In search of the 'inclusive agenda' through a series of discursive 'snapshots': Ideological challenges to 'Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities 2015-2024' Ireland.

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Abstract

This thesis offers a critique of the Irish labour market activation policy ‘*Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities 2015-2024*’, through a series of discursive snapshots. In utilising a critical discourse analysis framework and a policy problematisations approach, the study exploits the discursive space afforded by this policy event, to examine the complex interplay of welfare and education discourses, across time, place and other policy domains. Reflecting on previous studies of special education policy-making in Ireland, this strategy provides a unique opportunity to take once more, a reading of the deep conceptual issues upon which ‘disability’ is conceptualised, constituted and articulated in Irish policy-making. The purpose of this study therefore, is to examine, not only how disability is understood in this particular policy, but more importantly, to evaluate the implications which accompany such understandings, across other policy domains, and the effects on those for whom the policy is intended. In particular, the overarching aim of this study is to assess the implications emanating from this policy event, on the national aspiration for an inclusive education agenda.

In essence, the study seeks to examine what this policy event ‘means’—not just for the future development of Irish disability policy, but for the implementation of the already established policy of special needs education. As we move once again towards ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities, within a climate of deepening neoliberal and economic imperatives, the rationale for undertaking such an approach to policy analysis, becomes increasingly urgent. Recent calls from eminent Irish and international scholars have urged a re-engagement with the politics of dis/ability, and discourses of renewal and hope, in order to challenge the discursive legitimacy crisis that prevails at this time in Europe and beyond. It is the explicit intention of this study therefore, to commit and contribute to this political endeavour, in the hope of creating new discursive possibilities in thinking about disability in policy-making.

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Chapter 1 Introduction and Context

The *Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities 2015-2024* (CES) was launched into policy on 2nd October 2015, by the then Taoiseach (Prime Minister) of Ireland at a public event, held at the State's prestigious home, in the capital's Farmleigh House, Dublin. The policy was published into a media frenzy of speculation and critique, coming two weeks prior to the last budget of the centre-right coalition Government that reigned over a period of crisis, reform and austerity, before launching straight into election 2016 campaign mode, on the back of a rhetoric of 'recovery'. To suggest the publication was a damp squib may be an understatement; apart from a few headlines and photographs in the media, it passed practically unscathed along its merry way, into the bowels of administration and implementation.

CES constitutes a significant 'policy event' in Irish disability policy-making, not least because of the purposeful positioning of 'comprehensive' within its title, but because this policy affords the first opportunity in over a decade, since the publication of the National Disability Strategy (NDS, Government of Ireland, 2004) and the Education of Persons with Special Educational Needs (EPSEN) Act (Oireachtas, 2004), within which to examine the State's conceptualisation of 'disability inclusion'.

Welfare and education policy have come under the spotlight of critical disability policy research in Ireland from a number of perspectives recently, particularly their relationship with the concepts of equality, social justice, and individualisation (Lynch 2013, Murphy 2012). However, the contribution of Scanlon, Shevlin, and McGuckin (2014) to the literature in particular, is central in locating this study within a body of research concerned with activation policy, raising questions about the complex intersection between welfare and education policy and its implications for an inclusive education agenda. Reflecting on this study, a neoliberal able-bodied citizenship discourse, provides a clear starting point for this study.

Educational policy analysis is a complex and multifaceted process, which seeks to question the many interactive elements that make up the complexity of the policy-making cycle. For this reason, Liasidou (2011, p. 888) urges critical policy researchers to "disentangle and examine instances or snapshots of these constitutive elements within policy-making cycles, and discern instances whereby the 'loci of power' are constantly shifting in complex and interactive ways". In response to Liasidou, this study proposes to take a series of snapshots of this policy event, through a series of discursive lenses. The metaphor of snapshot allows one to ponder for a moment; to think about what is being 'said' in this policy; to reflect on the implications therein, for our aspiration as a society, to an inclusive education system, where all citizens, regardless of difference, ability, or disability, can participate equally and meaningfully in mainstream educational settings.

A History of the Present

Significant changes in education and welfare policy-making have taken place in Ireland since the passing of the EPSEN Act (Oireachtas, 2004) and the Disability Act 2005 (Oireachtas, 2005), owing in no small way to the neoliberal flames of austerity that have taken hold of the Irish state, in the wake of the global financial crash in 2008. Notwithstanding that much has improved with regards to access and participation of people with disabilities in mainstream society, Ireland has come under the United Nations Human Rights Council's (UNHRC) glare once again in May 2016, for our failure to ratify the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (UNCRPD), and for our protracted delay in implementing the EPSEN Act on a statutory basis.

Ireland's relationship with disability is complex and contentious, a number of significant events having shaped it over time (Rose, Shevlin, Winter, & O'Raw, 2010; Griffin & Shevlin, 2007). In common with other countries, the provision for children with disabilities in the Irish education system has undergone significant changes in recent decades. Since the mid-1990s, policy proposals on disability have increasingly adopted the language of 'inclusion'. Similar to many other Western European States, these developments have been shaped in no small way, by interrelated global developments such as the Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994); World Education Forum (UNESCO,

2000), and more recently UNCRPD (UN 2006); Liasidou (2008) draws on the notion of 'glocalisation'—a useful term to explain the "dialectic of the global and the local in the policy-borrowing process" (p. 483).

A key turning point in the Irish glocalisation of the issue of educating children with disabilities, was the publication of landmark report in 1993, by the 'Special Education Review Committee', and another watershed report by the 'Commission on the Status of People with Disabilities' *A Strategy for Equality* (Government of Ireland, 1996). The former favoured "as much integration as is appropriate and feasible, with as little segregation as is necessary" (Government of Ireland, 1993, p. 22), while the latter sparked profound changes in the policy discourse and provision of education for persons with special education needs. Significant policy shifts have occurred since then, moving from parallel discourses of 'special' and 'mainstream' education, towards a discourse "underpinned by enabling legislation with the presumption for inclusion" (Shevlin, Winter, & Flynn, 2013, p. 1119).

Since the launch of NDS (Government of Ireland 2004), the concept of 'disability mainstreaming' has become part and parcel of Irish social and political lexicon. NDS marks a significant shift in government discourse on disability in terms of "how we understand, plan for, and deliver services to people with disabilities as equal citizens in Irish society" (DFI, 2006, p. 9). It was the NDS that first announced Government's intention to publish activation measures for people with disabilities, to improve their access to training and work. This was subsequently changed to publish a 'comprehensive employment strategy for people with disabilities' in the National Plan for Social Inclusion (Government of Ireland, 2007a) and National Development Plan (Government of Ireland, 2007b) respectively.

Celtic tiger Era
Ireland's economic boom from 1994 to 2000, known as the 'Celtic tiger' era, has been hailed as a sign of "the country's success in benefiting from the opportunities offered by globalisation" (Kirby & Murphy, 2011, p. 1). During the Celtic tiger era, public goods related to social justice, rights and redistribution became subjugated to consumer driven demands, and Ireland became known as an 'incredible employment creating

machine', as the State made itself available to the needs of the market. Complicit in this growth was the increase in inequality among the most vulnerable in our society (Ó Riain, 2008); even at the height of the economic boom, Ireland was "lagging behind its European and international counterparts in respect of implemented inclusive practices" (Meegan & MacPhail, 2006, p. 53). More recently, Ireland's slippage in international development rankings has not gone unnoticed by the United Nations (UN), who sound more than a note of caution at "inadequate policies and not very robust social institutions" (The Irish Times, 2014).

CES therefore, comes at the end of a particularly difficult and challenging period in Irish political discourse. Since 2008, the state has been in the grips of austerity, welfare retrenchment and public sector reform, during which time €136m worth of funding was withdrawn from the disability sector (DFI, 2016), including the overnight shutdown of the national disabled people's advocacy organisation, *People with Disabilities Ireland*; the reality for many people living with a disability in Ireland, being a life within the limits of what an underfunded budget dictates. Government rhetoric and aspirations of social inclusion have come under attack for its perceived abdication of responsibilities in protecting the most at risk in society. Chief Commissioner of the Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission (IHREC) leading up to and in anticipation of the launch of CES, strongly condemned the 'stark choices' taken during the period of austerity:

> The impact of the seven-year austerity drive on people's standard of living has been enormous, the effects of the crisis are impacting on the realisation of human rights. Worse still, the burden of hardship of the crisis and the dominant policies has fallen disproportionately on those least able to bear its impact.
>
> (Holland 2015, np)

Calling for CES to address the need for high quality, well-paid jobs to offset increased unemployment and the higher cost of living faced by people with disabilities, the Chief Commissioner (Logan 2015) challenged the State once again, to signify its real commitment to people with disabilities, by prioritising the process of ratifying CRPD. The report by IHREC (2015) highlighted the lack of progress in advancing a disability rights framework in Ireland, specifically pointing to the partial commencement of the Disability Act and failure to publish an implementation plan for the EPSEN Act, noting in

particular "that both of these Acts pre-date the Great Recession and indicate that during times of prosperity, investment in policy and services for persons with disabilities was a low political priority" (Oral Statement).

