**Policy, power, and the paradigm shift in the Vietnamese discourses of disability and inclusion**

By

Thi Xuan Thuy Nguyen

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Faculty of Education

McGill University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

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Abstract

This study examines the inclusion of people with disabilities into Vietnamese social and educational systems. Using a Foucauldian perspective on discourse, power, and the governing of individuals in the modern context, I trace the shift in the global and local policies on disability and inclusion through three levels of analysis: global, national, and educational. At the global and national levels, I argue that this shift in social and educational policy has reconstructed a vision about disability and citizenship through the forces exercised by global and local institutions. This is indicated by the formulation of a rights discourse about disability, as well as by the institutionalization of social and educational programs that support people with disabilities.

However, situated within the development context, the politics of inclusion is demonstrated by the influences of neo-liberal ideologies, as well as by the shift in disability policies that has been in place since the 1990s in Viet Nam. Using historiography, policy studies, visual studies, and site visits as the major methodological approaches to observe the ideological implications and the effects of inclusion on student participation, I argue that the political agenda of inclusion in Viet Nam in the current context is associated with neo-liberal ideologies of governmentality and modern development. This is demonstrated by the re-formulation of policies and laws which foster individual rights, in line with economic development, and the institutional process of normalizing people with disabilities through social and political programs. The fusion of global and local ideologies of citizenship entitlement, normalization, and development has the effect of re-constructing inclusion and exclusion in the Vietnamese context of social change.

Within the process of institutional change, the educational system plays an essential role in fostering inclusion. Inclusive education forms an integral part of this social process. The contemporary discourse of inclusive education in Vietnamese education is filled with echoes of the special education discourse of the past and the rights and development discourses in the present. This discourse institutionalizes the politics of inclusion through the provision of educational programs for children with disabilities in public education. However, the inclusion of students with disabilities into public education, driven by neo-liberal ideologies, has continued to perpetuate exclusion in education. Thus, I argue that inclusion is challenged by the exclusionary policies and practices, as well as by the reconstruction of policies which entitle new forms of exclusion in education.

Finally, by mapping out the re-conceptualization of disability discourse in the modern context, I argue that our knowledge about individual difference is not objective, natural, or free of bias. It is, rather, a process socially, historically, and politically constructed by our values, beliefs, and social action. Thus, although inclusion has an important impact on the participation of people with disabilities in the mainstream educational system, the bio-political agenda of inclusion and management needs to be interrogated as a new way of governing disability issues in social and educational arenas. Therefore, the study constructs an historical account that opens up new ways of thinking about inclusion and exclusion in the global and local context of development, wherein education plays a part in formulating institutional policies and practices.

Resumé

Cette étude examine l'intégration des personnes ayant un handicap dans le système social et éducatif du Viet Nam. Partant d'une perspective foucauldienne sur les discours, la puissance et la gouvernance des individus dans le contexte moderne, je trace l'évolution des politiques globales et locales sur le handicap et l'inclusion à travers trois niveaux d'analyse, soit au plan mondial, au plan national et au plan éducatif. Plus spécifiquement, aux niveaux mondial et national, je postule que l'écart entre la politique sociale et les systèmes éducatifs a réédifié la vision envers le handicap et la citoyenneté à travers les pressions exercées par les institutions mondiales et locales. La formulation du discours des droits des personnes ayant un handicap ainsi que l'institutionnalisation des programmes sociaux et éducatifs qui les supportent montrent cet écart.

Située dans le contexte du développement, la politique d'inclusion du Viet Nam semble toutefois être influencée par des idéologies néo-libérales et par les changements survenus envers les politiques du handicap qui ont été mis en place dans ce pays depuis 1990. En utilisant l'historiographie, les études politiques, les études visuelles, et les visites sur le terrain comme principales approches méthodologiques pour observer les implications idéologiques et les effets de l'inclusion sur la participation des élèves, je montre que le programme politique de l'inclusion du Viet Nam, dans le contexte actuel, est associé aux idéologies néo-libérales sur la gouvernabilité et le développement moderne. La reformulation des politiques et des lois qui favorisent les droits de l'individu parallèlement avec le développement économique et les processus institutionnels de normalisation des personnes ayant un handicap aux programmes sociaux et politiques, montrent cette association idéologique. La fusion des idéologies globales et

locales sur le droit de citoyenneté, sur la normalisation et sur le développement a pour effet de reconstruire l'inclusion et l'exclusion dans le contexte du changement social au Viet Nam.

Au sein du processus de changement institutionnel, le système éducatif joue un rôle essentiel dans la promotion de l'inclusion. L'éducation inclusive fait intégralement partie de ce processus social. Le discours contemporain sur l'inclusion dans le système éducatif du Viet Nam fait écho à l'ancien discours de l'éducation spécialisée et réfère également à l'actuel discours sur les droits et développement des personnes ayant un handicap. Ce discours institutionnalise la politique d'inclusion par l'intermédiaire des programmes de formation pour les élèves ayant un handicap dans l'éducation publique. Toutefois, l'intégration de ces élèves dans l'enseignement public, inspirée par les idéologies néo-libérales, a continué de favoriser l'exclusion en éducation. Ainsi, je postule que l'inclusion est mise à l'épreuve par les politiques d'exclusion, les pratiques et par la reconstruction des politiques qui autorisent de nouvelles formes d'exclusion dans l'éducation.

Enfin, en traçant la re-conceptualisation des discours sur les personnes ayant un handicap dans le contexte moderne, je souligne que nos connaissances sur les différences individuelles ne sont pas objectives, naturelles, ou libres de biais. Elles sont plutôt  des processus socialement, historiquement et politiquement construits par nos valeurs, nos croyances et nos actions sociales. Ainsi, quoique l'inclusion ait un impact important sur la participation des personnes ayant un handicap dans le système éducatif traditionnel, le programme biopolitique d'intégration et de gestion doit être questionné comme une nouvelle façon de gérer cette problématique d'un point de vue social et éducatif. Par conséquent, cette étude ouvre de nouvelles façons de penser l'inclusion et l'exclusion dans le contexte global et local dans lequel l'éducation joue un rôle important dans la formulation des politiques et pratiques institutionnelles.

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# GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

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| CBR | Community-based rehabilitation |
| CRS | Catholic Relief Services |
| DRD | Disability Resource and Development |
| IVWD | Inclusion of Vietnamese with Disabilities |
| MDGs | Millennium Development Goals |
| MOET | Ministry of Education and Training |
| MOLISA | Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs |
| MOH | Ministry of Health |
| NCCD | National Coordination Committee on Disability |
| NGOs | Non-governmental Organizations |
| NGORC | Non-governmental Organizations Resource Center |
| NIEAC | National Institute for Education Strategy and Curriculum Development (formerly National Institute on Educational Sciences) |
| PEDC | Primary Education for Disadvantaged Children |
| SRV | Socialist Republic of Vietnam |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund (formerly United Nations International Children's Emergence Fund) |
| USAID | United States Agency of International Development |
| VNHA | Vietnam Assistance for the Handicapped |
| WHO | World Health Organization |

**CHAPTER 1     INTRODUCTION**

It is a sunny day in mid-October when I arrive at an institution for children with visual impairments in Ho Chi Minh City. The tropical weather does not seem to carry any signs of a shifting season in the way what I could easily sense in Hue and Hanoi the day before. The morning begins with people pouring into the streets from all quarters. Some move in the streets, steering their bikes onto the sidewalk to get through the traffic, while others park their motorcycles. Behind the long lines of traffic, people in cars and on bikes impatiently honk when the light turns green. Some rural vendors are coming into the city very early in the morning from neighbouring areas. With baskets of fruit and agricultural products on their shoulders, they try to get themselves settled on some corners of the pedestrians' pavement. Smoke, dust, and the smell of sweat hit the faces of passengers in buses, who try to protect themselves with coarse facial masks. Industrialization is at play. It seems that industrialization has turned individual lives into a daily struggle for jobs and economic gains. This scene is the same one that I observe every day during my in the field research trip to Viet Nam.

I enjoy the feeling of being a traveler in my home country. As a Vietnamese who has returned home to do fieldwork, I begin to observe the changes from my insider, yet outside lens. Returning home to do field research is a fascinating opportunity for me to understand the change that has been at play in the last few years in my country. However, the signs of change are quite intimidating. One can only sense this feeling when one is a part of that culture, which is a culture in the midst of massive change. Being familiar with Ho Chi Minh City for years, I still have a sense that the "melting pot" of this socio-economic center seems to be attractive to people who come to earn their living, but disengaging for those who, like me, have come to grasp the signs

of social change. Walking around the city, I find myself with the sense of being a cultural observer who, attempting to map out my thoughts through the signs of change, finds myself struggling to read the cultural meanings. Modernity is represented in fluidity and conflict of meanings: a clash of space between the rich and the poor, a shift in societal and individual values, a change in the representation of things, and an apparent sense of social progress.

Making sense of modernity is a challenging task that I do not expect to tackle in my field research. However, it is there, emerging as an unstoppable wave that is changing our vision of the self through the representation of the city. Travellers can always find the most luxurious hotels and shopping malls growing up quickly at the center of the city. However, those luxurious signs of modernity and the culture of consumerism should not leave us unquestioning of the murky housing areas in the former agricultural fields and suburban districts. In one construction area, the Saigon River is swamped with the smell from nearby slums of migrant households who might have come from various rural regions. These various buildings could tell us the story of a country in the context of development. Yet, it could also give us some insight into who is in and who is out within these spaces. A local man tells, for example, that the establishment of some new administrative districts around the central regions resembles the way a rural family would manage its ancestors' land when the size of the family unexpectedly grows. By this, he refers to the correlation between population growth and the dimensions to which the cities become public spheres for social control in the current context of modernization.

The traffic starts to ease up. Rush hour is almost over. The motor biker drops me off at the corner and then continues her travels with other passengers. I ask the vendors for directions to the institution I am in search of, and am guided to the end of a path. Some curious looks follow my steps. The visitor's social position and purpose is soon to be identified. She might be

one among the philanthropists, the ones who occasionally drop by private institutions with some

good intention but poor knowledge about who the children are. She might be working for the

private sector with some humanitarian and financial support for children with disabilities, since

the government is calling for financial help from the private sector to assist people with

disabilities. She might belong to the cadre of government officers, who are in charge of disability

issues, or she may be a local news reporter who is charged with some kind of mission, such as

documenting and reporting the process of mainstreaming individuals with disabilities in the

government's policies.

Now, as I remember it, the institution is a three-floor building modestly standing at the

far end of a narrow, muddy, and bumpy path. A small board with the words *Mái ấm Thanh Vân*[1]

appears on a tiny closed iron door, marking the existence of an institution and its role in catering

to a group of children with visual and multiple impairments. As one of the very few institutions

for children with disabilities in Ho Chi Minh City in the early 1990s, the institution has been

under the management of a group of Catholic Sisters. Since then, many other private and

charitable institutions have grown up under the sponsorship of philanthropists and non-state

organizations. *Mái ấm* is an interesting name for those who may not be familiar with Vietnamese

culture and language. Its literal meaning refers to a housing space for disadvantaged children –

orphans, street children, and those with disabilities. It is an institution run by private

organizations such as the church, pagoda, or by government bodies, such as the Department of

Labour, Invalids, and Social Affairs. In the Vietnamese cultural tradition, *mái ấm* is referred to

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[1] The real name of the institution has been removed to protect the confidentiality of the institution. In the remaining chapters, I use pseudonyms when referring to the school and institutions in my site visits. I maintain the names of NGOs in my fieldwork to keep the authenticity of the data.

as a special place whose meaning is associated with "bringing happiness to the unlucky," a phrase which reflects the caring relationship among people in the same community. When I reflect on the institutions that I came to visit in my previous work in Viet Nam, and those in which I conducted my fieldwork, I feel that the emergence of this model of institution represents some important changes in the historical treatment of people with disabilities. The shift in policy, social change, and the shift in the institutional treatment of children with disabilities in modern institutions is the complex issue that I will try to excavate in this historical policy study.

Soeur Thanh Van (the manager) comes to the meeting half an hour before lunchtime. This is the first time we meet, although we have talked a couple of times on the phone. In an informal black and white suit worn by Catholic nuns, she welcomes my visit with a few words explaining the purpose of my visit to the children in the institution. There are approximately twenty children and teenagers staying in the three-storey building. Some of them stay in the institution over a long period, while just a few girls, whose families live in the city, can go home at night when their parents return from work. The children, boys and girls, are different ages. The majority of them are primary and secondary school-aged children, ranging from seven to twenty. There appear to be more girls than boys in this building (the institution also has another building in a suburban area, where younger children are recruited. The majority of children in this building, therefore, are teenagers). Some girls on the third floor are older, being in their mid-twenties and thirties. At this age, they are no longer "children." They are provided with basic learning such as Math and Vietnamese at the very elementary level. A number of boys, who appear to be much younger, participate in a nearby center for continuing education. Most boys and girls come to the institution from rural provinces, where the opportunities for schooling and working appear to be less accessible for blind children.

As an expected visitor, but unexpected participant, I find myself joining some ritual practices at lunchtime. The children stand around the dining tables, chanting, and thanking God for food and peace. They then sit down in their seats and silently eat their meal of rice. Somebody within the group giggles, another whispers or laughs, but most children quickly finish their food and return to the second floor. A sense of disquiet arises when some nuns ask me about my personal identity. Nevertheless, I notice that there are no questions about my work until Soeur Van begins a discussion about the education of the children in her institutions in regular schools. The nuns around us seem to listen attentively, but they remain silent when we, Soeur Van and I, start to talk about the idea of inclusion into mainstream institutions. There is a strong sense of order and discipline in this institution. Both adults and children behave, interact, and show respect to the others in ways that reflect a sense of hierarchical order between adults and adults, and adults and children. The children follow their caretakers' instruction with obedience. Time is scheduled for each activity as a routine, so that the children learn how much time is allocated for their meal, sleep, music, and play. The instruction, the methods of management, and a sense of order are embedded within the practices of institutional living.

Nap time. Everything quiets down. The light is turned off soon after the music is finished to leave a quiet space in the entire institution. A sign of discipline eventually comes out in its full sense. The institution, characterized by the silence, orderliness, sense of caring and authority, and strong sense of discipline, seems to be nothing more than a social space where social relationships are formulated. How can we understand the stories that play out in institutions like this one? How can we make sense of the multiple scenes that I encountered, with the girls, boys, and their caretakers? Are the social practices which we observe here an expression of inclusion, a historical phenomenon which is now emerging in the context of social change in my own

country? How do they weave themselves into the process of policy development that I seek to understand in my doctoral study? For me, this fieldtrip is a site of practice which enables me to begin questioning the politics of inclusion, as it plays out in policy practices in current context. Things are circular, entangled, overlapping, and infused within one another. This is where the story begins.

### *The Backstory: How Did I Get to This Institution?*

The scenes I describe above are all part of the beginning process of conducting a doctoral study that looks at the inclusion of people with disabilities into mainstream institutions. More than ten years earlier, I had worked in a different institution for children with visual impairment after my graduation from Hue School of Pedagogy in Hue City, a small city in the central region of Viet Nam[2]. This experience was rich and allowed me to learn about the struggles of disabled students within the inclusive education[3] movement. From this personal experience, I conducted a

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[2] The term Viet Nam will appear in my thesis as Viet Nam or Vietnam, depending on the sources that I used to analyze data. I do not attempt to standardize this term due to the historical nature of my study. In my writing, I use the term Viet Nam, as currently used in Vietnamese. The accents are removed to make the text more accessible to non -Vietnamese readers. In some special cases such as policy texts, I will maintain the accents for the authenticity of the data.

[3] In Vietnamese, the term "inclusive education" is translated into "hòa nhập." According to a policymaker who worked with me over the course of my fieldwork, this is a political term that was selected when inclusive education was first translated into Vietnamese from the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action (UNESCO, 1994). The term "hòa nhập" refers to the integration of people with disabilities into social, political, and educational institutions. Its meaning reflects the predominant social values and assumptions about the relationship between individuals and society within the kinship system. For example, a person is expected to observe and conform to social norms in such a manner that reflects the rules, regulations, and practices of society. This term, therefore, has a connotation on integrating people into the mainstream institutions, while maintaining a social regulation upon individual conduct. (See also Linbrad & Popkewitz, 2000, and Armstrong, Belmont & Verillon, 2001, for a similar interpretation of the meaning of "integration" in French). In policy documents being translated into English, the term "integration" is also used. For example, the Vietnamese phrase "hòa nhập cộng đồng" is translated into "integration [sic] themselves into the community" in the English version of the Ordinance on Disabled Persons, available online on the United Nations' website (see SRV, 1998a, article 3, item 1). In the current context, the term "inclusion" is increasingly applied in the documents written by the World Bank, United Nations, and NGOs. The World Bank's documents, for example, use the term "inclusion" to refer to the mainstreaming of disability into the government's policy reduction strategies (World Bank, 2006). The terms "integration" and "inclusion," therefore, are used interchangeably in policy texts, where both refer to mainstreaming disability into the development process. In this

master's project on the experience of three children at the institution within my graduate study in inclusive education. The project was small in scale, but it was significant enough to bring into light the multiple problems of exclusion in schools and in the educational system. For instance, educational authorities used inclusive education as a means for children with disabilities to access education. Educators saw inclusion as an institutional approach that provided disabled children with the opportunity to participate in the classroom activities. However, children with disabilities faced multiple forms of exclusion in the struggle to participate in education. Prejudices, discrimination, avoidance, and inaccessibility to the buildings and educational curricula were a few issues which the study identified. The critical issues of policy, power, and the context in which inclusion emerges guided me to question the politics of inclusion in my doctoral thesis.

In this study, I use the term *inclusion* as an emerging discourse within the current context of global and local changes. The term refers to a shift in the discourses and practices within policymaking institutions such as the World Bank, the United Nations, and the Vietnamese government's institutions, including the Ministry of Labour, Invalids, and Social Affairs (MOLISA) and the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET), and other related ministries. This discourse includes, but is not restricted to, inclusive education[4]. In the context of global

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study, I use the term "inclusion" to refer to the ideological shift in global and national policies on disability. Inclusive education is an integral part of this process, as it is used as an educational approach applied to people with disabilities in mainstream institution (Law on Disability, SRV, 2010).

[4] The discourse of inclusion within educational circles emerged in the 1990s with theoretical insights offered by inclusion theorists such as Skrtic (1995), Barton (1997), Thomas (1997), Booth (2000), Booth and Ainscow (1998), Dyson (1999), Slee (2001a, 2001b), Graham and Slee (2008), Gabel and Danforth (2008), Armstrong, Armstrong, & Spandagou (2011). Critics have observed that the concept of inclusion represents competing agendas in education: the progressive agenda of educational reform, which addresses exclusion and social injustice, and the politics of inclusion, which are marked by the colonial histories within the post-colonial contexts (Armstrong et al., 2011; Artiles & Dyson, 2005; Miles & Singal, 2010; Nguyen, 2010; Slee, 2001). The distinction between these theoretical

development, policymaking institutions have framed policies with a special focus on equal opportunities, rights, and participation. These policies aim to "promote an inclusive, barrier-free and rights-based society for persons with disabilities" (Article 11, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 2002). Other institutions such as the World Bank and International Labour Organization (ILO) have used the term "inclusion" in the sense of "inclusive development" - a shift in social, political, and ideological arrangements for bringing disadvantaged groups such as the poor, women, and people with disabilities into the economic mainstream (Wolfensohn, 1997, 2004; ILO, 2009).

Within disability policies, inclusive education has been highlighted as a mainstreaming approach to provide equal opportunities in education for children with disabilities. These policies have placed a special focus on   education for people with disabilities. For example, the Vietnamese Law on Disability defines inclusive education as "the main education approach for people with disabilities" (SRV, 2010, Article 28). As a result, the inclusion of people with disabilities into mainstream institutions is institutionalized in policies as a mainstream approach that offers more equal opportunities for people with disabilities within the broader framework of inclusion and development. Thus, although research on inclusive education has been broadly theorized within educational studies, this study will situate the discourses of inclusion and inclusive education within the current context of institutional development. This historical context will allow me to understand the historical and political implications of these discourses

lines is critical. The former is usually articulated within the critique of exclusion within the educational system. In contrast, the latter suggests that the discourse of inclusion is increasingly contested as a result of the globalization of western knowledge and power. My thesis situates "inclusive education" within the Vietnamese context, where the discourse has been used as a mainstreaming program that is offered to students with disabilities in public education. Inclusive education is an integral part of the wider framework of inclusion that is promoted by the World Bank, the United Nations, and the disability rights movement.

for people with disabilities in Viet Nam.

In short, in researching inclusion, I have placed the discussion within this context of social change. The emergence of this discourse in the current context is critical because it has changed the ways in which we think and talk about disability in the public domains. This social, historical, and political context attributes new ways of thinking and talking the politics of inclusion in the public spheres, such as education. I see inclusion is a new way of thinking; a shift in institutional arrangements of power; and a form of knowledge about governance. In reflecting on the relationship between inclusion and modern governance, I am interested in understanding the historical process in which inclusion has been shaped within the Vietnamese context currently, because of my own understanding about the importance of histories in framing our knowledge. Further, within an historical, political, and personal engagement with inclusion and social change in Vietnam, I do not attempt to grapple with the western theories of social justice, as many other studies on inclusion have applied when examining the problems of exclusion in education and society (Barton, 1997; Thomas, 1997; Slee, 2004a). Instead, my questions are: What kinds of knowledge are produced by the discourses of inclusion in policies? How have they shaped our understanding of disability and educational/social institutions? I examine inclusion at different levels, including the global, national, and educational. The conceptualization of inclusion at different levels allows me to trace the shift in mainstream discourses and practices within the context in which global policies and ideologies have had significant influence on the ways modern institutions operate (World Bank, 2009). At the same time, the use of critical disability studies in this study will enable us to see the effect of change on the relationship between disability and mainstream institutions in the Vietnamese context.

Foucault's intellectual inquiry into the "history of the present" inspired me in this thesis to interrogate our knowledge about ourselves and the reality in which we live. An historical inquiry begins with thought. Who are we? What is our present? How is our presence known? How do we experience knowledge in the meticulous patterns of power in our current situations? These are some questions that we need to keep in mind when thinking about the politics of our question. As Foucault (1977) suggested, we need to learn our history in order to be reflective of how the past is still ingrained in our present. It is precisely because we are nothing but a product of history that we need to ask, to engage, and to read history in a critical way to understand how our knowledge is conditioned by who we are and what we do in shaping and sustaining our intellectual trajectories.

I borrowed from *this* history of the present to situate my inquiry about inclusion: What are the expressions of inclusion and exclusion in our current discourses about integrating people with disabilities into social, political, and educational institutions? This question raises epistemological and political issues about how we govern the present through the use of policy discourses and practices. For many Vietnamese and international stakeholders with whom I met in my fieldwork, inclusion is a new way of thinking; a shift in institutional arrangements of power; and a form of knowledge about governance which re-regulates the relationship between disability and mainstream institutions. The emergence of this discourse in the global and local institutions has changed the ways in which we, Vietnamese people, think and talk about the relationship between disability and institutions in the public domains. This includes re-organizing public spheres such as education to provide more access to people with disabilities.

This context reminds me of where I am located to tell my story. I am not free when attempting to construct knowledge, because my ways of seeing and reading histories are

conditioned by my Vietnamese, female, middle-class, and non-disabled identity. Granted with a cross-cultural perspective - a Vietnamese educated in a western institution, reading western theory, and doing research about inclusion in Viet Nam from my insider/outsider perspective - I began to theorize inclusion by mapping out my historical perspective with fieldwork that included document analysis and institutional observation.

### *About the Study*

My study has been conducted at a time when the inclusion discourse in Viet Nam is still struggling to be formulated through a series of institutional processes, with the goal being to develop a new Law on Disability. The emergence of inclusion represents what Foucault (2007) refers to as the genealogies of modern knowledge wherein new forms of governance are re-shaped in society. Notably known under the name Doi Moi, the first wave of socio-economic reform was set forth in the late 1980s. Its aim was to move the country out of crisis and re-structure the economy through development strategy (SRV, 2005a). In the context when development was becoming an overarching discourse at the macro level of public policy, the effort to restructure the economy is tied to the restructuring of the social relationship between the state and public sectors toward economic stabilization and structural reform. The ideological implication of Doi Moi was at the heart of political debates regarding the re-organization of the country. Critics observed that although the late 1980s continued to see serious decline in economic performances and in the provision of social services, the outcomes of the reform have been remarkable in stimulating the economy, improving people's incomes, and curbing inflation; which, in turn, has moved the country out of crisis to achieve its highest rate of growth in the 1990s (Vo & Pham, 2004). However, others see development as an unsustainable process in which conflicting effects were brought about by the widening of social disparities between the

better off and the worse-off (Hainsworth, 1999). The relationship between Doi Moi, an economic

reform aimed at stabilizing the economy, and the process of restructuring social relations give us

an insight into the context of policy reform.

In the Vietnamese context, social policies that concern disability have shifted from

exclusion toward more enabling forms of socio-economic participation (SRV, 1998a). The

institutional policies concerning disability and social inclusion emerge as a result of the process

of policy reform, which is pushed by international agencies such as the United Nations' agencies,

the World Bank, and the network of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). Within the neo-

liberal agenda[5] of development, inclusion becomes a political approach in the global campaign

against poverty. Alongside the global agencies, the state's policies on disability have been

drafted and approved since the late 1990s, setting in motion a global/local network for fostering

inclusion by reformulating modern laws and policies on disability (i.e., SRV, 1998a, 2010)[6]. The

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[5] Liberalism and neo-liberalism are conceptualized as philosophical doctrines that emerged within historically distinct western contexts. While liberalism may mean different things, its core value is placed on equality, rights, and freedom. Historically, liberalism was characterized by the limits it places on authorities' legitimate capacity to exercise power upon the individual Subject. Liberalism disqualifies the *raison d'état* exercised by sovereign power, and therefore advocates for individual rights, freedom, and autonomy as rationalities of government. Contemporary doctrines of liberalism advocate for the need to increase state intervention in economic and political realms through a set of well-ordered rules, as well as through the network of power administered by civil society (McDonough & Feinberg, 2003; Touraine, 2000). Neo-liberalism, on the other hand, is grounded in its belief in the market freedom to construct self-autonomous individuals. Governance, according to neo-liberalism, is to be exercised by experts and elites through a set of rules, techniques, and knowledge, based on its economic rationality. Neo-liberalism quickly spreads out in the global agenda through international organizations such as IMF and the World Bank by the late 1980s (Harvey, 2005). However, the notions of market, freedom, and the reduction of state intervention, argues Dean (1999), re-activate liberal doctrine of individual rights and freedom through neo-liberal discourse of the "free subject" (see also Rose, 2008). These problematics of government will be further elaborated in chapter four, where I analyze the role of global and Vietnamese institutions, as well as the way their rationalities re-work the traditional discourse of disability through laws and policies.

[6] Currently, there are a growing number of programs, institutions, and associations which produce research on disability issues in Viet Nam (i.e., Kane, 1999; Lindskog, Tran, & Hoang, 2010; USAID, 2005; Yoder, 2002). These institutional programs are a part of the historically constituted network of governance that shapes new forms of knowledge about disability and modern institutions. I used these documents as "data" for analysis because they are published by stakeholders who have been involved in mobilizing inclusion.

ideological shift in disability and social policies, therefore, must be studied in line with the shift in neo-liberal policies on development (Rioux & Zubrow, 2001).

Although disability represents a contentious problem about exclusion, very little work has been done with regard to the cultural politics of disability and social power in Viet Nam. Data on disability issues remain largely disaggregated due to the lack of systematic research in disability studies and inclusive education. At the same time, following the recommendations put forth by international agencies, educational authorities have started to conduct surveys and produce reports identifying the number and problems of children with disabilities (Radda Barnen, 1995; World Bank, 2006; USAID, 2005). When I started my study in 2009, the Law on Disability was in the process of being formulated. The Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA) and related ministries such as the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) and the Ministry of Health (MOH) have been directly involved in this process (MOLISA, 2009). The development of the Law on Disability is a significant signal for tracing the constructions of inclusion, not only because it laid out the rights-based discourse to address the rights to participation for a vulnerable group whose voices have been traditionally excluded in our society, but because it marked a shift in the dominant ways of thinking about disability and inclusion. However, what do we know about disability and inclusion? What kind of knowledge has been produced by the policymaking institutions that advocate for inclusion? Using the term "paradigm shift" from a United Nations' document (United Nations ESCAP, 2002), I trace the ideological change in the social, political, and educational policies on inclusion, and some of the effects of policy reform on student participation.

Studying the politics of inclusion in the current context is a challenging task because its meaning is very complex and bounded by the historical context in which it is currently applied.

As Ingstad and Whyte (2007) suggest, context is an important matter in helping us to understand the complexity of a phenomenon. One needs to contextualize the phenomenon which he or she studies by tracing ideas, images, movements, and values within the local specificities in which meanings are shaped. To contextualize means to "weave together" the social, historical, cultural, and political conditions in which knowledge is formulated within the global and local settings (Ingstad & Whyte, 2007). Those ideologies are not only shaped by the grand political narratives, but also manifested within complex, conflictual, and contradictory social practices (Gramsci, 1971). Thus, aside from the macro analysis of public policy, my analysis of the programs and practices of special needs education is a part of the local politics of inclusion which enabled me to understand the politics of inclusion in Viet Nam. Three research questions guide my investigation into the social constructions of inclusion in Vietnamese context:

1) In which socio-historical conditions has inclusion been constructed in the Vietnamese context?

2) Which discourses and ideologies have been used to shape the politics of inclusion in global and national policies on disability in current context?

3) How have these discourses constructed inclusion within the Vietnamese context?

4) How has the construction of these discourses affected the participation of children with disabilities?

### *Critical disability theories*

The emergence of disability studies since the late 1980s is an important contribution to social research because this theoretical line challenges the traditional conceptualization of disability as a personal problem and as an issue unrelated to the structure of society. The

influence of this body of literature in contemporary disability studies is demonstrated in the work

of Oliver (1986, 1990, 1996a, 1996b, 2008), Abberley, (1987, 1996, 2002), Davis (1995), Borsay

(1986, 2001, 2007), Barnes and Mercer (2001a, 2001b), Barton (1996, 2001), Mitchell & Snyder

(2000, 2003), and others. Some common issues such as the critique of power, justice, equality,

social change, citizenship, and democracy unite this body of literature. The works of scholars

such as Rioux (2001, 2002), Rioux and Valentine (2006), Delvin and Pothier (2006), Titchkosky

(2003, 2007, 2008), and Titchkosky and Michalko (2008)[7] have been important in contributing to

this theoretical line from a Canadian perspective. According to Rioux and Zubrow (2001),

disability discourse is generally theorized along two theoretical lines: the human pathology

approach (bio-medical and functional) and the social pathology approach (environmental/social

model and human rights). These two theoretical lines are distinguished by their epistemic

assumptions: the former sees disability as a consequence of individual problems, whereas the

later sees disability as a consequence of the social structure that constructs forms of disablement.

In her critique of mainstream sociology on disability, Titchkosky (2000) addresses the rhetorical

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[7] In a recent work on disability studies, *Rethinking Normalcy*, Titchkosky & Michalko (2008) argue that readers of
disability studies need to differentiate between mainstream research on disability issues and research grounded in
disability studies. The former sees disability as an abnormal condition that needs to be fixed through medical,
psychological, and technological interventions such as medicine and rehabilitation. In contrast to the dominant
perspective, disability studies views disability as a socially constructed phenomenon. That is, disability is
constructed in relationship with its social, political, and historical environment. In this account, disability is an
integral part of the diversity of human life that needs to be known and understood through the core values and
ideologies of mainstream society. In the 1990s, Barnes (1996) and Oliver (1990) provided a theoretical perspective
on disability and social oppression in western societies, theorized as the social model of disability (Barnes, 1996;
Oliver, 1990, 1998, 2008). For example, Barnes (1996) theorized disability as an historical phenomenon constructed
by different sociological accounts, including the functionalist account (the structure and organization of society), the
materialist account (the ideological, economic, and structural aspects of disability and society), and the cultural
account (culture, history, and social values). While I will discuss these cultural aspects of disability in chapter three,
the relationship between social change and disability discourse will be discussed more fully in chapter six, in which
I theorize disability and culture in the Vietnamese context through a process of social change.

question regarding the "new" dimensions of disability within disability studies, as opposed to the "old" way of thinking about disability as a human problem. She refers to disability studies as "new," because these studies call for a shift from mainstream ideologies on disability as social deviance towards rethinking disability as a human condition and a critical site for knowledge construction. Thus, disability is conceptualized as a human phenomenon whose meanings are shaped and interpreted by the interaction between the individual and mainstream culture, policy, and institutions. Her conceptualization echoes Oliver's (1996a),who argues that disability studies provide research with a different view of the relationship between disability and social institutions. That is, just as critical research on racial relations needs to use an anti-racist approach for fighting racism within mainstream institutions, it is not people with disabilities who need to be examined but able-bodied society that needs to be studied and critiqued.

While the distinction between the traditional approach and the sociological approach to disability is commonly referred to as the medical versus the social model of disability, the debates within disability studies are more complex than it is usually assumed. For example, while the early work of Oliver (1990, 1996a) and Finkelstein (1980) examined the relationship between disability and society through the emergence of the capitalist economic system, Thomas (2002) contends that materialist writers in disability need to take into account contemporary issues such as the context of global capitalism in order to explore new dimensions of power, divisions, and exclusions within the current context. Similarly, Borsay (2005) argues that the social model has exaggerated the impact of industrialization on disability, and misrecognized the subtle dimensions of power that are constituted through voluntary, commercial, and community services. Finally, Tremain (2005) uses Foucault's theoretical perspective to interrogate the ways the discourse of impairment constructs the ways we know about disability through the bio-

political dimensions of governmentality in mainstream society. Therefore, understanding cultures, history, power, and identity politics is central to critical disability studies because this will offer alternative ways of seeing disability through the fundamental values and ideologies of society.

The theoretical inquiry regarding what constitutes disability has been at the heart of critical disability studies. However, to understand the social constructions of disability, one needs to examine the discourse in relation to policy, culture, and social power. Thus, an analysis of what approaches have been used in the social policy that carries the discourse of inclusion is an epistemological and political issue. Rioux and Valentine (2006) point out that the meanings of "inclusion" in social policy have been interpreted differently, depending on the theoretical perspectives that governments use in their policy agendas. For example, the bio-medical and functional approaches are predominantly adopted in governments' policies. These approaches are used to provide individuals with limited resources and funding through forms of treatment that focus on the biological nature of the individuals. These approaches employ scientific and economic rationalities to legitimize institutional arrangement around the assumption that disability is a human problem. Neo-liberal institutions have used this individualistic approach in order to limit funding in social welfare programs. While medical interventions may provide some important forms of treatment for people with disabilities, the medical model is shaped on an assumption that disability is an individual disadvantage, rather than a problem of the socio-political and economic structure or the dominance of scientific rationalism. These individualistic problems formulate the core arguments of their critique. On the other hand, the social pathology approach is grounded in the belief that social policy is reformulated to provide people with disabilities with equality rights and entitlements in

mainstream society. Thus, they argue that social pathology approach provides a theoretical line

to understand and to reconstruct social policy based on social justice in society.

An understanding of the influence of neo-liberalism on disability issues is critical because

it illuminates the deep-seated problems of inclusion and exclusion in contemporary politics of

disability and development. This theoretical line formulates an important standpoint within

contemporary disability studies. The works by Albert (2004), Yeo (2005), and Dingo (2007)

have shown that disability is both included and excluded within neo-liberal policies. This

emerging neo-liberal agenda is applied to marginalized people in the third world through the

World Bank's discourse of inclusion. For example, Dingo (2007) argues that global institutions

such as the World Bank have used inclusion as a rhetorical discourse to re-construct colonialist,

eugenicist, and economic agendas of development. The mainstreaming of gender and disability

within development policies aims, in principle, to create self-autonomous and productive

individuals. Inclusion, therefore, is used in the Bank's discourse as a normalizing strategy which

echoes the eugenicist agenda of "survival for the fittest" in western countries (Dingo, 2007).

Finally, as Wehbi, Elin, and El-Lahib (2009) argue, neo-colonial discourse perpetuates

disablement through an absence of disability issues in the NGO programs that were implemented

by development agencies. In development projects, international agencies have promoted health

care programs under the assumption of helping disabled children "grow and develop in a normal

way" (Wehbi et al., 2009, p. 13). The absence of disability images, the dominance of ableist

image, as well as the perpetuation of disabling language in NGO documents, means that people

with disabilities become invisible citizens within the international agenda that claims their rights

to participate (Titchkosky, 2003; Wehbi et al., 2009). Thus, although inclusion has been

institutionalized through legislative changes, the political implications of inclusion reflect

mainstream ideologies of inclusion and/or assimilation (Barnes & Mercer, 2001a; Titchkosky, 2003). A critical and genealogical analysis of inclusion, therefore, enables us to understand the invisible aspects of social institutions in governing disability, as well as the ways its discourses and practices shape our knowledge about disability in contemporary context.

### *On terminology*

The term *paradigm shift* was originally used in Thomas Kuhn's philosophy of science (Kuhn, 1962). The term refers to the epistemic foundations upon which science is universally accepted as a discipline. Although science is generally taken as truth, Kuhn argues that science is culturally established within a community of scholars with shared assumptions, values, beliefs, and ideologies about what could be counted as true and reliable knowledge. While somewhat stable, it is changing over time. The shift from an old paradigm into a new one occurs when the revolutionary science, namely the anomaly, enters the community, blurring the original values, ideologies, and shared knowledge that had been established as truth. The emergence of the new paradigm, therefore, is marked by new values, criteria, standards, and conceptualization of truth. More notably, as Skrtic (1995) pointed out, paradigm shift is a socio-political phenomenon; it demonstrates the role that culture and institutions play in producing knowledge (Skrtic, 1995). In that sense, scientific knowledge is a cultural product that is legitimated by the objectivist view of science. Contemporary theories of inclusion use the term paradigm shift when they refer to how current discussions of inclusion mark a change from the traditional values, philosophies, and ideological foundations of public institutions. For instance, Young (2000) refers to inclusion as a normative principle and process of institutional organization that reflects the democratic culture in the public spheres. She views inclusion not only as an ethical principle within a democratic institution but also as an organizational principle assuring that deep democracy is respected in

the culture of a public institution. Inclusion is embedded in the process of democratic decision-making in that the voice, communication, and representation of the marginalized are used as the normative values and ethics of organization in democratic institutions. Skrtic (1995) and Slee (2004a) see new notions of inclusion as a shift from the traditional ways public education is organized to a restructuring of democratic education (Skrtic, 1995; Slee, 2004a). They argue that inclusion provides a means to reflect on the values, ethics, and ideologies of public institutions that results in more democratic participation for the groups being disadvantaged.

In this study, I use the term *paradigm shift* as it is originally used in a United Nations' policy text in order to refer to the emergence of a new way of thinking about the relationship between disability and public institutions in the current context. As I will explore in later chapters, the term *paradigm shift* has entered policy texts to refer to a shift in the politics of disability and development (United Nations ESCAP, 2002). The shift in policy demonstrates a change in social values, ideologies, and the social treatment of disability. The politics of inclusion and exclusion, therefore, are the theoretical implications under which the paradigm shift in the global and local framework of inclusion is articulated.

*Discourse* is a key concept that I applied thoroughly in this study to understand the paradigm shift of inclusion. The concept of discourse is central to post-structuralist theories. For example, Fairclough (2003) uses the term "discourse" to refer to the elements of language which are embedded within social life. While he also takes into account other levels of discourse, such as the discursive and social practice of discourse in the political economy of capitalist institutions, Fairclough focuses primarily on discourse as language, and the ways language is used to represent, produce, and reproduce power relations through the commonsense that is shaped by social and political institutions (Fairclough, 1992). Lemke (1995) sees "discourse" as

"the social activity of making meanings with language and other symbolic systems" (p. 6).

Discourse, as an aspect of human action, is never just about language. Rather, it also comprises symbolic representations such as visual, pictorial, and graphic features which are situated within a particular social setting. These are social spaces in which social meanings are constructed within a particular social, historical, cultural, and political system. The relationships of power are sustained or transformed through these social spaces.

The notion of discourse as discursive and non-discursive practices which construct a relationship between power and human subjectivity is most often referred to in the work of Foucault. Discourse, in Foucault's theory, is representations of knowledge which constitute power relations. In Foucault's perspective, discourse is not just language but social practices that construct knowledge. Such knowledge, in turn, organizes the ways we think and act through an institutionally governed system of thought which he refers to as *episteme* (Foucault, 1977, 1980; see also Hall, 2001; Sheridan, 1980). Within its institutional culture, discourse functions to construct, transform, or construct human subjectivity within the normative practices of institutions. Gee (2006) combines two levels of D/discourses: the material and symbolic aspects of language, which he refers to as *discourse*, and the social, historical, and institutional aspects of Discourse and social power. These two levels of discourses are distinct but interrelated.  In this study, I will look at two levels of *D/discourse*: I use Foucault's discourse (Gee's capital D Discourse) as historically constructed knowledge that shapes meanings and power relations, such as disability, rights, and development discourses. At the same time, I will also use language (Gee's lower case d discourse) as specific textual components that help me to analyze and deconstruct meanings. Therefore, two levels of meaning-making, the meanings implicated in the politics of language, and the meanings constructed by the social practices of dominant

institutions, will be examined in my study.

Further, I use the term *ideology* to refer to the system of thought and belief that underlines the practices of social, political, and educational institutions. Ideology is inherent in every discourse practice from which meaning is constructed in relation to social power. The meanings constructed from discourses must be understood within their contexts and viewed through the complex and conflicting ideologies embedded in the social practices in which individuals live their lives (Gramsci, 1971; Paré, 2002).

Central to discourses and ideologies is the concept of power. Power is a complicated concept whose meanings have been at the heart of critical theoretical perspectives. While the former generation of critical theorists such as Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adono applied the concept of power to refer to unequal relations between the dominant and the dominated, Foucault (1980) presented a more complicated concept of power, which asserts that power is embedded in the social practices of an institution. This mode of power is associated with action exercised through the practices of social institutions. Foucault uses the term *bio-power* to refer to the shift in the institutional way of controlling the population, as well as that of seeing, treating, and correcting individual based on the normative assumption about ways of governance in modern western societies (Foucault, 1977). Foucault's notion of bio-power is used in this study to analyze the ways the educational programs operate as a mechanism of power that objectifies and normalizes the individual subject - the disabled body. At the same time, I use the general concept of power to both imply the asymmetrical relations between social agents, as well as to refer to the mechanisms in which social institutions construct disability through their rules and practices.

In addition, disability is an institutional discourse that I will seek to deconstruct in this thesis. Such a term is by no means unproblematic, because interpretations of this discourse vary

among academic and political institutions (Oliver, 1990, 1994)[8]. The theoretical perspectives of

disability that I indicated previously show that there is not one single way of conceptualizing

disability within disability studies. For example, while the social model defines disability as a

disadvantage imposed on people with impairment by the social, political, economic, and

ideological structure, the distinction between disability and impairment has been critiqued by

feminist and post-structuralist theorists (Morris, 1992; Corker & Shakespeare, 2001; Tremain,

2005). Feminists argue that such a distinction excludes personal dimensions, such as the

relevance of experience which shapes disablement. Delvin and Pothier (2006) situate disability

discourse within the historical debates about disability and impairment, as well as the debates

regarding the use of person-first language. They challenge the binary conception of disability and

impairment originally proposed by the social model, because this distinction engenders a process

of social othering through the ignorance of the political dimensions embodied within individual

impairment. Depending on mainstream values and ideologies within certain historical contexts,

as well as certain characteristics that institutions understand as "defective," the person with

disability is *manufactured* (Delvin & Pothier, 2006, p. 5). Others such as Rioux & Zubrow

(2001) see disability as a human condition caused by the interaction between the person with

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[8] In his analysis of disability discourses, Oliver (1990) argues that although the term "people with disabilities" is increasingly used in official discourses to recognize disabled people as "people first," the term "disabled people" more appropriately characterizes the phenomenon and politics of disability. That is, disability refers to the social, political, and ideological barriers that prevent people with impairment from participating equally in social institutions (see also Titchkosky, 2001). In a later lecture on the politics of disability discourses, Oliver (1994) refers to the institutional failure to acknowledge the power relations that underline the ways in which language, such as the terms "special needs" and "integration" are used in policy discourses. Thus, every term is used within a particular social and historical context with a particular signification that constructs the social relationship between disabled people and mainstream institutions. At the same time, as Delvin and Pothier (2006) suggest, people-first language could be used as a political discourse that reflects the social movement of people with disabilities in mainstream society. In this study, I use the term "people with disabilities" to reflect on the shift in institutional discourses in the current context. This does not preclude the political dimensions of the term "disability" that this study seeks to deconstruct. I also maintain the term "disabled people" and "disabled students" when I refer to historical documents that use these discourses.

disability and the environment. The use of such a concept is political because it constructs the way we know disability in different social and institutionalized contexts. Such a socially constructed conception of disability is important because it helps us to understand how institutional discourses affect our knowledge of dis/ability.

In my study, disability is referred to as a discourse that is defined by mainstream cultures and policymaking institutions. This discourse constructs the disabled subject through the regulatory practices of institutions. From a post-structuralist perspective, disability is constituted as an effect of power relations. The meaning of disability is shaped, conceptualized, and defined by institutions. Such meaning is known to us through discursive and material practices, such as those described within the media or policy texts. The power relationship between institutions and the individual with impairment constitutes the disabled identity as a social and historical phenomenon. I will trace the ways that disability discourse has been defined by policies and practices in Viet Nam within different historical contexts. For example, I will track the terms "disabled people" and "people with disabilities" to reflect on how these terms have emerged as part of a discourse that was formulated within policymaking institutions. The historical use of these discourses allows readers to document the shift in mainstream societies and dominant institutions regarding the relationship between people with disabilities and mainstream institutions.

### The Writing Process

Writing in a language that is not your mother tongue is a challenging and painful experience. My writing at times reflects my struggle with expressive language. At times I have had to borrow words and expressions that may not properly articulate what I would have been able to say in Vietnamese. In the writing process, my words are assembled, changed, and re-

written. The original meanings are shaped and shifted during the process. This reflects my struggle with a western-based research institution in which English is the official language. At the same time, it also reflects the relationship between the writer, the writing, and the institution. From a post-modern perspective, writing constructs the researcher's identity. It shapes the writer as an insider and outsider of the institutional discourse in which politics are articulated through writing. It situates the researcher within the social space in which some meanings, implications, and politics are shaped through texts. It is, in other words, a political sphere in which the relationship between my writing, my institution, and myself were shaped, and in other instances, mediated.

The term *we* that I am using in my thesis may be problematic within a reading culture where the power relationship between the reader and writer is not equal. By *we*, I am referring to the interpersonal relationship between myself and the readers of my thesis: those who are students, teachers, scholars, policymakers, disability activists - those who might share or might not share my epistemologies. I am aware that there are always some dimensions of exclusion when the term *we* is articulated, because the political implications of such a term always imply the exclusion of the Other - those who do not share the same attributes, personal interests, and epistemologies as I do. I believe that this politics of inclusion and exclusion in my writing and thinking is important in framing my intellectual inquiry. It reminds me - the writer, and you, my readers - that ideologies are embedded in the ways we see and read the world. At the same time, I also refer to *we* in a larger sense. I understand that *we* are social beings - those who possess, share, and exchange thought and action - within an eco-social system in which most of us are entitled to belong, but with unequal power relations (Lemke, 1995). We are, in some ways, privileged by our social location when we discuss the issues such as disability, human rights,

inclusion, and exclusion in higher education. I take this as a form of power that enabled me to engage in the politics *of* inclusion from a critical perspective. At the same time, my social position may have disadvantaged me from acknowledging in a full sense of the struggle for inclusion that disadvantaged people, including people with disabilities, have sought to advance in the institutional agenda (Oliver, 1996b). Such ideologies, I hope, will help us to cultivate more critical thinking about the complexity of inclusion in our educational and political praxis. In short, there is a personal *I* situating my relationship with readers, and a collective *we* in the sense of the *social* when the term *we* is used in my thesis.

