts are in the thesis suggested to contain both uttered and non-uttered examples of acts in order to communicate what is threatened. Non-uttered acts that can be connected to threats may be interpreted as communicating insecurity where certain behaviour is an act of response to the perceived danger. Further, an important aim of the analyses of the three empirical studies will be to develop securitization theory into a more general educational science theory that does justice to the extreme complexity of education reforms and policies. Also, the aim includes providing a new useful tool for analysis when we try to understand educational policies and special education reforms. The following chapter will address the aims and objectives of the thesis.
3. Aims and objectives of the thesis

This chapter brings to the fore the overall aim and objectives of the thesis. It further addresses the aim of developing securitization theory to include policy decisions at the lower levels of society and the implementation of securitization processes. The chapter also contains how securitization theory will be applied in the three empirical studies.

The overall aim of the thesis is to present and examine the usefulness of the Copenhagen Schools theoretical perspective of securitization (see Buzan et al., 1998; op cit. p. 14) in connection to special education reform policies in South Africa and Sweden. Securitization theory is proposed to be part of a special education approach where the securitization process is suggested to add to our understanding by recognizing children at risk in connection to special education reform policies and their implementation.

Depending on what type of threat we are dealing with the securitization process is suggested to have implications for the ways the political level settles on needed measures in special education reform policies.

The examination of securitization theory includes applying it to three empirical studies containing special education reform in Sweden and South Africa. A particular aim is to further develop the theory to include all relevant actions, actors and circumstances that may strengthen or weaken securitization projects. This aim refers to Buzan et al.’s (1998) discussion on how security constellations reflect all kinds of possible security interrelationships at all societal levels (p. 201).

As will be shown in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, my educational study intends to reveal the complexity of different securitizations processes going on – in some cases at the same time – and to explore this complexity more in detail. By scrutinizing policy ideas in text – linked to their contextual setting – this may contribute to the understanding of how securitization arises.²⁰ The dif-

²⁰ Contextual setting refers to ideology, beliefs and values within society. See for instance Balzacq (2011a, 2011b).
ferent stages of an identified securitization process is therefore based on the following: (a) defining the threat; (b) reducing the threat; (c) distinguishing any remaining threats; (d) determining the severity of such threats; (e) declaring, if necessary, a severe threat – and possibly the initiation of a new securitization process.

By describing and examining political decisions, it may be possible to detect how politicians look at, perceive and respond to threats through the lens of securitization theory. These political measures are in the three empirical studies suggested to embody a securitization process where the political consequences or outcomes can be seen in education reform.

The objectives of the thesis more specifically address the impact of security and securitization and their meaning in relation to special education reforms in Sweden and South Africa. The attributes of the special education reforms are further linked to perceived threats and/or security measures. Measures of security involve all levels of society.

The objectives are as follows:

- to view education reform within the special education field as securitization processes in a wider meaning, inspired by Buzan et al.’s (1998) securitization theory.
- to identify, describe and interpret the perceived threats – for example against children at risk – that are of relevance for initiating special education policies and reforms.
- to show how securitization theory can further our understanding of such policies and reform policies and their implementation.

The above mentioned overall aim and objectives are applied to and examined in all three studies. This entails developing an understanding for how a securitization process can possibly be identified in special education reform and reform policies for expressing and managing different types of threats. This will be carried out through examining the societal contextual settings from political and ideological standpoints.

Each empirical study forms a chapter. The third study also includes the results from two earlier studies (see Helldin et al., 2011; Nel et al., 2011). The third study therefore includes re-interpreting some of the results of these two articles from a securitization perspective.

Study 1. (Chapter 6) Apply securitization theory to the examination of educational reform policies in South Africa and Sweden in the decades following the Second World War. Emphasis will be placed on ethnic differentiation and identity construction in relation to special education reforms including targeted education directed towards the indigenous populations in both coun-
tries. This entails defining societal threats in connection to special education reform policies and their implementation. In comparing reforms over time, it is possible to see that, for instance, initiatives for targeted education seems to have been based not just on perceptions of pupils at risk for not gaining equal access to education, but also on perceptions of children as threats to society. Here, targeted education seems to have been the core of the securitization processes. Thus, it seems possible to understand the field of gradually changing reforms as a number of complex strategies to handle different perceived threats that have initiated a diversity of – sometimes contradictory – reform processes.

Study 2. (Chapter 7) Apply securitization theory in connection to the aims, objectives and realization of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) in education. That is, look for speech acts that express environmental threats as urgent and the need for developing ESD to respond to environmental urgency in international and national writings and teacher training programmes. Also, look at how the development of ESD in comprehensive schooling is recognized as being part of an education reform by responding to environmental threats. The special education field includes issues of becoming aware of how environmental threats may create children at risk in environmental crises in stricken and vulnerable areas, which may have profound impact on their daily lives and access to education.

Study 3. (Chapter 8) The third study focuses on South Africa during post-Apartheid. The main objective is to comprehend security responses in connection to policies, reforms and inclusive education against the background of the establishment of democracy. A societally-integrated approach to diversity and inclusion permeates the whole societal picture in which special education reform is a part. Two background studies (see Helldin et al., 2011; Nel et al., 2011) discuss teachers’ attitudes in South Africa towards inclusive education. It was possible to detect that teachers may perceive threats in connection to the implementation of inclusive education (IE). These perceived threats are explored and examined in order to understand what these insecurities consist of and how they may influence the implementation of IE.
4. Adding a securitization perspective to our understanding of education reforms

Special education reform policies are a kind of education change. During times of emergencies educational strategy planning focuses on changing policies and allocation of resources. Below, a discussion concerning research of special education reforms, education reform processes and a brief overview of implementation research will be presented. A schematic overview presents the different units of the potential securitization process in relation to special education reform. A new term – extended securitization actor – is introduced to facilitate as an additional analytical tool.

By adding a security approach to education, special education reform policies may be understood as one kind of politically employed response to meet possible contemporary and future emerging threats. This implies that special education reform constitutes one of many responses to the urgency. The utilization of a securitization perspective is here suggested to add to the understanding and awareness for how special education reform may contribute to the management of different types of perceived threats to values, institutions and society. Special education reform is in the thesis claimed to correspond to the operational parts of the securitization process. That is, how do experienced threats to society influence politically proclaimed strategy needs for special education reform?

Strategy planning during times of emergencies is primarily based on assumptions and the search for defining targets where planning is designed to meet the demands of the situation. This includes developing a basic framework for strategic policies, the allocation of resources and the implementation of specific programmes. Educational planning during emergencies also provides a channel for the transmission of teaching new skills and values, for instance, social cohesion, peace, democracy, human rights and ecology (Bensalah, 2002, pp. 9, 11, 21). Hence, the strategies for building a responsive system of education that meets the needs of an emergency rest on de-

21 The concept of education change refers in this context to any aspects of education reform.
veloping principles that emphasize the urgent requests for aid and assistance demanded by the specific situation. These reforms, designed to meet different types of perceived threats and emergencies, should in this context be understood in a wide meaning as special education reforms. A wider understanding of special education reforms can be connected to Lipp (1992 in Sage & Burello, 1994) and his description of perspective shifts in special education and emerging paradigms in special education research and education reform. Ten perspectives within special education reform can be seen, whereas seven will be presented here: (a) policy; (b) administration and (c) clientele; (d) curriculum and instruction; (e) support services; (f) teacher training; (g) interagency liaison (pp. 21-28). They are of relevance for this study in order to address special education reforms in connection to securitization theory and different kinds of perceived threats. These seven perspectives will be brought up to varying degrees due to their relevance within each empirical study.

The first perspective includes a shift at the policy level where general education and special education should be viewed as a single unified or merged system. This perspective focuses on inclusive measures in education moving away from two separate or parallel systems that “emphasize the distinctive nature of student pathology, independent of the cultural and social circumstances of schools, their clients, and the community”. The second perspective brings to the fore the administrative level and school governance. For instance, special education administrators and principals often disagree on matters of centralization-de-centralization including the design and implementation of programmes. The third perspective brings to the fore the demographic situation and that diversity among children is increasing. The living conditions for children in rural areas or in cities therefore need to be explored in order to find reasons for drop-outs or failings in education. Four, the curriculum should be directed towards planning and the desired outcome for each child instead of being a centred-structured instrument. Locally chosen outcomes are preferred to meet children’s needs living in different areas and under different circumstances. Five, concerning support services these ought to be locally driven, for instance, curriculum-based classroom assessment, collaborative teaching and peer-learning. Six, teacher training is essential for special education support. The final and seventh perspective concerns interagency liaison, for instance, involving parents and peers in meeting education needs. Youth initiatives to tackle issues of poverty and crime require new lines of thinking about child development and family (Sage & Burello, 1994, pp. 21-28).

The following Table 1 presents some examples within these perspectives that will be further elaborated in the examination of the three empirical studies.
Table 1. Perspective shifts for special education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From an emphasis on:</th>
<th>Perspective shifts for special education reform</th>
<th>To an emphasis on:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Policy</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viewing special education exclusively</td>
<td>Viewing special education inclusively</td>
<td>Integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segregation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centralization</td>
<td>De-centralization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ responsibilities</td>
<td>Teachers’ rights</td>
<td>Child centredness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucracy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Clientele</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unilingualism</td>
<td>Multilingualism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The dominant culture</td>
<td>Diverse cultures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homogeneity</td>
<td>Diversity of clients</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curriculum and instruction</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central design</td>
<td>Flexibility and local design</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to facilities</td>
<td>Access to quality programmes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal supports</td>
<td>Local supports</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialists trained to teach the exceptional child.</td>
<td>Training all teachers to educate the exceptional child within the reconstituted mainstream.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interagency liaison</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segmented services</td>
<td>Integrated, school-based services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the following discussion regarding education reforms, the above mentioned matters in Table 1 should be understood as applying to these discussed matters of reform policies and their implementation in special education as applied in a wider meaning.

Earlier research on educational reform

The following sections present a more general overview of the theoretical aspects of education reform to facilitate the discussion of how special education reforms can be understood as securitization processes in the three studies.

Education reform is a type of education change that, for example, can be driven politically, by economic factors and/or by civil society (see Daun, 2002a, pp. 33-69). New management schemes are introduced in reforms where the state, as a representative of the collective’s interest, act to ensure
that citizens’ interest are attended by forming a kind of symbolic social contract. This contract entails that the government is supposed to ensure the well-being and progress of its citizenry (Popkewitz, 2003, p. 30). Education reforms can also be analytically defined in research through explorations of discourses, societal structures and ideologies (see Popkewitz, 1991). Education reform can therefore be considered as a set of political practices aimed at changing present systems of education (Popkewitz, 2000). Education reform can also implicate teachers’ practices advocated at the school level (see Fullan, 2001). In the thesis, education reform is approached analytically seeking to understand its background, driving forces and how the process of implementation can be understood. Adopting a securitization perspective means understanding educational reform in terms of political motives and incentives for meeting perceived threats to society put into effect by the governmental administration and the lower levels of society.

By the end of the Second World War, education became a vital and expanded area. Education reforms were seen in many countries and were supposed to reflect national needs and requirements with special emphasize on the national economy and the national culture(s) (Daun, 2002b, pp. xxi). Curriculum design was based on functional ideas to correspond to existing social and economic structures (see Popkewitz, 1991, p. 141). Among the industrialized countries’ it was possible to detect similarities within education reforms but most of all educational reforms reflected the national development of educational systems being consistent with its specific characteristics (Daun, 2002b, p. xxi).

Since the 1980s it has, however, been possible to see an almost uniform development within educational reform policies all over the world. These policies generally deal with compulsory schooling and basic education. The main pattern here includes issues of decentralization/centralization; application of market forces in reforms; and freedom of educational choice. Within the area of market forces, issues of choice and how to organize the educational system are included. Other types of reforms include curriculum change, extended compulsory education, special teaching methods and/or the development of teachers’ competence. The development of this uniform policy pattern can be seen as responding to international claims of recommendations launched by international organizations such as the World Bank and OECD in an increasing globalized world. However, recent research has shown that, although universal ideas and standards of structures and administration can be seen, there is a tendency to develop national-specific curricula and to meet the lower school-levels need for diverse languages of instruction (Daun 2002b, pp. xxi-xxii). Hence, the scientific outlook on education reform is a multi-disciplinary field that includes themes of politics and economics, as well as developmental and cultural aspects. Further, education reform takes place at all levels of society and can be studied at the global level (see Daun, 2002b; Popkewitz, 2000), the national level (see Daun
2002c; Franklin 1994) and the societal and school level (see Franklin, Bloch and Popkewitz, 2003), including different kinds and categories of educational planning at the different mentioned levels. Another important component of the scientific outlook on educational reforms is to study the processes of reform policies and their implementation.

According to Fägerlind and Saha (1983), the pre-conditions for the educational reform is dependent on the education system no longer meeting the needs of society as it is moving towards a new stage of development. Horn (2002) states a reform is something that implies the correction of a deficiency in the current system without changing the structure of the system itself (op cit.). Strategies for the application of educational reform include promoting the adaptation of education to respond to the new needs of society (Fägerlind & Saha, 1983). Popkewitz (2000) argues that the reform in itself is the political practice that is supposed to administer dispositions of change (p. 157). Fullan (2001) further develops these lines of thinking by referring to Marris (1975, p. 121) who states that education change: (a) may be forced upon us; (b) can include voluntary participation by actors involved in the change process; (c) or rests on dissatisfaction or inconsistencies within the current education system. Further, in either case the purpose behind education change is rarely clear. At the onset and in the transition period the atmosphere is mostly filled with ambivalence (Marris, 1975 in Fullan, 2001, pp. 30-31).

Guthrie and Koppich (1993) define three pre-conditions that have to be met in order to initiate a reform process. These three pre-conditions include alignment, initiative and mobilization. For instance, a motivating group or individual may within the policy sphere provide the intention, direction and pursue interest to carry out the education reform (p. 12). Further, a reform is unlikely to be initiated unless one of the following conditions can be perceived:

(1) the value stream with which a prospective reform is most closely aligned must be dominant or ascending, or (2) a society must be in a period of substantial uncertainty regarding its value preferences (Guthrie & Koppich, 1993, p. 20).

Both these conditions are relevant in most cases – and this is also true for the case studies reported in this thesis. The second criteria will be in special focus here, as we understand the reform as a response to a perceived threat. In this context, special education reform policies may therefore be understood as a strategy plan for dealing with approaching and escalating threats. The following quotes emphasize reform processes as forthcoming insecurities for society:
All real change involves ‘passing through the zones of uncertainty…the situation of being at sea, of being lost, of confronting more information than you can handle’ (Schön, 1971, p. 12 in Fullan, 2001, p. 31).


The two quotes show comparable expressions for awareness in situations that communicate fear, loss of cherished values and that a threatening situation may be approaching. The following quote further shows the strong link between reform policies and matters for urgent concern:

Reform movements in […] education have been framed by declarations of crisis, with rhetoric of intolerable urgency, and visions of hope, with inspirational themes to guide principled action (Provenzo, 2008, p. 1)

Thus, there is a noticeable connection between perceived threats and the carrying out of education. During times of emergencies, the education system often undergoes severe changes (see UNDP, 1994; INEE, 2004). Depending on the severity and type of emergency, the state’s ability and/or willingness to support children at risk varies. These are important factors that need to be taken into consideration while opening up for new fields within specifically national security management. These new fields may include the utilization of education reforms (see CFR, 2012). In the thesis this involves viewing both the underlying reasons for initiating the reform as well as examining the special education reform as a securitization process responding to societal threats.

Understanding the definition of special education reform and implementation in the securitization process

When viewing special educational reform as a securitization process, it is interesting to note that there are theories on educational reform and more general social science theories that discuss experiences of different types of threats as starting points for action and change. Guthrie and Koppich (1993) build their analysis of educational reform on Downs (1972) and are concerned with viewing the different steps of educational reform as responding to societal problems, whereas Blumer (1971) more generally elaborates on the construction of social problems and society’s response to this.
Educational reform – responding to societal problems

Guthrie and Koppich (1993) argue that reform is related to a societal “problem” that crosses into the political arena. Thus, reform does not only occur if an issue can be solved outside the political agenda. If an issue remains in focus long enough it will gain attention and graduate to the political agenda. Issues of this kind evolve around aggravating circumstances and perceived critical matters such as poverty, racism and toxic-waste, where dramatic events may be the outcome if not attended to politically. This evolution of an educational reform is understood in several steps. The first two consist of (1) the pre-problem stage and (2) the alarmed discovery phase. A following step includes the realization that solving the problem means that significant changes and sacrifices need to made (3). In the final steps – (4) gradual decline of interest and (5) the post-problem stage – the issue moves into prolonged limbo and gains less attention and interest. As a consequence of the two final stages, new policies, institutions and programmes have been developed in order to solve the problem (see Downs, 1972 in Guthrie & Koppich, 1993, p. 21).

In a manner similar to Downs’ (1972) description of how the dynamics of a societal problem becomes defined as a political problem, Blumer (1971) explores how social problems are constructed in a process of definition and confirmation by influential groups in society. Thus, the constructed societal definition overrules its objective conditions. It is not possible to speak about real problems that demand solutions. Additionally, the processes of identification, definition and solution are always exposed to divergent and conflicting interests, objectives and intentions. Both Downs (1972) and Blumer (1971) recognize five different stages that the social problem passes through. Blumer (1971) suggests that the first stage concerns the emergence of the social problem. The emergence relates to the perception within society of a social problem. At this stage, the interests of the political power, powerful organization or corporations can be said to influence the outcome if an issue gains specific attention and is perceived as a social problem. If not – it is the same to say it does not exist. The second stage is about legitimization. The issue needs to gain recognition within society as a social problem in order to gain legitimization. Thirdly, if the two previous criteria have been fulfilled, the social problem becomes an object for discussion. This entails arguing for the need to mobilize action in order to meet the social problem. The next step involves forming an official plan for action. This takes place in negotiations between different stakeholders in, for instance, legislative committees. When the formation of an official plan has been settled, the issue enters into the final stage of implementation. In many cases, however, the plan of when to put it into action is often modified and reshaped, or may take different turns than those intended in the decision making process (p. 301).
Settling on the educational system: Centralization vs. de-centralization

Two different systems generally constitute the leading organizational set up of education: centralized and de-centralized systems. Weiler (1989, 1993 in Daun, 2002d, p. 78) suggests that de-centralization and centralization should be perceived within the context of where the state exercises its power in order to control and handle conflicts, increase its legitimacy and organize resources at the local level. Centralized systems can, for example, be formed around a single ministry of education, which is responsible for all aspects of public education. Examinations can also be solely administered by the education ministry. Another type of centralization refers to control over territory. De-centralization would then implicate the transmission of power to provinces or districts (Bray, 1999, pp. 208-209). De-centralized systems can be said to include the delegation of authority to the local levels as well as the assignment of extensive decision-making to elected officials at the lower levels of society (Winkler, 1993, p. 102). De-centralization is rarely overtly claimed as connected with the redistribution of political power, although it can be argued that this is one of its primary aims. However, democracy and the inclusion of marginalized people are often stated as important goals in education reform policies (McGinn & Street, 1982 in Winkler, 1993).

Different obstacles may, however, interfere with the implementation of education reform due to its organizational set up. Bray (1999) states that:

Debates about the appropriate locus of control in education systems are often heated and are usually difficult to resolve. The reasons for this are political as well as technical, for the nature and degree of centralization or decentralization influence not only the scale and shape of education systems but also the access to education by different groups (p. 207).

The transmission from centralized education systems to de-centralization include a state bureaucracy that has been perceived as heavy and slow; teacher deployment and payment and the maintenance of buildings are just a few reasons behind educational reform. De-centralization is argued to allow for faster identification of problems as well as more appraisable responses (McGinn, 1999, p. 9).

In developing countries, education reforms were a response to independence. These systems became centralized – in many cases at the expense of mission and local schools (Winkler, 1993, p. 104). McGinn (1999), on the other hand, claims that in developing countries central governments devolve management of schools to the local level when they can no longer finance them. In these cases de-centralization allows for finding the necessary resources that would not have been possible if education had maintained centralization. De-centralization is further suggested to help in clarifying who
holds responsibility. Administrative reform moves that have been made in this direction may, for instance, be concerned with limiting the power of teachers’ unions (p. 9).

Worth noting on teachers’ impact on reform policies is that if the lower levels of the decision making chain are not satisfied with what the political level has decided on, this may lead to a negative outcome in implementing education reforms. McGinn (1999) argues that it has been noticed that teachers have been successful in blocking reform when they have not been persuaded to see its benefits. This aspect has mainly concerned reforms that build on decentralization (p. 76). Hence, additional factors that influence organizational functioning and implementation are the level of motivation among the staff including the surrounding community. It is also important to assess possible risks and outcomes, professional training, support and available resources (McKee, Manocontour, Saik Yoon & Carnegie, 2000 in Whitman 2009, p. 29). Thus, settling on what kind of organizational change the special education reform will contain in combination with issues related to training, resources and support seem to be of importance in planning for educational change. Also of significance in implementing reforms is the societal context and actors within the community when putting a reform into practice.

Implementing special education reform and the securitization process

The implementation of an educational reform constitutes an important part when reform is understood in terms of a securitization process. Sage and Burrello (1994) argue that while policies advocate a certain idea within special education reform, local action is not always forthcoming. “Policy is at best a crude instrument that can curtail, as well as stimulate, changes in the intended direction” (p. 21). 22 In the following sections, an overview of the main perspectives within implementation research will be presented in connection to education reform. These perspectives will be considered to be of importance for examining special education reforms in the three empirical studies. This includes comprehending and defining the different levels where the implementation of the special education reform is supposed to take place in order to be accomplished.

Research and evaluation on implementation is relevant for several reasons. It can contribute partly to increased knowledge about how long it actually takes to make changes. It can also contribute to learning about what

22 In italics by the author.
factors can affect the process and the outcome of the change (see SOU 2013: 30, p. 43). Implementation may be specified as a “set of activities designed to put into practice an activity or program of known dimensions. It is a means of achieving an end, an instrument, or an agent” (see Senderowitz, 2000; Smith & Colvin, 2000 in Whitman, 2009, p. 20). By referring to Cohen, Halvorson & Gisselink (1994), Whitman (2009) suggests that guidelines may inspire and support change. Even though national governments and local schools settle on adopting certain approaches, they are often sparked by and fall back on the spreading of international guidelines (op cit. p. 22).

In previous research on implementation, a top-down perspective has been used over and against a bottom-up perspective. The top-down perspective is primarily about the role of the decision makers in the implementation process. This concerns research aimed at contributing to better decisions for decision-makers in order to provide them better knowledge to avoid classical implementation mistakes (SOU 2013:30, p. 44). The ‘first wave’ of implementation studies was carried out in North America in the 1960s and was concerned with why federally funded programmes were more or less ineffective (Fitz, 1994. p. 54). The starting point was that the results of a reform or measure should be in line with the original intentions. The perspective was based on a distinction between decision-makers and officials where politicians make the decisions and the officials in the administration implement these in accordance with the political intentions (SOU 2013:30, p. 44). These kinds of implementation studies were generally top-down, hierarchical and linear studies of policy processes (Fitz, 1994. p. 54). Critics of this perspective mean that this represents the implementation process as a technically and mechanically one-way process and that it does not fully capture how change in, for example, the field of education, actually takes place (SOU 2013:30, p. 44). In this context it should be mentioned that the securitization process as Buzan et al. (1998) presents it generally consists of a hierarchical decision-making and implementation process.

The ‘second wave’ of implementation research began to focus on bottom-up processes. The shift from top to bottom in implementation analysis had two consequences. The first concerned the unit (the lower levels closest to the reform). The second part concerned the methods of enquiry, especially how and where research should be conducted. Critics to the bottom-up approach claimed that it was difficult for the periphery to make their voices heard in the implementation process. Secondly, the focus did not include earlier reforms in the analysis and the influence of earlier participants. Thirdly, there was a danger of leaving out additional structural matters concerning, for instance, social, legal and economic factors and the perceptions,

23 In italics by the author.
resources and participation among actors in the periphery (Fitz, 1994, p. 55; Sabatier, 1986, p. 35 in Fitz, 1994, p. 56).

The research conducted in the bottom-up perspective can be said try to explain why a decided reform with high probability will still not be realized. This perspective concern variations in how individuals and institutions respond to reform and the question of what is required for a reform to be carried out successfully. This perspective can be said to have developed as a response to the top-down perspective and its assumption of rationality. In the bottom-up perspective, the working situation in that environment is a more relevant starting point for those who want to understand how change came about. In some areas, for example, education, professional groups consist of individuals with extensive professional skills. The tasks are of such complexity they cannot be regulated in detail. Teachers, for instance, have a relative autonomy in carrying out their work, and this can be said to include flexibility in how to implement reforms. In international education research, researchers have suggested that neither the top-down perspective nor the bottom-up perspective serve as starting points for examining reforms within the school area. Both perspectives are needed in order to understand the implementation of reforms and their effects (SOU 2013:30, pp. 44-45).

Initially, two different types of conditions have to be met in order to implement any reform. First, there needs to be political support for the reform. Secondly, those whom the reform policies concern must be able to carry out the reform (McGinn, 1999, p. 76). Thus, implementation can be defined as a realization or carrying out of politically decided reforms. It is a specific set of activities designed to transfer politically determined reforms into practice that will give the desired results (see SOU 2013:30, p. 43). Further, in order to implement complex ideas or complex processes, experienced leadership is necessary. This includes not only the senior level but all levels of ministries, communities and schools (Whitman, 2009, p. 26). However, many reforms are not carried through because the enthusiasm for change is not shared by enough stakeholders or actors in the process. Others fail because those who are authorized or given authority to carry out the reform do not know how to exercise their power. Examples of this include a lack in organizational management, skilled experience and decision making (McGinn, 1999, p. 76). Particularly problematic is attempting to implement policy reforms where the state is aiming to actively change the interaction of others. This line of thinking has been brought up by Rothstein (2010 in SOU 2013:30, p. 43):

It can generally be said that the more a policy is dependent of that the bureaucratic procedures are penetrated in depth, the less is the likelihood that it will be implemented in a simple way. It is easy to change a social security report it
Rothstein (2010 in SOU 2013:30) stresses two critical aspects that should be considered when implementing reforms. The first consists of the executive level’s understanding, knowledge and intention of reform. Reforms aimed at actively changing the behaviour of the target group to which the policy is addressed has little chance of succeeding unless these targeted groups are highly committed. In education reform, the results of a syllabus reform can be traceable in how teachers carry out the reform. The second critical aspect concerns the possibilities of reaching an extensive political legitimacy for the reform in connection with its implementation. The legitimacy of a reform cannot be understood solely on the basis of how well it has succeeded in terms of goal achievement. The actual design of the implementation is central to its legitimacy, especially when the policy is directed towards groups who are critical of the reform’s implementation in the first place (p. 44; compare to McGinn, 1999, p. 76 op cit.). However, the uniqueness of an organization may lead to challenges when attempting to implement a reform as it may challenge readiness within the organization. In research it has been possible to single out three general areas that are of importance to foresee readiness. They include strategic planning, preparation and functioning (see Simpson, 2002 in Whitman, 2009, p. 29; Simpson & Flynn, 2007 in Whitman, 2009, p. 29).

From the above discussion concerning education reform and its implementation, the purpose is therefore to outline security issues and perceived threats and to raise questions about special education reforms and special education needs in that discourse. In line with findings concerning the implementation of special education reform, it has been argued that securitization includes all levels of society. Further, special education reform is also about the organizational structure where the implementation of the reform takes place and the occupational and power relations between different stakeholders. In the securitization process, building on special education reform, securitization actors can be identified on three levels:

- The international level – the International Community (IC). For example the UN, UNESCO.
- The state level. Politicians, experts within education policy and planning.
- The group/individual level – (School level). Education staff. Principals/teachers. Implementers of directives from the national level.

24 Translated by the author.
Although Buzan et al. (1998) do not recognize the group and individual levels as the ideal for securitization actors to gain support for an instigated securitization process, educational planners and educational staff will be regarded as securitization actors in an educational setting. The reason for this is that the planners and educational staff are considered as implementers of the state’s educational policies. In their professional role as educational experts, administrators, principals and teachers, they function as implementers of education policies. In my analysis, teachers or other professionals acting as implementers of national policies will be labelled *extended securitization actor(s)* due to their position and their important task in carrying out and implementing the established education policies as stated in different types of policy documents. The suggestion that an occupational role or institutional body (for instance, the school) may possess the features of a securitization actor differs from the CS who argues that it is mainly political decision-makers who represent that role. In all three studies I will elaborate further on this and show the importance of the extended securitization actor in the securitization process. It could be added that it has been impossible to establish whether the CS includes more than one type of securitization actor in a particular securitization process that emanates from the political level.

Moreover, the education staff and planners are theoretically suggested to carry a twofold position within the securitization process. As individuals, they occupy for the smallest single unit of the securitization process – the citizen. At the group level, the citizens form the audience of a securitization process. As citizens, the group of teachers and different kinds of planners and implementers form the audience who give support to the securitization actor. In their institutional and performative role, they have to address the threat in line with the securitization actors’ perception of a threat. As citizens, they have to find legitimacy for their course of security action among themselves as constituting the audience. Figure 3 below shows the different parts of a securitization process containing special education reform, including the position of the above mentioned extended securitization actor.
Figure 3. Theoretical outlook for securitization in special education reform policies.

Figure 3 also sets the theoretical outlook for examining the three empirical studies, where special education reform is suggested as part of a securitization process. In a similar manner to Figure 2, the political arena and the units of the securitization process have been placed in an amfi-theatre setting. This includes the processes of planning and implementation, which can be said to equal the securitization process. The functional actor and the audience are optional and therefore set in dotted boxes. The box that shows the position of the extended securitization actor in the securitization process shows that it is partly the implementation of special education reforms and partly the audience. Security response takes place between the securitization actor and the extended securitization actor through planning. This is shown in a three-armed arrow. By following the vertical double-pointed arrow between the implementation of special education reforms and the audience, the educational staff is shown to simultaneously constitute part of the audience while functioning as an implementer of education reform.
5. Method

Securitization theory does not imply a specific methodology. In fact, earlier research within this perspective reflects a great variety of methodological views and analytical tools, for instance text analysis in connection to ideas, beliefs and ideological standpoints related to securitization processes. Here, the content of texts describing experienced threats, argumentation for various securitizations, and their contextual setting are important components of the analysis. My basic methodological approach is interpretative, framing the growing understanding in a securitization theory perspective of what is first of all usually referred to as a sociological, securitization perspective. More concretely, texts are analysed thematically and summarized together with the contextual analyses of the securitization processes. The focus has been on the experienced threat and how it has been expressed and managed by different actors and the audience. An all-embracing interpretative structural data analysis has been used to explore and test the interpretation emerging in the analysis of different parts of the data. Ethical outlooks, limitations and de-limitations are also accounted for in the chapter.

As stated earlier in the thesis, the general aim is to introduce securitization theory as a point of departure for understanding educational reforms, especially by focussing on security policy agendas and securitization processes (op cit. p. 14). From a methodological standpoint, this is done by applying an interpretive approach based on text analyses in order to understand the underlying reasons for initiating education reforms.

The interpretation of texts builds on Beckman (2007) and his definitions of ideas and ideology in connection to text analyses (op cit.). In order to understand the selected special educational reforms, the reforms will be interpreted as expressions of securitization processes, focussing on the secu-
ritization actors, their intentions, securitization moves and statements, the reaction of the audience and the functional actors.\footnote{See, for instance, Collins, A. (2005) interpreting governmental strain on language use in comprehensive education and education reform as a securitization process in Malaysian education.}

Furthermore, as an all-embracing interpretive approach, formal data structure analysis is used to summarize the results of the text analysis and the partial interpretations of the securitization processes. The strength of the formal data structure analysis (see Trankell 1971 in Gustavsson, 2000) is that it allows the researcher to include partial analyses of, for example, the content of specific words or phrases related to security, urgency, education reform, planning and children at risk in a comprehensive, summarizing and interpretative manner in connection to securitization moves and actions. Balzacq (2011a) states that in securitization studies, analyses of ideas, ideologies and texts put against the background of a securitization project have often been discussed in terms of a sociological perspective. Ideas of securitization are also being linked to certain sociological discourses (pp. 11-30):

The semantic repertoire of security is a combination of textual meaning – knowledge of the concept acquired through language (written and spoken) – and cultural meaning – knowledge gained through previous interactions and current situations (op cit., p. 11).

The two first empirical studies (Chapters 6 and 7) focus on official texts and critical literature describing education policies and programmes. Here, a sociological, securitization outlook is applied in the sense that I read the texts against the background of the current societal settings, where utterances linked to securitization can be expected to be created and established. Utterances in official documents and critical literature reflect the ideas of the ideology, belief systems and values of the societal settings. Official texts are first of all analysed from the perspective of idea analysis with the intent of displaying overt and covert discourses directed towards the initiation of securitization and the securitizing move. Thus, the text analysis includes policy argumentation, policy content and context (see Beckman, 2007) in relation to the perception of threats, type of threat and the securitization move.

In the following Chapter 8, securitization processes are studied in terms of national policies directed towards the local level. More specifically, the teachers engaged in special education reforms concerned with implementing inclusive education at the local level are studied with a focus on attitudes towards inclusion among teachers in Sweden and South Africa.
Methodological positioning of securitization

Balzacq (2011a) distinguishes between two different types of securitization approaches – the philosophical and the sociological. The philosophical securitization process is concerned with the linguistic use and determination of different types of speech acts from linguistic theory (op cit.). For instance, linguistically marked speech acts that build on grammatically marked (different types of sentences) or lexically marked sentences can be labelled as performatives. These types of speech acts are linguistic utterances that exist without being put into a certain context (Johannesson, 1988, pp. 222-223). The sociological securitization approach constitutes the scientific positioning of the social processes involved for deriving securitization in utterances. This means that the sociological securitization process is about utterances that are placed within a certain context (Balzacq, 2011a). They can be exemplified with what Johannesson (1988) defines as linguistically unmarked speech acts. They include discourse acts that are based on the hearers’ knowledge, the speaker and the topic. These types of speech acts also include the effects they have on the hearer, for instance, fright, amusement, and anger (p. 223). Buzan et al. (1998) suggest:

The analysis should be conducted on texts that are central in the sense that if a security discourse is operative in this community, it should be expected to materialize in this text because this occasion is sufficiently important (ch. Waever 1989a: 190ff). The logic is that if a securitization is socially empowered in a given society (when “a” argues that all of A is threatened by B, this is generally accepted as valid and powerful, and “a” thereby gains acceptance for doing x), we should expect “a” to use this argument whenever a debate is sufficiently important. Since the security argument is a powerful instrument, it is against its nature to be hidden (p. 177).

A complete analysis will also include more traditional political analysis of units interacting, facilitating conditions, and […] of security complex theory (p. 177).

A sociological approach to securitization therefore includes examining utterances and interactions between the different types of actors involved in the securitization move, which starts the securitization process in order to grasp the content and context. This standpoint also includes defining the societal levels involved in the securitization process. As argued by Ciuta

26 Compare to Buzan et al. (1998), who build their argument around Austin (1975), who distinguishes between two categories of speech acts: (1) the linguistic-grammatical, which follows the internal and grammar usage of language and (2) the external, social and contextual, which hold the position from where the action takes place (p. 32)
27 Utterances refer to written text and statements in documents and literature.
(2009), the examination of utterances is here connected to the sociological construction of perceived threats and why a specific group of people accept them as such (p. 303; see Glover, 2011). This is in order to determine if we are dealing with a security issue, the significance of which can vary depending on how the issue is linked to its contextual setting (Ciuta, 2009, pp. 313, 317-319). From a methodological perspective, the sociological securitization process will constitute the theoretical positioning for understanding the contextual setting for the perception of threats, political response and the initiation education reforms. Balzacq’s (2011a) distinction of viewing securitization from a sociological perspective – generally directed towards the scientific fields of political science and international relations – will here be utilized within the scientific field of education and more specifically within the field of special education.

In summary, data collected in order to explore the sociological aspects of securitization are as follows:

(a) defining and examining context in connection to perceived threats;
(b) defining and interpreting linguistic usage within this context linked to perceived threats;
(c) defining and examining how threats are addressed from an interactive angle between stakeholders;
(d) acknowledging security practices within the political apparatus respond to threats.

The securitization process - proximate and distal context

The contextual setting of a securitization process needs to be scrutinized in order to define a possible sociological securitization process. This manner consists of providing a background for the interpretation of the securitization process, including understanding the actors’ perceptions, intentions, actions and reactions. Balzacq (2011b) has identified two types of context within the sociological securitization process – proximal context and distal context (op cit.). Cupach, Canary and Spitzberg (2009) argue that proximal context consists of goals, rules, emotions and attributions, while distal context concerns culture, dispositions, history-relationship-definition, prior conflict outcomes and knowledge (p. 34). These two types of contexts form the frame for analysing and understanding the argumentative “value” of speech acts in order to settle on whether or not securitization is a productive understanding. This part includes looking for speech acts that can be considered in terms of expressing security needs and security measures as urgent.

Proximate context includes in the securitization process the securitization move and is related to the questions of who, what, where, when and to whom and what will be the effect. Proximate context refers to "immediate features
of interaction” (Hardy, 2004, p. 417 in Wilkinson, 2011, p. 97). 28 From a securitization perspective, this implies defining the conceptual setting for the securitization move:

[This]... ‘includes the stage on which it is made, the genre in which it is made, the audience to which it is pitched, and the reception of the audience’ (Salter, 2008, p. 328 in Wilkinson, 2011, p. 97-98).

Thus, proximal context is here suggested to include and define the conceptual settings for perceived threats and the securitization items – the referent object, securitization actors, functional actors and audience. Wilkinson (2011) refers to this as the micro-environment of the securitization setting (p. 98).

Distal context is a broader concept than proximate context and can, for instance, be used in cross-cultural research. A distal context perspective of securitization may uncover a local understanding of security formation and how it is created. This is the domain of “local knowledge” in contrast to “expert knowledge”. It goes under the wordings of experimental, context specific, tacit, everyday and practice-based (Yannow, 2004 in Wilkinson, 2011, p. 99). Cupach, Canary and Spitzberg (2009) claim that distal context is part of the background characteristics prior to a specific conflict episode. Factors related to distal context include culture, relationship and history, for instance, the cultural environment in which one lives. Distal context is related to communicative competence (pp. 33, 162), hence distal context refers to the wider contextual setting where the securitization process takes place. Distal context refers to the contextual settings for where the above mentioned “dispositifs” are acknowledged and where threats are perceived. Distal context sets the security position and forms the background for where the securitization actors, functional actors and audience meet in order to respond to threats:

[D]istal context refers to the macro-environment of the securitization move; that is, the broader socio-cultural context in which it is embedded: matters of social class and ethnicity, regional and cultural settings, and the sites of discourse […] (Wilkinson, 2011, p. 98).

This implies that in the securitization processes the distal context provides the background for understanding the securitization move whereas the proximal context merely identifies the type of perceived threat and the items of the securitization process.

28 In italics in Wilkinson (2011, p. 97).
Idea analysis – argumentation, content and context

Beckman (2007) states that the utilization of idea analysis is a method where political texts and utterances can be studied systematically (p. 9). Idea analysis should here be understood as meeting the requirements of Balzacq’s (2011a) sociological securitization approach where argumentative processes take place within different types of practices (op cit.). Political ideas can be said to have a large impact on societal development, and it is therefore important to analyse and critically scrutinize the political message (Beckman, 2007, p. 9). However, in a more exclusive sense, policies bring to the fore ideas that do not always mirror societal values (see Liedman, 2012, pp. 4-5) Thus, there is a distinction between expressing political standpoints and their application in policies, which needs to be recognized and brought into the examination.

Idea analysis can, for instance, be said to consist of discovering and capturing the constructed component of a perceived threat, societal conditions, the argumentative aspects of security and the legitimization of securitization. Thus, idea analysis facilitates in line with Wilkinson’s (2011) statement that the security aspect should be examined in relation to other relevant actions and events (p. 98). In the three studies, the security aspect is examined in speech acts linked to education reform policies. Wilkinson (2011) continues that with the utilization of an interpretative method, it is possible to reengage with the event or situation (op cit.). This will be accomplished by focussing on examining utterances, statements, ideas and definitions of ideology.

The idea analysis builds on ideas developed by Beckman (2007), who claims that it is within the political debate where political ideologies and arguments are formed and articulated. Idea analysis is a generic term for different types of possible combinations used to examine aims, questions and methods while scrutinizing political messages. Idea analysis is the scientific study of political ideas and communication. Questions asked build on what is being said; what interpretations are feasible and reasonable? More specifically, idea analysis contain three attributes: to describe and interpret the meaning of political ideas (argumentative), to consider the sustainability of political ideas (content) and to explain the occurrence or consequences of political ideas (context) (pp. 9, 11, 14). These three attributes will be combined in the examination of the securitization process.

The argumentative part of interpreting political ideas includes how perceived threats are established in the political rhetoric of speech acts. That is the argumentative feature and construction of the threat (ideological definition of threats) and the ideological argumentation for achieving security (ar-

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29 Words within brackets are the terminology used by Beckman (2007) for identifying the different types of attributes in idea analysis.
guing for the need of securitization). A short clarification of the meaning of content and context seems however necessary.

Content and context, as defined by Beckman (2007) can be said to correspond to the ideas of proximate and distal context seen from a sociological securitization perspective (see Balzacq, 2011a, 2011b). Content in the idea analysis expresses the initiation and process of securitization and its authorization. It seems reasonable to suggest that this attribute can be connected to the way Balzacq (2011b) treats the proximate context as part of the securitization process. It relates to what needs to be protected (the referent object). Content (the proximate context) is directed towards defining “who speaks security”. This part of the securitization process involves the securitization actor and the functional actor. The audience – will be defined as the receiving end of the authorized political ideas launched by the securitization actors in the securitization process.

Context – viewed from the perspective of idea analysis – is here suggested to correspond to distal context in the securitization process where societal background factors such as history and culture contribute to the initiation of securitization. The distal can consequently be said to transmit the values and beliefs of society among its populations and relate to the third attribute of how to evaluate the occurrence and consequences of political ideological statements and decisions. In idea analysis, this may, for instance, include examining ideological ideas related to the set up and establishment of the nation state and political and ideological needs for safeguarding interests and values while responding to urgent situations and emergencies.

The methodological and analytical procedure

The intent of the idea analysis is thus to produce and facilitate in giving a coherent picture of an event that examines the likelihood of a securitization process placed into the sociological securitization framework. This approach entails examining the argumentation of political ideas and statements in connection to distal and proximate context. According to Buzan et al. (1998), a successful securitization process contains three components: (a) a definition of the (societal) threat; (b) a plan for how to meet the threat by determining emergency action to respond to the perceived threat and (c) a conception of what the consequences would be if the threat were not managed correctly (p. 26). The examination of data would thus include the following steps in order to recognize a securitization process and the underlying reasons for initiating special education reform:
Define and explain the systematic use and meaning of societal ideas in relation to perceived threats and emergency responses. This includes examining the meaning, content and context of ideas to settle on their political usage and positioning in the text analysis.

- Look for and present utterances and speech acts that express urgency and/or perceived threats.
- Include silence as part of a non-uttered securitization process. This manner will be especially considered in chapter 8 where the receptiveness among teachers towards perceived threats is being scrutinized.

Text and idea analyses, within the frame of interpretation of ideology and policy positioning, thus constitutes the building blocks necessary for discovering what impact perceived threats may have on the planning and carrying out of education reform policies.

In order to coordinate the specific analysis of the different relevant aspects of the empirical studies, an analytical procedure based on formal structural data analysis (see Gustavsson, 2000) has been used. This approach allows the researcher to evaluate and summarize more specific analyses of the selected empirical findings in order to answer the wider question of how the whole subject matter can be understood. Against the background of its proximal and distal contexts, the results from all analyses are then brought together at an overarching level.

The structural data analysis can therefore be said to include both the examination of data as well as guide the ongoing methodological process. The structural data analysis includes three steps. First, a formulative step, which includes preparation for interpretation by formulating certain criteria for seeking answers, in terms of data, to specific questions. These data are in the thesis signified through documented expressions that make sense and are relevant for the securitization process. This implies one should look for data that is not categorized as being directly available for observation. Instead, data is studied indirectly through the interpretation of texts in order to grasp their inner meaning. The second step is, based on the gathered data, to formulate plausible interpretations, whereas the third step implicates examining the data against all present information in accordance with the earlier settled criteria. Concerning steps 2 and 3, the interpretation process moves back and forth between these steps throughout the whole process of data examination (Gustavsson, 2000, pp. 11-13). The examination thus includes deciphering the data through different steps of interpretation in order to find out how securitization theory can contribute to our understanding of a specific education reform. The basic idea of the data structure analysis is to find specifically articulated as well as non-specific articulated speech acts that seem to be reasonable statements for further interpretation and also possible links to
the aims of the study. This step was followed by singling out interpretations
that contained criteria that could be linked to the research question for fur-
ther interpretation. In the following paragraphs, the procedure for structural
data analysis in the three empirical studies will be presented.

Limitations, delimitations, sources and source criticism

The starting point for outlining the limitations and delimitations of the three
empirical studies is first of all guided by the aims and objectives of the thesis
where the criteria for the following exploration of securitization theory in
connection to special education reform policies has been set. This entails
theoretically exploring how these and similar studies can be understood by
reference to securitization theory.

The data mainly contain data from two periods. The first study (Chapter
6) relates to the period 1945-1980s. The second and third studies (Chapters 7
and 8) mainly contain data from 1990s- to the present. The data in all studies
consist of political documents and literature related to security, security poli-
cies, education reform policies and themes within special education connect-
ed to children at risk.

In Chapter 6, the educational material presented in the South African syl-
labus during Apartheid, along with their teaching methods, were regarded as
primary sources. Texts describing the pedagogical consequences and out-
comes of Swedish and South African education change processes were
claimed as secondary sources. The examination involved defining ideologi-
cal standpoints and critically scrutinizing the argumentation and verifica-
tion of data regarding content and context in secondary sources. The low amount
of primary sources available can be said to have de-limited and influenced
the profundity of the data structural analysis.

In Chapter 7, the data was at the beginning guided by the international
claims of environmental security before analysing national documents. The de-limitations of data were influenced by the availability of ESD policy doc-
uments at the national level in both South Africa and Sweden. (This is still a
new area and under development).

In Chapter 8, the limitation of the study was initially based on the scien-
tific frame and design of two former studies (see Helldin et al., 2011 and Nel
et al., 2011). The limitations were here set in connection to ideological out-
looks on democratic values, education reform and special education reform
policies. Threats against the development of democracy were then scruti-
nized. Interpretation of selected results in Nel et al. (2011) related to per-
ceived threats at the teacher level guided the search for additional data. Con-
cerning the South African study (see Nel et al., 2011), the de-limitations can
be linked to the distribution of questionnaires that took place in the selected
geographical areas of Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) along with the targeted groups of teachers attending a conference.

Ethical concerns

Ethical matters for concern in the dissertation relate to content and usage of language and vocabulary in connection to different themes of rights, data and conduct of research. Ethical principles are in the study based on four guiding ethical codes expressed by the Swedish Research Council (2011). These four principles include: 1. information consent; 2. avoidance of risk; 3. publication and 4. retention and archiving of material.

Ethical aspects in Chapter 6 refer to issues related to prejudice and discrimination against the indigenous populations in South Africa and Sweden. Vocabulary which may contain discriminatory language should here be understood in terms of reflecting the political ideological outlook in a historical contextual setting. The ethical standpoints regarding the selection and usage of utterances that include discriminatory political and ideological wordings are clearly accounted for in Chapter 6. The ethical consideration also concerns different types of derogatory statements made by the different stakeholders’ standpoints in the policy process in order to grasp their intent. This includes presenting the stakeholders’ different views for providing political and ideological reasons for validating, planning and implementing education reforms.