The second UNHRC visit to Dublin in May 2016, has prompted renewed public conversations about the 'othering' of people with disabilities in Ireland. Speaking as a guest on the RTÉ's primetime *Late Late Show*, Brendan O'Connor, a high profile TV broadcaster, spoke about his experience of being the father of a child with disability, naming the "inhumane culture" that surrounds disability services in Ireland. His experience of a system that "does not take care of children with disabilities" (O'Connor, 2016), is not alone unfortunately, as indicated by yet another parent speaking at a recent national conference: "once your child reaches 18, what services you do have vanish. Then you know what despair is" (Inclusion Ireland, 2016).

This policy event is timely therefore, as Ireland emerges from a ground-breaking general election that has resulted in a freshly minted, minority-led partnership Government, awash with pledges of 'fair play, equality for all' and a renewed commitment to finally ratify CRPD, which the Irish State signed up to, ten years ago. Amid these voices, CES offers a unique opportunity to revisit the deep structural levels of the Irish education system, building on McDonnell's (2003) and O'Brien & Ó Fathaigh's (2007) studies in particular, in order to examine once again, the ideological assumptions therein. Not just to this end alone however, but this time by 'digging deeper', following Marshall (2012), to examine the interplay of constructed meanings of disability, inclusion and education, and the discursive contours of 'disability mainstreaming' in Ireland, for the next ten years to come.

Welfare Reform: From Passive to Aggressive
Recent years have brought about significant transformation of the welfare state in most European countries, the reasons being complex and intermeshed, including the global financial crisis, demographics and importantly for this study, changes in the perception of the State's role in relation to welfare and redistribution (Greve, 2015). The period of Celtic tiger coincided with, and was heavily influenced by a globalised discourse on more active labour market policies across the European Union (EU), most notably the

Lisbon Agenda, the European Employment Strategy (EES) and the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). However, the extent and influence of the EU on Irish welfare policy is contestable. Dukelow and Considine (2014, p. 419) highlight a "differential mediation" of the European policy approach taken in Ireland, like many other European countries.

Reform of the social welfare system during boom wasn't a priority, the dominant welfare discourse revolving "around technical debates about how to measure the socially constructed policy problem of the day, such as work incentives" (Murphy, 2012a, p. 358). The Irish welfare system had for many years at this time, been described as 'passive' 'underdeveloped' and even suffering from 'arrested development', with little evidence to suggest that globalised discourses had an impact on social welfare policy in the period 1986-2006 (Kirby & Murphy, 2011; McGauran, 2013; Grubb, Singh, & Tergeist, 2009; Murphy, 2008). Murphy observes the patriarchal aspect of the State's policy-making approach, evidenced by the lack of problematisation in Irish political discourse. A legitimacy gap is evident, she notes doing little to develop the activation agenda, marked by institutional and interagency battles, producing procrastinated policy-making efforts in "relatively elite state-controlled spaces and is coordinative rather than communicative in nature." (Murphy, 2012a, p. 359). On top of this, Dukelow and Considine (2014) note that issues were oversimplified during this time because of conflicting tensions between competing interests groups.

By autumn 2008, Ireland had become the first victim of Eurozone recession, as the economy shrunk dramatically, "leading to the most costly bank rescue in advanced economies since the Great Depression" (Dukelow & Considine, 2014, p. 421). Just months prior to a new government taking power in February 2011, Ireland entered into a bailout programme in November 2010, under the watchful gaze the troika, and so the "flames of neoliberalism took a strong hold on the public sector" (Mooney Simmie, 2012, p. 488). What followed was a period of rapid and radical fiscal retrenchment, justified on the basis that it was the only option available, to return the country to growth as fast as possible.

Following an earthquake election in 2011, which witnessed Ireland's most successful ever party lose more than half of its vote and almost three quarters of its seats, a much stronger focus on unemployment activation was pursued, spurred on by the a memorandum of understanding between a new government and the troika. Under this agreement, the Government committed to tackling unemployment and poverty traps, including an overhaul of the system of activation policies to make it more effective; the latter included agreements to introduce sanctions for non-compliance with job-seeking programmes, greater job-seeker engagement, and sharper monitoring of jobseekers' activities, through evidence based reporting (McGauran, 2013). The period immediately after the signing of the bailout, saw a rapid retrenchment of welfare policies and services with "soft law policy instruments being replaced with hard conditionalities" (Dukelow & Considine, 2014, p. 422). Thus, justified by the TINA mantra (there is no alternative) and inspired to "meet each task guided and informed by first words spoken by Albert Einstein: 'Learn from yesterday, live for today, hope for tomorrow'" the high rhetoric of the Programme for Government (Department of the Taoiseach 2011p. 12) set out "to develop the 'Education Ireland' brand…pursued in line with the employment and skill requirements of the overall economy".

One of the first tasks of the newly elected centre left Government of February 2011, was to establish the Department of Public Expenditure and Reform (DPER). The cabinet committee responsible for reviewing its progress comprises the most senior politicians and civil servants of the country (Regan, 2013), its acronym, by now, a very familiar aspect of the everyday lexicon of political and public life. This prompted a major review of the rate at which Ireland's social welfare system was moving from a "passive, transactions-based approach, focussed on the efficient administration of social welfare payments, to a more active structural one based on 'opportunity' and 'obligation', to become self-reliant" (Sweeney, 2013, p. 14); becoming increasingly clear that Irish society would have to meet the changing needs of labour market or "be pushed to do so if necessary" (Bernhard, 2010, p. 187). Welfare payments, during this time was frequently framed in negative evaluative terms associated with dependency, and employment with self-sufficiency, placing both a "written and moral obligation on those claiming benefits to undertake some activity in return for retention of their social

welfare benefit" (Power,2006, p. 339). This paved the way for the rise of activation policy in Ireland.

Under the new Government, active labour market policies were introduced similar to the United Kingdom's (UK) *Workfare* programme, including *Action Plan for Jobs* (Government of Ireland, 2012a) and its sister policy '*Pathways to Work*' (Government of Ireland, 2012b). Budget 2012, the first under the supervision of the troika, "cemented and further entrenched the process of regressive austerity" (Fraser, Murphy, & Kelly, 2013, p. 47). Successive budgets until 2015, brought continued cutbacks in public expenditure, most notably in education, which experienced significant cuts across the sector, including a reduction in the 'fund for students with disabilities' (Robbins & Lapsley, 2014). The emphasis on structural reform triggered a major overhaul of the welfare framework underpinning activation services and policy, bringing together for the first time, the 'benefit' and 'activation' services, previously divided between two government departments. The labour market policy unit and the heretofore national training agency 'FÁS', both previously based in the Department of Enterprise and Jobs, were transferred and carved up between the Department of Social Protection and Department of Education respectively, shifting the orientation and communicative discourse for the latter, toward competition and supply-side reforms in training and skills. The expansion of the Department of Education was equally significant, adopting training under its auspices, which was previously outside its remit. Meanwhile the various mutations of the Irish educational ministry during this period, followed the UK trajectory from being the 'Department of Education', to being the 'Department of Education and Science', to its present day configuration of the 'Department of Education and Skills'.

Changing Political Landscape
Immediately following the launch of CES, the Government delivered its last budget for 2016 and immediately went into to general election campaign mode. Growth and fairness dominated the discursive themes in the opening and closing statements of the budget speeches. The Minister for Public Expenditure and Reform, with heavy use of rhetorical language, announced that the days of spending cuts were 'behind us', attributing the "remarkable turnaround... to the hard work and resilience of the Irish

people". Countering the widely held view that income inequality had risen during their term of office, the Minister retorted with a depiction of Ireland under their reign as being a "fair society", where those "who work hard receive decent rewards" and "those with the most have given the most" (Howlin, 2015). 'Sustained political stability and recovery' became the outgoing government's election mantra, to the tune of a 'happy-clappy' poster campaign, urging voters "not to throw it all away with the populist promises of miracle recoveries" (O'Malley, 2015, np).

