

## Inclusive education of children with sensory disability in Korhogo as a liminal device

(L'éducation inclusive des enfants en situation de handicap sensoriel à Korhogo comme dispositif liminal)

BY

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### Abstract

This article is a contribution to the analysis of disability as an analyzer of the study and working conditions of students and teaching staff in a context of inclusive education. The findings reveal many constraints that do not facilitate the learning of children with disabilities. How does the school manage to reconcile the simultaneous presence of students with disabilities and those in a so-called normal situation in the same class? What are the constraints of the inclusive system? Choosing a qualitative approach, we have retained interview and observation as the main given production techniques. Ten (10) inclusive teachers, three (3) school directors and one (1) educational advisor were our main respondents. Our interpretative hypothesis is that the inclusive system, a unique and innovative experience of disability management by the school system, is, due to technical and pedagogical constraints, a system that is not totally exclusive but not perfectly inclusive either. The transcribed interview data were subjected to a manual analysis for the presentation of the inclusive device for its analysis around the concept of liminality. The analysis shows disability as the basis of the difference between students in the inclusive system. The fact that they are not taken into consideration in the construction of the inclusive device keeps them in liminality. To do this, the system requires breaks for the inclusion of students with disabilities.

**Keywords:** Inclusive school – sensory disability – Device – Liminality – Korhogo

### Introduction

Prejudices about their abilities, social discrimination, difficulties in accessing transport, and inaccessibility to assistive technologies are some of the generic difficulties encountered by people with disabilities. Living with a disability reduces the possibility of access to school education and employment, thus exposing oneself to poverty and precariousness of life. In Côte d'Ivoire, the decade of war (2002-2011) has profoundly accentuated this precariousness of the living conditions of people with disabilities, particularly for those of them who have remained in the former areas under the control of the rebellion. It has reduced the chances of access to schooling, health services, and assistance. More recently, this situation was amplified by COVID-19, which temporarily

hampered the supply of school and health services, thus increasing the risk of precariousness in life.

The Ivorian political will to improve the social integration of people with disabilities has resulted in the Education For All program, from which stems the "Inclusive Education" project. This project aims to promote quality school inclusion for children with disabilities. Statistical data shows that approximately 48,000 children with disabilities of school age are outside the school system (ENSEA 2017). The latter encounter many obstacles in their educational paths in traditional schools. However, education is a right enshrined in the Ivorian constitution of 2016 (articles 6 and 7).

The current conception of inclusive education makes the school an essential device in the construction of the person and the citizen in a perspective of learning to live together and respect for differences. Beyond a simple framework for learning normative precepts, the inclusive system is a privileged space for human construction. It is as a system of reception and learning in the consideration of differences that we envisage the inclusive school. The concept of device generally refers to the military field, to military strategy. In this text, we refer to the use made of it by Foucault. About this concept, he writes in *Dits et écrits, volume III*, (p. 299-300):

*Ce que j'essaie de repérer sous ce nom, c'est, premièrement un ensemble résolument hétérogène comportant des discours, des institutions, des aménagements architecturaux, des décisions réglementaires, des lois, des mesures administratives, des énoncés scientifiques, des propositions philosophiques, morales, philanthropiques, bref : du dit aussi bien que du non-dit, voilà les éléments du dispositif. Le dispositif lui-même c'est le réseau qu'on établit entre ces éléments [...]*

*Par dispositif, j'entends une sorte – disons – de formation qui à un moment donné a eu pour fonction majeure de répondre à une urgence. Le dispositif a donc une fonction stratégique dominante...*

*J'ai dit que le dispositif était de nature essentiellement stratégique, ce qui suppose qu'il s'agit là d'une certaine manipulation de rapports de force, d'une intervention rationnelle et concertée dans ces rapports de force, soit pour les développer dans telle direction, soit pour les bloquer, ou pour les stabiliser, les utiliser. Le dispositif donc est toujours inscrit dans un jeu de pouvoir, mais toujours lié aussi à une ou à des bornes de savoir, qui en naissent, mais, tout autant, le conditionnent. C'est ça le dispositif : des stratégies de rapports de force supportant des types de savoir, et supportés par eux.*