The logic behind the development of a certain policy strategy includes generally putting it into practice through institutional establishment. In order to do so, state interests are pursued and carried through. However, it needs to be noted that state interest may not always be the same or comply with international claims for implementing human rights, thereby creating an ethical dilemma. A Human Rights perspective to education would involve in line with Englebrecht, Swart and Eloff (2007) focussing on stable structures and strategies that meet the needs of all learners regardless of their status (p. 3). The educational system needs to be able to cope with matters on gender and equality, race and class. Other areas open for discussion are the realization of pedagogical models in school and classroom situations (Paul, French & Cranston-Gingras, 2001, p. 154). Finally, educational policies addressing ethics and human rights have to acknowledge that:

[Education policy which does not recognise its commitment to all citizens irrespective of race, class, caste and gender and which does not seek to readress all forms of injustice fails at the outset (Sayed, 2002, p. 48).

Chapter 7 includes, from an ethical standpoint, the ways human rights are addressed, including the Right to Education and the realization of the Dakar
Framework for Action – EFA (UNESCO, 2000; UNESCO, 2003b) in order meet the requirements of access to education in environmental disaster stricken areas. To fulfil the requirements of access to education, the ethical standpoint here includes defining environmental security measures that are proclaimed by the International Community on how to meet environmental threats as well as preventing them at the national and local levels of society.

Chapter 8 includes results from a collaborative project between researchers at University of South Africa (UNISA) and Stockholm University (SU) regarding teachers’ attitudes towards inclusion in Sweden and South Africa, as presented in two articles (see Nel et al., 2011 and Helldin et al., 2011). Ethical concerns relate to the collection of data and their presentation in the two articles and the usage of these results in the empirical study. The articles contain data based on two similar questionnaires sent out to teachers in both South Africa and Sweden in 2007. The teachers were informed of the scope of the research and the importance of their responses in order to address issues of inclusion in schooling. Their answers were reported as confidential and anonymous. Publications were not to address singular or individual answers made by the informants. The research tools used (Sweden – Websurvey; South Africa – questionnaires handed out to participants) did not allow for the identification of informants in retrospect. Also, language use and vocabulary in the two questionnaires were carefully considered to avoid any discriminatory usage of wordings in connection to ethnicity, disability and/or singling out certain groups.
6. Differentiation in South African and Swedish educational reforms in the decades following WWII: A securitization perspective

This chapter intends to explore a number of educational reforms where targeted education initiatives were directed towards the indigenous population in South Africa and Sweden in the decades following the Second World War. In some of these reforms children in these populations were specifically identified as pupils at risk. However, I also discuss a few other Swedish reforms where targeted education has been essential as these reforms are also possible to understand as the result of other kinds of perceived threats. In fact, indigenous populations have themselves often been perceived as threats and as a consequence become the point of departure for securitization processes. Thus, in the analysis emphasis is placed on changing political ideologies linking attributes of ethnicity and ascribed characteristics of belonging in connection to different kinds of processes for differentiation as a response to an identified threat. These ideologies were realized in education reforms aimed at targeted education.

In the following study, the historical background to support differentiation between the indigenous populations and the governing populations in South Africa and Sweden will be presented and examined. The decades following the Second World War have been singled out due to visible political shifts in both countries’ policies towards the indigenous population (see Mörkenstam, 1999; Cross, 1999; Fiske & Ladd, 2004). The main idea of this study is to acquire a deeper understanding of the underlying political reasons for initiating targeted education towards the indigenous populations in South Africa and Sweden in the decades following the Second World War. This idea include examining how children were defined and targeted into participating in targeted education reform initiatives.\textsuperscript{30} From a securitization perspective, the

\textsuperscript{30} Targeted education – its meaning draws on Sjögren (2010) who argues education policies may be directed towards the indigenous populations through specific activities and programs.
study will address the underlying reasons and political interests that formed and produced separation between the indigenous populations and the governing populations in both countries, eventually leading up to education reform policies. The initiatives for separation are here examined against the perception and construction for what may have constituted perceived societal threats (see Buzan et al., 1998) towards society between the authorities and the indigenous populations.

The application of securitization theory is here suggested to contribute to the understanding of why these two countries on a separate basis adopted similar education reform policies towards their indigenous populations. Special education reform policies included measures for differentiation based on ethnicity and group belonging. When it comes to explaining separatism, prior studies of differentiation have primarily stressed the importance of class, social control and structures in society through the lenses of oppression and lack of equality (see Vaught & Castagno, 2008; Stasiulis & Yuval-Davis, 1995; Hyslop, 1999). The security perspective and its bearing on educational reform, educational stratification and differentiation stress the importance of perceived threats and securitization as an alternative understanding. In contrast to structural explanations – for instance, class and economic competition between societal groups – the securitization perspective analyses differentiation and repression through the lens of perceived threats and insecurities towards society.

Using a societal securitization perspective is in this context suggested to focus on the way educational differentiation was used to address attributes of ethnicity and ascribed characteristics of group belonging in connection to different kinds of processes for differentiation in special education reform policies. The intention is therefore to examine the role that targeted education had in society from this period and the political utilization of targeted education directed towards children belonging to certain groups in order to reduce perceived threats. While a securitization perspective would aim at understanding a perceived societal threat, the examination of educational reform policies would illustrate securitization actions aimed at reducing the perceived threat. These actions include the securitization move and the security measures for reducing the perceived threat. The securitization move and the reduction of the perceived threats constitute the securitization process. The purpose is therefore to grasp the underlying political reasons for adopting education policy measures that singled out the indigenous populations in terms of claimed needs related to the development of targeted education.
Distal and proximate context, societal threats and targeted education

In order to examine the suggested occurrence of a securitization process, the distal and proximate context first needs to be articulated. This part includes setting the ideological, societal and historical background in order to grasp what societal threats are composed of as well as establishing the different units of the securitization process. This implies gaining a multi-faceted understanding for how societal threats are ideologically created, formulated and handled by being set in a proximal and distal context in order to interpret what types of threats can be labelled as urgent. Urgency should here be understood in terms of utterances that express severe threats to society. Urgency can be overtly expressed speech acts, or even covertly where urgency in speech acts is supported by describing and interpreting the contextual setting. The contextual setting in this study refers to the narratives of the historical, societal and ideological settings.

This step is carried out by examining primary and secondary writings and primary policy documents illuminating:

- the political rhetoric angle,
- educational planning and policies of segregation and
- the implementation of targeted education policies in both Sweden and South Africa.

These three aspects are part of the examination reflecting the definition of societal threats in combination with the securitization move. Further, to settle on security actions is connected to choosing an appropriate action in order to respond to the perceived societal threat. This kind of action constitutes the securitization move when a policy issue is transferred from the policy realm into the security policy realm as urgent (see Buzan et al., 1998).

Societal security, as addressed by Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (1998), involves issues related to collective identities and the measures taken to defend that “we”. Societal security is linked to the discourses of collective belonging and the constancy of the political security of legitimacy, institutional organization and ideology. Whereas state security is about the fixed and legal forms of boundaries, societal security concerns perceived boundaries including issues of integration. Threats towards the societal sector would involve threats to what constitutes “we”, but also threats to the construction and/or reproduction of “us”. Consequently, if “we” become threatened, the societal structures among those who belong to a certain group, according to the established context, become threatened. If the collective belonging is built around homogeneity, even a very small mixture of “them” may consti-
tute threats to the established norms of society (pp. 119-124; McDonald, 2008, p. 571).

In some cases societal threats may be handled by societies through non-state measures. For instance, minorities that feel that their existence is threatened may not make an attempt to form their own state but can still have a strategy for how to survive as a distinct group. Three options are at hand: try to dominate the existing government (strategy by the whites under Apartheid); try to be left alone (traditional strategy); or form your own government (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 122). When settled for a certain strategy, the security response can be said to entail three potential ways of action to meet societal threats. Buzan et al. (1998) argue that the securitization actors, on a general basis, need to decide between integration, repression or exclusion in order to securitize perceived societal threats (pp. 119-140). How these three ways of security action are argued for and against will be further discussed against the historical, societal and ideological setting.

From a securitization perspective, to define what constitutes group belonging can be said to contain both societal and political interests. In this empirical study group, belonging will be based on what Cerulo (1997) argues is a sociological construction of collective identities among people available in society (pp. 386-387). A collective identity rests on identifying criteria that make people recognized as members of the group; the discourse of these criteria must be mutually known and a certain agreement reached in order to identify those belonging to a group. The consensus regarding the discourse of criteria is usually organized around different stereotypes (Appiah, 2005, pp. 22, 67). Group belonging will here be put in relation to how political ideologies link attributes of ethnicity, ascribed characteristics and qualities to a certain group in order to define that group as a collective.

From a historical and ideological perspective, ethnicity will be understood from an essentialist view in South African and Swedish policies in the decades following WWII. This view is argued by Pfeffer (1998) to build on early beliefs of essentialism where ethnicity is dependent on a “true identity”. This concerns an identity core that we carry from the cradle to the grave. It needs to be noted that essentialism is not critical to scientific racism and builds on the notion that people can be divided into racial groups as part of a shared biology and that some racial groups are superior to others. Moreover, essentialists view cultures as fixed rather than dynamic and see ethnicity as part of a historically unchanging truth (op cit.; see Wikström 2009, p. 78 in SOU 2012: 74). Essentialism also refers to mechanistic and causal beliefs that people carry inherent features and qualities that characterize them as social groups (Verkuyten, 2003). A “true identity” may here be understood

31 It needs to be noted that contemporary research strongly questions the biological approach to the categorization of ethnic groups (Pfeffer, 1998). The essentialist perspective to ethnicity is solely applied to view the historical context and the political and societal climate of both
in terms of what the labelling of ethnicity and the belonging to a certain ethnicity consist of from an essentialist perspective in South African and Swedish policies. This standpoint implicates that ethnicity and the ascribed qualities of a “true identity” should be able to be followed and traced based on the contextual setting as well as in policies.

Education reform policies directed towards the formation of collectives and ethnic belonging should here be seen as being the motivating force behind the targeted education initiatives in both countries. This part includes examining the settlement for education reform policies including the classification of children at risk and the implementation of education reform policies. Subsequently, the question is whether targeted education initiatives can be part of a securitization process where special education reform policies served as a political instrument to accomplish stratification and differentiation based on ethnicity and categorization of belonging to a certain group?

Targeted education

According to Sjögren (2010), there are three criteria for developing targeted education. First, there must be reasonable arguments for developing these kinds of programmes. Secondly, it needs to be possible to define and demarcate those who are in need of targeted education. Thirdly, it must be possible to define, or at least think, that a viable method has been found for identifying the group which fulfils the two first criteria mentioned (p. 14). Based on these three criteria, education reform policies will be examined, where targeted education constitutes the special education perspective in connection to group belonging and politically ascribed attributes of ethnicity. Ideas of ethnicity and categorization of group belonging will constitute the leading features when scrutinizing the process of securitization in connection to the political incentives for establishing and implementing targeted education. Thus, the motives for differentiation and separation should be understood against the background of governmentally proposed security reasons where the claims and usage of ethnicity play an important part in the political rhetoric and implementation of education policies. Sjögren’s (2010) first criteria should, from a securitization perspective, be understood to respond to underlying security reasons for developing targeted education in South Africa and Sweden. The second criteria can be connected to the fact that the indigenous population was singled out as a response to these needs of developing specific education programmes. Thirdly, there was a need to identify who belonged to – or could be defined as – indigenous and therefore in need of countries in order to grasp the political establishment’s educational discourse of differentiation during the decades following the end of the Second World War.
targeted education. To further understand how the securitization process can be traced in education policies, education reforms in both countries will be examined separately. Ideas within reform policies regarding targeted education and the classification of children identified as children in need of targeted education will be scrutinized.

The following text is presented in a manner to exemplify how securitization processes are implemented. The first part deals with defining and examining background factors in terms of attempting to grasp the underlying factors for understanding the perception of societal threats. This part includes setting the stage for recognizing the different parts of the securitization process including what triggers a potential securitization move. This means establishing through text analysis how societal threats come about and their components. The second part entails exploring special education reform policies – the establishment and carrying out of targeted education. This entails comprehending how attributes of ethnicity and ascribed characteristics of belonging are constructed and shaped from a securitization perspective in special education reform. Issues related to children at risk will be examined in connection to the different reforms in South Africa and Sweden concerning matters of access to education and equal education.

Politics of separation in South Africa – historical background

The origins of separation

Politics of separation in South Africa has been strongly associated with apartheid policies. It should be noted, however, that the policies of separation have been deeply rooted in colonialism since before the National Party gained control over the parliament in 1948 (Fiske & Ladd, 2004, p. 17). The origins of separation have since the beginning of the 20th century been primarily connected to material conditions. Attempts were made to put forward ideas that supported cheap labour policies. Large numbers of unskilled people from the black population were suggested to comprise an unskilled and cheap labour force, especially within the mining industry. Formalized job colour bars were introduced, which transcended several societal spheres such as the social, political and economic spheres, including education. The foremost important feature in these policies was that racial segregation was an all-embracing strategy seen as a necessary ideological foundation for capitalist development in South Africa (Cross, 1999, pp. 47-49, 52).
However, these policies led to increased societal strain, which suggested an escalating resistance towards the authoritative political system. Fiske and Ladd (2004) note that tensions between the different racial groups within South Africa – both before and during Apartheid – provided fertile ground for conflicts and political struggles (p. 17). Conflict and struggles were not only seen between the dominant and subordinate groups (Brown, 1981). Tensions within these groups should also be considered as causes leading to instability in South Africa (see Brown, 1981). For instance, the English speaking white population were regarded as inferior to Afrikaan interests, although tensions between these two white groups had earlier clashed (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen 1983, p. 70; Fiske & Ladd, 2004, p. 17). Further, the black population did not shy away from resisting the white population’s decree of racial discrimination. However, often this resistance was based on passive measures. One example was when the delegates of the African National Congress (ANC) called together a meeting in 1912 where the Congress agreed to view themselves as Africans instead of members of a particular ethnic group (for instance Xhosa or Zulu) in order to avoid racial discrimination. Another example shows that the ANC adopted a “Bill of Rights” which – in contrast to the governmental policies – called for full citizenship for all South Africans with similar rights to those of the white Europeans of South Africa. After the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, political resistance increased. Based on the outlook of the ANC, their intent may refer to building a strong foundation for legitimacy instead of producing differentiation between the indigenous ethnic groups.

Even if it was clear that the white populations dominated, for example through the Nationalist Party, the politicians’ actions can to a large extent be understood in terms of signifying a securitization process. Prime Minister Malan, for instance, advocated white domination over the black population accordingly as an act of protection (see Brown, 1981, pp. 61-63; see also Fiske & Ladd, 2004, p. 17). In 1954 Malan resigned and was followed by Prime Minister Strijdom who advocated apartheid in a forthright way:

Either the white man dominates or the black man takes over. I say that the non-European will not accept leadership – if he has a choice. The only way if the Europeans can maintain supremacy is by domination….And the only way they can maintain domination is by withholding the vote from the non-Europeans (Brown, 1981, p. 63).

The speech act point out that the only way to avoid the black population from taking over power was to maintain white domination or else conflict would arise that may lead first to riots, resistance and retaliation between the white and the natives (see Brown, 1981, p. 62) and later to a black takeover and domination over the white minority population. Here it is important to
remember that the defence of a dominant white position can be experienced from a white positioning as necessary in order to protect current living conditions. The speech act expresses the necessity to keep the black population from taking part in South African society on equal terms. Otherwise, this could endanger societal settings and the position of power that the white population held. The speech act therefore touches upon security interests where the Nationalist Party does not propose citizenship to the black population. By refusing to provide citizenship and equal rights for the black population, a “we” and “them” was created within the borders of the South African state by the securitization actors – the Nationalist Party.

The images of “we” and “the other” should here be understood in terms of power components being constructed in line with Castells (1998), which serves the purpose of creating stereotypes that individuals and society can relate to (pp. 6-12, 53). Further, this assumption reinforces the image of creating a “we” and “them”, which stresses the impact of a suppression of “the other” in order to maintain stability and respond to potential insecurities that may consolidate the image of “the other” as a potential threat that may challenge societal constancy. Thus, the political discourse for the moulding of the black population – as constituting one single group – can be referred to what Ibrahim (2005) says relates to a Western worldview. Western civilizations should here be understood in terms of “we” in contrast to “them” – the uncivilized and barbaric nature of the natives. This dichotomy may here be understood in terms of the creation of “the other” during colonialism (Said, 1978 in Ibrahim, 2005). Based on these ideas, the aim to pursue the interest of reducing the role of the black population in South African society can be said to include measures for making use of constructed components for settling on group belonging. These constructed components can be seen as part of a political project with the intent to mould the black population into constituting the labour force in South Africa as well as reducing the power of the indigenous population by refusing them full citizenship. From a securitization perspective, threats that involve issues of collective identities and group belonging are referred to as issues concerning societal security.

However, the moulding of the black population into constituting one group also contained issues surrounding the legitimization of the white population’s power. Thus, a creation of a white “we”-identity built on what Cross (1999) defined as European ideas of Christian civilization and white supremacy (pp. 71-79):

[T]o widen the political frontiers and create a new identity, which would unite Afrikaners and English into a “white volk” or nation vis-à-vis the black threat (op cit., pp. 72-73).

In this way the politicians of the Nationalist party, in their role as securitization actors, can be suggested to have constructed, shaped and established
racial stereotypes through the perception of who belonged to “us” and who belonged to “them”. For the following part, the examination will be directed towards examining utterances that can be linked to articulating an ideological need for initiating a societal securitization process, the securitization of moves and actions.

Politics of separation and the moulding of indigenousness: Apartheid

Hyslop (1999) argues that the national insecurity in the period after the Second World War was caused by the political and societal strain in South African society. Poverty levels threatened the stability of the state and increased the oppositional political activity of the newly formed black trade union, the ANC. Also, the general lack of education led to societal instability. Administrators and education specialists claimed that the increased crime rate and the uncontrollability of black urban youth was a consequence of the shortage of schools. Compulsory schooling was called upon by the South African Institute of Race Relations as a preventative measure against delinquency and crime (op cit.). Further, education reforms were also requested to meet the needs of mass education since the missionary schools had not given all black children the possibility to participate in education (see Fataar, 1997). Thus, internal turmoil and the lack of compulsory education for all children called for reform policies that addressed the urgent societal situation and educational issues. The national need for education reforms should here be understood in terms of aiming for societal stability as well as reaching children who may not have had opportunities to participate in education for different reasons.

Additional grounds for the development of training and reform policies should address economic circumstances (see Brown, 1981). Reasons for initiating education reform and training should therefore target future employment of the black population, it was thought. The demand from the apartheid government was that the educational system needed to be reformed in order to meet the demands of the industry, and thereby the apartheid regime reinforced specific attributes connected to ethnicity directed towards viewing the African population as a labour force (see Christie & Collins, 1984; Birley, 1968; Brown, 1981, p. 28). The policy recommendation was henceforth to take into account the educational needs of the Africans, as well as pressures from the industry for labour and the call for societal order (Hyslop, 1999, p. 5). Hence, perceived threats to South African society included perceived threats towards ideology, the societal settings and its institutions together with education:
Differentiated political treatment, different participation in the new economic and social order, determined or required different identities at the cultural level. The shaping of a racially structured education system in the post-South African War period can thus be seen as a function of this broader process. Briefly, the policy of segregation cannot be adequately understood within a historical continuity which does not take these different contexts into account (Cross, 1999, p. 52).

Thus, the above speech act should be understood against the background of perceived threats by taking into account the necessity to examine the distal context in order to develop and form an understanding for how threats are perceived and acted upon. Context may here be understood against the background of how apartheid ideology, in combination with creating the culture of Bantu together with the role that the Black population had in South African economic development. The contextual setting paved the way for how different actors perceived threats and responded to these threats. Here this refers to the development of an understanding for how the South African industry, which pursued their economic concerns, can be understood as functional actors who influenced the securitization actors by providing a response and solution to address societal insecurities. It was the industry, which called for change in the labour market and expressed concern for educating people towards the industry, that according to Hyslop (1999) included semi-skilled machine operatives. Two-thirds of these were by 1948 black workers (pp. 5-6). Although not explicitly expressing urgency, the industry proclaimed that change in the education system was needed by insisting the necessity to mould the future workforce. The political establishment can here be argued to have taken this call for education change as incitement for addressing societal insecurities, which included responding to issues of children becoming “at risk” by not getting sufficient education for reasons linked to former education systems.

Intensified tensions – societal security and indigenous belonging

The further political actions of the South African government can be said to have introduced specific attributes to the securitization move. The rationale of these policy recommendations – to meet societal disorder and provide workforce for the industry – became part of the segregating policies. Addressing societal insecurity through making use of ethnicity in politics can be recognized in statements made by the leader of the Nationalist Party. Brown (1981, p. 61) suggests that the need for establishing apartheid was referred to by Prime Minister Malan as a question of survival (op cit.). Survival was one of the key words for initiating a securitization process, according to Buzan et al. (1998), as connected to the perception of severe threats that
accordingly need to be politically addressed immediately. This means that although the above passages of text have shown that articulated societal, political and economic insecurities constituted perceived threats to South African society, the security reason for introducing apartheid policies seem to contain additional reasons. The superseding perceived threat seems to have contained insecurities related to white political legitimacy and the avoidance of potential conflicts between the white and black populations.

This political position, which seemed to stress the urgent need for increased societal security, was strongly put forward. In a speech before Parliament, Senate member Verwoerd (1948) uttered the following:

> With the disorder and chaos that were arising in the country under the administration of the previous government we (the whites and non-Europeans) were becoming a mutual danger to one another. That is really the object of the whole apartheid policy – the whole object of the policy adopted by this side of the House is to try to ensure that neither of the two will become a danger to the other (Cross, 1999, p. 77).

The above speech act can be said to express what Price (1991) and Cross (1999, pp. 76-77) suggest: that the apartness was a necessary political move to maintain the unity and identity of the white population (op cit.). Thus, the governmental need for responding to societal insecurities meant that the securitization actors politically designed a system that authorized further societal separation between the white and the black populations.

The term Bantu was used to refer to the native African population – 9 million people – subjected to apartheid (Tabata, 1980, pp. 13, 17). The Population Registration Act No 30 (1950) required people to be identified and registered from birth as belonging to one of four distinct ethnic groups: White, Bantu (Black African), Coloured and other. To decide what group an individual belonged to, tests were carried out. Ethnicity was determined through perceived linguistic and/or physical characteristics:

A White person is one who is in appearance obviously white – and not generally accepted as Coloured – or who is generally accepted as White – and is not obviously Non-White, provided that a person shall not be classified as a White person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a Coloured person or a Bantu...". "A Bantu is a person who is, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa...". "A Coloured is a person who is not a White person or a Bantu...". It could lead to members of an extended family being classified as belonging to different races, e.g. parents White, children Coloured (African History, 2009).

To advocate the construction of a common black identity implicated not only the construction of the other through differentiation and policies of

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32 Italics by the author.
segregation as shown in the above speech act. Rather, the components of a common black identity also resulted in maintaining what constituted a white identity. The following two speech acts include statements by Malan (1958; 1950), which illustrate this standpoint:

Must Bantu and European in future develop as intermixed communities, or as communities separated from one another in so far as this is practically possible? If the reply is “intermingled communities”, then the following must be understood. There will be competition and conflict everywhere (Cross, 1999, p. 101).33

The great ideal of the National Party is the preservation of the white people and [white] supremacy in South Africa, because only a very stupid or dishonourable person can plead political equality and then still say that the white man in South Africa can continue to exist as a white man (Cross, 1999, p. 101). 34

Although the first speech act includes notions of integration the overruling reason for pursuing separation between the Bantu and European, it seems to postulate that conflict cannot be avoided between these two groups unless they were kept separated. Separation can therefore be interpreted from the securitization actors’ perspective to constitute a necessary securitization move. Cross (1999, p. 74) and Christie and Collins (1984, p. 161) argue that separation was thus meant to lead to natural and unforced growth within each culture where the notion of the Apartheid regime concerned creating separate ethnic groups based on the idea of addressing culture as means for segregation (op cit.). This meant that the apartheid regime supported the development of a Bantu culture.

The creation of Bantu culture can be said to be part of creating group belonging through separation and differentiation. As Bruwer (1967) argues, “[…] we have been building on the foundations of the Bantu genius itself by recognizing indigenous institutions and also injecting them with the serum of our own systems in creating this broad framework of political development we have in no way completed this task (p. 69)” . This is a statement that stipulates that recognition of Bantu culture had gained political interest. However, as Cross (1999, p. 86) and Muller (1987, p. 84) put it, native values were regarded as inferior to Western values (op cit.).

By not considering the maintenance and support of white rule, as the second speech act concludes, the foremost important aspect of the apartheid political order within South Africa may be threatened. As a consequence, the solution may be argued to lay within the development of two societies with limited exchange. The political intent thus built on the development of two

33 In italics by the author.
34 In italics by the author.
cultures side by side, although existing separately. From a national securitization perspective, perceived threats against the ideas of white supremacy had to be protected:

[The Tomlinson Commission] argued that through separate development security would be ensured for white civilization and opportunities would be created for both racial groups, each in its own territory or among its own people (Cross, 1999, p. 104).

This kind of security action also led to an overall construction of collective Bantu qualities: a construction of black ethnicity as being one collective with shared group characteristics. This idea was built on differentiating the black people from anything that could be interpreted as belonging to the white ruling elite. Cross (1999) mentions three criteria for this line of thinking: (a) blacks and whites were culturally different, therefore institutions should be developed that reflected their cultural belonging; (b) cultural protection and ethnic separation were essential in order to preserve white hegemony; and (c) the Bantustans provided the most effective way to promote the development of separated black and white uniqueness (p. 104). Hence, the politically driven initiative of ethnicity-moulding can be understood as a securitization process towards the black people within South Africa, which came to constitute the indigenous population. The essential parts for creating one common black ethnicity group, initiated by the securitization actors, can therefore be seen as parts of a securitization process stressing white imperatives of societal stratification, in order to keep the indigenous population separate from Western society. In line with Kallaway (2002), the political segregating system of apartheid was articulated as a constructive feature of South African politics by the governmental bodies (pp. 1-2). Thus, in order to address insecurities, the apartheid regime, in their role as securitization actors, opted for measures of differentiation in combination with repression to respond to the perceived societal threats. A repressive approach implicates that the white population handled the perceived threat by politically suppressing the black population’s right to equality and an equal position in society arranged in a manner that advocated differentiation through separation.

The set up of Bantu Homelands

Separation was further realized through territorial separation where the establishment of the Bantu homelands (Bantustans) covered approximately 14% of South Africa (Dugard, 2005, p. 101; Cross, 1999, p. 86; Muller, 1987, p. 84). Due to socio-economic structures, the vocational positions of the black population had historically been under debate. These questions
persisted in engaging and influencing the policies of apartheid (Ross, 1967, pp. 3-4). It was argued that in the European areas the black population was only needed for unskilled labour. However, in the homelands, the apartheid regime pointed out the possibility for work within more skilled areas by creating opportunities for full development (Cross, 1999, p. 107). A possible explanation for the argument that the black population should be allowed to develop and utilize their own skills in the Homelands concerns how

[T]o rid South Africa of its black citizens, opening the way for mass forced removals. In the 1970s, the government granted “independence” to South Africa’s black homelands, which served as an excuse to deny all Africans political rights in South Africa (Apartheid to Democracy, 2016, p. 1).

The Homeland-project further distinguished what constituted a black culture and black society. The creation for differentiation through what seems possible to refer to as deportation paved the way for enhancing the securitization actors’ political aim of separation. However, Cross (1999) points out that the wording of segregation was not utilized as a determinant. Rather, its meaning was to encourage the nourishing of the separate cultures of Bantu and Western values (p. 74). Thus, the process of separation was further imposed through re-socialization (re-trabilization) within the Bantustans where socio-economic reconstruction concerned the maintenance or reconstruction of native traditional values (Cross, 1999, p. 86; Muller, 1987, p. 84). The security reasons for supporting the construction of Bantu was thus based on ideological motives linked to segregation and political expectations of vocational performance. This implicates that the ideological ideas of Apartheid also guided the way for opting for separation in terms of signifying the security move. A proposed securitization process that addressed perceived societal threats can therefore be said to include the establishment of a native identity built on factors advocating differentiation: for instance, the physical area of the Homelands, non-European values, expected occupation and levels of education.

Fiske and Ladd (2004) more profoundly discuss the implications for initiating the Homeland project. Although there was a broad consensus among the politicians as to what constituted apartheid in detail, two specific and different approaches can be discerned. There was an urge among the hard-line visionaries of apartheid (total apartheid) to develop the Homelands into self-sufficient states where the white South Africa would no longer be dependent on black labour. Those who had a more pragmatic view believed that economic segregation would be impractical. This line was called “grand apartheid”. It meant to limit the presence of the black population in white areas, although without suffering economic segregation. Thus, by not advocating full economic segregation, black labour could still be utilized within the white South African sphere. This pragmatic line of action prevailed
much to the work of the Minister of Native Affairs (p. 25; see Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983, p. 14). Both of these approaches to the ideological content of apartheid stress the importance of differentiating the black population from the white, although within different limits. From this standpoint, the politicians within both lines of thinking argued for separation in order to protect the referent object – the South African state. Both these approaches also claimed the need for response in order to preserve and maintain white control over South African society and its institutions. Further, as the governing pragmatic model proceeded, the influence to mould the citizen continued. Fiske and Ladd (2004) further mention that economic, political and social systems were aimed towards white control over space and that these were the main reasons behind the apartheid ideology. Moving people around and governmentally forcing black people to leave white areas opened up major economic opportunities for developers and builders (pp. 25-26). Hence, the securitization actors’ security move to force people to leave their residential areas gained a working opening for the building industry, in addition to the ideological and pragmatic features of separation and the created components of one common indigenous ethnicity in South Africa.

Stratification leading up to the Bantu education reform.

The Eiselen Commission of 1951 was established to lay down the blueprint for the Bantu Education Act (Hyslop, 1999). In a similar manner to the politics of separating white and black populations in order to address perceived threats against the white population, the education reform policies called for different education progression between Africans and white people (see Cross, 1999, p. 73). Education reform policies are here suggested to be a part of a securitization process directed towards maintaining societal stability through separation pursued by the securitization actors – the Nationalist Party. Targeted education should here be understood in terms of not only addressing issues of separation and economic growth but also additional issues such as youth crime, which may have induced the development of the Bantu Education reform (op cit. Hyslop, 1999; Fataar, 1997). However, targeted education should also be understood in terms of gearing education politics into mass education by addressing what the Nationalist Party perceived as children at risk in terms of lacking sufficient education caused partly by the former education system of the missionary schools. Before the introduction of mass education in 1948, schooling for black children had been negligible since few received education through the set up of the former system of the missionary schools. Ideologically, missionary schooling was based upon the values of Westernization, which contributed to Africans beginning to abandon previous customary living conditions. Mass schooling in South Africa should be understood as similar to the patterns of
educational development in Europe in terms of being set up in connection to industrialization. However, the history of South African education should be seen against the background of different factors where the extent, nature and provision of education was driven by a complex interplay between the political, economic and social spheres (see Kallaway, 1984; Christie & Collins, 1984; Molteno, 1984 and Cross & Chisholm, 1991 in Fataar, 1997, pp. 338-339). As a consequence of perceivedly different political, societal and economic vulnerabilities towards society and the critical situation for black children, the Eiselen Commission of 1953, appointed in 1949, had been set up to analyse the educational circumstances of post-war South Africa. The recommendation was to take into account the educational needs of the Africans from the perspective of inherency (see Cross, 1999, pp. 83-84). Hence, the Bantu education reform can be seen as a political reaction towards the poor educational quality of missionary schooling in combination with the perception of different types of societal vulnerabilities that had to be responded to. The argumentation concerning low quality education for indigenous children had been directed towards Westernization and seems to have provided political, economic and societal arguments for the Nationalist Party in the establishment of the Bantu Education Reform. While Bantu education was part of mass education strategy that highlighted issues related to the preservation of cultural and traditional ways of living, it was from the ideological positioning of differentiation, segregation and inferiority in comparison to the white community.

The Tomlinson Commission (1955) recommended policies based on separation between white and black people while arguing that equal rights would endanger the existence of European values and culture (Cross, 1999, pp. 85-86). A statement made from Minister of Native Affairs, Hendrik Verwoerd, indicates the beliefs and aims of Bantu education in connection to the previous Missionary-based school system:

> Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pasture of European society in which he was not allowed to grace (Verwoerd, 1954 quoted in Christie & Collins, 1984, p. 173).

The second quote illustrates the securitization actors’ view for educating the people of the Bantustans:

> We should not give the natives an academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country?...I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country (The Eiselen Report, 1951 quoted in Christie & Collins, 1984, p. 177).
Hence, according to the politics of apartheid, the black population should not be trained above a certain level and needed to be guided in order to serve the community (Birley, 1968, pp. 152, 155). Also, the political requirements for advocating education reform policies had included pressure from the industry, which demanded education for their workforce. This idea was politically advocated by the claim that education should mirror the opportunities for the black population and for those working in European areas through incitements of meritocracy (see Hyslop, 1999, p. 5; Cross, 1999, pp. 106-107; Christie & Collins, 1984, p. 171; Birley, 1968, p. 155). The industry should here be understood as a functional actor playing an active part in the securitization process, and it seems to have succeeded in influencing the securitization actor – the political establishment.

As a consequence of the segregating policies, the education and training of the black population became directed towards where they lived and what position they might attain in their working life (Christie & Collins 1984, p. 171; Birley, 1968, p. 155). These effects were signified by compelling methods, methods which emphasized that the manufacturing industries and labour force were to reside in the Bantustans. Further, Fiske and Ladd (2004) argue that on the edges of major cities the government established “townships”. For security reasons, townships were separated from each other through manmade and natural borders such as rivers, railroads or major roads to avoid unrest. The black population was allowed to commute to work in white areas during the daytime, whereas the white population was restricted from entering the townships at night (p. 26). In this way the Apartheid policies further constructed exclusion through living conditions by allowing the set up of both the Bantustans where the black population would reside and create their own communities and through creating townships close to white areas. For these reasons, the differentiation of the black population can here be interpreted from a securitization perspective as a securitization move. The issue of maintaining consistent white supremacy had been ideologically solved through measures of separation including the utilization of special education reform policies – the Bantu Education Act (1953). Another part of the securitization process was the construction of ethnicity and group belonging through education reform policies. Beliefs of ethnic heritage were also linked to political expectations of educational and vocational performance based on ideas of essentialism concerning “inherited” characteristics and qualities.
Targeted education – the Bantu Education Act

Before the adoption of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, fragmentation of the educational systems was seen, where different provinces implemented their own syllabuses in relation to the national curriculum (see The Transvaal Education Department, 1952; Cross, 1999, p. 183). However, the syllabi were identical for all racial groups. This system was thought to be unsuitable and drastic steps that built on differentiation were taken. From now on each race group should have its own educational system (see Nkondo, 1979).35

Although the Bantu Education Act should be understood as a reform act that went under the policy flag of mass education, it was in practice merely based on educational restrictions for the indigenous populations. Education should not be beyond reading, writing and elementary arithmetic (Levy, 2015):

As a group “the Bantu could not benefit from [the same education as whites] or that their intelligence or aptitude were of so special and peculiar a nature as to demand on these grounds a special type of education” (The Eiselen Commission Report § 60 in Levy, 2015, p. 1)

The appointed Tomlinson Commission of 1955 followed the Eiselen report by recommending that native or “Bantu” education would preserve the nature of the African society, although influenced by Western culture and tradition. Policies were designed following these two commissions.

The structure of Bantu education

Three main objectives will be discussed concerning the structure of Bantu Education. The first objective concerns the expected educational performance of Bantu children; the second man labour in the sense of creating a black workforce for the industry; and the third setting up an educational system aimed towards reducing the black population’s possibility to reaching advanced employment positions in within white society settings.

Birley (1968, p. 158) and Enslin (1984, p. 140) tell that schooling in Bantu Education was based on four conditions: Education is given in the mother tongue; funding must not interfere with white education; education must not prepare black children for equal participation in social and economic life;

35 The educational system included four separate and hierarchically different systems in the 1950s and 1960s. The Bantu Education Act (1953) was followed by the Coloured Persons Education Act 1963, the Indian Education Act 1965 and the National Education Policy Act of 1967 (Cross, 1999, p. 87).
and “cultural identity” in the black community should be preserved, which implicated a continued belief system of Christianity and national principles (op cit.). Bantu education was also signified through the imposition of outmoded tribal customs (Christie & Collins, 1984, p. 162). Kros (2002) suggests that the reform of the Bantu was directed towards introducing new mechanisms for productivity and cultural dynamism (p. 67). The reason for this was that a vagueness of objectives had surrounded the complexity of issues regarding policy, economy and culture. There had been previous uncertainties as to the development and future of Bantu culture in combination with no clear and defined economic policy (Ross, 1967, pp. 3-4). As a consequence of these policies, new directives for the school level were formed. Ethnic schools, ethnic school committees and ethnic school boards were created and established (Nkondo, 1979, p. 17).

From a securitization perspective, the intention seems to have been directed towards creating a new culture that embraced the different indigenous tribes. However, the apartheid regime also advocated the continuance of upholding white traditions of superiority towards the black population. Kgware (1967) argues that the key element of Bantu education was to transmit culture and beliefs from the mature parts of society to its immature members where the terminology of culture involved all areas of community and ways of living (p. 60). This indicates that the proposed securitization process for separating a constructed black indigenousness apart from apartheid white ideals carried political ideological measures that seem to have been built around increasing the political as well as the physical gap between the ruling minority and the indigenous populations. These steps of segregating policies may be interpreted as attempts by the securitization actors to shield themselves from the perceived threats that the indigenous populations were claimed to constitute towards South African society.

The second reason was devoted to the productive role of the black people in society. Society refers to both being part of the societal manufacturing of the white community as well as being part of the Bantustans. Cross (1999) describes this line of thinking where the Nationalist Party argued that if black people would receive education and training in a similar manner as whites this would lead to a collapse of the European civilization and culture (pp. 85-86). This statement underlines a perceived threat to the white minority. By posing severe danger to the continuance of European values, threats towards the white minority implicated loss of power. As a consequence, securitizing black and white societal location and vocational position in society through differentiation became a prevalent feature of education, recognizing that the cultures did not merge. The construction of a black community within the South African borders included reforming the education system where the proposed securitization actors thought that the final goal was to guide the black population into further self-regulation, however under white guardianship. The following quote is part of a speech which Cross (1999)
claims had a major impact on the policy of apartheid education – Naturelle-
Opvoeding: Driejaar Plan (Native Education – Three Year Plan):

We are the black man’s guardian. It is our duty to bring him up – om hom op
teoed. It is our duty to exercise him in training himself in the arts of peace-
ful industry, and, making haste slowly but soundly and wisely, to lead him to
a rehabilitated family life, in proud tribal milieu, and eventually to independ-
ent nationhood. This duty must we do (du Toit 1946, speech quoted in Cross,
1999, p. 75).

Education under the Bantu Act proposed a general view of the socio-
economic plan where policies were articulated, integrated and coordinated.
This meant that, accordingly, education had to be broadly understood as a
vital social service. Intellectual, moral and emotional development was es-
sential in connection to socio-economic development regarding the Bantu
people (Fleisch, 2002, p. 44). Along these lines, Kgware (1967) suggests that
the system of Bantu education was the result of planning for education re-
form where the schools were “effective agents in the process of develop-
ment” (p. 61).

The development and the utilization of schools as agents for societal strat-
ification further point towards a securitization process based on educating
the black population into becoming manufacturing workers. At the same
time, the implications of educational reform, regarding cultural heritage and
traditions, reveal a governmental urge for developing, or rather shaping,
black peoples’ distinctiveness and role in society:

The [Bantu Education] Act was to exercise control in native education over
the following educational services […]:
a) Lower and higher primary educa-
tion. b) Secondary education. c) Teacher training. d) Vocational training and
e) Night schools and continuing classes. The Act also stipulated that owners
of farm, mine, or factory schools or their representatives would act as manag-
ers of those schools (Abdi, 2002, pp. 41-42)

Further, the quote leads into the third reason, which can be discerned in
the establishment of Bantu education. Compulsory education did not neces-
sarily lead to equal opportunity to participate. On the contrary, in many cases
children were denied their right to education (Abdi, 2002, pp. 41-42). For
instance, white children received free primary and secondary compulsory
schooling. Black children received free primary education but had to pay for
secondary schooling (Brown, 1981, p. 62). Thus, the Bantu Education Act
did not guarantee compulsory education for the “natives” (Hansard, 1967 in
Cross, 1999, pp. 88-89; Kgware, 1967). Instead, it became clear that al-
though the initial aim had been to mass educate the black population this was
not followed through. Hence, from a securitization perspective educational
reform policies may be interpreted as institutionally implementing political
ideas of deviation to further respond to the utilization of politics of separa-
tion by the National Party. Still, the Bantu Education Act was no guarantee for compulsory education even in the homelands (Cross, 1999, p. 88). In response to this criticism the Minister of Bantu Education responded accordingly (Hansard’s speech 1967 quoted in Cross, 1999, p. 89):

If compulsory education for Bantu children was introduced the number of Bantu pupils produced would be out of all proportion to the numbers that the Bantu economy could absorb. Their schools should meet the requirements of the Bantu community and not of an integrated South African community (op cit.).

The above statement can be said to reflect what Sjögren (2010) sees as a rational goal-oriented explanation to establish a teaching environment that has been adapted to deviation (p. 11). Deviation in this contextual setting is thus the constructed idea of indigenous group belonging, based primarily on ethnicity, integrated with the given beliefs of the ruling elite. Constructed and inherited indigenous properties were utilized in reforming the educational aims for the Bantu as part of the targeted educational initiatives. However, Bantu education did not refer to a special curriculum. Instead, special syllabi were drawn up and the mother tongue became the medium of expression and instruction. Exceptions were the teaching of English and Afrikaans (Nkondo, 1979, p. 17). Also, in 1957 a new syllabus – the Junior Certificate syllabus – was introduced containing Afrikaans as a compulsory school subject. Furthermore, there was a division between Afrikaans and English as a medium for instruction (Kgware, 1969 in Cross, 1999, p. 88).

Six types of different schools for the Bantu children were created under the Bantu Education Act in 1953.

(a) Bantu Community schools. The largest category of schools.
(b) Aided Native Farm Schools. Established and controlled by a white farm owner. For children of Bantu employees of the farm owner.
(c) Aided Mine or Factory schools. Situated on factory or mine property. For children of Bantu employees at the mine or factory.
(d) Aided Hospital Schools. Established and controlled by a hospital or convalescent home. Provided primary education for Bantu children who would receive medical treatment for at least three months.
(e) Missions schools. Two categories: 1. Unaided mission schools established for the purpose of normal children. 2. Aided mission

36 Although several attempts have been made to gain access to the National South African Curriculum from the years of Bantu Education, these attempts have failed due to different circumstances. Contacts with South African authorities have made it clear that they do not want to be connected to the former policies of Bantu Education. Instead, the former syllabus of The Transvaal Education Department (1952) is used as a primary source to signify the aims of national education from these years. However, Tabata (1980, p. 15) claims that the syllabi for the Natives included lower standards.
schools that provided education for physically handicapped children.

(f) Unaided schools. Established by communities, farmers, mine or factory owners. These schools were run without subsidy until subsidy was available (see Kgware, 1967, pp. 55-56).

As can be seen, differentiation not only took place between black and white children. Differentiation and access to schooling took place between black children based on residential location and parents’ occupational status. The role of the mission schools under the Bantu Education Act shows that they took on educating disabled children.

Although the political incitement for the Bantu education initiative expressed rights for the Black population to receive primary and secondary education, this in reality proved not to be the case. Instead, the reform policies of Bantu education built on differentiation on many levels. Differentiation took place between black and white children but also between black children. Although Bantu education advocated the education of the natives up to a certain level, many children still did not receive any education at all. Thus, the Bantu education reform was not simply concerned with keeping black and white people apart: it was at the same time creating an educationally competitive system within the Bantustans, an approach that was deliberately advocated by the apartheid regime to further keep the black population away from white community.

The outcomes and challenges of Bantu education

A positive result of the Bantu Education Act was the rapid increase in the number of children in education. Between 1955 and 1965 the number of children participating in education doubled. However, despite the increase in enrolment the invested resources were not enough. This led to a decrease in the quality of education (Malherbe, 1977 in Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983, p. 29). As a consequence, the education of the black population continued to meet many challenges. For instance, children were disadvantaged educationally since many teachers only had the most basic qualifications. In 1979 it was estimated that only 20 percent of the teachers had completed secondary education (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983, p. 22). Additional challenges concerned fewer teachers within the black school system, resulting in larger classes, and medium of instruction, over-aged pupils, shortage of teachers, over-crowded class rooms and in general the neglect of educating the whole pupil (De Wet, 1967, p. 42) were serious issues. There was also frequently the need for double teaching sessions (Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983, p. 22). Schools were usually under-equipped and to a great extent without windows and doors. Running water and toilet facilities were
rare. There was also a lack of specialist and support services (Duncan & Rock, 1995 in Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000, p. 294).

Although resistance had began to grow as the Bantu Education Act was implemented there were several reasons for why the Nationalist Party succeeded in establishing Bantu education throughout the country. Hyslop (1999) argues that ANC campaigned for an educational boycott from 1955-1956 which involved keeping children from school. Several reasons made the boycott collapse. First, there was the inability to make the youth take political part in the boycotts. Secondly, although the ANC made attempts to establish youth clubs as an alternative to Bantu schools, these clubs lacked sufficient resources to attract children. Also, the ANC had unrealistic expectations for how to sustain schooling outside the state system. Thirdly, the possibility of Bantu education to provide a mass education system drew children and parents into the educational system. For that reason the ANC’s attempts to build any kind of opposition against Bantu education was undermined. Since Bantu education could provide some sort of child care and give the black children education – although only to a certain degree – it was still acceptable for the large majority of parents. “Schools kept pupils ‘safe from accidents and juvenile delinquency’ while their parents were at work”. Parents’ concern for their children’s future possibility of employment ultimately undermined their support for resistance. Thus, the accomplishment of Bantu education was that it increased the accessibility to education for many children compared to what had been the case before. Parents thereby overcame their doubts about the ideological content and low quality of Bantu education (pp. 65-66, 78).

From a securitization perspective, the nationalist government managed to maintain their position as a securitization actor, although resistance against the educational policies existed. The resistance against the securitization actors seems to have failed partly due to poor organization and a lack of resources among ANC but also as the securitization actors had managed to gain support among the parents of the black children. Thus, the securitization actors had at this point managed to gain support by the audience. Further, “children at risk” may in this context be said to involve fulfilling the parents’ requirements – in their role as constituting the audience – that seem to have viewed Bantu education as a constructive reform by allowing their children to gain access to education and be safe during school hours. Still, the educational quality was inadequate in comparison to the education that white children received. Ideas within the government seem to have partly continued reflecting mass education as a response to avoid the continuance of societal unrest and to meet the vocational requirements from the industry, which claimed that Bantu education should supply man power. Hence, although

37 In italics by the author; see (Hyslop, 1999, p. 78)
Bantu education was initially claimed to meet the call for mass education, it seems as if the reform continued to re-produce children at risk.