The struggle to write in, and articulate the author's voice in, the western research institution is another level of discourse/practice that my thesis will articulate. Writing is an institutional discourse that enables me to say and not say something (Foucault, 1972). We know perfectly well, as Foucault (1972) insightfully stated, that we are not free to say anything. There are tools of inclusion and exclusion that limit our language. I would not, therefore, try to convince readers that my writing is objective, scientific, and free of ideology. Nor would I state that what I have written in the thesis reflects a total truth about inclusion in Viet Nam. There are also dimensions to which objectivity and subjectivity interacted and were mediated through the politics of interpretation. Theories and methodologies, combined with an engagement with my fieldwork, enabled me to construct my writing through historically and institutionally mediated discourses.

In some sections of my thesis, I use ethnographic writing to reflect upon the research and writing process. Clifford (1986) sees ethnographical writing as a way of writing cultural studies that is increasingly influenced by the shift in power relations within a post-colonial condition. Ethnographic writing is a style of writing that reflects the author's personal process of writing

and thinking. Ethnographic writing is marked by the subjective position of the researcher, in relation to the historical, institutional, and dialogical dimensions in which the researcher does his or her fieldwork. In Clifford's perspective on ethnographic writing, this ideological underpinning is implicated in the self-reflexive voice of the researcher. His or her relationship with the self and the other in the field, as well as his or her engagement with the social context, therefore, are important dimensions in the research process. Ethnographic writing recognizes the contestable nature of texts and the partiality of knowledge when studying culture and institutions. This speaks to the un-linearity of the research procedure in that it can be considered as non-scientific from the perspective of traditional scientific research. This means that the questions of who speaks and writes, as well as when and where, and in what institutional conditions, are critically questioned (Said, 1983; Clifford, 1986).

### *Structure of the Dissertation*

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. In this first chapter, I have provided a background to the study by situating the research and the researcher. I used my narratives, which expressed my encounter with an emerging process that is shaping, regulating, and managing disability issues in the Vietnamese modern institution. I used the story of institutional living to invite readers into the political context of inclusion. The remaining chapters in my thesis will trace this historical emergence by exploring the historical process by which disability issues have become a political issue in Vietnamese public institutions. The relationship between the micro practices of institutional living, and the macro structure of social inclusion and social change, formulate the two layers of inclusion that I will discuss in the remaining chapters.

Chapter two describes the major theoretical perspectives and the methodological approaches that were used for my study. Grounded upon three interconnected theoretical

perspectives, including governmentality studies, disability studies, and educational studies, I analyze the discourses and ideologies of disability and inclusion, as well as observe the effects of inclusion in institutional practices. The use of several interconnected theoretical lenses provides us with a rich and rigorous analysis of the data through the research methods which I applied.

Chapter three looks at the institutional conditions of inclusion in Vietnamese social, political, and educational institutions. Through my historical analysis of the policies and practices of special education (the colonial period), special camps and institutional policing (the post-1954 period), and the emergence of institutional programs on rehabilitation, vocational training, and special needs education (late 1980s), I indicate that the social treatment of people with disabilities varied according to different social regimes. However, these programs were driven by an authoritarian mode of power, which focused on education, treatment, and correction of the child. Education was applied as an enabling form of treatment, which attempted to correct the disabled child through the humanistic assumption of normalization. Who produces disability knowledge, how, and by what rules, therefore, are key questions which chapter four will address.

The shift in institutional ideologies on disability and inclusion in the current context reframes the politics of inclusion and exclusion. This is expressed through the formulation of new discourses in mainstream institutions, and by the transference of these discourses into education. In chapter four, I analyze two major discourses of inclusion, including disability rights and development. Through an analysis of inclusion in international and national policies on disability, I argue that inclusion is driven by competing ideological assumptions on citizenship, normalization, and development. These ideologies formulate an integral part of the neo-liberal strategies in governing disability issues in a global and national agenda of development. These ideological implications highlight the new form of knowledge that reconstructs power relations.

They shape what Foucault (1991) refers to as governmentality – a way of thinking and exercising power in modern governance that enables institutions to handle populations' issues effectively. Therefore, the mainstreaming of people with disabilities into education institutions has emerged from this institutional process.

Chapter five examines the implications of the paradigm shift in educational policies for children with disabilities. Through my analysis of contemporary policy documents, in addition to my fieldwork at international agencies that work on disability and inclusive education, I argue that the current discourse of inclusive education in Viet Nam continues to build on the legacy of special education for children with disabilities in the past. However, it has been ideologically driven by the discourses of rights and development. These discourses are used as policy tactics to foster inclusion through a non-problematic assumption of institutional power. The effects of these discourses are demonstrated through the constructions of disability categories in institutional programs, which ultimately reconstruct the normative thinking about normality and difference in education.

In chapter six, I examine the struggle for inclusion through institutional practices. I attempt to interrogate the ways the discourses of inclusion have reconstructed our knowledge about disability and the politics of participation - the latter being something that stakeholders have sought to develop in educational practices. This is indicated in the way that disability discourse is debated in public policy, the media, as well as within the educational practices upon which I reflect through my site visits to two schools and a special institution. The tensions and problems inherent in the social practices of education provide us with a critical terrain to re-think inclusion in the contemporary context.

Chapter seven re-captures the key arguments, findings, and limitations of the study.

Through re-examining the politics of research in reframing issues concerning history, power, modern institutions, and the construction of the disabled identity, I suggest new ways of theorizing inclusion in the contemporary context by re-considering the problems of meaning, historical change, the politics of inclusion, and the effects of this institutional agenda on the inclusion and exclusion of children with disabilities in the current context. In the next chapter, I will present the theories, methodologies, and fieldwork upon which my interpretation of the politics of inclusion in Vietnam is constructed.

# CHAPTER 2   THEORIES, METHODOLOGIES, AND DOING FIELDWORK WITH DOCUMENTS

> *When is a gap in knowledge perceived, and by whom? Where do "problems" come from? It is obviously more than a simple matter of noticing an error, bias, or omission…. The epistemology this implies cannot be reconciled with a notion of cumulative scientific progress, and the partiality at stake is stronger than the normal scientific dictates that we study problems piecemeal, that we must not over-generalize, that the best picture is built up by an accretion of rigorous evidence.*
>
> Clifford, 1986, p. 18

This chapter will introduce the theoretical and methodological approaches that have informed my interpretation of inclusion, and will guide readers through a description of how I carried out my fieldwork. I will first address my use of theory, including the key concepts that I have used to address my research questions. Grounded in my theoretical framework informed by governmentality studies, disability studies, and educational studies, I will describe the methodological approaches and procedures that I followed while conducting my research. My approaches include visual analysis, historical analysis, policy analysis, and site visits. Finally, I will reflect on my fieldwork using policy documents in Viet Nam. This, I hope, will invite readers to engage with my study by developing a perspective on fieldwork that uses policy documents.

**The Use of Theory**

This section will look at the possibilities, as well as the limitations, of the use of theory in the research that I undertook. Smith (1990) sees theory as the conceptual practices that shape and organize the epistemological foundations of our research. Theory, in other words, is the guiding force that frames, organizes, and explains our ways of seeing, arguing, and interpreting. The point of using theory in policy studies is to offer a possibility for change, which allows one to "sap power," "to engage in struggle," and to offer an insight into the most invisible dimensions of institutional practices (Ball 1995). That is, different from empiricist research which employs policy as a technological tool for social administration, critical research applies theory in order to interrogate the social constructions of our ways of knowing about power relations in institutions through policy practices. Critical theory is one such theory, as it helps the researcher to interrogate political dimensions of power in positioning himself or herself, in relation to the object of his or her inquiry. As Hoy and McCathy (1994) point out, "one of the first tasks of critical theory was to challenge the privileged 'non-position' of social-scientific knowledge by analyzing the modes of its production, the roles it played in society, the interests it served, and the historical process through which it came into power" (pp. 14-15). In other words, critical theory is an intellectual critique of the state of knowledge, and the process by which knowledge is constructed through the exercise of social power[9]. Thus, the point of using critical theory in

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[9] Critical theory is a loosely defined term applied within intellectual inquiries about knowledge and power relations. It was traditionally used as an intellectual movement by the Frankfurt School to critique the instrumental use of knowledge within the rise of capitalism, in addition to the conditions in which the knowledge is formulated. Critical theory is different from traditional social theory. It views knowledge as socially constructed within some institutional conditions and influenced by different social forces, rather than being objectively and rationally shaped by objective, cumulative, and scientific facts. The early movements in critical theory are differentiated from post-structuralism regarding the epistemic foundations about truth, power, and domination. For example, while critical theorists aim to critique ideologies and power with an emancipatory perspective about human freedom and historical progress, post-structural theory aims to problematize this. The question that post-structural theorists interrogate is

policy research is not to produce truth, but to offer a perspective into the complexity of knowledge construction that can help us to understand and transform our relationship with the past[10] (Ball, 1995).

The previous chapter examined the theoretical debates around critical disability theories. This section will focus primarily on the theories that were used in my study in order to address the questions that I have raised. In this study, I used a Foucauldian perspective on discourse and power, because this theoretical approach offers an entry point to understanding the social construction of inclusion within the Vietnamese context. In particular, I used Foucault's theory to interpret the change in institutional discourses and practices regarding the inclusion of people with disabilities (Foucault, 1977, 1980, 1991). Alongside this, the use of critical theory enables me to interrogate the politics of inclusion and exclusion in policies and practices. These theories are complementary to each other regarding their critical theoretical lines, and will be used in line with each other in my study to deconstruct the emergence and politics of inclusion. In the following section, I explain three theoretical concepts built from these theories, including governmentality, normalization, and inclusion/exclusion. Next, I explain how I used them in my study through the textual approaches to document analysis.

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about complex forms of knowledge and power within a particular historical condition (Foucault, 1980; Hoy & McCathy, 1994; Rabinow & Dreyfus, 1983). I have referred to critical theory and Foucault's post-structuralism as two distinct theoretical lines to differentiate their epistemological perspectives on truth and power, as well as the methodological approaches which these theories apply.

[10] In theorizing the role of policy in educational studies, Ball (1995) situates different intellectual trends in policy studies within the historical emergence of the British sociology of education. He offers a critical, post-structural perspective into policy science which has been used as a dominant approach in linking empirical sociology with the problem-solving approach in policymaking. Besides this, he describes policy entrepreneurship as an entrepreneur-based approach which seeks to apply knowledge to *a priori* problems such as organization and management. As I show in the chapter analyzing inclusive education in educational policy, this management-based approach is currently used as a form of expert knowledge which global institutions such as NGOs and the World Bank have applied in constructing disability knowledge in Viet Nam.

*Governmentality Studies*

In Foucault's view, governmentality is a way of thinking and exercising power in modern institutions (Foucault, 1991). The term "government" comprises two layers of meaning: the forces exercised by state power, such as laws and policies, and the technologies of self-government in institutional practices (Dean, 1999). Dean (1999) sees governmentality as a governing approach in modern states. In modern government, power operates through a set of rules and social codes which enables the states to govern their populations. This form of sovereign power is incorporated with the programs of intervention being applied through the establishment of institutions such as education. This network of bio-power is enacted through institutional rules and action.

Government, in this sense, is an historically constituted form of knowledge that enables institutions to exercise forces (Dean, 1999; Rose & Miller, 2008). Government emerges within a particular social and historical context. It is constituted by the political rationalities and by the technologies of management. Discourse is a central aspect of government because it is a way of representing knowledge and fostering social action. However, policy discourses are not enacted in a vacuum. Their ideologies are not only stated in policy texts, but also enacted through programs of intervention. These practices constitute the norm through the programs, technologies, and mechanisms in education, training, and welfare. They exercise power through normalizing practices that operate through institutions such as family, education, and law. This mode of government, therefore, is also referred to as the bio-politics of institutions, because it

offers more effective ways of governing the population through managing the individual conduct (Foucault, 1977)[11].

The notion of *governmentality* was used in this study in a number of ways. Overall, I used governmentality as an overarching concept that helps theorize the shift in the discourses and programs relating to disability issues. To do this, I traced the emergence of these discourses and practices at two levels of analysis, including historical and critical discourse analysis (see the following section on methodologies for more detail). In my analysis of policy documents, I looked at how inclusion was shaped through the formulation of disability laws and policies. For example, to examine what theories or rationalities are conveyed in policies, I studied the discursive or textual practices in archival or policy documents. This analysis was built on a historical perspective on disability and exclusion in the past, and the shift in policies and practices in the current context. The shift in institutional policies allowed me to theorize inclusion through the government of the population in the Vietnamese context. In my analysis of the discourses, such as that of rights and development, I looked at the implications of discourses and ideologies on reconstructing the normative practices of institutions, as well as their effects on shaping institutional inclusion and exclusion. How a discourse is formulated, by whom, and

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[11] While Foucault's governmentality studies remain abstract, theorists have applied this theoretical line to document the problems of power and knowledge in modern societies. See Dean (1999), Rose (1999), Miller and Rose (2008) for elaboration on the methodologies and concepts. As Dean (1999) points out, a triangle of governmentality constitutes modern government: the democratization of sovereignty (a particular characteristic of the nation-states within liberal governments), the emergence of disciplinary society (the use of practical techniques of training the body), and the new mentality of governing (the governing of population through administering social, economic, and biological intervention upon the subject). I used governmentality as a theoretical line to interpret inclusion and to understand the ways in which social programs and policies of inclusion have been applied in public institutions. Education is an integral part of this process. This theoretical line is instrumental to an analysis of how knowledge is constructed and reconstructed in social and political institutions within the emergence of new forms of governance in the modern states (Dean, 1999).

with what ideological implications, were the issues I addressed in discourse analysis. As a result, the discourses produced by international and national agencies regarding disability and inclusion constituted a central point of my analysis. The use of historical and critical discourse analysis grapples with the question which governmentality studies seek to ask regarding *how* knowledge is shaped within a social, historical, and political condition (Rose & Miller, 2008).

### *Governing Disability: Normalization, rights, and development*

The term *normalization* is used by different theorists to refer to a process of reshaping institutional values and practices through a pre-determined standard. This process applies new strategies and interventions to revalorize marginalized populations by bringing them as close as possible to the "norm" (i.e., Wolfensberger, 1972; 1995). Normalization emerged within the context of deinstitutionalization of mentally disabled people in North America in the second half of the twentieth century. Normalizing ideology assumes that the de-valued individuals would return to the community through valued social roles assigned to them by mainstream institutions. This theory constructs normalization as a commonsense. However, from Foucault's perspective, normalization is a tool of management for modern states that constructs power. Normalization functions through a set of technologies applied to the individual and the population. Foucault referred to this as the bio-politics of institutions. Normalization takes place through a process. To govern, institutions produce knowledge through the distribution of the *norm*. The norm functions to constitute what is *normal* and to exclude the abnormal. In other words, the norm acts as a dividing practice that re-structures the boundary between the norm and the periphery. The normalizing process individualizes the subject by situating him or her around the normal and abnormal divide. Further, normalization constitutes an effect on the individual. The technologies of government, such as classification, categorization, differentiation, and normalization,

construct categories of human subjectivity, thus reframing power relations in mainstream institutions (Graham, 2007; Tremain, 2005; Young, 1990). This process has particular effects on the well-being of individuals.

Normalization is a contested issue in disability studies because of the ideological implications that it proposes. Although normalization is described as a more inclusive process which presupposes that the changes in social values and the ideological implications of public administration would enhance the social status of so-called "devalued" people, disability studies have contended this theoretical implication. For instance, Oliver (1998) and Fulcher (1996) have pointed out that normalization is an ideological tool which reproduces exclusion. Their criticisms of normalization are situated within the shift in mainstream discourses of normalizing disability in social services. Fulcher (1996) argues that although the theory of normalization has been extremely influential in providing social services for people with disabilities through its principle of *valued social roles*, it fails to interrogate theoretical and political implications underlying the ways policies are structured. For example, although normalization adopts culturally valued mechanisms to enable people with disabilities to lead culturally valued lives through the provision of public goods, it assumes that the root of the problem is inherent within the disabled person rather than within the social system that constructs forms of disablement (Oliver, 1998). Oliver argues that, within capitalism, the rise of institutions in the modern context, the emergence of industrialization, the changes in the nature of ideas and values, and the exploitation and oppression in capitalist production construct disability as a personal tragedy. As Oliver (1998) argued, normalization is an ideology which cannot be fully understood without situating it within the political economy of capitalist society, where deinstitutionalization was used as a tool for reducing the cost of social services. Thus, normalizing practices, as well as the social services

associated with them, both construct and maintain the dichotomy between the normal and abnormal.

Policies and social programs within welfare states, as well as those in neo-liberal states, grounded on the bio-political model and the normalization theory, reinforce an unequal power relation between people with impairment and mainstream society (Barnes & Mercer, 2001a; Oliver, 1990, 1998). Titchkosky (2003) provides this insight through her analysis of Canadian social policies. She argues that government reports such as *In Unison*, an influential document fostering the inclusion of people with disabilities in Canada, represent a modern politics of government that has a particular effect on the disabled subject. That is, although *In Unison* represents a progressive vision towards citizenship rights and full participation for people with disabilities, it constructs disability as a disembodied thing to be normalized within the social order. This normalizing strategy has constitutive effects on inclusion and exclusion. These technologies of normalization construct people with disabilities as an invisible population to be included within modern institutions. They do not, however, challenge the normative assumption about disability as an individual problem, as well as the ways normalcy excludes people with disabilities in practices.

As I indicated in chapter one, the shift in neo-liberal policies has influenced the ways policies have been re-formulated in global context. This ideological agenda has significantly reframed the politics of inclusion for people with disabilities. Disability studies point out that policy development around disability issues has been driven by two closely connected but distinctive theoretical implications: one that promotes the social, economic, and political rights for people with disabilities (Quinn & Degener, 2002; Rioux, 2001, 2002; Stein, 2007), and one that promotes the mainstreaming of disability issues into development policies in the

international context (Albert, 2004; Albert & Hurst, 2005). The first theoretical line posits that the global discourse of human rights is critical for the disability rights movement because it promotes the ideas of equality and social justice for people with disabilities. This rights-based approach sees the international movement towards inclusion through globalizing social rights as essential and progressive within a context where injustice is still pervasive in the global condition. The second theoretical line, more narrowly defined within development policies, argues that disability issues must be mainstreamed within development policies because people with disabilities represent the poorest population in developing countries. This theoretical line, also influenced by the social model of disability, recognizes that there is an interrelationship between disability and poverty that causes the root of exclusion for people with disabilities in the international agenda. The implications, tension, and implicit interconnection between rights and development discourses on disability issues have incurred critical debates within disability studies today.

In chapter four, I explain the process by which inclusion has been shaped by both discourses of rights and development within the Vietnamese context. The rights and development discourses, in relation to policies on educational management such as inclusive education, reconstruct the power relationship between the disabled subject and mainstream society. The politics of inclusion and exclusion is further expressed through the normalizing practice which is formulated through education programs and discourses.

*Education as the Normalizing Practice*

Research drawing on critical theory interrogates the institutional forces that have been historically formulated in education. For instance, Gallagher (1999) examines how psychological practices have constituted power relations through the gaze of surveillance in such practices as

diagnosis and testing. She argues that the institutional gaze, operating as technologies of power, applies institutional forces upon the body through normalizing practices such as the reading remedy, a special education technique in teaching reading for children with learning disabilities in schools. This functionalist approach, grounded on the politics of special needs, shapes education as the site in which the normal versus the abnormal is constituted. More significant is the work of Graham and Slee (2008) and Graham (2007). In their critique of "inclusion" in policy discourses, Graham and Slee (2008) argue that the normative assumptions in policy and practice are the discursive practices that shape the insider and outsider through the pre-determined assumption about the norm. Their analysis of the normative practices in educational policy illuminates how education operates as a political institution through which power relations shape individual difference. Further, policies are more complicated when they are applied into practice. For instance, Riddle (1996) argues that although policy documents that were published in the context of education reform in England adopt more enabling approaches such as the social constructionist model of disability, the discourse of special needs is used as a discursive means to relocate the problem within the child. The interpretation of "special needs" as an individual problem curtails the politics of education in an increasing neo-liberal agenda, where individualism, competiveness, and performativity are valued at the expense of inclusiveness (Barton & Slee, 1999). Thus, what is the role of education in producing social inclusion and exclusion? What is the relationship between education and the reproduction of school failure? The political implications of needs, in other words, are usually untheorized (Barton, 1996; Corbett, 1996; Riddle, 1996).

To understand the politics of inclusion, I traced the emergence of institutional discourses and practices for people with disabilities in Viet Nam. Although there are different historical

periods that I analyzed in my analysis, I focused primarily on the discursive and material practices in the colonial (1858-1954) and contemporary context. These periods mark the involvement of global institutions into the political agenda of disability and inclusion in Viet Nam. An analysis of historical policies allows me to document some recurrent patterns that may replicate or transform the current discourses on inclusion in the contemporary context. For example, normalization has acted as one of the ideologies formulated by global and local institutions in both contexts. It was historically applied to Viet Nam through colonial policy under the Enlightenment belief of civilizing and normalizing the difference through schooling. This ideology was used under the assumption that children with disabilities need to become "normal" in order to be integrated into society. The early programs for visually impaired children, for instance, applied an institutional force to normalize the children through work and basic education. These programs mirrored the special education history in western countries, in that the education of visually and hearing impaired children was institutionalized (Borsay, 2005; Armstrong, 2003). In the current context, normalization is picked up through the formulation of laws and policies that aim to integrate people with disabilities into society, as well as through the actions exercised by the stakeholders who implement the political agenda of inclusion in Viet Nam.

My analysis of the contemporary global and local policies shows that normalization has continued to play an important role in mainstream ideologies of normalizing people with disabilities. I analyzed the underlying assumption of the discourses and practices such as the programs conducted by NGOs to understand the political implications of these programs in line with policies and laws. These programs are methods by which governments restructure the political agenda of inclusion and exclusion in education. However, the ideological implications

of normalization have become more complex than the colonial context, because they are driven

by a network of power that emerges in modern context. This network formulates the politics of

inclusion and the political agenda of governmentality. To explore the political implications of

normalization and governmentality, I use textual approaches as the major methods to help me

understand the complexity of institutional ideologies and discourses.  In what follows, I

introduce the different corpuses of texts that I used in my study, and the methodologies used to

analyze these texts.

### Textual approaches to document analysis

Textual analysis is used in such interdisciplinary research as visual studies (Pink, 2001;

2006; Rose, 2001; Burke, 2001), historical studies (Burke & Grosvenor, 2007; Kincheloe, 1991;

Thyssen, 2007), and policy studies (Ball, 1994; Gale, 2001). The study of meanings is central to

textual analysis[12]. Meanings are constituted and mediated by the ruling structure in society. The

selection and assemblage of statements, images, or languages construct ideas, values, and social

relations. They come to us as facts, and thus appear to be free of ideology and outside of history

(Smith, 1990). Smith (1990) argues that much of what is presented to us as observable is already

worked up, classified, and produced in this institutional process to structure the actuality.

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[12] Textual analysis is drawn both from structural and post-structural theory, where text plays a fundamental role in meaning-making. The distinction between structuralism and post-structuralism is usually marked by their theoretical assumptions about the relationship between language and society. Like structuralism, a post-structural approach sees texts as the social forms that shape meanings. However, post-structuralism dispenses with the structuralist assumption that there is an arbitrary system of rules constructing language and institutions, as well as with the binary opposition in human thought by which meanings are defined. Post-structuralism sees meanings as socially, historically, and ideologically constructed through discourses and power. A post-structural approach places its emphasis on context, as well as on the ways meanings construct power relations in history (Bennett, 1987; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983; Foucault, 2007).

Similarly, Wehbi et al. (2009) argue that documents are artefacts embodying the values of a particular social and ideological system. Thus, the use and selection of language, definition, images, and strategies, as well as the absence of them, enable inclusion and exclusion to be exercised through discursive *and* institutional actions that construct power relations. Documents are organized and mediated by institutionally governed beliefs and practices which post-structuralist theorists refer to as discourses. These discourses/practices shape the reality through a historically situated context.

### *Visual Texts*

Images act as an important source of data in textual analysis. The theoretical lens which we use to analyze images enables us to peer into the process by which meanings are constructed through these images. That is, while images are usually used to illustrate ideas, they construct some distinctive meanings that shape knowledge and power relations. Visual analysis depends significantly on the researcher's familiarity and engagement with the culture in which the image is taken and represented (Banks, 2001). Rose (2001) views images as formulated through two layers of textual representation. The first layer is embedded in the way meaning is constructed through textual conventions such as content, captions, and the organization of images. This level of discourse analysis, drawn from Foucault's theory of discourse, analyzes the context of image production, the content, and the effects of images. The second layer is made up of the institutional conditions in which the image is represented, such as the social space, museum, or gallery in which these meanings are institutionalized. The two layers of visual representation, in Rose's approach, enable researchers to document the discourses surrounding the dimensions of power/knowledge represented within an image, as well as through the cultural and political aspects of the institution in which the image is represented.

Historical research uses images to document the political dimensions of power and knowledge in institutions (Burke, 2001; Thyssen, 2007). Images, some historians argue, are not only ways of illustrating historical knowledge (Burke & Grosvenor, 2007; Thyssen, 2007). They are also representations of a contemporary view of knowledge that institutions sought to shape through images of individuals. Thyssen describes different ways of viewing images, which she views as driven by realist, linguistic, and pictorial approaches. A synthesis of the linguistic and pictorial approaches in the historical analysis of images, proposed in Thyssen's approach to historical/visual analysis, enables visual analysts to study how power relations are shaped through the semiotic aspects of textual representation. She applies Foucault's theoretical perspective on power/knowledge to examine how childhood was institutionally shaped through disciplinary practices that were constructed through images (Thyssen, 2007). The analysis of visual representation provides a historical perspective on how bio-power is invested within the social activities which children performed in photographs. Thus, historical analysis uses visual analysis to understand the methods of treating children in special institutions.

Drawing from visual studies, I used historical images to conduct a critical analysis of the way disability was represented in different historical contexts, such as during the colonial period, and through the shift in policy discourses and social power in the current context. Although understanding the visual representation of disability is not the main purpose of the study, I used visual studies to understand the effect of inclusion in shaping our ways of knowing about the disabled subject. In my fieldwork, despite the vast amount of images currently posted on websites, newspapers, magazines, and photos taken by the organizations of people with disabilities, it was difficult to retrieve historical texts due to the absence of images, as well as the context in which these photos were taken. The absence of historical images reveals the culture of

inclusion and exclusion, as Rose (2001) insightfully pointed out in her discussion of the visual.
That is, the presence or absence of images reflects the inclusion or exclusion of the subject
within a particular institutional condition. The emergence and proliferation of disability images
in the context of social change is consistent with the shift toward mainstreaming disability in
institutional policies, which I will describe in full detail. Images, therefore, are important sources
upon which we will reflect while delving into my analysis of visual and archival materials.

Contemporary images appear on the cover page and within published articles of
newspapers and periodicals such as *Người Bảo Trợ* (Protector), *Nhân Dân* (the People), and
*Heritage*. These are the state-owned magazines with multiple images about disability. In my
study, the context of the image is set within the socio-historical conditions of inclusion. I
selected the photos published by the state[1] between 1990 and 2009, because this period
witnessed the emergence of programs such as vocational training, community-based
rehabilitation, and education programs. I also used secondary sources, such as the images
published in the American journal, *Silent Worker*, for an historical analysis of images of
disability.

In my approach to these archival materials, I applied visual analysis to explore the
meanings of images, such as what the images are telling us, how they construct the subjectivity
of children and adults with disabilities, and how the meanings of these images, when juxtaposed
with one another, enable us to understand the politics of institution within the colonial context. I
focus on the context of production (that is, the historical context of the image), the content of the
images (connotative and denotative meanings), and the effect of images on viewers. As visual
researchers argue, images have their own meanings and should not be seen as an illustration of
social and political ideologies (Burke, 2001; Burke & Grosvenor, 2007). For instance, in my

analysis of the images in the *Silent Worker*, a special publication about the establishment of Lai Thieu School for the Deaf in Cochinchina, I treated the photographs and narratives as different corpuses of data. These data were analyzed alongside an analysis of colonial policy on special education. The use of different sources of data, and different methodological approaches, enabled me to have a more rigorous understanding of the relationship between schooling and disability in the colonial context. The relationship between policies, culture, and the state's politics of disability and inclusion is illuminated by juxtaposing policy texts with visual texts. Different sources of data provide us with convergent and divergent perspectives into the social treatment of children with disabilities in colonial policy[13]. In short, visual analysis is a methodological approach that I applied alongside other approaches. This approach helps sharpen my understanding of the meanings conveyed in historical documents. Who is pictured, how, and why is he or she pictured; who is present and absent; and what ideas are implied by such visual representations, are some of the questions I asked when analyzing visual documents.

*Policy Documents*

Working with policy documents requires that we possess knowledge of the institutional conditions, as well as of the different ways that these documents are written, sorted out, and catalogued. As I mentioned above, documents are written by multiple agencies with vested interests. Documents are artefacts that reflect the social and ideological systems that emerged and guided institutional practices. Like other texts, a policy document is an historical artefact.

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[13] Due to the historical circumstances in Viet Nam, such as warfare, few archival documents on disability issues were still retrievable at the state's archival recording department. I used the photographs published in two articles in *The Old World*, in addition to colonial policies, and historical research to analyze the political and ideological implications underlying special education practices. My interpretation of these documents was conducted through my visual analysis, which includes situating the images within the colonial context. I analyzed the meanings of images in relation to other policy documents about the education of children with disabilities in Cochinchina.

Some policy documents may include visual images such as photographs. The treatment of visual documents within policy documents or essays followed the same approaches to visual analysis that I mentioned earlier. An analysis of policy document, similarly, involves multiple approaches that are grounded in sociological theories, such as who the actors are (global, regional, national, or local stakeholders); how their discourses and practices connect or disconnect within an institutional agenda; which discourses, tactics, and actions have been used; and with what particular effects on institutional inclusion and exclusion. I discuss below the use of two approaches in textual analysis, which will draw from Foucault's historical analysis (also called genealogy) and critical theory.

*Analysis of historical documents: Foucault's genealogy*

Genealogy is an historical approach that documents the relationship between power, knowledge, and the modern subject (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). In Foucault's approach, genealogical analysis is established as an historical approach that opposes itself to "traditional history" (Foucault, 1984). Genealogy traces the discontinuities of historical events through shifts, contours, and transformations, using a "gray, meticulous, and patiently documentary" research method (Foucault, 1984, p. 76). It studies the struggles over power relations through the institutional forces, rules, and circumstances that come into existence within a particular socio-historical context. The relationship among these forces constitutes truth and power. Thus, analyzing the relationship between discourses and practices, and the mechanisms of power underlying them, plays an essential role in helping the genealogist to problematize a truth (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983).

Critical policy studies use genealogical analysis to study the emergence of discourse, power, and the moral implications of reform in shaping institutional knowledge (Armstrong,

2003; Ball, 1994). For example, Ball (1994) studied the emergence in educational discourses of such topics as the market, vocational training, and the construction of the individual subject in British educational reform. He showed that the complex relationship among these discourses has had the effect of constructing the game of truth that shifted the debate over the politics of education into a predominantly market-driven system, forged by a privatized and partnership culture of neo-liberalism. The shift in the politics of education toward a regime of management was the genealogy of knowledge that his study sought to unveil. In a study on inclusive education, Armstrong (2003) used genealogy to document the historical events surrounding the emergence of professional power within the context of the French and British Revolution, which set the political ground for the institutionalization of people with disabilities under the ethics of care and humanitarianism. She showed that within the context of social reform in Britain there was a shift in the traditional approach to treating disability in social institutions. This mode of power was embedded in professional knowledge, one that enables the process of identification, categorization, labelling, and treatment of individuals. Both studies show that genealogical knowledge is effectively used to provide an alternative perspective to the dominant way of thinking about the relationship between social institutions and human subjectivity.

My study applies genealogy as a method of tracing the emergence of institutional discourses and programs on disability and education. This methodological approach enables me to document the emergence of discourses, as well as to observe the relationship between the discourses and practices which have been deployed as a technology of modern power. Therefore, I studied the extent to which the discourses worked in line with, maintained, or challenged the disability programs and practices that had been at play prior to Doi Moi. The documents and images were juxtaposed with each other, and with the programs and policies that I analyzed. I

also juxtaposed international policies with the legal documents in Viet Nam to document the relationship among institutional events. The implications of these discourses and programs are that they form bits of knowledge, and these constitute power. The analysis of historical events in different historical periods, using a genealogical analysis, enabled me to observe the changes in current policies when inclusion is set forth. This approach plays an important role in illuminating the paradigm shift toward the inclusion of people with disabilities in modern Vietnamese institutions.

*Analysis of contemporary documents: Critical theory and policy research*

Methodologically, historical and critical analyses of discourses were used in my study as supplementary, rather than distinct, or contradictory from each other. They were the different layers of analysis that enabled me to interpret the meanings of discourses more rigorously. The historical analysis of the past provides a context for my analysis of the shift in contemporary policy discourses. To study discourses in these texts, I analyzed 26 policy documents, most of which were written at the global and national levels. My selection of policy documents was not arbitrary; it was based on attention of the relevance of the documents to disability and inclusion in Viet Nam. Some criteria helped determine the relevance of these documents to my research inquiry: 1) they are formulated by a policymaking institution to promote or support people with disabilities (i.e., the United Nations, the World Bank, and Vietnamese government; 2) they are contemporary documents (i.e., still being used by the government in current context); and 3) they refer directly or indirectly to the social treatment of disability in health care, social services, and education. In my fieldwork, I selected policies and laws based on these criteria. I also examined the relationship among these documents, such as how the documents were used and cited in other documents, as well as how they were discussed or referred to in my fieldwork with NGOs and

the government stakeholders. Some documents such as the *National Action Plan on Supporting Disabled People* (SRV, 2006a) and the *National Education for All Action Plan 2003-2015* (SRV, 2003b) were not analyzed using discourse analysis; however, they provide a historical perspective into the social treatment of disability in the current context. Other documents such as the Standard Rules (United Nations, 1993a) and the Law on Disability (SRV, 2010) were analyzed through their discursive and institutional strategies, because these legal frameworks mark the ideological implications of inclusion in contemporary context. Thus, these documents were selected and analyzed to address my research questions. The classification of historical and contemporary data enabled me to identify what discourses, ideologies, and issues have emerged in the current context of policymaking within the current context.

At the same time, the institutional conditions of a policy are critical. It is not useful, for instance, to read policy without understanding the conditions in which the policy was written or enacted (Fulcher, 1999). Context is a central aspect in discourse analysis since it gives us a critical perspective into why and how a policy is shaped, as well as why it has had an effect on individuals. To understand the implications of institutional discourses that emerged in the current context, I conducted a discourse analysis of the disability frameworks that exist at the global and local levels. These documents were then categorized into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include policy documents, reports, and minutes published by international agencies such as the World Bank, the United Nations' agencies, and the government's policymaking agencies such as the Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA) and the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET). Secondary sources are policy texts republished or reprinted by the government, in addition to the research, reports, and images reproduced by NGOs and development agencies. Documents such as the *Standard Rules on the*

*Equalization of Disabled Persons* (United Nations, 1993a), the *Biwako Millennium Framework towards an Inclusive, Barrier-free and Rights-based Society* (BMF) (United Nations ESCAP, 2002), and the international *Convention on the Rights of Individuals with Disabilities* (United Nations, 2006) are some examples of primary sources. Their meanings, implications, and strategies have been implicitly or explicitly applied in Vietnamese texts. In addition, the government's published documents and online websites (owned by the government's agencies) were used as a primary source of my data. Some examples of these documents are the *Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam* (SRV, 1992), the *Ordinance on Disabled Persons* (SRV, 1998), the *Law on Disability* (SRV, 2010), *the National Education for All Action Plan* (SRV, 2003) and the *Decision 23 on Inclusive Education* (MOET, 2006a). Some related research and report documents, such as inclusive education programs by the World Bank and the Catholic Republic Services, were treated as secondary sources.

My analysis of the contemporary policy documents does not differ from other types of discourse analysis in that I studied the issues emerging in these documents by situating them within the context in which they were written. By this I mean in the context of reform in modern Vietnamese institutions, and the shift in the institutional treatment of disability issues. In other words, the genealogical analysis of the institutional treatment of disability issues, in addition to the political agenda of socio-economic reform in Viet Nam, serves as a context for the analysis of the politics of inclusion. To analyze policy documents, I treated each document as an integral part of this institutional process in which social meanings are shaped through institutional practices such as policymaking. Both discursive and material practices of policymaking were examined to determine the extent to which governmentality has been applied to disability issues. The issues that emerged, such as rights and development, were categorized as thematic

discourses. Their meanings were analyzed through policy texts, as well as the institutional action which has been enacted by global, national, and local institutions. I then used theories in order to interpret the implications of the issues that had emerged. Thus, as indicated earlier, governmentality studies, disability studies, and educational studies on inclusion and exclusion were the theoretical lenses that I used to understand the shift in the politics of disability and social change.

With respect to the effects of inclusion, I focused specifically on the participation of people with disabilities in policy discourses and practices. This empirical experience provided me an insight into the multiple dimensions of power and struggle in the context where disability and inclusion were becoming new forms of knowledge in institutional organizations. I worked on the aspects of institutional participation such as the ways people with disabilities participate in the public, in school, and institutional living to understand the impacts of policy changes on the ways we understand disability and schooling in the current context. Thus, the reframing of disability in policy and media discourses will shed light on the effects of policy change on institutional inclusion and exclusion. Finally, I reflected upon some aspects of educational discourses in my site visits to offer readers another avenue into the impacts of policy and social change on educational inclusion and exclusion. The relationship between different levels of analysis will illuminate the question regarding "Why a problem, and why such a problem within such a context," as Foucault insightfully encouraged us to examine.

### Staging the research process: Fieldwork with documents

The conventional sense of fieldwork in ethnographic research is developed through a critical engagement of the researcher with the field and the politics of interpretation. Fieldwork is a rigorous process of constructing knowledge. The act of observing, describing, and interpreting

cultural phenomenon is achieved through the relationship between researcher and participants. This is an integral part of fieldwork (Clifford, 1983). The fieldworker theorizes his or her knowledge within an institutionally situated context. Such a critical engagement with the politics of knowledge reminds us that our thinking, reflection, and engagement with knowledge are contingent and dependent upon the institutional culture in which the research is conducted (Clifford, 1986)[14].

Conducting fieldwork in a country in development such as Viet Nam was particularly challenging. While my familiarity with Vietnamese culture allowed me to anticipate the challenges and constraints of data collection, my fieldwork was made difficult by the current context of institutional policing, the shortage of data, and the politics of disability and inclusion itself. In a time when research serves as a disciplinary tool to foster the development agenda, knowledge production serves as a tool of power. The research conducted and published by state institutions, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the United Nations' agencies, as well as the growing interest in the shift in public policy within international scholarship, seems to demonstrates the shift toward a positivist paradigm of knowledge. Critical and non-positivist research, however, remains relatively silenced in the current context.

I conducted my fieldwork in July, August, and September, 2009, at state departments, libraries, NGO projects, educational policymaking institutions, schools, and private institutions.

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[14] Although my study does not aim to deconstruct cultural practices through ethnographic research, I used this account of fieldwork in ethnographic research as a theoretical standpoint informing my fieldwork with policy documents. This perspective on writing histories constitutes a part of my knowledge production. It is, like ethnographic fieldwork, concerned with the questions regarding who observes, who interprets, who the author is, and how the power relationship between the researcher and the institutions is mediated through the process of data collection.

Some policy documents could be retrieved online or reprinted from the government's policy collections. However, many were not published or not distributed publicly. Therefore, I collected contemporary policy documents at multiple agencies, such as the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET), the National Institute on Educational Strategies and Curriculum (NIESaC), and at a number of NGOs, such as Catholic Republic Services (CRS), Vietnam Assistance for the Handicapped (VNHA), Primary Education for Disadvantaged Children (PEDC), and Disability Resource and Development (DRD). Some of these institutions were contacted during my initial fieldwork for historical documents. Some of the documents were collected and analyzed with the assistance of the staff, which provided me with more information about the historical context of the documents. By engaging with these institutions, I was able to make sense of textual documents through an historically and institutionally informed perspective.

Throughout the first stage of my fieldwork, I focused primarily on collecting archival documents, including images and colonial policy documents. In the second stage, I traced the development of social and educational policies in the current context. In the last stage, I conducted my site visits at some local institutions and schools. My site visits to both inclusive schools and special institutions were meant to examine the effects of inclusion on the participation of children with disabilities in education. The Department of Education and Training, in Thua Thien Hue province, arranged these visits. The purpose of these visits was not to grapple with the effects of inclusion and exclusion in their entirety, as I believe that this should be studied more fully in a different empirical study. The purpose of these site visits, rather, was to map out the macro-, meso-, and micro- level of policy and social change, and to provide an insight into how inclusion has shifted the ways in which students integrate into mainstream institutions.

Therefore, making sense of context was an important step in enabling me to theorize about the discourses that have influenced policies. This context explains how global forces have had a significant effect on the social construction of inclusion. This is an important theoretical lens that has emerged over the course of my fieldwork. These powerful discourses, while appearing to be important within the development agenda, raise important concerns about who was involved in the inclusion agenda, why, as well as whose knowledge and power actually count within the context of institutional change. At the same time, as a Vietnamese who was conducting research within a Vietnamese institutional context, I was observing inclusion from my situated positionality. This historically situated context provided me with some opportunities to reflect upon who I am when telling my story, as well as how my story may be shaped and limited by the situated knowledge of my location.

## Conclusion

Rather than bringing an objective, value-free, and non-ideological perspective to the genealogy of inclusion, the use of theories, methodologies, and fieldwork gives us the ability to see history through a social process by which we get involved in the task of meaning-making (Kincheloe, 2004). The researcher can no longer stand aside from the ideological assumption that research is conducted to inform and to transform the structure of reality. This politics of knowledge bridges the dichotomy between deconstruction and critical theory regarding discourse and power in institutions. Furthermore, it enables us to demystify the non-ideological assumption within the field of scientific research. Using governmentality studies, we will examine how the discourses are shaped through the political realms of knowledge production that have been applied to disability issues over the last two decades. However, to arrive at this, the next chapter

will explore the relationship between disability and social institutions as a backdrop to the shift in institutional discourses on disability and inclusion.

# CHAPTER 3    DISABILITY AND INSTITUTIONAL POLICY IN VIETNAM: A
# HISTORY OF THE PRESENT

*What are we dealing with when we speak of disability in the twentieth century and when we concern ourselves with it? How do we concern ourselves with it, how do we speak of it, and from that, what new relationships are established between the disabled of earlier periods and present society?*

*Henri-Jacques Stiker, 1999, p. 121*

The French historian and anthropologist, Henri-Jacques Stiker, who wrote an important book on the history of disability in Western societies in the early 1980s, posed the above questions. These questions suggest that the way we perceive disability is socially and historically constructed by our critical engagement with disability issues. Why, when, and how disability matters to us are epistemological questions. They help us to understand the relationship between the world within which disability emerges as a historical phenomenon, and us. Moreover, to understand the shift in institutional policies on disability and inclusion in Viet Nam, we need to build on an historical understanding of disability and exclusion; that is, how inclusion and exclusion have played out in the history of institutions. This historical perspective will help us to reflect on the past to think about the inclusion of people with disabilities in the current context. With this analysis, I aim to shape an historical background for my analysis of the discourses and ideologies of inclusion, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

This chapter will provide an historical perspective on disability issues in Viet Nam since the nineteenth century. My aim is to critically engage in history in order to trace the institutional conditions for inclusion. I borrow from Foucault's "history of the present," a way of telling histories through tracing the relationship between the past and the present to understand historical knowledge (Foucault, 1977). As I indicated earlier, a history of the present is interested in de-familiarizing ourselves about the knowledge which we take for granted in our present. It does so by using the past in order to challenge the present, and by revealing those patterns of the past that are still ingrained in our present history. Therefore, the chapter will provide us with some reflexive understanding about inclusion and exclusion through the institutional treatment of disability in the period prior to the socio-economic reform in 1986. This historical overview will begin to invite readers to my fieldwork.

The relationship between social change and the formation of inclusion became apparent in my study upon my observing the ideological shift in the government's handling of disability issues since the late 1980s. The shift from the socialist mode of governance toward a more liberal approach could be observed through the emergence of disability programs such as functional rehabilitation, community-based rehabilitation, and educational programs for people and children with disabilities that I will examine in this chapter. From a social justice perspective, this could be seen as an increase in state intervention to improve the population's well being (Rioux & Zubrow, 2001). At the same time, the issues around the institutional arrangements of these programs need to be studied and reflected upon in order to develop a critical understanding of the discourses of inclusion. This chapter, therefore, will look at the conditions of disability and inclusion in an institutional context, through a cultural, historical and political perspective on disability in Vietnamese society and its educational system. It will be

divided into three sections: first, I will look at how disability discourse is constructed in the

Vietnamese language and culture. Second, I will document the social relationship between

disability and mainstream institutions through an historical analysis of disability issues in public

institutions such as the education system. Finally, I will discuss the emergence of the

intervention programs which set in motion the political agenda of normalization. This analysis

will shed light on the institutional conditions for the ideological shift in the policies of disability

in the current context. I argue that the late 1980s and early 1990s saw the beginning of a shift in

institutional programs that fostered new forms of social treatment such as education and

rehabilitation. This includes, but is not restricted to, the treatment of disability in the educational

system.

### *Disability Discourses*

I begin this chapter with an analysis of disability discourses in Viet Nam. This, I hope,

will act as a guide to developing a cultural, historical, and political understanding of the

relationships among disability, culture, and institutional policies that will be explored in the

subsequent chapters. My interpretation of disability discourses was conducted through my

analysis of images, policy documents, and other research on disability in Viet Nam. Post-

structural theory of disability studies has influenced my interpretation of documents because it

opens a venue to my interpretation of texts. At the same time, seeing disability through my non-

disabled lens means that my perspective does not, and cannot, account for other perspectives on

disability that are currently evolving within the disabled peoples' community. Thus, this section

will provide a brief overview of the cultural, historical, and personal engagement with disability

issues in Viet Nam through my insider's and outsider's perspective.

Much of the current thought about the roots of disability in Viet Nam is associated with

the devastating human consequences that resulted from the Viet Nam War (Bergstad & Granli, 2004). The history of warfare, the lingering consequences of Agent Orange, and the institutional strategies to cure and protect the victims of the war, are among the most common narratives shaping our knowledge about disability in the Vietnamese culture. For example, Bergstad and Granli (2004) argue, based on conclusions drawn from their study of the Vietnamese perspective on disability, that non-disabled children in an inclusive classroom tend to think about disability as social deviance, causing non-disabled persons to view the disabled as the Other. They quote a participant who describes someone who is affected by Agent Orange: "Compared to us, they are shorter, they cannot hear, they cannot see, and sometimes they are very thin" (Bergstad & Granli, 2004, p.17).

The cultural interpretation of disability as a personal flaw is not unusual in the Vietnamese context. The prejudices against disability as a sign of monstrosity, sin, punishment, aberrance, and difference are quite common in traditional discourses. Physical appearance is among the most common signs that identify disability as social difference. Disability is interpreted as a consequence of individual wrongdoing, as explained by the Buddhist theory on karma[15]. The idea that the individual situation is a consequence of personal action results in the individualistic ideology of disability, which Oliver (1990) refers to as the "personal tragedy" ideology. For parents, the feeling of guilt associated with giving birth to a child with disability is commonly expressed in the belief that "I must have committed something wrong in my last life"

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[15] Karma is a theory of causality in relation to individual presence. It assumes that the very experience we have in the present is the consequence of our acts or intentions in the past (Laffont, 1993). Karma explains the cause of individual presence by attributing one's present circumstances to behaviour and action in one's previous life. Karma theory, therefore, explains the individual problem by attributing impairment to the immoral behaviour which one or one's family committed in the past (see, for instance, Takamine, 2004; Gammeltolf, 2007). As such, the burden of having a disability is not only an individual problem but also a burden of one's family and the whole community.

(Phong Chau, 2008). Similarly, Frey and Campell (2002) note in their monograph on disability in Viet Nam that disability is usually stigmatized through traditional cultural practices. There is a cultural fear that marrying into a family that shows signs of disability will cause the individual to give birth to children who will also have a disability. These physical defects are usually interpreted as being indicative of a moral defect. A child born with a cleft palate, for instance, is believed to be the result of the father's infidelity. At the same time, a mother who takes pills or maintains a bad diet during her pregnancy is believed to cause other physical deformities (Frey & Campell, 2002). Disability, thus, is culturally and historically shaped through the normative values that are shared by the community, and promoted within the institution of the family.