The Inclusive Education system in Côte d'Ivoire implemented since 2017 by the NGO Society Without Barriers Côte d'Ivoire (SWB-CI) in partnership with the Ministry of National Education and Literacy (MENA), the Ministry of Employment and Social Protection, and the Ministry of Women, Family, and Children. It benefits from the financial support of the European Union (EU), and the Christian Blind Mission (CBM). Inclusive education consists of opening mainstream schools to students with disabilities, thus learning under the same conditions as other students. Initially planned for 36 months, the implementation of the project finally lasted 50 months. In this context, 28 classical schools in 10 cities of the country welcome deaf pupils (22 schools) or blind pupils (06 schools). The cities hosting this project

are Abidjan (Yopougon, Abobo, Koumassi, Port-Bouët), Abengourou, Agboville, Bouaké, Dabou, Man, Oumé, Korhogo, Toumodi, and Yamoussoukro.

The inclusive system suggests that the consideration of disability by the school is not only the business of education specialists. It is the result of the concerted action of state and international institutions, technical partners, social organizations, teachers, parents, etc.

Attentive to the difficulties of students with disabilities and their parents, to the constraints of teachers in these inclusive schools in Korhogo, this article is a contribution to an approach to disability at school as an analyzer of study and working conditions. Students and teachers in these schools. The interest of our work is to highlight the difficulties inherent in social inclusion. The findings reveal many constraints that do not facilitate the learning of children with disabilities. Inclusive education comes up against various obstacles, depending on the socio-cultural context. We plan to answer the following questions from this work. What are the educational constraints of inclusive education? How does the school manage to reconcile the simultaneous presence of students with disabilities and those in a so-called normal situation in the same class? The interpretative hypothesis underlying this text is that the inclusive school, a unique and innovative experience in the management of disabilities by the school system, is, due to technical and pedagogical constraints, a device that is not totally exclusive but not perfectly inclusive either. Conceiving the school inclusion of children with disabilities as an in-between device induces an analysis built around the concept of liminality (A. Van Gennep 1981). But first, the presentation of research results will be preceded by the presentation of the methodological approach that allowed the production of data.

## 1. Methodology

Our study concerns the inclusive device built for the management of disability at school. This is a national device, but we focused on its deployment in Korhogo. Straddling anthropology and the sociology of education, our research is part of a surge of research on the social and academic interrelationships of disability. Such a scientific positioning has the advantage of taking into account the multidisciplinary, the complexity of the disability.

At the level of the local system of Korhogo, our surveys concern the school administration, the actors of education, the pupils, and the parents of pupils. As part of a qualitative approach, we have retained interviews and observation as the main data production techniques.

The interviews were guided by a framework built around the presentation of the inclusive school in Korhogo, teacher training, teaching materials and techniques, constraints of school inclusion, and perceptions. The interviews taking place within the school, we took advantage of each of our presence to observe the material provisions of the reception of children with disabilities, the animation of the classes by the teachers, and the behavior of the pupils with disabilities in the classroom. In total, we interviewed ten (10) inclusive teachers, three (3) school principals, and one (1)

educational advisor. The interviews took place during the 2021-2022 school year during the months of February and March.

The transcribed interview data were subjected to a manual analysis for the presentation of the inclusive device for the analysis around the concept of liminality.

## 2. Results: Korhogo inclusive school system and its limits

### 2.1. Introducing Inclusive Schools

The inclusive school in Korhogo was created in 2018 within the Application Center school group. The Public Primary Schools (EPP) Center 5 and 4 were chosen and the following year the EPP Center 3 joined the group of inclusive schools. School 5 and 3 take care of the training of deaf/deaf-mute pupils and school 4 is in charge of training the blind/visually impaired.