In the next part of the study, the conditions and circumstances of the indigenous population in Sweden the Sami will be examined. This includes finding ideological ideas that involve perceived threats and security measures towards the Sami in Sweden and the role of targeted education in education policies.

**From viewing the Sami population as a threat in themselves to targeted education as securitizing the Sami population at risk**

Earlier Swedish policies regarding the Sami people can be considered as colonization. These policies focused primarily on the allocation of land between the Swedish new settlers and the reindeer herding Sami Nomads. While land was being used for farming it was argued that this would lead to restricted opportunities for the Sami to pursue their traditional ways of living. Measures were therefore taken by the Swedish authorities to reduce friction between the Nomads and the new settlers. Decrees stated that parallel ways of living side by side should guide policies. Colonization was therefore seen as unproblematic by the Swedish authorities up until 1870s when the Swedish state settled on a border for farming that needed to be drawn in order to make sure that Sami rights to reindeer herding could be kept (see Mörkenstam, 1999). Sami policies during the 20th century were, however, filled with political strains between the Sami and the Swedish population in certain areas.

In the second part of the 19th century, two issues seem to have dominated Sami policies: reindeer herding and the transition to Christianity (see Mörkenstam, 1999). In a recent scientific study, the Swedish Church acknowledged their role in Sami policies. Tyrberg (2016) refers to Ekström and Schött (2006, p. 141) who claim that violations against the Sami have been carried out by both the Swedish state and the Swedish Church since early colonization and up until 20th century (p. 60). Oscarsson (2016) states that in what was then the newly established Luleå Church district, the Bishop

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38 It needs to be noted that Swedish state and the Swedish Church have apologized for their part in violations against the Sami and distance themselves in contemporary policies from their earlier standpoints (Tyrberg, 2016, p. 60).
Bergqvist argued for a cultural hierarchic tradition built on social Darwinism and racism. He put forward ideas which today would be considered racial discrimination but at the time was considered as a general view. These discriminatory ideas had a severe impact on the outlook on the two minority groups within the district – the Sami and the Finnish people. The most well-known of Bergqvist’s statements is from a pastoral letter in 1904, which came to shape the view of the Sami in Swedish politics. This is referred to as “laps should be laps”-politics (pp. 944-946):

As far as the Nomadic Laps are concerned, experience has come to light, that it does not pardon them if they seek to give them any higher civilization. They should learn what they need for their nomadized life and their reindeer care, as well as being taught in the basic principles of Christianity. However, to urge upon them literary teaching as announced by the permanent folklore schools would speed up the extinction of the tribe as nomads and useful members of society (Öscarsson, 2016, p. 945). 39

Thus, the Laps would not benefit, according to this view, to take part in Swedish society on equal terms since this would implicate the disappearance of the Nomad group altogether. The following statement can be said to illustrate the different Sami-groups and their qualities according to Bergqvist in 1908:

The Mountain laps are those Nomads who constitute the core among the Laps. They are those who pursue their ancestral traditions and best preserve the Lap Nations’ unique traits and temperaments. The Forest Laps and the Fishmen Laps are more or less degenerated and astray (Öscarsson, 2016, p. 945). 40

The Forest Sami were residential and kept cattle besides reindeer herding and were supposed to become part of the new-settlers and the peasants in Lapland. The Fishmen Sami were not into reindeer herding. They kept goats and their destiny was to be incorporated into the Swedish working class (Bergqvist & Svenonius, 2008 in Öscarsson, 2016, p. 946). Further, racial beliefs singled out the Nomads as the purest group of the Sami. They had, according to Bergqvist (1939 in Öscarsson, 2016), not been racially mixed with any other group in society (p. 946). These ideas seem to have been the guiding principles for the establishment of Sami policies at the beginning of

39 The speech act has been translated from old Swedish spelling and usage of wordings: “Hvad nomadlapparna angår, har erfarenheten gifvit vid handen, att det icke länder dem fromma, om man söker bibringa dem någon högre civilisation. De bör få lära hvad de för sitt nomadiserade lif och sin rensköttsel ha behof af att veta samt blifva undervisade i kristendomens grundsnänningar. Men att drifva upp deras bokstavliga undervisning som de fiasta folkskolorna meddelas, vore att påskynda stammens utdöende såsom nomader och nyttiga samhällsmedlemmar” (Öscarsson, 2016, p. 945).
40 Translated by the author.
the 20th century. Different interests among those involved in Sami matters in Sweden at this point in time should here be understood in terms of shaping the political foundation for the following decades. The role of the state is therefore argued as the prime political actor that pursues its own interests regarding the planning and carrying out of Sami policies set in a historical, societal and ideologically based context. However, defining the role of the Swedish Church in Sami policies becomes more problematic. On one hand, the Swedish Church belonged to the state which meant that religion and religious practice was a matter for the state. On the other hand, the Church may be seen as an independent actor engaged in religious practice of beliefs yet still involved in political matters. Both these actors and their roles in Sami policies will be scrutinized.

Sami policies – the construction of a threat

During the end of the 19th century, the Sami – as a defined group – were seen by the Swedish authorities as threatening residential Swedes and agriculture by applying access to certain areas used as pasture through customary law. By customary law, the Sami thereby gained privileges based on access to land:

As Nomads the Sami constitute a threat towards the future development of the nation, since they resist the development of civilization’s expansion. This threat becomes even more serious since Sami customary law within certain areas has been “elevated” to law (Mörkenstam, 1999, p. 97).

These privileges were also perceived as threats to the forest industry since the forest industry needed to be protected against the Sami people’s “ventures” to cut down trees in order to supply their own needs (Mörkenstam, 1999). These conflicts of interest over access to land between the Sami and the Swedes can still be seen in contemporary policies. For instance, there issues persist concerning iron ore outside in Jokkmokk in Northern Sweden involving the British company Beowulf Mining. The municipality says yes to mining but the Sami villages in the area – which are dependent on the land for reindeer herding – say no (see Samer, 2016a; Sapmi, 2016; Axelsson, 2016, p. 935). From a securitization perspective, the interests of the forest industry may here be interpreted as functional actors that need support from the securitization actors – the governmental- and municipal authorities – to make decisions that supported the interests of the forest industry.

By the end of the Second World War, Swedish authorities began to articulate a change in Sami policies. Democratic values were to be incorporated

41 Translated by the author.
into Sami policies. However, discriminatory policies remained the same as before WWII, although not overtly (see Mörkenstam, 1999). In order to understand this shift in articulated policies it is important to see that earlier times – including the centuries before the Second World War – were characterized by the view of the Sami as a problem in Sweden. Expressions used regarding the Sami in the national census before WWII serve as an example of the Swedish ideals at that time – that Swedish society should be homogenous. Johansson (1977) refers to the census of 1930 where Sweden was viewed in terms of being a privileged country with a homogenous population within its borders. The exception was the tribal settings of the Sami people and the Finnish populations (see pp. 19-21). Also, Axelsson (2016) refers to the Swedish authorities’ view of making positive remarks about Sweden as a homogenous society (p. 924). These statements indicate that societal homogeneity was preferred by the Swedish authorities. Johansson (1977) further states that these kinds of expressions were omitted following the 1945 census. The view of the Sami as an alien element in Swedish society came to be seen as increasingly outdated and inconsistent with the basic ideas of a modern democracy (op cit.). Although the Swedish authorities were not in favour of separating people due to ethnic heritage it was decided that the Sami population ought to be differentiated based on their proclaimed right to pursue reindeer herding or exercise their language. The Swedish Church would provide assistance. Thus, tribal ideas were still utilized. A developed instruction for Arvidsjaur municipality shows the preferred method for this task (Axelsson, 2016, pp. 928-929). Tendencies to view the indigenous population as deviant and as a problem category were as mentioned previously, however not as a new phenomenon (see, for instance, SOU 1940:37; SOU 1960:41; Broadbent, 2004).

It seems possible to suggest that the in the period before WWII the Swedish state perceived the Sami as a potential threat to society. Thus, the state constituted the referent object where the Swedish authorities acted on perceived threats in their role as securitization actors. The role of the Swedish Church could here be understood as an extended securitization actor whose interest at that time acted in accordance with state interests. Even though the Swedish national authorities had expressed that they were not in favour of separating people for reasons linked to ethnic heritage and deviance in the period after the Second World War, the decision to differentiate the Sami based on these grounds continued. At the national level, it seems as if viewing the Sami people as a threat was still prevalent, but tendencies to ideologically move towards de-securitization can be discerned. Still, in practice, the securitization of the Sami people could be seen from the national down to the local levels of society as the politically utilized racial beliefs from the period before the Second World War appear to have continued at the national-, district- and local levels. Mörkenstam (1999) points out that, although there was no longer any open derogatory use of wordings connected to devi-
ance – based on race and culture – this was not the same as to say that these ideas continued or constituted the base for ideas in progressive policies (op cit.). Change towards the Sami in the implementation of Swedish national policies, carried out by, for instance, the Swedish Church, is therefore difficult to discern. It therefore seems possible to say that, although the state had to some extent begun to ideologically abandon their policies of viewing the Sami people as a possible threat to society, the national securitization actors along with the extended securitization actors of the Church continued to follow the previous policies. Thus, the idea that the Sami group in the past had constituted a deviant group that threatened the development of the state and the ideas of civilization still lingered on at the national level, regional levels and local levels after WWII. The following description and examination of ideas within Swedish Sami politics may therefore be understood in terms of representing ideas that existed side by side at the national, regional and local levels of society. Also, incongruity in political outlooks, concerning the perception of the Sami as a threat to society between different societal levels, seems to have developed.

Reasons for differentiation

In order to address the Sami people, the Swedish authorities made use of different measures for differentiation in the decades following the Second World War. These measures were utilized by authorities at the national level down to the local where differentiation was, as mentioned above, linked to the perceptions of the Sami constituting a threat to different societal levels.

The rationale for advocating the differentiation of the Sami in Swedish society built on policies that supported ideas claiming that the Sami ought to be kept away from the “higher culture” or else they would discontinue their traditional life (Mörkenstam, 1999, p. 148). Although Sjögren (2010, p. 30) claims that these ideas were only common up until the end of the Second World War, these thoughts still prevailed during the 1940s the 1950s (see Henrysson & Flodin, 1992).

Three different reasons were argued for keeping the Sami separate or from taking part in society. First, the financial reasons associated with reindeer herding; second, humanitarian reasons, as the Sami were viewed as being unable to participate in the Swedish society, and some even suggested that the Sami would succumb in the confrontation with Western society; and third, the Sami people held collective characteristic features, which made them adequate for reindeer herding. Also, they did not have the physical and psychological qualities for manual labour and agricultural work (Henrysson and Flodin, 1992, p. 19; Andersson, 1993, p. 12). These notions can be said to build on ideas prevalent during the first half of the 20th century, which isolated minority groups from the main society. Thus, the development of a
racist ideology described the members of a minority group as uncivilized, unintelligent and childish (Sjögren, 2010, p. 213). Hence, differentiation continued to rest on discriminatory ideas where the Sami – as a collective – were claimed to hold qualities that caused them to be perceived as deviant and unable to take equal part in Swedish society (see SOU 1960:41; SOU 1968:16). Moreover, according to Sjögren (2010), they allegedly endangered the preservation of Swedishness and how it was constituted (see pp. 10-11).

As part of this collective construction, the Sami were directed by the political authorities towards the vocation of reindeer herding. How these discriminatory policies were implemented should here be understood in terms of national claims in the 1940s to first support them, but later on in the 1950s these ideas began to be dismissed (see SOU 1960:41; SOU 1968:16). Still, these discriminatory ideas gained continued support from various actors at the regional levels and local levels of society (see Axelsson, 2016, pp. 934-935). Motives for segregating policies and measures against the Sami were especially motivated through education reforms (Sjögren, 2010, pp. 1-11). Mörkenstam (1999) suggests that in order to keep the Sami in their “natural work”, education needed to be organized in specific ways to make the nomads appreciate the value of belonging and residing in reindeer keeping areas (p. 148). Education therefore seems to have played a significant part in continuing to differentiate and discriminate against the Sami.

Another theme pointed out that:

[I]n a difficult to adapt, as their natural talents were adapted for other conditions. The consequences would be social exclusion, individual misery and misfortune; even among those individuals who managed to adapt relatively well (Sjögren, 2010, p. 17). 42

Opinions of this kind were often based on Darwinist or racial beliefs that had been advocated by anthropologists during the first decades of the 20th century (op cit. Oscarsson, 2016; Henrysson & Flodin, 1992; Andersson, 1993). Thus the Sami, as a categorized group, came to serve the interest of merchandise where the vocational training of the Sami was directed towards only one vocation: that of reindeer herding. According to Broadbent (2004), this represents an uncommon case where ethnic identity reflects limitation connected to a specific vocation (p. 2). In this way, the process of societal stratification and differentiation of the Sami was established by the Swedish authorities by pointing towards ethnic heritage, perceived fragility and beliefs of mental and physical function. Furthermore, differentiation occurred by politically stressing vocational responsibility – to maintain and encourage reindeer herding – a vocation that still exists in governmentally directed areas.

42 Translated by the author.
A closer look at the national Sami policies shows that the motives for differentiation built on competition between ethnic groups – namely the Swedes and the Sami. These ideas could be traced back to the early 1900s and the lap-should-be-lap politics. As a consequence, the state appears to have tried to create a situation where the ethnic groups used different kinds of natural resources in order to avoid competition, although living within the same area. In this historical and ideological context, reindeer herding may be understood as having economically and societally competing interests over land properties that stand against agricultural interests and the forest industry. The Swedes and the Sami, as ethnic groups, however came to monopolize various territories and sectors (agriculture and reindeer), which meant that conflict arose in the border areas. It was in the national interest, through policy initiatives, to try to control conflict and promote the group whose nutrition was the most rational from an economic perspective (see Sjögren, 2010, pp. 46-48; Mörkenstam, 1999).

A substantial reason for perceiving the Sami as a potential insecurity for society also built on the assumption that potential conflicts between the residential and the Nomads may escalate (Uppman, 1978 in Sjögren, 2010, p. 48). Lundmark (1998) states that in 1885 the Governmental Agency for the Lap system was established. Its role was to mediate in conflicts between the reindeer herders and the residential farmers. The agency was also to represent the Sami in their connection and exchange with the Swedish authorities. This meant that the Sami were not able to represent themselves. This system was not abandoned until 1971 (see DO, 2016, p. 23) The longevity of the Governmental Agency for the Lap system implicates that the Swedish authorities continued to differentiate the Sami in Swedish policies in order to reduce or limit their influence in society. Thus, the policy actions that emphasized the need for the Sami people to stay within their residing areas and pursue vocational training equal to the required education merits of reindeer herding may be interpreted as ways to address issues related to a security perspective. The security aspects can in sum be said to contain ideas of territory, ethnic belonging, vocation and power. These security aspects were linked to each other.

Along these lines, Sjögren (2010) suggests that ideas of threats, salvation and change were intertwined in order to address threats from the indigenous minority groups – threats which had to be neutralized (p. 17). From the Sami perspective the authorities’ actions towards them may be interpreted as measures to reduce Sami power. Not only by linking Sami ways of living to specific employment but also by reducing the value of Sami traditions and culture to include incapacity to make decisions:

The Sami perceive that there is a connection between how authorities view the Sami and who is viewed as Sami […] and how the state and municipalities throughout history have defined Sami as reindeer herders. This is motivated
above all with that Sami people used to be at a lower cultural level and therefore were not able to make decisions on issues which concerned them (DO, 2016, p. 23). 43

Hence, the Swedish Government – as a prime securitization actor – can be said to have acted on the perceived threat to society through differentiation and exclusion in order to reduce potential conflict situations between the Sami and residential Swedes. The establishment of the Governmental Agency for the Lap system can be seen as an attempt by the Swedish Government to take preventative measures to avoid escalating conflict between Nomads and Swedes. From a securitization perspective it seems as if the Swedish Government to some extent perceived the Sami as a threat to society which needed to be dealt with. However, the threat was not perceived as direct threats to the national level. Rather, the Sami can be said to have constituted threats to the Northern regional part of Sweden and its population. This threat concerned mainly access to land although the measures to meet these threats rested on differentiation, based on ideas of ethnicity belonging and vocation of the Sami. The establishment of the agency shows that political initiatives were taken at the national level but that their function to address issues of security was directed towards the regional and local levels. Thus, role of the Governmental Agency for the Lap system can from a securitization perspective be labelled as an extended securitization actor.

Identification of a new kind of threat

Discussions on the future societal position of the Sami in the post-war years continued. Mörkenstam (1999) states that the classification of the Sami as reindeer herdsmen meant that their role in society for a long time was still reduced by the view that reindeer breeding was non-compatible with civilization. Complementary discourses developed, however, that introduced new parallel views supporting the establishment of a progressing nomad culture (op cit.). Progressing policies included transitions where different discourses existed side by side. These discourses were linked to the political participation of the Sami in Swedish society as well as the discussion of the necessity or rather unnecessary need to register ethnicity. While the Swedish Government advocated abandoning this outlook due to racial discrimination, the Northern Sami Council suggested that the Sami should be counted and represented as a defined group in the national census (see Axelsson, 2016, pp. 934-935). This claim from the Sami seems to contradict the Swedish authorities’ outlook on democracy as well as their aspiration to view the Sami as

43 Translated by the author.
being incorporated within the Swedish population. According to Mörkenstam (1999), it was possible to discern a shift in beliefs and attitudes towards what was considered “Sami”. Was it possible to continue treating the Sami as special if we are all equal in Swedish society? This issue was explicitly discussed concerning education and the preservation of the Nomad School (see pp. 167-169; see also SOU 1960:41). During the 1940s, the Nomad School with its boarding facilities had replaced the former reform of the Nomad School – the cot schools.

The Nomad School built on reform policies initiated in 1938 directed towards reindeer herding and other nomad vocations (see Henrysson & Flodin, 1992). However, since reindeer herding had been rationalized by the Swedish authorities to signify and equal any merchandise in society, the answer was “no” towards maintaining separatism based on non-equality. It was not possible to keep certain schools open that could be linked to just one vocation, it was argued. Instead, a new approach towards the Sami could be seen. Language and cultural preservation began to signify and motivate the maintenance of the Nomad school in order to safeguard the continuance of reindeer herding. However, even though the discussion had geared towards preservation, instead of separation, the discussion still concerned the same people – the connection and living conditions between the nomads and the residential population (see Mörkenstam, 1999; see also SOU 1960:41). This stand also included those Sami who had assimilated to Swedish ways of living (see SOU 1940:37). The state can therefore be said to have adopted a pragmatic stance in several respects. While promoting assimilation among certain groups and in certain geographical areas, particularly in the southern parts of Samiland (southern Sápmi), the state supported the preservation of nomadism and reindeer herding in other areas (see Sjögren, 2010, p. 47).

Further, arguments that advocated the traditional aspects of uniqueness concerning the Sami culture also encouraged the continuance of differentiation through the application of what Sjögren (2010) sees as creating a safe zone: an autonomous zone where the Sami could relate to their own culture and traditions safely protected from integration into Swedish society (op. cit.). Under these circumstances the Nomad School seemed to have played an important part in legitimizing these policies:

44 Vitalis Karnell, Swedish priest in Karesuando, was the driving force behind initiating the Nomad School. He established a norm for who was to be recognized as Sami – those who made their living out of reindeer herding. The Sami were according to Karnell to go back to living their lives in cots instead of becoming part of Swedish society. The development of the Nomad School (cot schools) were part of this strategy (Oscarsson, 2016, pp. 948-949). The education reform of the Nomad School (Cot School) was established in 1913 (Samer, 2016b).

45 Autonomy refers to cultural autonomy (see Sierens, Vansteenkiste, Goossens, Soenens and Dochy 2009, 58). Cultural autonomy should not, however, imply inequality (see Daun 2002c, p. 47).
In the safe zone, the pupils were protected from the dangers that threatened them, either from their culture of origin or from the surrounding community (p. 18).46

The Nomad school as a safe zone meant a way to create an institution that protected against the Swedish-language culture (p. 19).47

By articulating the positive aspects of the societal non-mainstreaming of the Sami into Swedish society, the political debate was rhetorically geared towards the preservation of Sami cultural traditions, ethnicity and identity belonging. As a result, interests to preserve the Nomad school were strengthened. This change in policy towards the Sami was to a large extent supported by the Sami themselves. In the 1950s, regarding reform policies the Sami had managed to pursue their interests. Yet, the Sami feared that the development of the Sami culture was in danger. Education in nomad schools was therefore put forward as a significant part in the preservation of Sami culture and ways of living (see Sjögren, 2010, pp. 130-131). This was achieved by encouraging the Sami to reproduce their culture along with the claim of supporting meritocratic reasons for continued differentiation (see SOU 1968:16). These policies may be interpreted as solutions to gear policies towards the mainstreaming of rational industrial policy where reindeer herding was regarded as any other enterprise in Swedish society. The Swedish authorities thereby made attempts to assimilate the Sami through viewing reindeer herding as equal to any other kind of merchandise in Swedish society (see Mörkenstam, 1999). Hence, the establishment of a safe zone for the Sami asserts that, although there was a claimed political need to protect Sami culture and traditions through separation, these ideas were also in the interests of the indigenous population.

The political rhetoric of separation regarding the Sami thus signifies that the issue of differentiation turns twofold during the 1950s. It seems clear, from a Swedish governmental view, that there existed tensions between the majority and the minority, and this was handled by differentiating and excluding the Sami people from Swedish society in order to avoid potential conflict situations between Swedes and the Sami. From a securitization perspective, it seems as if the “Sami question” was first perceived in terms of threats to the northern regional part of Sweden, although the perception of threats was also part of the national political agenda. However, at the national level, the Sami were not considered as a threat. Instead, measures for differentiation shifted to emphasize language and culture. This shift in Sami policies at the national level, linked to previous politics by singling out the Sami as a potential threat, seems to tell of a reduced or vanished threat. This speaks for that the “Sami question” had been de-securitized. Thus, the Sami

46 Translated by the author.
47 Translated by the author.
did not seem to pose a threat to the state as the referent object. Instead, the preservation of Sami ways of living was expressed in terms of uniqueness. That is, the Sami as constituting a threat to society was mainly a question for the regional level and local level, although the issue attracted a great deal of attention at the national political level.

At the same time, a new kind of securitization process evolved, supported by both the Sami themselves and the state. This was due to an ideological change in Swedish national policies towards the Sami, which included minority rights and equality for all Swedish citizens irrespective of their ethnic origin. Additional political discussions at national, regional and local levels contained both ideas of cultural preservation and separateness. As part of the preservation and progress of Sami culture, the role of the nomad school was emphasized. Separation, which was earlier understood as a politically formulated security measure to protect the Swedes in the Northern Region against Sami interests, now shifted focus. Security measures now came to include actions taken by the Sami to protect their own culture and traditions from the majority society. Further, these actions were supported by the state.

However, at the regional and local levels the political approach towards the Sami as a potential threat to society can still be traced in the 1950s. This implicates that the regional level and the local level continued to perceive the Sami as threats to society, thereby making the regional level and the local level the referent object. Thus, a shift in what constitutes the referent object can be discerned in the Sami politics and the perception of the Sami as constituting a societal threat. Also, the role of the Swedish Church in this new securitization process was altered. Their role altered from being an extended securitization actor into a co-prime securitization actor along with the Swedish authorities at the regional level and local level. This standpoint implicates that the role and position of a securitization actor may shift in its significance. Two explanations seem possible. The first securitization process loses its significance at a higher level of society – becomes desecuritized – but the securitization process lingers on at the lower levels of society where a new securitization process is initiated at the lower levels of society. Here it seems as if the most plausible way to define this new securitization process is to view it as one that lingers on and continues at the regional and local levels of society. This is due to the fact that the role of the Church does not seem to have followed the state level and the state’s changed opinion of the Sami as no longer constituting a potential threat to society. Instead, the Swedish Church continued to view the Sami as deviant in a manner similar to its role from the previous period. The policies of Swedish authorities at the lower levels of society also continued to advocate ethnic differentiation in a manner similar to the previous period.
A school for all children?

Education reform policies in Sweden after the end of WWII included ideas concerning the right to education and schooling for all citizens. The School Commission of 1946 states:

The comprehensive school, in its widest sense, must be based on public educational arrangements, an organic founded school system, where every growing individual, independent of living area and the socio-economic position of their parents, the best method for [...] an applied curriculum [...] (SOU 1948:27, p. 41).48

The Commission advocated a 9-year compulsory comprehensive school, which was settled in a broad party political consensus. It ruled that "The school's main task will be to nurture democratic people" and "to transform the school in compliance with the democratic structure of society and life". The Folkschool and junior secondary school (Realskolan) would thus disappear. This new 9-year school would be divided into three stages - primary and lower secondary schools, each for three years and coherent the first six years (apart from those students with certain disabilities). The Commission suggested that grades 7 and 8 be held together with the exception of some optional subjects. First in grade 9, a split into different kinds of educational orientation would take place. This meant, the Commission said, "a realization of Fridtjuv Berg’s comprehensive school program". This idea meant that students would be held together until the ninth grade, and only then would a strict line of division be introduced (Lärarnas historia, 2016a). Arguments and criticism towards differentiation of children stated that the education was supposed to mirror society. Children who have a low intellectual capacity should still be in the same class as other pupils since all children, no matter of inherited character, should learn to co-operate. However, arguments that teachers would not have the possibility to help all children meant that the Commission suggested that major schools should provide help-classes for children with special needs. It was important that these help-classes consisted of small groups in order to see to that all children reached the educational aims. In 1947, the governmental report on training of teachers for mentally retarded and difficult children (SOU 1947:69) concluded, however, that it was difficult to avoid help-classes being exposed to a certain downgrading in comparison to comprehensive schooling (SOU 1948:27, pp. 143-144).

Even though the School Commission of 1946 introduced a comprehensive nine-year educational system, specific groups were still omitted from taking part in a comprehensive school system (see SOU 1948:27). Among them

48 Translated by the author.
were the Sami people who had their own schools and educational system (see SOU 1960:41, p. 43). The governmental view of the Sami people as an ethnic group with their own culture and qualities constituted a significant part in the discussions regarding the objectives of the Nomad School. Sjögren (2010) claims that, although the democratic principles in the following National Curriculum, 1948 recognized the need for equal rights and access to comprehensive education, differentiation still marked the outcome of the educational reform policies (p. 121).

Differentiation against the Sami is here suggested to build on ideas that refer to deviance as constituting threats to society. Nilsson (2008) refers to Foucault while discussing deviance in terms of being equal to intellectual deficiencies (p. 28). Such an approach towards the Sami seems to have been present at that time in Swedish policies and may have served the purpose for taking a political stand towards continued educational separation:

The strong emphasis of reform pedagogy on the integrative potentials and objectives of education, together with a vision of creating a new rational, enlightened and democratic citizen, had a drawback, namely the singling out of social groups that were conceived of as a threat to the future, good society. Those who did not fully embrace the education policy project or in some other way deviated from the future citizenship ideals threatened the harmony and homogeneity of the social structure. The rhetoric thus also contained a description of threats against the visions of the educational reforms. The groups that were considered as problematic in various respects were however at the same time regarded as potential for change which was important to utilise. The opportunities to influence change and in the long term incorporate deviant groups in society would however have to be implemented in controlled forms and in special educational environments. Deviant groups that were especially placed in focus in the ardour to influence and change were ethnic minorities (Sjögren, 2010, p. 213)

The above quote illustrates that the previously presented national policy aim – to maintain a homogenous Swedish society – seems to have influenced the education reform policies where ethnic minorities were advocated to take their place in special environments. The perceived deviance of the Sami may have raised the question among the authorities whether to view the Sami children as a group in need of specific schools. This seems possible to argue since the Sami – as an ethnic minority group – were exposed to these political measures in national reform polices. It is possible to discern that citizenship issues were up for discussion in education reform policies. However, the question of citizenship was here concerned with the ideals of citizenship as a democratic right – it was not about excluding a perceivedly deviant group from upholding citizenship. In practice, citizenship and equality linked

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49 Sjögren (2010) has studied three minority groups in Sweden subjected to special education environments – the Sami, the Roma people and those categorized as Travellers.
to minority rights and ethnicity did not seem consistent. Education reform policies from this period show that ethnicity was put forward as reason for differentiation.

The understanding of the development of the Nomad School regarding its intentions and establishment may therefore be understood against what Oscarsson (2016) argues while referring to Berge (1998): that a group’s identity plays an important part in how society is established and functions through legislation. Those in power are those who principally determine what constitutes the members of a group and what group the individual belongs to (pp. 954-955). Thus, the development of the Nomad School was influenced by discriminatory policies linked to ethnicity and minority group belonging.

From a securitization perspective, the Sami people have been suggested as perceived threats in national politics directed towards the regional level and the local levels of society. Differentiation in national school policies seems to have followed this line of thinking – decided at the national level, however planned and implemented at the regional and local levels of society. This implicates that the national level transferred the decision on how to arrange and carry out differentiation in school policies to the regional and local levels of society, a statement that can be especially followed in education reform policies from the 1950s.

The 1950 – a period of educational reforms and transition

In 1950 – as mentioned earlier – a decision was made to introduce the 9-year school based on a trial period of ten years. In 1957, the Parliament adopted a decision so that the pilot project would be completed by 1961/62. During the trial period, it was still possible for students to choose to go on to secondary school after six years of schooling (Lärarnas historia, 2016b). Six years of schooling in the 9-year comprehensive system thus correspond to six years in the Folkschool. The development of the Nomad School during this period seems to have been caught between the national aims of introducing the 9-year school system along with the parallel old school system and the reforming policies of the Folkschool. At the national level it was argued that all school-forms were supposed to be included during the trial period, including the Nomad School. This meant in practice that nomad schools were affected by the change (Sjögren, 2010, pp. 124-129). However, the reform policies of the Nomad School at that time seem to have included other matters, such as attempting to include the Nomad School into the earlier Folkschool reform of 1937.

The discussions continued on how to re-organize the Nomad School in the 1950s in terms of making it correspond to the completed implementation
The organization of the 9-year school would not be organizationally differentiated. All pupils in compulsory education should be organized within the same organizational framework. The Nomad school was, however, organized alongside the regular school system. Its management was mainly handled by the Nomadic school inspector. Discussion on the preservation of the Nomad school had already been up for discussion during the 1930s and 1940s. This view was brought up once again in a report by the Folkschool experts who suggested there would be no changes to the Nomad School’s organization but that it had to change in the future. A few years later the issue was brought up again during the 1951 School Board investigation. A change would implicate that the Nomad School had to be integrated and made subordinate to municipal schooling. If this was to be realized, the organizational structure of the Nomad school into districts would lead to a significant change. At the district- and local levels, the Nomad School inspector agreed to the national aims of adding one more year of schooling. Seven years of schooling would benefit the Sami children in their twofold task of becoming noble reindeer herdsmen along with high-quality education (Sjögren, 2010, pp. 124, 129).

Thus, from now on the national level advocated reform policies that should correspond to national education reforms. The national level therefore seems to have dismissed the Sami as in need of targeted education as a measure for diminution. Instead, the national policies advocated the need for congruent organization in order to correspond to the national aims of comprehensive education. However, the Nomad School was organized outside the mainstream school system, signifying that it was possible to handle its set up at the lower levels of society in a specific education environment. The former need for national securitization of the Sami seems to have no bearing in emanating from the national level. Instead, the securitization process may be seen as one still continued at the regional and local levels of society where the Nomad School inspector played a major role.

However, when it became known to the Sami people that the existence of the nomad schools was threatened, an increased level of activity arose among the Sami to justify its existence (Sjögren, 2010, pp. 129-130). In the districts of Norrbotten and Gällivare, the Sami argued that a seventh year of schooling would lead to Sami children leaving reindeer herding, whereas in the district of Jämtland the Sami were more positive. Among those negative

50 In 1936 the Swedish Parliament decided that the Folkschool should be 7 years instead of 6 years. This reform was supposed to be implemented between 1937 and 1949 (Lärarnas historia, 2016c).
to the introduction of a seventh year, it was argued that longer education would interfere with reindeer herding and that children aged 12-14 were already equipped for their future work. Even if it was estimated that the child would leave school after six years at the age of 14, it was not uncommon that children were 15 or 16 when they left school. A seventh year would make them almost incapable of attending to the reindeer. Moreover, it would also cause them to live in ordinary houses and dress in Swedish clothing. In that way they would drift away from the nomad way of life. In Jämtland, the Sami argued that a seventh year should not be linked to a specific vocation. Instead, the Sami themselves had to be responsible for educating the children into reindeer herders. In order to meet the differing views among the Sami themselves, a compromise was suggested by the Nomad school inspector. Prolonged education was introduced for a trial period between the years 1950-1951 in Jämtland. After this trial period a seventh year would be introduced successively in the other districts in order to smooth the transition.

However, the Nomad school inspector argued that the seventh year would contain education that was connected to the vocation of reindeer herding and the Sami way of life. Thus, the major change in the reform of introducing a seventh year was connected to content and vocational future (see Sjögren, 2010, pp. 124-126). Further, at the Sami congress in 1956, the issue was discussed, as was the perceived threats towards the existing Nomad School, and the negative impact it would have on the Sami way of life, if the school would disappear (op cit. p. 130).

Although the political aim had initially been to separate the Sami from Swedish society in order protect a homogenous Swedish society from Sami involvement, an argumentative political shift could now be seen. This shift points out that it was still important to advocate separateness in schooling, however under the motto of preserving the cultural uniqueness of the Sami related to reindeer herding, even though at the national level viewing the Sami as a threat to society had ceased. Thus, the meaning of the claim for a specific education environment for the Sami children was altered in national policies. In this context it can be suggested that the national level had come to comprehend that the present education system may generate children at risk among the Sami due to their lesser amount of education, although the differentiation of the Sami in education was still accepted. The Sami question therefore seems to have been de-securitized nationally, but it still continued to live on at the regional and municipal levels. This standpoint implicates that the securitization process of viewing the Sami as an ethnic group meant that society continued to differentiate and discriminate, and this was possible to maintain due to the organizational structure within education. Targeted education resulted therefore in keeping the Sami from taking full part in Swedish society. Though national education policies geared towards assimilation, the regional and municipal levels still advocated the need for differentiation by referring to the organizational set up of the Nomad School.
The continued management of differentiation thus gained support through the uncertain politics of education reform, employment and the organizational structure of the Nomad School. Managerial reasons for differentiation and separation thus continued at the regional and local levels.

From a securitization perspective, these political and educational initiatives seem to express ambivalent attitudes towards measures of differentiation. On one hand, the national level had de-securitized the Sami issue but still advocated assimilation through the development of integrating the Sami into the mainstream of education based on democratic claims of equal education for all children. At the lower levels of society, differentiation was continually argued for. The former extended securitization actors at the regional level and therefore seem to have shifted their position in the national de-securitized process into becoming securitization actors in their own right as far as the securitization process that emanated from the regional levels was concerned. Although the Sami were still regarded as in need of measures for separation by the Swedish regional and local authorities, there seems to have been an opening for viewing cultural preservation and cultural uniqueness in more positive terms than. Arguments for continued separation rested on cultural uniqueness, and vocational training supports this view. Hence, although the initial aim was to make Sami education correspond to the Swedish Folkschool, the Sami children continued to be restricted to specific educational programmes. At the same time, attempts were made to include subjects related to the preservation of traditions and uniqueness of Sami culture.

It is also possible to detect a beginning of the Sami need to protect themselves against the Swedish authorities and their claim for a need to mainstream education so that it corresponded to the national aims of the seven-year Swedish Folkschool. However, the Sami themselves seemed divided on this issue. The Swedish authorities brought these differing views among the Sami into the establishment of a seventh year in the Nomad School by making a compromise. Hence, the new securitization actors – the Nomad School inspector and the authorities at the regional level – seem to have acknowledged these views of the Sami wherever the indigenous population could be seen as an audience. Thus, the audience managed to influence the securitization actor, although the comprehensive perspective from the securitization actor was to pursue their interest by making the Nomad School correspond to the seven years of the Folkschool.

At the same time, it is possible to interpret the Sami claims for education directed towards their way of living as actually threatening to their interests. From a securitization perspective, they had to protect themselves from further assimilation in ways that can be viewed as a process of self-securitization in order to preserve their language and culture. In terms of viewing this as a security response in line with Buzan et al. (1998, p. 122, op. cit), the traditional securitization response of attempting to be left outside state influence seems to be the security action taken by the Sami. This kind
of self-securitization process should not be confused with what Vuori (2011) calls counter-securitization. Rather, this kind of Sami identity suppression through assimilation seems to respond to what Vuori (2011) calls soft repression, where a people group’s identity is not viewed as equal and equivalent to the majority of society (see pp. 188, 192). Further, de-securitization of the Sami people in national politics also suggests that the Sami did not constitute a high threat to society. Still, it seems as if the Sami response to this soft national repression included measures of counter-securitization in order to protect the Sami language and culture (see Vuori, 2011, op cit.). The definition of these self-securitization moves seem therefore mostly related and directed towards the regional level where differentiation continued through targeted education. Self-securitization can thus be seen as a securitization move against the structural development of education intensified through the policies of differentiation among the extended securitization actors. Self-securitization may also implicate that the Sami children may become “children at risk” in that they run the risk of not gaining equal access to education and knowledge as the other children who took part in the 7-year Folkschool.

The 1960s – implementation of the 9-year comprehensive education reform

The governmental guiding decision taken in 1950, which followed the 1946 suggestion of a 9-year school that included all children, was pursued and intensified. The guiding decision of 1950 also included issues on compulsory years of education and differentiation. In 1957, the Nomad School was further inquired. The inquiry was to carefully look over the position and organization of the Nomad School. For instance, what were the factors that advocated the differentiation and separation of the Sami children preventing them from taking part in comprehensive education? Therefore, the inquiry was directed towards finding measures for the further legitimization of the Nomad School. Although the general standpoint among the Sami was to preserve the Nomad School, there were also those within the indigenous population that were positive about its abolishment (Sjögren, 2010, pp. 128, 131).

A Swedish Governmental Report “Samernas skolgång” (Education of the Sami) (SOU 1960:41), which built on a former report given by the 1957-Nomad School enquiry, further brings to the fore the necessity of scrutinizing the legitimization of the Nomad School (SOU 1960: 41). The Governmental Report concluded that, although a seventh year had been proposed, difficulties arose regarding how to implement these aims. As a consequence, the duration of education for Sami children remained at six years, although many in reality spent seven years in education due to their failure to com-
plete their education on time. Thus, even though measures were taken by the Swedish authorities to encourage the national education of the Sami in a protected environment, the indigenous population did seem to share this view. Although it was sanctioned by the education inspectors and the Sami people that Sami children be equally educated to function in society as educated citizens, it needs to be realized that the decision to support traditional Sami living also meant succumbing to a lower level of education. The education of Sami children in the 1960s followed this line of thinking (op cit.). Thus, the difficulties in implementing a seventh year of education among the Sami children can be said to have created a situation where the Sami children were even further turned away from having access to equal education. It has also been stated above that the Sami children had difficulties in finishing education on time due to educational failure. Targeted education therefore seems to have established a pattern of unintended at-risk children due to the authorities’ acceptance of the Sami claims for a reduced education and its realization in the protected educational special environments.

According to the Nomad School inspectors, the limited time Sami children had to participate in schooling was an educational dilemma. It was argued that it was not possible to establish why Sami children could not participate in ordinary schooling (SOU 1960:41, p. 125). They argued that as the traditional nomadic life had largely disappeared, thus there was no need for the establishment of the Nomad School (SOU 1960:41, p. 86; Sjögren, 2010, p. 131). Further, in the Governmental Report on the Sami School (SOU 1960:41) the Sami group cannot be connected and defined as Sami strictly due to their vocation as reindeer herders. Language is a more important factor that strengthens the Sami identity (pp. 80-82). The legitimization of the Nomad School’s establishment, which advocated the Nomadic School’s adaptation to the nomadic way of life, was therefore further questioned. The reason for this was the Sami people having become, to a significant extent, residential. This meant that there was no longer a need for special education organizational solutions (Sjögren, 2010, p. 131).

This attitude is also expressed in the following speech act in the governmental report “Samernas skolgång” (Education of the Sami) (SOU 1960:41):

Society cannot build specific schools in order to keep the younger generations within the heritage of specific work (SOU 1960:41, p. 64).52

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51 Approximately 3010 individuals could be linked to employment within reindeer herding in 1958 – 2365 Nomad Sami and 645 Forest Sami. Statistics showed that there was a loss of employed women of fertile age. Reasons for this may be dependent on work within reindeer herding having shifted from man labour into extensive motorized labour, where female labour was not employed (Henrysson & Flodin, 1992, pp. 4-5).

52 Translated by the author.
These ideas were realized in the education reform policies of 1962 in the national curriculum (LGR62, 1962), where the national guiding principles stressed assimilation in order for the Sami to meet the requirements of gaining a higher knowledgebase along with the need to avoid segregation. It seems possible to say that the national policies from this period maintain their standpoint of not viewing the Sami people as a threat to society. Instead, the assimilation tendencies of the Sami in national education policies seemed motivated by implementing reform policies by realizing the aim 9-year schooling for all children. However, it also seems possible to suggest that the government considered it necessary to introduce these education reform policies in order to avoid the possibility that Sami children would continue to become at risk children in line with the former educational set up and educational systems. It was instead significant to stress access to equal education for all children in a comprehensive school system.

In order to avoid further segregation of the Sami, the Swedish authorities at the national level pushed for implementing the reform of 9-year comprehensive schooling. This meant pursuing the idea of assimilation regarding the Sami. The establishment of the 9-year school led the Nomad School to change its foundations. The major change was the introduction of choice regarding school form. All Sami groups were allowed to take part in Sami schooling. At the same time, the Sami-Nomad children received the right to education in comprehensive schooling. Due to the larger amount of Sami children that were allowed to take part in Sami schooling, this had an impact on the learning environment. The earlier specialization towards reindeer herding was brought to an end. In its place, Sami culture and ways of living were integrated into civics. This meant that syllabi contained directives regarding the position of the Sami in society and concerns related to societal conditions. It also meant that the possibilities for specialized education in reindeer herding decreased as the educational content became more general (see Sjögren, 2010, pp. 137-139).

Between grades 7-9, an increase in differentiation based on choice can be discerned. In grades 7 and 8, the pupil could choose between different specializations of language and craftwork. The 9th grade was divided between three optional specializations. The "a" and "g" specializations were general studies where the "g"-specialization led to admittance to upper secondary school. The "y"-specialization was directed towards the labour market. Concerning the organization and economic factors of the Sami School between grades 7-9, the state was recommended to take responsibility. The standpoint related to the organization of the Sami-subjects and preparatory vocational training ("y"-specialization”) in connection to reindeer herding see SOU 1960:41, pp. 91, 156.). Thus, there seems to have been two parallel political views during the 1960s as well as in the 1950s. That of the Sami, who in general advocated a continuance of the Nomad School, and a national one that preferred assimilation to the Swedish 9-year school, although with a
specialization through differentiation of the Sami towards vocational training.

There were also other national authoritative reasons mentioned in favour of abolishing the Nomad School. Several children would have been closer to their parents if they could have gone to public schools. Furthermore, it was argued that a mixed language environment was in a way positive for those children who did not have Swedish as their mother tongue. They could more easily assimilate the foreign language, provided that there were relatively few Sami-speaking children in a mixed language class (see Sjögren, 2010, p. 131). The following speech act advocates the need for the Sami to incorporate themselves into Swedish society. The speech act also seems to express that the Sami do not have to be afraid that Swedish society will threaten their existence and ways of living:

Only co-education can provide practical training in Swedish. The Sami language does not cease to exist not through co-education, Sami living among Swedes often have strong feeling for Sami [traditions] (SOU 1960:41, p. 65)

A further reason, from the national level, to incorporate the Nomad School in comprehensive education was that in locations where there were many Sami children, there was a risk, said the report, that the Sami children would still be isolated from the majority group (SOU 1960:41, pp. 64–65, 75; Sjögren, 2010, p. 131). However, an additional political turn to the above mentioned seems possible to detect in the implementation of the reform.

In the following National Curriculum of 1962, it is possible to perceive a shift from assimilation into recognizing aspects of multi-identities (see LGR62, SÖ, 1964). The 1962 National curriculum contained directives for the Nomad School where Nomad education became optional instead of compulsory for the Sami children (Sjögren, 2010, p. 136). This reform meant that Nomad children could choose if they were to attend the Nomad school or participate in comprehensive schooling (Samer, Samer, 2016b, 2016c). The school reform of 1962 emphasized that the assignment of education in the nomad schools was to equip students for a bi-cultural future. Since the economic and social situation was thought to be rapidly changing in Sweden, the students’ education had to be adapted to these conditions, stressing the needs of the individual in a bicultural situation. This was characterized by viewing the Sami children as individuals who belonged to two different cultures. The Nomad School therefore needed to strive to make the individual equipped to function as a citizen in Swedish society and make the students understand their bi-cultural status. Students would from now on learn about how the Sami minority status had developed over centuries, such as how the Sami people’s lives had taken shape in the Swedish nation (see Sjögren,

53 Translated by the author.
These parts of the 1962 reform seem to have been fulfilled in educational policies. Hence, all in all the 1960s stressed cultural uniqueness and preservation for suggesting the further development of targeted education initiatives by the Swedish authorities.

Further, individual choice for selecting specialization in accordance with LGR62 meant that differentiation did not come about in early age as had been the case in the Folkschool (see SOU 1960:41). Also, Sami as a language became compulsory but was not allowed for more than two hours a week (Samer, 2016b, 2016c; Skolverket, 2016). These initiatives may here be interpreted as giving recognition to the contribution of Sami tradition and culture in Swedish society through the utilization of education reform policies. However, it was the Sami who had to succumb to the Swedish educational norms of individual choice and having the possibility to pursue their own interests in preserving Sami traditions and ways of life. Differentiation policies seem to have become, among the Swedish authorities, connected to positive change and education reform on equal terms. Thus, in order to understand the comprehensive school reform of 1962, targeted education and differentiation should first be understood in terms of national aims and second as responding to Sami claims and needs for targeted education. This implicates that the national securitization actors shifted in their position from advocating societal homogeneity during the 1940s into stressing a bi-cultural future for the Sami and the need to secure – in terms of safeguarding – the cultural heritage of the Sami in Swedish society. Swedish educational policies, which once viewed the Sami as a threat to society, appear to contrast this new policy orientation. Issues regarding reindeer herding and vocational training linked to Sami ethnicity and group belonging – which had earlier been put forward as the foremost important issue in Sami policies – were now being played down. Instead, two parallel ideological processes seem to have been visible at this time. On one hand the political establishment encouraged assimilation in order to meet the educational needs of, for instance, Swedish language use. Assimilation also included the shaping of Sami uniqueness, which built on language and cultural awareness. On the other hand, the Sami proclaimed the right to pursue and protect their interests through what can be labelled as self-securitization. Thus, the Sami people perceived threats towards the preservation of the Sami culture, language and way of life by the national politics of assimilation. These aspects regarding assimilation and the enhanced cultural recognition of the indigenous population in Sweden are different from what can be seen in South African policies at this time.

54 It needs to be noted that culture has become a less known way to view educational reform. Cultural features within educational reform generally include lifestyle issues and participation. At the state level, reform policies include education, social capital, morals and values within education (see Daun, 2002c, p. 21; 2002d, p. 74).
where policies of separation still indicated an ongoing securitization process towards the Bantu population.