From the literature cited above, it is evident that cultural discrimination is still pervasive in cultural discourses on disability. From a cultural perspective, the notion of disability is interpreted as the result of impairment. However, there is no clear distinction between *disability*, *impairment*, and *handicap* in the Vietnamese language, because the terms *tàn tật* (handicap) and *khuyết tật* (disability) are both used to refer to the medical, physiological, and biological conditions (impairment) of the human body. Impairment, disability, and handicap, therefore, are usually considered as an individual problem, and only different from one another regarding the degree of their handicapping conditions. The *Vietnamese Encyclopaedia Dictionary*, for instance, defines disability (*tật*) as "an abnormal condition of the structure, physiological function, or psychological operation of human beings that affects the process of identity development" (*Vietnamese Encyclopaedia*, online dictionary, n.d.)[16]. In other words, the so-

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[16] According to Yoder (2002), the Vietnamese Ministry of Labour, Invalids, and Social Affairs (MOLISA), and the Ministry of Health officially adopted the international classification of Impairments, Disabilities, and Handicaps (WHO, 1980) in the Vietnamese definition of disability. This definition was applied to the Ordinance on Disabled Persons (SRV, 1998a), a document legitimating *some* social, cultural, and economic rights of people with disabilities

called normal development of the human structure is used as a standard to assess the degree of

individual impairment, and the result of impairment in causing his or her disability. This

seemingly more scientific definition uses normality as a basic condition of human life, and thus

disability is the opposite of the normal condition of human development.  Similarly,

policymakers refer to disability as a problem that "originates from disease to impairment, leading

to a permanent disability" (Nguyen, 1990, p. 64). People with disabilities, thus, are defined as

"defective persons" who have "lost capacities for work to ensure themselves" (Trinh, 1990, p.

38). More recently, the Parliament of Vietnam defined disability as a lack of "one or many parts

of the body or functions [....] reducing the capability of action and causing many difficulties in

work, life, and studies"[17] (Ordinance on Disabled Persons, SRV, 1998a; Bergstad & Granli,

2004). This functionalist approach to defining disability discourse, although having been heavily

debated in policy-making institutions throughout the process of drafting the Vietnamese Law on

Disability, is re-used in the recent ratification of the law (SRV, 2010). The definition of disability

is contentious because it reflects the struggle in the bureaucratic function of the state to identify

who is deserving of welfare provisions (Fulcher, 1999; Oliver, 1998; Rioux & Zubrow, 2001).

Gammeltolf (2007) observes that disability discourse in socialist Vietnam is historically

formulated through the government's discourses and programs that claim to improve the quality

in Viet Nam. In this section, I interpreted the conceptualization of disability from some official sources such as the *Vietnamese Encyclopaedia Dictionary*, and from definitions by policymakers in a national conference. These definitions were translated into English by a Vietnamese translator during my research process. Further, there was a heated debate on the politics in disability discourse within the process of drafting the Law on Disability. I will analyze these discourses in my analysis of the shift in policy, as well as the effects of policy and social change in chapters four and six.

[17] This statement is translated into English on the website of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP). I use this English version as an official source. However, I have replaced the term "activity" by "action" in the phrase "the capability of activity" for more appropriate translation of the term *hoạt động* in the Vietnamese text. See also Bergstad and Grandli (2004).

of the population. Further, the use of Western technologies in the Vietnamese context has

resulted in a gradual shift from the traditional discourse of disability as a sin committed by the

individual, a representation of the body deformity, to an unfortunate victim of warfare, and

finally toward a more scientific approach - employing the use of modern technological devices

like the ultrasound, and screening methods used in early diagnoses. These corporeal technologies

have resulted in an increase in abortion in cases where the fetus has been identified as

"abnormal." Thus, Gammeltolf argues that health care, media, technology, and population

policies have had adverse effects on attitudes to disability through the dissemination of the

modernist ideologies of normalcy and productivity. Parenting techniques, such as teaching the

child to be a "proper person" in - or contributing member of - society, for example, is a

nationalist discourse, which shapes "disability" as unproductive and thus deviant from the norm.

Thus, there are complex social, cultural, political, and philosophical realms that shape the way

that disability is perceived in Viet Nam. At the same time, the complexity in Vietnamese

disability discourse challenges the demarcation between the medical and social model of

disability in the Western discourses on disability, which have become internationalized as a

result of the shift in disability policies (Gammeltolf, 2007, 2008). To make sense of this

institutional procedure, I will begin by explaining the history of disability and the state's policies,

as I believe that this will allow for a critical reflection on how the current discourses have

evolved. Evaluating historical occurrences will enable us to observe the complexity of modern

governance through our knowledge of disability in the past, and its relationship to the present.

The next section will examine this, with a focus on the education system.

### Disability and modern institutions: A socio-historical analysis

The education of children with disabilities in Viet Nam was established by the emergence

of special institutions for children with visual and hearing impairments in the late nineteenth

century. In some reviews of the history of special – and/or inclusive - education, experts have

noted the establishment of these special institutions (see, for instance, Nguyen & Trinh, 2001;

Le, 2005). However, rather than considering the intricate dimension of power and control

exercised by the able-bodied society and perpetuated by colonialism, these reviews focused

primarily on offering facts as evidence of the origin of special education. Looking at these facts

through an historical lens in order to shed light on the relationship between disability and

institutions, I describe how the institutional approach to disability was exercised within

education and other social institutions. This will set the grounds for a description of the shift in

public policies on disability in the early days of socio-economic reform.

### *Disability and Schooling: The Colonial Period[18]*

The education of children with disabilities could be traced through the historical period of

political turmoil in Viet Nam while it was under French colonial rule. In the educational arenas,

prior to the educational reform in 1917, the colonial government established a dual schooling

system - including a French education system that was modeled after the French metropolitan

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[18] The French colonialism began to establish in Viet Nam in 1858, which lasted for almost a hundred year with detrimental effects on the indigenous population. However, the establishment of public system, including that of education, was also set forth within this historical context. Colonialism is defined by post-colonial theorists such as Edward Said and Franz Fanon as a process by which European power was established in non-western countries. Colonialism was manifest in the negation of a nation's identity, the establishment of legal and administrative system introduced by the colonizer, the occupation of the natives' land, and the systematic enslavement of men and women in the colonies (Fanon, 1959). Further, colonialism was a process shaping and imperializing European ideologies through the colonization of non-western cultures. This process constructed knowledge about the natives through the emergence of new disciplines such as Orientalism (Said, 1978). Colonial policy, therefore, was a powerful mechanism that the empire established during its period of settlement in non-western territories. I traced the education of children with visual and hearing impairment in this historical period to provide a brief overview of the history of disability. At the same time, this historical event will provide us with a more insightful perspective on the current context when modern discourses and ideologies about inclusion have been formulated within development policies.

educational system - and a combined Franco-indigenous system. The French system was reserved primarily for the French and for children of the wealthy and noble class. The Franco-indigenous system, on the other hand, was reserved for Vietnamese with no ties to nobility or to the colonial government (Kelly, 1982; Pham, 1998). In Cochinchina (the Southern region), the indigenous system was dismantled by the French educational system by 1890. In Annam and Tonkin (the Central and Northern regions, respectively), indigenous education, which was also known as the Monarch educational system, was maintained until the beginning of educational reform in 1917. School inspection, age and grade level started to be set up with the appropriation of the French curriculum (Kelly, 1982).

Special education emerged within this period of political turmoil. Children with hearing and visual impairments, which was one of the few groups of children receiving special education, were educated after the establishment of a few special institutions in Cochinchina (Pitrois, 1914). The colonial authorities approved the policies on educating hearing impaired and mute children in the late 1880s, marking the institutionalization of French ideologies on humanitarianism. For instance, education for hearing impaired children began to emerge in the late nineteenth century. This model of education was founded by the Catholic missionaries - one of the earliest groups of settlers who shared the administrators' belief in using education as a means to civilize the indigenous population (Osborne, 1969). From a critical perspective on special education and social control, this ideology parallels the ideological implications of special education in France in the nineteenth century. That is, the emergence of special education is historically marked by a shift in social power toward the local politics of control (see Armstrong, 2003). At the same time, historical evidence shows that institutional surveillance over indigenous people was tightened in Cochinchina in the late 1880s, as put forth by the

colonial policy that was applied to various aspects of Vietnamese society, including the health and education sectors (Kelly, 1982; Guéel, 2001; Rodriguez, 2001). Situated within the context of colonialism, it is important for us to look at what policies, debates, discussions, and ideologies were set forth within this historical period. This perspective will illuminate the historical relationship between disability, schooling, and colonialism. The emergence of Lai Thieu School, and L'École des Jeunes Aveugles[19]- two special institutions for hearing and visually impaired children in Cochinchina - exemplifies this relationship.

*Lai Thieu School for the Deaf*

Lai Thieu School for the Deaf, located in Cochinchina, was one of the earliest institutions for hearing impaired children to be established in Vietnam. A French missionary by the name of Father Azemar built the institution in 1886. Some essays written by Yvonne Pitrois (Pitrois, 1914, 1916) indicated that Father Azemar first opened the institution for hearing impaired and mute children. According to the school's history, while on a mission to Cochinchina, Father Azemar felt extremely moved by the economically disadvantaged and neglected circumstances of a hearing impaired and mute boy. He decided to send the boy to France to study, while he remained in Annam for most of his life to teach hearing impaired and mute children to read and write - the goal of which was to help these children to eventually be capable of earning their own living. Apparently, Father Azemar did not have much money, but he was very enthusiastic about building a school for hearing impaired and mute children.

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[19] Archival materials record both official names, L'École des Jeunes Aveugles and L'École des Aveugles. I use the name L'École des Aveugles for consistency.

Image 1. Father Azemar, founder of Lai Thieu School for the Deaf, image is published in

The Silent Worker in 1914
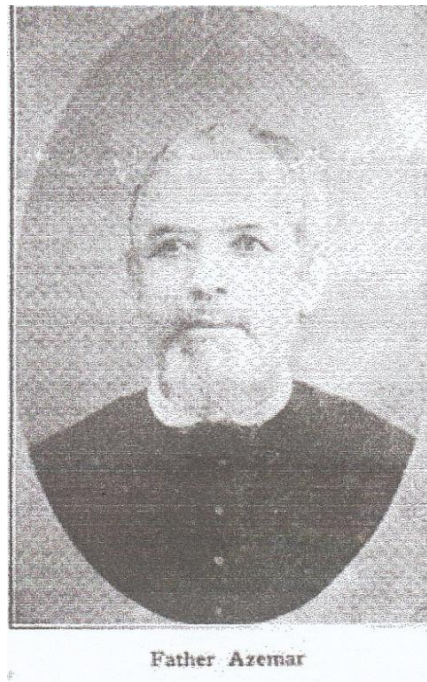


Father Azemar

The stories of Father Azemar and Lai Thieu School in *The Old World* characterize the

ethics of care which some Western missioners brought to Indochina to disseminate the modern

belief in human reason, dignity, and freedom in the emergence of Enlightenment ideologies in

western societies. Father Azemar was depicted as one of the "self-sacrificing men" sent to

Cochinchina by the Roman Catholic Church to preach the Gospel to the natives. However, other

philanthropists rejected his idea of building a school for the deaf as, at the time, it was thought

that the education of so-called "idiots" was not an important issue for consideration:

> He mentioned the matter (of opening a school) to some philanthropist, to his ecclesiastic
>
> superiors, but, sad to say, every one received his enthusiastic projects with a cold,

scornful indifference. The deaf? These kinds of idiots? There were more interesting things to think over, more urgent and useful needs to provide. (pp. 12-13, Pitrois, 1914)

The story of Father Azemar illuminates the emergence of modern ideologies surrounding the education of the hearing impaired. While almost no archival documents about Lai Thieu School for the Deaf were retained by the colonial collection, some visual documents illuminate the representation of disability within the historical context of colonialism. The following photos were recorded in *The Old World*, which included special research on the education of hearing impaired children in Cochinchina. Published by Yvonne Pitrois in the American journal *The Silent Worker* in the year 1914 and 1916, the collection of photos describes vibrantly the daily activities of hearing impaired children in Lai Thieu School for the Deaf. Given my relatively narrow objective in sketching an historical perspective on the social relationship between disability and social institutions, I did not analyze every single photo within this special collection. However, two photographs in this collection may provide us with some further insight into the representation of disability, which we examined earlier.

Image 2. The Deaf Girls at Manual Work, image is published in The Silent Worker in 1914

The Deaf Girls at Manual Work                                    A
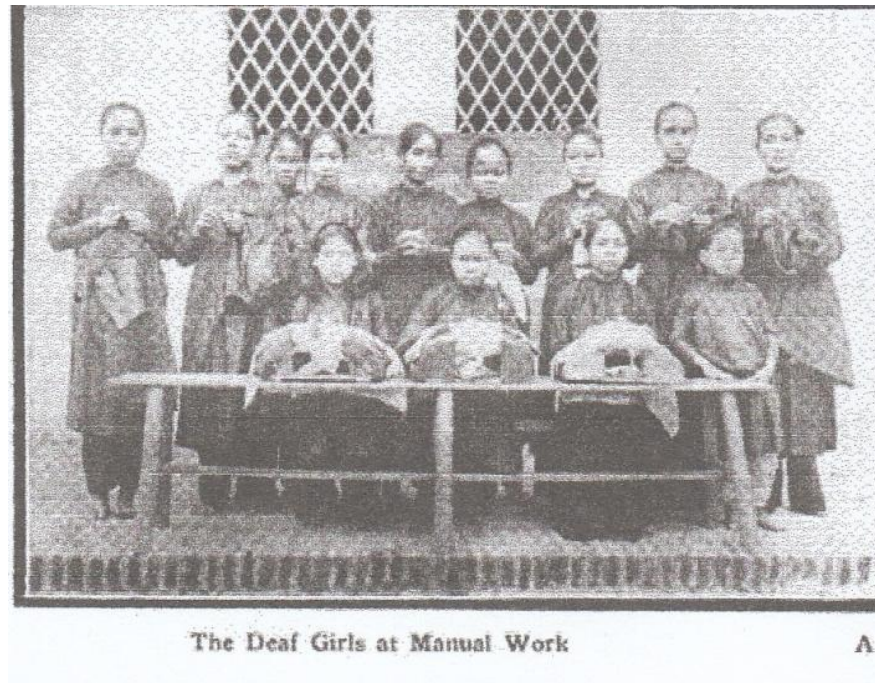
The photos of *The Old World* allow viewers to envision some typical activities performed by hearing impaired children. These photos pictured the children - boys and girls - performing different social activities in different contexts. In these photographs, the girls were performing daily duties such as praying, eating, watering on a plantation, working in a harvest, and schooling. The boys were also photographed in the same educational and work setting. The institution was described in these photos as a special place for caring and nurturing (Pitrois, 1914). The politics of the institution, however, can be observed through the way in which the children were photographed. The children in the image were photographed in their groups while performing gendered activities. Their postures, clothes, and activities embody the institutional ideologies regarding humanitarianism and normalization. The girls, for instance, were pictured in traditional costumes worn by Vietnamese women. They held in their hand a piece of cloth, indicating their working practices, such as knitting, which was reserved for girls in the

institution. These images portray the girls as being productive individuals. This is also illustrated

in other images from this collection, such as those that show the girls working in a coffee

plantation, eating and working. The disability, in these images, is made invisible - thus

displaying a fully humanitarian and disciplined perspective through colonial photography.

Image 3. The Deaf Boys Taught by Jacques Cam, image is published in The Silent Worker in the

year 1914
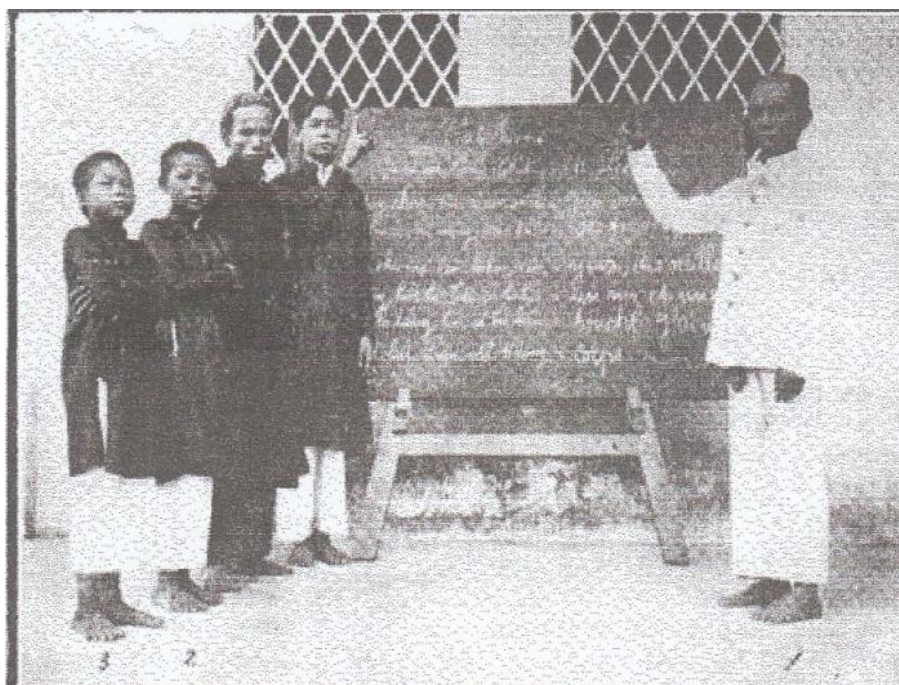


In the photo picturing the hearing impaired boys, a similar gaze is sketched: standing

straight, facing the photographer, the teacher performs a gesture that is indicative of the act of

teaching. The Roman scripts (Chữ Quốc Ngữ) on the black board distinctively characterizes

educational activities in the institution. Dressed in their traditional costumes and with bare feet

and crossed hands, the children - also facing the photographer - perform a different posture. The traditional costumes worn by the boys, and the white Western-style suit worn by the teacher, direct the viewers to the historical context in which the colonial empire was developed in Cochinchina. This context attributes meanings to the social practices of hearing impaired children in the indigenous education system. When juxtaposing the photo of the hearing impaired boys with the photo of the hearing impaired girls at work, a fuller sense of the normalizing practices is established. In such instances, the relationship between the institution and the child is shaped through the philanthropist ideology concerning the socialization and humanization of the "defect" - a marked ideology characterizing the Western cultural politics of Enlightenment that was established during the colonial period.

The emergence of an ideology of normalization - a characteristic of Western modernity - seems to be reinforced through these images. Colonialism is distinctly shaped by the Western ideologies of exploitation and civilization. Its policies, which were aimed at establishing population management, were applied to control things such as prostitution and women, and to enforce Western values (Rodriguez, 2001). Conveyed in most of the photos that were collected is a sense that specialized schooling transformed hearing impaired children into "normal" people through their involvement in institutional practices. The children, by participating in institutional living, exercised their relationship with the institution through their engagement in everyday activities. Through teaching and learning, and by participating in the workforce (as demonstrated in other photos), the children were characterized as "normal." Having made the children pose next to the school gate drew the invisible boundary between "normal" and "disabled." Through this theoretical lens of normalization and education, the disabled subject was constructed as normalized beings through institutional living. However, behind images, there were more

nuanced concerns with the control of indigenous children, as illustrated in the establishment of L'École des Aveugles - another institution for visually impaired children in the colonial regime.

*L'École des Aveugles*

L'École des Aveugles, a school for the visually impaired, was officially named in 1887. The school was a model of special education in Indochina and mirrors the special institutions that emerged in France during the nineteenth century. A visually impaired teacher, Mr. Nguyen Van Chin, who received his Braille training at the Association of Valeux Haiiy - a special institution for the visually impaired in Paris - founded it. Archival materials reveal an institutional concern with indigenous people who had developed a visual impairment prior to the establishment of this institution. For instance, the interest in developing charitable work for visually impaired children in Cochinchina is indicated in one of the very first letters of the Governor General of Indochina to the General Secretary of the Association of Valeux Haiiy in 1905. This letter stated that a small amount of funding would be allocated at the disposition of Chin to have him initiate some vocational work programs that he had learned in Paris, such as making mops and chairs. His intellectual quality, as well as his philanthropist attitude, was important in helping the colonial government to create a professional institution for visually impaired children in Saigon (See Appendix A).

Institutional surveillance was mounting after this special school was founded. A special commission was set up in 1898 to evaluate the results of the institutional training. The students, who were described as being capable of directing themselves in accordance with these methods, performed promising outcomes in the evaluation (Colonial archives, Procès Verbal, 1898). Upon investigation, the students were required to perform some basic tasks in word recognition, dictation, and arithmetic in French and in Chữ Quốc Ngữ. The commission's evaluation of the

students' performance, in accordance with their trainer's capacity, allowed for the expansion of this pilot project. The commission found that Mr. Chin's school "provides a real and important service to the local disabled" (Colonial archives, École des Aveugles, 1899a, 1899c, 1899d).

However, it seems that the constraint in funding posed a highly contentious problem for the management of this local institution. In 1901, four years after its establishment, the director of L'École des Aveugles received an increased amount of funding from France to develop the institution he had founded. This was also a time of increased dissent with regard to the school's organization. The report drafted by the Lieutenant Governor de Lamorthe to the administration of Cho Lon, for instance, expressed a suspicion of Chin's management skills. The Lieutenant Governor used this as a prerequisite to restructure the school's management style. This re-organization required transferring the school's management to the local administration in Cho Lon (Lamorthe, 1901). With more funding approved to facilitate the expansion of L'École des Aveugles, it seems that the institutional interest in expanding special educational services to public institutions continued to spread. This implies the historical emergence of special education and the normalization ideology in the governance of local institutions. The relationship between funding, management, and surveillance became contentious in exercising public control, as it raised a political concern about whose agenda is controlling the institutions. Thus, this event shows the fortification of the system of institutional surveillance (Foucault, 1977), exercised through the process in which control was reinforced through the educational services of children with disabilities.

L'École des Aveugles ceased to operate after the death of its founder in January 1905. The reconstruction of the school in April 1905 was marked by a new phase of public control. The new school was re-located to Cho Lon, with more facilities and good conditions for learning

(Lieutenant Governor of Cochinchina, 1905). The resurrection of L'École des Aveugles, however, was associated with the problem of social unrest occurring in Gia Dinh. A minute of the colonial administrator in 1907, for example, recorded an unexpected migration of hearing impaired children from Cho Lon to the school in Gia Dinh. This migration revealed a pressing concern among policymakers about social disorder, as well as about resettling social control in the region, without using force. Upon discussion, an administrator in the committee suggested shutting down the school of Gia Dinh and giving an increased budget to the administrators in Cho Lon: "The Commission on Various Affairs will propose that an indemnity of $1, 500 be awarded to Brother Louis on the condition that the school at Giadinh be closed" (Minutes of the Colonial Council, document 109, 1907). The concern with migration, within the institutional attempt to control the indigenous population, explains how schooling was used a means of exercising institutional control. It further reveals that disability issues became an institutional issue in the context of colonialism. The monk, policymakers, and special institutions - acting as the institutional forces through which social control were exercised - participated in educational activities. In this policy scenario, there is no evidence about the social status of these children. However, it seems evident that they were treated as both objects of care, and as a group of the population that was in need of surveillance. The political underpinnings of schooling, through the opening and closing of special institutions, provide us with a theoretical perspective into the institutionalization of children who appeared to pose a threat to the colonial control.

The cases of Lai Thieu School for the hearing impaired and L'École des Aveugles explain the institutionalization of special education in Viet Nam. However, the historical events in these schools show that a political agenda had been set forth very early by the colonial regime through the schooling of hearing impaired children in the public education system. For example,

the training of children with disabilities marked an emerging thought about governing disability through the provision of educational services. The practices of institutional organization, such as building schools, managing the private and public sectors, and controlling unwanted problems, manifest the institutional ideologies of humanism, while at the same time exercising power and control in the local practices. In the local practices, institutional living and the production of individual identities through education and vocational training worked in line with colonial policies that aimed to control, civilize, and normalize the indigenous population. The discourses, preoccupations, and practices enforcing institutional control in the historical narratives offered evidence of an in/exclusion which played out within the history of colonialism. Further, they demonstrate the imposition of Western ideologies of humanization and modernism into the Vietnamese context through special education services. This historical perspective will enrich our observation of inclusive education in the current context.

### *Disability and Forms of Institutionalization: Post 1954*

A few residual documents available in the post-colonial archives do not provide a clear vision as to how educational services were provided to disabled people during this period. The post-colonial time, marked by the establishment of separate political mechanisms in the North and South of Viet Nam, saw an increase in institutional policing in order to establish social order, stabilize society, and foster control over perceived "social evils." A growing concern with institutionalizing people with disabilities developed alongside an institutional concern about maintaining the social order. Authorities created profiles of people, such as lepers, drug users, prostitutes, and psychiatric patients. Social exclusion became more forcefully applied to social groups in the context of a growing institutional concern toward stabilizing the social order.

The most typical form of exclusion in the post-colonial period was institutionalization.

Archival documents record that the social programs that were created for disabled people in the North were instituted through the discourses of cure and treatment. People affected by Hansen's disease (leprosy), for instance, were institutionalized in specialized camps under the control of state institutions. In 1962, the Ministry of Heath reported to have established five camps in the North - two of which were founded by the colonial government. During this period, forced institutionalization was implemented in specialized camps in the Thai Binh and Bac Ninh regions. In situations where the disease was incurable, the patients were retained in the Van Mon and Qua Cam camps. Apart from these, some other camps were built in the areas outside of the community with a critical message to "educate the patients to avoid having contact with people living outside" (Ministry of Health, 1962, p. 4).

The management of disabled patients was applied through the state policies of forced institutionalization. Within these specialized camps, the mechanism of surveillance was applied through the provision of basic survival needs. For instance, to provide effective management, local institutions provided each patient and his or her family with a minimal monthly allowance, which comprised two coins and some personal belongings such as a blanket, clothes, and food. In severe cases, the patient was isolated from their family in order to undergo a special kind of treatment in a separate camp. The doctor in the camp supervised him or her. Only when the doctor in charge of his or her health evaluated that the problem no longer caused danger to the community could the patient leave the camps. To keep track of their individual situation, institutions recorded the number and social status of each patient who left the institution. These were people who were treated as "curable" patients. Archival materials recorded cases in which children were born in these camps and stayed there for their entire lifetime. Some were allowed to return to the community after many years of living in institutions (Ministry of Social Relief,

1957).

During the period of warfare, there was an institutional motion to change disability discourse surrounding welfare programs from being a matter of charity to one of social rights. These programs applied to the economically disadvantaged and disabled population in Southern Vietnam. Some residual policy documents show that there was an institutional concern with restructuring the social relationship between individuals and the state in the most difficult time of the war. It was held that in order to create good conditions for re-stabilizing society, the state should take care of its most vulnerable population. For instance, a program proposed by the Ministry of Health, Society and Relief stated that "individuals lacking opportunities have the right to demand and to receive social assistance at the same time with fulfilling their responsibility on self-improvement" (Ministry of Health, Society, and Relief, Four-year action program 1968-1971, 1968, p. 2). The emergence of the rights discourse in this text is essential because it demonstrates the different forms of social treatment of people with disabilities in different historical periods. This historical event will enable us to understand the contingencies of the institutional treatment for people with disabilities, and to reflect on the past when thinking about the emergence of the rights discourse within the contemporary context, as I will return to this issue in the following chapter.

Nevertheless, it seems that control of illness was still the most dominant strategy in social policy for economically disadvantaged and vulnerable groups (Ministry of Health, Society, and Relief, 1968). Like in the North, social programs were developed to retain people with disabilities in the camps and sanatoria. The purpose was to provide them with rehabilitation and essential skills. The rights discourse was developed through programs of social protection (Ministry of Health, Society, and Relief, 1968). In line with social work programs, the state

established some initial approaches to integrating disability into social welfare. These programs were distributed to disadvantaged groups on the condition that they met the social criterion of being economically disadvantaged, a victim of the war, a refugee, a woman, an orphan, a disabled person, or a young offender. People with disabilities, therefore, received welfare based on their eligibility for these disadvantaged categories. For instance, in a submission to the Southern government in 1965, the Minister of Society, Dam Si Hien, proposed a law on social protection for severely and visually impaired people. He suggested three conditions for people with disabilities to receive social protection from the government. The individual conditions included the loss of vision, the loss of 80% of working ability, and people without family or shelter. He further stated that "protection will end once the subject is no longer eligible for these conditions" (Ministry of Society, 1965, p. 2).

It seems that the provision of welfare for most disadvantaged groups, including severely disabled people, reflected the influence of liberal ideologies on public administration in the South. Citizens were granted some basic rights and responsibilities to manage their welfare based on the state's assistance. The state provided those in need with provisions such as free meals and monthly allowances in order to protect most disadvantaged citizens from being deprived of their basic rights. However, these provisions were not universal. For instance, social assistance and subsidies for people with disabilities were offered on the basis of an individual's eligibility for these programs. The degrees and types of impairment were used as a condition for individuals to be eligible for welfare programs. Thus, it appears that the logic of public administration during this period was significantly influenced by liberal ideologies that were applied through social programs of intervention, in that welfare was administered on the basis of individual needs. These programs were used to support most disadvantaged populations. At the same time, they

categorized the subject, distributed wealth and power, and legitimized institutional ideologies of social protection for the disadvantaged, including people with disabilities.

Due to the lack of historical evidence, it was unclear how these programs were carried out during this time. Most noticeable, however, are the different institutional approaches applied to disability in social policies. Programs of intervention were applied differently by authorities such as doctors and social worker depending on whether the individual's impairment was curable or not curable. Archival documents recorded that the provision of rehabilitation programs for visually impaired children were distributed in the early 1970s through USAID funded programs on rehabilitation, as well as through the education of these groups of children in special schools for visually impaired children, formerly known under the name of L'École des Aveugles (Kossick, 1970; Lam, 1970)[20]. Severely disabled people, however, were reported to be at high risk of being marginalized, and thus dependent on the state to provide basic social provision. This means that the way disability was treated was not always inclusive or exclusive. Rather, the social categories, division, and institutional procedures show that the treatment of disability in times of war differed among social regimes and ideologies regarding to governance of the population.

However, the post-war period, after 1975, saw the resurgence of an institutional concern regarding social control through policies on institutionalizing disability. At the time of the country's unification, crimes and suicides committed by psychiatric patients in the post-war period became an emerging problem for the authorities. A report by the Ministry of Internal

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[20] Archival documents show that L'École des Aveugles was re-divided and re-named into two schools, a school for the schoolboys (trường Nam Sinh Mù) and a school for schoolgirls (trường Nữ Sinh Mù), after the French re-established its authority in Viet Nam in 1954. These schools were re-opened in 1952 and 1958, respectively (Phan, Nguyen, Nguyen, & Le, 1998, *Proceedings of Nguyen Dinh Chieu School, 1898-1998*).

Affairs in 1980, for instance, reports that there were 32 murders committed by individuals with mental illness in 1979. In 1980, the Ministry of Internal Affairs reported that the homeless and persons affected by leprosy wandered in the streets, railway stations, harbours, and other crowded spaces, causing serious social disorder. In policymakers' language, people with "mental illness" were "trouble-makers" who created "social problems" in the early stage of the socialist regime (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1980). This document shows a contentious problem about disability and social order that emerged within state institutions in the post-war. People with mental illness were the representation of disorder that needs to be erased or controlled. As a result, tighter forms of institutionalization were applied to people with mental illness to maintain social control over the growing dilemma of impairment and disablement in the post-war period (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1980). In the late 1980s, the emergence of modern methods of intervention - namely rehabilitation, education, and vocational training - began, marking a new stage in governing the relationship between disability and institutional treatment.

### *Institutional Programs in Late 1980s*

The shift in the Communist Party's socio-economic ideologies in the late 1980s resulted in a shift in the government's strategies for governing the population. This was instituted in the re-organization of public services that called for expert knowledge, the re-framing of cultural policies that applied new forms of medical expertise to re-treat "social problem" such as sex and prostitution, and the regulating of individual conduct. The administration of new programs in medical intervention, social rehabilitation, criminal policing, and basic hygiene, mark the emergence of (neo)- liberal ideologies from the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Liberal governance reconstructs power relations through the use of expert knowledge in governing the public life. State enterprises and social services such as health care were commercialized to expand the

market mechanism and to create a sense of freedom and pleasure within the individual subject (Nguyen-Vo, 2008). These institutional strategies reframed the traditional approaches to treating the disabled population. The state research institutions, for instance, published numerous studies in the 1990s on topics relating to population issues, such as the relationship between economic development and the quality of the population, the development of population control strategies to the year 2000, and the methods of birth control (i.e, Tuong Lai, 1990, 1992; Vu, 1992; see also Gammeltolf, 2007; Pham, 1988). In a paper published in the *Sociological Review* in 1992, Tuong Lai (1992) suggested that the government's policymakers should consider things such as decreasing the birth rate, changing the population's behaviours regarding birth control methods, and improving the intellectual qualification of the population. Tuong Lai argued that to control population growth, scientific data on the population, such as the birth rate, death rate, and the process of migration needed to be carefully calculated to develop effective population policies. He expressed the concern that people with "congenital mental impairment" and without knowledge of birth control could exacerbate the situation by sustaining their lineage without being conscious of doing so (p.19). It seems, from the emergence of this literature, that a new mode of governance started to be employed through public policy following the neo-liberal approach. This mode of governance employed an ensemble of discourses and practices that rationalize so-called scientific and expert knowledge (Nguyen-Vo, 2008; Rioux & Zubrow, 2001). Which programs were provided, and how the emergence of these social programs in the late 1980s worked to foster these institutional ideologies in the provision of forms of treatment, are what I will discuss in the remaining section of this chapter.

Functional rehabilitation was the major approach to disability intervention in the post-war period. The Ministry of Health managed the program. It provided forms of treatment, prevention,

and rehabilitation for war-affected victims (Dang & Nguyen, 1981; Bui, 1990). For instance, before the reform was launched in the late 1980s, there were about ten special institutions in charge of hearing impaired and mute children (Dang & Nguyen, 1981). Institutions provided care to the children through various forms of medical treatment. Disability categories were established in social policy to decide individual eligibility and methods of treatment. Drawing from the World Health Organization Classification of Impairments, Disabilities, and Handicaps (WHO, 1980), individuals were classified through a continuum of disease: the more severe the disease is, the more likely that an individual would belong under the categories of "I" (Impairment), "D" (Disability), and "H" (Handicap) (Dang & Nguyen, 1981). Those who were found to be incurable or who were being treated as permanently disabled were transferred from the Ministry of Health to the Ministry of Labour, Invalids, and Social Affairs (MOLISA) to rehabilitate their social functions. Individuals were transferred from institution to institution based on the institutional capacities to receive and treat the number of patients. Favourable hospital and medical services were offered to the disabled people who were considered to be devoted soldiers, as well as to families of these people (see, for example, Dang & Nguyen, 1980; Ministry of Invalids and Society, 1980; Bui, 1990). People with disabilities were re-classified according to their being considered "curable" or "incurable," "deserving" or (implicitly) "non-deserving" cases (Ministry of Invalids and Society, 1980)[21].

The institutionalization of disability categories is a critical issue which I will return to when discussing the current context of policy reform. These categories reflect the emergence of

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[21] The name of the Ministry of Labour, Invalids, and Social Affairs (MOLISA) has changed over time under different historical periods and authorities. To maintain the authenticity of data, I used this name as originally noted in archival materials.

the bio-medical model, applied through interventions such as rehabilitation. These social services are programs of intervention to correct, rehabilitate, and bring the individual back to normal. The photo below, attached to a paper presented in a national seminar on disability and rehabilitation in 1990, captures the dominant approach to treating disability based on the medical model. The political dimensions of the institutional treatment of disability were characterized through the visual images of the child, the defect, and the need to apply medical approaches to rehabilitation. The relationship between the medical approach and the representation of disability is illustrated in these photos.

Image 4. The birth of rehabilitation [Author unknown], National conference National Seminar on Rehabilitation for Disabled Persons in Vietnam, MOLISA, 1990
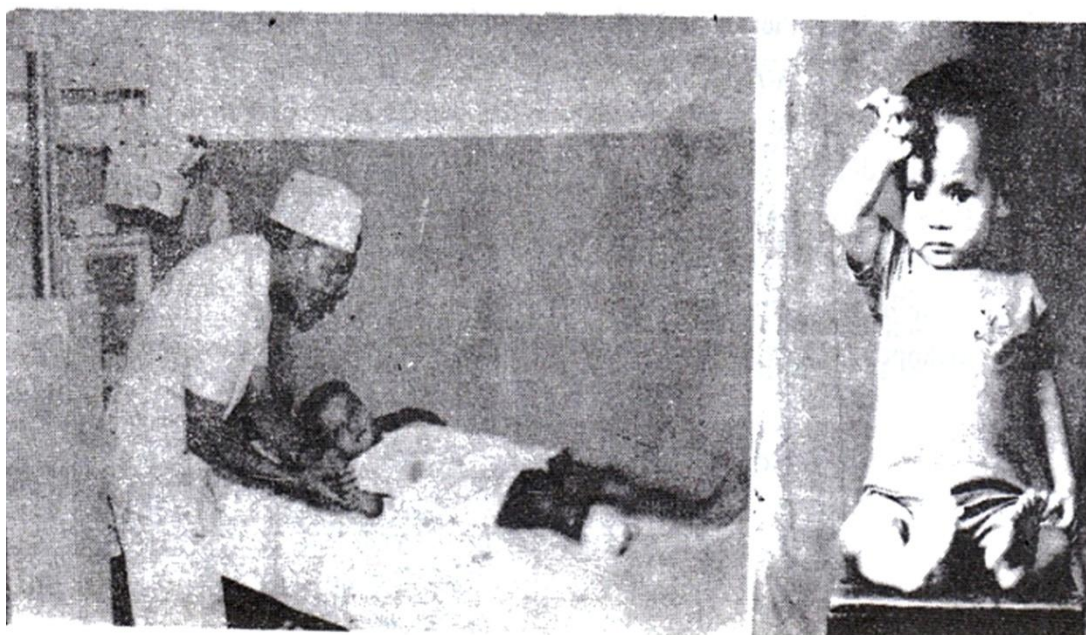
These photos represent one of the most typical approaches to the institutional treatment and prevention of disability in social institutions. These images appear in a paper presenting the state's services on medical rehabilitation for people with disabilities in Viet Nam in 1990. This paper, presented by Dr. Bui Chu Hoanh, deputy director of MOLISA's Institute of Rehabilitation and Orthopedics, used images as an illustration of the effects of the government and international NGOs' programs on providing medical treatment for people with disabilities. The images of the children were taken from different angles. For example, the camera captures an interesting relationship between the disabled child and medical doctors in the image on the left. In this photo, the anonymous child is being treated as patient. We assume that the child is being diagnosed by a doctor, who is taking her pulse in order to provide treatment. Moreover, although the child is pictured as disabled (describe the meaning of "disability"), it seems that the physical impairment is not the focus of the photographer. Viewers are guided to observe the doctor's action and then the consequences of his action in giving the child better health consequence. The impairment, therefore, seems to be minimized and compensated by the treatment offered by the caring doctor. The relationship between the child and the doctor, and the implications about the benefit of medical services on curing the suffering of disabled children, marks the emergence of the bio-medical model in local services. These textual conventions of photography demonstrate that institutional strategies in using medical services for the disabled population were emerging in the context of socio-economic reform.

The image on the right offers a contrast. In this portrait-style image, the camera pictures the body, rather than the social relationship between the child and the doctor as in the photo on the left. Facing the photographer and seeming to be somewhat posed in the style of western child-portraits from the 1950s (Mitchell, 2011b, personal communication) the child is sitting on a

chair. At the same time there is something about the image that tells us that this is not a studio portrait. The child's body seems to be cut into half because of the paralysis on the second of half of her body. The impairment is more obvious and revealing than in the image on the left. And while there may be an element of what Anne Higonnet (1998) and others might regard as innocence, it is perhaps more of a helplessness  the child  in need of institutional care and treatment – than just what it typically taken to being childlike innocence. Although the detail of these images are not very clear due to the decaying condition of the document, it nonetheless is able to tell us that medical professionals and childhood disability became a public issue in institutions. The juxtaposition between institutional practices and the image of the child in need of care institutionalizes medical knowledge as the most useful form of treating the individuals with impairment. These images, while reiterating the traditional conception of disability as the object of care and pity, represent a new approach to disability through the use of the bio-medical and functionalist model in rehabilitation.

The viewer of these images may question the political implications of such photographs: why images of children were used in such photographs? What were the implications raised by international and national stakeholders when picturing images of children? How did they signify the government's strategies in governing disabled population in this early reform period? These questions help us to understand the politics of visual images in rationalizing and legitimating governmentality (Nguyen & Mitchell, 2011). Managing individual conditions, health, education, and happiness were at the heart of the political agenda of modern technologies of government. Humanitarian programs since the 1990s have focused primarily on vulnerable population. Children's welfare became an intriguing issue for state institutions to plan and organize their social services because children represent the future of the country, as galvanized by many social

programs for women and children to refocus the state's priorities (Gammetolf, 2001, 2007).

Some international agencies such as UNICEF, Save the Children UK, and Radda Barnen focused

primarily on women's and children's issues (UNICEF, 1993; Cao, 1997; Radda Barnen, 1995).

Their programs were essential in providing health care, education, and rehabilitation for

vulnerable groups and individuals, whose corporal conditions were intrinsically tied to the

welfare of the state. The images of children, who were disabled because of landmine, warfare,

and poor nutrition, call into mind the historical condition of warfare and the effect of warfare on

many young generations. The content and affective nature of these images, thus, is rhetorical

devices for applying humanitarian programs of treatment to people with disabilities. Their

corporal and physical conditions form an integral part of the bio-politics which international and

national agencies were applying to manage the population (Gammetolf, 2007). As a result,

policymakers call for international agencies to invest money and technologies in order to bring

these children back to normal conditions, a place where they are supposed to live. The paper (in

which the photographs were posted) ends with a political message:

> [W]e much hope that the concerned ministries … as well as government and Non-
> government organization … wholeheartedly assists [sic] on all aspects to make it best
> possible in helping the handicaps [in] their earliest restoration of function in order to
> make them … equal and mixed [sic] with others in the social community (Bui, 1990, p.
> 18)

Despite the widespread application of functional rehabilitation, the disabled population

grew dramatically as a result of warfare. The effect of Agent Orange in shaping so-called

deformities, and the lingering problems such as landmine explosion in the formerly affected

warfare regions, became the primary concerns for international intervention (Pham & Duong,

2007). This institutional action was more pronouncing in the 1990s with the growing programs

and social services for people with disabilities, as well as the growing number of international

reports and recommendations on services applied to education, health care, and social programs.

For example, in a meta-analysis on disability data in Viet Nam, Kane (1999) aggregated data

from numerous agencies such as government ministries and NGO projects providing

rehabilitation services for people with disabilities. He pointed out that the prevalence of

disability varied significantly, according to the definition of disability which each survey applied,

as well as the methods used to calculate the disabled population. As Kane (1999) reported in his

study:

> The MOH has estimated a prevalence of disability in the general population of
>
> approximately 5.22 percent, based on a count of 238,140 disabled persons in areas
>
> covering a total population of 4,410,000 - about 5.8 percent of the total population of
>
> Vietnam. Of those persons having disabilities, the MOH estimates that about half need
>
> rehabilitation. (Kane, 1999, p. 10)

Kane's report indicates the role of international consultants in the management of

disability services. He recommended that institutional management of disability issues need to be

administered with more effective methods to be applied to welfare institutions. This report offers

a new way of governing the disabled population through the bio-politics of modern institutions;

that is, through the methods of knowing, diagnosing, controlling, and managing the population

and individual subject through institutional programs (Titchkosky, 2003). It is assumed that the

lack of reliable data about disability posed significant problems for the state to administer control

and social services. As Kane noticed, "[t]he classification categories of some types of disabilities

in some surveys or CBR program statistics are vague [such as] mental problem, upper

extremities affected, squinting eyes, or mobility problem" (Kane, 1999, p. 14). His comment

about the inconsistency among institutions in establishing appropriate methods for aggregating

disability data illuminates a contentious issue in the technologies of management. This means

that state institutions need to aggregate more reliable data for effective administration of the

disabled population through social services. In fact, historical evidence shows that medical

rehabilitation was offered as an institutional strategy in curing, rehabilitating, and bringing the

disabled person back to "normal" through rehabilitative services (MOLISA, 1990). Alongside

this, the process of normalization has been significantly carried out through the

institutionalization of the community-based rehabilitation programs (CBR), which started to be

applied in the local communities in the late 1980s through global interventions.

*Community-based rehabilitation programs*

The community-based programs (CBR) represent a different approach to treating

disability through social services. CBR is a modern method of rehabilitation. It applies

rehabilitation through the community, and offers services such as education, rehabilitation, and

vocational training. From the government's perspective, these programs are central to the state's

strategies of rehabilitation because they effectively normalized individuals through education,

rehabilitation, and prevention discourses (Trinh, 1990). Archival documents recorded that CBR

programs were institutionalized in the early 1990s in Viet Nam. These programs were evaluated

as "an effective solution for the issue of PWD [people with disabilities] in the community and an

appropriate model in line with Vietnam's socio-economic context" (Tran, Tran, & Tran, 2004, p.

10).

In his analysis of the international strategies for disability-related services, Miles (2007)

has linked the emergence of services for people with disabilities with the history of cultural

imperialism that entered the non-western world as early as through the European conquests in South-Asian countries. He sees the rehabilitation technologies being translated into these so-called developing countries as historical myths because such approaches were initiated in western countries and applied to countries with different cultural understandings of and beliefs about disability. Miles (2007) argues that CBR is one among many technologies of control that international forces have transplanted into the so-called developing countries. The use of such modern technologies that were applied to individuals with impairment, in addition to the inclusion of children with disabilities in regular classrooms, are remarkable phenomena reflecting the history of colonialism in the current context when disability services are provided in so-called developing countries.

The emergence of CBR programs in the Vietnamese context fostered the re-emergence of a normalization ideology, which was applied through such programs as special and integrated education (used under the name of inclusive education), vocational training, and community-based rehabilitation (CBR). These programs offered a mode of treatment at the community and institutional levels (Do, 1993; Trinh, 1990; Tran et al., 2004). For example, the practices of rehabilitation into the community and family institutions create an important network to reduce "childhood disability" (Tran & Tran, 1999). The programs were exercised through the emergence of expert knowledge workers, such as medical doctors and community workers. Tran et al. (2004) show that there was an increased number of medical centers applying CBR programs during the years 1987-2004 in 46 provinces in Viet Nam. They report that professional services were developed to detect the symptoms of hearing impairments, visual impairments, and individual problems. The establishment of rehabilitation centers, which grew from zero to more than twenty in the period of two decades, is critical for our understanding of the relationship

between disability and institutions. The growing number of institutions, in addition to social services such as functional and community-based rehabilitation for people with disabilities, indicates how national and international institutions have sought to develop expert knowledge through CBR programs. These programs foster integration through adopting a bio-medical political strategy in tracking and treating individual impairment. The relationship between institutional need for more intensive professional knowledge, the development of the CBR programs, and the context of social development becomes more stringent in the current context.

In short, CBR marked the modern technologies of control through a functional, individualistic, and economic rationale. A hundred years after the first model of special education was established in Cochinchina, normalization re-emerged in institutional ideologies through the state's intervention in the population's health and well-being. Before looking at these institutional ideologies more in-depth, I will discuss the institutional programs that were aimed at educating children with disabilities. I focus on vocational training within this section, and will continue to discuss special and inclusive education in chapter five.

*Education and vocational training*

In the history of our present, there seems to be an emerging way of thinking about normalizing and civilizing disabled people through educational intervention. The early programs of intervention in the 1990s seem to reveal an emerging interest in institutional policies regarding normalization. In fact, this ideology seems to be underlying the use of vocational training in fostering children's integration. That is, integrating them into mainstream institutions such as schools would help disabled persons to survive and become more productive in society. Educational programs like special and inclusive education and vocational training constitute a part of the CBR programs. These programs, like CBR, were institutionalized in Viet Nam in the

late 1980s (Tran & Tran, 1999; Tran et al., 2004). Vocational training was a model of education that prepared children and teenagers with disabilities with basic skills and techniques necessary for entering the workforce. The goal of vocational training was to turn children into more productive agents within society. This program was applied to disability through projects such as the one managed by the National Institute of Educational Sciences (NIES)[22], World Vision, and Foundation for International Development/Relief (1992). The institutional provision of vocational training programs was offered through the assumption that these children should get into the workforce after having attained a "certain level of general education" (NIES & World Vision, & Foundation for International Development/Relief, 1992).