The schools included are now three in number, with a total enrollment of 787 students including 392 girls and 395 boys for the 2021-2022 school year. At the Ecole Center 3 attend 254 students among whom we have 125 girls including 3 with disabilities and 116 boys including 14 with disabilities. As for Center 4, we have a staff of 269 students made up of 153 girls, including 2 with a disability, and 116 boys, with 2 also suffering from a disability. At Center 5 we have 264 students made up of 114 girls with 11 with disabilities and 150 boys including 18. This makes a total of 17 students with disabilities at Center 3; 4 in center 4 and 29 in center 5, therefore an overall workforce of 50 ESH within these inclusive schools. These children are found at different levels of education. Their school results are satisfactory. We summarize the different numbers in the following table:

**Table 1: Distribution of pupils with a sensory disability by school**

ECOLE (E)	EFFECTIVE PAR SEXE		TOTAL
	F	G	
E3	3	14	17
E4	2	2	4
E5	11	18	29
TOTAL	16	34	50

**Source :** Groupe scolaire Application Centre, année scolaire 2021-2022

### 2.2. Schools concentrated on a single site

In the town of Korhogo, the schools that welcome children with disabilities are all centralized on the same site (DEM district) while the homes of these children are not necessarily located near these schools. These children are found in the districts of Industrial, Soba, Banaforo, Kassirimé, Tegueré, Cocody, Cité Gbon, Klofohakaha, Résidentiel 3; everywhere in the town of Korhogo.

Urban public transport in Korhogo, dominated by motorcycle taxis, does not facilitate the movement of these children between home and school. Some parents entrust them to motorcycle taxi drivers,

responsible for accompanying them daily to school. In general, they are bound by a monthly contract. Other parents, on the other hand, provide support for their child themselves, before going about their daily business. These parents explain that it is tiring because their family home or place of work is not close to the school. This requires constant ballets each time between home, the service, and school. Sometimes, according to some parents, the workload means that they do not always arrive at the right time to pick up the child. However, having reduced mobility, the child is in anguish.

Whether they entrust them to a taxi-motorcycle driver or accompany them themselves, the mobility of children between home and school is a concern for parents because of the distance from school. homes. In addition, due to the irregularity of school canteens, parents cannot leave them at school for lunch.

### 2.3. The teaching manual not adapted to the particular needs of students with disabilities.

From our observation, it appears that students with disabilities and those in normal situations use the same teaching manuals. There are still no textbooks in sign language or Braille, adapted to the school education of children with disabilities. Therefore, all students use the same textbooks. If this homogeneity of textbooks is a visible aspect of the lack of distinction between pupils, it does not facilitate the learning of blind pupils, for example. Indeed, they have no possibility for distinguishing between letters and numbers. This inclusive teacher teaches us that:

*The current manual is made for children in normal situations, so it must be adapted to children with disabilities. And even in the teacher training that we do at CAFOP which is the APC (Approach By Competence), is adapted for so-called normal children. So, you have to come and adapt it to children with disabilities and often we give the time in forty-five minutes, it's not easy to teach these children in forty-five minutes.*

In fact, the time slots of the lessons pose another real problem because they are made according to the children in normal situations as the teachers say. However, according to the latter, the supervision of a pupil with a disability requires more time than that of other pupils. To do this, taking into account the timetable, the teacher cannot devote enough time to each student. If he wants to fully supervise all the students, he will be unable to follow his daily progress. The teacher is almost certain that not all students understand the lessons.

Teachers of deaf-mute students also explain that the concentration of students with disabilities in one class does not facilitate the supervision of these students. Indeed, it is difficult for the teacher to combine their personalized supervision with that of others in the duration of a course. One of them translates this observation:

*They are up to seven (07) at my house here, imagine I have to explain for each student, you are going to explain the lesson to the hearing,*

*you are going to finish, you are going to go to them, you are explaining to him for him while the other to Wait, you're going to finish with him, you're going to go to the other again to explain to him in his own way since they don't have the same ways of understanding. So, it is like that, when you are going to finish with the seven (07), the very hour that you have given to treat the exercise is exhausted; if we could limit them a little in classes two (02) or three (03) maxima there, it's even better and we can follow them better otherwise for the moment it's difficult to follow them, that is tiredness.*

Also, at the level of children with visual disabilities, their teaching requires a lot of patience as a Braille teacher said: *"you have to go slowly and surely, here we are not in a hurry, but we work by week, each week has its realities, very often, the other schools are ahead of us in the course programs"*. We can thus say that the fact that work manuals are not properly adapted to children with disabilities has a negative impact on the academic success of children with sensory disabilities.