In 1977, the Swedish parliament confirmed that the Sami people should be assigned the status of indigenous people (Sametinget, 2016, p. 7). Also, in the following curriculum, LGR80, the Sami school was included (see SÖ, 1980, p. 11). However, although political measures were taken to increase knowledge about the Sami in Swedish society, they are still exposed to discrimination in Swedish society, as more recent studies have shown that the negative outlook towards the Sami has continued in Swedish society and in education (see for instance Lindmark & Sundström, 2016, pp. 21-39).

Reflections on securitization, differentiation and targeted education

This chapter embarked an attempt to examine how targeted education was directed towards the native population in the decades following the Second World War in South Africa and Sweden. In both countries, these reforms can be understood in terms of securitization processes. Also in both countries, the distal context was referred to in terms of its societal, ideological and historical settings.

In Sweden the proximal context was represented by the state as the referent object. The authorities, the Swedish Church and the nomad inspectors were primarily regarded as securitization and extended securitization actors. The forest industry was considered as the functional actor. Although the role of the indigenous populations in a securitization process may be understood as constituting an audience, this particular part was only scrutinized in relation to where the Sami people managed to influence the securitization actors regarding how to implement targeted education during the 1950s.

The application of securitization theory seems from the above discussion to include different kinds of securitization processes. Three different stages of securitization may be discerned in the Swedish example. These three stages, including different kinds of securitization processes, take place at different levels of society as well as during different times in history. The first stage of securitization can be discerned from the mid-1940s up to 1950s and addresses issues of differentiating the Sami people from Swedish society – and identifying them as a threat – in order to maintain a homogenous Swedish society. Differentiation can here be understood as a hierarchical securitization process that emanates from the state level. It was followed up by the regional level and then implemented at the local level through the establishment of targeted education through the set up of the Nomad School. In this securitization process, the Sami were not believed by the securitization ac-
tors as having characteristics that made them equipped for manual labour. Economic factors were also argued by the securitization actors, the extended securitization actors and the functional actors as possible reasons for not integrating the Sami into Swedish society. The application of targeted education can also be understood as political incentives for protecting the Sami children against modern society through differentiation.

A second stage of securitization seems to have been present mainly during the 1950s. This process, which seems initially to be a process of de-securitization at the national level, was not followed up at the regional and local societal levels. The de-securitization process at the national level was built on assimilating the Sami people into Swedish society by articulating democratic values and beliefs. Thus, although Buzan et al. (1998) state that one of the securitization responses is to opt for assimilation, this does not seem to be the case here. It has not been possible to establish that the national level continued to perceive the Sami people as constituting a severe societal threat during the 1950s. However, at the regional- and local levels the Swedish Church along with other actors continued to differentiate the Sami based on policies linked to the former securitization process of the 1940s. This means that, although the state level advocated measures for de-securitization, the regional and local levels of society continued to employ policies of differentiation based on ethnicity and group belonging. This standpoint was possible to maintain due to organizational structure within education and the organization of Sami education. From a securitization perspective, this may be interpreted as two security complexes working against each other through the implementation of different policies – one of de-securitization and another which continued to apply former established state policies of differentiation. It may therefore be argued that the extended securitization actors of the first stage securitization process at the regional level – the regional and local authorities, the nomad inspectors and the Swedish Church – had now become securitization actors in their own right proclaiming the need for continued securitization of the referent objects: the regional and local levels. However, although there have been noticeable changes in politics since the 1940s, these two security complexes, the national and the regional/local, seem to have had the same political outcome – to diminish the role and significance of the Sami people and their culture in Swedish society.

The third stage of securitization seems to have begun at the end of the 1950s and could be followed into the 1970s. It contained policies of continued assimilation and a security response from the Sami, which has been labelled as self-securitization. The state level continued to pursue ideas of assimilation. However, the development of the 9-year school contained ideas of the necessity to preserve Sami culture and language. Sami politics was geared towards a more positive view of Sami culture. The study showed that what was metaphorically called the safe zone, where the Swedish authorities
called for separation of the Sami, also constituted a safe zone among the
Sami for pursuing their own traditions and culture. This shift points out that
it was still important to advocate separateness in schooling, however under
the motto of preserving the cultural uniqueness of the Sami related to voca-
tional training. Thus, the national arguments for creating a bi-culture rested
on giving equal value to Swedish and Sami influences. It was also one way
for the Swedish authorities to meet the educational needs of the Sami and to
see to that they received comprehensive and equal education in line with all
children in Sweden.

The Sami people themselves played an important part in this change of at-
titude by promoting their significance and unique status in Swedish society.
The Sami people made it clear to the Swedish authorities at the state, region-
al and local levels that the reindeer herding land properties belonged to the
Sami. The Sami people articulating the need for them to stay in their residen-
tial areas points towards a security complex, which included measures of
differentiating themselves from Swedish society in order to protect what
they perceived as threats towards their cultural and ethnic heritage. In this
final securitization process the Sami people themselves became the referent
objects by claiming their right to a safe zone.

This process of self-securitization implies that the meaning of the auton-
omous Sami zone, which had in previous periods signified vertical competi-
tion due to top-down securitization measures of separation, had altered its
original meaning. During the 1940s, the safe zone signified separation as
measures for protecting society as a whole from the Sami people. During the
1960s, the safe zone turned into a reflection of separation as a measure for
Sami indigenous rights in a democratic society. This change seems to dis-
play what Buzan et al. (1998, p. 121) calls a vertical competitive perspective
in politics. Although the Sami people lived side by side with the majority
population in a right-based democratic society, their living conditions were
influenced by the politics of assimilation.

This political change can therefore be noticed in the securitization move
from discriminatory policies to a democratic outlook that still contained an
autonomous zone. This change in ideological outlook towards the Sami can
be described in terms of political support for a security move that contained
a self-securitization process through differentiation from Swedish society. It
should, however, not be interpreted as a self-securitization process that is
solely a bottom-up approach. It is rather a process where the indigenous
group and the Swedish people recognize each other in a process of assimila-
tion that is directed towards the preservation of Sami ways of living that yet
remain a continuing part of the Swedish community.

In South Africa the proximate context consisted of the national govern-
mental authorities which were claimed as securitization actors whereas the
industry was labelled one of the functional actors. The authorities at the re-
gional and local levels were labelled extended securitization actors. The
indigenous populations were those who became securitized through measures of separation.

There seems to have been only one single and hierarchical securitization process present in the decades following WWII, and it built on differentiation and separation between the white people and the black people. It originated at the state level and was followed through to the regional levels by the implementation of the Bantustans. In terms of responding to perceived threats, the political establishment in South Africa introduced targeted education as a means for securitizing the political power of white authority. Measures for educational stratification were politically decided in line with the political establishment of white hegemony in South Africa. The hierarchical process of securitization was shown through the link between the political rhetoric angle, the implementation of educational planning and the application of targeted education policies. These parts contained the securitization actors’ political application of segregation and the construction of a Bantu culture. The set of the Homelands where the Bantu people were to live separated from white society constituted the main part of the securitization process initiated by the apartheid regime. Targeted education may also be understood as measures for mass education since the previous school system run primarily by the Missionary schools had not provided sufficient education for the black children. Although parents – constituting an audience in the securitization process – had doubts about the Bantu education reform, few opposed. Therefore, from a securitization perspective, it seems as if they accepted the education reform, however reluctantly.

Education reform policies from the 1950s and forward included measures for further segregation and decreased the knowledge base for black children in comparison to educating white children. It also came to include competitive elements between black children regarding access to education, thereby continuing to create black children at risk through the measures of targeted education which, it had been argued, the Bantu Education Act had initially intended to prevent through its ideas of establishing mass education. In this securitization process, targeted education initiatives can be said to have showed discriminatory politics of vertical competition (compare to Buzan et al., 1998, pp. 126-127) between the political level of the white securitization actors’ and the black population who had to succumb to the discriminatory politics of apartheid.

Although there was resistance present towards the implementation of apartheid policies and the realization of the Bantu Education Act, these oppositional ideas and confrontations between the white and black populations did not manage to influence or breakdown the hierarchical securitization process initiated by the apartheid regime. Thus, the securitization actors responded to the perceived societal threats against the state in South Africa by finding several political means for separation and discrimination towards the black population in order to maintain white political power. The process of
securitization included the separation of people through politically formulated ideas of what constituted indigenousness. Societal security thus rested on proclaiming native uniqueness and inherited qualities among the black population distinctive from the dominating white parts of society. Along with these policies, economic factors influenced the securitization process of targeted education since the industry had claimed their need of a workforce.

Overall, measures for educational stratification were politically decided in line with the political establishment of white hegemony in South Africa and homogeneity in Sweden. These ideas were based on ethnic belonging and heritage linked to ideas within essentialism to create an image of group belonging in order to direct the indigenous populations towards certain vocational arenas. Additionally, in both South Africa and in Sweden, the construction of indigenousness incorporated issues of ethnicity and group belonging connected to conflict over land and deviance as shared security issues. In both cases it seems as if the labour market and political ideas about meritocracy, specifically targeted occupations incorporating the indigenous populations in both countries, played important parts in responding to perceived threats. Thus, both political and economic factors influenced and guided the securitization actors’ perception of societal threats. In both these cases targeted education through education reform policies was put forward by the securitization actors as having an important part in shaping the role and attitudes towards the indigenous populations in society.

While comparing reforms in a historical perspective, it was possible to discern that, for example, targeted education initiatives seem to have been based not just on perceptions of pupils being at risk, but also on perceptions of children constituting threats to society. Targeted education can be said to have constituted the core of the securitization processes. It therefore seems possible to understand the gradually changing reforms as a number of complex strategies that were settled on in order to handle different perceived threats. These reforms also included a diversity of processes that sometimes came to contradict each other.
7. Education for Sustainable Development – an issue for securitization? A speech act analysis of environmental security and environmental issues in education policies and reforms

This chapter focuses on environmental security in connection to international and national aims of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) in order to explore if ESD can be understood as being part of a globally implemented securitization process with national empirical studies in South Africa and Sweden. In line with my special interest in educational engagement for children at risk, I analyse perceived threats at the international and national level. The perception of environmental threats is first set in relation to international environmental agreements, and mainly UNESCO’s policy aims of ESD. The international outlook of environmental security and ESD are suggested by the international policy to form the basic structure for implementation at the national level. As a consequence, speech acts and undertakings related to environmental threats, with a special focus on children and education, are investigated in Sweden and South Africa – Sweden and South Africa being quite different countries where I had conducted other empirical studies included in this thesis. In both countries, the utilization of ESD in education reform policies will be scrutinized. Also, the bearing that environmental threats may have on access to education and the possibility to fulfil the Right to Education will be explored. This part includes examining how environmental threats like environmental disasters may generate children at risk, even if ESD, in most definitions, would generally not be included within the field of special education.

This chapter brings to the fore how to interpret and comprehend the impact of international environmental policies regarding how to politically respond to environmental threats and their bearing on the planning and implementation of national educational policies with a specific focus on Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). The study specifically focuses on envi-
ronmental security in connection to international and national aims of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) to explore if ESD can be understood as being part of a securitization process expressed and employed in education reform policies. This approach entails examining the planning and implementation of ESD in education. ESD as a concept has developed from the UN work on sustainable development. In 2002 the outcomes of the 1992 Earth Summit were reviewed. In order to further emphasize the development of ESD, the UN General Assembly adopted an action plan – the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, starting in 2005 (see UNESCO, 2014a, p. 18). The systematic conditions for examination rest on the fact that Sweden as well as South Africa has recently gone through educational reforms where ESD has been put forward as an essential important theme in both countries’ curricula. In Sweden, the most recent curriculum, LGR11, points out that the environmental perspective and sustainable development is one of the four overall perspectives in education (see LGR11, 2011, pp. 7-11). In South Africa, environmental concerns have been integrated into the South African school curricula. The governing principles of the curricula include themes such as human rights, social justice, inclusivity and a healthy environment (see DoE, 2002a; Dube, 2012).

The UN and UNESCO constitute international organizations where the policy aims of ESD are articulated (see UNESCO, 2016a; UNESCO, 2016b). These two international agencies’ outlook on environmental security and the environmentally based security link to ESD are here first suggested to form the basic structure for examining the perception of environmental threats at the international and the national levels in South Africa and Sweden. Secondly, the perception of environmental threats are defined in South Africa (a developing country) and Sweden (a developed country) before examining a potential securitization process where ESD is utilized to bring about environmental security and awareness. The examination of ESD in connection to comprehensive education in education reform policies will apply to analysing its implementation. This part includes scrutinizing curricula, syllabi and teacher training programmes from a securitization theory perspective. The examination focuses on different types of speech acts containing the security outlook of environmental security and how the national and local school levels interpret and make use of them in ESD. This means to look for how environmental threats are defined, dealt with and taught in comprehensive education in South Africa and Sweden through speech act analysis. The analytical procedure will then be carried out in three different steps and more explicitly presented further on in this chapter.

A note should perhaps be made about the relation between environmental security and children at risk. Important here is to acknowledge the impact

55 There are four main perspectives in LGR11- the historical perspective, the environmental perspective, the international perspective and ethical perspective (LGR11, 2011, pp. 9-10).
that environmental threats and emergencies have on meeting children exposed to environmental danger in societal settings. Hence, the consequences of environmental hazards and depletion create children at risk. According to UNESCO (2010) and Mochizuk (2012), environmental threats and emergencies may have a bearing on state policies in connection to meeting the aims of the Right to Education and EFA (see UNESCO 2010; Mochizuk, 2012). Both Sweden and South Africa will work in line with these commitments (see UNESCO, 2014b; DoE, 2008). This implicates that the consequences of environmental threats may put children at risk, as environmental threats may lead to physical barriers to learning if not dealt with. Physical barriers to learning are mainly due to damaged infrastructure and disintegrated land areas, which have long term consequences for the carrying out of education and the possibility to fulfil the UN (1989) Right to Education. Therefore, the intent to examine whether ESD can be part of an environmental securitization process also includes exploring environmental threats and their impact on national educational reform policies. This standpoint implicates finding out if ESD includes issues that are connected to reducing the number of children at risk. This means examining how potential environmental threats affect the physical base of the state and its institutions, but also how different types of international agreements on environmental security are interpreted and implemented in national education reforms. 56

Environmental threats in global settings

This section begins by outlining what is discussed and perceived as environmental threats in international settings. This includes presenting and defining the meaning of environmental security and the perception of environmental threats in contemporary politics and discourses as discussed in environmental securitization perspectives (see Buzan et al., 1998; Barnett, 2001).

The increase of global political and economic transactions leading to interdependency between states is an important factor that has contributed to international agreements aimed at reducing ecological vulnerabilities (see The Kyoto Protocol, UN, 1998). It is within the tension field between establishing what kind of environmental threats can be classified as issues for urgent security concern and those already classified as urgent that this empirical study is set. This outlook concerns examining potential environmental threats at different societal levels in combination with political and societal contexts surrounding the perception of environmental threats. By doing so, the meaning and intent of international environmental agreements made by the UN and UNESCO’s policy aims of ESD can be further understood.

56 See Buzan (1991, pp. 57-111) on threats to the base of the state, its institutions and the idea of the state.
Securitization perspectives on environmental threats

The following paragraphs discuss what may be perceived as environmental threats in international settings. This includes presenting and defining the meaning of environmental security and the perception of environmental threats in contemporary politics and discourses (see Buzan, 1991; Buzan et al., 1998; Barnett, 2001).

According to Buzan, Waever and de Wilde’s (1998), environmental security can be said to consist of three types of relationships: First, non-man made threats to civilization, for instance, earth-quakes, volcanic activity or meteor strikes; second, threats to the natural systems of environment and civilization caused by human behaviour, for example, the ozone layer, or environmental exploitation that interferes with economics and societal settings of the states involved; third, threats from human activities towards the natural ecosystem or structures of the global or lower levels of society that seem to cause existential harm to civilization. An example of this would be changing harmful material in the industry that can be handled by advanced technology (Buzan et al., 1998, pp. 79-80).

Effects of environmental threats are observed, calculated and measured more and more often. This outlook concerns, for instance, issues regarding threats towards the preservation of art species and eco-systems (see WWF, 2016). A security outlook that builds on defining and interpreting the meaning of environmental threats brings to the fore that even though the effects of, for instance, environmental emergencies can be observed, they are interpreted and evaluated differently depending on who makes the perception of a threat and the analytical evaluation of a security issue. Even if a joint assessment agrees that an issue should be observed as a threat, perceptions may differ as to what the threat consists of, what is threatened and what should be done to address the threat (see Buzan et al., 1998; Eriksson, 2004).

The increased interest among scholars to comprehend the meaning of environmental threats and environmental awareness in contemporary politics suggests that this is an area in need of further research (see Barnett, 2001; Al-Rodham, 2007). Thus, to comprehend environmental security from a securitization perspective means to define what kind of environmental threats can be perceived by different types of actors as sufficiently significant to constitute a security issue. It also includes defining where the threshold lies for when the securitization actor makes the securitization move. That means settling on where the perceived threshold lies for deciding on the intensity and effects of the crisis by making predictions for high or low environmental and/or material damage. This includes understanding where the threshold lies for perceiving an environmental threat as an urgent and viable threat – and not only as a potential environmental insecurity.
An analysis in four steps at three societal levels

Three societal levels – the global level, the national level and the local level – will be studied. The examination will be carried out in four steps to establish if securitization theory is a productive perspective that helps us understand ESD. The first step includes examining the international setting in order to study the global components of what is defined as and represents environmental threats. International writings and protocols on environmental security and ESD will be studied. Here the contextual setting for international policy-making and wordings in environmental agreements between stakeholders at the international level will be examined.

The second step is to find out if these international claims on environmental security are reflected in ESD at the national level of Sweden and South Africa. The planning and realization of these international agreements on environmental security will then be further scrutinized in order to see if and how international claims for perceived environmental threats are transmitted to the national level and dealt with in national policies. The constructive components of a possible environmentally based securitization process should here be understood as guiding the securitization actors in a certain direction. Scrutinizing the constructive components includes describing the national political and security settings in relation to the perception of environmental threats. This contextual outlook should be comprehended when having to estimate actualities for environmental disaster – for instance material damage or flooding. The third step includes looking for how and if national education reforms reflect international claims for environmental security in curriculum design in South Africa and Sweden. This part includes examining the content of ESD within national curriculum design from an environmental security perspective in education.

The fourth step includes examining different local and unique school projects organized by NGO’s. All four steps also include issues related to access to education and the Right to Education in order to see if and how the subject matter of children at risk in connection to ESD and environmental threats has been handled at all different societal levels.

The foundation for interpreting ESD in terms of a securitization process is explored by close examination of statements (so-called speech acts) on all three societal levels concerning environmental threats, educational reform and programmes. In this context, a speech act will refer to written statements on environmental security and ESD supporting urgent actions because of an important threat. The examination of speech acts will be set in a distal context that reflects the international level’s global perception of environmental threats and the utilization of ESD; that is, the national level in Sweden and South Africa and these two countries’ perception of environmental threats and the utilization of ESD in curriculum design and the implementation of
ESD in educational programmes at the local level.

The speech act analysis should here be understood on the basis of viewing the political contextual setting in relation to the perception of environmental threats and the securitization structure of the proximate: (a) referent object in speech acts; (b) securitization actors at the international and national levels of South Africa and Sweden; (c) possible extended securitization actors; (d) functional actors and their position in the securitization process; (e) and audience. This (f) is accomplished by addressing environmental threats and their implications for the referent objects as highly prioritized areas. The speech acts have thus been singled out due to their particular relevance for exemplifying universal and particular policy ideas on environmental security and protection at the international and national levels, as well as in educational settings.

Communicating security relevance towards environmental threats and ESD at the global level

The international level can be said to consist of an anarchic world-system where autonomous states operate (Hettne, 1990). Their goals, needs and aspirations are mainly influenced by the distribution or structure of power within the system. The rules of the system are linked to habitual patterns of self-determination and trans-national values. Autonomy is a vital part in international and domestic politics. It refers to the capacity to withstand influence and coercion and to act in accordance the national government’s political priorities (Holsti, 1992, pp. 82, 96). The role of the UN in the international community has changed over the years (see, for instance, Luard, 1994; Holsti, 1992). It is no longer only dealing with the issue related to peace and war. New issues that were not even thought of as UN related were found to have entered the political agenda in international politics. Issues for immediate international concern include among others terrorism, world populations, the depletion of world resources and the environment. Further, the complex subject matter on state sovereignty and unwillingness to respond to the urgings of the UN complicates matters of implementation. Although most governments support the UN – and where the UN view is one and the same as the their own view – some states reject the authority of the UN on the grounds that the organization has no mandate to enforce itself over state sovereignty (Luard, 1994, p. 8). The conditions for implementing international agreements related to environmental security are therefore both linked to the political authority of the UN to pursue its interest as well as individual state’s’ perception of environmental threats. The perception of environmental threats at the national level is therefore dependent on whether they as
independent states agree with the UN or if the state has an alternative view which may contradict the implementation of UN-agreements.

The United Nations General Assembly

Within the International Community (IC), the United Nations and its sister organizations can be considered as security agencies’ promoting, among many other things, environmental security and protection (see UN, 2015a). The General Assembly is the main decision-making organ of the United Nations. It consists of representatives of all member states where each member state has one vote. Important questions require a two-third majority, whereas other issues are settled on by simple majority. Important questions concern, for instance, peace and security, budgetary matters and admission of new members (UN, 2016a, p. 1). At present there are 193 member states in the UN (see UNRIC, 2011).

Nine issues are currently a significant agenda concern. They include matters on international peace and security; human rights; humanitarian and disaster relief assistance; justice and international law; drugs, crime and international terrorism; disarmament; organizational and administrative matters; development of Africa and economic growth and sustainable development (UN, 2016a; 2016b; 2016c; 2016d). Matters related to sustainable development include, for instance, the Implementation of Agenda 21; the Programme for the Further Implementation of Agenda 21 and the outcomes of the World Summit on Sustainable Development; the international strategy for disaster reduction and protection of global climate and future generations of mankind and the Convention on Biological Diversity (see UN, 2016b). Issues related to the Development of Africa involve the encouragement of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa (see UN, 2016c). Sustainable development is also about human rights including the Right to Education, elimination of racism and racial discrimination (see UN, 2016d).

Although the Assembly only has the power to make non-binding recommendations to states regarding international issues, it has still been able to promote actions within several areas. For instance, of specific concern is the Millennium Declaration, adopted in 2000, which reflects the commitment of member states to supporting and acting towards reaching specific goals. These goals include protecting our common environment, meeting the special needs of Africa and strengthening the role of the United Nations (UN, 2016a).
International agreements on environmental security

The following six UN-agreements can be said to reflect the international environmental security theme, in combination with promoting sustainability. These agreements include:


2. The next agreement was *The Kyoto Protocol* in 1997 (UN, 1998). In 2007, 175 countries had ratified the Protocol (see SMH, 2018, p. 1).


4. *World Summit on Sustainable Development* (2002) where the Credential Committee agreed to recommend to the Summit the adoption of a draft resolution without the 189 participants voting (UN, 2002). The Credentials Committee of the General Assembly consisted of China, Denmark, Jamaica, Lesotho, the Russian Federation, Senegal, Singapore, the United States of America and Uruguay (UN, 2002, p. 147).

5. *The 2012 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development* (The Rio +20). The main result of the conference was a non-binding document "The Future We Want". The document largely reaffirms previous action plans like Agenda 21 (Slideshare, 2017a). The conference urged member states who have signed the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (1992), the Kyoto Protocol (1997), to implement their commitments, as well as decisions adopted under those agreements (UN, 2012; UNESCO, 2014a).

6. A meeting on the subject matter was held in September 2015 where the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* was adopted 150 delegates. The Agenda contains 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which are to end poverty, take action on climate change, to fight inequality and injustice, to improve access to health and education and to build strong institutions and partnerships by 2030. Thus, the former MDGs are transitioned into SDGs (see UNDP, 2016a; UNDP, 2016b).

However, although there have been several international agreements signed, the implementation of environmental policies at the national level seems flawed. The following speech act can be said to sum up and express the international level’s concern for the environment and the difficulties in communicating its importance to the IC:

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In more than 20 years of sustainable development and climate diplomacy there have been many successes and watershed moments. But there has been a perpetual struggle over how to communicate risk and opportunity, urgency and action to other constituencies, especially those that can spur behavioural change at scale. Time is running out. With evidence of the need for change and even many of the steps we need to take clearly delineated, communicating “why act?” or even “why wouldn’t you act?” must become fundamental (UNEP, 2014a, p. 41).

The speech act touches on the difficulties in communicating potential hazards and the possibilities to meet them, as well as urgency and differences in interest between different types of actors. The utilization of expressing shortage of time while addressing the particular need for acting on and meeting environmental challenges indicates urgency. However, there is also a message that seems directed towards pointing out the expected results of global actions against environmental threats where the IC has to make individual states respond to environmental urgencies. Thus, individual states can no longer overlook potential environmental threats as being of non-important security interest.

The negative results surrounding the UN and its several organizations within the UN-family – and their requests to recognize the environment as an important matter for security concern – seem to have been dismissed by its member states even though several international agreements have been signed. This standpoint is exemplified and further stressed in the following speech act within the United Nations Environment Program:

Looking back, the international community has exerted massive efforts to address environmental issues, but except for a few cases, the overall situation is deteriorating. Biodiversity loss, climate change, water crises, chemical pollution, and land degradation have not been effectively resolved (UNEP, 2014a, p. 15).

As a leading global environmental authority that sets the global environmental agenda and supports the consistent implementation of the environmental dimension of sustainable development, UNEP serves as an authoritative advocate for the global environment within the UN-system (UNEP, 2016). Hence, although the UN has arranged several meetings where environmental security has being put forward as an issue for significance, the IC does not come across as having reached the aims of these goals on how to manage environmental issues to the full. The UN and its other organizations within the UN-family can be seen as securitization actors who recognize that environmental threats need to be securitized. The global level is here suggested as the referent object since the speech acts demonstrate that the globe is exposed to several types of severe environmental threats. Different issues are mentioned as contributing factors to environmental insecurity. Thus, there is a challenge for the UN to pursue and communicate environmental
security as a highly prioritized security area within the International Community.

As an independent actor, the International Bar Association (IBA) has acknowledged these difficulties with implementing the different UN declarations and conventions. In a report, the IBA recommended that a new structure for dispute resolution on climate issues was needed that would require the establishment of a new international environmental court (Sveriges advokatsamfund, 2016; IBA, 2014). From a securitization perspective, the ideas of the IBA can be interpreted as a functional actor trying to influence the security agenda by suggesting the strengthening of judicial regulations in order to fortify the legitimization of the different ratified declarations and agreements at the international and national levels of society.

Due to the difficulties in achieving the goals of the different environmental declarations and agreements, the UN somehow, as a securitization actor, had to clarify the urgent need to protect the environment from further damage and ensure it was recognized and communicated. The new agenda for global action – “Summit to adopt the Post – 2015 Development Agenda” addresses these inconsistencies between the UN and its member states.

Almost fifteen years ago, the Millennium Development Goals were agreed. These provided an important framework for development and significant progress has been made in a number of areas. But the progress has been uneven, particularly in Africa [...] [...] We recommit ourselves to the full realization of all the MDGs, including the off-track MDGs, in particular by providing focussed and scaled-up assistance to least developed countries and other countries in special situations, in line with relevant support programmes. The new Agenda builds on the Millennium Development Goals and seeks to complete what these did not achieve, particularly in reaching the most vulnerable (UN, 2015b, p. 6).

Although the speech act acknowledges that progress has been made over the past 15 years there are still areas that need specific attention. In this transformed agenda it is possible to distinguish that the IC has put further effort on the need to stress urgency in connection to addressing global and national environmental security in comparison to earlier international agreements.

Goal 13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts.57

13.1 Strengthen resilience and adaptive capacity to climate related hazards and natural disasters in all countries
13.2 Integrate climate change measures into national policies, strategies and planning

57 Asterix has been removed.
13.3 Improve education, awareness raising and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction and early warning (UN, 2015b, pp. 24-25).

By making use of the word “urgent” in relation to stating environmental threats and incentives for policy initiatives, the UN can be said to emphasize the need for its member states to make the securitization move. It looks as if the UN is making an attempt to use their authority to strongly influence its member states into making certain that security issues linked to the environment are also recognized at the national levels. This implicates shifting environmental issues from being communicated and perceived as politicized areas at the national levels into being stressed and communicated as prioritized areas and therefore in need of securitization. This security move entails, from a securitization perspective, that the UN has the means for communicating to the IC that all states have to urgently focus on environmental issues as potential threats to society.

In this first step of the analysis, the IC – with its member states – may here be understood as an audience that gives authorization to a UN-initiated securitization process. By acknowledging and ratifying international environmental security agreements, all states also have to implement the agreements. However, this calls for a change in attitudes and power positioning regarding the political value of the UN where the member states accept that the role of the UN can be altered into a governing agency but yet an interactive actor at the international arena. Hence, during times of severe crisis the UN can be interpreted as a securitization actor that is given a mandate to act in an interactive process by its member states within the IC. The interactive platform for UN and its mandate in contemporary politics is here proposed to build on what Archer (1992, pp. 54-55) defines as an inter-governmental organization with political aims. Hence, by making statements that enhance the security interests of pursuing environmental security as a significant area in need of immediate attention, the UN turns into what may be suggested as an inter-governmental securitization actor that shapes the security interests of its member states. However, this also calls for the member states to acknowledge or give authority to environmental threats as highly prioritized areas, even though international agreements are non-binding when ratified. This includes ensuring that the perception of environmental threats is considered as significant and continuously addressed in state policies as high-risk areas where the consequences may be extremely severe, close in time and space and that the likelihood for an environmental crisis to occur has profoundly increased over time.
The role of UNESCO and environmental security

Education has been put forward as one area that can promote and support environmental security and sustainability (see UNDP, 2016a; UNDP, 2016b; UN, 2015b, op cit.). Education can be developed into promoting and increasing knowledge about environmental security. One part would be to educate its citizens on environmental sustainability (see McKeown, Hopkins, Rizzi & Chrystalbridge, 2016). In international settings, UNESCO is defined as the leading actor to promote education in general – and ESD in particular – and seeks cooperation within the UN system, based on its areas of expertise as defined by its mandate (see UNESCO, 2015a). The following two speech acts express UNESCO’s mission, function and mandate within the UN-organization:

The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in 1945 to promote the aims set out in article 1, para. 3 of the UN Charter. Its purpose, as stated in article 1 of its Constitution, is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture (UNESCO, 2015b).

Education is a motor for change. That is why in December 2002, the United Nations General Assembly, through its Resolution 57/254, declared a Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014). It also designated UNESCO as the lead agency for the promotion of this Decade (UNESCO, 2005, p. 4). However, it needs to be noted that no single attribute in the above speech acts define UNESCO as an autonomous actor. Instead, it seems as if its international role is to act in concordance with its assigned security mandate by the UN, which carries the above mentioned securitization properties. The role of UNESCO would therefore implicate that its security mandate would include putting forward the international claims for immediate action against environmental depletion in line with ratified UN-agreements in order to consider the environment as a prioritized area in the development of ESD. Thereby, UNESCO can be said to act as a kind of “extended” securitization actor on UN mandate.

ESD – securitizing the environment?

According to UNESCO (2015c), ESD builds on sustainable development issues that are brought into teaching and learning (op cit.). Research on ESD focuses on issues of development and globalization (see Wals & Kleft,
ESD and its relation to environmental education (EE) (Bonnet, 1999) in addition to EE and development education (Nevin, 2008). Significant research literature is also characterized by examining the objectives of ESD in connection to teacher training (McKeown, 2014), learning opportunities (Nambiar, 2014; West, 2015) and the realization of ESD policies (Taylor, 2014). Another recent area is ESD in connection to disaster reduction (Shaw & Oikawa, 2014). The subject of ESD, within the concept of sustainable development, can thus be described as wide and embracing of a variety of approaches. The following speech acts presents the international aims of ESD in relation to environmental security (see UNESCO, 2015c, 2015d):

We can no longer turn a blind eye to urgent sustainable development challenges such as climate change, the food crisis, disappearing biodiversity and the depletion of natural resources. A way to rise to these challenges is through Education for Sustainable Development (UNESCO, 2010, p. 1)

International agreements on meeting environmental challenges seem in international educational policy papers directly linked to the teaching of environmental sustainability (see the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, 2000), the Development Goals of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD, 2002) and the newly introduced Global Action Programme on ESD (UNESCO, 2013a). Thus, a proposed environmentally based securitization process, where ESD is one part, involves defining tangible and environmental threats in need of immediate attention. In the UN (UN, 2015c) report on the Millennium Development Goals it is argued that:

**Environmental sustainability is a core pillar of the post-2015 development agenda.**

Efforts to ensure global environmental sustainability have shown mixed results throughout the last 15 years. Much work remains for the post-2015 period, particularly given the acute environmental challenges the world is facing, such as climate change, food and water insecurity and natural disasters (UN, 2015c, p. 2).

Another way of phrasing this is that environmental insecurities pose threats to all parts of society – from the global level down to the local level including the educational sphere. This concerns the acknowledgement of environmental threats to the base of the state (infrastructure, access to water); the institutional level (school buildings); and ideology in educational activities.  

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58 DESD - the overall aim is to integrate the principles, values and practices of sustainable development into all areas of education. MDGs - contain issues on health, water, education and sanitation; GAP - seeks to bring about and intensify ESD action (see UNESCO, 2005; UNESCO, 2009; UNESCO, 2013a).
reform (environmental threats addressed in curricula).

The devastating human and societal consequences of the tsunami on December 26th in 2004 put further focus and emphasis on disaster preparedness. The authorities in those countries, which had been affected by the crisis, called for strengthened preparedness in order to meet these kinds of threats in the future (see UNESCO, 2007):

Sustainable development is undermined by the occurrence or threat of disasters. The Director General of UNESCO, Mr. Koïchiro Matsuura, highlighted the significant role of education in improving the capacity of individuals and communities to reduce the risk of disasters: “anticipating, educating and informing are the keys to reducing the deadly effect of such natural disasters” (3 January 2005, UNESCO Press in UNESCO, 2007, p. ii).

The role of education for disaster risk reduction strategies can thus be presented according to three types of activities: 1) Save lives and prevent injuries should a hazardous event occur, 2) Prevent interruptions to the provision of education, or ensure its swift resumption in the event of an interruption, and 3) Develop a resilient population that is able to reduce the economic, social and cultural impacts should a hazardous event occur (UNESCO, 2015e, p. 1).

Hence, the above speech acts acknowledge the devastating impacts that environmental disasters may have on society. They express the necessity to include both preventative measures in education and acute forms of activities to increase safety. The speech acts also include security aspects and the importance of emergency assessment. Thus, the development of ESD should be seen as part of a wider environmental security agenda where ESD is one part aiming for environmental security.

Eleven areas form the basis for ESD and are considered as potential risk areas directly and/or indirectly linked to environmental depletion and environmental insecurities. They involve:

1. climate change;
2. disaster risk reduction;
3. peace and human security;
4. biodiversity;
5. poverty reduction;
6. water;
7. gender equality;
8. cultural diversity;
9. health promotion;
10-11. sustainable lifestyles and sustainable urbanization (globalization, democratization, consumer education) (Fondromania, 2018; see also UNESCO, 2015c, 2015d). 59

59 No. 8 will not be mentioned in the study.
These areas and their implications and usage in a possible securitization process that involves education reform and ESD will be considered in the examination of ESD at the national levels in South African and Swedish education policies.

In the recently adopted SDGs, inclusive education is being put forward as an important part in order to achieve the sustainable agenda for 2030. The understanding between perceived environmental threats and their bearing on the carrying out of education should here be understood against the background of environmental hazards and/or depletion having an effect on participation in education (see Appendix 2). It is also possible to think that education reform policies need to consider the implications that environmental threats and hazards have on access to equal education in connection to the Right to Education. The special education needs of children at risk therefore relates to both the environment where education takes place and taking measures to ensure that environmental threats are met in the best way possible.

The Sustainable Development Goal 4 is specifically connected to ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all children. Goal number 4, solely focussing on education, in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development acknowledges that education is important for reaching all sustainable development goals (SDGs). Education is also included in the area of sustainable development and issues on climate change. A recent UN conference in June 2016 affirmed the importance of the Sustainable Development Goal 4 – to take education action to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong opportunities for all (UN, 2016e). Additionally, UNESCO (2017) welcomes the “growing international recognition of ESD as an integral and transformative element of inclusive quality education” (p. 5). Further, OECD (IBE, 2009) recognizes that ecological balance and social cohesion contribute to reducing risk for future generations. OECD also states that ESD includes matters related to special education needs as ESD aims to make certain that:

[S]ocial cohesion is protected by ensuring equity of education outcomes for all, that is developing educational systems that permit young people with social disadvantages or learning difficulties to perform/participate in a world within which an increasing number of people are suffering from physical handicaps or disabilities (pp. 1-2).

Thus, it therefore seems possible to suggest that education reform policies that acknowledge the aims of the SDGs need to address that ESD is about taking action towards meeting the challenges of climate change and environmental depletion as well as responding to education needs to ensure that
all children gain access to equal education – including children with special needs.

Planning and implementation of ESD. An international call for a centrally defined curriculum on ESD.

Security themes and disaster reduction are often handled by the UN, UNESCO and INGOs in joint projects (see UN, 2015d). However, it needs to be noted that environmental disasters and preparedness do not consequentially contain security attributes directed towards opting for securitization.

The equation below – in this context also categorized as a speech act – expresses the calculation formula for assessing the potential consequences of environmental disasters. Thus, the equation may be seen as an assessment tool for settling on if and when environmental threats should be perceived as issues in need of securitization.

\[
\text{Disaster Risk} = \frac{\text{Natural Hazard} \times \text{Vulnerability}}{\text{Capacity of Societal System}}
\]


It is argued in a shared project between UNESCO and UNICEF (2012) that the aspects of Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) and ESD are in education often limited to exploring the scientific reasons for the occurrence of environmental hazards. This means often missing out on safety measures, prevention and exploring the basic science of environmental hazards before moving on to instruction on safety measures. Repeatedly left out is the systematic coverage of the hazard, its prevention and environmental awareness (UNESCO & UNICEF, 2012, p. 20). This indicates that in national education policies environmental threats are not perceived as potential issues in need of securitization. To facilitate the transmission of ESD from the international to the national level, UNESCO (2002) called for advocacy of an international and centrally defined curriculum in order to guide the national educational systems on their country specific focus of ESD (op cit.). This was due to the fact that there seemed to be difficulties transferring the objectives of international and national environmental security into domestic education since most countries’ do not have a special ESD policy or strategy (Wals & Kleft, 2010, p. 12). In the DRR-report, UNESCO and UNICEF (UNESCO & UNICEF, 2012) advocated the need for governments to integrate disaster and risk reduction into the curriculum of comprehensive education (p. 10).
In this context, the call for a centrally defined curriculum that can guide countries on how to define and outline ESD in national education should here be understood as bringing to the fore special education reforms initiatives in a wider perspective. This kind of special education reform initiative should here be connected to special education needs about maintaining access to education in environmental crisis-stricken areas. However, they are also connected to taking precautionary measures regarding environmental threats and disasters in order to prevent children from becoming at risk. Further, being an educator for ESD concerns, according Corpuz (Slideshare, 2017b), includes the teaching about environmental education. This part contains awareness of the resources and fragility of the physical environment and the effects on its human activity and decisions. It also involves knowledge about ideas of inclusiveness and the Right to Education for all children – especially from the standpoint of participation and equality (see pp. 4, 22-23). This environmentally based outlook on ESD and its connection to access to education for all children – taking into account different kinds of living conditions – implicates that the International Community can be understood as viewing ESD as a kind of special education needs reform in a wide sense. The special education outlook may here be seen to reflect special education initiatives in comprehensive education regarding the specific features of ESD and issues concerning reaching and/or maintaining access to education during times of environmental emergencies. However, since the international level cannot make decisions for states regarding how to handle issues regarding ESD, these special education initiatives may be understood as guidelines for the national level.

Worth noting in this context is that UNESCO describes themselves as an individual actor within the UN-based International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR), which promotes the integration of disaster reduction into educational policies, planning and curriculum design. In a similar manner to the above mentioned report, it is further stated that in post-disaster situations it is of vital importance to ensure that educational needs can be met (see UNESCO, 2015e, p. 1). Further, the report concludes that the increased exposure to both man-made and natural and hazards creates threats to lives and progress of sustainable development. How are we then to understand the role of UNESCO in this context? As an extended securitization that works together with another extended securitization actor or as an independent actor? Both these aspects seem possible.

Two arguments from the ISDR-report can be said to shed further light on how we are to view the role of UNESCO. The following speech acts can be said to constitute reasons for adopting a securitization outlook on ESD:

In 2011 alone, 302 hazards resulted in disasters that claimed almost 30,000 lives (UNESCO & UNICEF, 2012, p. 3).
In the event of a disaster, children are the most affected, schooling systems are disrupted [...]. Developmental gains in education are reversed with the damage or destruction of school facilities, the prolonged disruption of education, limited access to schooling, and decreased education quality (UNESCO & UNICEF, 2012, p. 3).

In order to examine if ESD can be part of an environmental securitization agenda, the perception of urgency will be considered regarding the environment as a prioritized area in the planning and carrying out of education. According to Sjöstedt (2011), urgency refers to the need to address the potential threat immediately. Non-urgent refers to the security issue not being directly in need of attention. Hence, it is equal to any political issue (op cit.). This standpoint includes examining where the threshold lays for when the application and content of ESD moves from environmental security issues dealing with politicization into the process of securitization. The following part of the examination is therefore guided by the perceived and expressed level of urgency in speech acts in order to support or dismiss ESD as part of an environmentally-based securitization agenda.

In the following country-specific examination, securitization theory will be applied in more detail in relation to the following subject matters: (a) looking for and distinguishing the perceived urgency-rated level of environmental threats to society in speech acts linked to their contextual setting; and (b) examining if ESD responds to recognizing environmental threats as urgent in international writings and recent national educational reforms in South Africa (see DoE, 1996; DoE, 2002a; DoE, 2002b) and Sweden (see Lpo94, 2006; LGR11, 2011). This approach entails identifying what kind of security processes, and measures taken, can be seen to have possibly been derived from the above mentioned ratified agreements. This part of the study means looking for and discerning what activates the onset of viewing environmental threats as matters for urgent attention in accordance with the security claims of the international level. It is also about acknowledging children at risk in connection to environmental threats and disasters by planning for special education initiatives in comprehensive education in a wide sense in order to respond to or prevent possible consequences of environmental threats and their bearing on access to education.

Securitizing the environment in Swedish national policies

According to UNESCO (2013b), the effects of environmental depletion means that nearly all European regions will be negatively affected by the future impacts of climate change. In Northern Europe, some benefits will be
noted linked to a reduced demand for heating and increased crop growth. However, flooding (including more frequent winter floods, endangered ecosystems and increasing ground instability) are likely to outweigh these benefits (p. 11 (75)). From a securitization perspective, the international claims for considering the environment as an urgent security area in need of immediate attention has to be acknowledged at the national level in order to politically follow up ratified international agreements. This indicates that since UN-agreements are not legally binding they have to be politically re-activated at the national level in order to be put into action. The above mentioned environmental predictions made by UNESCO (see 2013b, p. 1) call for attention and the need to single out the environment as a specific vulnerability area in national policies. The following sections will be directed towards examining the perception of environmental threats and vulnerabilities in Sweden at the governmental level and among national security agencies.

The governmental level and Swedish national agencies’ perception of environmental threats

The following sections consist of exploring the contextual background with regard to ideological outlook and the perception of environmental threats at the governmental level in Sweden. This part includes the national aims of fulfilling international claims for environmental security. The first four selected speech acts have been singled out to respond to the most recent established UN-goals concerning the environment. The first states the Swedish view towards the SDGs, the second reflects the Swedish view on the UN Agenda 2030 given by the Swedish Development Minister Lövin and the third and fourth refer to the Education Minister Fridolin on environmental emergencies. Both ministers represent the Environmental Party in Sweden. The following speech acts are taken from selected reports published by national agencies.

At the governmental level, the approach is to prioritize Agenda 2030 in order to find effective ways to contribute to achieving global sustainability targets. Issues include, for example, gender equality and sustainable energy for all. The Swedish Government considers that a greater coherence on the basis of a sustainable development perspective is needed at all levels to address both global and national challenges. Sweden took an early position, in the form of a parliamentary decision in 2003, that all governmental decisions taken should include measures for contributing to global development (Swedish Government, 2016a). Further, the government appointed a committee in the form of a national delegation. The committee was given the assignment to support and increase the work of implementing Agenda 2030. This undertaking includes the way Sweden acts nationally but also contributes to the
international implementation of Agenda 2030. At the national level, the committee is to carry out dialogues about sustainability with authorities at the regional level and with municipalities, civil society and researchers. The committee is supposed to advocate shared information and knowledge between these and relevant international actors (Swedish Government, 2016b).

In early 2016, the government gave 86 national agencies a mandate to provide a basis for how Sweden was to implement the UN SDG Agenda 2030 (Swedish Government, 2016c). The national environmental agencies (the Environmental Protection Agency, the Marine and Water Authority, the National Board of Housing, the Agriculture Agency, the Chemicals Agency, the Forest Agency, the Swedish Radiation Safety Authority and the Geological Survey of Sweden) will, within their areas of expertise, explore how the goals and objectives of the 2030 Agenda relate to the responsibility of each agency. The Environmental Protection Agency (Naturvårdsverket) will guide the authorities in the work in accordance with the agency’s tasks and environmental objectives. The Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency will also make an additional mapping of the goals and targets of the agenda relate to Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030 (see Swedish Government, 2016d, pp. 1-2).60

The above mentioned authorities’ reports will then contribute to the development of government control in the policy areas covered by Agenda 2030 (Swedish Government, 2016c). The Swedish governmental view seems to contain the guiding directives for how to make the policy aims of Agenda 2030 included into the national agencies’ responsibility areas. It is only the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB) that is given an extra mandate to develop contingency mapping. Thus, contingency mapping is not mentioned as related to Agenda 2030. This kind of political positioning indicates that it is the policy aims of Agenda 2030 that are of significant interest to implement into the national agencies strategy planning and not necessarily the consequences of potential environmental threats and their potential consequences to Swedish society.

The following speech act seems to follow this line of thinking in an international setting. It includes the Swedish view on how to address the SDGs articulated by the Swedish EU-Representation Agency (Swedish Government, 2016e):

> Since the United Nations on global sustainability goals last fall, work has intensified. The government has appointed a committee to prepare a draft action plan for implementation, and provided a large number of agencies commissioned to identify and report how their work can help to achieve the various objectives (Swedish Government, 2016e). 61

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60 The Geological Survey of Sweden, SGU, is the expert agency for issues relating to bedrock, soil and groundwater in Sweden.

61 Translated by the author.
Although the speech act touches upon matters of intensified action, and how different parts and agencies among the Swedish authorities should contribute to reaching the SDGs, these aims do not come across as matters for acute security actions. A possible interpretation is that the wordings of intensity can be considered as being part of action plan responding to the SDGs aims and objectives to take urgent action. However, a speech act and its contextual setting can in connection with each other be said to include matters that can be referred to as being part of a securitization process. These standpoints indicate that the environment is an important part in Swedish policies but cannot be connected to being categorized as an urgent area.