As I will demonstrate in chapter five, the education of children with disabilities has re-emerged through this socio-historical movement. There was a humanitarian[23] incentive in offering children with disabilities different training approaches that helped them integrate into mainstream community. The assumption underlying this was that these institutional strategies would provide children with disabilities with some forms of education to socialize them in the labour maket. This ideology has been more universally applied in the current context of policy development in education (see chapter five for a detailed analysis). As demonstrated in this vocational training program, normalization was viewed as a rationale for the education sector to

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[22] The National Institute of Educational Sciences (NIES) was renamed the National Institute for Educational Strategies and Curriculum Development (NIESAC).

[23] Humanitarian activities have been administered by international agencies such as UNICEF, WHO, and international NGOs since the early 1990s to support the Vietnamese government over the socio-economic crisis (Grady, 1993; UNICEF, 1993; WHO, 2000; World Bank, IMF, & SRV, 1993). These international agencies have evaluated development issues in Viet Nam, and the need to support groups such as women and children through funding and lending programs, as well as through low-cost technologies and programs that targeted the poor and disadvantaged. The international programs for groups with disabilities were an integral part of these humanitarian approaches (MOLISA, 1990). Therefore, I used the term "humanitarianism" to indicate that these programs are underlined by the political agenda of development. Such actions have shaped a new form of treatment disability in modern institutions. See chapter four for more detailed analysis of this paradigm shift in disability programs.

define the goals of the child's education. This was applied, in particular, to the child with disability, as premised by this vocational training program, which focused on teaching trades to children with disabilities:

> Most of such children do not go very far in their academic learning. They need a certain amount of general education and social knowledge sufficient for them to be capable of courteous, civilized behavior, [and] know how to integrate themselves with the community. Vocational training should start early and in a more urgent way among the children with disabilities than any other child group. (p. 3, NIES et al., 1992)

The governing of the population's problem through state intervention is an institutional condition for the emergence of inclusion in policy discourses which I will explore in the following chapter. In this text, education through vocational training is a method of governing the individual's conduct or behaviours. The assumption underlying this model of education, as the text shows, is "for them to be capable of courteous, civilized behavior, [and] know how to integrate themselves within the community." This ethos of teaching, training, and correcting the individual through applying force upon their body and their mind is a new approach in treating disabled people in local practices (see chapter five for further analysis of these institutional actions in inclusive education programs).

This historical analysis shows that an ensemble of programs has emerged as the bio-political agenda of government in the public domains. The shift in government started to be set forth through local practices in a way that reinforced professional knowledge of disability through intervention programs. This process institutionalized the modern technique of governance through institutions such as the school and the family. These institutions functioned as the normalizing practices which objectified the disabled subjects through mainstream

programs. Therefore, my analysis shows that normalization ideology began to be set forth through the institutionalization of functional rehabilitation, community-based rehabilitation, and educational programs for children and teenagers with disabilities. These programs marked a new phase in treating the disabled population through new forms of intervention in the local practices. The normalization of people with disabilities, however, indicates a paradigm shift in the mainstream discourses, as I will further analyze in the next chapter.

## Conclusion

The institutionalization of CBR and vocational training in mainstream institutions formulates an integral part of the shift in the institutional treatment of disability, which continues to be debated in the current context (Lindskog et al., 2010). I have proposed that, through three major historical landmarks - including the colonial policy on special education in the late nineteenth century, the social policy in the North and South Viet Nam after 1954, and the post-war period - disability was a political issue within Vietnamese institutions. This is indicated through the programs of treatment which were applied to children and adults with disabilities in different historical contexts. Through analyzing historical narratives, stories, images, language, and discourses, I showed that the policies for people with disabilities were dominated by institutional control that was exercised through various programs, including social welfare and education. Treated as victims, problems, and troublemakers, most people with disabilities were excluded from mainstream institutions.

Educational programs for children with disabilities varied with different ideological implications. Education was applied to children with visual impairment in the colonial context to normalize the child with disability through institutional living. The re-emergence of these programs in the late 1980s implies a change in the institutional ideologies from the traditional

conception of disability as a sin and punishment into the modernist approach that focused on cure and treatment. It also marks the emergence of modern ideologies on rights and development that shapes the cultural politics of inclusion in Viet Nam. This historical narrative in institutional programs enables us to see the critical role of policies in shaping our ways of thinking about disability. As I will show in the remaining chapters, the institutional treatment of people with disabilities through education, rehabilitation, and employment is a modern ethos of governance which changed the ways children with disabilities participate in mainstream education. Such an historical perspective, I hope, will also provide us with a critical understanding of the institutional conditions of inclusion in Viet Nam. This "history of the present," to use Foucault's term, will enable us to reflect more critically when we examine the emergence of inclusion in the current context.

In the next two chapters, I will look at the discourses constructed in social policies to continue examining the politics of integration and normalization. However, I will show that modern ideologies have emerged in the global context through various approaches to inclusion. The emergence of the rights and development agendas is central to these agendas. Viewing these as integral to the mainstream discourses on inclusion, I seek to demonstrate how the emergence of the discourses and programs that we encountered in this chapter, as well as those that have recently emerged, is underlined by deep-seated ideologies of social control. To explore the discourses of inclusion in current institutional policies and practices, I will focus on what discourses have been used to attribute meanings to inclusion, as well as how the struggle to shape meanings has been influenced by multiple forces in the global context. The analysis of discourses and ideologies, therefore, will constitute the main discussion of the next two chapters.

**CHAPTER 4: POLICY, POWER, AND THE PARADIGM SHIFT OF INCLUSION**

> *Humanity does not gradually progress from combat to*
>
> *combat until it arrives at universal reciprocity, where*
>
> *the rule of law finally replaces warfare; humanity*
>
> *installs each of its violences in a system of rules and*
>
> *thus proceeds from domination to domination.*
>
> Michel Foucault, 1984, p. 85

**No More Exclusion: UN Rapporteur on Disability**

5 million people with disabilities, who make up 7% of the Viet Nam's population, face a daily battle for their basic rights. Among those of working age, most lack practical skills and only 30% can earn an income, according to the Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA).

Mr. Lindqvist says that the UN Standard Rules on Equalization of Opportunities, adopted in December 1993, establish clear guidance to governments on how best to end discrimination and integrate people with disabilities into mainstream employment, education and leisure activities. Many governments surveyed by his Office indicate that the Rules have led to rethinking of disability policies.

"It's encouraging to see that in Viet Nam, law-makers are beginning to accept that disability is first and foremost an issue of human rights," says UN Resident Coordinator Jordan Ryan. He added: "These basic rights include the right of a disabled child to attend school, the right of a disabled mother to enjoy quality health care, the right of a disabled

person to get vocational training or a job, or the right of all persons with disabilities to move freely on the streets and have access to buildings."

The United Nations is actively working to ensure that persons with disabilities can exercise their civil, political, social and cultural rights on an equal basis with non-disabled persons.

Excerpt from the UN website, United Nations, 2009

In 2009, the United Nations posted the "no more exclusion" text on its website. The text refers to the United Nations Standard Rules on Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities (United Nations, 1993a) as having established a clear guideline regarding "how best to end discrimination and integrate people with disabilities into mainstream employment, education and leisure activities." This process has been formulated with important ideological implications for institutionalizing inclusion in the context of social change. The discursive shift in this institutional policy toward a rights-based agenda is what this chapter aims to analyze, because it has had profound implications and can have an important impact on rethinking inclusion and exclusion in educational policies.

In order to understand inclusion in Viet Nam, we need to understand the institutional conditions that frame its meanings and politics; that is, the social treatment of disability in Vietnamese social, historical, and cultural frameworks. This chapter builds on the "history of the present," which I introduced in the previous chapter to interrogate the implications of inclusion in the contemporary context of policy development. I provide a theoretical perspective on the politics of inclusion in Viet Nam by examining the rights and development discourses that have been applied to disability policy since the late 1990s. This analysis will draw on global and local

changes in disability issues to deconstruct inclusion. To examine the paradigm shift that has

affected inclusion, I focus on the emergence of new forms of knowledge in social institutions

through disability policies, and move on to examine the institutionalization of these discourses in

educational programs in the following chapter. Thus, the questions that this chapter will address

are: Which discourses and ideologies have been used to shape the politics of inclusion in global

and national policies on disability? How have these discourses constructed inclusion within the

Vietnamese context? Understanding the historical emergence, as well as the ideological

implications of these discourses within the current frameworks of disability and inclusion in Viet

Nam, therefore, is what this chapter aims to achieve.

 As I noted in the first chapter, the meaning of inclusion is largely defined within the

context of development. The complexity of the global context of development frames the politics

of inclusion in the so-called developing countries[24], since these countries have developed local

policies that reflect the global agenda. The political agenda of disability and inclusion in public

institutions lies within this institutional development procedure. Thus, I will first examine the

rationalities underlying the global framework of disability rights and development to consider

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[24] Critical theory on development argues that "development" and "underdevelopment" are power-embedded discourses reflecting a Eurocentric ideology about development and human emancipation. These discourses are representations of knowledge that construct the power relations between the rich and poor countries. The term "development," used in global policies such as poverty reduction strategies applied to the countries in the global south, constructs poorer countries as "underdeveloped" and in need of intervention. Similar to Stuart Hall's argument about the social construction of the "West and the Rest" (Hall, 1996), "development" constructs images of the non-western world as "underdeveloped," thus perpetuating the modernist rationalities of civilization and social progress. This is a legacy of colonialism that continues to perpetuate in the modern context of power imbalances between countries in the world. These discourses have the constitutive effects of both maintaining and depoliticizing power (Moss, 2005; Tucker, 1999). I raise the controversy around the term "development" to indicate how inclusion has been shaped within the unequal power relations between the global north and south, as well as the relevance of development policies to the cultural politics of inclusion.

how global forces have had an impact on disability policies in Viet Nam[25]. Second, I examine the

Vietnamese framework of disability reform from the politics of rights and development. Finally,

building on this analysis, and reflecting on the political agenda of disability and exclusion that I

studied in chapter three, I analyze the ideological implications of this paradigm shift of inclusion.

My arguments are shaped around two theoretical vantage points. First, inclusion is a new way of

thinking about social justice in the global and local agenda of policymaking institutions. The

policies that recognize the rights of people with disabilities to participate in the social, political,

economic, and educational spheres demonstrate the shift in the political agenda of mainstream

institutions. The discourses in these policies establish a new set of rules that rationalize inclusion

as a modern ethics of institutional governance[26] that promotes inclusivity. Second, within the

socio-economic agenda of development, the institutionalization of inclusion reflects the

emergence of governmentality through the forms of knowledge that are associated with the

modern power that emerges from the policy and practices of institutions. This bio-political

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[25] Contemporary critics in disability studies have raised concern over the exclusion of disability issues from the development framework (Albert, 2004). It is argued that within the international context in which poverty reduction strategies have been applied to countries in development, disability issues have been sidelined from development. Another line of disability research indicates that regardless of the disconnection between advocates of human rights and development, global institutions have launched an initiative to bring human rights and development discourses into line (Center for Human Rights and Global Justice, 2003). I drew from these current debates, and my discourse analysis, to analyze the politics of human rights and development in regional frameworks such as the BMF and the Vietnamese framework. My implication is that rather than seeing these discourses as disconnected from each other, it is important to see their relationship in framing the politics of inclusion in Viet Nam.

[26] According to political scientists, the influence of neo-liberal ideologies on the Vietnamese government's handling of society is manifest in the emergence of the free market agenda, intensified through the development of a range of policies in the current context of policy reform. This liberal form of governance is associated with the emerging role of expert (medical and professional) knowledge in redefining the traditional discourse on disability. Evans and Bui (2005) argue that Vietnamese governing elites have sought to embed neo-liberalism in public policies while attempting to reconcile the contradiction of the market reform with the equity discourse underlying the traditional ideological implications of socialism. Nguyen-Vo, on the other hand, sees governmentality in Viet Nam as emerging through the liberalization of the economy, the normalization of particular forms of desire and freedom such as sexuality, and the creation of new forms of knowledge such as professionalism and the constitution of compliant subjects (Nguyen-Vo, 2008).

approach on governing disability through the normal/abnormal and productive/unproductive divide is an important ideological framework that I will explore in this chapter. This political agenda of inclusion reflects what Foucault (1977) refers to as the management regime in the public domain. This management regime reconstructs inclusion and exclusion through the conflicting agenda of citizenship rights, normalization, and development.

**Equality, Citizenship, and Development: A global/local perspective**

This section will offer an overview into the current approaches applied to disability issues in the international agenda. In the chart below (Figure 1), I show the emergence of an ensemble of discourses that are applied to inclusion. I use this diagram as a guiding framework to deconstruct the meanings of inclusion. The terms "global" and "local," according to Stuart Hall (1996), refer to the dimensions to which knowledge, values, and ideologies travel beyond the traditional territories of the nation-state in the international agenda. The "global" and "local," in other words, are the spatial dimensions that enable us to visualize the trajectories of public discourses. In this study, I use the terms "global" and "national" in order to differentiate these from the "local" level that we will examine in the next chapter. How citizenship, equality, and development have been reframed within the current policy dialogues, for instance, is critical, because these discourses have meanings and effects on restructuring the traditional forms of exclusion. The impact of the global and national ideologies in education will be further examined in the following chapter in my analysis of inclusive education, which is an integral part of the bigger framework of inclusion.

Figure 1. The discursive formation of the global/local discourses

| Discourses | Global ideologies | National ideologies |
|---|---|---|
| The rights discourse | *Citizenship & equality*<br>• Mainstreaming<br>• Rights and responsibilities<br>• Human rights (the rights to dignity, autonomy, equality, participation, & equal respect)<br>• Inclusive education | *Citizenship & normalization*<br>• Mainstreaming/segregation<br>• Rights and responsibilities<br>• Equal opportunity (the rights to participation, anti-discrimination, independent living)<br>• Inclusive/Integrated/ Segregated education |
| Disability and development | *Good governance & MDGs*[27]<br>• Neo-liberal ideologies, construction of modern nation-states; and the re-conceptualization of disability and citizenship<br>• Mainstreaming and management (disability is included in poverty reduction and country assistance strategies)<br>• Educational mainstreaming: Inclusive education *and* Education for All | *Governmentality & mainstreaming*<br>• Reconstructing inclusion & exclusion in social and political institutions; reconstructing the entrepreneurial subject<br>• Mainstreaming and management (disability is included in poverty reduction and development strategies)<br>• Inclusive/special education *within* Education for All framework |

Figure 1 demonstrates the relationship between the global and local ideologies through

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[27] Approved by the United Nations at the turn to the new century, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) aims to achieve global development through the eight objectives, including poverty reduction; achieving primary education for all; achieving gender equality; reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating HIVs and malaria, ensuring environmental sustainability, and developing global partnership (United Nations, 2000). While disability was sidelined within the eight objectives of MDGs, the mainstreaming of disabled people into the Millennium Development Goals in development strategy in 2002 signifies an important shift in the institutional agenda within the global context of development (Albert, 2004; Stein, 2007; World Bank, 2009).

two major discourses, rights and development, which have shaped the paradigm shift of inclusion in Viet Nam. It shows that these discourses, within the global agenda of citizenship rights and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), have been translated to Viet Nam through the institutional ideologies of citizenship rights, normalization, and development[28]. These discourses have shaped an institutional condition for inclusion in local context. For example, the rights and responsibilities discourse, set forth in global framework such as the Standard Rules, has had a profound implication in reconstructing inclusion in the global agenda of equal rights. It is also used as a rhetorical divide to reconstitute the disabled subject. Development policies, on the other hand, focus on shaping the entrepreneurial subject for modern development. While rights and development may clash with each other, these discourses co-exist and have restructured citizenship codes within the development agenda in Viet Nam. Further, as rationalities for inclusion, they are translated into policies and materialized through the programs of intervention such as inclusive and special (segregated) education. As a result, although these discourses and programs have been used to provide access to education for children with disabilities, the political implications of modern institutions in governing the disabled subject through mainstreaming programs also means that new forms of exclusion are being re-constructed through the influence of neo-liberal agenda in global development.

In order to understand this institutional web, it is important to revisit the historical context in which its discourses emerged. Historically, there was a parallel pattern regarding the

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[28] While the translation of western ideologies in local context might reflect the new expressions of the new imperialism, the significance of the paradigm shift of inclusion in the Vietnamese context is the primary focus of my analysis. Thus, while I will show some parallel patterns between the global and local ideologies, as well as the influence of global ideologies in local context, my argument is to demonstrate the emergence of inclusion in Viet Nam, as well as the reconstruction of new discourses that shape the rationalities and politics of inclusion in local context.

ideological shift in public policy that emerged in the international agenda and in Viet Nam. In the global agenda, the ideological shift in public policy was marked by the emergence of neo-liberalism and its relationship with disability movements in the mid-1970s onwards (Rizvi &Linguard, 1996). In public policy, the shift from the Keynesian doctrine[29] of the welfare state to the managerialist ideology of neo-liberalism has significantly influenced the political agenda of disability, citizenship, and integration. The institutional response to the disability movements was marked by the recognition of the civil and political rights of people with disabilities in the international agenda (Rioux, 2001, 2002). Countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and England ratified the rights of people with disabilities through legal frameworks. For example, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and the Disability Discrimination Act (DDA) in Australia were some prominent frameworks developed by the success of the disability rights movement (Barnes & Mercer, 2001b; Slee & Cook, 1999). In Canada, the framework of disability and human rights, enshrined by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom, was a significant landmark for recognizing citizenship rights for people with disabilities (Rioux, 2001; Prince, 2009)[30].

Although the international frameworks have institutionalized the rights-based discourse

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[29] Keynesian theory is an economic theory about the role of government in managing spending in the public/private domains. Different from the classical, laissez-faire theory that assumes that the market corrects itself through the operation of the market's demand, production, and employment, a Keynesian doctrine suggests that government spending should be used to regulate the economy and to ensure that the state redistributes the fruit of the economy through the delivery of social services (Drache, 2001). This theory was established to explain and address the effects of the Great Depression in the 1930s, and has been used as a framework for social welfare since the Second World War. After the economic downturn in the 1970s, Keynesianism came under attack by neo-liberalism for supposedly creating an excessive burden on the economy. Rioux & Zubrow (2001) use this idea in their critique of the economic rationality underlying the neo-liberal framework of social welfares. They argue that social policy has been significantly motivated by economic ideology in reducing the state intervention and promoting deficit reduction. This trend has the effect of diminishing the state responsibility to provide social services for people with disabilities as a public good.

[30] See Barton (2001), Fulcher (1999), and Barnes, Oliver, & Barton (2002) for other international contexts.

in disability policies, the notion of rights and citizenship is highly contested (Rose, 1999, 2008; Samson & South, 1996). Rose (1999, 2008) argues that neo-liberal institutions have used notions such as "community" and "citizenship" as moral ways of governing the public domains. The discourse of citizenship, when applied to young citizens through education programs and social welfare, constructs the subject as the locus of social responsibility that rationalizes the distribution of welfare and social order. Similarly, Samson and South (1996) argue that citizenship discourse was used within the new right's market agenda as a "political lexicon" to enforce exclusion. They show that to maintain control over migration within the context of geo-political change in Europe in the early 1990s, European governments have applied the discourse of citizenship to legitimize the exclusion of individuals who were not granted citizenship rights. Thus, despite the inclusionary implications of rights, the rights/citizenship discourse was also used as a device to justify the process of institutional policing and the politics of exclusion within the modern context (Bauman, 1997, 2000).

Regarding disability and citizenship rights in the current context of globalization, Rioux & Zubrow (2001) argue that neo-liberal strategies, indicated in the pressure to cut budget deficits, the reduction of social programs in the welfare states, and the discursive shift in the concept of citizenship itself, have all had a detrimental impact on reinforcing exclusion. These strategies reinforce individualistic, bio-medical, and functionalist approaches applied to people with disabilities. The controversies of citizenship and in/exclusion in neo-liberal policies, therefore, raise critical questions regarding the context and the ideological implications of inclusion in the global and local agenda. I discuss below the implications of global ideologies on rights and development, before addressing the influence of these discourses in the Vietnamese context.

*Global Development and Disability Rights*

In this section, I provide a brief overview of the approaches to inclusion found in documents produced by the United Nations and the World Bank. The current literature on disability rights and development has been very complex due to the convergence and divergence among these theoretical lines when they are used to frame a policy agenda (i.e., Sen, 1999; 2004; Rioux, 2001, 2002; Albert & Hurst, 2006). I do not attempt, within the scope of my thesis, to capture all issues underlying global discourses and ideologies. Rather, the influence of the global forces on reconstituting inclusion in Viet Nam is what I attempt to understand. I trace the influence of global policies on rights and development in order to show the interaction between global and local ideologies of inclusion, as well as the ways these discourses have influenced the politics of inclusion in the Vietnamese context. The section that follows will look at the implications underlying the human rights discourse in the United Nations' global and regional framework of disability rights, and the disability and development discourse emerging in neo-liberal politics of institutional development.

*United Nations and inclusion*

The United Nations' framework on disability rights and inclusion has been well addressed in previous studies (Ingstad, 2007; Quinn & Degener, 2002; Rioux, 2002; Rioux & Zubrow, 2001; Stein, 2007). Historically, the universal discourse of human rights, institutionalized in the UN Declaration on Universal Human Rights (United Nations, 1948), was not applied to disability issues until the adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Mental Retardation Persons in 1971, and the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons by the United Nations in 1975 (Ingstad & Whyte, 2008). In 2006, the Convention on The Rights of Persons with Disabilities was signed by 149 countries and ratified by 103 countries across the

globe (*Development and human rights for all*, United Nations Enable website, n.d.). The

Convention provides a historical landmark for human rights to be applied to disability issues as a

universal standard of inclusion (Stein, 2007; Rioux, Basser, & Jones, 2011).

At the same time, the human rights discourse has been more widely debated in the

contemporary context (Falk, 2000; Stammer, 2009; Mahoney, 2010). Critics argue that the

human rights framework manifests many complex dimensions of power. The institutionalization

of the discourse within an asymmetrical relation of power has resulted in dilemmas in sustaining

power and sovereignty in non-western context. Stammer (2009), for example, argues that one of

the dilemmas of human rights in the international context is expressed through the "fetishism of

institutional and legal domains" (p. 22), in that the institutionalized aspects of human rights in

legal and political institutions have served as a "civilizing process" that powerful countries have

applied in their foreign policies. Further, the dilemma of the discourse of human rights, as

Stammer argues, is expressed in the complex and ambiguous relationship of the discourse in

relation to power. For example, the struggles for human rights by grassroots movements are so

often transformed into laws and policies as an institutional device that serves the power and

interests of dominant groups. Thus, the problem of institutionalism is that of legitimacy, in that

the struggle to give "power to" disadvantaged groups is transformed into "power over," which in

turn, perpetuates the problem of domination in society[31].

To understand the implications of disability rights, I analyze below two major United

Nations' frameworks that were applied to the Vietnamese policies, including the *Standard Rules*

*on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities* (United Nations, 1993a) and

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[31] See also Sen (1999) on three critiques of human rights discourse, including the legitimacy, coherence, and cultural critiques (pp. 227-232).

the *Biwako Millennium Framework towards an Inclusive, Barrier-free and Rights-based society* (BMF) (UN ESCAP, 2002)[32]. These frameworks provide us with a historical perspective into the emergence of the rights discourse in Vietnamese policies on disability.

The first and most important implication of rights is the institutional recognition of the equal status of people with disabilities. For example, the Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities (United Nations, 1993a) has provided an important instrument for disability rights, including the social, political, economic, and cultural rights, of people with disabilities at the national level. The Standard Rules hold that to be equal, individuals (with or without disabilities) need to be entitled to the same rights *and* responsibilities as others, as well as having their rights and responsibilities recognized by mainstream institutions. This theoretical implication is highlighted in the purpose of the framework:

> The purpose of the Standard Rules is to ensure that girls, boys, women and men with disabilities, as members of their societies, *may* exercise the same rights and obligations as others. (*Purpose and content of the Standard Rules on the Equalization of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities,* United Nations, 1993a, my emphasis.)

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[32] The United Nations' Convention on the Rights for Persons with Disabilities (United Nations, 2006) is a universal convention adopted by its member states and international parties. However, regional frameworks such as the BMF seem to have had a more significant influence on countries to develop their respective policies. The Biwako Millennium Framework (BMF) came after the Decade of Disabled Persons 1993-2002 (United Nations, 1993b) and the Standard Rules (United Nations, 1993a). These frameworks were applied to disability issues in the Asia and Pacific Region. The BMF framework has seven policy targets, including self-help organizations for persons with disabilities and related associations; women with disabilities; early detection, early intervention and education; training and employment; access to built environments and public transport; access to information and communication; and poverty alleviation. The Vietnamese National Action Plan on Disability (SRV, 2006), signed by the Prime Minister, has been built upon this framework.

This statement is important to take into account because it elucidates the meaning of equal rights within the global agenda of inclusion. Equality is stated in the phrase "girls, boys, women and men with disabilities … *may* exercise the same rights and obligations *as others*." The institutional strategies which the Rules has stipulated, such as public education, rehabilitation programs, and information campaigns concerning persons with disabilities, aim to disseminate the institutional recognition that "persons with disabilities are citizens with the same rights and obligations as others (rule 1, item 2). In the statement that I quoted above, the rights discourse has a connotation with "equal status," as indicated in the phrase "as members of their societies." In this framework, disability is re-defined through the rights/citizenship discourse, which requires modern institutions to redistribute power and resources to enable people with disabilities to participate in mainstream institutions. The phrase "the principle of equal rights implies that the needs of each and every individual are of equal importance" rationalizes the ideological implication of equality through the redistribution of resources based on individual needs. As it further states, "those needs must be made the basis for the planning of societies" and "all resources must be employed in such a way as to ensure that every individual has equal opportunity for participation" (*Introduction*, item 25, United Nations, 1993a). This principle, when applied to disability issues, means that the needs of people with disabilities are of equal importance as those of non-disabled people.

However, as a non-legally binding rule, the Standard Rules provides member states with some degrees of self-determination to materialize the United Nations' human rights framework within their respective local conditions. Thus, although equal rights were internationally adopted in the Standard Rules, they were contingent on nation-states to institutionalize this global initiative within their national and local conditions. The verbs "*may*" and "*should,*" used within a

framework of rights and entitlements, indicate that rights are moral imperatives for member states to reframe their policies. For example, the Rules has stipulated the following: "states *should* ensure that responsible authorities distribute up-to-date information" (article 1); "states *should* initiate and support information campaigns concerning persons with disabilities and policies" (article 2); and "states *should* ensure that public education programmes reflect in all their aspects the principle of full participation and equality" (article 4). At the same time, the use of the modal verbs "*may*" and "*should*" reflects the fact that the United Nations does not have sovereignty over its member states regarding the rights of people with disabilities, and inclusion was recommended as a moral action that states *should,* rather than *must* conform to[33]. By contrast, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, passed in 2006, uses the modal verb "shall" in the convention's regulations. The Convention has set up a normative set of rules that re-structures the traditional forms of exclusion through the regulations of the relationship between state and population. Statements such as "States Parties *shall* prohibit all discrimination on the basis of disability" (United Nations, 2006, article 5, item 2), and "States Parties *shall* take all appropriate steps to ensure that reasonable accommodation is provided" (article 5, item 3) indicate that a global framework of rights for people with disabilities has been

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[33] In his analysis of the United Nations' human rights paradigm, Stein (2007) makes a distinction between "hard laws" and "soft laws." Hard laws are the core treaties that the United Nations promulgated with a legal binding over nation-states. The two international covenants, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), are "hard laws" because they require nations-states to respect the human rights treaties within their respective frameworks. "Soft laws," on the other hand, are not legally binding, but they provide specific conditions for protecting the individual's rights. The Standard Rules is one such example of the "soft laws" within the United Nations' human rights framework.

legally adopted within human rights treaties (see also Stein, 2007). The change of modal verbs from "should" to "shall" forces nation-states to institutionalize disability rights and inclusion.

As I indicated, it is widely recognized that the convention has been a landmark for the disability rights movement (Stein, 2007, Kim, 2010). This framework highlights individual rights to dignity and autonomy; non-discrimination; full access to participation and inclusion; respect for difference; and equality of opportunity. These principles of rights, freedom, and equality construct a more comprehensive framework of rights. To realize these principles, the first obligation that states must undertake is "to adopt all appropriate legislative, administrative and other measures for the implementation of the rights (article 4, item 1). It is important, however, to distinguish human rights in theory and human rights as a discourse in practice. A critical perspective of human rights requires that we examine different sets of rights in relation to structural power, as well as understand the emergence of some particular rights within the struggles of disadvantaged population within the global and national context (Rioux, 2002). I argue, therefore, it is important to understand the implications of human rights discourse within the *current* context, when the discourse is travelling within the global order with critical implications for institutional power and for the disabled population. An understanding of this politics of rights and power in practice is essential because this discourse has framed inclusion in Viet Nam. By situating the discourse within the context, we are able to trace the relationship between the rights, development, and the institutionalization of the bio-medical model. To understand how governmentality has constructed inclusion and exclusion with some particular effects on the disabled subject, I examine how the rights discourse has been formulated in relation to disability and development discourse at the regional and national level during the last decade.

In 2002, the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific ratified the BMF (United Nations ESCAP, 2002). This regional framework "encourage(s) Governments to actively implement the *paradigm shift* from a charity-based approach to a rights-based approach to the development of persons with disabilities and to move towards the human rights perspective" (Preamble, BMF, United Nations ESCAP, 2002, my emphasis). As a *paradigm shift* on disability and inclusion, the BMF sets in motion a condition for shifting the traditional approach in the Asia and Pacific region, where charity and exclusion was a dominant approach. This rights-based, inclusive, and barrier-free framework effectively combines rights, development, and the bio-medical model of disability within the broader framework of social development (United Nations, 2000). For instance, to promote the rights discourse within a development context, the BMF stipulates seven policy indicators, such as establishing policies with resource allocation to support self-help groups of persons with disabilities, mainstreaming women with disabilities, providing health care (through early detection and intervention), education (through inclusive education), and employment (through training, self-employment, capacity building, and poverty alleviation). These strategies stipulate the principles of human development. At the same time, the BMF reinforces, rather than dispenses with the medical model. Within nine principles that it sets out to promote rights and development, three principles focus on gathering disability statistics; early intervention; and community-based rehabilitation and prevention of the causes of disability. These principles institutionalize the bio-medical of disability in developing context, where the majority of people with disabilities are poor and do not have access to health care and treatment. While it might be argued that these interventions are based on a rights-based perspective and may provide important treatment for people with disabilities, an individualized and medicalized approach for treating people with disabilities has

been used as a prerequisite for people with disabilities to participate into the economic

mainstream. These indicators, built upon the United Nations' human development indexes,

demonstrate that global institutions have used policies as a means to redress exclusion and

injustices through mainstreaming disability through development framework in non-western

countries[34]. As a result, the Vietnamese national action plan for people with disabilities has been

reframed according to this regional agenda (SRV, 2006a, Nghiem, 2007).

Further, the way rights and development discourses have been translated into disability

policies is significant because it shows the ways meanings are constructed through practice. That

is, although the rights and development discourses are theoretically distinctive both in terms of

their genealogical and ideological implications, BMF seems to have successfully reconciled the

rights-based agenda of inclusion within a broader framework of development[35]. This is indicated

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[34] According to Quinn & Degener (2002), the worldwide process of disability reform, based on such moral values of modern societies as dignity, equality, autonomy, participation, and equal respect, has re-established the relationship between disability and institutions. The Convention on the Rights for Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) is an international agenda of social justice which recognizes the social construction of disability through institutional forms of exclusion. Within this framework of disability and human rights, citizenship is re-affirmed through the rights of people with disabilities to participate "as equal members" and "as individuals with dignity and equal respect to participate in the mainstream society" (United Nations, 2006). In my study, however, I have focused on the Standard Rules and the BMF, because the Vietnamese policies on disability have been built more significantly on these international frameworks. Thus, I do not attempt to analyze different sets of human rights, as rationalized by the United Nations' Convention, in this chapter.

[35] Theoretically, the rights and development discourses have adopted distinctive political agendas. Advocates of human rights discourse see the rights-based framework as central to the global agenda of social justice (Falk, 2000). Human rights include different sets of rights, including civil and political rights (first generation), social, economic, and cultural rights (second generation), and human rights to development (third generation). Human rights discourse has been also prominent within the disability rights movement because this discourse re-conceptualizes disability as an issue of human rights, rather than a problem of the individual with impairment (Albert & Hurst, 2005; Rioux, 2001). Development discourse, on the other hand, has been applied within a wider agenda of social development, where human development is used as a means for individuals to participate into the market force. The United Nations' human development index, put forth by Sen's capabilities theory, has sought to formulate a people-centered approach that focuses on human freedom and the individual capacities to transform institutional power. The relationship between rights, development, and individual autonomy within the context of global governance, creates a new agenda of human rights to development that has become more prominent in development policies, including disability policies. In the World Bank's approach on inclusion, the rights discourse is used within this framework as a means that enables individuals to participate into the global market (see also McInerney-Lankford & Sano, 2010).

within the "human rights to development" approach which has become prominent within the

United Nations and its related agencies. For example, although the language of rights is a

prominent discourse of the BMF, this rights-based approach has been used as a catalyst for the

Millennium Development Goals. BMF recognizes that "an estimated 400 million persons with

disabilities have the capacity to contribute to national development in the Asian and Pacific

region" (United Nations ESCAP, 2002, Preamble, article 1). It further argues that "issues relating

to persons with disabilities are vital concerns to be addressed in realizing the relevant millennium

development goals and targets" (Preamble, article 13). The underlying implication of this rights-

based framework is that the removal of barriers for people with disabilities will contribute to the

removal of barriers to the Millennium Development Goals. The rationalities of rights,

participation, and development are institutionalized through the actions such as "training of

persons with disabilities," "promoting participation of women with disabilities in mainstream

development," and "rais[ing] the public awareness," indicate a set of actions, measured by

human development index, that is formulated within disability policies.

A paradigm shift, to have meaning, should of course have some effect on individuals.

While in one sense this goes far beyond the scope of this type of thesis, I do, in chapter six, hint

at what some of those effects might be. The institutionalization of rights and development

discourses in the region, with 80% of the disabled population in the world, is an institutional

The relationship between rights and development within global Millennium Development Goals has significant implications for the Vietnamese framework of disability and inclusion.

action recognizing and tackling multiple forms of exclusion caused by poverty, malnutrition, maltreatment, and powerlessness. Within the global framework of governance, the initiative on including a large proportion of people with disabilities into mainstream societies is significant - particularly for people with disabilities - as disability has continued to be marginalized in mainstream institutions (United Nations, 2007). This framework, therefore, is a radical break from the traditional expressions of exclusion that people with disabilities have faced around the world. In the context where 600 hundred million of people with disabilities around the world are still suffering from multiple forms of exclusion such as extreme poverty, marginalization, and powerlessness, the political dimensions of inclusion, such as equality rights, forms of entitlement, and the provision of social programs for people with disabilities, are undeniably essential. This is an important contribution of the rights-based framework of inclusion. However, I am arguing for understanding the implications behind this framework of inclusion, because such understanding may provide us with historical consciousness about the significance of inclusion, as well as the problems of institutional policies that carry the term "inclusion" within the present context.

Based on the historical perspective of disability and exclusion that I analyzed in the previous chapter, it is significant to acknowledge that the international movement of human rights has set a condition for inclusion *in relation to* governmentality at nation-states level. To use Foucault's term, the *governmentalization of the state*[36] (Foucault, 1991) has acted as an

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[36] Inspired by the work of Foucault, sociologists who use governmentality studies see the state as an institutional apparatus that is constituted through the modern forms of government. For example, while many western societies have been known as "welfare states" since the first half of the twentieth century, these theorists argue that these programs of intervention do not necessarily give birth to a new form of state. Rather, the state exists through a plethora of networks that is established by the rationalities and technologies of government (Rose & Miller, 2008). In this study, I was not aiming to explore this political aspect of the state. However, the reframing of the role of the

institutional condition for inclusion within a rights-based agenda. The governing of state institutions is essential for effective management of marginalized population (Rose, 2008). Government observes, manages, and applies forces upon its population through a set of rights - a normative rule to be observed and governed in modern context. This form of productive power individualizes and normalizes the disabled subject through their rights and obligations, and through programs of intervention - referred to as bio-politics (Foucault, 1980). Further, the emergence of a new set of individual rights such as the rights to participation and inclusion does not dispense with the rights and obligations discourse. Rather, these rights have been incorporated within a process of restructuring state institutions in order to better govern the disabled citizens. Thus, the context and politics of a right-based approach to inclusion that I analyzed provide us with different levels of implications for rethinking the ethical and political project of modernity wherein the relationship between state institutions and individuals is morally and politically reframed. This set of rights, however, is not universally constructed as a principle of human right per se. Rather, alongside the rights-based agenda, disability and development discourse seems to be a more prominent approach that has emerged in current context. This discourse redefines rights and individual subjectivity. Thus, a more critical understanding of inclusion needs to be examined through the emerging politics of inclusion within development policies. In the next section, I examine the convergence and divergence between the United Nations' approach and that of the World Bank to elaborate on this global politics of governance.

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state within global frameworks such as the Standard Rules helps us to understand the ways governmentality has emerged through the institutional mechanisms which restructure the relationship between the state and the disabled subject.

*The World Bank and inclusion*

The World Bank's emerging interest in disability and inclusion is reflected in some of its recent publications, such as *Making Inclusion Operational* (Guernsey, Nicoli, & Ninio, 2006 ), and *Social Analysis and Disability: A Guidance Note* (World Bank, 2007). The Bank's politics of inclusion was framed around the shift in neo-liberal strategy of including people in the third world into the economic mainstream. Inclusion was formulated by the Bank's former President James Wolfensohn[37] within the broader framework of poverty reduction and empowerment of poor and disadvantaged populations. Inclusion is used in the Bank's approach as a method of governing the states and these disadvantaged populations, including those with disabilities. Within the disability movement, however, the rhetoric of inclusion has been questioned (Dingo, 2007). For instance, it has been argued that neo-liberal strategies aim to reconstruct the able/disabled subject through normalizing discourses which aim to fit individuals and nation-states within the rationalities of economic development (Dingo, 2007; Yeo, 2005).

In his lecture addressed to the World Bank about disability and justice in 2004, posted on the World Bank's website, the philosopher Amartya Sen argues that "overlooking or ignoring the plight of the disabled is not an option that an acceptable theory of justice can have" (Sen, 2004, p. 2). He argues that disability policies should focus on a large domain, including "the amelioration of the effects of handicap" and "programmes to prevent the development of disabilities" (Sen, 2004, p.7). Based on his argument that distributive justice (the state's

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[37] During his ten years as the president of the World Bank (1995-2005), Wolfensohn worked on major changes in neo-liberal policies such as reducing poverty and including gender, ethnicity, and disability in development policies. The poor, gender, and people with disabilities were to be included into mainstream economic development and turned into productive member of society (Wolfensohn, 1997, 2004).

distribution of income, resource, and opportunities) is inadequate in addressing disability issues within the global dilemmas, Sen (2004) argues for using a theory of justice that addresses individual disadvantages based on an institutional appraisal of individual (dis)advantages, capabilities, and actual freedom. That is, Sen argues that any theory of justice must be based on certain normative criteria about fairness. This theory of justice, when applied to people with disabilities, requires institutions to evaluate the individual's functioning and capability to transform his or her situation. People with disabilities are not only disadvantaged because of their lack of access to income, rights, liberties, desire, and pleasure, but also because of their lack of capability to convert these opportunities into actual freedom. Further, people with disabilities in developing contexts not only need more income and resources to "alleviate their handicaps" (p. 7), but also preventative measures in order to reduce the incidence of disability, and to transform their disadvantages through the opportunities offered in development policies and programs. His theory of justice justifies the need to incorporate disability issues into mainstream discourse on development.

Sen's discourse of "disability and justice" represents a landmark in shifting institutional policies towards an agenda of disability, inclusion, and development. The shift in policies for people with disabilities is not disconnected with the ideological shift in neo-liberal reform, where the role of state institutions has been re-focused in neo-liberal strategies as a political actor in development discourse. Rather, it calls on state institutions to exercise power to retreat people with disabilities with rights, freedom, and opportunities for participation. Accordingly, the discourse of inclusion that the Bank has adopted appears to use a more equitable approach for most disadvantaged populations in terms of maximizing opportunity for participation. However, economic efficiency and effectiveness, rather than equity and social justice, is prominent in the

Bank's discourse. For example, the new inclusionary approach that the Bank applies requires

that exclusion be tackled to maximize the productive profit, as argued by the policy consultants

for the World Bank:

> Mounting evidence points to the high economic costs of excluding people with
>
> disabilities on the development agenda and the productive cycle—as it is estimated that
>
> the global annual GDP loss due to exclusion of people with disabilities from the labour
>
> market is between US$1.37 and 1.94 trillion. Furthermore, disability does not affect only
>
> one individual, but usually has ongoing repercussions on an entire household, especially
>
> in terms of time and money that is required to provide special care for an individual with
>
> disabilities. (World Bank, 2007, p. 3)

Disability and development is one of the major discourses within the current trends on

disability policies initiated by the World Bank (see figure 3; also Metts, 2000). The disability and

development discourse, a derivation of the "development oriented disability policy," is

conceptualized as "[policies and strategies] that seek to reduce the economic costs of disability

by increasing the functionality of people with disabilities and reducing the barriers that impede

their access to social and economic opportunities (Metts, 2004, p. 9). If it is assumed that if

disability can cost society money, then including people with disabilities into society may

balance out this cost, while at the same time contributing to the global march towards poverty

reduction and human development. To do this, normalizing the disabled body through so-called

inclusion is used as an effective strategy within Mett's economic approach. That is, the inclusion

of people with disabilities into mainstream institutions is expected to fix the "problem" of

disability through institutional organization of social activities such as rehabilitation, work, and

education. This normalizing process is more cost-effective than exclusion. Thus, cost-

effectiveness, rather than human rights, is the rationality of disability and development. This functionalist account aims to correct the malfunctions, assumed to be located within the individual body, and creating mainstreaming opportunities for integrating them into social, economic, and educational environment.

In the document *Social Analysis and Disability*, the rationalities of inclusion from the Bank's perspective are elucidated: given that the interconnection between poverty and the exclusion of people with disabilities from the mainstream institutions is economically detrimental to the development of modern institutions, inclusion is suggested as a favourable approach for the economy. The cost of exclusion in the field of global development is calculated through this human capital approach. The amount of US$1.37 and 1.94 trillion, the cost of excluding this social group from the labour market, illuminates an economic rationality promoting the development agenda of inclusion. The inclusion of people with disabilities, in other words, is economically effective because it reduces absolute poverty and increases human capital (currently reframed as social capital) through the Bank's programs of intervention in developing countries[38]. Through poverty reduction strategies, inclusion has been used as a strategy of governance that aligns well with the United Nations' approach to inclusion. Thus, in current documents, the discourse of human rights is shaped alongside development to rationalize the strategies of inclusion. For example, in *Making Inclusion Operational,* published by the World Bank (Guernsey et al., 2006), the authors used the framework of inclusion, equity, and access as an integrated approach that links the rationalities on economic development,

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[38] The Bank's lending programs such as Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) have incorporated the elements of inclusion as a category for investment in the Bank's programs of intervention (World Bank, 2002).

rehabilitation, and empowerment. This approach defines "inclusion" in line with "development," and "people with disabilities" with "equal partners" of development activities.

> **Inclusion** [means] people with disabilities should be accepted as equal partners in development and included as full participants in all development activities.
>
> **Equity** [means] people with disabilities should enjoy equitable access to the benefits resulting from development activities. As well, development activities should promote non-discrimination and equal opportunities for people with disabilities to participate in every facet of life –civil, political, economic, social and cultural.
>
> **Access** [means] people with disabilities should enjoy equal access to the built environment, transportation, information, and communications infrastructure so that they may be full participants in all aspects of life and enjoy the full ranges of human rights.
>
> (*Making Inclusion Operational*, Guernsey et al., 2006, p.11)

To make *Inclusion Operational*, people with disabilities are regarded as equal partners in development policies. This approach regards people with disabilities as "full participants in all development activities," who "should enjoy equitable access to the benefits resulting from development activities" (Guernsey et al., 2007, p. 11). Terms such as "full participants," "equal access," and "equal opportunities" are all used as empowering discourses within development policies. The ideological implication underlying the disability and development discourse re-defines the politics of inclusion and exclusion: the relationship between the labour market and the in/exclusion of the entrepreneurial subject in neo-liberal discourse is manifested through development discourse, in that human capital, and investing in human development, are strategies for capitalist accumulation. These terms, discourses, and strategies reiterate the politics of development in critical development theory in that development and underdevelopment are

discursively constructed through disability issues.

The World Bank's politics of inclusion provides us with a more complex way of understanding about the politics of inclusion and exclusion within neo-liberal strategies in the so-called Post-Washington Consensus. According to Öniş and Şenses (2003), a key element of the Post-Washington Consensus is the recognition that the state has an important role to play in the development process. Different from the Washington Consensus, where the growth of the economy through market liberalization was the core premise of neo-liberal orthodoxy, the Post-Washington Consensus has reframed the principles of development based on a strong focus on the role of social institutions and "good governance." Policies framed within the Post-Washington Consensus do not only deal with growth and efficiency but also with social problems such as poverty and inequality. This agenda has important implications for people with disabilities. Apparently, this approach does not aim to exclude disadvantaged groups and individuals or to replicate the traditional economic rationalism and structural reform that was a major strategy of the Bank in the 1980s (Williams & Young, 1994). Rather, the Bank's commitment to inclusion is instrumental in reconstructing a "human face" (Engel, 2010) for legitimating the Bank's hegemonic ideologies of including the poor, disabled, women, and other marginalized groups into development policies. That is, the shift of the Bank's ideologies has allowed room for including the disadvantaged in third world countries. However, as I have argued, the inclusion of the excluded manifests the modern strategy in governance, rather than merely constructing a commonsense about "making the unfit, fit," as the former Bank's president rhetorically put forth in his inclusion discourse (Wolfensohn, 1997)[39]. Further, as Dingo (2007)

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[39] See Dingo (2007) for an analysis of Wolfensohn's discourse of inclusion.

argues, "making the unfit, fit" is a rhetorical discourse that reflects the Bank's ideology of normalization. Both non-western societies and people perceived as disabled are "things" to be normalized because they are considered "unfit." Thus, this discourse provides a rationality for thinking about how public policies *should* be re-structured in such a way that includes the excluded. At the same time, it constructs non-western societies and people with disabilities as "abnormal" things to be normalized by means of inclusion. The inclusion of disadvantaged population, therefore, represents a hegemonic ideology that the Bank has applied.

This institutional agenda has a widespread effect on shaping the commonsense about governing disability issues in neo-liberal policies. The historical emergence, meanings, as well as the relationship between the rights and development discourses (rather than one discourse at the expense of the other) have set a condition for inclusion of people with disabilities in Viet Nam. I demonstrate below the process and effects of inclusion on individual participation, as well as the constitutive relationship of its discourses in framing the politics of inclusion in Viet Nam.

### Understanding the Politics of Inclusion in Viet Nam

In the Vietnamese socialist regime, the language of "rights" was formulated in the very first Constitution of the Socialist Republic State in 1948 (Constitution 1948, SRV, 1995). While equality for women was a prominent premise in this Constitution, this legal framework restricted the rights to equality for citizens on the basis of their individual abilities and virtues, which defined who is included and excluded in the consideration of law. For example, the exclusion of political rights was inherent in the statement: "All Vietnamese citizens are equal before the law and are able to participate in the government and in national construction, *depending on their own abilities and virtues*" (SRV, 1995, my emphasis). The phrase "*depending on their own abilities and virtues*" is a conditional phrase which signifies who has the right to participate in

institutional politics. It reserved the government's right to treat individuals deemed insane to be

deprived of equal rights. An amendment of political rights in the Constitution 1980 added a

restriction of legal rights to those already excluded by the court, in addition to those perceived as

"insane":

> All citizens, regardless of their ethnic origin, sex, social status, religion, cultural
>
> attainment, profession, and terms of residence, have the right to vote *... with the*
>
> *exception of the insane or people deprived of such right by the law or People's Court.*
>
> (Constitution 1980, SRV, 1995, my emphasis)

As the previous chapter indicates, people with disabilities were excluded from enjoying

civil and political rights before the institutionalization of the Ordinance on Disabled Persons

(SRV, 1998a).  It also shows that a shift in traditional forms of exclusion that began in the late

1990s underwent a period of acceleration. Yoder (2002) comments that Vietnamese policies and

programs for social protection and assistance for people with disabilities have outnumbered those

aiming at the full rights and participation for people with disabilities. For example, according to

the Labour Code (SRV, 1994), every year, the state sets aside funds "to assist the disabled in

achieving early recovery of their health and ability to work and have vocational training" (Yoder,

2002). The operation of these intervention programs illuminate the functionalist approach on

disability currently adopted by policy-making institutions. At the same time, the absence of the

rights discourse for people with disabilities in the Vietnamese legislations enables us to observe

the shift in institutional ideologies in the current context, when the rights-discourse has been

articulated in institutional frameworks such as legislation and policies.