However, disability did not make it into the leaders agenda's or major debates of election 2016, despite being the number one social justice issue of the outgoing Government, in their election campaign that took them into office in 2011. The 'disable inequality' social media campaign, launched by the Disability Federation of Ireland (DFI; Disable Inequality, 2016) was somewhat successful in its bid to raise awareness among the electorate, the central aim being, to make disability a defining issue not just for the election candidates, but among an ever discerning electorate. Lack of awareness, despondency and negative attitudes towards disability are major obstacles in progressing an inclusive agenda as highlighted in a series of reports (NDA, 2011) by the National Disability Authority (NDA) and in DFI's election campaign research with focus groups. While flying in the face of the concept of mainstreaming, DFI (2016) in their election manifesto, actively lobbied for a Ministerial Post for Disability, an indication of the urgency and frustration that prevails within sector at this time; not surprising, given the preceding decade, in which the expectations and aspirations for an inclusive Ireland were triumphantly raised, then systematically hollowed-out and sacrificed to the imperatives of economic recovery.

Rationale and Research Questions

The rationale for this study emanates from a number of distinguished Irish scholars, namely, Professor Gerard Quinn, President Michael D Higgins and Professor Michael Shevlin, each of whom have recently signalled the need to engage in both a 'politics of hope' and a 'politics of refusal', in naming the neoliberal tensions and challenges that limits the scope of thinking, and thus possibilities, surrounding disability policy-making in Ireland.

The starting point for establishing the rationale for this study is Quinn's (2015) address to the next generation of critical disability researchers, highlighting the dangers and threat of what he calls 'naturalistic fallacy': "Facts are stubborn things that force themselves on us" (p.5) he muses, quoting political theorist John Adams, "each one of us have our own mental frameworks, from which we view the world and the 'facts' within it". Within these frameworks, we are pre-disposed to seeing different facts, in different ways, consciously or unconsciously, against the embedded parameters of that particular paradigm, resulting very often in the mistaken assumption that the "way things 'are' is in fact, the 'way things ought to be'" (p.6). The 'facts' and Quinn's 'naturalistic fallacy' therefore, becomes a key focus of questioning and site of challenge for this study, in digging beneath the evidence proffered in CES, while drawing attention to the assumptions and presuppositions that have enabled this policy, to use its own words, to be brought "to fruition" (Government of Ireland p. 3). As Higgins (President of Ireland, 2015) extols, "the assumptions of theory, as it informs discourse, are perhaps even more important, because they define what is possible and what can be imagined" (np).

In September 2015, in a highly politicised speech delivered at the 11th *Annual Émile Noël Lecture* in New York, President, Michael D Higgins, (President of Ireland, 2015) challenged the academic community to respond to the urgent human crisis of social inclusion resulting from the deepening legitimacy gap crisis—"the revolution in economics and its disconnect from human rights discourse" (as cited in Siggins, 2016, np): We are, he argues, "like flies trapped in a jar of honey, where old and bogus certainties are resurrected to justify exclusions" (President of Ireland, 2015, np). Passionately, Higgins tasks academics to return to their social scientists for inspiration and new ways of thinking, in order to test the "transparency, adequacy and the power of ideological assumptions underpinning the single paradigm of thought" that has come to dominate social policy-making at this time, in the hope of filling this discursive gap. All policy at some point, along its trajectory, he argues, "bases itself, or at least attempts to legitimate its views, on the basis of some form of theoretical assumptions" (ibid).

Thus, 'paradigms of thought' become central to this study, signposting the overarching aim it wishes to achieve. Paradigms matter in how policies are conceived and

articulated, constituted by ones ontological, epistemological and methodological view of the world. O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh (2007) demonstrate how policy paradigms "arbitrate the conception, organisation and delivery of an educational response...setting boundaries to the possibilities of intervention in conjunction with prevailing cultural and social norms" (p. 600). The idea of 'mental frameworks' (Cherney, 2011), 'deeply embedded assumptions' (Quinn 2015) or 'deep conceptual premises' (Bacchi 2009) within which, educational policy-making for people with disabilities is located, lies at the heart of this thesis, forming to quote a Springsteen track, '*the ties that bind*' the research questions. Thus, it is to these policy paradigms and their deep conceptual premises that this study turns its attention to, in order to examine their relationship to the cultural norms and social practices, into which CES was born.

And last, but by no means least, Shevlin (Scanlon, Shevlin, & McGuckin, 2014) makes a convincing case for adopting a critical approach to studying Irish disability policy-making, pointing to the need to engage with Goodley's (2014) politics of dis/ability, in seeking to halt the wave of neoliberal cost-cutting measures introduced on the back of the troika. It is this which threatens to derail the inclusive education agenda that the disabled people's movement have fought for decades to build. And so, it is from the discursive spaces created by these great scholars that this study draws its rationale and inspiration from.

Aim of the Study
The key issue under study in this thesis, is how the 'the inclusion of people with disabilities in mainstream Irish society' is projected and articulated in official Government policy. Following Bacchi (2015) this study seeks to problematise Government's representation of this issue, by means of a discursive analysis of CES, which is now the official national policy guiding this issue. Following Hyatt (2006) the aim is to "make representations, agendas and positionalities more lucid, and to be aware of the opaqueness and provisionality of language use", in order to "enhance opportunities for empowerment through appropriation" (p. 114).

Bearing in mind the importance of "connecting across nation-states that recognise specific socio-historical conditions of oppression and disablism" (Goodley, 2013, p. 639),

the study draws on Bacchi's (2009) conceptualisation of 'travelling problem representations' in mapping CES's policy ideas across space and time. In essence, this study seeks to trace and examine the mental framework, within which the Irish State conceptualises the 'problem of disability' and the 'solution of inclusion'.

The aim of this study therefore, is to go further than traditional approaches that focus on the cost/benefit analysis of actual policy measures, in order to understand this policy better than the policy-makers who constructed this policy themselves (Bacchi 2009). By digging deeper following Marshall (2012), into the problematisation of disability mainstreaming and inclusive education, it is my intention to expose CES, not in some self-glorification quest, or to insinuate 'bad policy' or intentional misleadings, but with the hope that this study will contribute to the legitimacy gap, which has come to settle upon the co-ordinative discourse of Irish educational policy-making.

Equally as important to this agenda is the legitimacy gap in Irish welfare discourse; a discursive space filled for over five years by the 'TINA' mantra—not least because of our close relationship with Europe, but now because of our close proximity to 'Brexit'. Thus the overall aim of this study in short then, is to stimulate a change in thinking, not just within those who hold privileged positions of power at the co-ordinative discourse-making table, but within the mundanity of everyday social practices across society as a whole, including the self. The study therefore has five main objectives through which this aim is pursued.

1. To problematise current assumptions that lie within Irish political and public discourses on disability through the lens of disablism/ableism.
2. To highlight the value and potential of Bacchi's (2009) What's the Problem Represented to be? (WPR) approach and Hyatt's (2013a) Critical Higher Education Policy Discourse Analysis Framework, to work together in a hybridized way towards this endeavour.
3. To examine and highlight the intersectional effects of policy assumptions born from a neoliberalist agenda on the lived experience of those for whom the policy is intended, in order to assess the consequent implications for their positioning in Irish society and future policy-making endeavours.
4. To examine the challenges for an inclusive education policy agenda in the context of a neoliberal state that has placed the burden of financial crisis on the shoulders of those in our society least able to bear it,
5. To encourage a reconnection and a deepening of the discourses between economics and human rights in the quest for an inclusive agenda, particularly in educational policy-making.

Drawing on Yates (2015) it is my intention to halt and disrupt the narrative of those who are in the privileged positions of regulating and directing the lives of people with disabilities, so that they may become aware of their "problematics in new ways and no longer know what to do, and that those who are the subjects of power find new ways to articulate resistance and push against constraining limits" (p. 103). By including neoliberalism in this line up, a broad intention is to engage in a 'politics of refusal' like Springer (2016) in aspiring to contribute to the demise of neoliberal policy-making; and more specifically, like Thill (2015) on 'voice', to examine the effects of discursive representation of people with disabilities "in the face of such dominant discourses" (p. 16). This study aims to engage in the politics of refusal through a critical and reflective process of deconstruction and problematisation, challenging the ways in which CES ascribes social roles and establishes powerful ontological hierarchies (Liasidou, 2016), through the lens of Goodley's (2014) dis/ability studies; as Allan (2007) reminds us, "inclusion policy is as much a 'mindset as a set of texts (p. 26).