The following speech act includes the Swedish view on how to further address the SDGs articulated by the Minister for International Development Cooperation and Climate Lövin (Swedish Government, 2016f):

The entire six of the 17 development targets are clean environmental objectives, and many of the others have environmental sustainability as a pillar. This reflects the global recognition that the international community is in a new and totally emergency where the earth's life-supporting ecosystems are threatened seriously! Climate change, pollution and overexploitation of ecosystems are now threatening acute progress! In Bangladesh, which has the goal of becoming a middle income country by 2020, is now threatened a fifth of the land area to be under water within 20 years because of the rise in sea level due to climate change. The poor women and children I met there that started to get a spark of hope in the corner of my eye when they gained access to solar electricity and education will therefore be forced to move out and live as climate refugees elsewhere. Thirty million people become climate refugees in Bangladesh alone! People on small Pacific islands forced to evacuate. The most vulnerable of the vulnerable are those who suffer most from climate change (Swedish Government, 2016f).62

The speech act expresses the Swedish view of a global community where we all are responsible for meeting the needs of climate change and its consequences. It also touches upon the issue of non-access to education when children are forced to move due to the consequences of environmental emergencies. This security approach also calls for the acknowledgement among state actors to perceive or give authority to environmental threats as a highly prioritized area. It includes ensuring that the perception of environmental threats is considered as significant and continuously addressed in state policies. The perception of environmental threats as highly potential, where the consequences may be extremely severe or close in time and space, and where the likelihood for an environmental crisis to take place has profoundly increased over time in line with Buzan (1991, p. 140), is also necessary to consider. Even though the speech act addresses the impact of environmental

62 Translated by the author.
threats as urgent and highly prioritized, threats are not addressed in connection to any particular environmental situation at any societal level Sweden. Thus, the speech acts do not bring to the fore how environmental threats may affect Swedish society or schooling, and thereby do not take into account that environmental threats may cause difficulties for access to education in a Swedish context by producing physical barriers to learning.

The third example constitutes a speech held by the Education Minister Fridolin at the 38th UNESCO General Conference in 2015. The speech brought up matters regarding the political position of the UN where Sweden has always been a strong supporter – both politically and financially. Regarding the environment the Minister claimed:

The escalating conflicts stemming from draught and climate change shows clearly that the world must reach a fair, ambitious and legally binding agreement in Paris in December. It’s not a choice, but a necessity for the survival of our civilisations as we know them (Swedish Government, 2016g).

The speech act points out different types of vulnerabilities where environmental issues are argued to contribute to conflict. It is of vital significance to address them. From a securitization perspective, the speech act links survival to the necessity and demand for addressing environmental security. Further, the speech act can be said to express a need to activate the international claim for securitizing the environment at the national level. The following speech act supports this view of urgency. It also brings to the fore the authority of UNESCO in these matters by giving legitimacy to its actions (see also UNESCO, 2014b):

As I said at the outset, we live in a time of huge transformation and the founding ideas and principles of UNESCO are as vibrantly urgent as ever (Swedish Government, 2016g).

Another important part of that speech brought up the SDG aims of inclusive and equitable quality education for children, which was one of the prominent features of Agenda 2030. However, climate change was not being mentioned as a factor in these policies in order to overcome exclusion. Instead, emphasis was placed on a democratic outlook. Education for all was mentioned as a key force for change, where Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship Education are key components (see Swedish Government, 2016g).

National reports on environmental security

At the national level, four different reports will guide the perception of environmental threats to Swedish society. The reports consist of two Govern-
mental Reports – SOU 2007:60 and SOU 2008:24, a report from the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI) (Mobjörm, 2011) and a recent report from the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB, 2016). The reports have been selected due to their standardized position in national policies (SOU) and the authorized position held by national agencies on security matters (FOI and MSB).

The governmental report on crises and vulnerability assessment was decided on in 2005 by the Swedish government in order to identify vulnerabilities within Swedish society due to global climate change and the impact these would have on the regional- and local levels of society. Financial costs due to damage made by potential environmental hazards were to be estimated (SOU 2007:60). The report concluded that specific parts of society have to be well prepared for meeting threats and emergencies. Within the sphere of environmental insecurities, such as chemical and nuclear disasters, flooding and dam failure were pointed out as high risk areas (p. 53). The following speech act demonstrates expected environmental urgencies and their potential severity:

The technical investigations reveal that the risks of natural disasters increases, threats, aggravated and severe damage and social disruption can be expected (SOU 2007:60, p. 3). 63

It is further stated in both governmental reports (SOU 2007:60; SOU 2008:24) that the expected climate changes and their connection to future national environmental calamities will increase. The governmental report on Swedish Climate policies was employed through authorization with the purpose of giving a general overview of the Swedish climate politics in order to present them before the inspection in 2008 (see SOU 2008:24). Both reports discuss disasters ranging between small and tangible threats to severe threats, which may be difficult to predict including their scope and the consequences of insecurities.

Landslides and mudslides are sudden and fast processes which can have disastrous consequences (SOU 2007:60, p. 39). 64

Climate change must be seen in the broader context of the approaching crisis to many of the ecosystems in the world (SOU 2008:24, p. 69). 65

The first speech act points out the severity of land- and mudslides addressing the need to prevent these scenarios from occurring. The two speech acts also seem to acknowledge environmental threats as urgent and in need

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63 Translated by the author.
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65 Translated by the author.
of specific attention in order to prevent environmental emergencies and reduce insecurities. Thus, the speech acts can be considered as covert claims to securitize environmental threats. The governmental recognition of the severity that environmental threats may pose to society has an effect on how to interpret the government in their policy role. Here it seems possible to recognize the policy makers as securitization actors who securitize society – the referent object.

In the Swedish Defence Research Agency Report (Mobjörk, 2011) the focus is on Swedish emergency preparedness and climate change. The starting point has been the consequences that could follow from the broader climate change, i.e., from a high-level scenario, in combination with a special interest in the indirect effects of climate change. Two areas have been the focus of analysis: energy and food security. The report aims to increase knowledge about environmental challenges and Swedish crisis management and was supported by the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB).

In general terms, the report states that Sweden has a favourable situation both in terms of supply and food security. Sweden also has a favourable climate-logic position. The report points out that the challenges of climate change to Swedish emergency management should not, however, be underestimated. It is further expressed that climate change is expected to lead to challenges concerning Swedish crisis management – for example, more and more intense extreme weather events. Emergency preparedness therefore has to increase in order to be able to handle multiple crises happening at the same time. Reduced recovery time between crises is another important issue that needs to be taken into consideration in the planning of responding to emergencies (see Mobjörk, 2011). The following speech act presents the challenge and consequences that potential environmental threats pose to Swedish society:

Additionally, Sweden is expected to meet challenges following indirect effects, i.e., from effects that may follow from a direct effect within Sweden or abroad. These indirect effects are, through its complex relationships and mutual dependencies, even more difficult to predict in comparison to direct effects and are hitherto not analysed to the same extent as the direct effects (Mobjörk, 2011, p. 4).

Further, the report states that in order to meet the challenges of climate change it is important to develop Swedish emergency preparedness covering both direct and indirect effects of climate change. A deeper analysis is therefore necessary. In addition to climate change, other areas need to be further scrutinized. These include demography, economic development, science, technology and political context. An important aspect of this analysis is to examine how these various areas interact with each other and their impact on Swedish emergency preparedness. In other words, there is a need to look for vulnerability areas, develop strategies, contingency plans and operational
procedures for managing urgencies and uncertainties including scenarios which may affect society profoundly (Mobjörk, 2011). However, it needs to be noted that the report draws its conclusions on two potential catastrophe scenarios. One that illustrates the potential consequences of power-distribution in Sweden and another that points towards climate change in the Mediterranean areas and its impact on Swedish food distribution. Thus, the report discusses potential consequences of two different scenarios where environmental hazards pose threats to Sweden. This is a standpoint that can be said to express notions that there is a request for recognizing environmental hazards as issues in need of securitization. The report from MSB (2016) discusses four areas that pose different kinds of threats to Swedish society. Sweden should have the ability to meet a variety of challenges, ranging from accidents and crises of war. This perspective was confirmed by events such as the forest fire in Västmanland in 2014 and the ongoing refugee situation. Since society is constantly changing the complex patterns of dependency between different parts of society, this has contributed to increased vulnerability. In the last year, a report by a governmental commission pointed out that MSB should give particular significance to emergency management within certain areas. These areas included, for instance, electric power, drinking water supply, electronic communication, information and cyber security. MSB shares this view but has also added areas that they perceive need to be further developed. They include No. 3 and 4.

1. The ability to deal with disruptions in electricity supply.
2. The ability to prevent and manage disorders in drinking water supply.
3. Work on information and cyber security.
4. The ability to prevent and manage disorders in pharmaceutical supply.
5. The ability to prevent and manage radiological and nuclear events (pp. 1-11).

Hence, the report does not make a specific reference to environmental threats, although areas No. 1, 2 and 5 can under specific environmental negative conditions be connected to consequences of environmental threats. The consequences of environmental threats cannot be said to constitute an explicit part in crisis management and therefore do not point towards a possible securitization process directed towards the environment.

The perception of environmental threats at the national level therefore seems to point towards a rather fragmented positioning. The national policies can be said to view the implementation of Agenda 2030 as mainly related to its policy goals. Environmental threats are perceived as non-urgent and do not seem to pose immediate threats to Swedish society. Both ministers express the need to give legitimacy to the international claims of environmental security but do not make suggestions that the environment is a possible hazard-prone area in Sweden.
However, the two SOUs along with the report from FOI make covert claims to securitize environmental threats. MSB, which is the agency responsible for contingency planning, does not show in this report that the environment is a prioritized urgent area. These standpoints implicate that, although there are signs in the reports that indicate the necessity to securitize the environment in order to protect Sweden as the referent object, the political level does not seem to share this view. Rather, the political standpoint seems to build on ideas that reflect environmental threats as urgent to the developing countries of the world. This point of view does not rule out that environmental hazards pose threats to Swedish society. It does, however, implicate that environmental disasters are not seen by the Swedish national authorities as an issue that needs significant prioritizing.

The utilization of ESD in comprehensive education in Sweden

Recent education reforms in Sweden – Lpo94 and LGR11

During the 1980s, the ideology of inclusion gained more and more support among the politicians, teachers and researchers. Some special schools were closed and a committee was appointed to investigate opportunities for closing the special school for pupils with intellectual disabilities (see Tinglev, 2014). This development slowed down during the beginning of the new millennium, and the special schools for pupils with, for instance, language disorders were reopened (see SPSM, 2016). With the initiation of Lpo94, responsibility for national education was transferred from state- to municipal level including special needs education (SOU 1992: 94). Decentralization of education to the municipalities meant that different types of educational support or needs should be planned by the professional at the school level (see SOU 1992: 94, p. 151). In Lpo94 (2006), there was an overall requirement for equal education and teaching for all children based on individual needs:

**Equivalent education**
Education should be adapted to each pupil’s circumstances and needs. […] Account should also be taken of the varying circumstances and needs of pupils as well as the fact that there are a variety of ways of attaining these goals. Furthermore the school has a special responsibility for those pupils who for different reasons experience difficulties in attaining the
goals that have been set for the education. For this reason education can never be the same for all (p. 4). 66

More recent education reform policies contained an overall need for change, specifically regarding the educational objectives. Critique was directed towards the former curriculum, Lpo94, for being unclear and obscure in many areas (see SOU, 2007:28). In contrast to Lpo94, the present National Curriculum LGR11 is a more detailed and specific curriculum (see LGR11, 2011).

At risk children and Lpo94 and LGR11

Two years after the introduction of the new teacher training programme of special-pedagogues, the national curriculum of Lpo94 was introduced. Since responsibility for schooling had been transferred to the municipal level – including children with special needs – children’s needs became the responsibility of the teacher profession at the local level. Giving extra support became an issue for all educational staff. At the school level, the teachers were required to “meet every child’s needs, abilities, experience and thinking” (Tinglev, 2014, pp. 10-11). In 1994, Sweden adopted the Salamanca Statements, which contain new directives based on inclusive education and the right to education for children with special needs (see UNESCO, 1994).

In the most recent reform, LGR11, children with special needs are in line with Lpo94 labelled as “children in need of specific support”. Equal education for all children is also specified in a similar manner to Lpo94. In the syllabi, the expected knowledge and skills that children should have achieved in grades 3, 6 and 9 have been specified. According to Tinglev (2014), critique has been directed towards the return to focus on the individual and individual deficiencies that may indicate that there is an ideological return to homogenous classes. Others may see this as a clearer way to find out which children are in need of extra support. Action-programmes are regarded as the foremost common way to meet children with special needs.

It has been put forward earlier in this chapter that environmental threats may have implications for living conditions and access to education depending on the physical damages to society – thereby making further categories of children defined as being at risk. Physical threats to society may therefore have bearing on issues related to the Right to Education in connection to environmental changes and different types of infrastructural vulnerabilities. The recent educational reforms in Sweden – Lpo94 and LGR11 – will be examined in order to see if they include features where environmental issues are regarded as urgent. It also means there is a need to look for how and if

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66 Translated by the author.
environmental threats and their effects on access to education have been included or considered in education reforms and curricula. This part includes looking for special education initiatives in a wide sense, which brings to the fore the difficulties of access to education for all children in connection to environmental hazards and environmental depletion.

ESD in Lpo94 and LGR11 – history and overview

To find out if ESD can be understood as being part of an environmental securitization process, both the utilization of wordings in speech acts and their contextual setting in education reforms will be scrutinized. This would entail finding supportive speech acts in connection to environmental threats and urgency in educational policy documents. The examination will reflect the international level’s claims for securitizing the environment as well as the national level’s position on how to comprehend and handle the societal effects of environmental threats and disasters. At the national level, this means meeting the recent requests made by Minister of Education Fridolin and the Minister for International Development Cooperation and Climate Lövin regarding the relationship between education and the environment, that is, the content of the first three national reports and international agreements.

In a historical perspective, ESD can be seen as a further development of previous environmental education, which was strictly labelled “Environmental education” (EE) (Myndigheten för skolutveckling, 2004a, p. 11; Cars & West, 2014). Sweden can be said to have had a long tradition of teaching environmental awareness in comprehensive education. Öhman (2011, p. 4) argues that in the 1960s environmental awareness arose in Sweden and formed the basis for environmental education. The environmental outlook was realized in reform policies and can be studied in the Swedish National Curriculum, 1969 (see LGR69, 1969). For instance, it is mentioned that the concept of environmental protection is in the curriculum the overriding concept of nature conservation. Also, environmental protection is one of modern society's most important problems. Urbanization, industrial development and changes in farming land and forests have led to a serious disturbance in the habitat. The utilization of natural resources, non-renewable, as well as a too hard and biologically incorrect use of natural capital raises legitimate fears for the future (LGR69, 1969, p. 51). As can be seen, the environment is acknowledged as an important issue in the curriculum. However, interestingly enough the curriculum also points out difficulties with foreseeing the implications of environmental threats as well as teaching about them. In LGR69 (1969), it is stated that environmental problems change, both in content and scope, and over time. It is not likely that the school will be able to give the pupils insights into future environmental problems, even though
education has served its purpose (p. 51). Hence, the former curriculum LGR69 seems to argue for unpredictable environmental threats and the possibility of not reaching the aims of environmental education due to the complexity surrounding issues of climate change and the use of natural resources in connection to societal development.

From a securitization perspective, the subject matter of the environment seems rather transparent and clear in Lpo94 (2006). The first speech act concerns the subject of geography and is taken from the syllabus SKOLFS 1994:3, which was implemented in 1995. The second speech act refers to social studies within the syllabus of 2000 and was also released under Lpo94. The release of new syllabi – however still under the utilization of Lpo94 – may here be understood in terms of reform policies that specifically affect the content of education but not the overall ideological objectives of education policies as expressed in the national curriculum:

Geography will provide knowledge about the geographical discoveries, diverse natural and cultural geographic environments in the world and the basic living conditions in these in a historical perspective. This will lead to basic insights into matters of human survival. Pupils should develop knowledge of natural resources constraints and strive for a better management of existing resources. An ecological approach will characterize the analysis of the relationship between man and his surroundings. [...] Geography subject takes up the natural given conditions of human existence and activities and deals with the consequences of her exploitation of the earth and its resources (SKOLFS 1994:3, p.11). 67

Local and global environmental and survival issues

[...]. Social studies share the responsibility for work on environmental issues with other subjects in education. In addition to an understanding of the complicated interaction between the earth, water and air, it is important that insights are created on how changes in the landscape and in society take place as a result of struggle and compromises between different interests in conflict with each other. Such knowledge also provides preparation for a constructive approach to not only local, but also global change and survival issues (SKOLFS 2008:68, p. 60). 68

The two speech acts both speak of human survival in connection to understanding living conditions. However, the second speech act seems to emphasize the development of potential conflicts when access to natural resources decrease. From an environmental security perspective, environmental threats in both speech acts refer to issues of survival – one of the criteria for initiating securitization. In the second speech act, different interests be-

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67 Translated by the author.
68 Translated by the author.
tween various types of actors in society are being put forward as factors that contribute to conflict. The utterances do not explicitly single out any underlying urgency, however preparation for the future and issues surrounding survival may here be understood in terms of an urgency to meet future societal demands. It should also be noted that the interaction between resources and the environment is also considered. Hence, the national syllabus of 2000 - social studies shows that the environment is a potentially hazard stricken area that needs to be attended to in order to reduce conflict.

This means that the former education reform policies of Lpo94 (op cit.) show a strong agreement with the international agreements of realizing that the environment is in need of being a securitized area. At the national levels, these claims can be said to have been re-activated within the education reform. These attributes were, however, not mentioned as being part of the concept of ESD, which did not come into action before 2002. Thus, the former national education reform Lpo94 seems to have preceded the international level’s response of viewing environmental threats as urgent. This implicates that the syllabi connected to Lpo94 emphasized the impact of the environment to society. This view would refer to global environmental threats as causes for immediate concern, which can be tracked down to environmental threats affecting the local levels of society. In line with the different national reports mentioned above, Lpo94 shows similar outlooks and perceptions of environmental threats as urgent. Hence, Lpo94 seems to view the environment as an area in need of securitization. However, Lpo94 did not bring to the fore a need for planning and creating special needs initiatives or specific environments in connection to possible environmental threats and hazards.

In the response to the upcoming reform of LGR11, the Swedish National Commission for UNESCO (2009) claimed that, as a key actor of the Education Act proposal (Ds 2009:25; Rädda Barnen, 2009), specific needs for ESD concern had been left out in the Governmental Report on Sustainable Teacher Education (SOU 2008:109):

How can a report on the future teacher education, […] in such a situation, lack insightful thinking about education for sustainable development? The text of the report on the area reflects misconceptions and prejudices about what education for sustainable development is (Swedish National Commission for UNESCO, 2009, p. 1) 69

Still, in the release of the new curriculum LGR11 in 2011, some of the above mentioned views concerning incorporating ESD into comprehensive education seem to have been fulfilled. Thus, the reform policies that led up to the release of curriculum LGR11 show that environmental issues are men-

69 Translated by the author.
tioned as transcending into several areas of society. To address these matters, the role and responsibility of the individual is put forward (see LGR11, 2011). Within the subject of geography, different types of ecological hazards and conflicts over environmental interests and vulnerabilities are mentioned in relation to ESD. It is stated that:

Environment, people and issues concerning sustainability
- Vulnerable areas and risks and threats posed by nature, such as flooding, drought and earthquakes, and the consequences of this on the natural and cultural landscape.
- Ways in which vulnerable places can be identified, and how individuals, groups and society can reduce risk.
- Conflicts of interest over natural resources, such as access to water and land (LGR11, 2011, p. 154).

Thus, the speech act expresses the potential risk of environmental threats but does not address them as urgent. A closer look at the other subjects shows that it is the international conceptual ideas of ESD that have been included into the syllabi rather than address tangible and factual threats (see LGR11). Such an approach would still define them as urgent in line with the international level, although this has not been explicitly expressed. However, it needs to be noted that, although the international level has elevated the need to address environmental threats explicitly in the teaching of ESD, the former curriculum Lpo94 (op cit.) seems more explicit in this regard than LGR11, even though the concept of ESD had not yet been developed in the early 1990s.

As can be seen in the two following speech acts, the reform policies of LGR11 (2011) do not, any more than would be expected, demonstrate a more detailed or precise view than its predecessor Lpo94 (2006) on what constitutes potential environmental threats and insecurities to society:

An environmental perspective provides opportunities not only to take responsibility for the environment in areas where they themselves can exercise direct influence, but also to form a personal position with respect to overarching and global environmental issues (LGR11, 2011, p. 12).

Obtained knowledge about and an understanding of the importance of the individual’s own lifestyle and its impact on health, the environment and society (LGR11, 2011, p. 16).

The overall themes of ESD in different subjects in LGR11 show that they include international declarations but do not address them as explicit priorities. Apart from the subject of geography – they miss out on addressing environmental insecurities as concrete threats. Still, ESD is mentioned as a powerful concept and is included in most subjects and its definition is further laid out in the syllabi (see LGR11, 2011, p. 12).
In terms of how the concept of ESD is utilized in reform policies, it seems two-fold. On one hand it can be said to lack the educational priority needed for categorizing ESD as being part of an environmentally-based securitization agenda in line with the environmental security aims of the international level and the above mentioned national reports. ESD in LGR11 (op cit.) also seem to lack the particular parts of the seven focus-areas as pointed out by the international level. This standpoint implicates, on the other hand, that it is the international and former agreements of the 2000 MDGs that can be traced in LGR11. The 2000 MDGs point out that ESD and environmental security are vital parts of our global society, but it is mainly within the developing countries of the world where transformation in line with meeting the MDGs are of significance. Thus, LGR11 (op cit.) and reform policies seems to be connected to the UN and UNESCO as international securitization actors that see environmental threats as essential to handle. However, when it comes to the national policy level, environmental threats are distant, both in time and in space. This indicates that, although the international level and some of the national reports view the environment as a prioritized security area, the national political level has not brought this perspective into the implementation of domestic policies. To say that Swedish education reform policies solely reflect the national political level’s politicizing of the environment or the international securitization actors’ view of ESD as being part of a prioritized security agenda that is a matter of urgency, is therefore problematic. Although it expressed in education reform policies the need to pay significance to environmental threats and urgencies, the degree of urgency that environmental threats pose to Swedish society do not overall come across as urgent or life-threatening. Thus, in comparison to Lpo94, and its securitization-based outlook on environmental threats, the content of LGR11 seems to de-securitize the environment. This shift of viewing environmental insecurities as urgent to Swedish society to becoming threats that are distant both in time and space can in this contextual setting be linked to the international development of ESD. Thus, the shift in Swedish educational policies regarding environmental insecurity from urgent to non-urgent at the national level seems in LGR11 based on reform policies that have been customized to respond to and support the international level’s conceptual ideas of ESD rather than expect that national environmental threats could be factual, close and near in time. Also, in a similar manner to Lpo94, LGR11 does not point out the need for planning and creating special needs environments or special education initiatives in connection to possible environmental threats and hazards.
Independent schools and independent actors’ role in comprehensive education for developing ideas of ESD in Sweden

The following sections will examine how some independent schools have adopted an environmentally-based pedagogical outlook in Sweden. The independent schools follow the same curriculum as the municipality schools. This part is followed by how various independent actors have developed environmental programmes that can be used in comprehensive education.

As an NGO, the independent “In All Weather Schools” (I Ur och Skur) is part of the Swedish Outdoor Association (Friluftsfrämjandet) and has developed its own programme on environmental awareness and protection. In accordance with the National Curriculum (LGR11, 2011) the Swedish Outdoor Association’s education includes: knowledge of nature; conveying the sense of nature; an ecological approach and thus an environmental awareness; knowledge of how to behave in nature and respect of the right of access (Allemansrätten); stimulation throughout development by using nature; potential for movement and community in an enjoyable way of nature; and foundation for a lifelong interest in outdoor recreation (Skabersjöskolan, 2014).

Another type of “green education” is the Green Flag school programme, which is frequently adopted and used in comprehensive education. The Swedish Green-Flag schools are based on ideas founded by the Eco-Schools. Eco-Schools were developed in 1992 as a response to the UN’s Conference on Environment and Development (compare to UNDP Eco-co-schools in Eco-schools, 2015). The Swedish Green-Flag schools are connected in their work to “The Keep Sweden Tidy Foundation”. The foundation promotes environmental awareness campaigns and environmental education. Its work builds on influencing attitudes and behaviour to create sustainable development. Successful schools are being awarded with a “Green Flag” (see The Keep Sweden Tidy Foundation, 2014; The Keep Sweden Tidy Foundation, 2018). Reasons for adopting the NGOs environmental education programmes in comprehensive education could here be suggested as connected to the lack of clarity and consistency in governmental policies on how to address the impact of environmental threats to the lower levels of society. This lack of clarity was considered to have contributed to why the teachers had been referred to their own solutions in their local planning of ESD (Myndigheten för skolutveckling, 2004b, pp. 12, 14). However, there may also be other issues for concern here. A search for material on ESD resulted in literature mainly developed by independent actors such as NGOs on the subject matter (see Knutprojektet, 2016; WWF, 2016).

Further, there seems to be a need for scrutinizing the content of ESD-
programmes that have been developed by NGOs. For instance, it is stated in
the governmental report (SOU 2007:28) that it is difficult to assess the extent
to which various publishing products correspond to the objectives of the
national curricula. According to the National Agency for Education, there is
learning material that shows inconsistency with fundamental values in na-
tional education (p. 14). Thus, the utilization of “Green education programs”
have meant that NGOs’ teaching material has entered into comprehensive
education. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind the ideological inter-
est of these “green actors” who distribute these materials and their impact on
environmental knowledge and content of ESD.

The following speech act is taken from the local Swedish WWF pro-
gramme “Education for a sustainable way”:

Ecosystem services are threatened by, among other things, climate change and
our consumption of goods. We do impressions, so-called ecological footprint,
as in the Western world are just too big. In Sweden, we live as if we have ac-


access to almost three planets. It is a crucial issue to quickly reduce our ecologi-
cal footprint and hence our use of resources (WWF, 2010, p. 4). 70

The speech utterance can be said to include elements that increase the im-
portance of responding to environmental threats in comparison to the aims of
LGR11 (2011). The components focus on our harmful and oversized con-
sumption to indicate that we, as a small state, cause persistent damage to the
environment and need to start taking responsibility for ourselves and others.
Also, instead of speaking of sustaining threats, WWF makes use of symbol-
ism through the wordings of “ecological footprints” stating that what we do
to the environment today will have long time effect on the future. The speech act also expresses that the environment with its ecosystems are in
urgent need of rapid action response. Thus, the speech act seems to meet the
requirements for settling on security components related to urgency. From a
security perspective, the environmental security interest of WWF in Sweden
can be understood as reflecting the environmental securitization interests of
the proposed securitization actors of the international level. WWF can be be
said to constitute functional actors in a local securitization and therefore
process where the teachers operate as securitization actors by instigating the
international level’s claims for environmental securitization.

Cars and West (2014) have further noticed that teachers who are interest-
ed in environmental issues attract interest from other teachers, which en-
courages them to take an active part in teaching ESD. However, critique
includes disparities within teaching of ESD due to inconsistency (op cit.).
Accordingly, teachers within environmental studies have come to argue for
further education within the field in order to overcome didactic obstacles

70 Translated by the author.
An earlier compulsory course of comprehensive teacher education at University of Mälardalen included ESD-training named “A world to take responsibility for” (En värld att ta ansvar för). A following course on the subject matter was developed in a joint project between the Swedish department of WWF, Mälardalen University and Uppsala University (WWF, 2008). Even though state-owned universities run the course, the course has been developed in connection to an NGO. From a securitization perspective, this implicates a functional actor as able to influence the development of what constitutes environmental threats to society through their ideological standpoints.

It is also important to take into consideration that the former Swedish Minister of Education and Research Hadzialic said in a speech held at the UNESCO world conference on ESD in 2014 that:

During the decade, Sweden has included “sustainability” in formal institutional and curriculum guidelines for preschool as well as primary and secondary education. […] At the same time, we have limited information on what is actually occurring in the school and universities regarding the implementation of ESD (Swedish Government, 2016i).

This speech act touches on something of significant value here. It raises the question of how to understand the recognition of ESD in education reform policies. If we view the reform as a possible top-down reform, there seems to be a lack of communication here between the national level and the school level regarding the aims of how to comprehend environmental threats in education and the realization of these aims. An alternative interpretation of the independent school ESD-outlooks and NGO-programmes in comprehensive education is that they are expressions for local securitization projects. Hence, they are local securitization processes that emanate from the school level.

As mentioned above, it seems as if when the NGOs, usually defined as the functional actors of a securitization process, enter the education arena in order to facilitate teachers with literature and material on ESD, this instigates a local securitization process. Further, the teaching of ESD seems to be carried out by teachers who have a specific interest in these matters. The aims of ESD in LGR11 (op cit.) thus seem to solely share the conceptual values of ESD connected to the aims of the international level. Re-activating the international aims of ESD as a transmitter of environmental security to the lower levels of society therefore becomes dependent on the functional actors’ ability to influence teachers at the school level as well as in teacher training. Their importance for influencing content in teacher education can also be seen as an important part of understanding NGO's role in the securitization process of ESD at the local level. This perspective suggests that the func-
tional actors take on a rather different position in the securitization process where education reform is utilized. Instead of influencing the state level, the NGOs pursue their interests at university level in teacher training programmes and at the school level where teachers choose NGO-based material while educating on ESD. Finally, although the NGOs can be said to take on a strong position in shaping ESD through their different programmes, they do not seem to acknowledge the need for advocating necessary measures for planning and creating special education initiatives or special needs environments in connection to possible environmental threats and hazards. Thus, their position in the securitization process of ESD does not seem to include planning for special education needs or specific environments at the school-and teacher levels.

Securitizing the environment in South African national policies

Literature on environmental security demonstrates that Africa is often mentioned as the continent where the effects of climate change create severe risks to society (Brown, Hammill & McLeman, 2007, p. 1149). For instance, flooding across the African content may cause acute damage to society (UNEP, 2014b). According to the South African Risk and Vulnerability Atlas (SARVA), there are two other major areas besides flooding that have been identified as events where the consequences of climate change have increased. These areas include drought and water pollution (DoST, 2010, p. 26).

The recently developed sustainable development agreements also include the assessment of how to meet development in Africa (see UN, 2016f). Common issues of the Millennium Development Goals include the following African position pillars:

**Common African Position pillars:**

1. People-centred development
2. Environmental sustainability, natural resources management and disaster risk management
3. Structural economic transformation and inclusive growth
4. Peace and security
5. Finance and partnerships


Although the new Sustainable Development Goals are directed towards all states (see UNDP, 2016b), the above mentioned MDGs are still relevant to South African society. According to African Renewal (UN, 2016f), both the SDGs and MDGs have placed poverty eradication at the top of the agenda. This was regarded by Africa and the developing world as a common goal and the most important requirement. However, this requirement calls for continuance in strengthening environmental considerations and simultaneously not backing away from, for instance, poverty eradication (p. 1). UNDP (2016c) states that South Africa has to face significant environmental challenges, especially considering its dependence on harmful coal-based energy production. There is need for better monitoring in order to meet environmental depletion. Currently, there are also requirements for improving the monitoring of water flows and quality, air quality, deforestation and land degradation. Another important subject matter is to improve the living conditions for people with irregular access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation. Bryan, Deressa, Gbetibouo and Ringler (2009) state that a study in South Africa on farmers’ perception of environmental threats included temperature rise, decreased rainfall and seasonal change. However, the farmers did not make attempts to adapt to these climate changes due to a lack of funding (pp. 417, 419). Hence, to address both the requests from different societal levels in politics and meet different actors’ needs in South African society in relation to climate change seems a challenge.

Since the end of the apartheid regime in 1994, environmental issues have entered into the socio-political arena. They include issues of access to natural resources, equity and sustainability and human rights (UNDP, 2016c). After 1994, local governments were given a key role in policy planning and service provision. Still, the request to revise development and environmental policies has lead to policy dilemmas. There is a growing tension between the need to introduce environmental polices while development issues are still regarded as high on the policy agenda. This has led to environmental issues being generally combined with socio-economic interest to gain support as a prioritized policy-area (Roberts, 2008, pp. 521-522). Accordingly, combining environmental protection with principles of socio-economic development is reflected in the South African Constitution and the Bill of Rights (see Lotz-Sisitika, Shcedel & Irwin, 2007, p. 47). The following utterances can be found in the South African Constitution (DoJ, 1996) established after the fall of the apartheid regime.
24. Everyone has the right—
(a) to an environment that is not harmful to their health or wellbeing; and
(b) to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future
generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that—
(i) prevent pollution and ecological degradation;
(ii) promote conservation; and
(iii) secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources
while promoting justifiable economic and social development (pp. 1251,
1253).

The utterances express environmental security and awareness and claim
that all citizens have the right to be protected by the state against environ-
mental insecurities. The significance of these claims is further emphasized
through the legitimacy that the constitution carries itself as an important
document. The constitution represents the vital political, and at the time new
democratic, directives on which it was founded on. The security aspect of
the future generations is included into the national aims of environmental
sustainability, which suggests that potential future environmental threats are
viewed as essential for organizing and managing perceived threats against
society. Thus, the constitution implicates that the environment is an urgent or
prioritized security area. The contextual setting, and the International Com-

munity’s positioning, that Africa as a continent is vulnerable to environmen-
tal changes reflects the significance to address these issues. The authority
that the constitution brings to the fore is also a measure of value that implic-
ates that the environment is recognized as a vulnerable area in South Afri-
can society that needs specific security attention in accordance with the di-
rectives put forward by the IC. From a securitization perspective, the consti-
tution therefore can be said to bring to the fore the intent of the politicians,
as securitization actors, to promote environmental security while the citizens
as an audience are to support its content through the mandate of the Parlia-
ment.

At state level, the South African National Biodiversity Institute (SANBI)
will serve as an example of a state agency that is assigned the task of ad-
dressing environmental issues and preservation due to its high ranked posi-
tion in South Africa regarding environmental preservation and climate
change.

SANBI was established in 2004 due to the Biodiversity Act 10 on Na-
tional Environmental Management. The Act includes the mandate of
SANBI. The mandate builds on four pillars: to explore, reveal, celebrate and
defend biodiversity. Some of the institute functions are to monitor and re-
port to the minister on the preservation status of listed, threatened or protect-
ed species and ecosystems. At both the state- and the municipal levels’ the
Institute has to make recommendations in accordance with the National Bio-
diversity Framework and any applicable bioregional plan. At the local level,
the institute supports education through Environmental Education Centres
located in the National Botanical Gardens. Education and awareness programmes are run in schools and communities to increase knowledge about biodiversity. These programmes include capacity building and therefore contribute to increased knowledge and practice of sustainability (SANBI, 2015a).

In its function to support the national Department of Environmental Affairs on issues related to climate change, the Agency states:

**An emergency in slow motion**

[...] We may misjudge the urgency of the environmental challenge unless we improve our ability to project and anticipate the impacts. We may also suffer losses unless we develop strategies to avoid and adapt to the emerging changes (SANBI, 2015b, p. 1).

Thus, SANBI recognizes the environment as a crisis area in need of urgent response. The wordings in the speech act make use of urgency, emergency and the need for improvement. However, at the same time, the speech acts indicate that this is a slow process from which it may take long to see results. Further, if environmental insecurities are not responded and adapted to, their effects may be severe. Thus, SANBI seems to express a discrepancy in the way the wordings are uttered in the speech act, which refers to the way environmental threats are perceived and addressed. On one hand, they are considered as urgent, on the other they are seen as non-urgent. Promoting the environment as an amplified area can here be seen as responding to the understanding of how environmental threats are expressed in the constitution. This implicates that, although the consequences of environmental emergencies are not perceivable, this is not the same as to say that they will not be able to foresee them unless preventive measures are taken.

The actors in a national level joint project in educational policies between UNICEF South Africa, the Department for Women, Children and People with Disabilities and the Department of Environmental Affairs (UNICEF, 2011) suggest that environmental emergencies and climate change may affect South Africa, leading to consequences where children will not be able to participate in schooling. According to UNICEF (2011, p. 50), the provinces in South Africa most likely to be affected by disasters linked to climate change are Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. Infrastructure, bridges and roads may be damaged by potential floods and heavy rainfall. As a consequence children may have difficulties in gaining access to schools:

In the north-east and south-east, where rainfall is likely to increase significantly, damage to infrastructure may have significant effects on school buildings and access to schools. In areas with inadequate infrastructure, some schools could be rendered temporarily impassable, leading to absenteeism. For example, recently
over 40 schools were reportedly closed and hundreds of school children across the Western Cape province were affected because of floods and snow in the Karoo (UNICEF, 2011, p. 48).

Flooding is already a cause of school absenteeism and this could be aggravated by heavier rainfall patterns (UNICEF, 2011, p. 50).

From a securitization perspective, the speech acts pinpoint several environmental vulnerability areas including geographical regions where these are most likely to occur. The scenarios may here be understood in terms of signifying urgency. The speech acts also describe the impact of environmental hazards on the implementation of schooling and children becoming at risk by missing out on education due to the bad weather conditions and poor infrastructure. It is thus clear that national education is already negatively affected by environmental hazards. The report (see UNICEF, 2011, p. 11) concludes that in order to meet the challenges of climate change and environmental threats, it is necessary to address issues related to poor housing and protection that may undermine people’s capacity to adapt to possible environmental hazards. National, provincial and local governments have to provide help in order to make people cope better with climate change. Change is therefore needed at the national institutional level (op cit.). Change may also have to include changes in how to address issues related to the planning and creation of special needs initiatives and special needs environments in correlation to possible effects of environmental threats and hazards regarding access to education. This seems necessary to bring into the discussion of viewing ESD as being part of a securitization process. The content of ESD may here be viewed as required to incorporate subject matters related to at risk children and access to education essential to address in order to prevent further development of barriers to learning (see below White Paper No. 6).

The utilization of ESD in comprehensive education in South Africa

Recent education reforms in South Africa

Education reform – NC2005

Educational reform began immediately after the first general election in 1994, where all citizens were allowed to take part. The reform policies in comprehensive education addressed the discriminatory policies of the former
Bantu education. It was the South African Schools Act of 1996 that addressed these issues (DoE, 1996).

Revision of the national curriculum in post-apartheid South Africa can be divided into three different phases. The first dealt with removing racist language from the syllabi. The second phase concerned the release of the new curriculum NC2005 in 1997. The third phase involved the revisions of the NC2005 initiated in 2000. In 2002, the Revised National Curriculum Statement (see DoE, 2002b), the updated version of NC2005, became the official education policy (Chisholm, 2005). More recently, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) has developed an Action Plan towards meeting the demands of the National Development Plan (NDP). The Action Plan of 2019 is expected to guide the basic education sector and its vision of education until 2030 (see DoE, 2016).

At risk children and education reform policies

In special education reform policies, the White Paper No. 6 on “Building an inclusive education and training system” further brings to the fore inequalities in education. The White paper No. 6 (DoE, 2001, pp. 3-4) was developed during a period of seven years beginning in the aftermath of the apartheid period. Inclusive education and democratic values are emphasized in the White Paper No 6:

Race and exclusion were the decadent and immoral factors that determined the place of our innocent and vulnerable children. Through this White Paper, the Government is determined to create special needs education as a non-racial and integrated component of our education (DoE, 2001, p. 4)

The inclusive element of the White Paper No. 6 is based on a broad definition of what constitutes barriers to learning. It focuses on overcoming different types of barriers in the educational system based on a wide range of learning needs. If this wide range of learning needs are not met, children may fail to learn successfully or be excluded from taking part in education (see DoE, 2001, p. 17):

Different learning needs arise from a range of factors, including physical, mental, sensory, neurological and developmental impairments, psycho-social disturbances, differences in intellectual ability, particular life experiences or socio-economic deprivation. Different learning needs may also arise because of:

- Negative attitudes to and stereotyping of differences.
- An inflexible curriculum.
- Inappropriate languages or language of learning and teaching.
• Inappropriate communication.
• Inaccessible and unsafe built environments.
• Inappropriate and inadequate support services.
• Inadequate policies and legislation.
• The non-recognition and non-involvement of parents.
• Inadequately and inappropriately trained education managers and educators (DoE, 2001, pp. 17-18).

The present South African education policy on special education can be said to combine two aspects of SEN (Special Education Needs). On one hand, SEN is defined as meeting the demands of mainstreaming but also meeting the acute education need for children who live in fragile areas of the country. Both these positions are included in the White Paper No. 6.

SEN is divided into intrinsic and extrinsic factors that have to be met in order to develop successful learning:

In South Africa as a developing country, it is accepted that special educational needs derive from intrinsic factors which are predominantly associated with disabilities or health, as well as extrinsic factors. The HIV/AIDS crisis in South Africa, for instance, is an integral part of intrinsic barriers, but could also be regarded as an extrinsic barrier when it comes to the support of children who have been orphaned because of HIV/AIDS or because of a shortage of teachers or sick teachers in some schools. Extrinsic factors that can cause barriers to learning include socio-economic factors, unsafe environments, non-involvement of parents, lack of healthcare facilities and factors in the school such as overfull classrooms, untrained teachers and an inappropriate language for learning and teaching (Engelbrecht, Oswald & Forlin, 2006, p. 121 in Nel et al., p. 76, 2011).

The White Paper No. 6 clearly defines that SEN include extrinsic and intrinsic barriers to learning. The adoption of a wide perspective to SEN suggests that in this latest education reform SEN is defined through individual learning needs as well as factors dependent on the societal contextual setting. Gaining knowledge of values and beliefs adds to the understanding for how to reach and maintain access to learning on equal terms. Also, how to define SEN is clearly stated in the White Paper No. 6 in contrast to the two last Swedish curriculum reforms where there are no clear definitions of what constitutes SEN.

The recent curriculum in South Africa – NC2005 – will be examined in order to see if it includes features where environmental issues are regarded as urgent. Those specific extrinsic factors mentioned in White Paper No. 6 that can be connected to ESD will be addressed. This part also consists of looking more closely for special education initiatives in a wide sense which

71 See Jansen (2012).
brings to the fore the complexity of access to education in connection to environmental disasters.

ESD in NC2005

The application of an environmental security outlook in the South African National Curriculum (NC2005) includes themes that are related to the social realm of ESD, including human rights, environmental sustainability and social justice (see DoE, 2002a; Lotz-Sisitika, Schudel & Irwin 2007, p. 47; Winter, 2009). These are issues related to the environmental sphere of ESD such as access to water and sanitation along with addressing environmental deprivation and the preservation of biodiversity (UNESCO, 2010). The overall aims of ESD seem connected to the aims of the state level and the need for the application of state policies at the societal level.

In 2014, South Africa participated in a UNESCO conference on ESD where the country was highlighted due to its putting great emphasis on the area of ESD. One of the most considered achievements was the reaffirmation and attention given to indigenous knowledge and practices in relation to sustainable development, sustainable living and the preservation of future eco-systems. During the conference, it was confirmed that awareness and engagements in ESD should be included, as stated in South Africa’s National Curriculum Statement (NCS), in Grades R to 12. ESD had to be embedded in every subject in accordance with the principles and practices as defined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996. The Ministry of Education also agreed to integrating the international Global Action Programme (GAP) (see UNESCO, 2013a on GAP) into the strategic planning framework of the Department of Basic Education (DBE) – for instance, developing community-based ESD programmes by encouraging local communities and municipal authorities (see GCIS, 2015).

Although these intentions are positive, a brief overview of the National Curriculum Statements from Grades R to 12 seems to reveal a rather fragmented approach to education about sustainable development. Only limited attention was given to the matter of climate change and even less to education on issues related to this theme (Winter, 2009, p. 229). A closer look into the NC2005 stipulates that the technology learning area is the most developed concerning the application of ESD. The learning area reflects both the environment and the social parts of ESD supporting an inclusive societal structure by including culture into the settings of environmental security.

The Technology Learning Area gives learners the opportunity to: […] learn by dealing directly with inclusivity, human rights, social and environmental issues in their project work (DoE, 2002a, p. 5).
The learner can be given opportunities to explore these issues within the contexts of particular needs. For example: Indigenous technology can be explored within the context of the need for people to drink safe water. The impact of technology can be explored within the same context; the learner can be made aware, for instance, of the difficulties people will experience in dry areas and how their lives can be changed if technology is used to supply safe water (DoE, 2002a, p. 18).

From a security perspective, the speech acts are mainly directed towards the local and individual levels of society. ESD evolves around how individuals can contribute to environmental security by learning how to use technology for life-saving measures. Although the wordings of survival are not directly uttered, the speech acts implicate that the lack of or polluted water may cause insecurity to those exposed, fully comparable with the onset of life-threatening situations. It can therefore be proposed that the contextual meaning of the speech acts address the severe outcomes of environmental insecurities. By maintaining a local outlook for environmental security, the lower levels of society (see Roberts, 2009) may take on a dynamic part in addressing environmental insecurities. Further, the promise to develop the National Curriculum Statements (NCS) in basic schooling supports the notion of an environmentally based target that needs to be developed. Winter (2009) argues that even though climate change and climate change education has been neglected in the NC2005 statements, this is not the same as to say that climate change is currently being ignored in schools. However, it does suggest that the demands of the National Curriculum Statements are not up to date on recent national and international scientific development in the field of climate change (p. 236). From a securitization perspective, this suggests that in order to respond to the national level’s claim for viewing the environment as an area in need of being securitized, the application regarding these objectives have been vague in the writings of education reform policies. Instead, it is the contextual setting of the text analysis that determines whether the educational sphere includes sufficient measures of security responses to establish if securitization has taken place. Moreover, the matter of environmental threats and hazards may also have implications for creating children at risk. Thus, it misses out on including environmental disasters in the planning on working against barriers to learning, as stated in the White Paper No. 6. It needs to be noted, however, that White Paper No. 6 does not include matters on environmental threats or disasters, although it is stated that different learning needs may arise due to different inaccessible and unsafe built environments (see DoE, 2001, pp. 17-18).
Independent schools and independent actors’ role in developing ideas of ESD in South Africa

In a manner similar to the Swedish case, the independent actors of the South African Eco-Schools play an active part in promoting sustainable development. The Eco-Schools were set up in 2003, with the Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa (WESSA) as implementers’ (WESSA, 2014). A network for ESD was commissioned by the German Federal Ministry for Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Their BMZ-network, Fundisa for Change, works with teacher across South Africa to improve and support environmental learning at the school level. The programme includes different partners who are involved in teacher education and is based on environmental research (Fundisa, 2015). One of its strategies is the Environmental Sector Skills Plan (ESSP). The ESSP provides guidance on environmental skills and development planning, including their implementation within national education and other training systems (DEA, 2010, p. 6). The following statement is taken from the ESSP (DEA, 2010):

The Global Change Grand Challenge National Research Plan emphasises the importance of developing skills that take account of the fact that the natural systems interact indivisibly with human systems, and that skills are needed to cope with and respond to a multi-faceted poly crisis constituted by interacting forces that arise when ecosystem degradation, global warming, declining fossil fuel reserves, resource depletion, waste accumulation, inequality, rapid urbanisation, and food insecurity interact (DEA, 2010, p. 15).

The above speech act contain statements that express the need for developing skills in order to meet and manage environmental threats linked to different types of societal insecurities. The speech act also mentions the need to address environmental insecurities, including several types of environmental crises. The wording of poly-crisis would thus indicate that the environmental area is in need of urgent response and therefore considered as an area in need of securitization.