In another study, Tuong (2009) conducted a comparative study on the legal frameworks

to support children with disabilities between international and Vietnamese legislation. He argued

that Vietnamese laws have reflected some parallel patterns with the international agenda of human rights, including the rights to live, to enjoy equal and free education, and to be protected and respected. He recommended that Vietnamese lawmakers incorporate disability rights into the current constitution about equal rights. Finally, in a consultation for UNICEF during the period when the Vietnamese government was drafting the Law on Disability, Rosenthal (2009) commented that there were significant drawbacks in the proposed law. This included the sustaining forms of institutionalization, which were being drafted by the government's policymaking institutions. The implication of this recommendation, therefore, was that Vietnamese lawmakers needed to apply more fully the United Nations' framework to redress the traditional forms of exclusion. These studies demonstrate the relevance of the rights discourse in the Vietnamese context.

The shift in the discourses surrounding disability and inclusion in Viet Nam is currently shaped through global and local actions. This modern context reframes knowledge about governance through the rules that are shaped by discursive and institutional practices. The process of reframing disability policies is an important procedure that indicates how disability is re-treated in the current context. This procedure re-structures the rules of inclusion and exclusion. To elaborate on this, I analyze below the discourses emerging within the process of reform in lawmaking institutions, including rights, equal opportunity, and disability and development discourses, and consider how they frame the politics of inclusion in mainstream institutions.

### *Redefining citizenship codes: the rules of inclusion and exclusion*

In the Vietnamese context, the universal discourse of human rights in the international Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities is institutionalized in the national

framework through the Law on Disability, which was passed by the National Assembly in 2010 (SRV, 2010). It stipulates the rights and responsibilities of people with disabilities by affirming citizenship participation in social activities, such as living independently, integrating socially, *and* exercising citizenship duties (Law on Disability, article 4, SRV, 2010). The law is made up of ten chapters and fifty-three articles to regulate all involved parties, including the state, persons with disabilities, public and private institutions, and international organizations, to conduct their respective rights and responsibilities in relation to disability issues. It incorporates some guiding principles stipulated in the United Nations' convention, such as the individual rights to be treated with dignity and non-discrimination, independent living, and accessibility. However, the new law does not dispense with the Ordinance on Disabled Persons (SRV, 1998a), where citizenship was stipulated on the basis of individual rights and responsibilities. Further, both legal documents have been strictly regulated by the Constitution 1992 in that the "basic rights and obligations of citizens" are used as a fundamental principle that entitles citizens to be "equal before the law" (SRV, 1992, chapter 5, article 52). This formal discourse of equality has been used to as the rationalities for equal treatment of all citizens. However, the discourse does not provide recognition and dignity for "atypical" citizens such as people with disabilities. Thus, although the Constitution 1992 removes the former exceptional clause regarding individual abilities and virtues to vote, it provides some special provisions for "handicapped and specially disadvantaged children" based on social assistance ideology, rather than on the entitlements that disabled citizens require in order to be equal in their real lives. These forms of institutional treatment include the state's provisions of condition for these disadvantaged groups to enjoy "*appropriate* general and vocational training" (article 59), "preferential treatment to war invalids," and social assistance to people with disabilities *with no family support* (article 67).

Within the current Law on Disability, these provisional clauses are stipulated under the principles of entitlements for social services and social protection, and the conditional clauses regulating individual eligibility are now grounded on the "types of disability" such as "severe/major disability" and "minor disability" (chapter 1, article 3). Thus, coupled with the rights approach, inclusion and exclusion are reframed through the formulation of the law, in addition to a range of social and educational policies that have been built in the development context. Through the formulation of the rights and development discourses, the bio-politics of modern institutions is established through the institutionalization of discourses and power relations that foster change at the national and local levels. These new institutional procedures, norms, and rules, shape new forms of thought about disability and inclusion through the rights and development discourses. I discuss below the politics of inclusion through my analysis of the Vietnamese rights and development discourses for disability, and provide a more critical appraisal of governmentality and inclusion in the following section.

*The rights discourse*

Regarding how citizens are re-defined in the current context, it seems that a stronger emphasis on citizenship rights has been articulated in the adoption of the Law on Disability, compared to the Ordinance on Disabled Persons, which was developed in 1998 (SRV, 1998a, 2010). The institutionalization of this framework shows that there is an institutional process of equalizing opportunities for people with disabilities by granting them with citizenship status. The rights discourse, institutionalized in the Ordinance on Disabled Persons, is maintained in the law. It provides a vision of disability and citizenship with equal participation, respect, and anti-discrimination. For example, the rights discourse is stipulated in Article 4, which provides a set of entitlements, such as the rights to equal participation, independent living, and social inclusion

(item 1, article 4, SRV, 2010). Alongside the rights discourse, people with disabilities [must] exercise the "citizenship duties as prescribed by law" (item 2, article 4, SRV, 2010).

As indicated, citizenship is stipulated within the rights and duties discourse. The norm that is stated in the Vietnamese framework is similar to that of the United Nations' approach regarding the rights and obligations of a person with equal status[40]. This socialist approach to individual rights and duty draws on and coincides with the Standard Rules, which were developed by the United Nations. The individual rights and duty, as "prescribed by law," is a premise that institutionalizes inclusion:

> The State encourages and creates favourable conditions for disabled persons to exercise *on an equal basis* their *political, economic, cultural and social rights* and develop their abilities to stabilize their life, integrate themselves into the community and take part in social activities. (Article 3; item 1, SRV, 1998a; my emphasis)

> Disabled persons have the *duty* to overcome difficulties to integrate themselves into the community, observe law and public order and respect social ethics. (Article 3; item 4, SRV, 1998a; my emphasis)

As shown in this statement, coupled with the state's duty in "creat[ing] favourable conditions" for people with disabilities to participate, the duty of people with disabilities is "to overcome difficulties to integrate themselves into the community" (SRV, 1998a). This state-

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[40] Regardless of the formulation of the Law on Disability in replacement of the Ordinance on Disabled Person, which was formulated in 1998, the premises of both documents remain the same regarding their emphasis on social, economic, cultural, and political rights. For example, while there was a stronger focus on citizenship rights being adopted as law, the state's vision of individual right and duty is maintained in the adopted law. Thus, while there are fundamental differences between the socialist framework of rights regarding its emphasis on the collective rights, and the United Nations' framework of human (individual) rights, there are similar ideologies implicated in these frameworks.

individual relationship is a regulation that structures the institutional order. Citizenship, grounded upon the individual's duty to overcome their "difficulties" and to integrate into the community, is used as an institutional device for establishing the social order through inclusion. The ideological implication underlying inclusion is further indicated through the politics of citizenship rights in normalization and integration. For example, in a draft law in 2009, the rights and duties/responsibilities and the normalizing approach stipulate the theoretical premise of the law:

> (the Law) ...fully and comprehensively institutionalizes the perspectives, guidelines, and strategies of the state-party on disability; the responsibilities of the state, family, and society in *removing barriers*, ensuring conditions for people with disabilities to fully *integrate* as other *normal*[41] people. (Premises and perspectives on law-making, MOLISA, 2009, p. 4)

In this statement, the draft law incorporates a citizenship approach (indicated through the institutional perspective in "removing barriers") with a normalization approach (indicated through the institutional conditions that aim to "fully integrate as other normal people"). These two clauses, however, are not equal in their functions. The strategies taken by the state, family, and society are used as an institutional procedure to integrate and normalize. That is, the provision of political, economic, cultural, and social rights is an affirmation of equal status for the person with disability. At the same time, as I have noted earlier, this equal status is a means of integrating them into mainstream institutions and community, and a method of excluding

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[41] The term used in the Vietnamese text is "bình thường," which could be translated into English as "ordinary" or "normal." I used the term "normal" from the analysis of the historical treatment of disability as the abnormal conditions caused by illness, disease, or impairment (see chapter three).

individuals who do not measure up to the institutional norms.

It appears that the governing of public life through the universal discourse of citizenship rights is a critical characteristic of institutional management within the current context. This managerial approach shapes people with disabilities as equal citizens who are granted rights and responsibilities. Further, the formulation of such discourses as rights-based also reconstructs a different vision of people with disabilities as active and participatory agents in mainstream institutions. This approach challenges the traditional conception of disability as karma in Viet Nam and other South-east Asian societies, where cultural prejudices and stereotypes about disability are pervasive and have prevented people with disabilities from full and equal participation. In this respect, the global frameworks of disability rights have significantly transformed the cultural oppression of disability in traditional Vietnamese communities.

The rhetoric of rights for people with disabilities within the Vietnamese framework, however, does not stipulate which theoretical perspectives of rights have been used to govern disability policies and institutions. Human rights discourse includes different sets of rights that both protect individuals from the state's abuse and entitles individuals to basic social, economic, and political rights. From a liberal perspective, to have a right means to have a moral entitlement to protect the individual from the state's violation. The right of the individual to challenge the power structure is a hallmark of modern governance (Darian-Smith, 2010). This negative right prevents state institutions from violating individual freedom and liberties. The institutionalization of human rights in the nation-states within the United Nations' convention has been governed by this moral implication, and thus, has carried a deep-seated implication in naturalizing the western discourse of human rights. At the same time, to institutionalize this discourse, nation-states are required to conduct their obligations to protect disabled citizens

through social and economic rights. This new form of power requires the state institutions to take action in order to protect citizens from being deprived of basic human rights. It constructs power relations through the normalizing judgment of modern institutions where the moral rights to disability have been universally applied in the global agenda (Quinn & Degener, 2002). State institutions are required to redistribute rights and programs of intervention to protect most disadvantaged citizens. At the same time, these programs of intervention apply new technologies of management that enable the state to observe and manage citizens' needs and conduct through more productive forms of governance.

Within the Vietnamese context, this power relationship between the state and the individual appears to be more paternalistic, since the tension between state and individual rights seems to be minimized through social, economic, and political rights, rather than through the liberal framework of individual rights and freedom. These principles of rights sit well with the second generation of human rights that emerges within the United Nations' framework of human rights (Stein, 2007). However, this framework of rights has at the same time entitled state institutions to exercise a different form of control that subjects the disabled person to medical, social, and educational authorities. This mode of power may result in a two-fold effect: on the one hand, this normative process re-constitutes the disabled subject through institutional surveillance. This is what Foucault refers to as a mode of subjectivization - a procedure by which one obtains the subject position by situating oneself within institutional discourses and regulations. This procedure requires the modern individual to govern himself or herself through new forms of treatment and conduct (see chapter six). On the other hand, the close relationship between rights and development provides a rationality for institutional surveillance to be exercised in such a way that reinforces normalization and institutional management. In the next

section, I explain how normalization, inclusion, and exclusion, have been reconstructed through the politics of development.

*Disability and development*

In his field trip to Viet Nam to assist VNHA, the international stakeholder who worked in partnership with MOLISA to formulate disability policies, the World Bank's advisor, Robert Metts, wrote a report regarding the mainstreaming of disability issues into development policies. His report dealt in particular with the Poverty Elimination and Hunger Reduction (HEPR) program[42] and developing a National Action Plan on Supporting Disabled People (NAP)[43]. Metts recommended that "the goal of disability policy is to facilitate the inclusion of people with disabilities in the social and economic mainstream, and that this requires an overarching national strategy of integrated policies and programs designed to assist people with disabilities to maximize their functional capabilities while simultaneously removing the unnecessary social and environmental barriers they face" (Metts, 2005, p. 4).

As I indicated earlier, Mett's approach to disability and development has been powerful in rationalizing inclusion within the World Bank's agenda of inclusion. This neo-liberal discourse is translated into the Vietnamese framework of inclusion through social programs, which as Metts pointed out, "seek every opportunity to extend the benefits" (p. 4). Through this neo-liberal gaze, policies for people with disabilities are designed as a method of "maximiz[ing] the cost-effectiveness" (p. 4) of investment in social development. That is, to maximize the profit

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[42] The Poverty Elimination and Hunger Reduction (HEPR) program, launched in 1998, had established policy priorities targeting vulnerable populations such as the poor and ethnic minorities. Mainstreaming disability issues into HEPR and developing a National Action Plan, is the goal of the policy consultation which was presented by Robert Metts in 2005.

[43] As I mention in a later section, this recommendation has played an important role in the government's National Action Plan, approved by the Prime Minister in 2006. This is also referred to as the program 239.

of investment, modern institutions need to think about mainstreaming disability issues into development policies. The neo-liberal gaze is stretched across the "social and economic linkages," defined as the link between economic investment and social benefits of inclusion. The institutional barriers, such as the "lack of access to education and employment opportunities," therefore, are the barriers of inclusion that need to be tackled.

This institutional approach has been applied in Viet Nam since the early 2000s. Approved by the government in 2003, the *Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy* (CPRGS) officially includes disability issues within its poverty reduction strategies. CPRGS is a "localized MDGs" (World Bank, 2002, p. 17) because this framework targets most vulnerable populations within the overall objectives of development that the Vietnamese government strategized in the socio-economic reform in 2001. The strategies proposed by CPRGS replicate the "investing in people" strategy that the United Nations and the Vietnamese government formulated in the 1990s (UNDP & SRV, 1995). However, the government's strategy on including disability issues into development policies indicates a shift from the former development strategies, mirroring disability and development policies in the global context. For example, within CPRSP, a framework of policies and strategies has been formulated to institutionalize the global and local development goals. These include creating more jobs and employment opportunities for those able to work in public sectors, and developing a social safety net for those "unable to work and [who] have no one to rely upon" (SRV, 2003, p. 115). This social safety net is reserved for vulnerable groups, including those with disabilities.

Drawing from the socio-economic strategies which the government established in 2001, CPRGS seems to be rationalized by the assumption that poverty reduction policies are socially just *and* economically efficient *because* they construct self-employed and self-sufficient subjects

who are able to work. It appears from the text that all vulnerable groups are *entitled* to receive welfare in order to maintain their citizenship status. However, within CPRGS, institutional implications for transforming disadvantaged populations from the situation of "unable to work" and "have no one to rely upon" into economically productive individuals seem to have curtailed citizenship framework. For example, CPRGS establishes a social safety net to "provide support to disabled and vulnerable people to help them become self-employed …and to be able to reap more of the benefit of economic reform" (SRV, 2003a, p. 115). By emphasizing the need for vulnerable groups to "reap the benefit of economic reform," CPRGS sets a new stage for development discourse to be re-formulated, based on a shift in the modern art of government in targeting the most disadvantaged populations and subjecting them to the benefit of economic reform. Two major objectives of equity and economic growth within CPRGS seem to mirror the MDGs in reducing extreme poverty and creating a labour force for social development. The inclusion of people with disabilities, in this respect, aims at constructing productive citizens through creating minimum entitlements that may enable them to participate in the economic mainstream.

The shift towards inclusion within the CPRGS framework has some direct effects on the disabled population because it makes disability more "visible" within mainstream discourse of development. To use Albert's question: *Is disability on the development agenda?* (Albert, 2004, p.1), it is evident that disability is no longer marginalized within development policies. The inclusion of disability issues within social policies, in this respect, offers a more *comprehensive* framework of institutional support and entitlement for people with disabilities, as the name of CPRGS may demonstrate. However, inclusion is institutionalized through a framework of social assistance rather than citizenship rights. That is, the inclusion of people with disabilities into

development policies enables institutions to handle the population's affairs through the support systems such as the social safety net. While it may be argued that establishing a social safety system is essential for people with disabilities, the poorest among the poor, substantial problems are inherent within this framework. First, the means and end of inclusion are narrowly defined within the macro objective of constructing modern institutions. For example, the objective of improving human conditions (through the Human Development Index) is pre-determined within the objective of preparing institutional conditions for modernization and industrialization by 2020 (SRV, 2001a). The goal of "rapid, efficient and sustainable development" is aligned with development approaches, in that "economic growth is to go along with social progress and equity, and environmental protection" (SRV, 2001a, Strategic Goals and Development Approaches). Inclusion and human development, taken up within development policies, are constructed to optimize the labour force, presumably residing within the majority of poor, women, disabled, and ethnic minorities. Although social protection programs may provide more opportunities for vulnerable populations to access mainstream economic development, the opportunities for equalization are limited by the socio-economic objectives that the government has set forth. In other words, the politics of inclusion is pre-defined by economic development. In this respect, although inclusion policies have been essential in preventing most disadvantaged citizens from exclusionary practices of economic growth, these policies run the danger of subjecting the disabled individuals to the global and local market, where their ability to work and their capacity to get back to "normal" are the end of inclusion.

Second, as Rioux (2002) argues, there is a difference between policies framed on social rights, and policies that use the framework of charity and protection in their provisions. The difference between these welfare approaches could be examined through the meanings and

ideological implications underlying policies, as well as the conditions and mechanisms for welfare recipients to be eligible in these policies. In the Vietnamese context, the policies institutionalizing CPRGS, such as the government's decision on social assistance for people with disabilities (Decision 01/2006/CT-TTg), have shown that the government has had a commitment to mainstream people with disabilities through education, health care, welfare, and disability awareness. Nevertheless, policies on social protection are grounded in a range of eligible conditions that identify and divide citizens into many categories (see, for example, Decision 67/2007/ND-CP, SRV, 2007). This policy applies different ways of treatment for different groups. Severely disabled people who are incapable of working, psychiatric patients who live in poor households, and households which have more than two severely disabled people, are eligible for welfare provisions such as monthly allowances and subsidies. Those considered "not able to take care of themselves" are institutionalized in special places such as "social protection institutions" or "community-based social institutions" (MOLISA, 2007). The categorization of populations into poor and non-poor, severely disabled and less disabled, eligible and not eligible for help, are "dividing practices" (Foucault, 1977). This arrangement enables institutions to treat populations differently, based on the pre-conceived assumption about the biological and medical conditions that people with disabilities have, to be eligible for some particular provisions (Dean, 2006). The problem of this institutional arrangement, however, is the creation of inclusion and exclusion, in that a bureaucratic approach has been established, based on the authorities' evaluation about who is eligible for which programs and treatment. Further, this framework individualizes the disabled population, based on the institutional judgment about their conditions of being disabled. This politics of individualization discursively reconstructs the disabled as dependent citizens and subjects them to the provision of social welfare. Thus, a new

dilemma of disability rights seems to have been re-constructed within the global and national

framework of inclusion, where social and economic rights are underscored by development

discourse.

The dilemmas of inclusion and exclusion could be further illustrated within the recent

framework about supporting people with disabilities. The National Action Plan 2006-2010 (also

called program 239) was approved by the Prime Minister and was to be implemented in 2006-

2010. This program established an action program to institutionalize inclusion (SRV, 2006a)[44].

Although the policies and programs within the Nation Action Plan have been more supportive of

people with disabilities, the strategies implementing the right and development discourses have

been political. These programs institutionalize inclusion through seven policy targets that was

established by the BMF. The process is institutionalized through normalizing programs that

claims to provide more equal opportunities for people with disabilities to access public services

(SRV, 2006a).

At the same time with constructing inclusion, new forms of exclusion in local practices

seem to have been reproduced through a number of policy indicators. In the case of education,

for instance, the framework aims for 80% of children with disabilities to be supported through

exemption or reduction of school fees, and for 45% of all children with disabilities to receive

schooling in different ways (SRV, 2006a). The exclusion of 55% of the remaining children with

disabilities from schooling, therefore, is an unstated discourse implicated in this policy, because

it implies that institutional exclusion be sustained. In the official document, signed by the Prime

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[44] The program 239 is an overall framework institutionalizing the BMF in the Vietnamese context through the BMF's seven policy indicators, in addition to the eighth target on raising awareness on disability issues (Nghiem, 2007).

Minister, the indicators for education have improved, with 100% of children with disabilities

being exempted from school fees, and 70% of them being recruited in different forms of

schooling (SRV, 2006a). The development of a national framework on *rights* and *entitlement*, in

this respect, is limited by the institutional recognition of individual rights to inclusion.

At the Disability Resource and Development (DRD) project in Ho Chi Minh City, I met

with the director and DRD's staff. The project, funded by the Ford Foundation, was itself

administered by a group of people with disabilities. One of the programs that DRD has been

actively involved was policy advocacy. Its work on creating vocational and employment

opportunities for people with disabilities shows that NGOs is an important stakeholder in

inclusion. In one of the meetings with the staff, I also met two people with disabilities who had

travelled from another Southern province to apply for employment opportunities at DRD. Both

people came from rural areas, where employment was very limited. In the meeting, they shared

their experiences of being unemployed and suffering from poverty in their home town. They

appeared to be desperate in terms of getting jobs, and stated that the government's support for

people with disabilities was not adequate for meeting their individual needs. It was not surprising

to me that employment opportunities were extremely difficult for those coming from rural areas.

It was even more difficult for people with disabilities. Although they did not express how

disadvantaged they have been, I found that their personal stories mirror those I have heard and

observed in my other site visits. Unemployment, poverty, and powerlessness are real issues in

the everyday life of people with disabilities. This observation, in a way, shows that the

government's target at creating job and vocational training for people with disabilities is critical

and essential for the disabled population. The government's strategic goal in poverty reduction

and investment in the people, in a practical sense, could have a positive effect on the public lives.

The problem is that in order to reduce poverty, institutions have at the same time created new strategies that reproduce poverty through decentralization, user fee, and budget cuts that have been applied to re-categorize the population. Such policies re-construct the new-poor to fit into neo-liberal cycle of investment (see, for instance, SRV & World Bank, 2005). To put it differently, such policies will eventually exclude the individuals perceived as unproductive and unfit.

*Institutionalization of the bio-medical model*

The next issue regarding the Vietnamese framework of inclusion is the institutionalization of the bio-medical model of disability within the framework of rights and development. As the previous chapter shows, programs of intervention that used the bio-medical model have emerged since the late 1980s. The institutionalization of the Law on Disability rationalizes this. That is, at the same time as granting individual rights, the law continues to define disability as a medical problem. In some policy documents, MOLISA argues that "classification is very important in orienting activities to support persons with disabilities in integrating into communities and meeting their needs" (SRV, 2006b, p. 5). The institutional practices which MOLISA proposed, such as "orienting activities" and "integrating into communities," seem to have incorporated Metts's functionalist approach on inclusion. In the passage of the Law on Disability, an entire chapter on the application of medical and clinical methods in identifying and diagnosing disability was inserted into the Law on Disability to legitimate the distribution of disability programs and services[45]. This network of power

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[45] This chapter was not proposed in the former law drafts in 2009 (i.e, law draft 4 and 5, MOLISA, 2009). However, passed in June 2010, the law reserves an entire chapter for defining the institutional procedure of categorizing disabilities based on the medical model.

formulates institutional surveillance. At the national level, MOLISA, MOET and MOH are responsible agencies that conduct identification through such individualistic approaches as "observing people with disabilities through simple daily individual activities," and "using the questionnaire about socio-economic criteria" to identify the level of disability. At the local level, the local People's Committee's leader, the commune's doctor, and different associations located in the community, are the authorities involved in the process of diagnosis and identification. These stakeholders formulate a committee called the "committee identifying levels of disability" (hội đồng xác định mức độ khuyết tật) to diagnose and thus legitimize who is eligible for social services (article 16, chapter 2). The formulation of institutional strategies, in relation to the inclusion of individual rights, demonstrates that a new way of shaping power relations through establishing surveillance at different levels of an institution has been established.

This approach illuminates the influence of global ideologies on the local politics of inclusion through the new forms of expert knowledge being produced by international stakeholders. This form of knowledge rationalizes institutional action through the modernist intervention to reconstruct people with disabilities as "normal people." The strategies, such as providing workshops, training, policy recommendation, social investment, and tackling environmental barriers, are ways of exercising power that constitute disability knowledge in mainstream institutions. These institutional interventions are "the modernity rescue" (Kim & Jarman, 2010) that constructs "a person with a disability" through "three distinct but interrelated stages of physical and social integration," as Metts recommends in his consultation on developing an integration approach for people with disabilities:

> *Stage One*: In the first stage a person with a disability is concerned with surviving the
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> disability and beginning to recover. The barriers associated with this stage tend to reside

within the person who has experienced a disability. The types of institutional support

associated with this stage are, therefore, primarily rehabilitative in nature and include

physical and mental restoration, physical therapy, assistive technology, prosthetic devices

and appliances[46].

*Stage Two*: In the second stage, a person with a disability must address the needs

associated with becoming as self-reliant as possible, and with gaining social and

economic access. The barriers associated with this stage tend to reside not only within the

disabled person, but within society and the built environment as well. The types of

support associated with this stage are, therefore, both rehabilitative and empowering in

nature and include mobility training, assistive technology, and providing access to

housing, transportation, education, and recreation.

*Stage Three*: In the third and most advanced stage, a person with a disability is concerned

with gaining access to activities that give life meaning and purpose.... The types of

institutional support associated with this stage include the provision of access to

education, training and recreation, and support for employment and social participation.

(Metts, 2005, p.10)

The three steps to normalization and integration which Metts proposes suggest the

institutionalization of the "technologies of constituting citizens with disabilities" (Titchkosky,

2003) through the "tyranny of the normal" (Silvers, 1998). As Mitchell and Snyder (2000) argue,

language is used as rhetorical device in shaping the way we know about disability. The language

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[46] Due to the length of this document, I only quote the key strategies which the author proposed. For full document, see Metts (2005) for complete information.

of normalcy constructs disability as aberrance, deviance, and dysfunction. Inclusion through normalization carries a societal desire to erase the difference because it assumes that the difference is inferior to the norm. Institutional interventions, materialized through the rehabilitative, technological, and educational devices are ways of restoring the desired normal that modernity is constructing. In the three stage approach to integration/inclusion that Metts recommended, a normative framework of rehabilitation is applied in the first stage that includes "physical and mental restoration, physical therapy, assistive technology, prosthetic devices and appliances." In the second stage, these technologies of rehabilitation are combined with economic development to turn the disabled body into a self-reliant subject, one that can be normalized through "mobility training, assistive technology, and providing access to housing, transportation, education, and recreation." Finally, it is assumed that a "life [with] meaning and purpose" can only come in final stage - the most advanced stage in the process of restoring the normalcy from the so-called disability, or illness. This approach assumes that there is a normal process in human development, and that the institution should develop strategies to bring the disabled person back to normal through work, education, rehabilitation, vocational training, and technologies. These discursive and material practices reconstruct the normal and remove the difference.

In short, at the same time as it grants people with disabilities rights and equal opportunities, the new framework of inclusion institutionalizes the bio-medical model of disability. The institutionalization of the Law on Disability, while considered as an accomplishment for the disability rights movement, reveals a modern way of thinking about governing the disabled subject in Vietnamese institutions through a process of normalizing difference. This normalizing process constructs the subject as rational, autonomous, and

productive individual within development policies. In the next section, I discuss the politics of inclusion within this process of reforming institutions from a genealogical perspective of policy and power.

## Governmentality and Inclusion

Having addressed the emergence of rights and development discourses in Viet Nam through a global/national perspective, I will now theorize inclusion by looking at what rules have been shaped, who is included and excluded, by whom, and how. The discourses and tactics of policymaking are the symbolic forms of social control which frame the politics of inclusion through citizenship and development. These discourses reframe certain possibilities for thought by rationalizing the relationship between disability and institutions. The modernist agenda of governmentality are the rules of laws that shape the normative and objectivist assumption of rights, development, and social justice.

Historically, the meaning of "inclusion" in the current context of social reform in Viet Nam appears to have emerged out of two premises. First, the institutionalization of inclusion implies the reconstruction of *some* socio-economic, civil, and political rights attributed to disadvantaged groups through the development of institutional programs such as inclusive education and health care. These social programs give individuals the right to participate in mainstream society by means of citizenship rights. However, some political implications were institutionalized through the rights and responsibilities discourse. The institutional implications of re-establishing the relationship between the subject and the institution through a set of rules, and the politics of reforming institutions through the translation of disability knowledge into local institutions, are critical issues reflecting the history of the present. Political questions, such as who decides, what is legitimated, why, and how, are largely contingent on the particularity of

the institution. This implies that policies are used as tactics (Fulcher, 1999) in the political realm of policymaking institutions.

The previous section elucidates the relationship between the discourses and ideologies that have been constructed in laws and policies. Modernity's desire to create self-autonomous, rational, and able-bodied individuals, those who are perceived as free and capable of participating in development projects, is perhaps not new in the global history of disability (Borsay, 2005; Kudlick, 2003). Such a politics of inclusion could be examined through different vantage points. From the perspective of disability, human rights, and social justice (i.e., Rioux, 2001; Quinn & Degener, 2002), international frameworks on disability, equality, and development have worked to improve the social, economic, and political rights that recognize the equality of people with disabilities in the international agenda. Such frameworks, rationalized by equal rights discourse, have set as a universal standard for inclusion in Viet Nam. As Young (2000) argues, state institutions, in principle, are the most important means of regulating and directing the economic life for the self-development of every citizen. The state provides a mechanism for social justice through the economic activities such as production, distribution, and resource development. The re-structuring of the democratic state, therefore, is a necessary condition for citizens to engage with the public, and to ensure that their rights are respected by the state's institutions. Rioux and Zubrow (2001) further argue that within the context when neo-liberalism has been widely applied in the global agenda, the state' s intervention into the public spheres is critical, because it protects citizens from the detrimental effects of global economic policies. The human rights discourse, which was applied to people with disabilities and adopted by the international community in 2006, shows that there has been significant improvement in the disability rights movement (United Nations, 2006). Such framework also provides a new

historical landmark in recognizing equality rights in disability policies. From this perspective, the United Nations' approach to inclusion has promoted a strong approach to inclusion and social justice.

However, from a governmentality perspective, institutional management is in itself a form of knowledge that is formulated within a distinctive historical context. Such knowledge of governance has reframed power relations within the global and local arenas. That is, at the same time as it grants individuals rights and freedom, global governance is restructured within the neo-liberal framework which uses individual rights and freedom as a condition for participation. This social code re-constitutes the invisible boundary between inclusion and exclusion. For example, although the rights and development discourses emerging in the BMF have framed disability policies with a more inclusive approach, the normative agenda of inclusion assumes that citizenship is a moral good, *and* that institutions can transform themselves to empower the disadvantaged. The problem of such premises, as Young (1990) points out, is the misrecognition of the political agenda of institutions, in which institutional power and injustices are reproduced through the mechanisms of policies and laws. Further, as I indicated in my analysis, while rights and individual development are promoted, the meanings of such discourses are re-contextualized in the global and local context. These discourses are rationalities that shape the disabled subject as self-autonomous, productive, rights-bearing individuals. At the same time, they reinforce the institutionalization of the bio-medical of disability in public policy. These are critical issues that have been sidelined within the framework of rights and development.

Further, governmentality studies point out that modern governments govern their populations in such a way that distinguishes them from traditional approaches. At the institutional level of governance, "governing of the margin" (Rose, 2008) is a prominent

approach in modern institutions. Rose (2008) argues that governing the marginalized is a political tactic shaped by modern states to exercise institutional power. It operates through fostering, observing, and managing individual rights and duties. The art of government is reframed through the technologies of management, which could be examined through the interaction of the rights and development discourses that I have analyzed. Within the influence of neo-liberal ideologies, the individualistic assumption of rights and responsibilities seems to be sitting well with the market mechanism. In fact, the individualization of disability through the rules of modern power has been shown to be a critical issue within modern projects in western societies (Titchkosky, 2007). This framework of citizenship constructs citizens as self-made, independent, and rational beings through a public/private divide in which social categories are redefined. This mechanism of power enables individuals to participate in the labour market and to be governed within the institutional agenda of development. The shift from a charity approach, which was prominent in the pre-reform context, toward the ideologies of citizenship protection and social categorization, in addition to the institutionalization of the bio-medical model in a market-based economy, construct the *normalizing judgment* (Foucault, 1984) in the current context of disability and development.

At the individual level, a number of issues could be identified regarding the ways in which discourses construct the human subject. Although this global/local agenda of policymaking shapes a set of normative rules that reframes citizenship through more enabling discourses, the political agenda of inclusion has constructed some critical mechanisms that reconstruct exclusion through the bio-medical approach of disability which is currently institutionalized in the Law on Disability. As I indicated, individual rights are institutionalized as a norm upon which the membership of people with disabilities is now sanctioned as a legal right.

However, the institutional power, structured on the basis of duty and needs, subjects individuals to institutional support and surveillance. At the same time, as I have indicated in my analysis of the Vietnamese Law on Disability, the rights-based discourse has been framed in line with the medical approaches that are applied to people with disabilities in social welfares such as the institutionalization of disability categories (Chapter 2, Law on Disability, 2001). In this respect, the rights discourse becomes an instrument of power that is utilized by a regime of surveillance, therefore institutionalizing medical conditions, social behaviours, and conformity as the modern ethics of government. The relationship between rights and development and the government of citizens shows the ways in which power is exercised to re-construct inclusion and exclusion.

In relation to the problematic of government, my analysis indicates that the changes in the discourses and ideologies of inclusion in Viet Nam are driven by an institutional implication in fostering normalization, which is the institutional process of re-constructing the relationship between the individual and society by restructuring power relations. The core basis of normalization is the enforcement of the social role in the organization of social services to revalorize the devalued individuals. It seeks to change the normative values of mainstream institutions, and therefore change the ways the devalued person is traditionally viewed in society and public services (Wolfensberger, 1972, 1995). The process of normalization, established by the web of discourses in laws and policies, is an institutional procedure that shapes the disabled Subject as the constitutive Other, subject to institutional judgment. These forms of knowledge have the effect of reconstructing the social relations of power. They sanction citizenship and inclusion as a regime of truth (Foucault, 1980) in the current practice. As Foucault argues, normalization is a mode of institutional surveillance that produces the subjectivity of individuals through a mechanism of power relations that is exercised in institutions (Foucault, 1977). The

discursive practices in social institutions, which include the new forms of knowledge such as surveillance, observation, examination, and diagnosis, are the strategies of normalization that both include and exclude the individual. This procedure normalizes the difference through a more enabling approach thoroughly and pervasively applied in public governance.

Thus, the underlying problem of policies and laws is that the shift in institutional discourses – or rationalities of governmentality – has individualized and normalized social difference. As Stiker (1999) argues, normalizing difference is a typical approach used by modern nation-states through the adoption of institutional discourses of inclusion. It legitimizes the participation of people with disabilities in public services, while at the same time rationalizing the institutional strategies of controlling the population through citizenship codes. In other words, inclusion is a way of governing. The moral conduct of institutions reconstructs the modern discourse on disability in ways that enforce the network of surveillance upon the subject. This disciplinary network, as Foucault insightfully argues, shapes the individual as a constitutive object to be institutionalized through the modern norms of institutions (Foucault, 1977). Thus, inclusion and exclusion are reconstructed through these modern rules of governance. Disability is subjected to the social order through the formal discourse of equal rights.

Finally, as I stated, a reasonable evaluation of the current framework of inclusion is beyond the scope of my thesis, since this observation requires substantial time, resource, and effort to speculate the effects of inclusion in the lives of individuals. I will nevertheless provide some reflections of the effects of policies and social change are materialized in practice in chapter six. For the purpose of this chapter, however, a cursory overview of the statistics that have been publicly announced by the government may enable us to speculate some of those effects. It is widely recognized that people with disabilities are highly disadvantaged in terms of

work, education, health, and living conditions. MOLISA (2008) shows that among disabled people who are capable of working, 47% have sufficient employment, 32.2% lack of employment, and 15.3% are unemployed. This report also indicates that 75% of those who have jobs are self-employed or do not have a salary. MOET (2007d) reports, from a survey in 2007, that 44.6% of children with disabilities live in economically disadvantaged families. Of 24.2% of children who have been in school, 32.9% of them have dropped out. This report also reveals the problem of gender inequality, in that the percentage of out-of-school boys is 32.6%, whereas for girls it is 55.4%   (MOET, 2007d).

These statistics sketch an overview of the current conditions of people with disabilities in Viet Nam. They do not, however, show us what the conditions for individuals to be employed or unemployed were. Likewise, although there has been a surge in institutions regarding the percentages of children with disabilities have been schooled and out of schools, there seems to be a dearth of critical deliberation about how and why these children have not been able to attend school.  Further, inclusionary programs did not target at *all* people with disabilities. Rather, more opportunities are reserved for the more "able," productive and self-directed people, those who have the potential to contribute to the economy and conform to the regulations stipulated by schools, community, and family. The question remains: who will get excluded?

## Conclusion

This chapter has examined the ideological framework of inclusion in the Vietnamese context. I situated inclusion within the historical conditions of policymaking to consider the implications of inclusion in restructuring disability issues in mainstream institutions. By analyzing the rights and development discourses, I have argued that inclusion is shaped by the complexity of institutional rules in public policy. These rules and discourses in global and local

institutions bring into light the art of government in modern societies. Rose (1999) argues that a distinct approach of modern governments to governing the public is their attempt to govern individuals through discourses and technologies of intervention. Governing social difference, thus, is a critical aspect of modern states. This approach does not seek to exclude or dominate. Rather, it includes individuals in the public sphere as a new mode of social control. This is what he refers to as "governing the margin," by which Rose argues that state institutions construct the dividing practices to re-locate the marginalized, the excluded, and the underclass through the invention of the new technologies of government such as integration into the community (Rose, 2008, p. 102).

The analysis shows that there is convergence and divergence in the historical emergence of the rights and development discourses. In the global framework, some competing and at times incommensurable ideologies about citizenship and market/development shape the inclusion of people with disabilities into the mainstream. As I have pointed out, there have been more enabling approaches used by policymaking institutions to address the problems of exclusion. At the same time, new forms of governance are constructed to shape a web of power that operates within institutions such as the family, health care, and education. This network of power shifts the traditional approach of disability and social exclusion into the institutional practices of mainstreaming.

The shift in institutional ideologies in the relationship between disability and social institutions in some way explains how education is re-conceptualized in the contemporary context. In the remaining sections of this dissertation, I will focus on education policies and practices to examine the effects of these discourses on restructuring educational inclusion and exclusion. In chapter five, I will document the discursive and non-discursive practices of

education policy in inclusive education to provide a more critical insight into the struggle for

inclusion in educational spheres.

**CHAPTER 5: INCLUSIVE EDUCATION AND THE POLITICS OF MANAGEMENT IN PUBLIC POLICY: MAKING SENSE OF THE TECHNOLOGIES OF GOVERNMENT**

> *The deployment of biopower was therefore linked with the formation of disciplinary societies. Characteristic of biopolitical issues is that they refer to techniques of power which are strategically sited in the body, which operate through discipline and have, as their object, the regulation of the population. Essential features of biopolitics are techniques of qualifying, measuring, appraising, hierarchizing, effecting distributions around the norm.*
>
> Fiona Paterson, 1989, p. 22

The discursive shift presented in the previous chapter provides us with an understanding of the change in public policies within the political agenda of inclusion in Viet Nam. I have indicated that this institutional agenda has set an important focus on the role of education in mainstreaming people with disabilities into the public spheres. The role of inclusive education in mainstreaming policies has been highlighted within international frameworks such as the BMF (United Nations ESCAP, 2002), the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (United Nations, 2006), and within such Vietnamese frameworks as the Law on Disability (SRV, 2010). To make sense of the institutionalization of inclusion in education, I will decipher the relationship between the political agenda of inclusion and its implications for promoting the mainstreaming of children with disabilities in educational settings. To do this, I will look at the

ways in which the rights and development discourses are currently used in educational policies. I

will focus mainly on inclusive education, as this emerging discipline is currently used in the

Vietnamese context as a mainstreaming strategy for children with disabilities within the broader

framework on disability and inclusion. Therefore, the politics of inclusive education, within the

paradigm shift of disability and inclusion, will be the main issue I will discuss in this chapter.

Interrogating which strategies and practices have been used in education helps us

understand the politics of education in constructing and normalizing the disabled subject in the

mainstream setting (Graham & Slee, 2008). Having discussed the discourses and ideologies of

inclusion in public policies and laws, I will provide an analysis of policies and practices in

relation to disability issues within the educational context. How has the bio-political agenda of

rights, development, and normalization been translated into education? What strategies and

programs have been mobilized in educational policies to institutionalize inclusion? And, how has

education functioned to apply forces upon its disabled population? These questions will help us

make sense of the politics of inclusive education within the political agenda of disability reform

and social change.

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, I will analyze the procedure by which

inclusive education is currently set forth through international programs such as those conducted

by the World Bank and the Catholic Relief Services. An analysis of the political implications of

these programs for education policies will help us understand how inclusion has been

institutionalized within educational context. The second section will focus on an analysis of the

government's discourse on inclusive education. This includes a combination of the discourses of

rights, professionalism, and management that I see as emerging from the broader framework of

public policy, and which became entangled in the educational arenas through educational

policies, programs, and practices. Finally, building on the analysis of these institutional actions, I will discuss the competing agenda between inclusion and management in education, and the implication of inclusive education for reconstructing the disabled subject through educational programs. In short, explaining the process by which the politics of inclusion is translated into educational institutions through educational discourses and strategies, in addition to considering the implication of this paradigm shift in reconstructing inclusion and exclusion in education, is the dual purpose of this chapter**.**

This chapter argues that educational authorities have institutionalized the bio-political agenda of mainstreaming into educational arenas through the reformulation of educational programs, policies, and practices. These discursive and non-discursive practices construct education as a site of mainstreaming that works in line with the political agenda of management. In line with disability rights and development, these programs materialize the rationalities of government into local practice, and thus produce the disabled Subject through new ways of managing the disabled body in education, such as through the use of Individualized Education Programs (IEPs). In the following section, I will deconstruct the politics of these programs to elaborate on these arguments.

**Inclusive Education: Ethos of Inclusivity or Politics of Governance?**

This section interrogates the politics of inclusive education within the current mainstreaming movement. Education has been used as a central strategy for the mainstreaming movement during the last two decades. Intervention programs and discourses promoting inclusive education have been in place since the early 1990s, and the government has institutionalized inclusive education through local programs in education settings (Le, Lopez, & Ta, 2000). Studies and projects in inclusive education, conducted by NGOs and the

government's policymaking institutions, suggest that although the concept of inclusive education

was not fully institutionalized in Viet Nam, it had the potential to transform exclusion by

engaging the community in educational practices (Lindskog & Nguyen, 2002; Nguyen, Vu, Do,

Tran, Nguyen, & Ta, 2006; Norwegian Mission Alliance, 2002; Radda Barnen, 1995). Likewise,

some reports conducted by NGOs in Viet Nam have pointed out that regardless of the barriers in

public institutions, inclusive education has tackled traditional problems of exclusion, such as

changing the community's attitude towards the child with a disability (Bjork, 1998). Lindskog

and Nguyen (2001) and Villa et al. (2008) point out that these local programs have transformed

the policymakers' belief in and commitment to inclusion. Further, Bjork (1998) recommends that

education policy should be formulated in a more coherent manner with other public services such

as health care and family institutions to develop a more inclusive approach to children with

disabilities in Viet Nam. Since the 1990s, inclusive education has been institutionalized in the

education system as an institutional approach to mainstreaming people with disabilities in

society.

Educational programs are an integral part of modern intervention because they construct

new forms of knowledge and subjectivity. Programs of intervention are ways of investing the

modernist ideologies about inclusion and exclusion into educational practices, and thereby

shaping knowledge about the normal and abnormal through educational management. As

Paterson (1989) argues, "the concept of programmes helps to direct our attention to such

questions as *whose* programmes; *what* were they about; *how* were they implemented, [and] *what*

has been the *result* of this implementation?" (p. 13). The politics of educational programs, when

applied to the education of children with disabilities, enables us to understand the process in

which educational authorities have institutionalized the politics of inclusion[47]. From this post-structural perspective, schooling programs function as discursive practices which shape our knowledge about normality and difference (Graham, 2007; Graham & Slee, 2008; Paterson, 1989). These normalizing practices operate around a network of power. Programs and policies promote the discourse of equal rights alongside educational management. This, in turn, shapes the individual as a constitutive object of institutional discourse and power.

Given the time and access restrictions of my fieldwork, I will focus mainly on two major programs promoted by global agencies, in addition to the government's documents on the *current* context of inclusive education in Viet Nam. I will first discuss the inclusive education programs conducted by the World Bank's program *Primary Education for Disadvantaged Children* (PEDC) and the Catholic Relief Services' program *Inclusion for Vietnamese with Disabilities*. These are the major projects administered by global agencies to foster the political agenda of inclusive education in the current Vietnamese context. Thus, while there has been a wide range of NGOs operating in inclusive education programs in Viet Nam, I will focus primarily on these two programs because of their essential role in fostering changes in current policy practices.

### Global Programs and the Local Politics of Inclusion

The critical issues in human rights and development discourses which I indicated in chapter four show that the political agenda of inclusion is not only rationalized through political

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[47] Although the contemporary Law on Disability was adopted in 2010, I have argued in the previous chapters that the institutional imperatives on educating and training children and adults with disabilities have been in place since the emergence of Doi Moi. Thus, the analysis of the educational programs in this chapter, while grounded significantly on the contemporary context of policy reform in education and disability issues, does not mean that the current context of inclusion has given rise to the emergence of inclusive education in Viet Nam.

ideologies, such as those stated in laws and policies. Within the current reform in the global context, as well as with the Vietnamese legal system, education policy has been re-formulated by the same rhetoric of rights, management, and development, in tandem with the broader framework of social inclusion. The discourse of inclusive education, formulated within international frameworks such as the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action (UNESCO, 1994) and the BMF, indicates the politics of education (or inclusive education), in tandem with disability rights and development discourses. The role of education is stipulated in article 25 of the BMF: "the exclusion of children and youth with disabilities from education results in their exclusion from opportunities for further development" (article 25, United Nations ESCAP, 2002). Thus, "inclusive education, with access to regular local neighbourhood or community school, provides the best opportunity for the majority of children and youth with disabilities to receive an education, including those in rural areas" (UNESCO, 1994, reproduced in article 27, United Nations ESCAP, 2002). The reproduction of these statements in the BMF seems to illuminate the mainstream politics of education within the wider framework of disability reform. That is, education is politicized as a political institution to materialize inclusion through mainstreaming students with disabilities into educational settings.

In Viet Nam, inclusive education was built on the programs for the education of children with disabilities in the 1990s, and is currently reworked in the disability reform with a fundamental shift in restructuring educational management. Thus, there is an important transformation in the politics of inclusive education in the current context in that its programs have been used under the rubric of inclusion and institutional reform. One of these programs, funded by the World Bank, has materialized inclusion in Vietnamese education by bringing schooling into line with the structural change in disability issues.