The Research Questions Unveiled

Using Bacchi's problematisation (2009) and Hyatt's warrant (2013), the research questions developed from a process of thinking across three tightly interconnected policy areas in an Irish policy context: welfare, education and employment. Arising out of this analytical thought process, the study is underpinned by five key research questions:

1. What is the warrant of CES, how is this legitimised and for what purpose?
2. How is disability conceptualised in CES, how are people with disabilities constructed and with what effects?
3. How is education and training framed within CES and with what implications for people with disabilities?
4. How do the discursive contours of CES reflect the State's aspiration to an inclusive society for people with disabilities?
5. What are the implications of the interpretations of this study for disability policy-making in Ireland and in particular, inclusive education policy-making?

Scope of the Study

This study presents an in-depth discursive analysis of CES; the data under scrutiny constituting the full official text of this policy document itself (Government of Ireland, 2015). While a number of specific measures are highlighted in the policy, some warranting further attention, (for example the role of supported employment and universal design), it is not my intention to evaluate any one of the proposals for their rights or wrongs, effectiveness or ineffectiveness. This study is not about the proposals '*per se'*, but the assumptions inherently embedded within those proposals. Being grounded in an interpretive study, it is limited by the parameters that I establish through the research and theoretical frames, as well as the political , social and cultural lenses that I bring to the narrative (Moser, 2008)—my chosen research topic, being both "a moral and political endeavour" (Jóhannesson, 2010, p. 261).

Mindful of the perceived limitations that such an approach carries, the study does not engage directly with policy-makers intentions or those involved directly in the process of co-ordinative discourse that compiled CES, including the organisation that I work for. Thus, the study represents my interpretation of CES only, informed by the discursive and theoretical frames outlined in the following chapter and the life experiences that I bring to this task. Any perceived limitations associated with the approach taken, or arguments made therein, I am confident, are balanced by the openness of the analytical process and reproducibility of the study across different sites, using the methodologies and methods applied, with the assistance of new technologies that allow for a window into the discursive analytical process.

Signposting the Study.

Chapter two presents the theoretical frame, within which this study is located, along with a synthesis of findings from a review of the literature, spanning the many fields of study that this research crosses into. The literature is drawn from a wide and overlapping field across critical theory, critical disability studies, inclusive education, critical educational policy analysis, welfare and social policy, and European policy studies. It has been purposively selected, constructed and organised into categories to highlight convergence around issues relating to inclusion and disability mainstreaming, and its relationship to this study.

Chapter three presents the methodological approach and research methods employed in this study respectively, over two distinct sections. The methodology section discusses the overall approach adopted in undertaking this study, while the method section discusses in detail how Bacchi's (2009) WPR approach and Hyatt's Critical Higher Education Policy Discourse Analysis Framework (Hyatt, 2013a, hereinafter referred to as Hyatt's CDA Framework) fit within the methodological approach, and with each other in chapters four and five. To show the approach and methods at work, each stage of the analysis process along with its associated tools and outputs, are presented within a framework of Yanow's (2014b) four interpretive moments.

While initially it was intended to present the critical reading and critique aligned to each of the WPR questions, this was changed to reflect the assumptions emerging from the critical reading chapter, within which WPR questions one to three are embedded, thus allowing for a more fluid reading of the analysis. Chapter four therefore, read in conjunction with the section of appendices, presents the data in the form of a critical reading of CES, combining questions one to three of WPR (Bacchi 2009) and Hyatt's CDA Framework (2013a). Chapter four presents an interdiscursive analysis of CES, in order to "identify recurrent discursive patterns and proceed to the stages of explanation and interpretation" (Liasidou and Symeou 2016, p. 4). The assumptions in the form of portraits, are then critiqued through WPR questions four to six in chapter five. Chapter six concludes with a review of the contribution this study makes to knowledge, summarising the key themes and their implications for new policies and future research.

Chapter 2 Consulting the Literature

Framing the Research

As we all know, 'every picture tells a story' and this doctoral thesis is no different, telling the story of a significant national policy event. Through the snapshot narrative, this study presents a study of a 'travelling policy idea', *'Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities 2015-2024'*. Before beginning this journey however, a word on the theoretical underpinnings adopted in speaking this story is appropriate.

Golden-Biddle and Locke's (2007) concept of 'theorised storylines' guides this aspect of the study, specifically "the articulation of a plot that relates the field and academic worlds via literature-based ideas that cohere with our field engagement" (p. 26). Thus, I have chosen to tell the story of CES through the narrative of a 'snapshot'. The metaphor is a powerful literary device, playing an essential role in the way people represent social reality (Hyatt, 2005a). The use of the snapshot metaphor is central to the narrative of this story, functioning as that 'golden thread' that "positions what is described and the reader's relationship to this" (ibid p. 49). Snapshot not only allows me to capture the policy event under study, but clears for a while, the condensation from the window in the 'darkened room' that constitutes this research process. Within this discursive space, I pursue my commitment to highlight the value and potential of the adaptability and adoptability of critical discourse analysis and problematisation approaches, in particular Hyatt's CDA (2013a) and Bacchi's (2009) WPR approach as a means to achieving the overall aim of this study.

In order to recount this story to the literature from which it has emerged, it is necessary to map the contexts and concepts that have informed and been the subject of examination in writing this story. Constructing the arguments within, I have drawn upon an expansive corpus of literature spanning a broad range of fields across critical policy studies and educational policy-studies. This engagement was at times akin to swimming in a sea of condensed soup. My approach to the presentation of the literature reviewed here however, is one of 'progressive coherence', following Golden-Biddle and Locke (2007, p. 34). This includes incorporating works already recognised as related in

theoretical perspectives and approaches, demonstrating cumulative knowledge growth over time, portrayed through the use of multiple citations. As it comes to the final stages of editing and polishing the study for presentation, Kamler and Thomson's (2006) depiction of this aspect of the doctoral thesis as 'dinner party' comes to mind. And so, with a little stretching of this concept, I see this chapter as a dinner party for other 'story tellers'—those who have assisted me in the 'snapshot' production process—in other words 'the production team'. These guests assisted me with the backdrop, aspect, composition, lighting, mounts and frames, culminating in the exhibition where the snapshots are brought to life with filters and colour and through the telling of the story that is '*My interpretation of CES'*. The theoretical framework that I bring to this study has been put to work right from the start; from the moment I first opened Norman Fairclough's '*Language as Power'* (1989) four years ago, and found a medium to express what were at the time, the tiny seeds of curiosity about the language of 'special needs' within inclusive education policy.

Theoretical Frame.

Clearly 'framing' is crucial in all research endeavours, but it has a very special role in this study, given the rhetorical use of 'snapshot', indicating not only how we judge policy 'facts', but equally as important, demonstrating how framing can bring about change. Ideological assumptions and theoretical frames play a key theme in this study, assisting in the analysis how certain ideas come to dominate the social thinking of a particular historical epoch. This study draws on a number of theoretical, ideological and methodological concepts, emanating from a broad field of educational research, within the disciplines of sociology, critical policy analysis and critical disability studies. I am mindful of the risks that accompany such a cross-theoretical approach, especially as many of the key ontological concepts that are the subject of my analytical gaze are also sites of heated theoretical contestation and debate. Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2014) assist in this endeavour, distinguishing between 'constructivism' as the mental constructs that each of us hold within our own heads and a 'constructionism' referring to the social processes of constructed reality. Following this distinction, this study aligns with a social constructionist perspective, taking its inspiration from sociological and social theoretical literatures. Discourse theory provides the central convergence

point for this study, its function here, to seek a new lexicon for the framing of disability in Irish policy-making institutions. In setting up the photoshoot of CES, it is timely to reveal and put in perspective those who sat at that dinner party table and what ideological perspectives they brought to this study.

Framing Policy as Discourse

Policy studies is a field of practice comprised of historians, sociologists, political scientists, philosophers as well as researchers and practitioners from across the field of social policy, employing a range different conceptual schemas. Goodwin, (2012) draws our attention to common distinctions in approaches in the field of policy analysis including traditional/ rationalist approaches, versus those regarded as critical or interpretive. This study locates itself following Bacchi (2009), within the latter.