Nevertheless, unsatisfactory knowledge of ESD at the teacher level may influence the outcome for developing skills on how to cope with severe environmental threats. According to Lotz-Sisitika, Shcedel and Irwin (2007) and Fundisa (2013), the inconsistent level of education among teachers seemed to obstruct the realization of environmental awareness in schooling (Lotz-Sisitika, Shcedel & Irwin, 2007, p. 47; Fundisa, 2013, pp.1-18). Since ESD is a new area for many teachers, Lotz-Sisitika, Shcedel and Irwin (2007) conclude that for many teachers and planners the issue had become a challenge both to teachers and to educational planners (see pp. 47-48). As a consequence, insufficient or substantial lack of training among teachers may interfere with the intended courses of action to focus on environmental secu-
curity, change and security functions. Inadequate or lack of education among teachers has been brought up in White Paper No. 6 (op cit. DoE, 2001, pp. 17-18). This is an important factor that may influence the outcome of meeting the acute education need for children who live in fragile areas of the country as well as the demands of mainstreaming. Teachers identified the following areas important for local planning:

By engaging in local issues and risks that are relevant in the school-community context and through various active learning processes, teachers and pupils were able to contribute to change. For example, in some schools, teacher and pupils were able to stop wasting water and to plant nutritious food plants to address food security issues (Lotz-Sisitika, Shcudel & Irwin, 2007, p. 53).

The speech act stress environmental insecurities linked to survival where innovative methods were used for practice. The uttering of environmental security issues related to human existence in combination with development issues calls for a security approach where these two areas are given equal status. Thus, environmental insecurities have a bearing on issues related to social development insecurities. However, although the NGO Fundisa (see DEA, 2010) argues that environmental threats were in need of urgent responses, teachers’ perception of threats may not correspond to this outlook due to a lack of consistency in their training. Further, the introduction of interactive learning activities in connection to ESD and food security seem to apply to meeting the additional needs among children, which may have implications for reducing the number of children at risk. The development of specific education initiatives therefore do not only apply to meeting different environmental threats; it also applies to its consequences.

Consequently, those who can be labelled the functional actors in the securitization process of ESD – the NGOs – take on a specific role at the local level. They take an active part in making the teachers aware of environmental threats and environmental awareness. This position seems to have implications for the policy level and the implementation of ESD in schooling. Although the development of ESD in education had been brought to the fore at the national policy level, and to some extent in the NC2005, the NGOs provided teacher training, education and material for ESD at the local level. Thus, the role of the NGOs in ESD-training became twofold: (a) they acted in their own interest to influence a future possible securitization actor; and (b) they were given a mandate by the state to facilitate in national education by training teachers in environmental security as well as pursue their own interests.

From a securitization perspective, this means that those actors who would in general, according to Buzan et al. (1998), be labelled functional actors may in this context be interpreted as actors that enter the securitization arena at lower levels of society than expected. However, the NGOs may also be
considered as extended securitization actors when working on a mandate from the state level. This standpoint indicates that actors – who by their definition according to Buzan et al. (1998), serve a specific purpose in a securitization process; they have the ability to enter the political security arena at a different societal level. Also, an actor may take on a different role in a securitization process than was theoretically expected.

Final reflections. Environmental security and securitization of ESD in reform policies.

The ESD study can be said to illustrate the complexity surrounding the composition of the securitization process. Securitization processes should be understood as the management of how to respond and reduce urgent threats. However, there are several possible levels of the perceived threats and securitization actions. In this empirical study, the securitizations processes were extremely complex in that they included international and national levels as well as local educational levels. At least, all these levels were included in the original intentions articulated by UNESCO. In fact, some influence from higher levels of securitization were found in the investigation of the top-down ESD project. However, as the analysis has shown, the documented perceived threats and securitization processes should be understood as a number of interlinked, but independent, articulations of perceived environmental threats of which only a few can be categorized as securitization processes in the CS terminology.

Although the international level is heavily engaged in addressing environmental urgencies, it also needs to be understood that the role of the UN and its mandate to act on these threats are restricted due to the institutional set up of the UN. Since states are independent actors in the international system they do not always follow ratified declarations. As a consequence, it can be difficult to allocate sufficient resources and to make member states follow the decisions taken on how to respond to perceived environmental threats in line with UN agreements. This standpoint has been shown to influence the way South Africa and Sweden, as independent actors, interpret and implement international agreements along with how national politicians perceive the impact of environmental threats towards society as urgent or non-urgent.

In contrast to this view stands the general understanding that the UN represents a kind of global state. Thus, at the international level, the speech acts analyses showed that the UN was authorized by the IC to pursue the issue of environmental security among its member states. Here, the UN was considered as a securitization actor, whereas the member states were seen as the
A number of different international declarations and documents on environmental security confirmed views of the environment as a vital security sector, although environmental security was not stressed rhetorically as of urgent concern prior to the forthcoming update of the millennium goals. However, earlier declarations and agreements were shown to express environmental security-based importance and urgency through the political and ideological contextual setting of writings.

UNESCO was shown to play an important part securitizing the environment at the international level, as it was given a mandate by the IC and the UN where its role was to act on their behalf to pursue environmental protection and awareness through the development of ESD in accordance with its function. The educational sphere was mentioned as one arena that had been singled out in order to accomplish environmental security. From a special education perspective, it is interesting to note that the international level also put forward environmental hazards as posing threats to children who would be unable to participate in education due to infrastructural and institutional damage. Thus, in international writings on access and learning, the needs of children at risk were put forward in the discussions of the aims of ESD. Environmental threats become threats to the carrying out of education and thereby create situations where children become at risk since they are exposed to external barriers to learning. Environmental threats may therefore deprive children from their right to education.

Even though UNESCO is part of the UN-family it can also argued to function as an autonomous actor in the development on ESD. This can be seen in the utilization and the development of ESD to manage and prevent environmental threats reflected in UNESCO’s programmes and policies as urgent prior to the 2015 Summit. Still, it was not until the initiation of the Post – 2015 Development Agenda that UNESCO, and its authoritative organization – the UN, that the environmental threats were rhetorically in accordance with each other defined as urgent. On the other hand, by understanding the security actions taken by the global level before the 2015 UN-meeting as rather diffuse, securitization projects at UNESCO were rhetorically clear on the need to respond to environmental urgencies before the that UN-meeting. It seems therefore possible to say that UNESCO acted as an autonomous securitization actor in arguing for environmental security through the application of ESD. In agreement with the securitization perspective, it is also possible to say that UNESCO, by accrediting WWF as a co-partner in working for environmental security, defined the role of the WWF as a functional actor that managed to influence at the global level. However, WWF also became an (extended) securitization actor in their role as co-partners with UNESCO.

However, even though the member states had ratified several international declarations for environmental security, the environment had not been
acknowledged by the member states as a security sphere in need of urgent attention. The neglect by the member states to take action on international agreements can be seen as a consequence of the UN not having direct power to force upon those members who do not follow ratified agreements. In order to understand this as a securitization process on the global level initiated by the UN, it needs to be pointed out that the process was never carried through to an implementation phase, at least in this case. Perhaps the best way to comprehend the UN’s role is to understand it as an important initiator of possible national securitization projects.

It was also questioned whether it is possible to talk about a hierarchical national securitization process with respect to environmental threats. Instead, it was considered possible to detect diverse opinions for environmental concern. The politicians did not respond to the conclusions presented in the nationally based expert-reports where environmental security was considered as urgent, close in time and space. In the planning of education it was not until recently that the Education Minister addressed the environment as an urgent and prioritized area in international settings. The minister also brought in the international aspect of inclusion into the discussion of environmental threats.

Further, although national documents expressed the need to prepare for environmental urgencies, the Swedish national curriculum LGR11 did not correspond to these claims. Instead, ESD was presented in terms of the ratified international conceptual ideas of ESD with the exception of geography. Also, the issue of children at risk and the acknowledgement of learning needs in connection to environmental hazards had not been connected to the international claims of ESD in either LGR11 or the Education Act 2010. Further, there was no link shown between the Right to Education, EFA (2000), and the perception of environmental threats. Indeed, the only clearly expressed securitization process could be found among the NGO-based independent schools with a “green perspective” and within the specific programmes of the Green Schools in comprehensive education, where the environment was considered as a specific area for security concern. However, they did not reproduce the state’s environmental security outlook in education. Still, as autonomous actors they respectively managed to put forward their specific ideas on what environmental awareness and insecurities consist of, thus implementing the international security agenda through ESD by promoting their own “green” ideas, although these issues had been excluded from comprehensive education. Consequently, NGO-based independent schools with a green perspective, and green-oriented NGOs, have the capacity to influence the local (school) level through their specific interests and recognition of environmental insecurities and environmental awareness as matters for important concern. However, the NGOs had not dealt with issues connected to access and those environmental threats and disasters that may lead to physical barriers for children – thereby not acknowledging that the
consequences of environmental catastrophes may generate children at risk. Thus, the question regarding special education initiatives, that in this context is about making sure that all children continuously have access to equal quality education, seems to not have been considered while educating about ESD.

What can be discerned here seems to be complex interactions between different initiatives taking place on different levels. These complexities can be understood as different security complexes pointing to environmental threats along with arguing for securitization through ESD. The UN and UNESCO initiatives may be understood as identifications of important problems where securitization forms proposals for how environmental threats can be reduced. Environmental awareness, as expressed at the international level, thus influences national politics. In Sweden, however, there are few signs of national securitization projects focussing on ESD. Still, it seems as if the discussions on the global levels of society on environmental security and ESD probably constitute the point of departure for local Swedish securitization processes at the school level. In conclusion, it is possible to say that the initiations for securitization of ESD are local securitization projects based on several other environmental threat discourses.

In the South African part of the study there seems to be a similar complexity surrounding the perception of environmental threats. National policies called for environmental security which was only possible to discern where the environment was identified as a highly prioritized security area, such as legitimizing its importance by making it part of the national constitution in post-apartheid policies. Further, the South African government, in a joint project with UNICEF, had studied the impact of environmental threats and the living conditions for children. Education was one sphere where the consequences of environmental threats were claimed to decrease the number of children participating in schooling. Thus, children being exposed environmental hazards were considered as being “at risk children”. It seems therefore possible to trace a link between the Right to Education, the EFA and the perception of environmental threats.

In comprehensive education and local planning, the environment had been categorized as a vulnerability sphere in need of a response to immediate threats. This standpoint would implicate that the planning of education has to include matters of environmental concern in order to meet certain educational needs in line with those expressed in White Paper No. 6, for instance, making sure that buildings are safe and accessible. If these needs cannot be met, the likelihood of creating new barriers to learning will most probably increase. Further, different NGOs were involved in the local planning and implementation of ESD programmes where the NGOs had been accredited by the political level to educate teachers on environmental security and awareness. Thus, the speech acts showed urgency and risk as highly prioritized areas in the design of teacher programmes. The question of creating
special needs initiatives and special environments concerning the subject matters of environmental threats in reform policies was also traceable, especially in connection to other types of societal vulnerabilities that may generate at risk children.

Since the analysis showed no discrepancy between the political rhetoric at the national level and the perception of environmental threats at the local level in South Africa, it is possible to talk about national ESD securitization processes with local implementation. However, the authorization and implementation of NGO-programmes placed in relation to the national level’s approval of environmental threats as urgent gives the NGOs an unclear and difficult role to assess. On one hand, they can be seen as a kind of functional actor attempting to influence a possible future securitization process at the national level. On the other hand, they may be considered as an extended securitization actor, which influences the school level by addressing the environment as an urgent security area through their national and politically accredited position. This involves their role in teacher training and the development of programmes of ESD.

In sum, although it was possible to see signs of an ongoing securitization process at the international level, it was not always possible to follow continuous securitization processes at the national level. Instead, it seems possible to detect environmentally based securitization processes that engaged different levels of society. The most noticeable example of securitizing the environment at the national level through the utilization of ESD could be seen in the South African part of the study. All these environmental discourses and security actions are part of very complex processes involving the perception of threats, utterances and initiatives on different societal levels. This indicates that the securitization of one sphere – in this empirical study the environment – can take place at several societal levels where (autonomous) actors at their best share the same interests and work towards a common goal. However, as has been shown, these actors may also counteract each other’s security intentions. Thus, the perception of environmental threats as issues for securitization may lead to diverging interests between actors.

The following Table 2 summarizes the evaluation of speech acts in connection to environmental security, securitization, ESD and children at risk at the international level and national levels.
Table 2. Evaluation of speech acts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception of environmental threats.</th>
<th>Global level</th>
<th>Sweden</th>
<th>South Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Referent object</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental hazards and emergencies pose urgent threats to the global/ national/ local levels of society.</td>
<td>Experts and agencies at the national level saw the environment as a matter for securitization concern. The political level did not overall share this view, although concern was raised towards environmental threats at the global level. ESD was not made part of a securitization process in the most recent comprehensive education reform – LGR11 – in order to address the impact of environmental threats to all levels of society.</td>
<td>The national level had elevated the environment as an important area, as recognized in the Constitution from 1994. Environmental security was thus considered a prioritized area. The contextual setting enhanced this position for environmental security concern. In national policies the international aims of ESD, as expressed by UNESCO, was regarded as relevant. However, environmental threats were overall not considered as urgent in the NC2005. White Paper No. 6 makes no clear connection between environmental threats and barriers to learning. At the local levels, however, the contextual setting strengthened the need to develop programmes of ESD and sustainability. These programmes included processes of environmental securitization. Indigenous traditions were especially pointed out as contributors to environmental sustainability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Securitization actor.</td>
<td>UN insisted that environmental security was an urgent matter. UNESCO made ESD part of the securitization process in order to address the impact of environmental threats to all levels of society.</td>
<td>The political level recognized environmental threats as urgent, close and historically amplified. NGOs working on the national policy level’s mandate address environmental threats in a manner where ESD can be considered as being part of a securitization process. Issues related to access to education had been included.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>NGOs acted as functional actors at the school level in comprehensive education thereby influencing the content of ESD. This was predominantly due to a lack of clear national directives and a small amount of literature on how to teach and learn about ESD. NGOs called for increased environmental security and awareness through the development of ESD-programs in comprehensive education.</td>
<td>NGOs acting on a mandate from the national level to educate teachers on environmental security and ESD. NGOs facilitated in the discerned securitization process at the national level as functional actors. At the local level, NGOs constitute both extended securitization actors and functional actors as they were accredited by the national political level to develop ESD-programmes in comprehensive education on their behalf and as experts in the environmental area.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Functional actor.</td>
<td>Different types of INGOs have been accredited to work for or cooperate with UNESCO. In the environmental sphere, WWF was singled out as an accredited actor.</td>
<td>The political level recognized environmental threats as distant, close in time and historically amplified. This was also shown in the national curriculum LGR11. NGOs address increased environmental awareness in their programmes. ESD was considered as being part of a securitization process when planned and used in the carrying out of education at the local level. However, issues related to access to education had not been included.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implementing ESD</td>
<td>The international level guides the IC on how to respond to environmental threats. This includes ESD. UNESCO calls for a shared international agenda and curriculum design between states to address urgency, life-saving measures and to add to the knowledge of ESD. INGOs are considered as cooperative partners in this process.</td>
<td>The political level recognized environmental threats as urgent, close and historically amplified. NGOs working on the national policy level’s mandate address environmental threats in a manner where ESD can be considered as being part of a securitization process. Issues related to access to education had been included.</td>
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8. Attitudes towards inclusive education and democracy reform policies in South Africa from a securitization perspective

This chapter draws on on-going inclusive education reforms in South Africa against the background of official documents and earlier research. From a Swedish, special educational perspective, it should be pointed out that inclusive education for children at risk has an unusually broad meaning in South Africa, and this was especially true after the democratic turn during the early 1990s. Besides the traditional meaning of inclusion of children with special needs, inclusion here also refers to the establishment of a school for both the white minority and black majority of South African children. A new kind of bottom-up securitization process will be identified and analysed. The point of departure for this discovery of a new kind of securitization process was a co-joint project between the Stockholm Institute of Education and the University of South Africa in 2011, which concluded that teachers in South Africa were negative towards inclusive education. In fact, the national securitization project of inclusive education turned out to be, to some extent, perceived as a threat, by teachers, who did not feel that they could manage the new policy and school organization. By making use of securitization theory, in connection to these unexpected, perceived threats linked to the policy of inclusiveness, new kinds of barriers to learning and children at risk become possible to understand. These bottom-up securitization processes can be identified at the national as well as local and individual levels of society. Thus, two paths will be scrutinized. The first is a security outlook where societal conditions and political ideology are connected to the national policy reforms of inclusion and democracy – including special education reforms – while the second concerns a counter-securitization outlook, most probably influenced by national reform, initiated on the teacher level and aimed at managing a threat experienced by teachers supposed to implement the education reforms.

History, background and democratic reforms

The political incentives for special education reform in South Africa in combination with the onset of democracy during the 1990s are by Helldin et al. (2011) and Nel et al. (2011) viewed as expressions for increasing the politi-
cal participation of the whole population. The background to the ideological reform can be found in the development towards a democratic society in the post-apartheid era.

During apartheid, the Nationalist Party used methods of force to limit the possibility of the black population gaining power. The breakdown of apartheid was as a response to the discriminatory policies preceded by brutality between the apartheid regime and the ANC. In early 1990s, it became clear that no side would win. The future President Mandela told a group of Afrikaner Generals the following:

If you want to go to war….I must be honest and admit that we cannot stand up to you on the battlefield. We don’t have the resources….But you must remember two things. You cannot win because of our numbers; you cannot kill us all. And you cannot win because of the international community. They will rally to our support and they will stand with us (Sparks, 1996, p. 204 in Fiske & Ladd, 2004, pp. 36-37).

The speech act sets the position of two factions in opposition to each other. War is mentioned as one possible consequence if the two factions cannot agree on certain matters. The speech act also contain elements suggesting it is the Nationalist Party that has an interest of going to war. However, Mandela indirectly warns the Government that ANC has the support of the International Community.

In 1990, the South African President de Klerk stated:

We just can’t go on in this way (PITP, 2015, p. 1).

A short speech act that can be said to express a concluding response and reaction to the arisen situation. It also contains the following political direction of the Nationalist Party regarding the forthcoming negotiations with ANC intended to handle questions of suppression and violence. A supplementary political course of action was required. Gee (PITP, 2015) explains this new course of direction in terms of the toils of apartheid that were bringing the country to its knees (p. 1).

Formal negotiations on how to design a new political system in South Africa began in 1991. However, negotiations broke down. When negotiations started again, violence broke out and approximately 14 000 people were killed due to political violence between 1990 and 1994. In 1993, an interim agreement was reached. The Nationalist Party agreed to a unitary state once they had managed to secure private property and a capitalist economic system. The agreements have later been referred to as a “historic compromise” where the divided country managed to transfer power from the white minority to the black majority (Fiske & Ladd, 2004, pp. 37-39). The peaceful revolution in South Africa is often referred to as the emergence of a Rainbow Nation (PITP, 2015).
The first multi-party democratic election was held in 1994 indicating a new era in terms of bringing both colonialism and apartheid to an end. The exercise of political power rests on the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, which became viable in the beginning of 1997. The Bill of Rights is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. Lomofsky and Lazarus (2002) state that the effects of the past could, for example, be seen in the South African Bill of Rights where stress was put on equality and the uniquely important position where socio-economic rights were stated. The highlighted position regarding the protection of socio-economic rights could be traced back to the discriminatory politics of the former apartheid system concerning the standard of social and economic injustice. Further, the use of compromising politics meant, according to Johnson (2015), that black people moved into the structures of the former South African administration, in turn which meant that the institutional set up remained intact (p. 14). Hence, the development of a democratic South African state during the 1990s struggled with a history of strong conflicts between black and white people. However, the political development into a democratic state did not lead to any major changes within organizational structures. Therefore, the heavily centralized institutional system under apartheid continued alongside the set up of democracy.

Education reform – inclusive education

The setting up of a democratic state and the many reform policies – including the educational sector – should be understood against the background of a state in crisis. The reform policies – including education – that took place in post-apartheid addressed issues in connection to political, social and economic threats and conflict management (see Reynolds, 2001; COSATU, 1999; 2003; Fiske & Ladd 2004; South African Human Rights Commission, 2006). Through the set up of a democratic system in South Africa, inclusion became a viable part in several areas where societal change was supposed to take place. According to a report (CHRI, 1999) by the South African Constitutional Assembly, the principle of inclusivity meant that people should be part of this process and that policies were supposed to represent the view of the people (p. 13).

An important aspect regarding the reforms of the early 1990s that realized the new politics of democracy and equality concerned the ambition to reform the whole system of education. Here the usage of the term of inclusion and creating inclusiveness became important and obtained a more extensive meaning than in many other countries where it first of all refers to students having school difficulties. According to Avramidis and Norwich (2002), the 1990s saw the onset of an increased utilization of the term “inclusion”. In-
clusion came to signify the commitment to discourses of social inclusion, values and ethics (p. 131). Although the concept of inclusion has become more frequent in the debate of community- and social cohesion, human rights, ethnic integration and disability rights, the practical utilization of inclusion seems unclear (Rustemier, 2004, p. 25). The development and usage of the term inclusion in South African politics can be further connected to an UNDP report from 1990 (see Oquist, 2008), which brings to the fore the necessities of defining social and economic indicators while referring to possible vulnerabilities in connection to different types of insecurities and vulnerability areas (op cit.). Thus, the usage of the word inclusion in South African reform politics seems to point out the necessity to enhance and highlight equality among the South African citizens in the set up of a democratic state.

Engelbrecht (1999) argues that the overall inclusive reform policies taking place in South Africa should be understood as a societal change that was expected to be reflected in educational reform policies due to societal insecurities (pp. 3-4). Hence, making use of the word inclusion seems to point towards reducing insecurities and tensions within society which had been governed by former insecurities related discrimination and segregation. For instance, UNDP (1994) at the time pointed out that it was necessary to defuse tensions within South Africa. In order to reduce tensions within society, discrimination had to stop. Social policies that promoted, for instance, equality, participation, education and skill formation was supported to reduce poverty (op cit.). In terms of addressing political and societal insecurities in South Africa, an inclusive approach in reform policies that included socio-economic change seems to respond not only to internal security claims but also to the international claims for addressing societal inclusion. The introduction of inclusive measures in politics should here be understood in terms of addressing different types of perceived threats related to claims for democracy and the former politics of apartheid.

In terms of relating participatory activities and part-taking in an institutional outlook towards inclusion, this could be seen in the set up of national policies, agencies, schooling and the community. The idea of an inclusive reform is not only a definition of “what” or “who” is included; it also functions as a carrier of managerial and organizational values of security measures. According to Liedman (2012), the school shares the same values and organization as the rest of society (p. 1). The desire and ability to find ways for promoting inclusion thereby became synonymous with belonging.

72 The UNDP reports of 1990 and 1993 refer to work of Amartya Sen, who showed that vulnerabilities may be linked and ranked through the measure of social and economic indicators. His contribution to determining vulnerabilities is made by referring to “capability”. Capability stands for measuring the governments’ capacity to the concretization of the citizens’ capabilities where the stock of measure is connected to the government and how it addresses the issues of poverty and equality (Oquist, 2008, p. 111).
and part-taking in post-apartheid education. Anyone who was not inside the loop in an institutional context was endangered to end up outside the systems of society, whether it concerned individual or institutional relations to the whole. The following speech act can be said to reflect that the past, the present and the future security requests that had to be recognized in the planning of education:

The impact of violence on society due to political and ethnic rivalry is a well-known phenomenon. On the African continent, political and ethnic tensions have led to armed conflicts; many of these conflicts have made their way into schools and classrooms. In South Africa in particular, political and ethnic strife, originally fuelled by the apartheid regime, still smoulders despite democratic governance and a new social order. Last year's Truth and Reconciliation Report documented the devastating impact of the political and ethnic violence of the apartheid years on South African society. Amidst the extensive literature about violence under apartheid, the role of the education sector in reinforcing and incorporating state sanctioned political violence is often denied attention (Ntshoe, 1999, p. 1).

The development of the national curriculum NC2005 can as such be understood as an example of recent educational reforms that clearly express the national policies of a democratic and inclusive outlook. In special education reform policies this would require:

(a) expanding services to all racial groups; (b) transforming the curriculum from one of oppression to one of empowerment; (c) preparing teachers to form partnerships and to work with families and related disciplines; (d) developing culturally sensitive assessment instruments in the diverse African languages; and (e) delivering culturally sensitive and competent instruction grounded in the South African context (Gwalla-Ogisi, Nkabinde & Rodriguez 1998, p. 72).

This wide outlook on inclusive measures guided the education reform of NC2005 and the development of special needs in education established in the White Paper No. 6. In this context, an inclusive approach to education therefore involved the set up of institutions and the mainstreaming of children from disadvantaged groups as well as working against barriers to learning and marginalization. Thus, the development of both reforms was especially directed towards meeting the needs of children who were at risk from failing in education or dropping out of the school system.

Education reform, social cohesion and barriers to learning

Educational reform began immediately after the first general election in 1994, where all citizens were allowed to take part. The reform policies in
comprehensive education addressed the discriminatory policies of the former Bantu education. The National Commission on Special Needs in training (NCSNET) and the National Committee for Education Support Services (NCESS) were appointed by the Ministry of Education in 1996 to identify barriers to learning. The assignment included making policy recommendations on all aspects of special needs and support services in order to combat barriers to learning at all levels of education. The Commission realized that a diverse range of needs interfered with the realization of education for all. Therefore, they proposed the idea of identifying “barriers to learning and development” to clarify the specific needs and areas that called for extra attention (see Lomovskey & Lazarus, 2001). The key strategies required to achieve an inclusive outlook were the most relevant for this matter, and this included transforming the education system into an all embracing integrated system (DoE, 2001, p. 6; see also DoE, 2012). This entailed forming a non-diverse outlook that perpetuated all educational areas. This outlook was, according to Naicker (1999a), a call for equal education for all children. The earlier separate education systems should be integrated into one system that can meet the needs of all learners (pp. 15, 19).

In a report published by the Department of Education in February 1998 for public comment and advice (Report of National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training and National Committee on Education Support, Department of Education, 1997), central findings showed that specific issues had to be targeted in education reform policies. These issues predominantly included neglected inequality and access to education under the former apartheid policies. Education for children with disabilities had occurred within ‘special’ schools and classes and was provided on a racial basis. This meant that non-white children did not receive the same physical and material resources as were reserved for white children. Another concern was that most learners with disabilities or impairment had fallen outside the educational system or had been ‘mainstreamed by default’. The needs of dropouts had to be further targeted including children who had been pushed out of the educational system for different reasons and those who had failed in education (DoE, 2001, p. 5). A challenge in education reform policies was then to establish a pedagogy that addressed inequalities linked to structures built into the education system. Education priorities therefore had to include the strengthening of the Department of Education, education policy needs and resource assessments (see, for instance, SIDA, 2005, Terms of reference; contract with DoE).

Concerning special education needs, international actors were brought into the education reform process. Sweden, together with Finland, financed the first phase of the development of Education White Paper No. 6, Special Needs Education (DoE, 2001) on building an inclusive education and training system. The Swedish part of this work was carried out by the former SIE (Stockholm Institute of Education), which cooperated with the Directorate
for Inclusive Education in the Department of Education and Teacher Training Institutions in South Africa (see SIDA, 2005, Terms of reference; contract with DoE). However, Helldin et al. (2011) and Nel et al. (2011) suggest that the new policies of decentralization in education reform policies could have implications for the carrying out of IE in schooling, which had formerly been heavily centralized during apartheid.

Further, the White Paper No. 6 addresses physical and societal barriers to learning in order to ensure access for all learners. Another issue was to include parents, educators and learners in this work covering both rights and responsibilities. Finally, reform policies should be targeting sustainability, access to education and historically disadvantaged communities and institutions (DoE, 2001, p. 6). Ten key barriers were identified: socio-economic barriers; discriminatory negative attitudes; an inflexible curriculum; language and communication difficulties; inaccessible and unsafe built environments; inappropriate and inadequate provision of support services; lack of parental recognition and involvement; lack of human resources development; disabilities and impairments; and a lack of protective legislation and policies to support the development of an inclusive education system (Lomovsky & Lazarus, 2001, pp. 311-312).

Accordingly, issues that had to be addressed seemed to be connected to reversing the former discriminatory policies of Bantu education (see Chapter 6). Along with these policy actions and strategies, the new government had to develop a democratic outlook based political and societal inclusion. Education reform may therefore be understood as a political response to meeting different types of needs in education in order to establish political and societal inclusion as well as respond to perceived threats against the fragile institutional and political levels in post-apartheid South Africa:

The scope of this policy is broad as it attempts to address the diverse needs of all learners who experience barriers to learning. The policy calls for a significant conceptual shift that is based on the following premises:

- all children, youth and adults have the potential to learn, given the necessary support
- the system’s inability to recognise and accommodate the diverse range of learning needs results in a breakdown of learning.

The policy asserts that in order to make inclusive education a reality, there needs to be a conceptual shift regarding the provision of support for learners who experience barriers to learning (Dalton, Mckenzie & Kahonda, 2012, p. 2).

Hence, the wide range of needs that the new policy is supposed to meet can be said to address issues related to at risk children where special education reform policies have perpetuated the entire educational sector from the national down to the individual level. Features of inclusion in education reform policies may therefore be understood as guiding principles for ac-
knowledging and bringing down barriers to learning in South Africa. These attempts can thus be followed accordingly in the White Paper No. 6 on how to meet children’s’ special needs in education:

We [...] define inclusive education and training as:
• Acknowledging that all children and youth can learn and that all children and youth need support.
• Enabling education structures, systems and learning methodologies to meet the needs of all learners.
• Acknowledging and respecting differences in learners, whether due to age, gender, ethnicity, language, class, disability, HIV or other infectious diseases.
• Broader than formal schooling and acknowledging that learning also occurs in the home and community, and within formal and informal settings and structures.
• Changing attitudes, behaviour, teaching methods, curricula and environment to meet the needs of all learners.
• Maximising the participation of all learners in the culture and the curriculum of educational institutions and uncovering and minimising barriers to learning (DoE, 2001, pp. 6-7)73

The above speech act can also be said to include elements that express what Lomovsky and Lazarus (2001) state: that education reform policies constituted an integrated process that dealt with political, social, educational and economic transformation in order to develop society into a democratic state where all citizens were treated equally. The former Bantu education system under central government control was institutionally divided based on race. In the new democratic institutional set up, education departments were expected to function as one unified national education ministry (p. 303). The new Education Act (1996) meant that two stakeholder bodies were established in order to work closely with the Minister of Education. These two bodies were to ensure that education was developed in line with the education aims stated in the Constitution. The transition from many departments into just a few, has been a complex task to implement. Even though the Constitution and the Educational Act were clear on the division of competences and power of the ministry and the provincial department, there were still disagreements. For instance, the boundaries between national power and provincial autonomy were unclear. However, the problems of allocation of power appeared to have been of more concern for provinces than for the Ministry (Kholofelo, 1998, pp. 272-273).

The onset of democracy has also led to new legislation regarding the adoption of human rights. The new government found it necessary to investigate and introduce new policies and legislation in education in order to reflect the new political era. Seven years of basic schooling was introduced,

73 Compare to Engelbrecht, Oswald and Forlin (2006, p. 121 in Nel et al., 2011 op cit.).
adding two years of secondary education. The new system was shaped around the notion of including all learners, and that also meant including children with special needs (Lomovsky & Lazarus, 2001, p. 304). Thus, by increasing the number of years in basic education, the reform policies can be said to be aimed at meeting the needs of children who may have an increased risk of being categorized as at risk.

Research (see Engelbrecht et al., 2006; Eloff and Kgwete, 2007) has shown that the issue of available resources is important in the processes of educational transformation. The part-takers may gain the opportunity to access additional resources if they work towards a common ground for accessibility in order to break patterns of segregation and marginalization. In our attempt to understand the educational changes in terms of securitization, it is also necessary to consider the different risk factors involved in the transformation process. Risk factors may concern obstacles standing in the way of reaching a comprehensive school-system due to different kinds of insecurities. Examples of risk factors are poor infrastructure, a shortage and lack of training for staff and the establishment of schooling as a safe zone in areas of instability. Thus, the application and implementation of a participatory approach, directed towards reaching inclusive measurements, thereby seems to call for an all-embracing school system that link socio-economic interests with political interests. The introduction of an inclusive education system may here be understood against the background of ideologically transmitted ideas from the political level to the school level. Democratic ideas of inclusion can here be seen as following up on security interest to pursue a democratic outlook in order to address different types of socio-economic and political insecurities in South African society.

Setbacks in education reform

At the practical level, the introduction of inclusion has meant a challenge for those working in the educational field. Englebrecht, Swart and Eloff (2007) have looked specifically at the group of educational psychologists and the planning and carrying out of inclusive education. In South Africa, the neglect of environmentally-based identification criteria has left many disadvantaged children unattended. With the introduction of new policies in 1996, new aims and models towards a multi-system paradigm suggested a wider scope of analysis and action. Much of this new role in education was given to the introduction of a new school system. The reform policies challenge the role of the educational psychologists as well as educators. Historically, both these occupational roles have been carried out in a system based on dividing and separating children. Unfortunately, educational staff and educational psychologists have little experience in co-operation, as only a few had the opportunity to receive instruction and take part in group collaborations (pp.
Another concern relates to schooling in rural areas. Although the government has adopted a legal framework to address the needs of the poorest schools – the farm schools – much work still remains (Human Rights Watch, 2004; Berger, 2003). In some cases the land owner has actively tried to prevent children or teachers from gaining access to the school (Human Rights Watch, 2004). Crouch (2005) raises the issue of dropouts and the continuance of the education system reproducing social inequalities. However, research has shown that the numbers of drop outs have been heavily exaggerated. For instance, a large number of pupils “disappear” between the levels of grade 1 and grade 2. Still, most of these pupils are still enrolled in education but are simply repeating grade 1. The problems that South African education faces concern the inequality in learning achievement and the low level of achievement across the different age groups. Another dilemma has been that pupils are not equipped for the labour market compared to the average among other countries due to poor achievement (pp. 1-26).

Another setback has been the national curriculum called OBE (outcomes based education), which has been shown in theory to be a political response to change but has not served its purpose at the class room level. Although equality and democracy – wordings associated with social justice – may be linked to restructuring and transformation, the end results have not shown that this taken place. One reason is the vagueness in teacher training, which may have a spill over effect in educating children. Disadvantaged groups under apartheid may thus still continue to be poorly educated (Enslin & Pendlebury, 1998, p. 3). Bloch (2009) specifies that youth crime, lack of discipline, hunger and AIDS also influence the functioning of schools in a negative way (pp. 1-4). Overcrowded classrooms are another issue that has to be taken under consideration (SA Human Rights Commission, 2006). These are all examples of insecurities and conditions that the teachers face and become confronted with when they attempt to implement IE. Thus, the inclusive approach to education may be disrupted by old structures and new threats to society, which may spoil the carrying out of inclusive education. From a democratic perspective, this means that institutions and all policy actions are required to meet several kinds of barriers to learning in order to implement NC2005 and White Paper No. 6 in education.

All of these above mentioned issues may have a negative impact on the

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74 Historical, economic and social conditions on commercial farms reflect the apartheid legacy. 13% of state-funded schools are built on farm-land. Farm children may be without electricity, drinking water and sanitation, lack of learning materials and suitable buildings. During apartheid the land owner was the manager of the school, providing limited education to children whose parents worked on the farm (Human Rights Watch, 2004; see also Hyslop, 1999).
implementation of IE. As a consequence, risk factors in connection to difficulties in implementing the special education reform may therefore complicate conditions for children at risk. From a securitization perspective, it seems possible to suggest that the lines of exclusion and inclusion are dependent on both context and the definitions of vulnerabilities and perceived threats. For instance, inclusion and exclusion may be viewed as matters for defining awareness between different securitization partakers involved in the planning, monitoring and execution of inclusive education. Hence, the way the issues of inclusion and exclusion are addressed is thus dependent on the connection made between inclusive matters, societal conditions and different rights. In order to protect the most vulnerable, the logic of inclusive measures, linked to a securitization process, can therefore be said to build on the notions of protecting the most vulnerable as well as defining those who are in need of extra assistance. A securitization process that contains measures of special education reform directed towards IE seems therefore in this context dependent on the political aims of a collective equality-based outlook in education as well as protecting individual education rights, including access to education. These lines of thinking will be further elaborated in the following sections.

Securitization as a top-down process from the national to the school level

In our empirical study, we understand the extensive work for democratization and the reform for inclusive education, against the background of perceived threats to the new South Africa. In this context, the special education reform of IE can be seen as a securitization move at the national level to meet and reduce these threats.

According to UNESCO (2003c), societies that do not include meaningful participation in the economic, political, social or cultural spheres are not safe or efficient. South Africa was specifically mentioned in the report regarding barriers to learning and exclusion. Marginalization is thus a threat to society (pp. 2-10). By parliament adopting a societal view of inclusion, it seems reasonable to suggest that an inclusive approach was to contribute to reducing different types of threats. This notion is supported by Reynolds (2001) who states that the idea of inclusiveness in South Africa was to achieve reconciliation, which encouraged the decline of the worst political violence (pp. 67, 69). Thus, the reform policies can therefore be seen as carrying features of a securitization process in order to meet political and societal threats caused by the former apartheid government. These kinds of threats had to
meet the segregating, oppressive and violent policies of apartheid.\textsuperscript{75} It seems reasonable, based on the above statements, to suggest that politically advocating measures for inclusion were supposed to function as ways for reaching and maintaining political and societal stability. Inherited issues concerning security, related to the former political regime, had to be dealt with throughout the establishment of a democratic state.

As a developing country, there are several areas that may interfere with reaching an inclusive school system. Disadvantaged groups under apartheid (op cit. Enslin & Pendlebury, 1998; Bloch, 2009) are still considered as being at risk. Engelbrecht, Oswald and Forlin (2006) state that socio-economic factors, poverty, unsafe environments, lack of healthcare facilities, overcrowded classrooms and untrained teachers are all important factors that may interfere with reaching the aims of an inclusive school system. The perception of the respondents reflects a South African reality that faces several challenges. Teachers in South Africa struggle with a large proportion of learners who have barriers to learning due to the present situation in the country (op cit.). Several complicated issues were therefore brought up in education reform policies. The following five factors can be said to represent the perceived threats confronting society. Ohlsson (1995) in Gwalla-Ogisi, Nkabinde and Rodriguez (1998, p. 77) mention five areas in need of courses of action:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{(a)} the legacy of the racial ideology and educational doctrine of apartheid;
  \item \text{(b)} widespread violence and conflict that seems to be deeply rooted in society and structural in nature;
  \item \text{(c)} a discrepancy between what is possible and what is desirable regarding socio-economic reconstruction and the reform process;
  \item \text{(d)} legitimized corruption;
  \item \text{(e)} constitutional issues that are as yet unresolved.
\end{itemize}

All these five areas point towards matters that can be defined within securitization theory as different security sectors where different types of threats can be perceived. Here it can be argued that the idea of inclusion thus seems to have become a significant part of dealing with these threats in the development of the new national curriculum NC2005. Additionally, the White Paper No. 6 specifically addresses issues of inclusion in terms of different types of barriers to learning, disability and social cohesion:

Many of these provisions follow the recommendations of The Salamanca Statement of 1994, a UNESCO document that asserts that inclusive regular schools are a means of combating discrimination and achieving education for all in a cost effective way (Walton, Nel, Hugo & Muller, 2009, p. 106).

\textsuperscript{75} Brown (1981, p. 79) state that apartheid has been recognized as a crime against humanity. The UN Assembly and the Security Council established that Apartheid did not reconcile with the UN Charter or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
The present South African education policy on special education can thus be said to combine two aspects of SEN (Special Education Needs). On one hand, SEN is defined as meeting the demands of mainstreaming but also the acute education need for children who live in fragile areas of the country,\textsuperscript{76} thus bringing to the fore the issue of at risk children in connection to barriers to learning.

The awareness of education as a key issue in terms of realizing the goals of a new democratic nation therefore became an important factor in order to address barriers to learning and earlier threats put forward by the apartheid government. Inclusive education – used in an uncommon and wide South African sense – became the cornerstone in the construction of the new society. As a consequence, the former discriminatory education system of Bantu education constituted a threat to the whole project of the democratic nation. Table 3 illustrates three main threats to which the national securitization project of inclusion was the response.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Political vulnerabilities} & \textbf{Educational vulnerabilities} & \textbf{Socio-economic vulnerabilities} \\
\hline
\textbf{Securitization response} & \textbf{Securitization response} & \textbf{Securitization response} \\
\hline
Democracy and the process of democratization. & Inclusive education reform policies. NC2005 and White Paper No. 6. & Work against societal stratification in order to avoid gaps between rich and poor, rural and urban settings. \\
\hline
\textbf{Implementation} & \textbf{Implementation} & \textbf{Implementation} \\
\hline
Inclusive measures are brought into the democratic process. This includes the whole set up of society. Political structures should reflect institutional set up. For instance institutions should reproduce ideas of non-diversity. & Many educational systems need to undergo immense change to reach the political aims of an inclusive education system. Quality, equality and access to education needs to developed. The teacher force needs training in how to implement inclusive education. & Inclusive education could be one way to contribute to lesser stratification. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{76} See Jansen (2012).
Table 3 can be said to show the distal context in the national securitization process involving the special education reform of inclusive education, by representing specific areas that may influence the planning and implementation of an inclusive approach. The three vulnerability areas mark the securitization sectors that hold different types of inclusiveness as security responses. The political area would thus involve responding to threats that interfere with the aims of diversity in connection to the political and institutional set up of democracy. The educational area addresses different types of educational vulnerabilities and barriers to learning as well as implications for implementing the reforms. The socio-economic area is linked to threats of societal stratification, which may include issues of marginalization that thereby omit the possibility of those groups taking an active role in society. A securitization response would thus work against marginalization. The educational level can moreover be linked to both the political and socio-economic factors in terms of involving matters of enrolment in schooling and issues linked to illiteracy.

From the above discussion, we can see that the national reform for inclusive education can be understood as a national, top-down securitization process responding to a number of vulnerability areas: the political area, the socio-economic area and the educational area. The political threats refer to the difficulties to organize South Africa as one coherent nation with stable institutions and a stable societal structure. The apartheid history makes this threat visible and urgent. A dramatic social and economic stratification in terms of enormous differences in living conditions between rich and poor people illustrates the socio-economic threat. Both these types of threats perpetuate and target the reform policies of the educational arena.

The national securitization process includes, apart from perceived threats towards the state as the referent object, the government as the main part of the securitization actor(s). The school leaderships’ and teachers’ role in the suggested nation-wide securitization process are to function as extended securitization actors. In their role as extended securitization actors, they function as implementers of the established education reform. It is thus a role where the state is co-dependent on the school leaders and teachers as implementers of national policies and can be defined accordingly:

A dependent relationship develops between teachers as mere implementers of the curriculum and the state as decision-maker and provider of education in the country (Frame, 2003, p. 22).

As extended securitization actors, school leaders and teachers are expected to implement the aims of the national curricula. From a securitization perspective, the national curriculum represents a steering document, which facilitates the reproduction of state policies and societal expected endurance (see, for instance, UNESCO, 1999; IIIEP, 2009). Thus, in a securitization
process, which involves education reform, it should be possible to trace what constitutes the securitization move in the implementation of national educational policies. This means to search for whether school leaders and teachers as extended securitization actors act in or out of concordance with the established objectives of education reform policies. In line with Ciuta (2009), this entails observing how actors’ make a security move due to contextual variation (p. 322). Contextual variation here builds on the power relations linked to the proximate context between different actors in the securitization process and their ability to respond to a perceived threat by making a security move. Here this means to establish the conditions for co-dependency between the state level and the school- and teacher level in order to implement special education reform and IE. This procedure entails looking for whether what has been suggested to constitute perceived threats at the national level activates a possible securitization move at the school level. Hence, it concerns how ideas of democratic development and inclusiveness are responded to and implemented at the lower levels of society. Contextual factors that may influence the outcome of successful implementation are societal conditions, the ability and possibility among school leaders and teachers to act in accordance with the national level’s claim of appropriate security response; these are all of vital importance and warrant a further look. Discourses of inclusiveness therefore constitute the positioning for distinguishing a possible securitization process in favour of a democratic establishment in order to meet threats connected to autocracy and discrimination of the black population and other categories of people threatened by discriminatory policies.

Teacher attitudes’ and the impact of inclusive education (IE) in South Africa

As illustrated above, the interest for the national securitization project of reforms, based on inclusiveness brought to the fore, necessitates further scrutinization of research that describes the implementation of the special education reform – White Paper No. 6 – in South Africa. My involvement as a co-author in a comparative research project (Nel et al., 2011 and Helldin et al., 2011) focussing on teacher attitudes towards IE in South Africa and Sweden brought further attention to issues connected to insecurity and implementing IE. The reported results, that South African teachers’ on average were less pro-inclusion than the Swedish teachers (see Helldin et al., 2011), raised the
question of how these attitudes could be understood. Some of the authors’ interpretations – in terms of perceived threats by teachers – also raised questions about the identification of a possibly new kind of securitization process. The following parts will first present the comparative South Africa-Sweden study and then I will discuss the discovery of a new type of securitization process.

The South Africa-Sweden project on teacher attitudes towards IE

The aim of the South Africa - Sweden research project was to discern and compare shared and country-specific teacher attitudes towards IE in Sweden and South Africa. It was argued that it would then be possible to establish practical and political implications of these attitudes set in economic and historical contexts. The research problem focused on the identification of attitude constructs in IE and identifying problem areas in IE. Problem areas that may have implications for attitudes towards IE were suggested to include policy, demography and population composition, economics and cultural issues. Against this background, the research was directed towards identifying IE-problem areas (IE attitude-constructs). If these IE-problem areas could be understood and addressed, teachers’ attitudes towards IE were suggested to improve. Negative attitudes towards IE were therefore expected against the background of current reforms (see Nel et al., 2011, pp. 77-78). A questionnaire measuring attitudes towards various aspects of inclusive education was administrated to Swedish and South African teachers between 2005 and 2007. A majority of these were South African teachers. A Likert scale (1-5) was used for all attitude items (Helldin et al., 2011). In order to identify attitude constructs, exploratory factor analyses were used. In total, 503 questionnaires were analysed – 128 Swedish and 375 South African (Nel et al., 2011, p. 79). The results were reported in two different articles, Nel et al. (2011) and Helldin et al. (2011) based on different theoretical outlooks. In Nel et al. (2011), the study specifically built on Festinger’s (Massaro, 1997) theory of cognitive dissonance concerning the influence of people’s attitudes and attitude change – which is here used to explore the attitudes of teachers towards IE from an interactive standpoint. In the concluding discussion of the South African study, it was noted that the majority of teachers in both Sweden and South Africa were positive to include learners with special needs into mainstream schooling (Nel et al., 2011, pp. 77, 87).

78 1= strong disagreement and 5= strong agreement
79 Comparisons between the South African and Swedish teacher groups were mainly made by standardized differences: country differences of means divided by the common within country standard deviation for the respective factors and items (Helldin et al., 2011, p. 112).
In Helldin et al. (2011) the results from the factor analyses were examined from ideological positions of democracy, participation and ethics (pp. 109-110). Education reform was in both countries being put forward as based on a democratic pillar. The following six factors or constructs were described: 1) Specialised support policy in IE; 2) Implementation of an IE-policy; 3) Teacher support structures; 4) IE receptiveness; 5) Feasibility of IE practices; and 6) Mainstreamed IE and the role of special schools (Nel et al., 2011). The constructs were discussed somewhat differently by Helldin et al. (2011), for example construct 1 was labelled “Inclusion scepticism”.

In the analysis presented in Nel et al. (2011), three out of five categories within the Likert scale were presented: agree = value 3.5-4.5, undecided value = 2.5-3.5 and disagree = value 1-2.5 on the Likert scale. According to this categorization, teachers from both countries were on the Likert scale within the value of undecided, with South Africa leaning significantly more towards disagreement with an inclusive school system.