#### 2.4. Limited didactic tools

Work tools are still insufficient in these inclusive schools. Indeed, according to the educational staff of Schools 3 and 5, the absence of video projectors in these centers does not facilitate the learning of children with hearing disabilities. They explain that these children are often confronted with comprehension problems even with the signs. At this level, we have collected the opinion of a sign language teacher:

*Since we are there, we ask for video projectors but nothing is done. So, during the lessons, you have to draw the image or look for the image on the internet using your phone to show the child so that he can visualize. But you can't have a connection every day. So often when you explain, explain several times and he doesn't understand you pass, you have to pass on it. Because you're not going to waste all your time on him alone, so that's kind of how I work.*

If we had video projectors, it would be easier to show them the image so that they immediately know what it is. This would save time, but for lack of video projectors, teachers are sometimes forced to draw the image on the board or search the internet through their phone. At the level of Center 4, the work tools are also insufficient according to a teacher.

*The work tools of children with visual disabilities such as mechanical braille paper, punches, tablets, abacuses, etc. are not sold in the various bookstores. These tools are delivered to us by the Regional Directorate of National Education and Literacy (DRENA) of Korhogo. These materials, apart from the mechano-braille papers, are therefore*

*carefully used at school and then kept in class. The mechano-braille papers on which the lessons are copied eventually smash (i.e., the writing that is on the paper represented by dots smashes) because they do not have schoolbags adapted to keep papers; which prevents them from revising normally at home. As a result, we teachers are obliged to do continuous repetitions until the child memorizes the lesson.*

A director also adds that it would be necessary to bring canes for visually impaired children to facilitate their mobility within the establishment.

#### 2.5. Socio-educational infrastructures

During our investigations, we were able to observe that certain socio-educational infrastructures are not perfectly adapted to children with disabilities, such was the case at the EPP Application Center 4. A teacher from the center informed us in these terms:

*Indeed, given the disability suffered by these children, that is to say, visual impairment, it is necessary to build ramps at each class entrance to facilitate their access to the classrooms. Our wish is to build ramps and we had even started the construction of these but, for lack of financial means, we did not progress in the work. Also, the current toilets are not suitable for children with visual disabilities.*

#### 2.6. Teachers' working conditions.

A teacher informs us in the following terms:

*I was forced to become an inclusive teacher. When the project arrived, I was already a teacher in this school and my other colleagues (newcomers) were trained, when they arrived, they had to take the pupils of cp1 and those of cp2 since the first wave had been divided into two. I was usually in cp1 class, we cannot accept two teachers in the same class, so we are made to understand that those who did not want to join the project had to leave, it was unsaid, by the way, that is to say, those who had not done the training had to leave. Since I had just started teaching, I had to do the training so that I wouldn't be sent elsewhere since my other colleagues had gone elsewhere. I was trained here in Korhogo for a month by my colleagues and I went to Abidjan, I did a two-week training then I was put in the cp2 class.*

Beyond all these constraints, she claims to have a lot of love for children with disabilities and she is not the only one in this case. Many teachers claim to have accepted the teaching of children with disabilities out of love, by vocation, to be able to help these

children with disabilities, to pay tribute to a parent; because others have had parents with sensory disabilities in their family such as their father, brother or a member of the extended family. However, they explain that the conditions in which they work are inappropriate:

*It is true that we do volunteer work, but we still need to be encouraged from time to time for our efforts. Some of our colleagues who teach normal students are even starting to make fun of us. The latter think that teaching a child in a normal situation is a problem, all the more so a child with a disability, double work to earn nothing, they see this as a waste of time.*

For these teachers, the mockery of their colleague does not constitute any problem, on the other hand, the real problem is at the level of the State.

Indeed, according to these teachers, they are not encouraged at all by the State in the education of children with disabilities. A teacher explains to us: "it's true that we do voluntary work, but we have to put the teacher in the right conditions, the teaching manuals are not suitable for children, it's up to us to do it". Also, according to these inclusive teachers, they are not entitled to a bonus. These words are supported by this teacher:

*We must be able to give a bonus to inclusive teachers; give a bonus to encourage those who also want to come, because we are currently encountering difficulties, we are not receiving trainees because we are teaching children with disabilities. They say there is no module at Cafop that teaches sign language or Braille, but when it comes to observation, we send them here. If you notice, for the observation of these two days they are not in schools 1 and 2. But why do you tell us that we cannot train them and you let them observe with us? This is also the question. We are not entitled to bonuses, we are not entitled to trainees, but when it comes to giving something, we know that there are applied masters. Either, we are not sent teachers for observation, it's very simple, we will keep our knowledge for ourselves. We are not entitled to a bonus, we are not entitled to trainees, it is true that they are children with disabilities but they have the right to education. A deaf person is worth two normal children, that's a bit like that, she said angrily.*