Thus, this study positions itself within the broad and contested theoretical framework of Foucauldian discourse theory and discursive practice, linked to Foucault's genealogical work (1972). Discourse from a Foucauldian perspective involves "starting from the assumption that all actions, objects and practices are socially meaningful, whose meanings are shaped by the social and political struggles of specific socio-historical contexts" (Goodwin, 2012, p. 29). Foucault's conception of discourse is situated more closely to the analysis of knowledge 'within the true' than it is to 'language use per se' (Bacchi and Bonham 2014, Hook, 2010, Bacchi 2000). This perspective doesn't actually dismiss the idea of 'language' as discourse, but emphasises instead the relationship of the text to power, and to the many contextual forces that shape its production and eventual final form. Thus, discourses are understood here as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak; they do not identify objects, they constitute them, and in the practice of doing so, conceal their own invention" (Foucault, 1972, in Bacchi 2000, p. 48).

While based on constructionist ontological and epistemological premises, the approach being pursed in this study locates it within a poststructuralist paradigm, following Goodley (2014) and Bacchi (2010), due to the political nature of the concept of disability. Bacchi offers a wealth of literature that helps locate this study within a Foucauldian theoretical framework. In *Women, Policy and Politics* (1999), Bacchi

engaged in a detailed discussion of "the 'nuts and bolts' of employing a Foucauldian 'policy as discourse' perspective, and continues to develop these theories (see Bacchi 2000; 2009, 2012, 2015). Stephen Ball's conceptualisation of policy shares a Foucauldian perspective of discourse with that of Bacchi. For Ball (2015, 1993) discourse encompasses much more than language, extending to include the context and conditions that allow certain statements to be deemed authentic knowledge. This understanding of policy as discourse goes beyond policy as text, to that which simultaneously 'saturates' the policy text; in Ball's own words "discourse is that which constrains and enables, writing, speaking, and thinking" (2015, p. 311). Thus, policy discourses are understood here as "ways of thinking and talking about our institutional ourselves, to ourselves and to others; in other words, they form a regime of truth that offers the terms that make self-recognition possible" (p. 307).

Of particular interest in this study, is the focus on the structures and rules that form a discourse; that is, how the power and knowledge of modern disciplines are intimately connected to systems of governing and managing societies.   Bacchi and Bonham (2014) direct attention to the analytic and political usefulness of Foucault's concept of 'discursive practices' to explain the historically and culturally-specific sets of rules for organising and producing different forms of knowledge. This knowledge operates within a temporal context—a bit like the 'rules' of grammar, allowing certain statements 'to be said' or be 'sayable' within a given period. In short, Foucault's discursive practices are concerned with the practices of discourses, rather than language in use or how people 'practise discourse'. Discursive practices therefore, are understood here following Bacchi and Bonham, the focus being on how knowledge is formed and produced across different sites (2014, p. 173).

The locus of study that informs this research process is much broader than many other approaches to policy studies, being concerned primarily with how the rules of governing take place and how we as citizens are governed. Liasidou (2016, 2013, 2011, 2010, 2008), coming from a critical disability perspective, aligns with Ball and Bacchi's Foucauldian discourse perspective in her analyses of inclusive educational policy; making her contribution to the literature particularly pertinent to this study therefore. Indeed, it was Liasidou's studies of Cypriot inclusive education policy-making through

the lens of a Foucauldian perspective that first sparked my interest in undertaking a study of inclusive education policy. Like Ball and Bacchi, Liasidou argues that the diffusion of special education policy is "littered with pervasive discourses that both constitute and are constituted by unequal power relations" (2011, p. 889). Policy documents are therefore excellent objects of study, regarded by Liasidou as an "amalgam of discursive voices that have a significant bearing on the ways that the education of disabled children is envisioned and realised" (2008, p. 484). Following Liasidou and Symeou (2016), the central focus of this study is the ways in which power is embodied within dominant discourses that constitute the discursive policy frame for special and inclusive education. A central tenet to this study therefore, is the role of socio-political processes in shaping forms of accepted knowledge, leading to what is considered true or 'real'. Of particular interest is the endorsement of certain meaning systems over others within policy discourse, and the discursive parameters within which educational policymaking is constructed. This study therefore, pays close attention to the choice of words, tone and sentence structure in CES, not as an end in itself, but as a means to examine the politics embedded within the discursive practices and contours therein. The intention here is to explore the implications, impact and effects of such practices—not just for and on the individuals of which they speak—but for Irish society as a whole, in our aspiration towards an inclusive education agenda.

Policy Problematisation

The cast and crew thus far, paves the way and introduces perhaps the main prop in this production process—the concept of 'problematisation'. This is yet another Foucauldian concept that requires further elaboration in the context of how it informs this story and portrait composition. Bacchi's (2009) understanding of problematisation is a direct challenge to the common perception that policy is Government's best shot at addressing social problems. Following Bacchi (2015) this lens is multi functioning, allowing this study to examine the ways in which the 'problem' of disability inclusion came to be, and is represented in the policy text under study. Of prime importance is Bacchi's distinction between 'a problematisation' in the form of a noun, and 'to problematise' in the form of a verb, both of which are deployed in this study, although at different stages.

The noun version of problematisation provides the starting point for undertaking a critical reading of CES in chapter four. Here problematisation represents the voice given in CES to 'the problem' to be fixed. Therefore, by digging and finding the problematisation, or indeed finding and 'digging behind' the problematisation, an understanding of Government's 'mental framework' on the problem can be achieved through discourse analysis. 'To problematise' on the other hand, as in the verb form, is to interrogate—to question, challenge and critique the problematisation. In this study, the verb aspect of problematisation takes place in chapter five, taking the form of the 'interviewer' who interrupts CES for questioning. In bringing a problematisation focus to this study, my commitment following Marshall (2012), is 'to take further', to 'dig deeper', in order to achieve a deepened analysis of CES, the State's official communicative discourse on disability and labour market inclusion. Social structures such as the labour market from this perspective are viewed as similarly discursive, being that they "are constitutive and constituted by purposeful human action, which itself is symbolically mediated by the linguistic structure of discourse" (Regan, 2010, p. 261), as Regan's study of Irish social policy demonstrates.

Yates (2015) invites us to examine who are constituted in CES and through what forms of thought, challenging this study to focus its analytical lens on the complex systems in which policy is made, and 'how' it is made. Policy from this perspective is filtered through an understanding of itself as a "complex, ongoing social practice of normative cultural production, constituted by diverse actors across diverse contexts" (Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009, p. 770). European social policy also plays a role in this study, given Ireland's relationship with the European Union (EU). Barbier (2012) highlights the intense struggles of European social policy actors in the policy-making process. Policy-making within this frame is seen as a political activity governed by structures, protocols rules and norms. Although the policy-making process itself is not under study in this frame, a familiarisation with the influence of coordinative political discourse as posited by Schmidt (2010) (2008), and the insights from Serrano-Velarde's (2015) study of EU discursive practices-making, is a must in undertaking a critical reading of CES; as Murphy correctly observes, "politics matters hugely in defining the trajectory of Irish welfare reform" (2012a, p. 347).

Normative Framing

The normative aspect of policy framing is critiqued extensively across the literature (Liasidou, 2011; Jóhannesson, 2010; Lingard, 2010; Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009; Bridges & Watts, 2008). The framing of problems within policy text is viewed by some, not as an innocent act, but as a strategic and political one, affecting the shape of the issues being considered and in turn, the possibilities for action (Bridges & Watts, 2008). Schmidt (2010) refers to this process as the site where the co-ordinative discourse is constructed by policy makers and other policy actors, in response to certain policy problems. Koon, Hawkins and Mayhew (2016, p. 7) emphasise that the focus is on how actors create meaning within the policy process, and highlight how meanings get packaged for "instrumental and expressive purposes". Similarly, Serrano-Velarde (2015), through policy-maker narratives, provides a thick description of how EU policy ideas gets 'packaged' through a range of standardised tools and arguments ready for implementation. Pertinent here too, Bacchi (2000) distinguishes between studies that focus on the 'uses' of discourses, and those that study the 'effects' of discourses; the former being concerned with how discourses are discursively marshalled by governments for political purposes; the latter emphasising the discursive location and restrictions imposed therein. Thus, this study follows Bacchi's counsel in seeking to find a balance between the 'effects' of discourse and a "recognition that discourses can and are used 'to effect'" (2000, p. 55).