Main findings included positive respondents towards specialized knowledge within special school while teachers maintained reservations towards their own knowledge of IE. Further, respondents in both countries agreed that special schools played an important role in the education system and that expertise can be provided at these schools. Indecisiveness among South African teachers regarding specialized support and assistance in order to accommodate learners into mainstream education could be related to the recent development of IE.

Our interest in exploring possible securitization processes was raised by the end discussion in Nel et al. (2011), where specific concerns regarding the practical implementation and achievability of IE were brought to the fore. Although teachers showed pro-inclusion attitudes towards the mainstreaming of children with special needs in education, some results at item level indicated difficulties in the implementation of IE. The following statement shows a comparison made at item level where three items (Q12n, Q70, Q105) from Construct 1 were singled out and contrasted against one item (Q102) from Construct 2. The interpretation of the item-level comparison suggested that the teachers experienced insecurities in connection to implementing IE. The results from these four items are showed below in Table 4:

It is clear from questions 12, 70 and 105 that teachers are aware that they lack the necessary knowledge and support to address the needs of learners with special needs. In South Africa in particular, where IE has not been part of the pre-1994 school system, teachers often feel threatened and unsure about inclusive practices in their classrooms (see Q102) (Nel et al., 2011, p. 88).
Table 4. Factors and selected items on attitudes towards IE. 80

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor No.</th>
<th>Factor/construct: Description</th>
<th>Item Q NO.</th>
<th>Question Item description</th>
<th>SA mean</th>
<th>SA std</th>
<th>Swe Mean</th>
<th>Swe Std 81</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Specialized support policy in IE</td>
<td>Q12</td>
<td>[Negation of] Mainstream schools must provide for learners with impairments.</td>
<td>2.12 d</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>1.63 d</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Specialized support policy in IE</td>
<td>Q70</td>
<td>The school should supply assistants to help with individual learners.</td>
<td>4.00 a</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>3.60 a</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Specialized support policy on IE.</td>
<td>Q105</td>
<td>Specially trained teachers must teach learners experiencing barriers.</td>
<td>3.71 a</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>3.75 a</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Implementation of an IE-policy</td>
<td>Q102</td>
<td>Learners requiring high-intensity support must be accommodated in mainstream schools.</td>
<td>2.52 u</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>2.75 u</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a= agree (value 3.5-4.5); u= undecided (value 2.5-3.5); d= disagree (value 1.5-2.5)

The overall results from Construct 1 (Specialized support policy in IE/ Inclusion scepticism) revealed that on average the South African teachers were significantly less pro-inclusion than the Swedish teachers. In total, 19 questions were found to contribute to explaining the construct. The overall means (over the questions) were 3.04 for South African teachers and 2.52 for the Swedish teachers on the Likert scale (see Helldin et al., 2011). 82 In their explanation of the unexpectedly weak pro-inclusion attitudes as related to lack of knowledge, adequate support systems and necessary in-service training to implement the reform, Nel et al. (2011) also refer to earlier research:

> Literature attests to these findings (Jerlinder et al., 2010:46). Although the reasons for the South African teachers’ opinion were not investigated in this research project, the researchers are of the opinion that teachers’ attitudes in this regard are enhanced by a lack of knowledge, training and eventually a lack of support services. Engelbrecht et al. (2006:127) came to the same conclusion. The specific needs of teachers with regard to IE in mainstream schools therefore need to be researched. Information should be obtained at national ands district levels to establish a clear picture of teachers’ needs and attitudes (p. 88)

The authors (op cit.) more specifically ask for further studies that pinpoint teachers’ needs with reference to teachers’ knowledge of IE, training and possible lack of support services, which may interfere with the carrying out of IE at the school level. Further, in the mentioned article by Engelbrecht et

80 Mean scores are based on Helldin et al. (2011).
81 The standard deviations (Std) were in general broader among the South African teachers vis-à-vis the Swedish teachers. This concerned the selected items and the items of the study in general.
82 The items for Construct 1 had been constructed in a manner where a high mean (3.5-4.5) meant that the teachers favoured exclusive measures and vice versa. For example, Q59: There should be different expectations for learners experiencing barriers – 3.54 a.
al. (2006), the authors studied three schools that were engaged in a process of implementing IE (index for inclusion):

In all the schools the staff reported a lack of personnel development opportunities and indicated that they were in need of the know-how to address learner needs and behaviours effectively. [...] Teachers, however, still find the new teaching methodologies challenging (p. 127) [...]

Engelbrecht et al. (2006) refer to Swart and Pettipher (2005) in stressing the lack of resources of the schools implementing IE:

According to Swart and Pettipher (2005) important trademarks of inclusive education are the effective utilisation of existing resources and increasing additional resources, from within the school but also from the community in which the school is situated. If a school is not in a strong collaborative partnership with the community, it is difficult to draw from these resources, as is particularly the case in two of the case study schools (p. 128).

In an article by Engelbrecht from the same year, the author reports from an earlier study (Engelbrecht et al. 2003): “Inclusive education is thus perceived to place additional demands on teachers and to cause stress, which impacts negatively on the progress of all children in the classroom” (Engelbrecht, 2006, p. 257).

Concerning Construct 2 (Implementation of an IE-policy), the results of the comparative study also showed that, on average, both teacher groups expressed a general uncertainty or indifference towards the implementation of an IE-policy. The South African teachers’ showed on average unresponsiveness towards the statement that teachers are prepared for inclusive classroom management (see Q42). As a newcomer to IE, their response should be understood as perceptions reflecting a South African reality (Nel et al., 2011, p. 83). Another interesting result was that African teachers were significantly more negative than their Swedish colleagues on a statement concerning inclusion of learners requiring high intensity support (Q102) (see Table 4). They underscored that South Africa is a new role player in IE, and the respondents could be uncertain or undecided for several reasons. Nel et al. (2011) further mention several extrinsic factors of barriers to learning which may interfere with the realization of IE in South Africa. For instance, unsafe environments, lack of healthcare, orphaned children due to the HIV/AIDS crisis, and a shortage of trained teachers in appropriate the language for learning and teaching. Nel et al. (2011, p. 74) emphasized that the results called for remedial action within each country’s socio-economic setting to increase the possibility of implementing IE-needs.

So how are we to understand the standpoint made by the teachers when they express rather negative attitudes towards the realization of inclusive education from a securitization perspective? A starting point would be to comprehend what Nel et al. (2011) indicate in their interpretations of the
results from the above mentioned items (Q12n; Q70; Q105 and Q102) regarding the possibility of the teachers’ answers being seen as expressions of uncertainty – or even fear – in connection to how to implement inclusive education (op cit. p. 88). In terms of a securitization outlook on teachers’ attitudes, the meaning of perceived threats at the teacher level could be a point of departure attempting to find out what these perceived threats are composed of. This outlook would also address the issue of teachers’ attitudes not meeting the national policies requests of what the policy level considers as IE. Thus, a securitization perspective would take into account how teacher needs are expressed through discourses of perceived threats in relation to the aims of the reform policies of inclusion. However, it has to be noted that a securitization perspective could be combined with other explanations regarding teachers’ needs and attitudes towards IE.

The following paragraphs will focus on how teachers’ unfulfilled needs – in connection to perceived threats – can be examined from a securitization perspective in order to comprehend how different types of insecurities may affect teachers’ attitudes towards IE.

Reflections from a securitization perspective

It can be argued that the unexpectedly weak pro-inclusive attitudes of the South African teachers in our study (Helldin et al. 2011; Nel et al. 2011) could be understood as expressions of a new kind of securitization process. This is a kind of securitization process that is an indirect response to the national securitization project of inclusion. As an indirect response to IE, it can be seen as connected to and initiated by the local teachers who experienced the implementation difficulties of the reform as a threat to their own competence and work as teachers. This kind of threat is connected to the teachers’ role in the national securitization process and their part as extended securitization actors. In this reform process, however, the teacher’s perception of threat and rather negative attitudes towards inclusive education also seem possible to understand as a specific securitization move in its own right taking place within a defined group – the teacher peer group.

This comprehensive understanding of securitization was inspired by my re-reading of the article describing the projects of which I was originally a part (Nel et al., 2011, p. 88), where it is stated that the South African teachers’ expressed attitudes as indicating perceived threats. The teachers’ negative attitudes towards implementing IE did not seem to be linked to the doctrine of IE policies according the authors. Rather, insecurities connected to its practical employment appeared relevant since the teachers did not express negative attitudes towards the idea of IE.

Although the reasons for the South African teachers’ perception of uncertainty and fear were not investigated in the earlier research project, the re-
searchers mentioned that teachers’ attitudes towards inclusion were enhanced by lack of knowledge, training and eventually a lack of support services. 83 Need for extra support, structural management and further well-planned information were suggested as useful measures for supporting teachers in implementing IE. The meaning of such teacher needs was, however, not defined in Nel et al. (2011). From a securitization perspective, needs could be understood in terms of insecurities that have to be met in order for the teachers to carry out planning and implementation of IE at the local level.

In order to take a closer look at these observations I decided to collect further information concerning the South African teachers’ situation and attitudes towards IE with the intention to explore the findings from a securitization perspective. To facilitate this understanding, I decided to look further into what may constitute teacher needs by focussing on issues related to the above mentioned three areas: lack of knowledge, training and eventually a lack of support services. Hence, the primary examination of, and derived negative result on, teachers’ attitudes towards IE provided further information of areas where new data could be sought.

It also is interesting to note that although the wordings of threats were not mentioned or traced in the second article, while interpreting the Swedish teachers’ answers, Helldin et al. (2011) still suggested that:

*Changing attitudes is thus a very demanding concept with reference to education. Teacher trainers underlined the difficulty to sustain attitudes, and that the process of changing attitudes must be school driven. The sustainability is dependent on support from province and district offices. Possible changes are also dependent on parallel changes at all levels of the society. A top-down approach is not possible in a democratic process of attitudinal changes. Teachers feel intuitively fears of being changed by decision makers (p. 110).*

From a securitization perspective, insecurity may in the above statements serve as an example of a speech act that acknowledges and brings to the fore teacher’s intuitive fears and can be understood in this context to express uncertainty at the teacher level directed towards the top-down politically driven approach of IE and its implementation as expressed in Nel et al. (2011) and Helldin et al. (2011). Hence, the above speech act responds to a democratic outlook of inclusiveness that involves an all-embracing outlook to democracy that includes all levels of society. The statements in the speech act assert that in order to succeed in changing attitudes at the teacher level – regarding IE – the teachers should have been involved in this process from the very beginning. If the teachers are not involved from the beginning, this may create fears among them. Further, support at the managerial level could thus contribute to a further change in attitudes towards IE at the teacher lev-

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83 In italics by the author.
el. Due to a lack of involvement at the teacher level in the outlined national securitization project, the content of the speech act can be said to reinforce the assumption of an additional securitization process in connection to education reform. This kind of securitization process seems linked to teachers’ experiencing the IE-reform as a threat to their own competence and work as teachers.

Teachers needs and insecurities

Teachers’ contribution to this security and educational discourse of inclusive education can be understood against the background of the contextual setting for the teachers in the national educational reform. By linking teachers’ perception of threats to understanding the underlying reasons for the national IE reform, a plausible understanding of teachers’ perceptions of threats in connection to teachers’ needs can be formed. This new perspective on teachers’ needs in connection to attitudes towards IE would thus focus on the security discourses in relation to the educational contextual setting at the school level.

Two issues will be raised and connected to a securitization perspective at the teacher level: (1) teachers’ experiences of IE demands in mainstream schools; (2) teachers’ responses to the policy levels claim of implementing inclusion. These two issues will mainly be directed towards examining the ideological outcome of the special education reform of IE at the local level. This means to look for additional data that may help us understand what teacher’ perceived threats may be composed of and how these insecurities may give provide further understanding on the negative attitudes towards IE among South African teachers as discussed in Nel et al. (2011) and Helldin et al. (2011).

Security discourses and teacher needs at the school level

Eloff and Kgwete (2007) argue that although research has been made on inclusive education, there has been limited research on teacher support. A study on inclusive education by Hay, Smit and Paulsen (2001 in Eloff & Kgwete, 2007) found that teachers felt unequipped and unprepared for working with IE in the classroom. Another study carried out by Bothma, Gravett and Swart (2000 in Eloff & Kgwete, 2007) stated that primary teachers’ attitudes towards inclusion in South Africa were negative. As a consequence, resistance among teachers may interfere with the implementation of IE (p. 352).
Fiske and Ladd (2004, p. 55) point out that physical security at the school is an essential concern. Many of the schools in the townships look like armed camps. They have barbed wire around the school premises and locks everywhere. This is an attempt to keep the children safe from local gangs in as much as keeping the school safe from vandalizing. The poor education among teachers and other staff is of equal serious concern. Poor training among teachers and principals have led to schools being shut down (p. 55). The issue of insecurity and violence have thus been a part of many teachers working conditions over time, and according to Human Rights Watch (2004) this is common in many areas over the country.

The development of IE in an inclusive local community can therefore be suggested as ways for handling different types of threats and teacher needs in order to build a foundation for learners and the community as a whole. An inclusive school community should here be understood in terms of establishing different, and perhaps, new types of collaborative partnerships between teachers, teachers and parents, community members and teachers and principals (see Engelbrecht et al. 2006). However, Williams (2001 in Engelbrecht et al., 2006, p. 126) argues that conservatism still forms the character of South African society. Although the apartheid system has disappeared, this does not equal to the end of conservatism at the school level.

What specific needs are teachers asking for and under what circumstances do teachers perceive insecurities in their occupational role in an attempt to fulfil the educational aims of creating an inclusive community and IE? Three different types of areas where teacher’s needs in connection to insecurity can be discerned will be discussed below. They include organizational matters, resources and stress.

Inclusive discourses and hierarchical organization

Englebrecht et al. (2006, op cit.) argue for the importance of sharing a philosophy of inclusion between parents, communities and learners and its relevance for acknowledging the needs of all the stakeholders in an inclusive process. If the former educational system has been conservative it is however likely that transformation will be a slow and even artificial process (p. 126). Naicker (1999b) suggests in a similar manner that inclusive education may in South Africa be understood as a constitutional imperative. Difficulties in realizing IE at the school level can be interpreted as being linked to the inherited and conservative institutional educational system. However, education as an enterprise is also generally conservative in its character (p. 22). Thus, the issues that teachers have to address are multifaceted and mainly inherited from the former educational system of Bantu. This means that it can be difficult to establish an inclusive environment since the former system of Apartheid structurally and attitudinally still lingers on.
Engelbrecht et al. (2006) further points out that schools found it challenging to meet the new requirements of democratic leadership and practice. The principal had an important role to play here. If the principal could find a way to include all the stakeholders in this new process, IE may be achieved. However, this may prove difficult. In one of the studied schools the principal tended to monopolize meetings, thereby silencing the voices of the teachers. In another school, the principal withdrew from the process by cancelling meetings. A lack of democratic leadership, lack of mutual respect and not utilizing staff expertise were identified as barriers towards the realization of IE. Low morale among teachers seemed to be connected to poor management and leadership. In another school, where the principal was more pro-democratic, the teachers were more enthusiastic and pro-inclusion (pp. 126-127). Bloch (2009) argues in a similar manner that troubling conditions for teachers’ has led to severe consequences for the school organization (underperformance and anger within the teacher groups as well as dispirited and demoralized teachers) (p. 2). Thus, the structural and hierarchical inherited and persisting system at the school level influenced the prospect of developing an inclusive school system that challenges conservative ideas, although the idea to bring equality and IE into the school organization discourses of centralization and unequal opportunity still prevailed. This thereby created a working environment that can be said to have triggered silence among the teachers along with negative behaviour.

Van Rooyen and Le Grange (2003) have examined the constructive components of, for instance, actions and agents, including the voices on the margins in connection to White Paper No. 6 and IE. They state that what the teachers react against is defined in the lay discourse (op cit.). These statements attest to the findings in Nel et al. (2011) that teachers are aware that they lack the necessary resources and training in IE. Van Rooyen and Le Grange (2003) further put across that these discourses are the voices of educators, teachers and learners who are anxious and afraid of carrying out inclusion (p. 155). Also, there is a silencing of the voices of the learners according to Engelbrecht et al. (2006). This kind of silence can be seen as a direct response to the former authoritative ethos. To consider learners as partners in the development towards IE was a new concept for both teachers and principals (p. 127). Teachers’ perception of threats may here be argued to express fear that is directed towards the political level’s need for change in order to succeed in implementing democracy that perpetuates all societal levels including creating an inclusive school community. It is also a critique against the organizational structure at the school level, which on one hand is obliged to work pro-inclusion but is continuously tainted by the former centralized educational system.
Another concern is that teachers do not have the resources they need for educating all children in line with the White Paper No. 6. Poverty is the main concern here (Taylor, 2001, p. 7). In poor areas children come from illiterate or semi-illiterate homes. Since they do not have access to the alphabet from an early age they are often more challenging to teach and accumulate higher expenses (Berger, 2003, p. 619; Taylor 2001, p. 7). Lack of facilities, poor school buildings, and no water within walking distance add to the strained situation at school level. The culture of violence and sexual abuse are other important obstacles for improving the quality (Berger, 2003, pp. 620, 622). Although education reform has been directed towards addressing issues of economic and societal disparities, children still suffer from the former system of apartheid, especially in rural areas where poverty can be singled out as the major characteristic. The lack of resources and institutional capacity put a huge stain on the implementation of IE. Institutional capacity concerns both the administrative systems, suitably trained teachers and principals (Engelbrecht, 2006, p. 255; Engelbrecht et al., 2006, p. 126). Thus, socio-economic insecurities were addressed in the reform policies.

At the institutional level, schools only function on less than half of the agreed days of a school year, textbooks are not delivered, and incomes are not paid (Taylor, 2001, p. 7). Engelbrecht (2006) found that, although policy documents recommended a community-based approach for developing IE-involvement at community level, this part was identified by teachers and parents as a challenge to meet. In marginalized communities, parents’ are often prevented from getting involved due to fatigue from working long hours. Illiteracy also prevents parents from taking an active part. Poverty thus shapes these children’s daily lives creating daily patterns of coming late to school and absenteeism, which eventually leads to drop-out. The active involvement of the community in collaborative partnerships with teachers and a mutual recognition of each other’s needs are therefore almost non-existent. This implicates that difficulties may arise concerning building community support systems (p. 260). Naicker (1999b) argues that it will not be easy to implement inclusive education. It is something that has to be fought for instead of assuming that IE will become a reality without working hard towards this aim (p. 22). Different angles for teacher needs in combination with much insecurity at the school level seem to create distress among the teachers. This in combination with poor management can be said to add to the creation of silence among the teachers. Based on the above detected problem areas at the school level, it can be argued that teachers faced with these kinds of problems sense frustration in their professional outlook concerning the implementation of the directives of NC2005 and the White Paper No. 6.
Teachers and stress

In Engelbrecht et al.’s (2006) study, the South African teachers expressed that large classes contributed to high levels of stress. Thus, class size may trigger insecurities related to IE. Other matters that created high levels of stress included lack of respect, ineffective education support teams, low morale among teachers and limited computer skills (p. 125). However, inclusion of children with a physical disability may cause less stress for teachers than children with cognitive disabilities (see Eloff, Swart & Engelbrecht, 2002; Engelbrecht, Oswald, Swart & Eloff, 2003 in Eloff & Kgwete, 2007, p. 352). However, it was most of all the:

[L]ack of effective strategies to address both learner diversity and disciplinary problems were perceived as very stressful to teachers (Engelbrecht et al., 2006, p. 125).

Similar conclusions on what may interfere with the initiatives of IE in South Africa have been expressed by Eloff and Kgwete (2007) in a study on teacher perspectives. They pinpointed three areas: (1) perceived lack of skills and competence; (2) large classes and (3) insufficient resources (p. 353). Societal insecurities in combination with the institutional lack of leadership and the inherited problems that stand in contrast to the aims of IE seem to have an impact on how teachers handle perceived insecurities. Teachers thereby come to act in the margins of the whole inclusive community project. They are caught between different stakeholders who are not used to working in collaborative environments. At the same time teachers, have to address different types of issues that may not be part of their work, and this instead creates barriers – both at the institutional level and as unintended barriers for learners.

In sum, large school classes, poor facilities, poor school buildings, no running water, violence and no qualified support systems add to the challenge for teachers. The external settings therefore come to influence the internal ideas of IE. If facilities and different types of support systems – along with organizational structural flaws – do not meet teachers’ needs it may possibly lead to a negative impact on teachers’ work and also on teachers’ attitudes towards IE. This part also includes the aim of constructing a community that embrace all stakeholders in the process of reaching an inclusive environment around the pupils. This implicates that difficulties within all the three above mentioned matters of organizational structure, resources and stress may also have bearing on meeting the educational needs of children at risk.
Structural implications for teachers’ perception of threats

All of the above mentioned factors including organizational structure, resources and stress in connection to teachers’ needs and insecurities are of relevance for understanding the negatives attitudes towards IE in Nel et al. (2011) and Helldin et al. (2011). A combination of the status of school facilities, type of school, lack of knowledge of IE among teachers and principals, stress and perceived threats – including aggravating societal circumstances – can therefore be said to pinpoint different areas in need of careful attention. These areas must be taken under consideration to grasp the inconsistent discourses between the managerial level and the teacher level concerning the idea and attitudes towards IE. Norwich (1994 in Avramidis and Norwich 2002, p. 130) argues that:

[T]eachers’ beliefs and attitudes are critical in ensuring the success of inclusive practices since teachers’ acceptance of the policy of inclusion is likely to affect their commitment to implementing it (op cit.).

Further, to ignore the structural differences between those who are set to plan the special education reform of IE, and those who are to carry out that idea, may have devastating consequences for the outcome of IE. Lloyd (2000, p. 135 in van Rooyen and Le Grange 2003, p. 153) points out the element of danger that comes from ignoring that there exists discrepancies for what constitutes IE.

“dangerous” the assumption that “there is some kind of agreement about what is meant by equality of opportunity and inclusion” (op. cit.).

What is considered dangerous may here be seen against the background that inclusion in itself is a controversial concept that includes several definitions. There is also little agreement or shared understanding for what the concept means (Lloyd, 2000, p. 135 in van Rooyen & Le Grange 2003, p. 153). Dyson (2001, p. 1 in van Rooyen & Le Grange 2003, p. 153) argues that inclusion includes a range or varieties of inclusions:

These include inclusion-as-placement, inclusion-as-education-for-all, inclusion-as-participation and social inclusion (op. cit).

Hence, the “danger” lies in the educational and practical discrepancy between the teachers, the school organization (including the principal) and the parents on how to address NC2005 and White Paper No. 6 in order to create an inclusive community. Even though the teachers are aware of the intent behind the policies of inclusion, this is not the same as to say that they are given the opportunity to fulfil these aims. The teachers need to adapt to their
surroundings, which do not always correspond to or are familiar with IE-policies. Thus, the contextual setting influences the teacher’s probability to carry out IE and meet barriers at the organizational school level and with regard to learning for children defined as at risk in White Paper No. 6.

The assumptions of a discourse of inclusion advocated in the White Paper No. 6 (see van Rooyen & Le Grange, 2003) – here interpreted as discourses settled on by the national securitization actors – seems possible to follow as fully supported in terms of its ideological preference at the teacher level (see op cit. Helldin et al., 2011 and Nel et al., 2011). However, the lack of organizational understanding at the principality level, and among parents, that the teachers’ different needs are of relevance for succeeding in bringing about an inclusive community can be interpreted as producing professional frustration at the teacher level. This in return may lead to teachers beginning to protect themselves – in order to feel secure – against what they perceive as threats to their professional identity, role and position. This can be understood as a kind of securitization process that challenges the policy of IE by being reflected in teacher’ attitudes towards inclusion. This kind of securitization process seems to be about teacher’ uncertainty to meet the demands of the school-organization, managerial claims and the parents’ calls for meeting the needs of all children – including children at risk. It is further increased by the lack of resources and facilities, inequality and violence. Together these different factors create stress among the teachers, which make them react in order to protect themselves. These reactions are, however, not uttered – instead behaviour can be said to constitute a vital factor for understanding this kind of securitization process.

Understanding the teachers’ reactions in terms of counter-securitization

Against the background of all challenges encountered by the teachers, it seems reasonable to expect that many of them hesitate on matters in connection to IE and even experience the reform as a threat, for instance, to their position, competence and professional pride. The teachers’ needs – that were seldom met – in connection with IE, are likely to have contributed to this experience of threat. In the three-case study by Engelbrecht et al. (2006), the results from qualitative data showed that the self-reviews of the co-ordinated teams identified certain priority areas and resources necessary for addressing barriers in their school as well as priorities that they considered necessary to address in order to work for inclusive education (p.124). The following speech act sums up the teachers’ main concerns, which can be said to recog-
nize teachers’ perception of threats as being linked to their competence and professional pride:

The commonalities regarding key concerns, as identified by the staff of all three schools, included the lack of a shared inclusive school philosophy in school communities and the need for formalised school policies and the democratic leadership and management of schools (characterised by processes of shared decision-making). Unfair staff appointments and promotion due to gender inequality; a lack of mutual respect; inadequate learning support in the classroom and ineffective education support teams in schools; [...] the large classes with which teachers had to cope [...] contributed further to high levels of stress (Engelbrecht et al., 2006, p. 125).

The lack of support and reduced opportunities to address differences between learners in combination with stress can be said to constitute the perceived threats to the teachers’ position and their occupational pride by not being able to live up to the expectations put on them in order to carry out their work. My interpretation of the hesitation and counter-inclusive attitudes reported in Nel et al., (2011) is that teachers on the local level engage in a securitization move of their own, trying to protect their opportunities and fulfil their professional obligations. To some extent, this move can include conscious mobilization. However, this counter-securitization move can also be understood as a social action where individual teachers’ reactions are added together just because they happened to be caught in similar kinds of insecurities. As a consequence they do not see any other opportunity than to resist engaging in the implementation of the reform that they do not see themselves as fully equipped for. Thus, it seems as if the contextual setting for teachers at the school level may be a breeding ground for triggering counter reaction among teachers. Below, I will develop this understanding of the counter-reactions among the South African teachers from a securitization perspective, which recognizes the teachers as referent objects.

Based on Buzan et al.’s (1998) statement that the referent object can take its form as a middle scale but limited collective, the teachers will be suggested to constitute a group of this kind. Generally, these middle-scale limited collectives have been evaluated as long-lasting referent objects in the securitization process. A limited collective of this kind of referent object is built around a socially constructed “we” that is mainly linked to states, nations and civilizations. Their success as referent objects have mainly been due to their size and their likelihood of self-reinforcing rivalries with other limited collectives. However, it needs to be noted that, at the same time, Buzan et al. (1998) mention that size or scale is a crucial variable in order to determine what constitutes a successful referent object of security. “At the micro end of the spectrum, individuals or small groups can seldom establish wider security legitimacy in their own right. They may speak about security, but few will listen (p. 36)”. The potential of viewing teachers as the referent object ap-
plies to their appearing as if they constitute a group of people who may define themselves as being threatened in the professional role by the policy. This implicates that it can be possible to define teachers as referent objects based on their occupational role. However, it needs to be remembered that they constitute a rather small group in South African society:

A main criterion of this type of referent is that it forms an interpretive community – it is the context in which principles of legitimacy and valuation circulate and within which the individual constructs an interpretation of events” (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 37)

Thus, from a securitization perspective, the teachers can be singled out as a limited collective perceiving threats towards their occupational identity and position as defined by their role as teachers. Their interpretive community can be argued to include the school level where the teachers interpret their surroundings as hostile. This perspective is linked to Buzan et al.’s (1998) concept of identity-security where threats to a “we” identity can be understood in terms of where the teacher profession can be labelled as the referent object. The “we” construct consists of self-sustaining identity groups that empirically vary due to time and place (see Buzan et al., 1998, pp. 119-120, 123). Teachers’ identity construct of a professional “we” that is perceived as threatened is thus suggested to build on a possible securitization process. Vuori (2011, p. 192) argues that resistance against a former securitization move may result in either reverse-securitization or counter-securitization:

In a reverse-securitization discourse, the activists reflect the security arguments of the authorities back at them in the same terms i.e. they frame the adversaries’ identities in exactly the same terms as they frame the movement. […] Activists could however discard the vocabulary of the authorities, and instead turn to counter-securitization, where the authorities are still securitized, but the identity frames are not the same as the ones the authorities use. Activists could turn to other reservoirs of cultural resonance prevalent in the wider society, or they could turn to their own inner discourses (op. cit. p. 192)

Hence, the teachers’ counter-reactions seem possible to understand in terms of what Vuori (2011) defines as a counter-securitization process, since they seem to turn to an inner discourse of the teacher guild and identity. Also, they seem to react against threats towards their occupational position and not to the national idea of IE, thereby not going against the securitizing South African authorities.

The counter-reactions are further suggested to constitute a modification of Buzan’s et al. (1998) definition of the steps and the security moves that part-takers make in the securitization process. The teachers’ reactions seem to include essential parts of a silent securitization process, which evokes problems within the CS framework due to the lack of possibility to evaluate the speech acts of the “silent actor” (see for instance Eriksson, 1999, Ciuta,
Thus, the teachers’ counter reactions are linked to a security discourse that brings to the fore:

[….] hierarchies and inconsistencies constituted by discourses and the silences and "rebel voices" (Boje and Dennehy, 1999) in their margins (van Rooyen & Le Grange 2003, p. 152).

The above report of a speech act can be interpreted as viewing the teachers’ possible usage of silence and reduced power position in the hierarchical and centralized organization and management at the school level. The teachers act in silence, but they also rebel against their needs not being acknowledged by the members in the suggested local inclusive community, including the principals. Thus, they act at the margins of the national implementation chain which can be seen as a possible attempt to securitize themselves. The speech act further expresses the asymmetrical power position of the teachers by pointing towards the inconsistencies between different levels in the decision-making process, planning and management of IE. These inconsistencies are explicitly shown between the extended securitization actors – the teachers vs. the principals’ role and aims of IE.

The lack of power to influence the situation and their working conditions have been argued to lead a security response at the teacher level where the teachers begin to securitize themselves by withdrawing from implementing IE. Although any utterances that relate to security cannot be studied explicitly, their behaviour and attitudes implicitly call for a securitization process on their part. Hansen (2000) speaks of a securitization process of silence regarding those who are constrained in their ability to make their voices heard. This is a securitization process that may be labelled “security as silence”. However, this is a securitization process where the securitization actor also constructs an individual’s or group’s perception of a threat in a manner where that group or individual does not have the ability to make their opinion heard (see Hansen, 2000, p. 294 op cit.). In this case it seems as if the teachers are constrained not only by their professional status and their role as extended securitization actors, they are also constrained in line with what the CS refer to in terms of individual security often being about establishing

84 Hansen (2000) speaks of gender specifically in this “silent” securitization process by claiming that the issue of gender has not been dealt with by the CS. This is put forward by two claims: (1) security as silence when insecurities cannot be voiced; or (2) gender as being part of individual security agenda, which rarely gains securitization attention (op cit.). It needs to be noted though that even though the CS has left out gender in the theory of securitization, the individual as a referent object rarely has the possibility to mobilize support for a securitization move (see Buzan et al., 1998, p. 39; compare to Human security in Al-Rodham (2007) and Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy (2007).
principles of, for instance, individual rights e.g. human rights, rather than securitizing separate individual (see Buzan et al., 1998, p. 39).

The teachers’ counter-reaction may not be understood solely a silent one. Rather it is a securitization process that is initiated by the teachers, articulated in Nel et al. (2011) and Helldin et al. (2011), due to their lack of possibility to influence the political level in the initial stage of the education reform policies. However, it is also an internal securitization process taking place at the school level directed towards the school management taking place between the teachers and the principals. This process should be understood as taking place between different types of extended securitization actors in the national securitization project of IE. Although the principals can be said to hold a higher authoritative position than the teachers at the school level, both occupations are to function as extended securitization actors in the national securitization process of IE. Both these occupational groups are held responsible for the implementation of IE. Nel et al. (2011) point out that:

It is ultimately the teacher in the classroom situation who has to implement a government’s policy. The role of the teacher in the application of a government’s policy cannot be emphasized too much. According to the Swedish authors Jerlinder, Danermark and Gill (2010:45), the role of teachers as facilitators of inclusion and managers of IE environments is crucial. The same can be said of inclusion in the South African context. Engelbrecht, Oswald and Forlin (2006:122) emphasise the importance of schools principals’ leadership roles in effecting bringing about change. This should foster a climate of collegiality and collaboration among teachers and a culture of support (p. 74).

The principals and teachers can therefore be characterized as being equal in their role as extended securitization actors by sharing a joint responsibility towards the national government regarding how to implement IE. The internal struggle between the managerial level and the teachers at the school level should therefore first be seen as a power-struggle between the two different kinds of extended securitization actors within the national securitization process of inclusion. Secondly, as a power struggle at the school level it causes the teachers to act against the national securitization project in terms of making them begin to act against their former extended securitization counterparts – the principals.

Further, teachers’ uncertainty and negative attitudes in connection to a new securitization process can be comprehended in terms of asymmetrical power relations between the national securitization actors and the extended securitization actors. Thus, teachers’ fears of change may be understood in terms of what Patomäki (2015) sees as an asymmetrical power relation within the securitization process. The securitization process is firstly shaped by the speaker’s authority, secondly by the response of different partakers in the securitization process and thirdly by how the contextual setting may trigger or reinforce securitization. Depending on the contextual setting, for instance
power struggles, the audience may find themselves exposed to different types of vulnerabilities (p. 132). The teachers – as extended securitization actors – may here be seen as being part of an asymmetrical securitization process where they have not been listened to. Teachers, as a group, may then due to different types of societal insecurities, external barriers and lack of resources perceive that the government – as the main securitization actor – has not fulfilled its aim of accomplishing an inclusive and secure local community, that is, the local community has not been given enough support in order to manage to securitize the teachers’ professional position as implementers of democratic beliefs and IE. Further, the lack of support from the national level to fulfil their aims of an inclusive community in return instigates a horizontal power struggle at the school level between the two professional groups – the teachers and the principals.

This securitization process differs in many ways from the national IE-reform and it also differs from the kind of securitizations earlier described in the thesis. One interesting difference is that the teacher’s securitization is a bottom-up as well as a horizontal process, while securitization usually describes vertical, top-down reforms. Another interesting difference is that the teachers’ securitization move seems to be a counter-action directed against an earlier top-down, securitization reform. This means that a national reform inspired by perceptions of a national threat can initiate counter-moves by people positioned, for example, at lower levels of the initial national reforms. Here, the democratic goals behind the IE reform in South Africa – which to a large extent seems to be shared by the teachers involved – seems to have been created perceptions of new threats experienced by the teachers who are responsible for the implementation of the IE reform.

From a securitization perspective, this suggests that the predominantly negative attitudes among teachers towards IE contain elements that may obstruct the development of utilizing the special education reform as measures for securitization. This indicates resistance towards implementing IE at the teacher level in line with the aims of the inclusive education policy as stated in White Paper No. 6. However, it needs to be noted that resistance is not the same as opposing state politics or an unwillingness to implement IE. Rather, it may be seen as reactions involving different types of structural and practical matters in education, which may interfere with the implementation of the special needs reform.

This standpoint does not rule out that the teachers are in favour of the idea of IE. Thus, these counter moves do not include de-securitizing the national securitization process. The resistance towards implementing White Paper No. 6 at the teacher level seems more likely to represent counter-reactions against the structural and contextual setting at the local level. It needs to be recognized that these counter-moves take place among those who have been labelled extended securitization actors in the securitization process. They are not counter-moves within the receiving end of a securitization process – the audience – that generally legitimizes a securitization process. By reacting
against their working conditions, a shortage of resources and a lack of support systems, the teachers seem to take an active part in re-shaping reform policies.

Securitization of the second order

In order to further describe the characteristics of the South African teacher, counter-securitization project, I will introduce another distinction. The national securitization project of inclusiveness and democracy are, in line with the securitization process, described by Buzan et al. (1998) as hierarchical top-down approaches from the national level down to the school- and teacher levels. I call these first order securitization processes, while the teachers’ security response can be seen as a second order securitization process which emanates – as I have discussed – from the school- and teacher level where a new threat has been identified by the teachers, when they discover that their own professional role is being questioned. It becomes difficult to carry out the IE-reform with the limited training and resources that they have to their disposal and the limited support they gain from principals and parents. In this case, the second order securitization process emanates from the extended securitization actors in connection to their role as implementers of the IE-reform within the national securitization process.

The teachers’ second order securitization move is to a large extent a silent move, as they have difficulties expressing open opposition to the on-going reform due to the historically – and still present – hierarchical and conservative institutional educational system with little democratic leadership. Even though the teachers constitute a defined group in their role as teachers’ they seem to act as individuals when they make the securitization move (compare to Nel et al., 2011 and Helldin et al., 2011 on analysing individual teachers). That is, they do not conform to group cohesion. Rather they seem to find measures within their peer group to act as securitizing individuals. Hence, they act in the securitization process of the second order in accordance with the teacher’s role of professional autonomy.

The second order securitization process follows the initial securitization process of inclusive policy, but it also constitutes a securitization process in its own right with a different perceived threat where the teachers become the securitization actors in order to securitize themselves and their professional position.85 A second order process of securitization is in this study suggested to take place at a societal level lower than the first order securitization process. It also needs to be preceded by a first order securitization project.

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85 Second order securitization should not be confused with Ciuta’s (2009) usage of a second-order securitization in connection to context and normative neutrality (p. 322).
A second order securitization process is proposed to include the following procedures:

- to arise when a new threat is perceived among the extended securitization actors involved in the securitization process of the first order.

- to develop if the discourses of power are asymmetrical between different types of (extended) securitization actors.

Thus, a second order securitization process can be said to include resistance to the formal and ongoing process of securitization. A securitization process of the second order can only arise if the lower levels of the securitization chain perceive a new threat that is in some way related to or interferes with the first order securitization process. The securitization process of a second order should in our specific empirical study be understood as being initiated by those who have been labelled as extended securitization actors in the first securitization process – the teachers. It is important to observe that it is not the very ideas of the IE-reform of the first order securitization process that the teachers’ act against. The new perceived threat is rather connected to the discourses of previous authoritarian organizational models at the school level. In this case, the second order securitization can be said to include elements where different kinds of extended securitization actors of the first order begin to act against each other. In this case this is due to asymmetrical power relations between the extended securitization actors within the school organization – the teachers and the principals. This means that the first order securitization process may produce unintentional new threats that may clash with the different interests between the securitization stakeholders of the lower levels of society.

In a second order securitization process, it seems as if those who cannot make their insecurities and power heard in connection to attempting to realize the first order securitization process may look for alternative ways to increase their security. In this specific empirical study, it takes place at two different societal levels – the national level and the local school level – and builds on **superiority and subordination** between partakers. A top-down securitization process in this case reflects an inclusive outlook in education reform policies, which partly seem to fail due to the national policy levels’ non-recognition of the teachers’ perceptions of fear and insecurity. As a consequence, the teachers’ silent actions mean that they indirectly do not give legitimacy to the first order securitization process through passive resistance. It can therefore be suggested that the securitization actors of the first order securitization process fail in de-securitizing the perceived national political and societal threats connected to the former political system of autocracy and exclusion. The paradox to this failure seems to rest within the organizational
structure at the school level, which is still governed by the inherited part of the former hierarchical, centralized and discriminatory school system.

The following Figures 4a and 4b show the different parts of the first order- and second order securitization processes based on overall reform policies including education reform. Figure 4a shows a hierarchical securitization process in line with Figures 2 and 3. The state is the referent object that needs to be protected. This is according to the model made through the establishment of democracy including IE. Functional actors are the ANC, which attempts to influence the government on similar ideas. At the school level, the different types of extended securitization actors are to realize the securitization process of IE. Parents constitute the audience at the school level in this process in that they give approval to reform policies. However, the acceptance from the audience is not necessary in this kind of top-down process. The box that contains the audience is therefore dotted.

In contrast to the presentation of the securitization processes in Figure 4a, the securitization process of the second order identified in my study begins at the lower dimensions of the societal sphere. The model for a “counter-
securitization process”, as shown in Figure 4b, reflects the aims of an inclusive community approach that has failed. The figure shows how passive resistance at the teacher level may result in counter-reactions against education reform. These kinds of securitization moves, as shown below in Figure 4b, introduce a new dynamic into the process of securitization since it goes in the opposite direction of the first level securitization process. It is thus a bottom-up securitization process but also a horizontal process that occurs at the local level. As a consequence, a securitization process of the second order addresses new roles among those of the first order securitization process.

Unintentional implications for realizing first order securitization

Securitization process.
Passive resistance resulting in counter-reactions against education reform; questioning the legitimacy of education reforms.

Functional actors: Principals
Securitization actors: Teachers. (Silent)
Functional actors: Parents. (Silent)

Referent object. Teachers’ professional role.

Figure 4b. Second order securitization process.

The second order securitization process can be said to constitute a securitization process that is connected to the teachers’ professional role as teachers. Thus, the teachers constitute a limited group that experience insecurity. The perceived threat at the teacher level can be said to be composed of threats towards their professional role – the referent object – and the fear of not managing to implement IE. From a securitization perspective, the teachers seem to begin to securitize themselves in order to feel secure. They thereby become the securitization actors in this second order securitization.
process. Both principals and parents become, in this new process, the functional actors whose role is to influence the teachers as the new securitization actors. However, both parents and teachers are silenced in this process due to – mainly former – school-organizational structures.

The securitization process of the second order seems to be of an internal kind that takes place at the school level. It is connected to the failure of developing an inclusive school-community implicitly jeopardizing the national project of the IE-reform. This interactive process between teachers as securitization actors and principals as functional actors at the school level is shown in figure 4b by an arrow that points from the functional actors towards the teachers. Another not fully filled arrow between the boxes of the teachers and the parents implicates that the parents are also silent, which means that they do not express their concerns of IE. This points to the parents as not being part of an inclusive community. A lack of inclusiveness also concerns other local parts of society. At the top of the figure, another not fully filled arrow between the securitization process-box and the dotted box that contains the implications for the first order securitization process indicate that this part of the process is unintentional from the teachers’ part. Although Buzan et al. (1998 op cit.) claim that the referent object (in this empirical study the professional role of teachers) may be composed of small groups (in example composed by teacher/s) they further argue that a securitization process at the group or individual level seldom establish security legitimacy to a large audience who will listen to individual or group claims (p. 36). In line with Buzan et al. (1998), the teachers as a small group do not gain support from an audience. Still, the teachers manage to influence the national policies of IE through their silent actions. Thus, the teachers’ potential silent or “rebellious” securitization move appears to have had an impact on the implementation of education reform policies, although it has not been the main objective among the teachers when they begin to securitize themselves. However, their passive resistance, which has been suggested as having resulted in counter reactions linked to different kinds of difficulties in implementing education reform, also come to question the legitimacy of special education reforms. This means that their resistance has indirectly had an effect on children who have a right to equal education. To work against barriers to learning was one of the major parts of the IE-reform. Here it seems as if teachers, by not managing to implement the special education reform due to perceived threats, fail to meet the educational needs of children at risk as settled on in White Paper No.6. Hence, by not considering the fragile educational reform process, accompanied by the societal and political insecurities, this situation may, according Jansen (2012), lead to an extended crisis within South Africa, which may threaten the project of democracy (op cit.).
Final reflections on the securitization of the first order and the second order securitization process in special education reform and IE policies.

This chapter illustrates two different kinds of securitization processes. One starts at the national level in South Africa directed towards societal transformation and an inclusive school system. Another was initiated at the teacher level, identifying the measures of the first as an important threat to teachers’ opportunities to accomplish their work in a high-quality manner in ways that reflected their professional identity. This second order securitization can be seen as a development of securitization theory. Indirectly, it seems possible to understand this second order securitization process as influenced by internal turmoil within the political and socio-economic spheres.

The second order securitization process illustrated how an initial attempt to manage a national threat to children at risk may have contributed to a counter reaction that in a paradoxical way begins to work against the first national securitization process. At the school- and teacher level, the situation in South Africa showed severe inconsistencies with the national aims of implementing IE. These inconsistencies seemed to have paved the way for the counter-reaction from the teachers. The teachers’ reactions may be understood as ways of protecting themselves in their professional role as teachers.

A counter securitization process may in this context be understood to touch upon the legitimacy of a governmentally initiated securitization process that, in themselves, aims at coming to terms with societal and political insecurities. This means that the securitization process that emanated at the national level was not followed through at all lower involved levels of society. The weak power position of the teachers as extended securitization actors most probably contributed to the threat they experienced to their opportunities to accomplish their professional aims, and as a consequence also explains why they failed to implement the national inclusive policies. For that reason, it seems possible to suggest that it is the societal context in combination with the set up of the education policy aims that affect how teachers react and behave against the implementation of IE-policies.

The securitization process of the second order does not seem to be directed against the national policies; it is a reaction against the occupational conditions of the teachers and the fact that they are expected to carry out the implementation of IE without the necessary resources and support. It is a securitization process that (a) contains elements of them securitizing themselves in their professional role and working situation and (b) illustrates their lack of power and authority to influence the national policies of the IE-reform and occupational conditions through utterances.
However, by acting in silence against the political aims of the first level securitization process, the teachers may have produced unintended results leading to the maintenance of societal exclusion among several groups in society. Their behaviour may indirectly influence the impact of barriers to learning and exclusion.

A clear side-effect of teachers’ counter-reactions has also been seen in that children at risk and who experience barriers to learning may still fail to obtain the Right to Education. Long-lasting exclusion for children experiencing barriers to learning in comprehensive education should therefore be understood as an unintended consequence due to teachers’ securitizing themselves in their professional role as securitization actors of the second order. Consequently, lack of power and recognition among extended securitization actors may lead to the transformation of the role-settings in the securitization process by triggering the initiation of a counter-reaction – a securitization process of the second order.
9. Concluding discussion

In this final chapter I will respond to the question of how securitization theory can be used in understanding special educational reform and its implementation concerning, in our case, children at risk.

This study has been both exploratory and interpretive in nature, examining education reforms with an emphasis on special education reforms in three different empirical studies by making use of formal data structure analysis from a sociological securitization standpoint. This approach included defining, describing and interpreting the securitization processes and their political and ideological content in texts discussing the reforms, as well as the societal-contextual setting of the reforms. This was in order to add to our understanding of what has initiated the education reform and determine how the reforms have been implemented and what bearing they have on children defined as at risk.

Below, there will first be a summary of my own findings in the three empirical studies. Comments will then follow on other similar theoretical perspectives proposed in the studies of societal reform and their narration. Secondly, I would also like to open for an understanding of how the perception of urgent threats to society or social groups involved in a reform can influence the reform and its implementation.

Initially, I want to remind the reader that I am fully aware of the fact that my application of securitization theory, as developed by the Copenhagen School, is open and further developed. It is even possible to talk about a far reaching generalization of the theory, originally developed in political science and here applied in special education in order to understand the dynamics of special education reforms. Securitization theory, in the way I use it, is a broader social science theory helping us explain and understand the background conditions of education reform and sense the complexity surrounding the implementation of education reform and the different ways children at risk are defined through reform policies. In line with this, I will first of all draw on the heuristic potential of the theory. The reason for this is that I
have experienced a need to further expand our understanding of educational reforms and their implementation, especially when practice does not turn out as planned. This will be carried out by focusing on the driving forces in the dynamics of such reforms, especially those driving forces related to perceptions of different kinds of threats to society and/or insecurities among groups in connection to specific issues. Themes within similar constructivist theories have also been incorporated into my securitization theory, which is far from the mainstream of earlier applications of the theory.