Another teacher argues in the same vein through the following expressions:

*Some of my colleagues say that I am wasting my time since there is nothing in it, there is no bonus, there is nothing in it. You want us to talk about everything in terms of money. There's no bonus, there's nothing in it, it's even*

*extra work. We even lose privileges, they said that because of sign language we cannot become application masters. Really, it's a minus what ". He also adds "we are here in a project, we don't know where it's going, we're here. Our colleagues who don't speak sign language or Braille are comfortable, some have even started to make fun of us in a way, we say we want to do something extraordinary but we know it's don't pay, so what's the point of doing that?"*

Through these remarks, we can clearly say that the absence of bonuses and the lack of trainee teachers at the level of this category of teacher constitute a major source of demotivation because, according to them, they constitute negative discrimination between teachers and a lack of consideration for their efforts, to this is added the unsuitability of the teaching tools.

### 3. Discussion: the inclusive school as a liminal device

If the inclusive school gives children with disabilities a new visibility in the school field, are they therefore well included in the system or do they always remain on the margins of the class because of their disability? The results presented above easily show the material, pedagogical and didactic constraints that do not support full school inclusion. The academic success of students with disabilities in a school system designed for ordinary students is a major challenge for all those involved in the school system, for students with disabilities themselves, and for their parents. The principle of inclusive education is to provide the same education to all students, regardless of their particularity. In Korhogo, the inclusive class is led by a single teacher, who must provide the lessons, ensuring that discipline is respected in the room to avoid disturbances. He must also ensure that all students follow and understand the course. In the case of children with disabilities, teachers' accounts of class experience show that it is impossible for the teacher to have full assurance of understanding the lessons. For some of them, the disability has an impact on behavior in the classroom. They don't disrupt the lessons but they are a bit behind because of their unmet special educational needs. Under these conditions, the teacher, in spite of himself, is obliged to abandon them in order to follow his progress. Taking care of both students with disabilities and other students, he is limited by time. The lessons are circumscribed in very specific time slots. It is impossible for him to devote himself fully to the supervision of pupils with special educational needs in the duration defined by the timetable. The supervision of the latter requiring special availability depending on the disability. They need a little more time and special guidance. But in practice, timetable planning does not take into account the special needs of these students with disabilities. Indeed, although institutionalized, the issues of inclusive education do not outclass the curricula and school objectives that become more complex over the years. Aware of this reality, inclusive teachers are forced, although convinced that all students do not have the same ability to work, to continue their progress. This situation is very illustrative of liminality because

deficient students find themselves present and absent from the inclusive school system through the non-recognition of their specific needs. The teachers of inclusive classes all express difficulties in the conduct of their class. Bedoin (2016), based on the French experience of inclusive education, observes that the reception of students with disabilities in a school system not specially designed for them necessarily leads to a reorganization of the ordinary class and educational disruptions. Returning to Plaisance (2007), she recalls that the essence of an inclusive school "is not to welcome a child without adapting the way of doing the class". The break and the pedagogical innovations that inclusive education requires are not yet operational in the inclusive system in Korhogo.

These students are physically included in classrooms and even in the teaching techniques of inclusive teachers. Beyond the educational project, inclusive education has a socializing aim. While promoting learning in the encounter with difference and its respect in the classroom, it prepares students for social life in diversity. It, therefore, combines equity, efficiency, and respect for diversity (Bedoin 2016). This is Parisot's argument when he presents disability as an opportunity for school. The co-presence of students with disabilities and others is part of the socializing aim, but the breaks or rearrangements required by the school to take charge of disabilities have not yet seen the light of day. In addition, the lack of technical assistance for children with disabilities in inclusive classes makes it more difficult for them to be cared for by the school. In fact, inclusive education does not erase the handicap of students. It is moreover the handicap which is the mark of their difference with the other pupils. The non-consideration of their singularity by the inclusive device keeps them in liminality.