Ball's concept of 'policy ensembles' (1993) is relevant here, referring to "collections of related policies, exercising power through a *production* of 'truth' and 'knowledge', as discourses" (p. 14). Of particular interest as well, is the idea of 'policy ratchet' understood through Bailey and Ball (2016, pp. 125-126), as "small and incremental moves" that shift policy thinking and practice in a chosen direction that appears naturalised and necessary. From this perspective, policy texts are framed by broader discourses across other and sometimes competing policy areas that reflect commonly shared views of the world. The use of rhetoric is also appropriate to this discussion, serving to persuade people to think in certain ways and believe certain things. Through the use of language, especially metaphoric language and rhetoric, policy frames, like picture frames, serve to shape our understandings and interpretations of policy issues,

paying particular attention to some aspects of the policy issue while diverting attention from, or discrediting others. For instance, Serrano-Velarde (2015) reports on the purposeful and strategic use of discursive strategies by EU policy officials in ways that begs "tidy solutions" (p. 51), while Dolmage (2014, p. 2) draws attention to 'persuasive potential' of disability rhetoric, focusing on its extended power to shape ideas, values, beliefs "and even bodies". However, following Bacchi (2012), this story is not intended as a "clever philosophical investigation" (p. 1) or a revelation of intent, but instead constitutes a digging exercise in tracing the genealogy of 'the thinking' that comes to constitute our positioning on the world and why.

Normative considerations are inextricably bound to education policy because of the value-laden nature of education itself, reflecting the overall aims and aspirations of society, based on political social and cultural ideologies (Liasidou 2012). Normative policy frameworks postulates ideal behaviour, offering proposals for what could and should be done through a variety of policy drivers and levers, actively deployed to direct people authoritatively towards certain courses of action and behaviour. Linked to this conversation is Hyatt's (2013a) strategies of legitimation and their role in constructing and legitimating the problem to be addressed in this particular policy. Strategies of legitimation and power are closely tied to the discursive practices of political actors, seeking to maintain their hegemonic power. Similarly, normative ideas, "appeal to what should or 'ought' to be done, requiring cognitive legitimation but normative persuasion" (Regan, 2010, p. 258). Schmidt (2008) refers to this as a process of legitimating policies by reference to their social and political appropriateness. The process of legitimation, Reyes argues (2011), is articulated through a form of argumentation that explains or seek to justify the actions, ideas and thoughts that are being proposed; the act of legitimising policy proposals itself, being inextricably related to the goal of achieving the communicator's support and approval. Meanwhile within an Irish perspective, Regan (2010) argues that in times of economic crisis governments have to legitimate their policy decisions all over again by persuasive reasoning, drawing on cognitive and normative legitimacy claims, linked to their policy proposals and ideas.

Following Goodley (2014) and Bacchi (2009), the concept of 'biopolitics' becomes central to this study's understanding of policy as discourse. This refers to the notion

that there are two poles, around which the organisation of control over society is deployed. Bacchi explains the concept biopower through a Foucauldian lens, as a "form of politics that is directly concerned with attending to the biological needs and capacities of citizens" (2009, p. 274). Similarly, Goodley draws on the everyday encounter of "knowledge objectification practices" commonly found in classifications, measurements and labels that have become so naturalised and accepted within a "normalising state" (2014 p. 86), in explaining biopolitics. He encourages engagement with this concept through the theoretical offerings of poststructuralism and its notions of 'binarisation', paying particular attention to the effects of *self*-surveillance and *self*-regulation based on established norms of desirable behaviour. In poststructural accounts, problematisations are to be treated, not as illusions that can be unveiled by clever theoretical investigation, but as the thinking that comes to frame our view of the world; as Bacchi and Eveline (2010) argue "who we are and how we live, are to an extent, an effect of social and institutional practices, including state policies" (p. 133). Graham and Slee's (2008) contribution is also worth noting, serving to provide a useful frame within which to evaluate incidents of constructed 'illusions of interiority', alongside the literature from critical disability studies on *Othering* and ableism. Taking these concepts into consideration, this study aims to draw attention to the discursive effects of the 'binarisation of everyday Irish society' and their implications for people with disabilities.

Critical Disability Studies

This study draws inspiration from Baker's (2002) *Hunt for Disability* in an attempt to elicit a reconsideration of conceptualisations of sameness, difference, equality, and citizenship in official state educational policy articulations. Following Baker, it puts centre stage "the rethinking (dis)ability as an ontological issue... informing its inscription as an educational one, concerning the politics of inclusion" (p. 663).

Disability is an underexplored topic through the lens of discourse analysis. Although Grue (2011) reports that disability is an emerging and increasingly significant area of academic inquiry, it is relatively thinly covered in discourse studies, in comparison with similar categories that define minority or marginalised identities. Despite an increase in the issue of disability in the literature however, Marshall (2012) reports with concern

the limited academic interest in disability inclusion within mainstream development literature, where she notes, the two fields of study rarely converge. The relatively few that do address the issues together, emanate from disability studies and are largely confined to that of non-governmental organisations (NGO's), Disabled Persons Organisations (DPO's) and donor organisations, which she describes as being broadly descriptive in nature, focusing on evolutionary policy development from a problem-solving perspective.

Over the last decade, in much the same way as the social model has challenged the individualised accounts of disability, critical disability studies has challenged the 'materialist lines' of disability studies (Vehmas & Watson, 2014). The key aim of critical disability studies is the deconstruction of ideas and assumptions about disability, the exploration of the ways in which these have come to dominate our thinking and understanding of the concept, and how the ideologies that surround the term have been constructed: "it is about unsettling ideas about disability, and in so doing shaking up some of our assumptions about disability and critically engaging with the categories used to construct the 'disability problem'" (p. 639). More recently the fledgling *dis/ability studies* championed by Goodley (2014) as a "distinct intellectual project" has sought to address this gap in the literature, by encouraging critical disability researchers to adopt a philosophical perspective, and "to think again about the phenomena of disability and ability" (preface). These perspectives have informed numerous studies that have been consulted in the process of constructing this study. These will now become the subject of discussion in locating this study at the intersection of welfare and education policy domains, from the perspective of the broad and much debated field of critical disability studies.

Disability and Social Justice

The theoretical relationships between inclusion in education and social justice, features throughout the literature (Liasidou, 2013; D'Allesio, 2012; Gould & Parker-Harris, 2012; Gidley, Hampson, Wheeler, & Bereded-Samuel, 2010; Artiles, Harris-Murri, & Rostenberg, 2006). The issues of social justice and human rights are contentious in the literature, with debates surrounding the capability or effectiveness of legal mandates and anti-discriminatory laws alone to eradicate discriminatory regimes and exclusionary

practices for disabled people. The contemporary rhetoric that frames disability in human rights discourse is seen as the result of a longstanding battle to subvert individual pathology perspectives that have traditionally dominated disability and special needs education (Liasidou and Symeou, 2016, Arnesen, Mietola, & Lahelma, 2007). A human rights approach to disability continues to be very a contested terrain. The risks of these approaches being hijacked as mere rhetoric rather than tools to construct a just and equitable society, is highlighted across the international literature (Liasidou, 2014, D'Allesio, 2012, Pinto, 2011) and from an Irish perspective by Lynch (2013, 2007; Lynch and Baker 2005) in particular. Scanlon, Shevlin and McGuckin have also drawn attention to the tensions between a human rights perspective and the risks associated with the dominant hegemony of an ableist society, drawing on Goodley (2013). Notwithstanding the contentious debates surrounding the effectiveness of legal instruments in the pursuit of a socially just society, there is a convergence in the literature that, while they may be lacking, instruments such as UNCRPD nevertheless serves as "tactics for enablement, representing a critical element in the process of transformative change" (Liasidou, 2016, p. 149).

Disability and Welfare

Contesting a medicalised discourse of disability necessarily draws in discussions about welfare systems and public health services (Greve, 2008). From this perspective, social policy, and in particular welfare policy is among the key instruments the state has at its disposal to achieve the best possible outcomes for its citizens. Critical to an understanding of the welfare state, is the importance it has on the day-to-day life of the individuals of society within which it operates. Greve (2015) conceptualises the welfare state through the lens of need, merit and equality: From a needs perspective, policy orientation is towards means testing, income maintenance and services; merit approaches are based on conditionality of having in some way earned a right to the benefit such as contributory pensions and benefits; the equality approach is based on a system underpinned by the principle of social justice, fairness and equal opportunities in society. From an economic perspective, interest in welfare is primarily based on individuals' choices related to individuals self-interests, linked the value derived from purchasing power. From this position therefore, influencing individual choices is seen

as the most efficient route to achieving maximum social welfare. In contrast, interest in welfare from the sociological perspective, is related to issues in social cohesion, social inclusion and wellbeing in general, and not primarily from an economic perspective.