Traditional securitization theory, as developed by the Copenhagen School, is primarily concerned with societal threats against the state, but as has been shown, the theory can also be fruitfully applied to understanding other kinds of threats perception. An example of this would be (special needs) teachers’ perception of threats against their competence and opportunity to succeed in their occupational role as teachers. Here, the utilization of securitization theory is extended, since the employment of the theoretical framework, concerning societal reforms and their history, differ from what is traditionally studied within political science and in the field of international relations. This kind of usage of securitization theory – in terms of a more general approach – helps us to understand how the dynamics of educational reform can be analysed and understood from different perspectives and positions. The application of securitization theory also adds to our understanding of recognizing groups of children that can be defined as “at risk” and in need of special attention due to the perception of different types of threats at different levels of society and among different actors of a securitization process.

Threats and securitization in the three studies

It should be noted that my interpretations of the securitization processes could be regarded as one-sided with reference to my concern for emphasizing the importance of displaying perceived threats in the planning, implementation and result of educational reforms. This focus on perceived threats as comprising securitization processes is a deliberate strategy to illustrate, as clearly as possible, how special education reforms can be understood as securitizations processes. I am not saying that this is the only possible way of understanding these reform processes. On the contrary, it is even probable that other theoretical frameworks could be used to give explanations for the driving forces behind the reform processes. My ambition has been to make contextual factors visible that may have been of importance for the perception of the identified threats. However, my ambition has first of all been to describe the processes as securitization moves, which unavoidably gives my descriptions and interpretations one-sidedness with respect to perceived threats as the dominant driving force.
In Chapter 6, insecurities related to the indigenous populations were seen as motivations for several different, and country specific, educational reforms in Sweden and in South Africa. Originally, these reforms seem to have been initiated against the background of perceived threats from the indigenous populations. In Sweden, later national policies and reforms based on the perception of a totally different threat against the Sami culture and a population at risk initiated a new kind of securitization process. Three different stages of securitization processes could be discerned in the Swedish part of the study. The first was a hierarchical top-down approach from the mid-1940s up to the 1950s that emanated from the state level down to the local level. This process built on differentiating the Sami from Swedish society. Differentiation built on the perception of the Sami people as constituting economic and ethnic threats to society, an approach that was shown in the establishment of targeted education. The second stage of securitization was characterized by a national de-securitization of the perceived threats from the Sami population. This change was linked to a democratic and more egalitarian ideology that was given increased space after WWII. At the same time, new directives in national education reform policies advocated a comprehensive school system that included all children in order to facilitate equal education for all, thereby initiating a non-uttered kind of assimilation process for the Sami children into the new encompassing comprehensive system. Reasons for this new standpoint in education reform policies can be said to build on ideas that the differentiation of the Sami children in education may generate at-risk children due to the lower levels of education within these groups. At the regional and local levels of society, however, the perception of the threat from the Sami population remained. Here, the Swedish Church played an important role in maintaining the policy of differentiation towards the Sami and thus maintaining the earlier nationally initiated securitization process of the Sami. This standpoint implicates that the former extended securitization actors of the national securitization process still regarded the Sami population as a threat to the lower levels of society and began to act out of their own interests – thus becoming a recognized securitization actor in their own right. This kind of securitization process can be understood as a top-down process beginning at the regional level and implemented at the local level. However, we can also see that a threat, which had been settled and de-securitized at the national level, may remain at the regional or local levels due to remaining, perceived threats at these lower levels of society.

Later, a new kind of securitization process seems to have developed at the end of the 1950s. This was a securitization move initiated by the Sami themselves, based on a new perspective, where the Sami began to self-differentiate themselves by resisting the suppression of their right to live by separating themselves from the mainstream of education. In order to protect themselves from assimilation into Swedish society, they pursued their own
interest. It also illustrated a special kind of bottom-up securitization, where the Sami mobilized a defence of their own culture in order to defend the preservation of their traditional culture and identity. It is thus to some extent a defence against assimilation strategies initiated at the national or regional levels of society. (Compare the analysis of the South African teachers’ securitization in Chapter 8). These arguments for protecting their own rights contained – among others – reasons for why their children were not in need of access to equal education. Here it seems as if the Sami themselves advocated targeted education reforms.

A third stage of securitization can be seen during the 1960s, as the education policies of the 1960s saw a shift towards a new understanding of the Sami as a threatened minority. This new ideology was linked to the bottom-up securitization process earlier initiated by the Sami themselves. Ambivalent attitudes were still shown in regional and local politics and this influenced educational settings. Thus, politics continued to reflect contrasting beliefs of the Sami people as either in need of protection or still constituting a perceived threat to Swedish society in national and regional politics and as a group in need of assimilation. This third stage of securitization contains several types of simultaneous but contradictory processes. First, a national securitization process that argues for the need to protect the Sami people. This securitization process seems to build on ideas that reflected Sami culture as important to both Swedish society and the Sami. This motive can be said to contain supporting ideas regarding the preservation of a Sami identity. This kind of change may be understood in terms of an increase in democratic influence by the Sami with the purpose to take an active part in the design of education reform policies. However, it was also a way for society to see to it that the Sami children had access to equal education. Secondly, national politics simultaneously continued to argue for assimilation in education, although there was a higher degree of acceptance for the Sami way of life. Tendencies from the Swedish authorities included ideas of making the residential Sami assimilate to the politically governing collective identity of “Swedishness” in order to reach societal homogeneity. Thus, a kind of ambivalent policy seems to have been expressed from the national and regional levels in order to define the Sami people. This ambivalent policy was built on assimilation but was at the same time accepting of Sami culture and traditions to a certain degree. This is evident, for instance, in the development of the curriculum LGR62 where Sami children could opt for an education directed towards Sami interests in their final year of schooling. Hence, the Sami children seem to have been given an opportunity to integrate their own culture with the new education reform in a way that reflected their traditions and ethnic heritage. Thirdly, the Sami self-securitization process that had begun during the final 1950s continued. However, this kind of self-securitization process did not de-legitimize or go against the national or regional education reform policies of cultural and Sami language preservation.
Also, this counteraction took place among those who had been acknowledged by the authorities as being in need securitization. My interpretation of the dynamics of the Swedish reform processes indicates that it is possible to understand reform policies in terms of a complex interplay between different securitization processes that support but also work against each other on different levels of societal functioning and agency.

In South Africa, the Nationalist Party articulated a threat from the black population as perceived by the white population, and a number of policies of separation were used between the governing and indigenous populations as security measures. The utilization of targeted education was one way for the governing populations to achieve separation by referring to educational issues related to group belonging, ethnicity and identity as subject matters that needed to be taken into consideration. Thus, ethnicity in combination with a representation of a specific black identity provided political reasons for initiating education reform and a targeted education of the indigenous populations. Here again, we can see how one perceived threat can be woven into another. A reason given for the Bantu education reform – which was basically a way to secure white power structures – was that targeted education for black children also would prevent youth delinquency. Thus, targeted education was also a mass education strategy. It was set up as a response to the low educational outcomes of the former Missionary School system. In that sense, it was a way to reduce the number of at-risk children that the former educational system had not managed to include or admit. Initially, the figures for educational admittance increased. The application of targeted education meant further measures for future vocational differentiation – mainly towards the industry where the black population was supposed to work. However, competition between black children and the fact that only primary education was free meant that black children had to succumb to lower education than white children. Hence, Bantu education was both a means to support at-risk children and continue to produce new educational risk for black children.

In comparison to the case of the Sami, the South African part of the study shows a more direct securitization top-down process in line with Buzan et al.’s (1998) definition of securitization. After the establishment of the Nationalist Party in governmental position after the WWII, the Bantu Education Act quickly came into action. The separation of black and white people – here viewed as political and societal securitization responses by the Nationalist Party – was further emphasized in all societal areas. Tensions between the white minority and the black majority led to increased pressures between the two factions. In order to further separate the white people from the black population, homelands were created by the Nationalist Party to minimize conflicts and emphasize the need for further differentiation. However, the most important feature of the apartheid policies was to create a Bantu culture that built on ethnic belonging and a black identity. Most parts of this identity
rested on the idea that the black population and their culture were inferior to white values and beliefs. The Bantu Education Act contributed to this process. It was built around the notion of separating the black population from the white one by acknowledging that the Bantu people only needed to receive education up to a certain level. However, it also addressed issues of children at risk who had not received sufficient education during the previous education system. Still, the educational level of Bantu education had been set to direct the black population into certain vocational areas where limited education was needed. This kind of securitization process built on the extended securitization actors fulfilling the national aims of differentiation and separation. From a political and societal securitization perspective, this seems to have been achieved. Thus, the discriminatory policies of apartheid can be interpreted as a straight hierarchical, top-down securitization approach where educational planners and teachers as extended securitization actors acted in accordance with these highly centralized driven policies of separation.

In Chapter 7, environmental threats to children in the South African educational system, in connection to the planning and application of ESD, were examined with an emphasis on South Africa as a developing country challenged by environmental depletion in some areas. Sweden, as a developed country in general terms, addressed preventative measures towards environmental threats. In a manner similar to Chapter 6, the reform policies indicated a complex interplay between different securitization processes on different levels of societal functioning and agency. The set off for securitization processes at the national level were, in South Africa, instigated by the international level’s claim for immediate action against environmental threats. The international level also viewed education as a vital factor to prevent environmental threats through the development of ESD-programmes. From a special education perspective, ESD has been argued to include issues related to foreseeing which children will be at risk. This thus encompasses, for example, access to education during environmental disasters and other kinds of environmental crises, so long as environmental threats were not included in the planning and the development of ESD in education (see op cit. IBE, 2009; UNESCO & UNICEF, 2012). Further, by examining the different education reform policies in both countries, it became clear that in Sweden it was possible to discern that environmental threats were not really recognized at the national level, and that individuals and groups at the local levels in society were quite active in engaging in ESD. In fact, the lower levels of society (municipal/school level) were able to pick up the international claims for environmental security through the application of ESD.

The separate country specific analyses showed that both countries’ present curricula – LGR11 and NC2005 – were clear that the environment was an important area. However, it was not possible to say that the environment was a prioritized and urgent area in national settings in either South Africa or
Sweden. This was particularly clear in the Swedish example where the examination showed that the former national curriculum Lpo94 had been clear that environmental threats posed urgent threats to society. Nevertheless, the implementation of ESD in education reform policies, as a response to the international claims of environmental security, seem to be realized at the school level through teacher-driven initiatives supported by “green” NGOs. The NGOs’ role as functional actors in a securitization process should here be understood as that of influencing the local level directly to bring about a securitization process at the local level. Another important part of the examination showed that when an NGO, usually labelled a functional actor in a securitization process, works on mandate from a securitization actor they seem to take on the role of an extended securitization actor. Thus, it is not solely their theoretical securitization-based labelling that decides what part they will take on in a securitization process. It is also settled by the NGOs pragmatic role in the securitization process. In Sweden, the functional actors’ planning for ESD did not include directives for special education needs or specific environments at the school level in order to make sure that all children had continuous access to equal quality education. This seems to have not been considered important when educating about ESD. In South Africa, the functional actors included, in the planning and implementation of ESD, issues related to children at risk in connection to matters concerning environmental disasters, access to education and the Right to Education during times of crises. This could be seen in programmes designed to meet both ESD and additional vulnerabilities in order to reduce the number of children at risk.

By taking a closer look at the securitization processes, it is here suggested that the top-down vertical direction of an initial securitization process can be complemented and modified during the course of implementation. That is, the securitization process does not end at the international or state level (even though the original threat was perceived as directed towards all states within the global community). Instead, it can take a different route at the local and/or group levels, the school level or the individual teacher level. Thus, the question if ESD can be considered part of a securitization process in reform policies cannot be answered with the wordings of yes or no. Instead, our understanding has to start by describing the particular characteristics of what can be referred to as global reform, for instance global ESD-programmes with the aim of being implemented at the national levels. However, since the global level can only be advisory in this regard due to its non-authoritative position on state matters, it is the individual states that decide what to do.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that ESD can be considered part of different securitization processes and a large security complex involving different actors and societal levels. However, it should be noted that different actors within the same and/or at different societal levels may
have their own security agenda for advocating the importance of ESD as well as its status within education reform policies. Thus, it has been shown to be possible for local actors to pick up international guiding principles for ESD in individually administrated securitization projects, even after the national level has rejected this standpoint. This was shown in the Swedish case. Regarding the local administration of ESD, it seemed to indicate that these local ESD projects can be viewed as de-centralized programmes, which are developed contextually in an institutional local setting, however based on international and national interests of the mother-organization within the UN-family or NGO. Important aspects of this understanding can thus be said to relate to a larger security complex that mirrors (a) an actor’s perception of environmental threats as urgent and the ability to pursue this outlook; and (b) the institutional autonomy of an actor to address environmental threats as urgent and in accordance with the international aims and objectives of ESD in education.

In Chapter 8, which addressed the reform of inclusive education as stated in White Paper No. 6 – Special Needs Education, the building of an inclusive education and training system was understood as a South African national securitization project. Furthermore, a new kind of securitization project was identified and explored based on teachers’ perception of threats in the implementation phase of the reform of inclusive education. It was not difficult to see that these perceived threats and the complex interactions between different actors at different societal levels could lead to implications for meeting the specific needs of children at risk in South Africa. Children at risk were here understood in terms of children exposed to internal and external barriers to learning, as defined in White Paper No. 6.

In a more theoretical analysis, I introduced a distinction between two different types of securitization – first order securitization and second order securitization. The second order securitization process was suggested as a securitization process evolving among the extended securitization actors of the first order securitization process – in this case the teachers. It concerned teachers’ needs in connection to managerial difficulties and lack of resources. Some of these perceived threats among the teachers were also connected to societal insecurities, parental insecurities and silence along with inherited and the heavily centralized organizational procedures of the former apartheid system. In addition, the introduction of the terminology of a second order securitization process evolved around the discovery that the second order securitization process could be described as a counter securitization process.

An exploration of the counter-securitization process was possible by looking further into issues mentioned in earlier research. Nel et al. (2011) and Helldin et al. (2011) mention this in connection to possible perceived threats at the teacher level and the expressed demand for further research on teacher needs. These perceived threats seemed to have motivated their critical atti-
tudes towards inclusion and inclusive education. This shed further light on the inclusive education reform in South Africa and the difficulties of implementing inclusive special education. However, the reassessment also contributed to a deepened understanding of the securitization process itself as a theoretical phenomenon in highlighting the paradoxical character of securitization. The analysis showed that attempts to manage one threat can create new ones, leading to counteractions that influence and flaw the aims of the first-order securitization process. Exploring a wider heuristic potential of the securitization theory, a basis could be found for exploring a more precise meaning of this perceived threat. The proposed silent securitization process among the teachers, as a rather small but defined group, also brought to the fore the fact that a rather limited group was able to protect itself even though the teachers did not gain support from other societal levels. Passive resistance among the teachers in combination with silence also showed that non-utterances may provide a foundation for securitization. These counteractions at the teacher levels bring to the fore that the power position between the different securitization actors and the principals and teachers – in their role as authorities to which both these occupational groups as extended securitization actors belong – needs to be acknowledged. Thus, the teachers’ counteractions are not about de-securitization. Rather, they are about overlooking teachers’ perceptions of threats and needs in connection to their role and status in the first order securitization process that seems to be of significance for seeing the first order securitization process through. The consequences of not taking into account teachers’ perception of threats may have further implications for children at risk since teachers’ counter-reactions may influence the realization of the special education reform – White Paper No. 6 – by not being able to meet children’s learning needs and different types of barriers to learning.

The introduction of a new terminology within the concept of securitization can be said to contribute both to our understanding of grasping a failed securitization process and the possibility to expand the theoretical understanding of the process of securitization. The second order securitization process is a process that touches upon the legitimacy of the securitization process of the first order. This kind of counter-securitization process was put forward as still acknowledging the first order securitization process but as needing to be questioned at a lower level of the securitization actor chain among the extended securitization actors of the first order process. Poor and difficult working conditions constituted breeding grounds for the counteractions where the political, societal and economic crises lead to autonomous solutions responding to a perceived threat at the teacher level.

Hence, the introduction of this new terminology opened up for further discussions on the securitization process as not strictly involving a hierarchical top-bottom approach. The acknowledgement of a second order securitization process also opens up for discussion the legitimacy and carrying of
authority connected to the delegation of power where the extended securitization actors’ become an active part in influencing the securitization process and the turns the process may take. It also describes the power struggle between extended securitization actors competing horizontally over how to comprehend and implement IE. Hence, non-shared views between the national securitization actors and the teachers regarding teachers’ needs – as well as those between the teachers and the principals in their securitization position as extended securitizations actors at the school level – contributed in combination with a centralized organization to teachers’ perception of threats. Also, the power struggles between the extended securitization actors on how to implement the special education reform of IE may affect children’s possibility to achieve access to equal education. The second order securitization process in study 3 therefore illustrates the necessity to create a strong and secure foundation for the extended securitization actors in order to carry out the implementation of the national aims of the securitization process. In this case this would indicate improving teacher’s training as well as using the resources of civil society in education in order to implement the national education reform of IE.

Theories of social problems and institutional organization in education reform

In the following sections I will discuss the three empirical studies’ securitization processes in relation to other similar theoretical perspectives and ideas within the social scientific field. It is clear that there are other similar theoretical perspectives exploring, for instance, how special education reforms are shaped by perceived threats or have perceived current social problems that have to be dealt with. The similarities between these other perspectives and securitization theories, to some extent, confirm the value and importance of this kind of analysis. I will discuss the similarities and differences below. First, however, I would like to state that securitization theory, as a theoretical framework, no more than partially contributes to our understanding of the historical background to the (special) education reforms and the reforms themselves. On the contrary, it is possible to discern how other theories contribute with important ideas and analytical tools, especially in this broadened and more generalized understanding of securitization theory. A major concern has been to include securitization theory among the theoretical approaches exploring special educational reforms as socially constructed and initiated by perceptions of threat or risk in our society. Two main fields will be discussed in connection to securitization theory in order to develop and deepen the discussion on how securitization theory transcends into other
scientific domains of social psychology and organizational theory.

Theories of the construction of social problems and how the problems are dealt with have obvious similarities with securitization theory (see Blumer, 1971 op cit.; Downs, 1972 in Guthrie & Koppich). In Study 1, the perception of the indigenous populations as constituting threats to society could also – from Blumer’s (1971), Downs’ (1972) and Koppich and Guthrie (1993) perspectives, respectively – be seen as examples of when certain groups in society become defined as social problems in need of different kinds of societal intervention. Beck’s (2008) theory of “the risk society” share some similarities with securitization theory since risk and social problems are discussed in terms of how we as citizens respond to different types of experienced insecurities.

The second field is related to organizational theory and seems to be of significance for comprehending the implementation phase of securitization and the different turns that securitization processes can take. This outlook includes theories on new institutionalism (see DiMaggio, 1986 in Scott & Davies 2007; Hannan and Freeman, 1977 in Johansson, 1997). Within this second field, issues connected to, for instance, institutional direction, resistance within the organization and inherited organizational models can be discerned. These issues are within new institutionalism linked to different types of organizational and societal discourses. In connection to securitization theory, theories within new institutionalism are of relevance for developing an understanding for how organization may work for or against securitization. For instance, in Study 3, the contextual and organizational setting for South African teachers seems to have contributed to their perception of threats due to organizational structure.

Social problems, subjective change and securitization

Blumer’s (1971) and Downs’ (1972) perspective on social problems can be said to discuss processes of social definition and action similar to securitization theory. Further, social reforms – including special education reforms – are usually connected to some kind of societal disharmony where the reform is usually a response to a politically acknowledged problem (see Guthrie & Koppich, 1993, p. 26).

Blumer (1971) states in a manner similar to securitization theory that issues of great importance in society raise attention and go through a process of definition and construction as a socially shared problem (op cit.). If a social problem gets enough political attention, it can motivate reform. Downs (1972) explains this pre-stage in, for example, education reform policies as a stage where society needs to become aware of unsatisfactory societal conditions that have already reached the attention of experts and interest groups.
(see Guthrie & Koppich, 1993, p. 21). Thus, social problems gain, in a similar manner to threats, legitimacy through the recognition of something that is considered to be malignant to society and should be dealt with to avoid further societal distress. An important difference is that according to Buzan et al. (1998), it is the securitization actors – usually the politicians – and not the audience that define problems against society in an interactive process. However, the theories also seem to be possible to combine, in the sense that social problem theory helps us understand how problems acquire political attention. In fact, Blumer (1971) points out that there is little research on how social problems enter and are caught up by the political sphere and how other societal concerns are reduced. Here, securitization theory seems to respond to some extent to Blumer’s (1971) call for further research in this area (p. 302). In the same way as in securitization theory, Blumer (op cit.) suggests that if the problem has gained legitimization, it enters the process of mobilizing action for or against the social problem in an interactive process. Securitization theory explains this step as a hierarchical process that does not need to gain full legitimization by the citizens in order to gain legitimacy. Thus, both theories build on interactive processes where societal reforms are debated and constructed in an intersubjective way to respond to either a social problem or a perceived threat.

Another view on how reform policies are constructed, introduced and managed, stresses the importance of power struggles between actors. With reference to Blumer (1971), Eriksson (2004), and Guthrie and Koppich (1993) there is systematically a struggle for how an issue enters the highest level of politics. For Eriksson (2004), it is when a security matter enters into a process of power and interest struggle that the advocates of that issue attempt to make it into an urgent (security) matter either by persuasion, convincing or forceful actions (pp. 74-75). Another scenario for introducing reform policies is when a window of opportunity opens. Eriksson (2004, p. 74) argues in a comparable way to Koppich and Guthrie concerning the significant role of the policy entrepreneur in reform policies. For Koppich and Guthrie (1993), it is when the policy entrepreneurs catch the possibility of a window opening that is of interest for managing to get the reform on top of the agenda (op cit.). From a securitization standpoint, the policy entrepreneur would correspond to both the securitization actor and/or the extended securitization actor who gains control over an issue, but it can also refer to a functional actor that manages to influence the future securitization actor about an urgent threat. Hence, the above mentioned theories complement each other on reform policies by applying to both interests of power as well as different risks that lead to societal disharmony that demand change.

Based on this discussion, securitization theory has contributed to clarifying how societal problems can be defined in connection to perceived threats, which supports action taken. Additionally, securitization theory has contributed to defining who may be against taking action at different societal levels
in order to understand the background, idea and implications for implementing a special education reform. The securitization processes in Chapters 6 and 8 confirmed that the recognition of societal threats also benefited from comprehending the special educational reforms in historical contexts, including earlier perceived threats and securitization moves. In Chapter 7, the contextual setting of environmental threats, and consequently also the perception of what parts of society were exposed to environmental threats, varied depending on how the International Community (IC), the national level and communities perceived these threats. The perceived severity of environmental threats was also shown to be connected to the need for developing ESD-programmes in comprehensive education. These ESD-programmes should be understood to express special education initiatives that are directed towards making sure that all children have access to equal education. Environmental disasters could be seen as creating external physical barriers to learning thus consequently making children exposed to natural hazards turn out to be “at risk”. In Chapter 8, democratic values and attitudes towards an inclusive society transferred into education policies proved difficult to implement partly due to new types of perceived threats at the local level, threats that were connected to historical context and former structural organization in South Africa. Children therefore had an increased probability of becoming at risk due to these additional reasons involving difficulties in the implementation of IE at the local school level.

Another important theoretical perspective worth mentioning along these lines of constructivism is Beck’s (2008) outlook on present society moving from Western beliefs and traditions of industrialism into the “risk society”. The concept of the risk society builds on societal transformation in three areas: First, our relationship to natural resources and culture and the way we use these natural resources; and secondly, to hazards and problems produced by our relationship to nature and the connection to how we make use of resources. A dysfunctional relationship between humans, nature and resources may lead to social disorder, which perpetuates all areas of society including decision-making and political activity. Thirdly, there is the disenchantment of collective meaning in terms of group-belonging in favour of pursuing individuality and individual interests. This kind of collective disenchantment may lead to individual insecurity and may stand in the way of taking action towards different types of individuals as well as societal uncertainties. Human beings are thereby being released from the industrial society and the security of the welfare state into living their lives with both diverse and contradictory global and individual risks. The individual in the risk society therefore becomes the bearer of rights and duties but only as an individual. These systems of releasing the individual from the former industrial society can also be seen in education reform policies (Beck, 2008, pp. 74-75). Thus, societal transformation in the risk society, including special education reform, builds on individual responsibility for gaining access to equal educa-
tion and is to a lesser extent the responsibility of society. Here choice mechanisms and individual choice within educational policies seem of relevance. Also, the lack of individual possibility to make that choice can be said to influence future educational achievement. In Study 3, some of these tendencies could be seen. Concerning at risk-factors, poverty, lack of infrastructure, teachers’ needs, unsafe school environments and lack of possibilities for children and their families to make individual choices, these may come to shape individual life-styles in negative ways.

In recent studies on security, the development of the concept of human security can be said to reflect ideas connected to individual risk as mentioned by Beck (op cit.) and the need to respond and protect individual security based on an individualized outlook. Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy (2007) argue that human security is about the individual having reached the security status of a “whole unit” in himself/herself. Human security suggests that the individual becomes a crucial actor that needs to be taken into account and protected. The security of the individual is the ultimate goal to which other actors are peripheral and instruments are subordinated (p. 13). Elevating the needs of the individual as the ultimate end “is made possible by defining this new actor in terms of his/her vulnerabilities on the one hand, and his/her capacity to affect change on the other”. Liberal views on open-markets and open societies with the intent to lift millions of people out of poverty have also led to increasing gaps between those who have and those who do not, along with the silent majorities who are becoming more distant and marginalized (op cit., pp. 12-13). Thus, the theoretical security change in attitude towards viewing the individual as the referent object, and the vulnerabilities that the individual may be exposed to during times of societal transformation, also influences the outcome of special educational reform. If, as suggested by Buzan et al. (1998), the responsibility of the state to protect its citizens cannot be achieved, the idea of human security offers a paradigm shift. This paradigm shift may contribute to our understanding of teachers’ perception of threats at the teacher level – outlined in Study 3 – in connection to their exposed situation as implementers of the IE-reform in an unsafe community environment. It also implicates further accomplishments regarding the necessity to protect and realize individual rights to education.

Institutional and organizational change

The field of organizational theory can be said to contribute to our understanding of how the different actors in a securitization process act and respond in institutional settings. To add an additional aspect to this problem, I will discuss how, for instance, actors on different institutional levels can understand an on-going reform differently and sometimes even engage in
contradicting securitization processes. Here, I draw on the theory of the so-called new institutionalism.

Within organizational theory, new institutionalism was first recognized in an article written by John Meyer and Brian Rowan in 1977 (Johansson, 1997, p. 70). New institutionalism is often closely identified with literature on population ecology because it seeks to ground our understanding of organization in its broad historical and social context (Morgan, 1997, p. 390). The idea of the organization thus controls the activities of the organization. DiMaggio (1986 in Scott & Davies, 2007) argues that the organizational field contains relational and shared linkages concerning meaning systems and cultural rules. Both horizontal and vertical ties between similar and dissimilar organization are possible, so are also distant and local connections (p. 118). Johansson (1997) views organizational structure in similar terms; each organization is vertically and horizontally structured, or differently expressed: the positions in an organization are organized in both a subordinate and horizontal pattern primarily based on the division of labour (p. 78). Context, structure and the thematical idea of an organization are in this way interlinked with each other.

One important theoretical development of securitization theory concerns how to understand the different actors of the securitization process and their role in that process. In the three empirical studies, this exploration specifically involved comprehending the new and introduced terminology of extended securitization actors. The introduction of this new terminology can be said to have contributed to examining the delegation of power from the governmental level to the administrative or local societal level in order to execute national politics. The use of this new terminology also contributed to the understanding of the many ways securitization processes may turn. The utilization of the term extended securitization actors also pinpointed the difficulties in implementing education reform when the interests of the securitization actors and extended actors clashed. The term also came to highlight how difficulties in the implementation chain came to have an effect on children perceived as at risk regarding access to education and educational rights. This was shown in all three empirical studies. In various ways the analyzes clarified how, for instance, different extended securitization actors in the securitization process acted not only in accordance with the securitization actors but also became independent securitization actors in their own right due to the development and turns of the initial securitization process. New institutional theory could help here in explaining how these securitization actions and patterns came about as examples of rational choices among actors against the background of context and organizational structure.

An example where the context, idea of the organization and structure are interlinked in ways that come to influence the outcome of the reform was outlined in Chapter 8. The national special education reform of inclusive education, supported by most school leaders, administrators and teachers,
seems to have been understood as difficult to implement without additional resources and support. As a consequence, the institutional meaning-making taking place in South African schools seems to have been categorized both by a positive attitude towards the special education reform of inclusion in general and by a certain resistance to the practice of the reform, as it was experienced as a threat to the teachers' sense of ability to perform their duties in a satisfactory way. Perceived threats at the teacher level can be said to have developed into horizontal institutional processes of resistance linking the teachers to the principals and other locally organized school staff. It is also possible to further expand our understanding from a new institutional theoretical approach to why perceived threats in Chapter 6 were handled differently between the securitization actors (the Swedish Government) and the extended securitization actors (Swedish regional and local authorities, and the Swedish Church at the regional and local levels). At the regional level, the Sami school and the extended securitization actors held authority and functioned rather autonomously. When the national policy changed from the initial management of the Sami as a threat to a more democratic policy of a society and a school for all citizens, the old policy seems to have been maintained by persons engaged at the regional level. Thus, the organizational structure within Swedish policy administration seems to have contributed to the maintenance of the segregating policies of the Sami people, although actors at the national level abandoned this policy quite early. These tendencies within the organizational structure also influenced the set up of Sami education, which continued in special schools for various reasons advocated among actors at the regional level.

Another important view regarding organizational set up can be found in Allison's (1971) classical work on how we think and react in crisis situations in connection to the assumptions we make, our angle of vision and the categories we use to highlight, dismiss and reveal certain areas in crisis management. For instance, deviations from comprehensive rationality are mainly human ways of solving a problem. Instead of looking for optimization or maximization, the organization looks to satisfy. Human beings do not consider what action will reach the best outcome. Instead, they look for an alternative that they see as “good enough”. According to this view “organizations are happy to find a needle in the haystack rather than searching for the sharpest needle in the haystack” (p. 72). This view implies that organizations look for solutions that will make the organizational work manageable rather than to look for a solution that will make the most for the organization in terms of, for instance, effectiveness and efficiency.

Chapter 8 seems essential to mention here in connection to Allison (op. cit.). The South African teachers’ ways of securitizing themselves through counter-securitization moves can be seen as ways for a “good enough” alter-

86 In italics by the author.
native. Instead of aiming for organizational procedures that would contribute to meeting the needs that the teachers asked for, the teachers turned to the strategy of passive resistance. Here, the culture of power distribution at the school level worked against the re-organization of structures. This was shown at the school level where principals and teachers became caught up in pursuing their own interests instead of working towards the main aim of implementing IE and creating a well-balanced organizational system. To make use of Johansson (2002), power distribution and the struggle for different types of interests within an organization is essential for the establishment and maintenance of institutions (p. 2). Hence, the third empirical study specifically illustrated the difficulties in implementing education reform when political and societal vulnerabilities in combination with institutional fragility and inherited organizational authoritarian structures come to interfere with aims of reform policies. Teachers’ ways of responding to threats may be seen as ways of handling their situation in the best way they considered possible and manageable due to poor internal organizational school structures and external societal insecurities.

Thus, organizational outlooks seem to contribute to the understanding of how perceived threats influence policies of education and the implementation of special education reforms. Further, current organizations at different levels are always influenced by, for example, the uncertainties concerning value preferences preceding a reform.

Conclusions and final reflections

In conclusion, the contribution of the thesis in adding to the understanding of special educational reform and its history draws on theory developed within IR and Political Science Theory. The focus was first of all put on perceived threats to a specific society and the consecutive mobilization of the state in order to reduce the threat through a reform. My extensive generalization of the securitization theory involves understanding the history of special education reform as a complex interaction between both reforms as securitization processes that focus on perceived threats against anything of importance to children at risk in society and other kinds of securitization processes that influence the implementation of reforms concerning children at risk. In the examination of some special education reforms, it has been shown that securitization theory can be applied to examine educational challenges that children at risk may be exposed to in educational and societal settings. Introducing the special education perspective to theoretical aspects that relate to matters of threats and securitization thus means opening up for all kinds of perceptions of threats and securitization moves that are of relevance to the development of a specific educational reform. As we have seen, this can
include studies of competing securitization processes, one taking over from another and co-existing as competing ideologies and programmes, but also upward-directed securitization processes initiated by groups of people far from the power of society.

In what I have called second order securitization, or counter securitization, the dynamic history of the implementation of a reform may be understood in terms of conflicting forces of securitization. In fact, the discovery of the complexity of securitization processes related to special education reform constitutes an important development of the securitization theory as developed by the Copenhagen School. As we have seen, applying a securitization perspective does not usually mean understanding, for example, an educational reform as one major process where a specific set of threats are managed in a specific way. It is true that the reform itself can often be understood in terms of a major securitization process. However, the three empirical studies illustrate that understanding the history of a reform often demands exploring different, but related, securitization processes where the interaction of several different securitization moves inspired by quite different threats are analysed as a whole together with other kinds of relevant processes.

In the theory of the Copenhagen School, threats were often specifically perceived threats against the state or state matters. In the second order securitization – as exemplified by the South African teachers – the threat was a collective as well as an individual experienced threat against a professions’ competence. The collective self-securitization process of the Sami showed that the perception of threats was related to threats against their cultural identity. This means that I understand securitization theory as a broad social science theory, here applied in special education. Furthermore, my broadening of the expressions of threats, from traditional speech acts to non-verbal expressions of experienced threats, widens the application of the theory to much broader aspects of the dynamics of educational reform history. I am aware of the fact that I also understand special education in a broad sense as actions taken by a state, profession or group engaged in advocating the interests for children who are perceived as being at risk.

Within the special education discipline, securitization theory contributed to further understanding what has triggered education reform policies in the three empirical studies that have been examined. I would also argue that securitization theory could offer similar opportunities for understanding other reforms and their complex history. Perhaps special education offers an especially suitable area of application for securitization theory, as the very existence of special education has over time been linked to perceived threats, different kinds of exposure and vulnerabilities concerning children at risk. Securitization theory, as I have used and developed it, could help us see that an extensive field like special education can host more than one perception of a threat and that the outcome of, for instance, a specific reform against a
specific threat, needs to be understood against all relevant threats and securitization moves taken within a specific field at a specific time.

As I have already concluded above, the dynamics of securitization processes can be fruitfully analysed in terms of different kinds of verticality, horizontality and symmetry-asymmetry. Also, by introducing the term *extended securitization actor* into the examination of the three studies, it became possible to get a clearer picture of the different turns that securitization processes can take, including power distribution between different kinds of securitization actors. As we have seen, extended securitization actors in one process can become the prime securitization actors in another. This has proven to be of importance in order to provide a clearer picture of, and a deeper understanding for, how different interests between different securitization stakeholders influence and sometimes interfere with settled political decisions. The three studies have thereby provided several reasons and contributed to the discussion on why it may be difficult to gain recognition and implement reforms and interventions for children categorised as “at risk” – as initially proclaimed by the international and / or national authorities. This said, we can conclude that the three empirical studies contributed to the discussion of the following:

(a) Vertical securitization competition between actors.
(b) Horizontal securitization competition between actors.
(c) Broadening of the focus of securitization studies to include different kinds of counter-securitization processes.
(d) New roles of actors within the securitization process and new labeling.
(e) Non-utterances as part of a securitization process.

My ambition in writing this thesis has been to offer a new set of analytical tools for understanding educational reform, especially in my own field of special education. Hopefully I have inspired other researchers to take this theory even further, and I look forward to seeing future illustrations and studies of how special education reform and practices can be understood as a complex of securitization processes.
Sammanfattning

Avhandlingen är multidisciplinär och utgår från teorier inom Statsvetenskap, Internationella relationer och Specialpedagogik. Fokus ligger på att analysera utifrån Köpenhamnsskolans (Buzan, Waever och de Wilde, 1998) ”Securitization theory” (säkerhetiseringsteori) olika typer av hot och särhålliga sårbarhetsområden i relation till planering och implementering av utbildningsreformer. Detta innebörda även att visa hur reformer kan bidra eller försvårata utbildningssituationen för barn som är i riskzonen. Uttrycket ”barn i riskzonen” står i det här sammanhanget för enskilda barn eller grupper som anses ha större sannolikhet för att möta olika typer av svårigheter under skol och tiden eller ha en ökad risk för att hoppla av skolan.

Det övergripande syftet har varit att: (1) öka förståelsen av utbildningsreformprocesser genom; (2) att försöka se dem som s.k. säkerhetiseringsprojekt; (3) på olika samhällsnivåer. Utöver detta har målet varit att kunna uppfatta och förstå utbildningsreformer inom det specialpedagogiska området som säkerhetiseringsprocesser i en vidare mening. Ytterligare mål har varit att kunna identifiera, beskriva och tolka reformer som säkerhetiseringsprocesser. Dessa syften och mål har sedan applicerats på tre fallstudier.


Säkerhetiseringsprocessen omfattar tre beståndsdelar. Den första beståndsdelar referensobjektet (referent object). Referensobjektet visar på vad som hotas t.ex. staten. Den andra beståndsdelar är säkerhetiseringsaktö-

I den första studien "Differentiation in South Africa and Swedish educational reforms in the decades following WWII: A securitization perspective" studerades hur etnicitet och grupptillhörighet formade utbildningspolitiken genom riktade utbildningsinsatser gentemot ursprungsbefolkningen i både Sydafrika och Sverige. Genom tillämpningen av säkerhetiseringssteori kunde tre olika stader av säkerhetisering ses i det svenska exemplet. Dessa tre etapper, inklusive olika typer av säkerhetiseringsprocesser, ägde rum på olika nivåer i samhället och under olika tidpunkter i historien.


het.


Diskussion kring barn som uppfattades vara i riskzonen under de olika säkerhetiseringsstadierna utgjordes av att utvärdera hur olika reformer påverkade möjligheten för den samiska barnen att kunna delta på lika villkor i skolundervisningen och att kunna uppnå likvärdig utbildningsnivå.


Inledningsvis stöddes utbildningsreformen hos stora grupper av den svarta befolkningen eftersom den sågs som en generell reform som skulle ge alla barn oavsett etnisk bakgrund rätt till utbildning till skillnad från tidigare utbildningsreformer. Inledningsvis kunde man se i början av den riktade utbildningsreformen en uppgång i antalet barn som deltog i undervisning. Över tid minskade dock antalet svarta barn som fick utbildning. Barn i riskzonen sågs här utgöra grupper bland de svarta barnen som p.g.a. riktade utbildningsinsatser inte fick tillgång till likvärdig utbildning. Dels i jämförelse med vita barn men också att de fanns konkurrens om utbildningsplatser mellan svarta barn i enlighet med den diskriminerande Apartheidpolitiken.

Det första steget var att undersöka den internationella nivån och dess syn på miljöhot. Här visade det sig att UNESCO spelade en viktig roll. På uppdrag från det internationella samfundet och FN, hade UNESCO mandat att driva frågor om hur miljöhot kan hanteras. Detta syntes speciellt inom utbildningssektorn. Ur ett specialpedagogiskt perspektiv kan det noteras att man på internationell nivå framhåller att miljöhot också utgör en överhängande fara mot barns rätt till utbildning eftersom infrastrukturella och institutionella skador kan påverka möjligheten att delta i undervisning. I denna fallstudie var det också möjligt att se hur intresseorganisationer som ex. WWF också började att verka som en säkerheteringsaktör genom samarbetet med UNESCO.

Det andra steget innehöll att ta reda på hur miljösäkerhet återspeglades i utbildning för hållbar utveckling på nationell nivå i både Sverige och Sydafrika utifrån de satta internationella målen. I Sverige kunde man se att den politiska sfären snarare hänvisade till miljöhot och katastrofer som en internationell fråga än en uppgift som behövde hanteras i säkerheteringssammanhang på det nationella planet. I det sydafrikanska kunde man urskilja att den nationella politiska sfären krävde åtgärder som svarade mot presumtiva och överhängande miljöhot. Det gick även att se att denna typ av hot klassificerades som ett högt prioriterat säkerhetsområde i enlighet med säkerheteringsstori. Till att börja med hade man inkluderat frågan om miljöhot i den nya konstitutionen. Vidare hade den sydafrikanska regeringen, i ett gemensamt projekt med UNICEF, studerat effekterna av miljöhot och barns levnadsförhållanden. I detta projekt betraktades barn som utsattes för miljöföroreningar som ”barn i riskzonen”.

Det tredje steget var att undersöka om nationella utbildningsreformer speglade internationella krav på miljösäkerhet och om det kunde utläsas i antagna läroplaner i Sydafrika och Sverige. Även om nationella dokument uttryckte behovet av att få kunskap om miljöfrågor och katastrofer och hantering av dessa frågor i sin vardag, gick det inte att se att den svenska läroplanen LGR11 svarade upp emot dessa krav. I stället presenterades utbildning för hållbar utveckling i termer som kunde kopplas till de internationella och konceptuella aspekterna av miljöhot och hållbar utveckling med undantag för ämnesområdet geografi. Det fanns inte heller någon koppling mellan rätten till utbildning och uppfattningen att miljökatastrofer kan försvåra möjligheten att delta i undervisning. I den sydafrikanska läroplanen NC2005
gick det inte heller att påvisa att det fanns en genomgående syn på frågan kring miljösäkerhet. Vissa ämnesområden tog dock upp denna problematik.

Det fjärde steget innefattade att undersöka olika lokala skolprojekt som organiseras av icke-statliga organisationer kring temat hållbar utveckling. Här visade det sig att det både i Sydafrika och Sverige fanns lokala säkerhetsprojekt kring hållbar utveckling på skolnivå. I Sydafrika kunde man se att många frågor kretsade kring hur detta projekt skulle realiseras, både bland lärare samt utbildningsplanerare, eftersom området är nytt och under utveckling. Tydligt var också att intresseorganisationer ofta ledde dessa projekt. I det svenska fallet såg det dock ut som om det var lärarna som enskilt drev dessa projekt kring hållbar utveckling med material utarbetat av intresseorganisationer. Från ett säkerhetsperspektiv kunde man dessutom se att dessa projekt inte alltid följde en rak hierarkisk linje. Det gick även att spåra att vissa aktörer inom en säkerhetsprocess fick nya roller och därmed nya benämningar i säkerhetsprocessen beroende på hur och på vilken samhällsnivå säkerhetsprocessen startade. Exempelvis kunde man urskilja hur intresseorganisationer som vanligtvis får beteckningen funktionell aktör i en säkerhetsprocess därmed också kunde identifieras i en ny roll – nu som säkerhetsaktörer.


Inom ramen för specialpedagogik utmynnade reformarbetet i Vitbok nr. 6 (White Paper No. 6 on Special education). Reformen baserade på demokratiska värden och uttryckte värdet av att inkludera föräldrar, lärare och elever som delaktigheter i att understödja arbetet med reformen. Olika typer av stötestenar identifierades som kunde försvåra arbetet med att genomföra skolreformen och den nya läroplanen NC2005. Barn i riskzonen relaterade till de olika typer av försvårande omständigheter som exempelvis berodde på socialer eller samhälleliga förändringar samt bristande kognitiva förmågor. Sammanfattningsvis kan man säga att på det praktiska planet har införandet av den nya utbildningsreformen inneburit en utmaning för dem som arbetar på utbildningsområdet.

En tidigare artikel av Nel et al. (2011) låg som bakgrund för att kunna undersöka hur man ska kunna tolka lärare attityder gentemot inkludering som en del av en säkerhetsprocess. Lärarna hade i artikeln uttryckt att de
upplevde hot i samband med genomförandet av utbildningsreformen. Tre områden kunde fastställas; brister i kunskap om inkludering, bristande utbildning inom området och brist på stöd. Brist på stöd betydde i sammanhanget brist på tillgång till hjälpmedel och brist på tillgänglig personal. En utvidgad analys gentemot de tidigare resultaten i Nel et al., (2011) visade att lärarnas upplevelse av hot kunde kopplas till deras yrkesprofession gällande kompetens och möjlighet att påverka sitt arbete. Lärarna kunde även förstås agera i tystnad genom passivt motstånd gentemot det upplevda hotet.

Den utvidgade analysen möjliggjorde att en ny typ av säkerheteriserings-process – nerifrån- och upp – kunde identifieras och utforskas. Denna typ av s.k. motsäkerheterisering skedde mellan de som kunde identifieras som ”förlängda säkerheteriseringsaktörer” och ägde rum bland dem som är satta att implementera en reform – i det här fallet de sydafrikanska lärarna som under implementeringfasen började uppleva hot mot sin profession. Lärarnas upplevda hot i kombination med denna typ av motsäkerheterisering på lärarnivå kom därmed att påverka implementeringen av de politiskt beslutade skolreformerna.

Den första nationella inkluderingsreformen gavs i studien benämningen säkerheterisering av den första ordningen. Den andra typen av säkerheteriseringsprocess på skolnivå benämndes i studien som säkerheterisering av den andra ordningen. En säkerheteriseringprocess av den andra ordningen kunde därmed i den tredje studien sägas bestå av följande:

- • uppstå när ett nytt hot uppfattas bland de förlängda säkerheteriseringsaktörrna som är delaktiga i säkerheteriseringsprocessen av den första ordningen.
- • att utvecklas om maktdiskurser är asymmetriska mellan olika typer av (förlängda) säkerheteriseringsaktörer.

Således kan en säkerheteriseringprocess av andra ordningen sägas innefatta motstånd mot den formella och pågående säkerheteriseringsprocessen. En säkerheteriseringprocess av den andra ordningen ska här förstås utifrån att den endast kan uppstå om de lägre nivåerna i säkerheteriseringskedjan (förlängd säkerheteriseringsaktör) uppfattar ett nytt hot som på något sätt är relatert till, eller stämmer överens med, första ordningens säkerheterisering.

Sammanfattningsvis kan sägas att säkerheteriseringsprocesser med fördel kan analyseras utifrån olika typer av vertikala, horisontala och symmetriskasymmetriska mönster. Genom att introducera termen förlängd säkerheteriseringsaktör i alla tre fallen blev det också möjligt att få en tydligare bild av de olika vägar som säkerheteriseringprocesser kan ta – inklusive maktfördelning mellan olika typer av säkerheteriseringsaktörer. Detta har visat sig vara av betydelse för att ge en mer nyanserad bild av och en djupare förståelse för hur olika intressen mellan olika säkerheteriseringsaktörer och intressenter påverkade och ibland också även hindrade redan fastställda politiska beslut.
tre fallen har därigenom bidragit till diskussionen om varför det i många fall kan vara svårt att få legitimitet i genomförandet av reformer och även vid interventioner för barn som kategoriseras som "barn i riskzonen".

Slutledningsvis kan man säga att på det teoretiska planet har avhandlingen bidragit med att föreslå en ny term i säkerhetiseringssammanhang – för- längd säkerhetiseringsaktör (extended securitization actor). Utifrån de tre fallstudierna kan man dra slutsatsen att de bidrog till den teoretiska diskussionen om:

(a) Vertikal konkurrens mellan olika säkerhetiseringsaktörer.
(b) Horisontell konkurrens mellan olika säkerhetiseringsaktörer.
(c) Utvidgning av referensfokus i säkerhetiseringsprocesser för att inkludera olika typer av motsäkringsprocesser.
(d) Nya säkerhetiseringsroller för olika aktörer inom säkerhetiseringsprocesser.
(e) Icke-verbala aktioner som en del av en säkerhetiseringsprocess.
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Appendix 2

Picture shows different areas and issues connected to ESD. It has been slightly altered from the original picture (see OECD, 2008, p. 9).