*Primary Education for Disadvantaged Children (PEDC)*

In 2003, the Bank implemented the Primary Education for Disadvantaged Children (PEDC) project in Viet Nam. This is an ambitious program in terms of scope, programs of intervention, and the money invested in educational targets. The aim of the program is to accelerate the EFA goals in the Vietnamese politics of schooling (PEDC, 2003). PEDC is an educational program that works around the politics of education. The program is part of the Bank's strategies to reform educational institutions through interventions such as restructuring the school infrastructure, improving schooling conditions through creating satellite educational centers in disadvantaged areas, regulating school management through teacher and staff training, and controlling the quality of the school populations (PEDC, 2003). The intervention programs administered by PEDC have been implemented in eight disadvantaged provinces and 222 districts. The "Minimum Quality Standards"[48] program which PEDC implemented was expanded to all 688 districts to aggregate data on primary education (PDEC, 2006a). The data, then, were quantified to advise MOET of education policies. It was unclear, until the end of my fieldwork in 2009, if the outcomes of the program had been successful in shifting the politics of education. However, the effect of the program on normalizing difference through the local techniques of governance is significant. PEDC collects information on disability based on the process of institutional observation, classification, and documentation. It uses the EMIC database to assist programming, quantifying, and diagnosing the children in difficult circumstances. Under the inclusive education initiative[49], PEDC diagnosed the number of disabled children in the

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[48] In the Vietnamese texts, the phrase "Minimum Quality Standards" is referred to as "Mức chất lượng tối thiểu" (MCLTT). Since the PEDC documents that I collected were in Vietnamese, the phrase "Minimum Quality Standards" was a translated text and may be different from PEDC's English version.
[49] Inclusive education is incorporated in PEDC's target in the sub-section 2.1 in 2006 (PEDC 2006a).

schooling process using physical, behavioural, and cognitive indicators such as measures of performance behind the minimum standards of schooling. The documents, such as *Profiling of Disability*, a document developed by the PEDC's advisor, Carlton Aslett, offer a new form of intervention applied to local institutions. This activity aims to collect data on children with disabilities in local communities (PEDC, 2006b). The aggregated data, such as the number of children with disabilities within each district, were incorporated in EMIC as a databank for planning educational management in support of disadvantaged populations in education (PEDC, 2007). For example, categories of judgement of the school population, such as "learning disabilities," were identified through individual performance in relation to the standardized curriculum (PEDC, 2006b, 2007). Thus, this modern technology of observation and documentation provides a tool of institutional surveillance through educational management, in relation to reconstructing the social understanding of disability. This politics of inclusion institutionalizes the bio-politics of institution. I will return to this practice when I discuss the bio-politics of education in the following section.

*Inclusion for Vietnamese with Disabilities (IVWD)*

For donors such as USAID, inclusive education in Viet Nam is a part of the mainstreaming movement emerging "from the local programs to national policy" (USAID, 2007, p. 2). Education programs, vocational training, employment, and policy development are some major approaches being used to foster the ideological agenda on disability and development that USAID had set forth in its policy for international development (USAID, 1997). As I mentioned earlier, Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and Vietnam Assistance for the Handicapped (VNHA) have been the two international NGOs implementing inclusion in Vietnamese education and social policies through policy intervention. Both agencies have been funded by USAID and both

have acted as international stakeholders in the institutional agenda of policymaking. The objective of these projects, as USAID (2005) mentions, is to hold the government accountable for the inclusion of people with disabilities into Vietnamese mainstream society. This policy practice works within the politics of inclusive development that USAID mobilized in its international development policies (USAID, 1997, 2005).

In the meeting arranged for me by the management staff at the CRS office in Ha Noi, I was interested in a broad range of development areas that had been run by them. The programs which CRS had implemented, such as those funded by USAID, were an integral part of development policy (USAID, 1997) within the emerging disability and development discourse. The programs it implemented were also built in line with the poverty reduction strategies set forth by the World Bank and the Vietnamese government. CRS has established a powerful role with international organizations and the government's stakeholders to materialize inclusion in educational policies and practices. These programs, including inclusive education, have been supported by the government within the poverty reduction agenda. These institutional actions are manifest in the key role that CRS had played in the process of formulating Decision 23, the first legal framework on inclusive education, which CRS lobbied for in its educational intervention. The involvement of CRS in development programs and in the process of drafting the Law on Disability makes this NGO an active agent in creating the civil society network which is currently being framed in Viet Nam (Field note, September 26, 2008; also Wells-Dang, 2010; 2011).

In this meeting, I was invited to consult USAID and CRS's approach to inclusion, and to share my understanding of inclusion with the CRS officers, who had been working within the domain of inclusive education in Viet Nam since the 1990s. The staff saw these education and

vocational programs as the initiatives driven by CRS's commitment to human rights, and

expressed the need to translate the rights of people with disabilities into practice through

vocational training, health care, and education. However, despite this stakeholder's commitment

to human rights, there was an overarching ideology on development, driven by development

policies in these programs. Among the programs which CRS have implemented, I was

particularly interested in the *Inclusion for Vietnamese with Disabilities* (IVWD), a project

implemented by CRS and World Concern. My interest in this project was instigated by the

relationship between education, vocational training, and employment which these agencies have

implemented in this project under USAID's disability and development program. For example,

in a mid-term evaluation of the project in 2007, the evaluators of IVWD summarize the

objectives of this project:

> The IVWD project aims, and so far succeeds at, addressing a wide range of issues facing
>
> people with disabilities (PWD) through both grassroots and top-down measures. Working
>
> at the grassroots level, through encouraging small businesses to train and employ youth
>
> with disabilities and training teachers to respond to the unique needs of each child, the
>
> project is positively impacting individuals, families, and whole communities. (Nguyen &
>
> Bowers, 2007, p. 4)

This evaluation shows that CRS and its partner, World Concern, have functioned at

different levels within their institutional intervention. Education, training, and employment are

the strategies of intervention that have been applied to local practices through "both grassroots

and top-down measures." The scope of intervention at the grassroots level is that of the

community, the family, the teacher, and the child. This individual level of intervention is a

political agenda since it applies force onto the individual child through the network of

community and power in which education operates. At a top-down level, the strategies such as

"policy change, curriculum and manual development, and supporting new government

departments to approach disability issues deliberately and methodically" are the political play of

power in which policies are institutionalized to foster the shift in disability and inclusion. The

influence of this project, as the evaluators point out, has addressed well the traditional forms of

exclusion:

> The evaluation found that teachers, school officials, community-based social workers,
>
> and ministry officials at all levels consistently request more information about disabilities
>
> and inclusion. People involved in the project ask for more detailed trainings, more tools
>
> to track progress, and more access to resources and to each other. The high demand for
>
> more information is indicative of community receptiveness and widespread enthusiasm
>
> for project goals. (Nguyen & Bowers, 2007, p. 4)

The practices conducted by international NGOs are an integral part of the politics of

inclusion which I analyzed earlier. Evidence from PEDC has shown that this intervention is a

part of the technologies of government that translates the modernist agenda of global and

national reform into local institutions through PEDC's political agenda for including

disadvantaged children, including children with disabilities, into schooling. Power is exercised

not only through the political ideologies of rights and development, as I have indicated in chapter

four , but also through the process of schooling, identification, and diagnosis that is now

institutionalized in special needs education, applied under the name of inclusive education. The

programs run by CRS, distinctive from PEDC regarding the political agenda of rights and

development within which they applied, seem to have had some similar implications and effects

as those of PEDC in reconstituting a national and local network through the mainstreaming of

student with disabilities into schools. These institutional actions demonstrate the role of

international agencies in reconstructing the conditions and the practices of inclusion in

education. The micro-politics of inclusive education, therefore, has exercised significant force in

materializing the politics of inclusion through programs of intervention and policy practices.

Within this power network for institutionalizing inclusion, the ways the global and local

institutions exercised action are important for understanding how educational programs function.

In line with the World Bank's and the government's approaches to inclusion, the social action

exercised by international NGOs has institutionalized the ways we know about the normative

practices of schooling in modern institutions. These discursive practices have clearly played a

critical role in transforming *some* traditional practices of exclusion at the local level. At the same

time, it seems quite evident that global programs have not taken seriously the dimensions of

exclusion in the Vietnamese context. In almost all the documents that I have read, as well as

through my discussion with a CRS officer regarding the relevance of the cultural dimensions of

disability and exclusion in NGOs' programs, there seems to be a taken-for-granted assumption

that inclusive education is institutionalized as a program of intervention because it offers equal

rights and opportunities for children with disabilities, and that exclusion of these children and

adults from the mainstream is the main problem of injustice that these programs have sought to

tackle. It might be useful, then, to understand the dimensions to which these programs have

reconstructed educational inclusion and exclusion through global and local knowledge. The next

section, therefore, will analyze the discourses of inclusive education, regulated by MOET's

policymakers.

### *The Government's Discourse of Inclusive Education: Mapping the Global/Local Knowledge*

Although the Vietnamese Education Law (SRV, 1998a, 2005b) guarantees the equal

rights of all children to access education, the rights of children with disabilities to education is

not stated[50]. In 2001, the Educational Development Strategies 2001-2010 (EDS) set the

government's educational policy in motion (SRV, 2001b). The EDS does not explicitly support

inclusion; however, it sets the objective for establishing a national agenda on mainstreaming

children with disabilities in education through a policy quota of mainstreaming 50% of children

with disabilities into the educational system by 2005, and 70% by 2010 (EDS 2001-2010, SRV,

2001b). This objective was later applied to formulating the educational objectives within the

National Action Plan on Disability.

The EDS is one of many genealogies through which inclusive education has been

institutionalized as an institutional discourse.The EDS institutionalized inclusion within

educational spheres, while offering a legal basis for new policies on inclusive education.

Approved in 2006, Decision 23 on Inclusive Education for Disabled and Handicapped Persons

(MOET, 2006a, 2008a) is a legal document addressing the rights of children with disabilities to

access mainstream education. It states their rights to participate in the educational system.

Influenced by CRS's strategies of inclusion, this document provides a legal framework for

inclusion in education by access, rights, and equal opportunities, while institutionalizing new

forms of educational management. I will discuss some new strategies that have been used in this

institutional agenda of inclusive education.

Decision 23 is a discourse of educational management that uses the language of rights

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[50] In the amended Education Law (SRV, 2005b), the provision of schools and classes for "disabled and handicapped people" is stipulated in article 63. However, this article echoes the Ordinance on Disabled Persons (SRV, 1998a ) in that the state "shall establish and encourage organizations and individuals to establish schools and classes for handicapped and disabled people." The aim of the institutional action is "to enable them to restore their functions, to receive education and vocational training and to integrate into communities" (SRV, 2005b, article 63). The rights discourse, therefore, is not stipulated.

and equity for people with disabilities. This document explicitly supports inclusion. However, while more enabling language on equity has been applied to the education of students and adults with disabilities, the politics of management have been inserted into inclusive education through professional and developmental discourses in educational policy. This political agenda of rights translates the politics of inclusion into education though the regulations of the equal rights discourse in tandem with the intensification of professional/expert knowledge. For instance, to institutionalize the rights discourse, Decision 23 states that the objectives of the policy are to *assist* disabled persons to enjoy *equal rights* to education as *other* learners; further, it aims to *create* opportunities for disabled persons to acquire learning through literacy, vocational training, and rehabilitation, and to develop their individual capacities to integrate into the community (Article 3, MOET, 2006a)[51]. The action verbs such as "assist" and "create" which the text used are more enabling language, which indicates the state's commitment to offering people with disabilities access to mainstream institution through education, vocational training, and rehabilitation. At the same time, as I indicated earlier, new forms of institutional management

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[51] There were different English versions of Decision 23 which I collected during my fieldwork. Depending on the translator's understanding the text and language, the Vietnamese document was translated into English with different sentence structures and language. For example, the statement "Giúp người khuyết tật được hưởng quyền học tập bình đẳng như những người học khác" (MOET, 2006a, Article 3) was translated into "to assist the disabled people to have the right to education equally like other learners," according to an English version of this document which I collected at CRS's office. This statement was re-translated by another translator as "giving people with disabilities equal rights to study." These texts convey the meaning of granting people with disabilities equal rights. However, the term "disabled people" and "people with disabilities," as well as the focus on the action (to assist in the first translation), and on "equal rights" (in the second translation), are politically different. The former provides readers with an understanding of the politics of state institutions, in relation to the shift in disability language, to people with disabilities. The latter, however, focuses on equal rights, a political issue currently adopted by the government. This raises the problem of using Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2003) in analyzing translated texts. In order to maintain the original meaning of the text, I compared these texts with the original text in Vietnamese to make an adjustment when necessary. My translation respects the structure of the sentences, the use of the language in the original statement, and the implications of the text, the historical context in which it was written. Thus, in my translation, for most texts written prior to the Law on Disability, I used the term "disabled people," rather than "people with disabilities," and maintained the phrase "to assist disabled people," rather "giving people with disabilities."

have been applied through global intervention. The global/local agenda of management, thus, is institutionalized in education policies and practices. To elaborate on this, I discuss below the rights, professionalism, and development discourses in this policy, as well as a number of reports and related educational policies on disability in education.

*The rights discourse: The moral ethics of institution*

In the previous chapter, I have analyzed the rights discourse within the global and local framework of disability. This discourse rationalizes the ethics of educational institutions to provide children with disabilities with equal access to education. To institutionalize inclusive education, MOET takes an active role in formulating inclusive education policies. However, as I have shown in the previous section, these policies have been lobbied by CRS and used as a mainstreaming approach for people with disabilities. Documents produced by MOET used the rights discourse as the moral and ethical basis of inclusive education (Dang, 2008). For example, as the former chair of the National Committee on Inclusive Education and a Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Dang (2008) was in charge of inclusive education strategies in primary education. She strongly supported MOET to develop a more enabling environment for children with disabilities through inclusive education strategies. MOET's guideline for inclusive education reflects this enthusiasm in adopting inclusion. The following text is reproduced in a publication funded by CRS, namely *Guidelines and Orientation of the Ministry of Education and Training about Inclusive Education for Disabled Children to 2010*:

> Education for disabled children is the whole community and society's responsibility; therefore, we need to mobilize the participation of all social forces in which educational sector takes up an important role. (Dang, 2008, p.10)

This statement is juxtaposed with "help[ing] them to have opportunities" and "develop[ing] as all

other normal children":

> All disabled children must enjoy an equal education. We need to do everything so that disabled children can go to school, helping them to have opportunities to develop as all other normal children. (Dang, 2008, p.10)

Therefore, participation becomes an institutional strategy to materialize disability rights and development:

> The inclusion of disabled children into society and the community aims to help them to participate into all aspects of social life, while at the same time to increase the independent living capacities of people with disabilities. (Dang, 2008, p.11)

Finally, an "only if ...can" proposition finalizes this discourse:

> [Only] if there is a convenient environment on education and resources which ensure the educational services [for disabled children] to participate in different services of society [and] community ... can the pre-set objectives be fulfilled. (Dang, 2008, p.11)

These statements articulate MOET's objectives and strategies in institutionalizing the paradigm shift of inclusion in education. There is enthusiastic support for inclusion through creating access and opportunities for children with disabilities in education. However, this discourse has a strong emphasis on normalization. The phrase "have opportunities to develop as all other normal children" reflects the institutional strategy in institutionalizing normalization in education, as currently adopted by the Law on Disability. The term "normal" assumes that disability is an "abnormal" thing located within the body and the mind of individuals, and the institutionalization of inclusion in education is expected to provide a process whereby the "abnormal" become "normal." This educational strategy shows the relevance of this approach to Robert Metts's recommendations for inclusion that I analyzed in chapter four.

As I point out in the previous chapter, within the development context, the rights discourse is an institutional arrangement to transform institutions and to reconstruct the subject. In Dang's statement of MOET's strategies on inclusive education, the rights discourse seems to be stronger than other Vietnamese policy documents such as those stated by the Ordinance on Disabled Persons and Decision 23. However, the phrase "can the pre-set objectives be fulfilled" articulates more explicitly the objectives of education for children with disabilities, in line with the disability and development discourse. That is, these statements explain the institutional objectives in mainstreaming disability issues within the educational and socio-economic agenda of development.

Therefore, the rights discourse is a discursive strategy that re-organizes the educational system by developing a mechanism classifying the subject through the policies, laws, and practices of policymaking. The rights discourse is practised in inclusive education through the education of children with disabilities in schools. However, as I argued earlier, we must be mindful in thinking about how rights are formulated through a particular context. The context, as well as the social practices of the institution in which the rights discourse is applied, shape a particular meaning for such a discourse. To understand the practices of inclusion, I will address the ways institutions have reinforced surveillance through professional discourse.

*Professional discourse: Reinforcing institutional surveillance*

In 2007, MOET drafted a report on the result of Decision 23 (inclusive education policy) after one year of implementing the policy in educational settings (MOET, 2007a). The report was not a normative judgment of institutional values and policies that support inclusion. Rather, it was an institutional procedure assessing the activities that MOET had implemented in educational management to materialize inclusion. This report highlights the strategies which

MOET applied, such as developing pedagogies and evaluation criteria for the education of children with disabilities, and resourcing human development through funding and teacher training (including converting special schools into resource centers for inclusion). Further, MOET and its National Institute on Educational Strategies and Curriculum (NIESAC) have targeted developing policy documents, shaping expert knowledge on disability, and developing special educational curricula as professional approaches in education (MOET, 2007a). The specially designed curricula are now formulated to teach special groups, such as visually and hearing impaired children, as a part of inclusive education strategies (MOET, 2007a). These institutional approaches were described as the strategies for inclusion (see also Le, 2005, 2009).

While MOET's report on Decision 23 does not overtly recommend that professional knowledge be applied to special needs education, evidence from other documents, such as the *Educational Strategic Plan for Children with Disabilities 2006-2015* (MOET, policy draft, 2005a, 2006b), shows that expert knowledge is now pursued and applied as a new mentality of governing which assumes that professionals would improve the quality of inclusive education. Within educational management, educational strategies such as aggregating data on children with disabilities are applied to the local educational authorities to "investigate [and] categorize children with disabilities from a nation-wide scale" and to "reach a consensus on categorizing [types] of disability" (MOET, 2007a, p. 2).

The educational practices indicated in these polices enable us to understand the struggle of the institutional agenda to re-define disability discourse. In MOET's policy on inclusive education in 2006, there seems to be an institutional attempt to make education more responsive to the people defined as "disabled/handicapped." However, this approach, in itself, seems to be conflicting. On one hand, the policy aims to move education towards a more social

constructionist approach that restructures the educational environment, rather than changing the so-called "defectiveness" of the child. On the other hand, it maintains the individualistic assumption of disability as a human problem, and tightens the network of institutional surveillance that applies forces upon the individual child through his or her interaction with the educational environment.

In a guideline for teaching "students in disadvantaged circumstances," a policy document built on the PEDC intervention (document 9890/BGDĐT-GDTH, MOET, 2007b), MOET specifies the categories of disadvantaged students. It highlights the methods of identification, such as how to know and categorize "children in disadvantaged circumstances," and how to teach them in education. In this document, MOET classifies "students in disadvantaged circumstances" into three categories, including 1) ethnic minority children; 2) orphan, working, street, and abandoned children; and 3) children with disabilities. Children with disabilities, defined as those with "abnormal conditions physically or mentally," and who therefore do "not possess sufficient conditions to enjoy basic rights and integration with [their] family and community," are treated as a special group for intervention (p.1). This seems to demonstrate that there was an institutional attempt to make education more inclusive to all disadvantaged groups in education[52]. However, the fundamental assumption about individual deficit is still maintained to define these disadvantaged children. Further, although MOET's discourse of inclusive education incorporates the basic rights of the child to education, it sees disability from a bio-

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[52] During my fieldwork, a new policy on inclusive education was being formulated by MOET. The document was expected to replace the policy drafts on inclusive education (MOET, 2005a, 2006b). This seems to signify an institutional struggle to integrate new discourses fostered by the international programs. A new policy draft of this document, namely *Regulations of inclusive education for children in special circumstances* (Thông tư quy định về giáo dục hòa nhập dành cho trẻ em có hoàn cảnh đặc biệt) was drafted. I do not use this document in my analysis because, until the end of my fieldwork, it was not clear how the process was institutionalized.

medical approach which the government adopted. For example, the abnormal (disabled) subject

is described as being linguistically deficient, possessing impairment in perceptive and cognitive

skills, and having underdeveloped intellectual abilities. Thus, at the same time as

institutionalizing the rights discourse, the medical model on disability is reinforced, rather than

removed.

Further, education functions in line with other social services such as early intervention

for children with disabilities (Article 11) and rehabilitation (Article 18) to offer an

institutionalized mode of control. This institutional action works in line with the

institutionalization of the bio-medical model of disability, currently institutionalized in the Law

on Disability. Article 11 in Decision 23, for instance, stipulates that early intervention be applied

"to detect, protect, and prevent against the risk of disabilities" and "to minimize the limitations

resulting from disabilities" (MOET, 2006a, Article 11). Article 11 also states that "people

entitled to early intervention include all disabled people or people with disease [sic] at risk of

becoming disabled" (MOET, 2006a, Article 11). Finally, these forms of knowledge about

education for children with disabilities have been produced through international programs and

funding. In-service training materials, funded by global forces, have incorporated special

education approaches in line with management skills. For example, two documents, published by

MOET and funded by USAID and CRS, namely *Inclusive Education for Students with*

*Disabilities* (Volume 1 and 2, Trinh, Le, Nguyen, Pham, Le et al., 2005), and *Management of*

*Inclusive Education for Children with Disabilities in Primary Education* (Le, Le, Tran, &

Nguyen, 2008), have introduced new forms of knowledge concerning teaching children with

disabilities in an inclusive classroom. These materials introduced Bloom's taxonomy, Maslow's

hierarchy of needs, and differentiated instruction into inclusive classrooms. Alongside this, a set

of guidelines for monitoring and evaluating children with disabilities, such as the Individual

Education Plan (IEP), are used as guided methods of educational management.

Although these pedagogical and management approaches have been widely applied in

Western contexts in preparing teachers for inclusive classrooms (i.e., Burns, 2006; Spencer,

2005; Villa & Thousand, 2000), the publication of these texts in Vietnamese has different

political meanings. This process of producing new knowledge in education demonstrates the

politics of inclusive education discourse when it is applied within the current context. For

example, it is evident that global and national organizations have played a significant role in

shaping new forms of knowledge about educational management. These normalizing discourses

and practices in educational management strategies are formulated under the assumption that

disability is a problem of human pathology. It is assumed that rationalist, scientific, and well-

intentioned programs of intervention will correct the problems of disabled children. That is,

through intervention programs, the children's difficulties could be corrected. In short, inclusion

is institutionalized in education through programs that foster educational management, including

identifying, naming, and categorizing disability through schooling.

The institutional regulation of providing education services, alongside rehabilitative and

medical services, shows that a network of surveillance has been established and invested within

within the educational field to institutionalize the paradigm shift of inclusion. Moral surveillance

is a set of instruments, techniques, procedures, and models of application that offer new methods

of regulating difference in modern institutions. These methods of surveillance are associated

with the emergence of disciplinary society (Foucault, 1977). In relation to the disciplining of the

disabled identity in the emergence of capitalism, Borsay (2002) argues that moral and medical

surveillance are expressions of disciplinary power which penetrate into the social body through

institutions such as schools, workhouses, and voluntary and philanthropic organizations. The social discovery of the "crippled child" in Britain during the late eighteenth century, for instance, was a product of this disciplinary network. Schooling was applied to the "crippled child" as a virtue of individualism - a dominant belief of the middle class who came to power but was still imbued with the resonance of evangelical religion. The social practices of education, prevention, and treatment were used as ways of rehabilitating and normalizing the disabled child. Some of these practices may remind us of the historical establishment of special education under French colonialism in the nineteenth century in Viet Nam. In reflection on this history of disability, it is interesting that some of these historical expressions are still manifest in the current context, where the inclusion of people with disabilities has been globally institutionalized. The bio-medical methods of treatment and educational services are constructed through the methods of offering the disabled child an access to mainstream institutions. However, they are exercised through a range of activities which were driven by the individualizing techniques to shape the disabled child as a capable and independent being. The provision of social and educational services, the application of new rules of conduct, and the prevention of disability, therefore, are the micro-practices of intervention that were recommended by global policies, and adopted by Vietnamese policymakers (see chapter three).

In my site visit to an integrated school in Hue, I met with a special education teacher who taught children with intellectual disabilities, and a school principal who expressed her enthusiasm for inclusion. Regardless of their support for inclusion, the teaching of all children with intellectual disabilities in this school was conducted in a separate classroom. This is now considered an acceptable approach to inclusion because it provides children with intellectual disabilities with access to mainstream settings. The staff shared the stories about these children.

They believed that the educational system has become more open to include *them* - the outsider. They held that the school and the community need to support the children because this is the school's moral responsibility.

In the meeting, however, it appeared that managing students' behaviour in special and regular classrooms was a major concern for the staff. To do this, the special education teacher said that she discussed her individualizing pedagogical approaches with the management staff (usually with the school principal). The staff, then, developed an IEP for each individual child. Through the educational committee's decision, a child in her special class could be transferred to an inclusive (integrated) classroom if his or her learning was proved good enough to follow the standardized curriculum. These children were entitled to play with other "normal" children in break time and in some social activities in school. The assumption is that these children could learn more social skills through participation in the school's activities. This means that although the process of integration is in principle adopted by the staff, almost all the children with disabilities were not entitled to full participation in the school. Their daily classroom activities were conducted in a separate class reserved specially for their special types of impairment. Further, there was a stronger belief (than that of inclusion) that different "types" of disabilities need to be taught in separate classrooms to get them socialized before moving into an integrated environment. Inclusion, therefore, is conditioned and practised by the individualizing techniques through which the child is observed, evaluated, and classified as normal or abnormal, able or disabled.

In short, education has institutionalized inclusion through constructing a more individualizing approach applied to children with disabilities. Educational approaches, including teaching and management, function as the technologies of government around which the child is

assumed to be taught with more inclusive approaches and flexible methods of evaluation. These approaches operate as technologies of governing disability in education. They shape normality and difference through the use of pathological approaches in treating and correcting the child's problem through numerous programs, policies, and practices that have been applied by global and local stakeholders. These programs and practices materialize the global/national politics of inclusion in local institutions. They construct the child with intellectual disability as a troubling individual and a stranger in the mainstream environment (Slee, 2004b). At the same time, they legitimize some forms of exclusion for those unable to become "normal." Through this process, the child is known, observed, and corrected through the institutional gaze. In so doing, it reinforces the conception that disability is a bio-medical problem that needs institutional treatment.

*Development discourse: Rationalizing inclusion for management*

Finally, an understanding of the emerging politics of inclusive education needs to be situated within this development context wherein education is redefined as the key strategy to create a productive, competitive, and professional labour force in the march of the nation toward modernization (SRV, 2001a, 2001b). As I mentioned in the previous chapter, development has been applied to different policy domains. Development discourse has been an instrumental politics of inclusion. However, its political agenda has also been applied in education. Thus, it is important to see how the discursive map of education has played an essential role in governing the disabled subject within a modernist agenda of inclusion.

As the *Socio-economic development strategies 2001-2010* stated, *"*it is imperative to create a fundamental and comprehensive change in education and training [...] [by] train[ing] a batch of workers who are possessive of basic knowledge , endowed with professional skills [...]

and conscious of the need to rise up in science and technology" and by "shap[ing] a contingent of skilled workers, specialists, scientists, culturists, entrepreneurs and managers" (SRV, 2001b, p. 22). This strategy focuses on training and retraining the workforce within the market-based economy and provides a way to develop education towards the modernist agenda (SRV, 2001b).

In chapter four, I showed that the World Bank has played an important role in the current politics of inclusion. Education, and the education of children with disabilities, is an integral part of this process of mainstreaming disability within the development agenda. Inclusive education is an institutional strategy fostering this modern schooling. In this reform agenda, the goal of Education for All to provide basic education for excluded children is a major objective that PEDC has institutionalized. The goal of EFA in providing free and basic education to all children is cited in most recent inclusive education documents by the government, and, as well, by international stakeholders. For example, the *Strategies on the Education of Children with Disabilities 2006-2010 and Vision to 2015*, drafted by MOET and PEDC's staff, uses the Dakar Framework on Education for All and the BMF as the legal frameworks for inclusive education (MOET, policy draft, 2006b). Management, development, and inclusion have been used as mechanisms of educational control that were applied to reconstitute modern institutions. The educational programs that PEDC applied have an effect in mainstreaming out-of-school children. At the same time, they streamline the school population through educational programs and prepare individuals for socio-economic development. For example, the institutionalization of special education through inclusive education programs which PEDC has set forth is a modernist intervention that constructs a more individualistic, essentialist, and productive form of Subject. They include formerly excluded children, while at the same time produce new forms of power that enable exclusion to be reproduced through standardized curriculum and schooling. Thus, it

is not surprising that PEDC is an integral part of the Bank's approach to inclusion to reform the

Vietnamese modern institutions (World Bank, 2009). The politics of education in mainstreaming

children with disabilities through the discourses of rights and development, and the reform of

modern schooling through Education for All, thus seem to be aligned with each other within the

PEDC program.

In my attempt to understand whose programs were administered within the political

agenda of inclusion, I have employed Paterson's (1989) perspective on the way in which

schooling operates to construct normality and difference in public policy. She borrows from

Foucault's notion of bio-politics to see schooling as an expression of power that constructs the

normal and abnormal through the ways education functions through the anatomical control of the

individual body, and the political control of the entire population. In her genealogical analysis,

normality and truancy (the abnormal or different) were constructed through educational

knowledge that was formulated through institutional strategies and practices. She argues that the

bio-politics of educational management enables authorities to control the school population

through the public space. For example, daily practices such as the act of checking and marking

school absentees were ways of controlling and regulating working-class children, a normalizing

practice which emerged within the context of industrialization in Britain. Such a schooling

practice demonstrates how education became a site of social control, where working class

children were schooled and normalized in public education. The use of these management

technologies constructed new ways of seeing, categorizing, and controlling the population – a

social practice demonstrating how capitalism emerged through the individualization of the

technologies of control (Foucault, 1983). Consequently, education was used as a social space that

marks out who is normal and abnormal. This theoretical line shows that the relationship between

the changes in public discourses on rights and development and the local politics wherein the programs of intervention operate are interrelated within the technologies of government. This modern knowledge has had critical implications in restructuring the modern politics of governmentality in educational spheres. To understand the relationship between the inclusion movement and the politics of education through the educational discourses and practices that I have analyzed, the following section will discuss how inclusion and exclusion have been reconstructed through educational policies and practices.

## The Emerging Truth and the Politics of In/Exclusion

In thinking about which meanings are now constructed in education, I borrow from Foucault's critique of truth and the way this normative order reconstructs the insider and outsider. To understand how the truth of inclusion has been produced through the discourses and practices of institutions, I will attempt to interpret the relationship between rights, management, and development through schooling programs and policies. I will also consider how the truth that has been produced in the current context has affected the ways in which disability is talked about in the educational context. From a genealogical perspective, the paradigm shift of disability and inclusion that I analyzed in chapter four has been translated into education through inclusive education programs and policies. New policies have been formulated in different social and educational institutions through the politics of inclusion: the emergence of a growing number of educational programs in inclusive education, the institutionalization of educational policies, and the local practice of education. This global, national, and local network materializes inclusion by new educational strategies, and thereby effectively re-organizes the power relationship between the state, the local educational authorities, and the disabled body.

*Education and Social Control*

Within the current context of institutional reform, inclusion is discursively and politically framed by different ideologies and institutionalized in education through various discourses and practices to reshape the social relationship between disability and institution. The formulation of inclusion in education, as I have demonstrated, is by no means a linear process of translating institutional ideologies into educational policies and practices. Rather, I showed that there has been a dispersal of new values, practices, and struggles in reformulating educational policy through special education knowledge, now renamed inclusive education within the current context of policy reform.

Drawing from my previous question, whether inclusive education is an ethos of inclusivity or a politics of governance, it seems that there have been two ideologies emerging in the current context of inclusive education: the discourses of rights and equal opportunities symbolize the inclusive side of inclusion; while the discourses of professionalism and management strategically reinforce the governance side of inclusion. These two theoretical approaches have converged within debates about the inclusion of children with disabilities in education. To interpret these competing agendas, I have drawn on both discursive and non-discursive practices that have been used to shape new ways of thinking about disability and inclusion, in relation to the politics of inclusion which I have examined at the macro level of policy and social change. In this genealogical perspective, there seems to be an institutional struggle to depoliticize and neutralize the discourse of inclusive education, expressed through the rationalized, objectified, and professionalized agenda of educational management, and the normalization of disability through educational practices. This institutional procedure plays out through the emergence of special needs education in Vietnamese educational policies. By

conceptualizing inclusive education as an educational discipline, authorities provide a place for new forms of knowledge about government to be formulated and practised within the political agenda of mainstreaming. I discuss below the ways governmentality is set forth within the domain of educational management.

The managerial discourse in education is an integral part of the managerial state and the political action that global and local forces have exercised in the policymaking agenda. In fact, there seems to be an overarching assumption that inclusion is associated with management, as shown in the programs and discourses of inclusion. These programs institutionalize the politics of governance through the technologies of management such as aggregating data and normalizing difference. The local institutions exercise control over their populations. This regime of management shapes individuals as manageable beings, objectified by their difference and normalized through institutional inclusion. In this procedure, normality is a standard to categorize children through the assumption that their problems need to be fixed.

Universal schooling redefines disability according to what Stiker (1999) refers to as an *empirical norm*, a norm established by defining who has problems with schooling, why, and how best to manage these problems through schooling intervention. This includes multiple levels of management, such as the political economy of disability and development, the political level of education, and the micro practices of education. The institutional need for management is constructed through the production of new categories in that disability is re-treated through the exercise of professional knowledge. The assumptions underlying PEDC's intervention, for instance, are political because they reinvent the normalizing practices through inclusive education. Through this mechanism of power and language, the disabled child is constructed as an objectified problem waiting for intervention through the exercise of power (Foucault, 1980).

These mechanisms of power are institutionalized through the practices of education, such as the categories of "disadvantages" developed in education through PEDC programs and institutionalized through the government's policies, as I explained in the previous section.

Through the education of children described as having disabilities, education has constructed a new mode of social control through an ideological assumption that management is central to the implementation of inclusion in education. Management discourse re-constitutes the normal and abnormal through the modern ethics of governance in that disability needs to be fixed through an adaptive educational environment (Ball, 1990a; Slee, 1996; Paterson, 1989).The discourse of management in inclusive education, best interpreted as a form of institutional regulation which translates the ideologies of inclusion into education, limits the possibility for thinking differently about educational organization (Ball, 1995).

In his argument about the management technology of education, Ball (1990a, 1990b) argues that educational discourses are forms of knowledge that naturalize and objectify individual subjectivity through educational management. As Ball (1990b) states, management is an "all embracing conception of organizational control" (p. 156). It is both a theoretical and technological tool in the bureaucratic structure of education. Its discourses/practices construct institutional inclusion and exclusion through the bureaucratic structure of education. In these strategies, the control of the school population through discourses and power in educational management are more forcefully driven by the institutional regime of modernization. This political agenda of public institutions prepares docile bodies (Foucault, 1977) for the goal of economic development. The normative standards of inclusion formulate modern governance as a mode of knowledge that re-establishes the traditional boundaries between inclusion and exclusion. They govern our way of thinking about the ethics of modern government. They shape

what we see as truth about human existence and human nature (Dean, 1999). To elaborate on this, I will discuss the bio-politics of institution and the ways that power works to construct disability and normalcy.

### Bio-politics in Education

The politics of education and social control enable us to respond to the final question that I posed earlier: how has education functioned to apply force upon its disabled population? To understand this question, I reflect on the bio-politics in education because it seems to express well how education functions to construct normality and difference within the modern context of institutional reform. Bio-politics, as I indicated in my theoretical framework, is a modern strategy in governing the population through exercising force *over* and *through* the individual body. The emergence of the modern technologies of governance, which I have attempted to map out with my analysis in the previous chapter on the paradigm shift of inclusion, shows that these institutional practices are an integral part of the political domain of inclusion and disability. This institutional regime of management constructs new forms of knowledge about governance through discourses such as equal rights within the development context.

A reflection on the dimensions to which history and social power have shaped the disabled identity is significant because it reminds us that our consciousness and actions have political meanings. This is a way of shaping our consciousness about who we are and how we have constructed our present. This chapter has tied together the multiple dimensions of discourses, practices, and institutions to demonstrate how bio-power is exercised through some emerging ways of seeing, knowing, and treating the disabled child in schools. However, schooling practices are not disconnected from other institutional practices such as those found in medical, philanthropist, and voluntary organizations, where a network of surveillance has been

established through an ethos of helping, supporting, and making the child equal as the Other.

These are the methods of individualizing the disabled child that had emerged within the

Enlightenment period in western societies (Borsay, 2002, 2005). I have argued that some of these

practices may call to mind the recurrent patterns of social control that took place in western

context, as well as those that occurred in the history of French colonialism in Viet Nam. This is

not merely to say that history is replicating itself in non-western societies through the

globalization of disability and education policies. My implication, rather, is to suggest that there

are continuous forms of struggle in a post-colonial condition, where expressions of history,

power, and identity are contested issues. The construction of the disabled identity in non-western

context, in the same way as that of gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity, is politically shaped by

the global forces, who may or may not support a rights-based or development agenda, but whose

power has been instrumental in forming knowledge about inclusion and exclusion. This is an

important dimension of bio-power that has emerged within the current context. For instance,

there seems to be an unstated assumption that NGOs are experts who *know* the local problems

and who are *knowledgeable* in inclusive policies and practices. In its project documents, CRS

mentioned the shortfall of the rights-based discourse in the government's policies and practices,

in that "there are still significant gaps in the current health and social services system, in the

areas of early detection, intervention, education, and follow-through stages of care for children

and adults with disabilities" (CRS & World Concern Development Organization, 2006,

Attachment 2, p. 2). There are very few instances in NGO documents where disability is

addressed as a set of social, political, and institutional issues (Acoleyen, 1999; Bjork, 1998;

Radda Barnen, 1995). Similarly, inclusion, empowerment, and development are unquestionably

taken as the rationalities of social development, without interrogating whose agenda has been

exercised, and how such agenda has tackled the politics of exclusion (Booth, 2000). Further, in place of understanding disability as a local phenomenon that needs critical interrogation of power and exclusion, stakeholders seem to have been much more concerned with constructing expert knowledge, including that of special education. This emerging knowledge is invested within the local politics of inclusion. There seems to be an assumption that these social, historical, and cultural politics of disability are *already known* to international stakeholders and could be taken out of the writing. The implication is that "we" - the global and national stakeholders - are experts in inclusion, and "we" (the global) would take action to hold the government accountable for these politics. These rationalities constitute knowledge about *us* and *them* (Booth &Ainscow, 1998) in the international agenda of inclusion and development. This political agenda fosters a way of knowing about education within the context of modernization. At the same time, the political agenda that shaped *us* and *them* was silenced in those discourses. The absence of the rationalities of inclusion, empowerment, and development in NGO documents points to the problem of power imbalances in reconstructing policies such as inclusive education.

Within this political agenda of restructuring disability issues, education is a powerful institution in transforming *some* traditional practices of exclusion through the teaching approaches for the individual child such as the technologies of classroom management. These discursive practices demonstrate how power is re-constructed in education in a way that legitimates the political agenda of management. Within the PEDC's practices, inclusive education is a program that translates the Bank's neo-liberal ideologies on modernizing institutions into schooling through mainstreaming practices in education. Its schooling approach re-organizes education and the disabled subject through new forms of management in the

modern context.

The influence of global agencies, through development policies and the current context of EFA, is significant. In relation to inclusion discourse at the wider level of social policy, the management of inclusive education reveals the institutional agenda to control disability and education through inclusive education programs and policies. The influence of the global educational agenda on the local politics of education can be understood in Foucauldian terms: it is the movement of power-knowledge that relates to morality, education, and progress that spreads from global governance bodies (such as the United Nations and the World Bank) to nation-states, and is institutionalized through the local practices of education. This movement of power-knowledge has been referred to as the new imperialism (Tikly, 2004). Tamatea (2005) argues that this power matrix reduces the social relations of schooling into mathematical symbols that objectify social relations in education while subordinating schooling to neo-liberal control and surveillance. Further, EFA is an imperialistic project that is structured through the discourse of inclusion at the global level (Nguyen, 2010). The translation of Western power, knowledge, and hegemony through educational systems fosters the perpetuation of Western power and knowledge. This global matrix is enacted at the local level in ways that make management an institutional discourse in the surveillance of the school population. Such discourses/practices render government rationale, manageable, and thinkable in certain times and places (Miller & Rose 2008). As Miller and Rose (2008) further explained:

> Programmes presuppose that the real is programmable, that it is a domain subject to certain determinants, rules, norms and processes that can be acted upon and improved by authorities. They make the objects of government thinkable in such a way that their ills appear susceptible to diagnosis, prescription and cure by calculating and normalizing

intervention. (p. 63)

## Conclusion

In short, the rules, institutions, and practices that have emerged in education in Viet Nam demonstrate the political nature of education and social control within the emerging politics of inclusion. This process institutionalized the paradigm shift of inclusion through inclusive education policies and programs. This chapter has explored the relationship between education and public policies in institutionalizing inclusion in education settings. I documented the process by which inclusion is applied to education through inclusive policies and programs, as well as through the discursive and material practices that global and local institutions have applied to foster rights, professionalism, management, and development in education.

This process shows us how educational arenas are used as a mechanism of power to reframe our thought about normalcy in education. The educational programs such as PEDC and IVWD, while undoubtedly important in mainstreaming people within disabilities in education, are an integral part of governmentality, and such rationalities and techniques are used as ways of governing the disabled body and mind. At the same time, they shape our ways of thinking about educational knowledge about disability and normality. In such a process, education programs re-organize the way we see who is able or disabled, normal or abnormal, and who is eligible for intervention from a panoptical lens on his or her individual deviation from the institution norms. They shape the normal and the abnormal through the gaze of institutional surveillance. Thus, while inclusion is institutionally supported, exclusion is reproduced through the disciplinary power that was shaped through policy and practice of inclusion. To further examine the effects of inclusion, the next chapter will examine the struggles for inclusion within the political agenda of policymaking. Through reflecting on my site visits, I will discuss how this institutional agenda

has affected the participation of people with disabilities in education, as well as in the wider

agenda of public policy.

**CHAPTER 6: CONSTRUCTING "PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES" AS CITIZENS:**

**DISABILITY DISCOURSE AND THE POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION REVISITED**

> A *more radical and unintended consequence of this discourse on disability ... is that disability discourse can become, if one is to take a critical standpoint, the prime location for the analysis of the production of just such a culture and its membership and citizenship requirements.*
>
> Tanya Titchkosky, 2007, p. 159

The emergence of mainstream discourses on rights, professionalism, and development has re-shaped the normative rules of modern institutions. This agenda is expressed in the policies and practices that institutionalize the politics of inclusion. It shapes new ways of thinking about disability through the process of institutional change in laws and policies. To understand how these institutional discourses have transformed exclusion in the current context, this chapter will examine some aspects of individual participation which I observed in my site visits. I use this as a reflexive way of thinking about the effect of inclusion on people with disabilities in modern Vietnamese institutions.

Understanding the politics of participation itself is a hard task, and I assume that such an inquiry should be discussed more deeply in future research through the researcher's engagement with the institutional practices where participation takes place. The discourses and practices of participation in development policies are complex, sophisticated, and power-embedded (Moss, 2005; Cleaver, 1999; Cooke & Kothari, 2001). This chapter, therefore, will not attempt to deal

with this growing body of literature. Rather, I will interrogate the effects of social change on the lives of individuals with whom I worked in my site visits. I refer to "the politics of participation" as the ways in which participation played out in some institutional practices that I have engaged in my site visits. The politics of participation can be observed through different lenses: the ways the individuals participated into mainstream institutions, the ways authorities talked about them, and the ways meanings of disability have been re-conceptualized in the current context. How policy discourses and practices have constructed the ways we know about "disability," for instance, is important. They help us to critically think about the effects of the cultural, political, and educational changes on the individual subject, whose identities are affected by the changes in public policy. With this guiding thought, this chapter will reflect on disability discourses and the politics of participation as the emerging issues of inclusion.

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, I provide some observation on a public meeting on disability issues that I participated in my fieldwork. This meeting was conducted within the process of formulating the Law on Disability. This section will consider the culture of institutional policymaking where disability discourse is contested. Second, I interrogate how cultural, political, and historical changes have reshaped the ways we know about disability in our culture. This question will revisit disability and normalcy in media discourses, and the relationship between such discourses and schooling practices. Finally, reflecting on the site visits to two inclusive schools and one special institution in Hue and Ho Chi Minh City, I will provide a snapshot of educational practice from my visits. The thought that emerges from these site visits will enable us to reflect on the relationship between education and social change, as well as the effects of change on children with disabilities.

My analysis shows that although inclusion has been institutionalized in public

institutions, various forms of exclusion remain deep-seated in stakeholders' values and beliefs about disability. This reflects what Young (2000) refers to as the politics of difference in the normative culture of institutional participation, in that our ways of thinking and knowing about the marginalized, the excluded, are discourses that shape institutional strategies. The politics of difference is an integral part of institutional justice. For example, how do we know disability? What disability discourses do we use to foster our political agenda? How do we talk and listen to people with disabilities in institutions? The implication of this chapter is that we need to interrogate the way discourses reconstruct our democracies through our ways of understanding social difference in social, political, and educational institutions. In the following section, I reflect on a public meeting held by a disability working group which I participated in during my fieldwork in Ha Noi. In so doing, I aim to bring together the process of institutional change, which has been a central theme from the beginning of the thesis, with the effects of discourses on constructing the individual subject and action.

### *The Struggles for Inclusion: Disability Working Group*

I participated in this event during my fieldwork at the NGOs Resource Center (NGORC) in Ha Noi in late September 2009. The event was held by NGORC and involved NGOs, the government, and organizations of people with disabilities in the new agenda of disability and development. The working agenda of the Disability Working Group had become more forceful through the process drafting the Law on Disability[53]. I did not have the opportunity to follow the

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[53] Disability Working Group is a network formulated by many stakeholders: international NGOs, the government, organizations of people with disabilities, and donor agencies. The goal of the Working Group is to promote a network of collaboration and communication among these global, national, and local agencies. These agencies work in a wide range of domains relating to disability and development, including rehabilitation, employment, health care, inclusive and vocational training, disability prevention, and creating public awareness on disability issues (NGORC website, http://www.ngocentre.org.vn/disabilitywg).

event regularly because it had been running throughout the process drafting the law. This process, therefore, had begun well before my fieldwork began. However, I decided to participate in this public inquiry since it was an integral part of the process of institutional change that played out in the policymaking process. The meeting was run by a disability working group that worked on disability issues, inclusion, and development in Viet Nam. The government's policymakers, representatives of the development projects ran by NGOs, as well as interested people, had actively participated in this process of public engagement. This unique event was an opportunity for me to further interrogate how discourses such as rights and development have been articulated through institutional practices. The following field note is a reflection from my participation in a meeting with this disability alliance.