Gould and Parker Harris' (2012) study of the Slovakian welfare to work policy for people with disabilities (drawing on a theory of social justice by Nancy Fraser (1995)), upholds the view that the marginalisation of disabled people from mainstream policy results in their intrinsic actions being perceived as perverse or deviant. Both forms of injustice they argue, are prevalent in modern neoliberal societies, inherently linked to the processes and practices that systematically marginalises some groups of people. Similarly, Artiles et al (2006) argue that distributive social justice solutions fail to recognise the relationships of power and privileged positions that shape and sustain injustice. Of particular interest therefore, is Martha Nussbaum's (2006) and Amartya Sen's 'capability approach' (2005), which despite its noted shortcomings, is regarded often, and on occasion as the only philosophical and political theory that places disability in the social justice frame (Vehmas & Watson, 2014; Terzi, 2005, Polat, 2011).

Capabilities Approach

Capability has been conceptualised in the literature as a person's freedom to achieve valuable 'functionings', described as "the beings and doings of life" (Taylor, 2012, p. 120). The capabilities approach is based on a commitment to promote the capabilities of each and every person regardless of ability. The focus on capability is not about what we have, but what we can do with what we have; in other words "the power to do something" (Sen, 2009, p. 19). A capabilities approach extends beyond a human rights discourse, demanding that we ensure not only rights, but also people's capabilities and functioning. Respect for individuality is paramount from this perspective if its goals are to be realised. A focus on capabilities shifts the focus of the disability welfare debate from an issue of individual location, to an issue of equality and quality of provision; in essence it is "an attempt to redress the troubled relations between justice and equality" (Surbaugh, 2012, p. 122). Although education is perceived from this perspective to be among the resources most unequally distributed around the world, it is nonetheless seen as key to this approach. In terms of education of children with disabilities, the capabilities approach rejects the idea of the 'normal child', instead, putting the focus on

children with variable capabilities and varying impairments—"all of whom require individual attention in developing their capabilities as they develop" (Nussbaum. 2006, p. 210). The capabilities approach has the potential to play a part in this story's trajectory, within the spaces allowed for new possibilities of thinking, afforded by Bacchi's WPR approach to policy problematisation.

Disability and Neoliberalism

While there have been important developments and paradigm shifts in approaches to disability discourse and practice, the growing neoliberal policy environment that prevails globally, presents new challenges to disability rights and participation in mainstream society. Drawing on the works of Foucault, Peters (2011) elucidates that through "technologies of the self" (p. 37), neoliberalism makes it into and impacts on our everyday lives. Over the course of the last decade, disability scholars have emphasised the ways in which developments in disability policy have been impacted upon by the ideology of and governance through neoliberalism (Hardy & Woodcock, 2015; Yates, 2015; Mladenov, 2015a; Goodley, Lawthom, & Runswick, 2014; Parker Harris, Owen, & Gould, 2012 Grech, 2009; Leyva, 2009). Indeed, the central theme of Higgins' lecture (President of Ireland, 2015) focuses on the devastating impact of the European Union's neoliberal approach, and the prevailing 'single paradigm of thought' that constitutes the legitimacy crisis that has ensued in its wake. Campbell (2008) too invites us "to explore the limits of liberal tolerance of disability, interest convergence and the points of departure from the interests of ableism" (p. 152). Since neoliberalism's inception as a political doctrine, crisis has proven to be an integral mechanism for political and social reform (Peters, 2011). Slater (2015) posits a theory of 'recovery', elaborating the nature and operation of 'crisis politics' in neoliberal education reforms in the US, through the dialectic of 'crisis' and 'recovery'. This lens is particularly interesting given the overt emphasis on the rhetoric of recovery and implied crisis in CES.

Irish Studies of Neoliberalism

A number of Irish studies are helpful in locating this study within the literature on neoliberalism (Scanlon, Shevlin and McGuckin, 2014; Holborrow, 2012, Lynch 2012, Mooney-Simmie, 2012; Phelan, 2007). Phelan (2007) distinguishes between 'transparent' and 'euphemised' neoliberal discourse, both of which can be understood in the Foucauldian sense and can be thought of as distinct, but not discrete modes of rhetorical and political identification with neoliberalism. Transparent neoliberalism refers to the "articulation of a theoretically literate, neoliberal identity; euphemised neoliberalism is best understood as the articulation of neoliberal 'assumptions' as part of a 'third way' partnership discourse, which explicitly rejects the sharp ideological distinction, articulated by and attributed to the former" (p. 33). Phelan's study provides a particularly insightful example of a specific Irish brand of neoliberalism, constructed through "key rhetorical strategies, structuring the articulation of elite neoliberal discourses" (2007, p. 36), while Mooney-Simmie's study of recent educational policy documents highlights the implications of an escalating tune of neo-liberalism, particularly within the context of the economic crisis. Shevlin has also highlighted the need to examine and highlight the intersectional effects of neoliberal policy-making on children with disabilities and their families, in order to test the quest for an inclusive education agenda (Scanlon, Shevlin, & McGuckin, 2014). Thus, neoliberalism takes on a central focus within this study serving as a backdrop within which to examine and challenge CES.

Normalcy, Neoliberal-Ableism and Disablism

The issues of normativity is common across the wider field of critical policy analysis too. A critical educational policy analysis from a normative perspective, examines the philosophical and theoretical considerations that frame the particular policy under study. From a critical dis/ability studies perspective, identifying and challenging notions of 'normalcy', 'normativity' and 'the normative centre', stems from Goodley's (2007) call to envisage new possibilities in valuing 'difference', and 'waging war' against normative educational discourse. Goodley et al vehemently posit that "the normal category exists not as a simple fixed position of humanity, but as a register, a subject

position, a preferred way of living life and a phenomenon of ableist cultures" (Goodley, Lawthom, & Runswick Cole, 2014, p. 118).

The disabled body has always been and continues to be a site of struggle over its signification and corresponding social meanings (Liasidou, 2016; Campbell 2013). Adopting a critical policy analysis approach through a critical discourse analysis framework, provides an opportunity to explore powerful interpretive potentials of policy problematisation, allowing us to challenge the normative elements that present themselves as naturalised and self-evident in taken-for-granted forms of endurance across policy ensembles. In this regard, Graham and Slee (2008) argue that the question is not so much how we move *towards* inclusion, but rather, "what we do to disrupt the construction of centre from which exclusion derives, to make visible the conditions of exclusion" (p. 279). Campbell (2008) notes that the fields of social sciences and critical disability studies has begun to direct its attention to the practices and production of 'disablism', explicitly investigating attitudes and barriers that contribute to the subordination of people with disabilities in liberal society. Based on a social model of disability, the concept of disablism relates to the construction of disability, whereby everyday practices of society are seen to perpetuate oppressive structures upon those who identify with or are categorised as being disabled. Disability issues are essentially political issues. From this perspective, differences between disabled and non-disabled bodies are socially and politically produced—the political element being connected to notions of power and privilege and dominance of the non-disabled.   Thus, in this study, disablism is understood as "a set of assumptions (conscious or unconscious) that promote the differential or unequal treatment of people, because of actual or presumed disabilities" following Campbell (2009, p. 4).

In order to search for disablism in this study however, it is essential to grasp an understanding of the antithetical power of ableism, as it is impossible to hold a concept of difference without an exploration of what ableism is. In fact, Vehmas and Watson (2014) argue that you cannot talk about ableism, disablism or oppression without a consideration of normative judgements. Normalisation from the *dis/ability* perspective is based on a belief of disabled people to be "a discreet, insular minority rather than a hybrid, fluid, significant component of the bio-population, where recognition of such a

cohort can de-throne ableist claims to naturalisation" (Campbell, 2013, p. 215). Madriaga et al (2011) highlight the ways in which the privileged status afforded to the notion of 'normalcy' in higher education systems contribute to the systematic exclusion of people with disabilities. From an inclusive education perspective, normalisation is seen as a man-made grid that attributes value to particular ways of being, articulated through normalising discourses (Graham & Slee, 2008).

Critical disability studies and the politics of ableism challenges entrenched views of what is 'normal' about disability—views that originate from deeply rooted beliefs about health, productivity, beauty and the value of human life that devalues and marginalises some cohorts of society. For Campbell, ableism is ideological, referring to the over-valuation of ableness and the ways in which the norms of abled bodies are afforded legitimacy in social policy, laws and cultural values. It can be seen in the ideals of the flawless body, the normal mind, appropriate behaviours—and by extension, an ableist discourse, which suggests a deviancy from the perfected humanity to be "the aberrant, the unthinkable, underdeveloped and therefore not really human" (Campbell, 2015, p. 50). Similarly, Davis argues that the problem is not the person with disabilities; the problem is the way that "normalcy is constructed to create 'the problem' of the disabled person" (2010, p. 9). Cherney's (2011) contribution to the literature is also relevant here, highlighting in particular how rhetoric is both the means by which ableist culture perpetuates itself, and the basis of successful strategies for challenging its practices. He uses the term 'rhetorical norms' to describe warrants that become everyday assumptions, taken for 'common sense' that directs interpretation and endorses and promotes an ideological orientation throughout society: Recognising ableism, he argues "requires a shift in orientation, a perceptual gestalt framed by the filter of the term 'ableism' itself" (np).