Moreover, the position of the teacher in the inclusive class raises questions. Trained in pedagogy, the teacher is obliged to play the role of technical assistance for students with disabilities. Admittedly, all recognize having received training for the holding of inclusive classes. But this training does not make them technical assistants for students with disabilities. In the classrooms, they all believe that the supervision of students with disabilities diverts them from their educational mission. And "while this inclusive change is accelerating and intensifying by legislative means, the teacher finds himself engaged in a paradox consisting in doing more with more singular and different pupils in heterogeneous groups and with fewer means. Teachers are faced with heterogeneity sharpened to its climax. At a microsocial level, their strong involvement causes them discomfort, even suffering, which goes hand in hand with temporary or lasting demotivation. Extracted from the reflection of Nicole Galasso-Chaudet and Vincent Chaudet on the impacts of the inclusive school on the practices of teachers, these sentences perfectly summarize the work environment of the inclusive teachers of Korhogo. They define themselves as downgraded teachers because of the holding of an inclusive class. Not only do they not receive any incentive bonus, but they are also the object of ridicule from certain colleagues, insofar as they provide free efforts and are deprived of supervision of trainees. The situation in which these inclusive teachers find themselves reminds us of Gregory Bateson's concept of the double-

blind. In its French translation, this concept designates the double constraint. From this flow the contradictory injunction and the paradoxical injunction. If "the contradictory injunction imposes to choose between two mutually exclusive attitudes; the same is true of the paradoxical injunction, but with this additional feature that the choice is impossible" Blanc (2008). As civil servants, inclusive teachers are forced to stay in inclusive classrooms, even if the state does not reward their competence as inclusive teachers. Behind the claim of a motivation bonus by inclusive teachers, there is the idea of recognition of their competence as inclusive teachers. They believe that at the institutional level, nothing is done to distinguish them from other colleagues, apart from their downgrading. They undergo institutional pressure but in return, no mark of institutional recognition.

According to the World Report on Disability 2011 "disability is part of the human condition". Children with disabilities represent an identity profile in the diversity of profiles at school. For the European Commission (2009), diversity policies thus take disability into account in the same way as gender, age, ethnic origin, or sexual orientation. If the inclusive school puts the handicap before as a factor of inclusion, it is because in general, the schooling of these children is not always supported by the school system and by the family circles. By considering liminality as a continuum in diversity, students with disabilities occupy a special place because they present anomalies. In fact, even if some types of disability are not disabling for school education, in general, the disability is never presented as an asset for learning. The concept of anomaly, borrowed from the medical philosopher Georges Canguilhem, brings us back to the idea of the difference. He defines anomaly as "the fact of individual variation which prevents beings from being able to replace one another completely [...] But diversity is not disease. The abnormal is not the pathological" (Blanc 2008: 32).

This concept has the advantage of including students with disabilities in the plurality of school experiences, and learning experiences. Although included, they find themselves in a situation of fragility according to the standards valued in the school field. "An individual (whatever he is) is built within a society, his life will be different depending on the help he will receive during his learning, his sociocultural environment, and his intellectual, psychic possibilities. and physical as they developed in this social environment" (Ancet 2011: 29).

## Conclusion

From Korhogo, this text is a look at the inclusive education system, a system for taking charge of the handicap by the school. It shows that inclusive schools allow children with sensory disabilities to participate in the same lessons as other students. This co-presence, beyond teaching, has a vocation of civic construction. It instills in students the acceptance of the difference of the other.

The inclusive system, as presented, encounters many constraints that prevent it from fully fulfilling its missions. Both the pedagogical technique, the didactic tools, and the working environment of inclusive teachers require in-depth reflection. Significant rearrangements and breaks are needed for the inclusive

education system to take on its full meaning. In fact, the inclusive system does not erase the handicap of the pupils, it allows them to take part in the same lessons by taking into account their particularity. This is what justifies the breaks and rearrangements to be made to the classic functioning of classes and the way of conducting lessons. Including disability in school without breaking with the classic codes of education amounts to the alteration of the school by disability. In its current functioning, the handicap shakes the school, in particular, the holding of the classes by the teachers, who find themselves embarrassed between efficiency and pedagogical inclusion. For the moment, students with disabilities do not fully find their place in the classes.

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