*A reflection on policy practices*

> *In a turning season to the fall, the weather starts to cool down after the summer days when temperature heats over 35 degree. Within the conference room, one seems not able to get the cozy feeling from the air-conditioner, as the topic of the meeting is a very heated: CBR (community-based rehabilitation), inclusion, and empowerment. I have been reluctant to include CBR into my areas of concerns, since the discourse by itself is a political arena which few critical studies have touched on. My participation into this public inquiry, however, is not to examine the politics of CBR, but the political agenda of disability and inclusion in institutional practice. Who participate into a policymaking process? What issues are talked about? How do stakeholders talk about disability? Whose voices are heard, and whose voices are silenced?*

*Who participates, who speaks, and who listens are important issues in the culture of policymaking because they bring into light the democratic nature of inclusion. In such an institutional culture, stakeholder's discourses are crucial in the policy practices. They do not only set the limits and constraints on the ways institutions function; they also give us a sense of whose discourse really counts in the material practices of institutions. For me, inclusion has emerged from different standpoints: in a policymaking process, in a variety of policy text, and in the lived experience of real people. This institutional culture seems to explain more politically to me what I have read in texts which I came up with in my fieldwork.*

*The roundtable is soon to be filled by people coming from different agencies, and some, like me, are occasional participants. As an institutional convention, participants take their turn for a brief introduction about themselves and give a reason for their participation. There is a program coordinator at NGORC. She has worked in collaboration with other NGOs to develop the theme for the disability working group to sustain their political agenda on disability and mainstreaming. Facing her is a NGO program coordinator. He presents himself as an expert on CBR and inclusive education, and stresses that inclusive education should be thought about as a program within the broad array of issues which CBR covers. The minutes of the meeting are usually posted on the website of NGORC to inform interested parties about the content, process, and working programs of the meetings. This culture signifies an impressive change from the traditional approach to policymaking which used to be run within the walls of the government's institutions.*

*The roundtable seems to be not so round. It is not divided by the people, but by*

*their social positions and by the voices they raise in the meeting. In the room with approximately twenty participants, I do not see any representative from MOET. The absence of a MOET's stakeholder at a ritual meeting of a disability alliance may indicate that education plays a part, but education by itself is not the most important institution in the process of mainstreaming. This seems to reveal that regardless of MOET's support for inclusion, MOET is not the most important institution in the dynamic process of social changes. Two wheel-chair users (I learned that they are brothers after the meeting) remain silent for most of the time in the meeting, but they seem to be very attentive to all the information being shared. On the other side of the room, the representatives of the related ministries – the MOH (Ministry of Health) and MOLISA (Ministry of Labour, Invalids, and Social Affairs), some organizations for disabled people (NGOs), and organizations of disabled people (Association of People with Disabilities) represent the stakeholders. An NGO officer on inclusive education comes a bit later. There are also some passers-by who just drop by and leave a couple of minutes later, while others seem to have attended the meetings habitually. It seems that a new culture of institutional policymaking has been opened up with the involvement of civil society, namely NGOs and other non-governmental bodies.*

*I remain in my chair, a little anxious because of my unusual presence. I am conscious that I am walking into a different culture from what I have learned from academic institutions such as university. Some grassroots communities appear to be alert with the "ivory tower" of higher education because it usually stands in disconnection with their movements. My outsider positionality reminds me to be aware of who I am and how I should present myself to other participants. These are not just about*

*methodological issues. They are about knowing the relationship between ourselves and others.*

*I recognize a number of people with disabilities in the conference room. They appear in the room to listen to what people talking about them, their issues, and their future. Is it a sign of inclusion? I cannot conclude with myself. In my effort to deliver a brief introduction, I decide to be simple, but explicit about my research. Participants in the room gave a smile as greeting for my acculturation into their disability community. I enter their community to listen and to be more informed about their culture. NGOs officers take their turn to present their projects, then government's policymakers' talk, and finally a question-answer period comes.*

*A gentleman from MOH takes a long, stretchy presentation on the progress of the Program 239 and its relationship to disability issues. Program 239 is a nation-wide program on mainstreaming disability issues into the poverty reduction strategies which the government had approved in 2006. I am not really interested in the topic of his speech, but his discourse seems to have captured my attention. He asserts that the government has had a hard time to run this program because there was no consensus about the categories of disability in the current policy on disability. He emphasizes that there is an urgent need to develop new categories on disability for better outcomes of the program.*

*A stakeholder in the NGO alliance steps up. He challenges the presenter to think about his understanding of disability. He points to the two wheelchair-users and asked the MOH officer if those "folks" are disabled. There was a sense of ambiguity in the speaker's reaction, but quickly he refers to the debate between "disability and handicap"*

*in the Disability Law's draft[54]. His knowledge about disability discourse is informed by this institutional debate.*

*It seems that behind the topic of CBR and empowerment today, the political realm of power relations between different social forces is more contentious than it appears to be in policy texts. Some persons with disabilities in the room are somehow confused about the nature of the debate which was meant to talk about them. Perhaps they feel unqualified to jump in the contentious debate of the powerful stakeholders. The presence of some people with physical disability seems to be invisible by the silence of their discourses. The NGO officer argues that the government's stakeholders are more concerned with money, and how money would be used in a manageable and effective way, rather than with how individual needs would be met. He comments that the disability agenda in Viet Nam has been too outdated in comparison to the new international classification on disability ICF (International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health) which WHO approved in 2001. The MOLISA stakeholder remains silent. He gives a short speech at the end of the meeting, stating that MOLISA would consider the participants' issues in the upcoming phase of finalizing the Law on Disability.*

*There is a boundary of power and interest between the experts/policymakers and NGOs, who really hold a powerful role in the meeting, and the voice of the disability community, which seems to be silenced in a public meeting. This culture perfectly*

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[54] At the time I was conducting my fieldwork in 2009, the Law on Disability had not been passed. The disability working group, which constituted an alliance of stakeholders such as NCCD, VNAH, CRS, and the government's ministerial bodies, were social forces shifting the politics of inclusion in Viet Nam.

*explains to me the genealogical emergence of inclusion which I attempt to interpret.*

*Nearly the end of the meeting, I suddenly hear the voices of a man with severe physical*

*disability, who asks, "Where is our place in this process?" Other stakeholders are soon*

*to recognize they have forgot the presence of this group of constituency. They reply the*

*questions diplomatically by stating that they do acknowledge the place of people with*

*disabilities in this process. The meeting turns out to be a question of power and interest*

*which employs disability discourse as an asset to prove one's expertise. Who speaks?*

*Who listens? How do they shape the issue? How do they talk about inclusion and*

*disability? Who really has a say in the political realm of policymaking? I keep thinking*

*about this on my reflection on this public debate.*

*Field notes, NGO Resource Center Hanoi, September 29, 2009*

This fieldwork provides us with a snapshot of the political realms of policymaking around disability issues. Presently, there is a shift in public debate about the meanings of disability discourse. This debate seems to be more political than in the past. There seems to be a more progressive perspective on disability issues which has been set forth by global and national institutions. The mechanisms, rules, and practices of inclusion that global and local agencies advocated re-shape the ways we know and talk about disability in public discourses in Viet Nam. This public inquiry demonstrates some changes in the emerging agenda of inclusion, as well as some possible effects of this agenda in constructing knowledge about disability in the current context.

The debate that took place in this public meeting illuminates how the global agenda of

inclusion has entered the public spheres of Vietnamese institutions. The presence, arguments and

dominant voice of NGOs and government's stakeholders in this debate reveal the role of global

and national alliances in manipulating the meanings and politics of inclusion. The context and

discourses used by different groups of participants such as NGOs, the government's

stakeholders, and a small group of people with disabilities in this meeting reflect my earlier

arguments that international NGOs and government bodies such as MOLISA and MOH have

been at the forefront of the inclusion movement. However, the institutional action that was

fostered by the disability working group shows the multiple forms of power and interest that

have co-existed with one another within the current context. For example, the participation of

people with disabilities into this institutional action is a powerful expression which suggests that

the disability movement has emerged in the local context as a part of the struggle for inclusion[55].

This movement constitutes a counter-hegemonic force to challenge authorities' power. Those

activities reflect the multiple dimensions of power relations in the political agenda of inclusion,

in that there was an institutional process that gave some forms of power to people with

disabilities. The institutional recognition of the rights of people with disabilities to participate

into a policymaking process, as I noted, reflects how the right to participation has had some

positive effects on individual lives.

However, a number of problems are illuminated through this inclusionary approach. First,

the institutional understanding of inclusion in this policy scenario is problematic because it

legitimates the authorities' power. By giving power *to* some disadvantaged voices, the authorities

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[55] Due to the objectives of this study on institutional policy, I did not fully explore the social movement of people
with disabilities that is currently evolving in Viet Nam. The movement of people with disabilities, however, is
another important axis of the politics of inclusion in Viet Nam that needs to be more thoroughly explored in future
disability studies.

have re-constituted power through the content and substance of the discussion, such as one that we could observe in this public debate. Through the debate, for instance, the political agenda of administrating Program 239, rather than the rights of these individuals, was taken as an emphasis in stakeholders' discourses. There was no discussion about the politics of participation, except for a critical interrogation by a person who raised the question about the places of people with disabilities in the process. Further, although the NGO officer's argument is important in challenging the bio-medical model, the discourses and practices that NGOs advocate have continued to get caught within the debate over meeting the needs of people with disabilities. This creates a new dilemma in individualizing human problems. In the argument of the VNHA officer, for instance, a critique of institutional bureaucracy was launched. He used the social model of disability to challenge the bio-medical model. However, underlying this discourse, it seems to me, was not an argument for shifting the institutional ways of thinking about disability per se. Rather, the social model of disability was used as a rationale for asking the government to redistribute resources and funding for the individuals who need them. While a distribution of resources is significant within a policy process, a needs-based approach is a modernist agenda of policymaking that may continue to exclude individuals. The question, then, is what might be problematic with such needs-based discourse?

As Fraser (1989) explains, the discourse about need has become prominent in the political culture of welfare state societies because it pertains to the distribution of the public good. The politics of need, then, is intrinsically related to the politics of distribution. How should a welfare program such as Program 239 be administered to ensure (neo-liberal) focus on providing disability services with cost-effectiveness? Contentious problems emerge in relation to distribution: how much does it cost for the needs of a person with physical disability to enter a

public building? How much does it cost for a child with disability to go to an inclusive school? Who is responsible, and what skills and knowledge are required to do this inclusionary approach successfully? These were some recurrent questions within the public debate. They were articulated by authorities in a way that echoes the politics of needs in western countries (Fraser, 1989; Riddle, 1996, Slee, 1996).

As I have described, multiple constituencies, including the United Nations, the World Bank, international NGOs, and NCCD (including MOLISA, MOET, MOH, and other related ministries) were stakeholders in shaping inclusion in Viet Nam. Their discourses, strategies, mechanisms, and debates, shaped the institutional agenda that (re)defines inclusion as an issue of individual rights. However, as I stated, this debate seems to tell us that the institutional discourse on respecting the rights of people with disabilities was not dominant; rather, the meeting was filled with the discourse of meeting individual needs within the development agenda. There are many dilemmas for a policy approach that is based on individual needs, because this approach fails to interrogate the political culture of institutions where discourses are not equal. Who interprets needs? Who makes decisions about whose needs are to be addressed? Who is authorized to make decisions? Whose interpretation of need is legitimate? These questions were raised by Fraser (1989) in her critique of the needs-based approach. The politics of needs, then, is not just about who gets what, as usually postulated within policy debates (Dean, 2006), but is about who has the power to interpret and to determine how the needs of individuals will be, or may be, addressed.

Second, what social relations were being shaped through the needs-based discourse? This amounts to the effects of power in policymaking. The political agenda of needs, while important in protecting basic human rights, is contentious, because it is based on an individualistic

approach that places the problem of disablement within the person with disability. For example, in the discourse presented by the MOH's stakeholder, disability continues to be conceptualized as an individual deficit that needs to be known, identified, and categorized for more effective management and treatment. Mainstream institutions have used this essentialist discourse of disability to rationalize their agendas, based on the assumption that this approach would yield greater material effects on the lives of individuals. Individualizing human problems for effective management, then, is the unstated assumption of treating individuals based on the needs-based approach. In this light, power has gained a different expression. I have explained, throughout my thesis, about this relational aspect of bio-power. One of the central characteristics of bio-power is governance of the populace through a focus on individual's conduct and needs. Governing the individual's needs is a distinctive characteristic of modern society because it allows the government to exercise power (Foucault, 1980). This form of governance is more productive than the traditional approach of exclusion. The needs-based approach, then, is applied as a pathological gaze that enables the government to exercise bio-politics.

The politics of individual needs gives rise to the final problem: whose knowledge is counted as legitimate? There are a plurality of constituencies, groups, institutions, and discourses surrounding the administration of welfare. During the debate, NGOs and the government's stakeholders used disability knowledge as a discourse that enabled them to justify their arguments about institutional values. There was a shift in institutions about politically correct terms such as "disability" and "handicap." The term "disability," now used to replace "handicap" in the Law on Disability, however, does not mean that there has been a more enabling approach to understanding disability. It is, rather, an institutional approach in legitimating the political agenda of change. It seems, from such a debate, that expert knowledge became central to

questions regarding disability, inclusion, and the politics of participation. This emerging agenda seems to replicate what Rioux and Zubrow (2001) refer to as the human pathology approach in disability policy. For experts, disability is an object of institutional policymaking. The disabled subject is re-constituted as the effect of expert knowledge that is being reconstituted in this modern regime. The politics of knowledge underlines this political agenda of inclusion. It legitimized the role of expertise and professionalism in handling population's needs.

In short, in relation to the administration of individual needs within the emerging disability and development agenda, a new way of thinking about the social relations of disability and mainstream institutions has been established through the modernist agenda of inclusion. This reminds me of the rationalities and effects of governmentality on the lives of individuals. Institutional programs are technologies of government that have a constitutive effect in governing our ways of thinking about disability in current context. Administering social welfare in social policies represents a new approach that the government has used to support the basic needs of people with disabilities. Further, disability discourse was discussed in the meeting as if it were rationalized, objectified, and irrelevant to power and the regime of truth that defines its meanings. It was used by different authorities, NGOs and government's stakeholders, through different paradigms of knowledge, including the social model of disability. However, the underlying logic of the debate was not to protect the individual. Rather, it was more in terms of making institutional programs function more smoothly and effectively through the politics of inclusion, where the arrival of the new-comers - people with disabilities - have obviously changed the traditional politics of mainstream institutions regarding managing disability issues.

As Titchkosky (2003) contends, government policies and programs on inclusion are ways of "investing normalcy." By this, she refers to an institutional strategy in normalization.

She argues that practices of inclusion involve identifying ways of knowing disability through the advanced technologies of modern societies to treat individuals. However, those discourses re-constitute people with disabilities as exclude-able individuals because of the normative assumption that disability is an individual problem. Such an individualizing technique of governance constructs the disabled subject in the context of rights and development. At the same time, normalization re-excludes individuals through a dividing practice that is constructed by modern rules and regulations. To elaborate on this, the following section will look at the ways people with disabilities are represented in mainstream culture through visual images. This visual analysis shows how bio-politics has governed our ways of knowing disability in current context. This, I believe, is the most significant effect of changes on disability issues in the contemporary context.

### *Governing Difference: Re-Visiting the Images of Disability*

This section will look at the effects of institutional discourses on human subjects through rethinking the effect of inclusion on reformulating disability discourse. In order to understand how disability is re-conceptualized in the current context, it is important to know how it is re-defined in relation to the so-called normalcy. These images constitute the first phase of my archival research at the national libraries, NGO libraries, and institutions for people with disabilities. I select the following images in the media to demonstrate how the changes in culture, policy, and educational practices have affected the ways we see and understand disability.

My reading of policies, images, and the practices suggest to me that disability continues to be conceptualized as a disaster, an accident, a loss of normal function, a malfunction, and a individual struggle to adapt itself back to the "normal" world. Perhaps the Vietnamese term "integration," a more universal term in disability policies than that of "inclusion," has reflected

this normalization implication. At the same time, the cultural expression on how individuals struggle to adapt, to move back, to rehabilitate oneself within a normal world, as Stiker (1999) points out, is a reflection of how society constructs its values about disability and normalcy. Thus, he argues that in modern societies, inclusion is achieved only when disability is made to disappear. By this, he refers to the assimilation of social difference which has become an advent of modernity when the *difference* is considered not a part of the uniform project of reason that modern societies aspire to. At the same time, as the previous section has shown us, policies have acted as the devices to re-constitute the normal and abnormal. In the media, the disabled subject is represented through the productive/unproductive dividing practice which has influenced the politics of inclusion and exclusion in educational policymaking. To illustrate this, I use image 4 and image 5 to make sense of the effects of policy on constituting the disabled subject. Through the analysis of the politics of representation underlying these visual images, I seek to understand the effect of change on re-shaping our knowledge about disability.

*Redefining disability: Making sense of the "dividing practice"*

Image 5. "Vượt lên số phận" (Overcoming the destiny). A collage taken from a collection of archival documents since 1990s by the author

The image above which I name "Vượt lên số phận" (Overcoming the destiny) is a collage

that I produced as I was engaging in fieldwork. Inspired by the arts-based methodologies of

Knowles and Cole (2008) and the specific work of Butler-Kisber (2010) and others on collage

within textual studies, I drew on photocopies of texts and photo from newspaper articles. Most of

these articles were disparate archival documents not systematically stored in libraries or the

state's archival recording department. Rather, I collected these images through my contact with

NGOs projects, and some were available in the national and city libraries, associations of people

with disabilities, and development projects such as Disability Resource and Development (DRD)

and Independent Living Center[56]. These articles were in poor condition because they seem to

have been stored at the center but had not been used for a long time. Most of the texts and

images had been published between the 1990s and early 2000s. In my reading of these images, I

was interested in seeing, for example, how I could integrate these images into the historical

analysis which I discussed earlier. I was struck by the similarity among these articles. They

address similar issues about the personal dimensions of being a disabled person, as well as the

strength and energy of the people to overcome their "destinies." My focus on understanding

these images, however, is not only about the representations of disability, as I did in chapter

three. I was also concerned in seeing how such images could inform us about the effect of social

change on shaping contemporary knowledge about disability in mainstream institutions.

In constructing the collage *Vượt lên số phận*, I situate these images within this historical

context, one which provides an important source for understanding the shift in disability

discourse. I read these images from a particular frame of reference – the institutionalization of

CBR and the mainstreaming of disability issues into the social, political, and educational

frameworks - to understand the political meanings of the message. Situating images within their

historical context is critical because the context enables us to understand the contemporary views

towards disability, as well as the ideological implication of the images (Burke, 2001). The state's

preoccupation with children and their institutional participation were manifest in the expansion

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[56] As I mentioned in chapter four, DRD is an NGO project funded by the Ford Foundation to create equal opportunities for people with disabilities in Viet Nam. Independent Living Center, also governed by a group of people with disabilities, is a new project that promotes disability and development and independent living. Both DRD and Independent Living Center were run by people with disabilities within the global context of disability rights and development. Their programs, therefore, reflect the relationship between the government's agenda of disability and development, and the emergence of international NGOs in monitoring and creating disability rights in the local context.

of rehabilitation services, in accordance with the education programs for children with disabilities. People with disabilities were institutionalized in special places, while others who are perceived as more capable, or more productive, were provided more opportunities to participate and to be a role model for others in society. This context informs my reading of and reflection on their meanings in relation to the government's discourses.

I used this collage as a theme reflecting the "history of the present" which I analyzed in chapter three. Making a sense of what stories are told in each of these articles represented in *Vượt lên số phận*, what images are included and how they are linked to the shift in disability and development, were some major questions that I draw on to understand the effects of change on the social life of people with disabilities. Each of the stories in the articles depicts personal narratives about disability. In each narrative, disability is represented through the images of men and women who, while being disabled, fought hard to overcome their "misfortune" and to try not to become a burden for others. The narratives construct individuals as the people who, having overcome their socio-emotional suffering, now attempt to do something more useful for themselves and for society. The political agenda of mainstreaming disability through the institutional desire to manage the disabled subject is reflected through the narratives and photos which I collected. These narratives demonstrate how disability discourse has been re-shaped within the shift in institutional policies of treating the disabled population. For example, the texts published in the Vietnamese periodicals, *Công An Nhân Dân* (*The People's Police*), and *Hà Nội Mới* (the *New Hanoi*), both tell the stories of a group of people with disabilities, namely Tương Lai Tươi Sáng (Bright Future), in Ha Noi. The image in the center of my collage shows a woman with physical disability in a computer classroom. This computer classroom was organized by the Bright Future Group. The caption on the top of this article recaptures the state's concern about

the high ratio of people with disabilities in Viet Nam and what might be used as a solution. The woman, a wheel-chair user, was pictured in front of two computers in the classroom. Since the computers were turned off, it appears that the photo was taken with her consciousness of being photographed. There seems to be a political implication that through technologies and rehabilitation, she is now as capable as the others. Her physical impairment, therefore, was cured by the advent of technologies, and her own effort to overcome her destiny. The full caption was not complete in this one page document (it was originally separated from its whole volume for some particular purposes). However, the association between the image of a group of more academically capable people (image on the bottom), and the use of technologies (image on the right), family relationship (image on the left), provide a clear message about the possibility for people with disabilities to be more useful members in society. They describe these persons as normal but heroic: "They are all disabled but work as normal people. [They] still contribute to society [and] still look after themselves and their families independently" (Archival document, published on August 18, 2000).

This language seems to be descriptive of what these heroic characters have done in "correcting" their misfortunes. The disability is described as an individual problem. At the same time, there seems to be a collective identity attributed to the disabled population. This politics of representation constructs individuals as heroes, being able to overcome their destiny, and to succeed in society. The collective and the individual sense of disability have infused within one another to rationalize the mainstream assumptions of the *potential* self-worth of people with disabilities. However, in contrast with the images of heroes, the "begging career" represented in image 5 is another site of cultural politics which taps into the immoral aspects of behaviours.

Images 6. "Begging career", author unknown, published in Người Bảo Trợ (*Protector*), a state-run magazine specializing in disability and orphans



This image appears in a recent magazine on disability and poverty reduction, namely the Người Bảo Trợ. Published by the Association of Protection of Vietnamese Handicapped and Orphans (Hội bảo trợ người tàn tật và trẻ mồ côi Việt Nam), the image is meant to represent the voice of people with disabilities. However, the stories, messages, and images in this magazine reflect the government's discourse of disability and inclusion (see, for instance, Phong Chau, 2008, 2009). The textual features of this photo capture the ideological shift in institutional mainstreaming in which the individual action is subjected to an authoritative judgment. The image of "begging career," for instance, represents a very different meaning of disability from the stories and images of the heroes that I described earlier. The representation of disability in

these images projects the inappropriate conduct of the individual. In the background of the photo, one can observe a large space with a window, a billboard, and a shelf leaning against the wall designating a police institution. A small piece of paper held in the hand of the shorter man signifies that the men had been given a warning by the local police for their illegal career. In fact, although the content of the image may be interpreted differently, according to the viewer's perspective (Rose, 2001), the message which the image conveys, when juxtaposed with the text which describes the men's illegal action, constructs a different category of disability as crime and social evil. The "improper" behaviour is conveyed through the text with a political message posted in the end of the article:

> A man with mobility disability dragged his body on the ground, a blind man groped his cane, moving his cap to the front... At such sights, many people feel compassionate, and come to put in their caps some change or some thousand dongs. The beggar bowed his head in gratitude, then continued the journey to make a living from this land to another ... (p.14, Thuc Anh, 2008).

Both images/discourses and the text I have cited indicate an institutional desire to transform social problems such as begging by getting the authorities to take control over the individual behaviours. Viewers are invited to observe this dividing practice through the two categories of dis/ability, expressed through their moral conduct: the productive and unproductive, and moral/immoral. The difference between these categories is marked by a division between the productive participation in institutional lives, and the immoral behaviours. This modern technique of social control regulates individual conduct by embodying mainstream discourses onto the individual body and subjectivity. The subject is represented as self-made, self-sufficient, and productive citizens. The *difference*, however, continues to be viewed from

this pathological gaze. Their difference is seen as subservient, irregular, immoral, and undesired. It is represented through his body "dragged on the ground," his behaviours such as "moving his cap to the front," "bow[ing] his head," and his act of earning his life through begging career." The image embodies the meaning of a useless subject. It constructs disability as a "problem," and creates a desire for transforming the subject behaviour. This textual feature suggests that institutional surveillance is required. Therefore, the correction of individual behaviour is now a part of the moral action which modern institutions exercise on their populations:

> Begging for others' compassion, they earn just enough for their own living. But sadly, to most of them, quitting that "job" is never a thought (Thuc Anh, 2008, March).

The two images of disability, juxtaposed alongside one another, show how the "useful" and "productive" individuals are constructed within the discursive shift of social meanings attributed to disability. In this shift, the media constructs individuals as active agents, as opposed to the images of immorality of the parasitic "thing" in the "begging career." The meanings of such images indicate that the transformation of institutions has been associated with a new way of seeing disability in mainstream culture. This new way of seeing is, as Foucault (1977) argues, a gaze of power which constructs the subjectivity of individuals through the rules of institutions. This includes a number of issues I discussed earlier: individualism (individualistic problem), productivity (capacity to work), and normalization (becoming "normal"). Thus, two senses of dis/ability which the stories and images depicted politically convey this bio-politics of institutions in the modern context. This dividing practice resonates in the politics of inclusion in other cultures, in that inclusion constructs the meanings of disability from an institutional desire to control the population. As argued by Titchkosky (2007) when she reflects on the representation of disability in the media discourse after the Katrina storm which happened in

New Orleans in 2005:

> Disability appears in the everyday life of text in a host of seemingly contradictory ways. In a single newspaper there are representations of disability as a dead body outside the sports dome and as a viable metaphor of choice to express inadequate responses to the storm. A deep convocation lies in the fact that the very ways that disability is included in everyday life are, also, part of that which structures the continued manifestation of disabled people as a non-viable type. It is, for example, provocative to think about how disability is both excluded *and* included simultaneously in the interstices of our lives, or included as an excludable type. (p. 5, original emphasis)

### *Schooling as a Productive Action*

The education of disabled children in the contemporary context is an instance registering the emergence of this kind of thought. As I argued in chapter five, schooling is a modernist agenda of institutional reform. It re-formulates the social relationship between society and citizens through the political agenda of education and development. It seems that this ideology has been reflected in images. Image 6 is displayed in a photo collection, titled Hoa Nắng (In the lights of sight), published in *Heritage*, a state magazine published by and under the ownership of Vietnam Airlines. As an airline magazine, Heritage aims to offer tourists and travellers, inside and outside the country, an overview of the traditions and changes in Vietnamese culture, society, and values. The publication of a disability image in *Heritage* shows that the government is aiming to disseminate the changes in its institutional policies to the outside. The photos describe the social lives of some students with visual impairment through their activities in the school, the playground, in addition to their potential productivity in institutional participation.

Image 7. "In the light of sight", photo essay by Dang Quang Hieu & Tran Manh Hoang,

*Heritage*, Volume July/August 2009



Khu nội trú của trường là một thế giới thu nhỏ, từ những bữa cơm nội trú, những sinh hoạt thường ngày cho đến những trò chơi tập thể, những thú vui sở thích riêng.

By allowing kids with visual disabilities to study and play alongside children who can see, Hanoi's Nguyen Dinh Chieu School aims to prepare them for productive lives within their communities.

The image is shot on the school ground, characterizing childhood and playing. Four children are performing a traditional game in the Nguyen Dinh Chieu School. This is a special school for visually impaired children in Hanoi. The photograph appears to have been taken without the subjects' awareness of the photographer's presence.  In the images, the photographer has taken off the signs of disability as burden to turn the viewer's gaze into the new context in which the image is taken – the school with a sense of inclusivity. In the caption, posted on the left side of the photo, the children are described as having the potential to become *productive* through their participation in schooling and the community. The caption illustrates well this political message, "[b]y allowing kids with visual disabilities to study and play alongside

children who can see, Ha Noi's Nguyen Dinh Chieu School aims to prepare them for productive lives within their communities." The implication is that children with disabilities are more likely to become more independent in their individual life through schooling and normalization. This inclusionary program brings more contribution to society. This discourse reflects the political vision of normalization: if the children are treated as "normal," they are more likely to be productive in their own lives, as well as more productive for society.

The meanings of these images reflect the change in the conception of disability in the current context. They illuminate how change has shaped the way we understand disability through our engagement with the texts. The political agenda of inclusion is reflected through the ways it values individual difference through recognizing their positive side in participating and contributing to society. The discourse suggests that mainstream institutions such as education will provide the way for the disabled to be productive through participation. This moral implication frames our ways of thinking about normalcy. These governing technologies of modern institutions are expressed through the production and distribution of disability knowledge. The normal and abnormal, therefore, is reframed through these discursive practices. This could be also observed as well through different types of text. The *Vietnamese Culture and Education Dictionary* provides a guideline to the process to identification:

> A conclusion about whether or not a child is mentally retarded or not should only be reached after long-time examination and consideration with scientific psychological and neurological methods. Teachers and parents should monitor the children suspected of mental retardation and give patient instructions so that they can gradually develop their cognitive skills, rather than press them at signs of their slow understanding. If these

efforts do not seem effective, the children should be examined and concluded by a

research institution (Vu, 2003, p. 67- 68)

The images and the discourses presenting disability indicate how institutional practices

have shaped our ways of thinking about individual difference in public institutions. A critical

reading of these images enables us to understand how politics has played out within the most

private, personal, and intimate aspects of human lives with some constitutive effect on shaping

individual conduct. They formulate the rational and moral aspects of human lives; they dictate

what a person with disability should do to receive societal awareness of their role as an equal

member of society; and they create a societal response to what it means to be moral or immoral

through group or individual behaviors. That is, the shift in laws and policies has some material

effect on the lives of people with disabilities, whose difference represents a disruption for the

orderliness of modern society. The difference is marked by seemingly contrasting images: there

is a loss, failure, and suffering that happen to the lives of the children with disabilities. However,

through participation, their face, attitudes, and postures evoke a sense of happiness. This cultural

narrative represents what Davis (1995), Kim & Jarman (2008), and Titchkosky (2003) argue is

the production of normalcy through the technologies of constituting citizens in modern

institutions. As Bauman (2000) argues, it is the life politics that characterizes the central aspect

of contemporary modernity. He believes that within the current conditions of post-modernity in

the west (or second modernity, in Bauman's words), social institutions have not abandoned the

need for society to take legislative action for shaping a just society. However, legislation has

been framed through an ideological shift towards individualizing the code of conduct in society.

Individualism expects people to conform to the new order through the institutional reassertion of

individual rights. Individuals are perceived free to choose their conduct in order to fit themselves

into the normative order of society. Modern institutions, therefore, produce a set of values, beliefs, assumptions, and practices which construct the fit and the unfit, the same and the different, and the normal and abnormal, through the discursive power which operates in mainstream institutions. In this individualizing gaze, people with disabilities are included so long as they still make contributions and their lives are still useful for others. The question that this visual analysis may call into mind for us, therefore, is the effects of change on the lives of individuals.

Some layers of my analysis, in addition to my school visits discussed in a later section, may provide a perspective on the effect of inclusion on the lives of people with disabilities. Bauman (1997) provides us with a useful image of these modern individuals, who are referred to as the strangers in the mainstream. The strangers are historically produced subjects, who threaten to destroy the purity and certainty of modernity. An orderly, pure, and rational mindset of modern society pre-determines who may fit or may not fit into the new order. Human alienation, strangeness, and abnormality are things that need to be erased and kept in control, before individuals can get free access to mainstream society with a citizenship status. Their individual beings, therefore, are regulated through the codes that make them fit into the new social order. This is what Bauman refers to as *assimilation*. The second strategy, more adverse, is to expel them. That is, to keep the strangers away from the orderly world. This is more commonly referred to as *exclusion*. To understand how assimilation or exclusion may have been re-invested in institutional practices, I conducted to a number of site visits to both inclusive schools and special institutions in Hue and Ho Chi Minh City. The following section will reflect on my engagement with some of these practices. The purpose of these site visits was not to try to capture a full sense of how inclusion works in practice, but to understand how educational

institutions reconstruct disabled citizens through mainstreaming programs.

### *Constructing Citizens: Reflection on Two Schools*

Through the inclusion movement, some schools are now re-labelled "inclusive schools." A range of institutions, including segregated, integrated, and the so-called semi-integrated model of schooling, are now all used as sites for "inclusive education" because they provide access to schooling for children with disabilities (MOET, 2006a). In order to carry out the site visits, I got permission from the Department of Education and Training, Thua Thien Hue Province, to visit three schools in Hue City and two others in Huong Tra district. In Ho Chi Minh City, I had a direct contact with two local schools and institutions, since the schools are relatively independent from the city's administration. Thus, the reflection from my site visits will enable readers to get more insight into how disability knowledge is reconstructed in the local institutions such as schools.

As a former officer of the provincial department who had worked with the districts and schools in inclusive education, I did not experience difficulty in getting the authority's approval for my school visits. My contact with the schools was through the provincial and local administrators, who arranged my visits with the approval of the local authorities. After having been approved by the head of the local educational authorities, I got the permission to visit five schools (three in Hue and two in Huong Tra), as arranged by the local authorities. Each visit was scheduled by the school and local districts for half a day and all the visits were scheduled within two weeks in Hue. Many of these schools are those I had worked with during my former work at the provincial level. The purpose of the visits was to understand how inclusion has been institutionalized in local settings, and how the administrations talked about disability and inclusion in current context. Therefore, the discussions were informal and open. I used my visits

at two schools as a snapshot on inclusion in these schools. For the purpose of confidentiality, I will use pseudonyms when identifying the names of these schools.

The school Xuan Phu is located at the frontier between a rural and an urban area. My visit to this school was arranged by a local educational administrator who described the school as in the process of implementing "inclusive education." In this school, children with intellectual disabilities study in a segregated classroom specially reserved for them within a regular educational setting. A special class for children with intellectual disabilities was open under the Plan International's sponsorship in 2002. This educational environment significantly changed the social lives of families and children within this community. The children, who had previously been hidden at home or taken care by the S.O.S. Village, were educated in the same school as non-disabled children. However, the children were taught in a separate classroom by two special education teachers. Some children were transferred to a regular classroom when they had made sufficient progress in their learning. This model is referred to by MOET as a "semi-integrated" setting, an approach approved by MOET in its attempt to "include" more disabled children in education.

I met with the principal in each of the two schools which were arranged for me by the local educational authorities. These visits enabled me to understand the challenges of the schools, and the challenges of the school administrators in inclusive education. Located in a suburban area, school Xuan Phu is distinctive from other schools in the city. The population in this school is primarily constituted by the children of working class parents. Rich parents had moved their children to the *city schools* (schools located in the centre of the city) because they wanted their children to study with high standards and to not be integrated with the children of poor, working, and troubling families in this borderline district. Because of this migration, the

principal said that her school fell well below the normative standards of a city school, as it is constituted by a "substandard population." The children, coming from families with "difficult parents," such as "drunken" and "neglectful" parents, performed lower quality education, and demonstrated a high correlation with Down syndrome. Such problems raised the principal's concern about the relationship between poverty and disability.

However, while raising this sociological problem, the principal did not concern herself with the participation of children with intellectual disabilities in the school. Her role as a principal, she indicated, means that managing the school population was her primary position. In the discussion, the principal was concerned with "treating," "managing," "reducing," and "preventing" disruptive behaviours performed by these children. For example, she said that in order to teach the children from "difficult" families, her school attempted to support their education through special education skills and management. The school organized its educational practices through two major activities: helping the children acquire basic learning competencies, and giving them some opportunities to participate in social activities with non-disabled children. The school curricula, under the provincial approach to the management of inclusive education, were used in classrooms through a range of management approaches. These include practices such as evaluating the students' IEPs, keeping track of their progress, reporting the students' learning and behavioural outcomes to the principal, and applying special approaches to teaching children with intellectual disabilities. Besides this, the school is also in charge of documenting out-of-school children, including disabled children in the district, to inform the authorities of the number of children in need of schooling in each individual year, following the EFA movement (*Field notes, October 16, 2009*).

In the second school, which I refer to as Phung Hung, inclusion had been implemented in

the last few years and supported by its local authority. It provides an educational access to the children with visual impairment at the request of the Blind Association in the district where the school is located. I was able to understand the power struggles in education in my Master's project when disability issues were included in regular schools (Nguyen, 2005). Currently, some children graduating from primary education continue their schooling within the institution's district, while others work in the Massage Center of the Blind Association. The district's administrator indicated to me that a number of visually impaired children have graduated from this school with some good educational records. The children may pursue secondary education after they have finished primary education, and after secondary education, they could continue their high school if their records are proved good enough. The local authorities make the decision regarding the transition process, and the staffs are responsible for teaching after the recruitment of the student to the high school. The remaining students, however, participate in the workforce.

Given that the number of children with disabilities who still have no access to primary education in the whole country is extremely high, it seems that there has been a more supporting educational environment in the school Phung Hung. This school carries a hope for the children to be integrated into schooling and to be productive in society. In my reflection, however, I struggle to understand what these discourses/practices have done to the children who now participate in so-called "inclusive" schools. In my conversations with the school principal, I found that the rights and development discourses were not strongly articulated in the authority's understanding of inclusion. Rather, it was a power relationship between the child, the teacher, and the management staff which was prominent. There seems to be a theoretical assumption that the disability is a problem of the child, and the school's practices are to fix the problem. This is indicated in the widespread application of IEPs, the methods of tracking and evaluating student

progress, and practices such as developing professional knowledge which I indicated in the previous chapter. This local practice reminds me that power operates through schooling practices where individual subjectivity is formulated.

Within the management regime in education, disability is portrayed as a special group to be supported, protected, managed, and controlled through the normative culture of schooling. It was striking to me, for example, that the management board[57] did not consider inclusion as a legal obligation. The principal said that he had no intention to do inclusion. His staff was not informed of any legal document about inclusive education from MOET or the provincial authorities, and his teachers did not have teaching skills to teach these "special" students. In both schools, the children were *present* in some school activities, but *absent* from the classroom activities and curriculum, and well below the normal range of educational standards. Educational programs were formulated by global and local stakeholders to integrate children with intellectual disabilities into mainstream schools. However, the management of inclusion was much more pronounced at the local level than the legal discourse which views inclusion as a human right.

### *Other signs of exclusion: Citizens who were left behind*

Let me return to the one-day fieldwork at *mái ấm* Thanh Vân, another school site where I could interrogate exclusion. This is the institution which I described in my first chapter. I was involved in some aspects of its institutional life through the contact with Sister Van in my fieldwork. The one-day visit which she scheduled for me was to introduce to me the ways her

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[57] In the Vietnamese public school system, the management board is comprised of the local stakeholders such as the leading party and unions, principal, vice principal, the educational and administrative committees in the school. Parents constitute a different committee within this mechanism (MOET, Primary School Regulations, 2007c, document 51/2007/QĐ-BGDĐT). In this study, I refer to the principal and a teacher who met with me during the meeting.

institution operated, as well as to expose me to a culture of institutional living which is now emerging for people with disabilities who have been integrated into the society. The disabled children and teenagers in this institution came from different areas in the Southern provinces. Their families were described as unable to take care of their disabled children because of the family's difficult situations such as family breakup or poverty-stricken circumstances. Other children came from rural areas where no educational services for visually impaired children were available and no regular school would accept their participation.

Following the nun in charge of this building to the second floor, I arrived at the main space reserved for most social activities of the children, namely studying, playing and working. Maintaining some large wooden cabinets with Braille books carefully shelved into categories was a part of the nuns' jobs in helping the kids with their school activities. In another corner, a table displayed handicraft products made by some of the girls after their study time. These are some of the social activities that the kids were taught as a part of their vocational training. It reflects a commonly held preoccupation with the future of these children and with what the children would be able to do after leaving the institution, as one of the nuns informed me during my visit.

Around the age of twenty and thirty, some girls were still considered "children" because of their perceived childish, dependent, or naughty behaviours, as signalled to me by the nun. These were the individuals with multiple disabilities or intellectual disabilities located in the top level of the building. In a space around 20 metres square was the place where the older girls carried out their day long activities. They studied their lessons, washed their clothes, and slept in their small space as arranged by the institution. The desks, leaning against the wall, seemed to be arranged to ensure that there would be enough space for the mobility of the visually impaired

children. In the dim sunlight that penetrated through the windows where the desks were located, the girls with intellectual disabilities were taking their individualized educational programs with a retired volunteering teacher. The teacher assigned five students with differentiated tasks because the girls were at different ages and acquired different school levels. The nun told me that most children with multiple disabilities had difficulty in studying and should be taught in a home-based institution with a basic literacy program, which could include Math and Vietnamese. Some boys in the institution were integrated into a continuing education center, an educational program that the government has approved alongside the formal education in high schools.

Within a day in *mái ấm* Thanh Vân, I sat with different girls who appeared to be quite comfortable or enthusiastic when sharing their stories with me. Each one of them was treated differently, received different models of schooling, depending on their capacity to learn in regular classrooms. Some girls and boys were included in regular school, but they were judged as "more able" than others in the institution. The others did not have the same opportunity because they were regarded as lagging in cognitive development, older, nastier, or more severely disabled. In the institution, they all studied math and Vietnamese, music, singing, and seemed to be caring for each other, but they were not sure what future would be waiting for them after their institutional experience. The ways the institutions organized their daily practices reflect how disability is known, understood, and treated through the activities of our present time. These discourses and practices legitimated rather than changed the notion of "defective children" which educational policymakers had articulated almost two decades ago (Trinh, 1990). This historical perspective seems to be re-constituted within the institutions that I visited. It provides room for reflection on how power has shaped our ways of knowing about the other.

There was also a culture of caring for children with disabilities in both schools and the

special institution which I visited. This is indicated in the involvement of children and adults with disabilities in different models of education, as well as in the learning of the teenagers with intellectual disabilities in *mái ấm* Thanh Vân. For the students in the so-called inclusive schools (again, I use the term according to what the authorities labeled), to study in regular school means to get an access to education, and to look forward to a better future. In their stories about institutional living and families, no one told me about how they were doing in school. They felt happy about being in schools or in this special institution. There was a sense of hope in their stories that schooling would bring them employment when they left the institution. Perhaps it was a positive side of my story. At the same time, there seems to be a sense of uncertainty about the future of these children and teenagers. A caretaker, who showed me the craftwork that some girls produced as a part of their work after schooling, said that she did not know what these children would do after leaving that institution. She told me that some teenagers had returned to their communities, while others were struggling to find jobs. A school principal commented that the projects implemented by international NGOs are like the "performance show" performed by stakeholders, because these programs do not really come to grips with the reality and challenges in schools and the community.

The rights discourse in laws and policies seems to be disconnected with the reality of people whose lives were affected by policy and social change. This is not only a problem of disconnection between theory and practice. Rather, it is a problem of theory *and* practice. Ingstad and Whyte (2007) argue that the global ideas of human rights have not come to grips with the life experience of suffering people with disabilities in the local. They comment that the UN Standard Rules are travelling ideas from the global North and adopted by lawmakers or organizations for advocacy or ornamentation. However, there are concrete problems of exclusion

such as rape, high rates of death and AIDS, and the negative effects of global technology such as prenatal screening and abortion that the global rules have failed to address. The challenge of disability studies and policymakers, then, is to develop a theory of rights that comes from the concrete experience of people affected by the ideas, values, and ideologies of institution. Such praxis would provide a more democratic space for reflecting on citizenship and the politics of inclusion.

These site visits gave me a richer reflection on policy and institutional power. Nevertheless, to state that inclusion has produced positive effects on student participation, or to argue that it has reproduced exclusion in the lives of these children and teenagers with disabilities with whom I met is still premature. What may be more important to understand from these site visits is that the shift in the discourses and practices of institution appears to be more complex and multi-faceted when it comes to practice: when the strategies of "inclusion" are formulated in social and educational policy, the politics of exclusion seems to be silenced. Government policymakers talked about inclusion through the discourses of access, integration, rights, human development, and social development; NGOs talked about inclusion through the discourses of intervention and equal participation; local authorities talked about inclusion through the discourse of management of inclusive schools; principals and teachers talked about inclusion through the discourse of management of the child's learning and behaviours. These activities re-constitute what I argued earlier regarding the production of a power network that reconstitutes the disabled child as an object of care lacking in agency and ability. At the same time, they silenced the question about exclusion and injustice in schools and society. A principal said in a humorous tone when being asked about rights and equality for children with disabilities in his school: Who dares to talk about justice?

The image of the stranger that Bauman (1997) describes in western modernity may not entirely represent the politics of inclusion in the Vietnamese context. However, the rationalities of modernity seem to be the same. Governmentality constructs new positions and subjectivities in modern societies. It provides strategies that support *assimilation* such as normalization, integration/inclusion, and development. These strategies implicitly or explicitly reinforce *exclusion*. In fact, there were adults and teenagers in my fieldwork who were not entitled to participate in public education. Their impairment was considered their own problem. There were various forms of treatment that were offered and managed by authorities, including educational authorities and their caretakers. These forms of treatment were justified because they offered institutions with safe and well-managed technologies of control individual conduct. Patterns of exclusion were reserved for them, the *individuals* who have not achieved normalcy, and the *individuals* who have failed to measure up to modern rules and standards. To paraphrase what I stated earlier, policy that aims solely at economic inclusion and modern development may result in some initial positive effects. This is indicated in some programs in supporting people with disabilities in the government's policies such as lending, crediting, and schooling adults and children with disabilities in mainstream institutions (SRV, 2006a). Further, the rules of law in modern societies may dramatically shift the traditional approaches to disability towards  rights-based, but they maintain the bio-medical model as the core focus of modern administration. The disabled individual, therefore, is included within this new social order. The long-term effect of this inclusionary process, presumably, is the exclusion of those unable to fit well with the new rules in global capitalism because the majority of them are the new strangers to the modern rules.

The discursive and social practices that I reflect on as a result of my field visits may raise a critical question for our human project of inclusion: is inclusion a troubling problem in our

utopian desire to formulate equal rights and social justice? Karl Manheim (1938) refers to thought as an intellectual engagement which is situated within a particular institutional condition. Thought may be considered as realistic or utopia, depending on the social, political, and economic conditions in which it is formulated. I have discussed, throughout my thesis, the politics of inclusion from a historical perspective. This historical process frames the politics of my question. I believe that what a genealogical analysis of inclusion lets us know is how the problem of the past is still ingrained in some expressions of our present, and that our present practices are constituted by the workings of power that constitute our knowledge about disability. This genealogical analysis enables us to know how culture and history have shaped our ways of knowing about the normative standards that we have used to govern our institution.

In thinking about what this political agenda really means for me, I attempt to reflect on how the discourses of inclusion, and the critique of inclusion itself, could be used as a site for reflection, and for proposing an alternative way of knowing and interrogating our values of justice. Harvey (1996) reminds us that injustice plays out in different moments of discourses and practices. He suggests that we need to interrogate the mechanisms which we use to formulate our institutions, including the material practices which are a part of our social system, and how such mechanisms reproduce injustices through the ways they function. Such thought reminds me that injustices in society, within education systems, and within the public spheres, are not natural or unavoidable, because we are the individuals who construct those discourses, values, and ideologies, and not passive agents within the system that we live. Perhaps, as Lemke (1995) insightfully articulated, we need to know that we are a part of that problem, that we create injustice from our commonsense knowledge about institutions and disability. Such interrogation and reflection is a site for thought and for generating new possibilities for change. This is, I hope,

a site of transformation that a genealogical analysis of inclusion can contribute.

## Conclusion

This chapter has offered a sketch of my own reflection on the effects of inclusion. I looked at different aspects of participation to understand this. Although this chapter did not aim to deconstruct inclusion in practice (i.e., Azzopardi, 2008; Ferri, 2008; Allan, 2005; Slee, 2001c), I have shown that inclusion and exclusion have been reconstructed through the ways institutions operate, in relation to the ways they re-construct our ways of knowing about disability. I argued that the political agenda of inclusion has had some positive effects in reconstructing the normative values and assumptions of the mainstream culture regarding disability and forms of disablement. Participation in the mainstream, however, remains contentious. The silences of the voice of people with disabilities in public policy, the pathological representation of disability in the new cultural politics of institutions, and the sustaining problems of exclusion in institutional values, assumptions, and ideologies, are forms of exclusion that challenge the unproblematic assumptions of rights and development agenda of social inclusion. These problems raise critical questions regarding the effects of rights and development in reconstituting the disabled subject in educational arenas. These are critical issues that remain unchallenged within the bureaucratic agenda of institution.

My analysis shows that the politics of inclusion and exclusion are embedded within different dimensions of institutions. The ideologies of rights, development, and normalization construct participation as a tokenistic and symbolic expression of the normative culture. These forms of participation, as Stammer (2009) and Cleaver (1999) argue, indicate the problematic of institutionalism in that history, culture, and individual agency are usually excluded from mainstream discourses when participation, development, and individual rights are articulated. It

is assumed that by giving individuals access to mainstream institutions, equalization is going to be achieved. However, institutions are the social spaces where power is exercised, and the action that plays out within institutions such as discourses and practices have a constitutive effect in shaping our sense of knowing about human beings. The discourses and practices of participation, therefore, are political domains in which inclusion and exclusion are reconstituted.

Thus, I believe that to think about policy through this critical engagement with historical practices, and to theorize practices as policy struggles (Fulcher, 1999), is the praxis with which Lemke (1995) encourages us to be engaged. This praxis invites us to rethink the meanings which we create and ascribe to education and social institutions. It challenges us to understand where our knowledge comes from, how it is constituted in relation to power, how it operates in different mechanisms of public institutions, and whose interests are served through the social processes which appear to be progressive and transformative. Critical praxis requires us to re-examine the means and ends of our public institutions, because they have important effects on ourselves as the social actors who participate in society. If we are to be serious about pursuing an inclusive system, should we be mindful to reconstruct meanings in policies and practices?

# CHAPTER 7:    RETHINKING INCLUSION: CONCLUSION AND FURTHER THOUGHTS

> *The point of this argument is not to advocate particular policy solutions to problems of poverty, segregation, or economic domination. It is rather only to argue that democratic citizens should look to law and public policy to address these and related problems, and should consider state institutions and their actions as major sites of democratic struggles, not merely for the sake of resisting corruption and the abuse of power, but also for taking action to foster social changes to promote social justice.*
>
> Iris Marion Young, 2000, p. 187

I have arrived at this final chapter with a refreshed thinking about how we should think about inclusion and democracy in different social contexts through our engagement with history, culture, education, and social change. I believe that my observation of inclusion will change over time, as I reflect on my journey to inclusion. I also believe my interpretation of the issue may grow together with my involvement with the world, and my interrogation of the issues with which I am concerned. In that sense, the purpose of this study was not to grapple with a kind of objective knowledge which sets itself against the social, historical, and political conditions in which it is constituted. It was conducted with a desire to use research as social action to

interrogate and to tackle the world through the researcher's engagement with knowledge. In a moment of reflecting and thinking, let us take a look back upon where we were at the beginning of our journey to consider what this study has achieved in this historical and social action respect, as well as to envision what needs to be done for further research.

As I understand it, research is ultimately shaped by the *episteme*, to use Foucault's term, the historical way of thinking about a particular social issue within an institutional condition (Hall, 2001). I believe that there is no research that is non-ideological and free from the regime of truth within which it is situated. This kind of knowledge is not fixed but contingent on who we are and where we are positioned to observe the process. But this proposition may turn out to be too deterministic. In the end, are we positioned to produce a kind of historical knowledge by positioning ourselves within the regime of truth which has always had the power to dictate and to organize our articulation of discourses and knowledge? Although I have sought to grapple with Foucault's theory to make sense of historical knowledge, I do not believe that this Foucauldian theoretical perspective will totally circumscribe ourselves, our beings, nor will it govern the findings of our research. The action that we do to the world by our attempt to speak, to challenge, and to re-constitute knowledge is not deterministic; it is a process of getting ourselves ready for change. As Foucault (1983) puts it politically, "'my point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy but to hyper- and pessimistic – activism." (Foucault, 1983, pp. 231-232*)*

Perhaps knowledge is important primarily because it reminds us that the kind of knowledge that we have in society is not value-free; it is constructed *by somebody* to address *some particular problems* within some *institutional conditions*. The way knowledge is

constructed through the normative practices and discourses which emerge in a particular historical process reminds us that we need to be sensitive to the state of knowledge claims. I started this journey by inquiring into what has been asked and not asked when we think and talk about inclusion across inter/national borders. At the same time, I have also drawn on the social, historical, and political context of inclusion in Viet Nam to interrogate the social construction of inclusion in the Vietnamese context. This historical understanding of the context was a challenge for me, since it requires me to think about history and power through a socio-historical process in which knowledge is constructed. The story that I have told may be different from the story told by a western researcher who seeks to examine the development of inclusion in Vietnam, since the question regarding whose voice and whose perspective does matter in the political realm of research.

Writing is a process in which we travel with our growing insights and self-reflection. It is an engagement with who we are when doing research and making a knowledge claim. Our consciousness with the problem of knowledge within a critical research paradigm does not mean we passively subscribe to the theory which we use. Rather, it means that our task becomes more complex and challenging because we need to ask, to de-familiarize ourselves with what we take for granted, to question whose knowledge and power, *and* to be ready to challenge our positionality, our methodologies, and the politics of interpretation from which inclusion and exclusion are interpreted. This is what I understand about critical theory (Young, 2000)[58]. The

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[58] As I indicated in chapter two, critical theory is sometimes defined loosely by theorists (i.e., Fraser, 1989; Kellner, 1989; Kincheloe & McLaren, 1991; Young, 1990, 2000), I used Iris Young's (2000) definition of critical theory as a "socially and historically situated normative analysis and arguments" (p. 10). It is a way of theorizing power and social change which "reflects on existing social relations and processes to identify what we experience as valuable in them, but as present only intermittently, partially, and potentially" (p. 10).

choice of critical theory was strategic because the theory enables us to look at different patterns

of social change within a particular historical, political, and institutional condition. In so doing, it

allows us to understand social change through our understanding of power, social institutions,

and the numerous forms of oppression ingrained in the ways we structure normative practices

and discourses (Young, 1990). In a reflection on the autobiography of my research question

(Miller, 1995), I want to tell another story, one that reminds me of where I came from and how it

has deepened my inquiry into inclusion and exclusion.

> When I was young, I learned that the Northern Delta of our nation country was only
>
> 15,000 square km in area but it had to nourish 6,500,000 peasants. Those peasants took
>
> the same breath as that of the Red River, and their life relied on that of the River: When
>
> the River was in anger, its banks were over flown by the roaring waves, harvests were
>
> lost, and the peasants were in famine. The only way to get through it was to build dykes.
>
> But history has recorded so many collapses of the dyke and so many revolts of suffering
>
> peasants in the aftermath. (Cao, 2010)

For most of us who know or studied Vietnamese history, the long history of struggle for

national freedom, the suffering of the poor and working class in the regime of kingship and

landlord, the revolts of these suffering individuals and social groups for self-liberation, and the

new hope for social transformation in the period of modernization, form a part of our knowledge

about the state, individuals, and the different social forces in our historical struggle. Perhaps

history matters because it reminds us that we come from a particular positionality to read and

interpret the world. It is shaped by our consciousness as much as we are shaped by it. In this

historical engagement, we are not staying outside of the process in order to observe it from an

objective lens and theorize it by a natural law, as Marxists would assume when configuring the

development of society. Rather, it is because we are a part of history that we need to know, to reclaim, to reconstruct historical knowledge, as expressed by the author of this excerpt – a Vietnamese thinker who committed to the trajectory of historical change in Viet Nam.

*What our present is*, the inquiry about the history of the present which Foucault posed in his lifetime, is more than ever worth considering, as we reach a point in which no one single kind of knowledge remains unchallenged within the context in which power and knowledge becomes a tool for social change that reshapes the politics of inclusion. We are faced with the challenges of time, of concepts, of traveling theory, of complex patterns of discourses and power which remain subtle and disconnected in our everyday practices. But, I am mindful to add, the world would have been very different if we were able to see how disparate and complex events and discourses have been tied together within the web of reality in which we are living, acting, and reacting. This accounts for the need to think about a history of the present that my study has started to engage with. Further, the concept of history itself is being challenged by the growing bodies of philosophical work into the meanings of history, a change in the concept of history which we need to ponder when thinking and talking about historical consciousness (Ricoeur, 1965; Williams, 1976; Foucault, 1977, 2007). In this body of literature, the notion of history is not defined arbitrarily by a range of grand narratives and social facts. Instead, we are invited to the concept of "histories," the new way of conceptualizing history which is shaped by our sense and our action in a world of multiple powers and interests (Freire, 1997). In that sense, the historical contingencies in which we are situated require us to re-think our questions on inclusion and exclusion within the contemporary context. Joan Cadden, a retired professor of history from the University of California, articulated the importance of engaging with historical knowledge through a critical reflection on the meaning of research for society and culture in our

contemporary time: "It is important for us to remind ourselves that our scholarly work arises from and has meaning in our own society and culture--not only in general, abstract terms but also in immediate and urgent ways" (Cadden, 2010, personal communication).

## Positionality, Power/Knowledge, and the Research Paradigm

I borrowed Professor Cadden's thought for my conclusion because it expresses well what I have committed to do in this study. Knowledge construction is an on-going process which we engage in through our recognition and involvement *with* the world. It asks how ideologies shape the way we know and understand inclusion in a particular way, and to what extent our study has successfully taken up the questions which we asked. In other words, we need to acknowledge that what we know is constituted by the flux of culture, values, discourses and power which shape us as much as it is shaped by the questions that we ask, the methods that we use, and the knowledge which we seek to construct. The knowledge we construct, no matter what disciplinary domain it belongs to, is contingent on our positionality, our engagement, our theory, and our discourses. Nowadays, the challenges of building an interdisciplinary research paradigm do not do away with the centrality of positionality and ideologies. On the contrary, we need to be critical of our own ideologies, while at the same time being respectful of the discourses and values of the Other (Paré, 2010). This politics of recognition (Young, 1990) is still a critical approach that promises to overcome the clash of cultures and values in disciplinary knowledge.

*Why is it important to ask*? The answers are multiple, and I can only talk about this from my own learning, experience, and insights as a young person who has learned to recognize the complex construction of social reality. Some years ago, I remember, we raised such a question with our teacher, mentor, and critical thinker Joe Kincheloe in a graduate class on curriculum issues and social justice. He thought that sometimes it is more important to ask critical questions

than to answer, because there is no one single way to answer a question. The significance of framing a critical question is that it invites us to grapple with the complexity of power and knowledge in the contemporary conditions, and to be ready to deal with the diverse patterns of exclusion which prevent students from meaningful participation in the structure of schooling. He believed, with Wright Mills, that critical thinking enables us to walk beyond the empiricist paradigm of knowledge to deal with the complexity of power that shapes our knowledge. That is, to understand how knowledge is historically, socially, culturally, and politically constructed by different social forces (Kincheloe, 2001, 2004). I later found his thought elaborated in what Garber (1996) articulates as the importance of framing *the structure of a question*:

> Not only in philosophy and psychoanalysis but within the entire field of what the French call "the human sciences," from literature to sociology and anthropology, it is not so much that questions beget other questions, but rather that attention to the structure of a question disciplines knowledge, frames discussion, and directs the investigator toward one answer instead of another. The necessary dialectic of question and answer is the enabling structure of education and inquiry, even if all "answers" are provisional. (Garber, 1996, p.3)

### Contributions to New Knowledge

At a critical time of what we may refer to as "modernity" that is emerging in Viet Nam, and elsewhere in non-western countries, a reflection on our way of thinking about inclusion and the disabled subject in different levels of institutional power is urgent, critical, and essential. It allows us to look back to the past and to move forward. Within this historical process, we need to walk a step further to ask what discourses and practices have framed the ways we conceptualize inclusion, *before* we move on to ask what kinds of effects it has shaped on cultural inclusion and

exclusion. As Kincheloe (2001) puts it, "[A]ny social, cultural, psychological, or pedagogical object of inquiry is inseparable from its context, the language used to describe it, its historical situatedness in a larger ongoing process, and the socially and culturally constructed interpretations of its meaning(s) as an entity in the world" (p.682).

### *Theory and Methodology*

To understand the paradigm shift of inclusion, I have used governmentality studies to interrogate the discourses, ideologies, and effects of inclusion. For Foucault, governmentality is a theory of problematization framed within a historical inquiry into how the problem has come into being within a particular socio-historical condition (Foucault, 2007). It seeks to understand the problematics of government within what is assumed to be true knowledge, and *how* we have come to understand it as if it were true and non-problematic in the modern rules of governance. This is the key theoretical perspective that enabled me to explain *how* the problem has come to existence in the current context. In particular, it illuminates *how* policies and practices are not formulated within an objective, value-free, and unchanging system of knowledge, as positivism tends to claim. Rather, knowledge is situated within a particular social, historical, and institutional context and theorized by a particular way of interpretation. Further, I have mapped out governmentality studies with critical disability studies to illustrate the governing of disability issues (see also Titchkosky, 2003). The use of different theoretical perspectives enabled me to observe the emergence of inclusion from different theoretical standpoints: the formulations of discourses in public policies, the translation of discourses into institutional practices in education, and the formulation of new ways of thinking about disability knowledge within the truth of modern development.

Different analytical approaches were applied in my study, including historical analysis,

discourse analysis, and visual analysis. A historical/genealogical question, as Tamboukou (1999) points out, helps us to interrogate the truth in our present history by reflecting on how the problems of the past are still reflected in our present. Drawing from Foucault and critical theory, I interrogated the normative rules and practices that are taken for granted as truth in policies, as well as the ideological dimensions of policies which we take for granted. Critical theory was also instrumental in helping me to position myself, and to understand that the politics of interpretation plays an important part in formulating my arguments. As Freire (2000) argued forty years ago in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, there is no way to know the world unless we insert our subjectivity into the way we see and interpret it. Our reading cannot be entirely free from the social, historical, and political context in which the text is shaped as well as the context in which we interpret the text. This does not mean, however, that we discredit the objectivity of how things have happened within a social, historical, and political context. Objectivity and subjectivity are supplementary, interconnected, and need to be taken into account, when we deconstruct policy texts using discourse analysis. The link between subjectivity and objectivity enables us to reach a rigorous way of knowing in that what we know is epistemologically, politically, and historically situated. This inter-subjective account of reading the social world is enacted through my reading of texts and contexts, and is contingent on the subjectivity of the reader, interpreter, or researcher who seeks to understand it.

Finally, the use of historical analysis, critical discourse analysis, visual studies, and site visits has an important implication for critical research, since it takes into account the complexity of the social, historical, political, and ideological dimensions of knowledge and power in constructing inclusion. This means that no single method could be used as a primary way of addressing a set of research questions. Rather, a theoretical perspective of critical theory takes

into account the complexity of knowledge construction. As I have indicated in chapter two, this combination of multiple approaches in order to address the research questions provided me with a rich and rigorous process to understanding the complexity of institutional discourses and practices. This, I assume, reflects the interdisciplinary nature of critical inquiry (Kellner, 1989). The use of multiple approaches and data in mapping out the issues reflects Kincheloe's conceptualization of bricolage, in that the researcher can draw on multiple approaches such as historical research, cultural research, and policy research through a critical hermeneutical lens in order to address the research question (Kincheloe, 1991, 2004)[59].

Besides a combination of historical and critical policy analysis, visual analysis has offered a useful lens for conducting historical research, and provides a complementary methodology to critical inquiry (Nguyen & Mitchell, 2010). I have applied visual analysis to study the shift in disability discourse in historical and contemporary context. This is a contribution to the area of Visual Studies when it is used through a historical process to document the politics of social change. It is important, because as visual researchers argue, images have their own meanings and should not be reduced to serving as only an illustration of written texts (Burke & Gosvenor, 1999; Mitchell, 2011a; Rose, 2001). Visual Studies, as a field, offers a methodological approach in helping us observe the political nature of images (Hevey, 1992; Garland-Thomson, 2002; Kim & Jarman, 2008). This methodological approach has been shown to be instrumental in disability studies. For instance, Hevey (1992) used visual analysis to

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[59] Drawing from Denzin and Lincohn's conceptualization of research as a bricolage, Kincheloe (1991, 2004) has developed this approach in critical theoretical approaches. A bricolage, as he describes, is like a crystal. It reflects, mutates, and expands the light of the social world. In qualitative research, bricolage is a way of viewing the world through the complex ways of seeing the object of inquiry. Bricoleur construct research methods from the tools at hand to answer specific questions, rather than applying pre-determined methodologies that are assumed to be correct or universal. A bricolage, therefore, provides a framework for understanding the complexity of meaning-making within the research process (Kincheloe, 2004).

challenge forms of disablement in photographs taken by commissioned organizations. He argued

that photographers have used cameras as a tool to perpetuate cultural oppression over the

disabled identity. Garland-Thomson (2002) provided more complex and multi-faceted ways of

seeing and sensing disability in material culture through her study of the rhetorical aspects of

photographs. She showed that these images have an effect on instructing viewers to see disability

as something different from the ordinary. The ways photographs construct the disabled subject as

superhuman, or, in other instances, as a symbolic representation that enhances consumption

within the consumer culture in capitalism, demonstrate the politics of visuals in contemporary

culture. As Harvey (1989) and Rose (2001) have argued, modernity emerged in western cultures

through the increasing use of the visual. Images that are distributed through multiple sources

such as newspapers, televisions, movies, and galleries are ideological issues associated with

power. Visual politics enables us to come to grips with the politics of inclusion and exclusion,

because the questions that visual studies ask, such as who is pictured, why, and how, are central

to the political nature of contemporary discourses and practices. It is, in other words, a way of

understanding power through the context of changes. The use of visual analysis in this study

offers a method of triangulating data so that we can understand the effects of change more

critically. In particular, this methodological approach can be used to observe how changes have

affected the ways we understand social relations through the politics of the visuals, alongside the

analysis of policy discourses and social practices. This approach, therefore, contributes an

important methodological venue that can be further explored in future research.

### Revisiting Key Arguments

At the time this study was coming to an end, the Law on Disability was passed by the

National Assembly of Viet Nam, marking a new page in the history of disability and institutional

change in the Vietnamese context. For the majority of interested people, including individuals with disabilities, this turning page is historical. It reaffirms the equal rights to participation of a social group who is traditionally marginalized in mainstream institutions. It marks a long history of struggles which people with disabilities have suffered in the mainstream (United Nations, 2009). The context of disability and social change requires us to attend to the meanings of inclusion by observing it in different arenas (*social, political, and educational*), through different levels (*global, national, and local*), and considering the *relationships* between these multiple forces in shaping the web of reality which we have observed. The questions regarding whose power and whose interests are central to the theoretical premises of inclusion discourse which I used.

It may be useful to start a brief revision of our trajectory by looking at the limitations of the study, and delimit what this study did *not* do. In general, my study was limited by the social, historical, and political conditions in which the research was conducted. It was also framed from my subjective position - that is, where I stood to observe and interpret inclusion. I have inserted this self-reflective way of seeing and interpreting inclusion with a conviction that the same question could be addressed differently by different theoretical lenses, different research tools, and different modes of interpretation. Given the historical nature of this study, I did not attempt to use empirical data such as voices and narratives as a unit of analysis. My interpretation was contingent on the availability of policy documents, alongside archival texts, visual documents, and research/reports from multiple institutions such as archival records departments, NGOs projects, schools, and other private institutions. This, to some extent, has limited my ability to articulate my understanding of inclusion in the local practices, and to politically engage with the social movements of disability in Viet Nam within the politics of inclusion. These limitations in

my study indicate that future research is needed to solidify some reflections which I had attempted to ponder upon in my site visits, and to understand more critically the aspects of inclusion and exclusion in the local context.

The arguments which I made in this study confirm Foucault's interrogation of knowledge and power in the emergence of governmentality with regard to disability and education issues. However, this theoretical perspective has the potential to create new ground for re-thinking about the politics of inclusion within the context of global and local change, and the effects of change on disability issues in non-western societies. This theoretical premise about transforming the unequal power relations for people with disabilities in social institutions is an ideological implication which has been put forth in institutional policy. This governmentality is manifest through the emergence of new ways of thinking about governing disability in public institutions. This provides an insight into the politics of inclusion which I set out to interrogate in my analysis.

*The institutional conditions of inclusion in the Vietnamese context*

In chapter three, I invited readers to consider the "history of the present" of disability and institutional policy in Viet Nam. I attempted to deconstruct an historical understanding of how disability was treated in education and social welfare, because this historical understanding would enable us to reflect on the history of our present - that is, how our present has come about from the past. While the historical perspective of this chapter needs to be further developed in future research, my analysis sheds light on the multiple expressions of segregation, marginalization, and powerlessness of disabled people in mainstream institutions. This analysis helped me to make sense of the relationship between the past and the present through an insight into the politics of exclusion in the Vietnamese public institutions. The findings of this chapter

reflect Kim and Jarman's (2008) work in *Modernity Rescue Mission,* a shift in the institutional approaches towards normalizing disabled people[60] in the ideological project of modernity. The education of visually and hearing impaired students, the institutionalization of the lepers, and the institutional concern with hygiene and contamination in institutional discourses, were some expressions of how disability was included and excluded in mainstream society. This history replicates some similar patterns of disability and exclusion in western societies (i.e., Kudlick, 2003; Stiker, 1999; Reaume, 2008).

Focusing on the development of the special education system as institutions where the education of children with disabilities had started to be set up in Vietnam, I argued that this system was developed with an institutional concern about controlling the disabled population. However, rather than attempting to reveal a universally segregated approach to disabled children in education, I have shown that the treatment of disabled children in education varied depending on the type and degree to which the disability was assumed to be "curable." The transition of societal conception from "disease" to "curable" and "normal" in the post-reform period since the late 1980s set the ground for the shift in the reconstruction of policies and laws on disability. This transition was an indication of how the "economy of power" (Foucault, 1980) was enacted through the normalization and integration process. In short, this chapter set the stage for us to walk into the modern technology of governance, namely development, rights, and normalization.

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[60] In their work, Eujung Kim and Jarman (2008) and the French anthropologist Henri-Jacques Stiker (1999) have described the relationship between historical change and disability discourse. They provide critical accounts of how policies and cultures construct our knowledge of disability in the shift of society into modernity. They show how modernity has framed our way of thinking about disability in public institutions in different contexts. These studies provide some solid grounds of the relationship between inclusion and modernity which has emerged in the current context.

*Discourses and ideologies of inclusion*

The institutional ideologies on mainstreaming disability in the social and political system become dominant in the current context. Inclusion is marked by a shift in the institutional ideologies, as well as in the technologies of government. The emergence of the rights and development discourses of disability in public policy illuminates this politics of inclusion. Chapter four showed that the ideologies of inclusion have been framed by the United Nations, the World Bank, and the Vietnamese policymaking institutions. The Standard Rules, the BMF, and Convention of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities are contemporary frameworks fostering this structural change by the technologies of normalization and integration. I argued that the ideological shift on inclusion in social and educational policy reflects an overarching concern with governing the disabled population in the development context. The discourses, practices, institutions, and educational programs which I studied were a manifestation of how inclusion and exclusion have been re-constructed at the global, national, and local levels of policymaking.

In my analysis, I showed that Vietnamese education policies have re-constructed a system of management to integrate a small proportion of students with disabilities into the mainstream educational system through the policies and practices of inclusive education. The analysis of inclusive education policies in chapter five has shown us how governmentality has been institutionalized in education. From a Foucauldian perspective, education functions as a mechanism of institutional surveillance with new systems of management and social control. Thus, the discourses, such as those concerned with rights and development, framed alongside the emergence of professional power and the local practices of education, constitute this institutional bio-politics in educational systems. Drawing on the historical emergence and interconnection

among these educational discourses and practices, I have attempted to show that inclusion was not constructed by any single social force. Rather, the web of discourses, practices, and the knowledge constructed from these institutional actions demonstrated that there has been a complex web of governmentality being constructed within the management, manipulation, and control of the disabled body. Inclusion, therefore, has been shaped by the institutional ideologies on modernity, development, and the control of the disabled population in education.

*Disability and the politics of participation*

In chapter six, I wrote about my site visits to interrogate the effects of change in the local practices with my empirical observation. This chapter provides us with a site for reflection on the policy struggles in reformulating disability discourse and social participation. These social practices were the political issues that illuminate the effects of change on disability discourse and the politics of participation. This empirical insight is purposeful: It guides us to what has and has not been addressed in policy texts; it articulates what has been silent and left untouched within the regime of truth of inclusion; and it creates a site of struggle for rethinking the discourses and practices on inclusion from the ground-up.

This reflection on disability discourse in policymaking illustrates the struggles for inclusion in institutional practices. In Fulcher's terms, this is a policy struggle in re-formulating disability discourse in institutional bureaucracy (Fulcher, 1999). This theoretical perspective, while still in need of more sharpening in future research, has provided us with a useful perspective on the struggles for power through disability politics in the local context. The struggle for reconstructing institutional values and assumptions about disability in institutional practices is further elaborated through my analysis of the visual politics of disability. This visual analysis sheds light on a new politics of representation being framed through the narratives and

images of disability. While this analysis is not the major argument of my thesis, this chapter

suggests that as social actors, we need to understand that our institutional actions have taken

some effect on shaping our knowledge about disability in social and political institutions. How

we know and understand the effects of power in institutions, therefore, is the theoretical

implication of this chapter. This also implies that we can interrogate practices as the sites where

power is resisted and transformed.

## Theoretical Implications

In this section, I will reflect on the politics of inclusion from the theoretical lenses which

I used in the beginning of this study. I had begun my study with an assumption that we need to

know and understand the paradigm shift of inclusion. The discourses which I analyzed are

expressions of power that produce knowledge about the normative organization of institutions

through the rationalities and programs which have emerged in the current context. I will discuss

three theoretical implications of my study, including the critical issues about policy and power in

the modern context, the need to understand more deeply the mechanisms of in/exclusion, and the

implications for re-theorizing inclusive education in educational studies.

### *Policy, Power, and Citizenship: Issues for Disability Studies*

This study provides a critical appraisal of the framework of inclusion in Viet Nam. Its

theoretical implications for disability studies are significant. The analysis of new forms of

knowledge which have been formulated at different levels contributes a theoretical perspective of

governmentality to disability studies. The analysis of the paradigm shift of inclusion shows that

disability studies today have to deal with more complex issues such as the new ways of thinking

about rights, development, inclusion, and exclusion within the global and local context. Clearly,

these epistemological issues have tied together different theoretical lines in disability studies

(Oliver, 1996b; Barnes & Mercer, 2001b; Barton, 1996, 2001; Rioux, 2002; Titchkosky, 2007).

My study contributes to disability studies through the historical analysis of disability in Viet

Nam. This includes both an analysis of knowledge and power relations within modern society, as

well as the implications of social changes on disability issues within the past and present context.

It may be important to re-state that the framework of inclusion in Viet Nam should not be

interpreted as a mere expression of globalization. There are important local dimensions of

inclusion and exclusion embedded within the history of disability, such as the lingering belief of

disability as karma, and the commonsensical assumption that disability is an abnormal condition

within the individual body. These historical dimensions affirm what Ingstad and Whyte (2008)

have argued about the need to understand the local specificities in theorizing the global politics

of disability.

At the same time, the influence of the global on the local in reformulating disability laws

and policies is significant. The influence of the global on the local context constitutes an

institutional condition for inclusion through the governmentalization of the state (Foucault,

1991). That is, global institutions such as the United Nations and the World Bank have used

inclusion as a modern approach to reframe the politics of global and local governance in relation

to disability and social justice. These approaches are distinctive in terms of their rationalities of

inclusion; however, the implications for constructing individual rights, social development,

human freedom, and institutional legitimacy have been supplementary to each other. This

modern approach to governance has important implications for disability issues.

It may be important to state that global actions such as the formulation of the United

Nations' framework of rights for people with disabilities have had some important meanings for

the disability rights movement. Internationally, it is widely recognized that the perpetuation of

poverty, marginalization, powerlessness, and the misrepresentation of the disabled identity are still pervasive in many parts of the world (Barnes & Mercer, 2001a; Mitchell & Snyder, 2000; Yeo, 2005). The relationship between these institutional arrangements and disablement/exclusion in the current context is significant. This requires global institutions to take action for the least advantaged groups in society. This policy agenda reaffirms the relevance of the Rawlsian idea of justice (Rawls, 1971) in the global agenda of governance. In fact, studies have shown that this redistributive justice is important in bringing about more just and inclusive conditions to transform inequality within a world of unequal distribution between the have and have not (Rizvi & Linguard, 1996; Rioux & Zubrow, 2001; Rioux, 2002). For people with disabilities, this institutional condition has been momentous, because people with disabilities represent the poorest among the poor around the world (United Nations, 2007). Similarly, a more inclusionary agenda fostered by the World Bank may merit some critical appraisal, given that the project of poverty reduction and social inclusion within the Millennium Development Goals has the potential to prevent disablement by reducing global poverty, preventing child mortality, and improving  health, participation, education, and empowerment for women and children with disabilities. However, as disability theorists argue, globalization has had detrimental effects on people with disabilities around the world. They argue that western industrialization in the eighteenth century, now re-occurring in third world countries, may predict some foreseeable effect on disability politics (Holden & Beresforth, 2002). An imperial project may continue to perpetuate disablement through new ways of exploitation, marginalization, and cultural imperialism (Said, 1978). Further, within a post-colonial condition, it might be unsurprising that in developing countries, inclusion has been primarily promoted by more "developed" countries. These countries, alliances, institutions, and associations have had their own agendas of inclusion

that might work in line with, or might be different from, the government's agenda of inclusion. This politics of inclusion is challenged by policies that promote decentralization, privatization, and market-driven approaches in different parts of the world (Harvey, 2005; Walsh, 2009). Thus, the implications of neo-liberal policies in relation to new forms of disablement need to be further interrogated in order to understand the relationship between inclusion and exclusion within the global context.

In the Vietnamese framework of inclusion, there is indeed a more progressive approach to disability within global and local policies on disability. Laws, social policies, educational and social programs have been formulated to transform the traditional problems of exclusion. This approach has highlighted individual needs, under the assumption that state institutions need to be restructured to be more supportive to the individual. However, by claiming human pathology and institutional rationalities, the discourses of inclusion have restructured the bio-politics of governance through the ways institutions function to apply power onto the individuals through so-called inclusionary programs. As Rioux and Zurbrow (2001) point out, this human pathological approach, rooted within the positivist rationalities of knowledge and the economic rationalities of development, reinforces the bio-medical model of disability, and further reproduces exclusion. This understanding of theories and rationalities of institutions helps us to tease out the problematic of government through the discourses and strategies in institutional policies.

Rethinking the politics of the rights discourse in our theory and language, therefore, is a critical implication of this study. It is not surprising that nowadays we continue to debate the rights-discourse across inter/national borders. However, a critical understanding of rights needs to be understood from a historical perspective of modernity, social division, and exclusion which

played out within western societies, and the perpetuation of the history of colonialism in non-western contexts where the imperial forces applied power upon the colonized population. Darian-Smith (2010) argues that the rights-discourse has a long history over four centuries within the Anglo-American law system; however, the struggles over rights and social justice remain problematic within the modern context. The shift in the modernist discourse of human rights within the Anglo-American system marked a transition of modern society from the control of the Catholic Church. The discourse, however, was also associated with the doctrines of institutional regulations within the system of power. Understanding how the rights discourse has been used as an expression of power, therefore, allows us to problematize the impartiality and objectivity of institutional discourses in the global context. The association between rights and power, from a Foucauldian point of view, is complex and multi-faceted (Ivison, 2008). The rights discourse is both an instrument for resisting power and a conduit of the relation to power which restructures social relations. This theoretical complexity requires us to be attentive to different systems of rules and institutional practices rationalizing the normative practices of rights, justice, and inclusion.

In my study, while I was not seeking to study the history of rights in the Vietnamese legal system, the emergence of the rights discourse in disability policy shows that individuals with disabilities are granted some *more* liberties and power than in the past, within the ideology of normalization, but the rights discourse is also a tool of power in that individual rights and responsibilities are used as the institutional rules which shape the effect on the inclusion and exclusion of social difference. As Ivison (2008) puts it in his observation on "rights as conduits":

The extent to which those norms and rules we think of as universal, or at least regulative, are often the product of a particular history and context that is much messier and

contingent than we think. Just because power suffuses almost all human relations, we should not think that we can transcend or neutralize it through an appeal to certain universal features of human nature and reason. Each of these moves, along with each claim about nature and reason, has a history, including especially the way we think about ourselves. (p. 187)

The relationship between the humanist discourse of individual rights, the economic discourse of development, and the inclusion of individuals with disabilities enable us to arrive at some critical issues regarding inclusion and governmentality. As I argued, global neo-liberalism has reframed governmentality through rights and development policies. This political agenda of "governing the margin" (Rose, 2008) attributes the rights and citizenship entitlement to citizens by reconstructing them as productive and profit-making individuals. What do we mean when we articulate the rights discourse? Do we mean "rights" is an element integral to the human condition? Do we mean "rights" as a codified set of institutional power which justifies who belongs and who does not belong? How is "rights" used in relation to development discourse to restructure capitalism? In the context in which western democracy has become a universal norm that governs state institutions, inclusion is a critical issue that reminds us that we need to be thoughtful and critical in the global and local changes.

Within a context where the rights and development discourses have been used for shifting the technologies of management, we need to re-think these discourses in relation to their effect on disability discourses and politics. The rights and development discourses need to be interrogated through the discursive and material practices that see disability as a part of the social problem. As work in disability studies points out, a radical understanding of rights and citizenship within the government's programs is needed to critique how social power has

reconstructed disability and inclusion and exclusion (Titchkosky, 2007). This thought, I believe, is essential, because the rights politics have been used to reconstruct our knowledge about disability and institutions. Understanding whose rights, how the rights discourse is theorized and materialized in social programs such as education, and how it is framed alongside other political frameworks such as development, for instance, are critical issues that help us to understand how disability discourses have been theorized within the current context.

Second, the emergence of these discourses signifies the politics of governance in the new imperialism (Smith, 1999) in that new forms of knowledge have been constructed to reconstruct local knowledge through the local agenda of disability and development. The emergence of critical disability studies, which addresses the relationship between neo-liberalism and disability issues, provides us with some insight into this emerging politics of disability and inclusion (Wehbi et al., 2010; Rioux & Rubrow, 2001). In my study, I have sketched an overview of the influence of global policies on the national agenda of disability rights and development. However, I believe that the relationship between the new imperialism and disability politics in the modern context needs to be further examined in order to tease out the influence of the global forces on disability issues. The new imperialism and the inclusion of disability issues, therefore, are critical issues which need to be theorized in future research. For example, what are the implications of the Millennium Development Goals in reframing disability discourse and social justice? What are the politics of inclusion and exclusion underlying this global framework? And, how do we make sense of the new imperialism in the context when it reframes inclusion in the global and national politics?

Finally, the political agenda of disability and inclusion indicates a new way of thinking about justice which Nancy Fraser (2005) refers to as the "framing of justice" in the global

context of governance. She argues that globalization requires us to reconfigure justice through the three parameters: the redistribution of rights and resources, the recognition of individual identities, and the representation of social forces in reframing the global justice. These parameters of justice suggest that governance remains central in our thought about justice. However, thinking about who has the power to reframe governance is critical to sustain and strengthen our contemporary perspective on social justice in the global and local arenas. While my study did not attempt to deal with the three parameters of justice which Fraser theorizes, I believe that the outcomes of my study could make an important contribution to theorizing the problematic of government and the way it constructs the politics of representation in the global/local agenda of modernity. As Kellner (1989) argues, modernity is constituted by a set of ideologies that reconstruct power relations. Rather than transforming injustice and domination, modernity re-structures the social division of labour through the modernist rationalities of social progress. It reproduces new problems of inequalities through the knowledge produced by new policies and social forces to restructure citizenship for capitalist development. For Foucault (1980), modernity is framed through a set of values and assumptions that are central to the shift in the social relations of power in our present history. It is manifested through the change of the cultural and institutional politics which re-define human subjectivity through the modern technologies of social control, namely rights, individualism, and normalizing social difference. Such ideological assumptions about the normative rules and practices of institutions reproduce exclusion through the individualistic ideologies which are now re-framed under the name of individual rights. This is a framing of justice which we need to interrogate in the context of global policy development.

*Understanding the Mechanisms of In/Exclusion*

Understanding the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion within the global and local context is the second theoretical implication of my study. In the context in which inclusion has emerged as a modernist paradigm of institutional organization, this paradigm has nevertheless left unquestioned the mechanisms of in/exclusion in the discourses and practices which claim to restructure inclusion. Titchkoksy (2003, 2007) argues that inclusion/exclusion is situated within government policies and programs under the dominant implications of normalizing difference. The pathological understanding of disability is ingrained in the disabling discourses and practices through the discourses of dis/ability, ab/normal, and the unchanging structure of education. Inclusionary programs are used as a modernist approach that normalizes disability, while at the same time shaping people with disabilities as excludable people.  In my study, I have shown that this process of social othering has played out in numerous discourses and practices in policies, as well as in the cultural politics of disability and schooling. In thinking about inclusion/exclusion, I believe that we need to re-situate our knowledge within a complex context of global and local development wherein power has been distributed unequally across different levels of institutions. This contextual approach requires us to ask critical questions about policy which I have framed earlier. For instance, who produces policy? Why? How is power reframed within such a framework? And how has it reframed inclusion and exclusion? More specifically, who are the stakeholders who have fostered the politics of inclusion? How is a framework of inclusion meant to affect the well-beings of the disabled population? Who is included and excluded in such a framework? These are the questions that could be further developed for future research. These are taken for granted questions that need to be engaged more critically to understand the politics of inclusion and exclusion. These questions enable us to deal with the politics of modernity and

development, and to understand that more than ever, modernity has become so relevant to our

academic debates over inclusion and social justice.

Further, as Skrtic (1995) points out, the functionalist approach in special education

knowledge assumes that there is a single social reality in institutional organization.

Functionalism, grounded on the positivist theory of knowledge, assumes that institutions are

inherently rationale and objective, whereas human problems are pathological in nature. Such a

theory of social organization attributes failure to the individuals who are perceived to have failed

to measure up to the institutional norm. The problem of functionalism, however, is a failure to

understand the complexity of institutions, in that rather than being framed within a set of

scientific, objectivist, and cumulative evidence, institutions are complex, irrational, and

embedded within the social relations of power. This critical understanding of disciplinary

knowledge alongside the organization of institutional structure requires us to interrogate the

positivist ideologies of knowledge, in relation to the functionalist approach which employs

positivism as a theory of knowledge in structuring social institutions[61].

Whereas the current politics of inclusion in Viet Nam have moved beyond the debates

over special education knowledge which Skrtic (1995) had studied in the 1990s, his post-

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[61] In his analysis of the genealogy of the special education knowledge, Skrtic (1995) deconstructs the debates over the mainstreaming, integration, and inclusion in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s. His analysis has been widely recognized as a post-modernist perspective on special education knowledge which critiques the modernist perspective on special education, and which advocates for a pragmatic and adhocracy approach in public institutions to restructure public education for democracy. Following Thomas Kuhn, he views positivism as the paradigm of knowledge underlying the contemporary view of educational administration. Positivism is a theory of knowledge which governs the rationalities of institutional management through the scientific and objectivist epistemologies of knowledge. This theory of knowledge is used in framing the debates over inclusion from a functionalist approach of institutional organization. A historical perspective on the marriage between positivism and functionalism is described in Giddens (1982), who argues that positivism is inherent within the contemporary view in social sciences and was used by advocates of functionalism to respond to the development of capitalism in the eighteenth century. While my study did not aim to theorize knowledge from these sociological theories, a perspective on these theories is useful in helping us to understand the politics of knowledge within the current context of global development.

modernist perspective on theories and discourses of inclusion remains relevant in teasing out the problems of power in reframing the politics of inclusion. In short, understanding the implications of this modern agenda of disability and inclusion is essential because it challenges us to interrogate the emergence of knowledge and power, in relation to the process of mainstreaming disability in institutional policies. Such interrogations provide us with an insight into the effects of policy or lawmaking. They require us to be more critical of the *process* and *effects* of the institutional regime of development from which power is exercised. Laws and policies are forms of power with effects. The discourses and ideologies, illuminated through my analysis of the global/local agenda, show that inclusion and exclusion operate through a process in which power and knowledge keep being reproduced through our modern forms of thought about what equality, justice, and inclusion mean to our citizens. This theoretical line, therefore, enables us to interrogate the theoretical implications of institutions by asking *how* inclusion has emerged in the modern context of development.

The dynamic process of social change, the shift in disability politics, and the instrumental approach within educational policy in the contemporary context requires us to bring education and society into line in order to question the effects of inclusion discourse on different spheres of educational, economic, and political institution. The question regarding what roles education systems play in responding to society, therefore, needs to be critically interrogated, if we are going to be serious about the future of our citizens and the politics of our cultures and democracies.

### *Some Implications for Inclusive Education*

This study contributes to the discussion of implications for education of current inclusion theories and discourses. It is significant to state that the complexity of inclusion theories and

discourses was addressed by Alan Dyson (1999) in a literature review on inclusion discourses, and I do not feel the need to re-state this wide range of literature in the conclusion of this study. Further, the issues which I pointed out earlier regarding policy, power, and citizenship, in addition to the politics of inclusion and exclusion, frames an essential part within the critical theory of inclusive education (i.e., Slee, 2001b). In this section, I will build on the findings of this study in addition to the critical line of inclusion research to suggest some further theoretical implications for inclusive education in the contemporary context of global and local change.

It is worth notice that, in this study, I did not intend to frame my discussion within the theories which some critics and advocates of inclusion have used to frame the debates around special needs education and the politics of education (i.e., Skrtic, 1995; Slee, 2001a, 2001b; Artiles, 2011). I have used a multi-layered analytical framework of inclusion in the historical context in which society has shifted its perspective towards individuals with disabilities in the global/local conditions. The historical framework of inclusion in this study, however, has allowed me to re-locate the politics of inclusive education in Viet Nam within the broader framework of disability and inclusion. This is, I assume, what Slee (2004a) has referred to as the traveling theory of inclusion in that the term inclusion has been applied within different social, political, and educational contexts with different meanings and politics. This problematization of inclusive education discourse is intrinsically a way of theorizing the travelling theory of inclusive education in the context of global and local changes.

Thinking about inclusive education in the current context of global/local development is a challenging task, because as Slee (2004a) indicates, its theory has been quieted down and becomes a kind of orthodoxy in the context when we use the discourse as a means for reinforcing governmentality. However, I do not hold that recognizing the politics of this discourse within a

particular context in which we study *is* the same as problematizing the theories of inclusion when they have been used with the implication of social justice. Rather, I believe that we need to deal with the complexity of inclusive education, and to understand that when its theory travels—from the west to Viet Nam, for example—theorists need to situate the discourse within the new context so that we can read its meanings with a refreshed way of understanding discourses and power in educational policies. In other words, the genealogies of inclusion which I studied could be used as a new way of theorizing inclusive education from a social, historical, and educational perspective. To reframe what I articulated earlier, the inclusion of individuals with disabilities in the Vietnamese society and education spells out different problems with rights and justice in our current context. First, it is a problem with meanings. For instance, what do we mean when we articulate the discourse of inclusion? Who is included and excluded within a particular institutional condition, why, with whose interests and power? Second, to understand the meanings of its discourse, we need to be aware of the critical politics of history and social change, and the dimensions to which history and social change have reframed our ways of thinking about the human subject. The context of institution building in Viet Nam illustrates the meanings of inclusive education as a normalizing approach which applies force upon individuals. These are the fundamental questions about meaning-making and inclusion/exclusion that remain critical in grounding the theories and discourses of inclusion. Finally, within the political framework of inclusion, the politics of education is essential because it helps us to understand the roles of education in reinforcing or resisting this cultural politics. These questions, I believe, are fundamental issues grounding my theoretical understanding of the politics of inclusion.

While more critical studies need to be conducted to understand the cultural politics of institutions, a critical perspective on inclusive education needs to be viewed *in relation to* power

in the sense that its discourse might be used as a means to reinforce power, or to translate the political domain of institutions through the struggles for articulating new voices and discourses in education. Within the historical process of social change, the inclusion of children with disabilities in education, exemplified through policies such as inclusive education and Education for All, must be taken under scrutiny. How does social power work through educational terrains to reconstruct inclusion? What discourses, ideologies, and interests are implied, what remains unspoken, why and for what purposes? Who is in and out within education through the discursive construction of educational policies and practices? These are the issues which educational policymakers need to reflect on and respond to with a sense of civic and political responsibility, if we want to move inclusion discourse to a more democratic agenda of institutional justice (Young, 1990).

In educational policy, the failure to theorize the rights-based discourse within a particular social and historical condition is perhaps one of the central problems of contemporary educational theory. What theories of rights are we referring to? What is the difference between rights as a moral, legal, and political discourse which justifies the construction of a policy text, and rights as a complex concept which restructures the social relationship between individuals and community? We need to ask in what way the rights-based discourse is applied for different groups of students in an educational system. This is perhaps a fundamental problem of educational theory because it deals with inclusion and exclusion, the means and the ends of educational systems, as well as the effects of educational discourses on student participation.

The dialectical relationship between theory and practice is needed for us to view practice as a central sphere to inform theory and policymaking (Mitchell, De Lange, & Nguyen, 2008). Who participates? Participates towards what ends? Who is included and excluded by virtue of

whose purpose and whose power? This is the politics of participation versus the politics of segregation which I have attempted to touch on in my site visits in order to discuss the theoretical issues relating to inclusion and the rights-based discourse in education theory. In rethinking policy and practice of inclusion in educational policy, Nguyen and Mitchell (2010) have used visual methodologies to show how images of gender, disability, and poverty are discursively constructed through neo-liberal policies on inclusion. Nguyen and Mitchell demonstrate how the discourse such as inclusion is contentious in the context in which social institutions have shifted their discourses at the global, national, and local conditions. By mapping out governmentality, inclusion, and disability issues, I have shown the different dimensions of institutional power that operate through such discourses as rights and development, which in turn, shape the ways social difference is re-constructed at the global, local, and educational arenas.

In their critique of inclusion discourse, Graham and Slee debate the concept of inclusion and inclusiveness (Graham & Slee, 2008). They argue that we must look into the words that we use in order to discern how a word such as *inclusion* constitutes in itself the spaces of interiority and exteriority. When we talk about "inclusion" in the sense of "bringing in," inclusion discourse is a discursive practice which presupposes a pre-fabricated division between the periphery and the center-ness. By seeking to bring the Other into the mainstream, inclusion preserves the center, while producing a universal subject such as the disabled student. In that sense, inclusion is a tokenistic term which does not transform the culture of normalcy from which the mainstream preserves. Inclusiveness, on the other hand, requires policymakers to work with the structural arrangements of the mainstream such as education, to dismantle the ways the margin and the center are produced, and to interrogate the technique of governmentality which Foucault has

cautioned us to be discerned when thinking about institutions and social control in the modern context.

## Final Thoughts: Essay and the Vision of History

I will end this study with a critical term in literary theory: Essay. In *The text, the world, and the critics*, Edward Said (1983) refers to criticism as an essay. It is a way of being, a response to power, and a re-invention of the world. What an essay does is that it articulates its discourses in a way that speaks truth to power. And he writes this, referring to literary criticism:

> [W]hat I wish to emphasize here is that critics create not only the values by which art is judged and understood, but they embody in writing those processes and actual conditions in the present by means of which art and writing bear significance.... More explicitly, the critic is responsible to a degree for articulating those voices dominated, displaced, or silenced by the textuality of texts. (Said, 1983, p. 53)

For those of us who engage in intellectual inquiry, the essay which we write is a work of criticism in which we take responsibility to re-create some value judgments about the social world, a piece of art which we observe or critique. I believe that such a moment of reflection and reinvention is necessary for us to keep walking in our journey. It enables us to be aware that our thoughts are shaped by our personal experiences, our dialogical relations with the other, and our engagement with knowledge in a way that breathes life into the silent words which we write; that is, to give our work a discourse, a voice, and a way of being in the world. I believe that what my essay has achieved is that it reminds social thinkers to rethink inclusion and exclusion in different social, political, and educational contexts with a sense of critical consciousness. Further, the findings of the study enable us to re-theorize the discourse of inclusion in the contemporary context of social change. That is, while every discourse or theory deconstructs

itself by the limits of time, space, and power (Said, 1983; 2000), it is possible to reconstruct it through the sense of civic engagement which Iris Young (2000) invited us to re-think when we talk about inclusion in the contemporary context. The new theories of inclusion are useful in helping us dispense with the discourse of mainstreaming to grapple with a sense of self-determination (Young, 2000), to interrogate law and public policy through the workings of power in relation to the multiple forms of injustices (Fraser, 2005), and to reconstruct educational inclusion, not as a mainstreaming politics, but as an attempt to unveil the problems of power and domination within the symbolic structure of educational spheres (Slee, 2001b). Again, I would be consistent to add, we need to think and do inclusion at different levels of public institutions in order to make sense of how those patterns of power relations have re-shaped educational justice.

It seems to me, at this moment of finishing up this work, doing research is a way of giving ourselves a moment of "ecstasy", to borrow from Peter Berger (1968), as a site of imagination, to build from Wright Mills (1959). The text that I am writing, and the discourse that I am articulating in my thesis is a way of rethinking about the politics of knowledge – the way knowledge constructs social, political, and educational institutions; and the way constructive, critical, and political knowledge could take an important role in re-imagining the human world through imagination and criticality. For me, such knowledge is important because it cultivates my identity. It opens a space for me to reflect on my values and ideologies, and creates a dialogue with others, those who may and may not be directly concerned with my question about inclusion and/or exclusion. That moment of self-reflection will keep us from not shying away from the reality of oppression, marginalization, and feeling pessimistic because of the various expressions of exclusion still remaining in Viet Nam or within the globalizing world. Such a

moment of "ecstasy" is also an engagement with social action in which the act of writing is also an act of inserting ourselves and our voices into the silent world of textuality. With essay as a voice, a way of being, and a response to texts and power, this study brings some glimpse of hope to the world by its invitation to inclusion as a way of thinking about social justice. This educational action, what Anne Freadman (2002) calls an "uptake," the act of taking up a topic, and a way of responding to the world through our critical discourses.

With time, things will change, but with thinking, dedication, and commitment to education, disability, and social justice, we will keep our journey moving...

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# APPENDIX A   ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

**Colonial archives (1987-1907)**

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   IA6/283, Folder 5. Retrieved from the State Records Management and Archives
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*École des aveugles. Rapport au Lieutenant Gouverneur.* Doc. 265 (1899c). Box IA6/283 Folder
   8. Retrieved from the State Records Management and Archives Department of Vietnam,
   Center II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

*École des aveugles. Rapport au conseil colonial.* Doc. 839 (1899d). Box IA6/283 Folder 8.
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**APPENDIX B    CONTEMPORARY POLICY DOCUMENTS**

**International laws/policy documents**

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