Normals and Others
Instead of focusing solely on disability, an ableist frame allows the researcher to examine how the able-bodied, non-disabled identity is maintained through constructed binaries and/or, mutually constitutive categories of disability and ableness (Goodley 2014). Similarly, an ableist lens examines how discourses of 'wellbeingness' and 'deficiency' circulate throughout society, impacting on social, economic and cultural

choices. In ableist societies, those who do not live with the experienced of significant sensory, physical or intellectual impairment—*the normals'* in other words, characterise and respond to disability through pity and charity. Mostly, ableist frameworks are unconscious and unexamined and have become embedded in the beliefs, language, and practices of non-disabled people, becoming "so reified and so widely accepted as common sense, that it literally 'goes without saying'" (Cherney 2011, np). Thus, "to be 'able' is synonymous with being 'normal', functioning with unimpeded capability or competence" (Komesaroff & McLean 2006, p. 89). Similarly, Madriaga, Hanson, Kay and Walker (2011) employ the term 'normalcy' to describe "an everyday eugenics, which heralds the non-disabled person without defects or impairments, as the ideal norm" (p. 901). Thus we enter the world of 'normals', examining ways in which the ableist society is structured for people who have no weaknesses, valuing labour activities and commodities exchange.

Linked to the politics of disability is the biopolitics of debility and the concept of 'ontological invalidation'. This, Goodley (2014) explains as "those times when our selves are left shaky, unstable and uncertain in the face of a lack of value from others (p. 127). Similarly, Liasidou (2014) draws our attention to an aspect of social justice discourse known as 'valorisation' and 'epistemological equity', both of which are concerned with ways in which dominant forms of knowledge valorise or legitimate certain human identities, at the expense of others. On this, Dwyer and Ellison (2009) provide a useful discussion on the way both individuals and society are conditioned to see unemployment ultimately as the fault of the individual. Goodley's insights from a study of the role of labour and work offers a number of possibilities for exploring the narrative of CES, particularly in relation to Ireland's recent austerity programme (Goodley, Lawthom, & Runswick, 2014). This lens offers the possibility to open up new discursive spaces, within which to connect with *Others* caught up in this slow death who seek recognition. 'Crip theory' described as one of the strongest growing insights emerging out of contemporary critical disability studies (Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2016), emanating from queer theory, aims to analyse and contest "connections between the social construction of heteronormativity and able-bodiedness" (Sykes, 2009, pp. 247-248). These and other Foucauldian-influenced analyses and perspectives have assisted

in this study process, by illuminating the "contingencies and consequences of systems of power knowledge, and demonstrating the ways that power acts on people to their detriment in institutions for special education" (Yates, 2015, p. 103).

DisHuman and Posthuman Disability Studies

In what has become known as 'second wave disability studies writing', thinking about the 'human' through the lens of dis/ability has become a strong focus of recent critical disability literature emanating from the UK (Ecclestone & Goodley, 2016; Goodley, Runswick-Cole, & Liddiard, 2015; Goodley, Lawthom, & Runswick Cole, 2014). Influenced by the works of posthuman theorist Rosi Braidotti (2013), Goodley argues that "disability is, in many senses, the quintessential posthuman position that necessarily demands interdependent connections with other humans, technologies, non-human entities" (2014b, p. 846). Aligned to poststructuralism, Braidotti shares a Foucault's deconstructive aspiration to undermine and challenge the "'humanist man' and with it, the very trappings of modernist philosophy and politics" (ibid). The literature examines what it means to be human in the twenty-first century exploring how the concept of disability develops and enhances these meanings, working through entangled connections of nature, society, technology, medicine, biopower and culture to consider the extent to which the human might be an obsolete phenomenon.

Critical disability studies and the posthuman fit perfectly with each other because disability has always contradicted and challenged the traditional classical humanist conception of what it means to be human. Dis/human scholars aim to maximise the possibilities offered by dis/ability to disrupt and agitate the 'human', while simultaneously asserting disabled people's humanity through posthuman theories—discovering along the way, "some bound and freed moments, as disability and humanity come together" (Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2016, p. 2). These scholars examine the ways in which disability and posthuman work together, raising important questions about the kinds of life and death society values. In particular, Goodley, Lawthom, Runswick-Cole (2014) highlight the potential of posthuman studies for critical disability scholars in creating possibilities for new ways of knowing, relating, living and dying. In this way, a theory of *dis/human studies* explores the potential of disability "to trouble, reshape and re-fashion the human (crip ambitions) while at the same time asserting

disabled people's humanity (normative desires)" (Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2016, p. 1). Ecclestone and Goodley (2016) especially, espousing a post-humanist approach to education, consider the implications of using the concept of 'vulnerability' to examine how the human subject is positioned as "an interdependent, connected and distributed entity for exploring socially just, inclusive and expansive forms of education" (p. 184). Thus, dis/human and post-human studies are deployed to identify the ways in which ableism is desired as a posthuman ideal within CES.

Activation Studies

Recent studies have begun to analyse activation policy in terms of a broadly considered neoliberal agenda that encompasses aims to privatise state education provision, shrink welfare expenditure, introduce increased conditionality into welfare payments, and employ supply-side measures to activate the disabled within the labour market (Parker Harris, Owen, & Gould, 2012; Williams-Findlay, 2011 Soldatic & Chapman, 2010). The relationship between, and the respective responsibility of citizens and government has come under the scrutiny, as national governments in the UK, Australia, Canada and the United States implement a host of policies which are redrawing the boundaries between public and private responsibility for social welfare. A key theme emerging from this literature is the value attached to paid work and the negatively constructed connotations of worklessness (Grover & Piggott, 2010; Marston, 2008; Theodore, 2007).

Recent disability policy trends in the UK specifically, including the more controversial policy the Tories have championed, known as the Work Capability Assessment (WCA) scheme and the Employment and Support Allowance (ESA) have come under scrutiny in the literature (Grover 2015; Grover and Piggott, 2010; Houston, & Lindsay, 2010), offering rich analyses of national responses to the global financial crisis and the subsequent austerity and reform programmes that have ensued in its wake. An emerging theme is the impact of such responses on the further exclusion of people with disabilities and its implications for equality and social justice. Similar to the literature on inclusive education, the central thrust is that rights based policies are insufficient alone to bring about the transformational change required to address structural inequalities across the welfare system and society as a whole (Mladenov, 2015a; Meekosha & Soldatic, 2011; Newman, 2011). An emerging theme from this corpus of literature is the

need for interdisciplinary research in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the crisis and its implications for disability policy-making.

More conceptually, the metaphor 'army reserve' has been used to critique recent policy shifts towards tightening the gap between people on illness or disability payments and the labour market (Grover & Piggott, 2005), and more recently through retrenchment discourses, emanating from the introduction of conditionality and the marketisation of its work-focused aspects (Piggott & Grover, 2009). Ball's contribution (2009) is noteworthy, highlighting the different forms of 'privatisation' "taking place 'of', 'in' and 'through' education and education policy, 'in' and 'through' the work of education businesses, and the actions of the state" (p. 83). Marston's (2008) study provides a useful lens with which to examine the effects of discourse and policy frames to legitimate welfare restructuring known as 'workfare'. This study opens up a different perspective in looking at the effects of welfare restructuring through the frame of problematised constructions of citizenship. On this issue, Theodore (2007, p. 930) argues that

> the construction of 'worklessness' in the political discourse of the UK as a significant labour market problem, is based on three related conceptual moves: (i) shifting the focus of policy analysis from demand-side concerns of job availability and job quality to supply-side issues of worker motivation and attitudes; (ii) individualising problems of economic hardship, defining long-term unemployment as the result of personal failings, inflexibility, or irresponsibility rather than as a condition arising from macroeconomic forces; and (iii) calling into question governmental action aimed at increasing the number of jobs available in distressed areas in favour of strengthening market mechanisms for allocating labour market opportunities and rewards.

While much of the literature focuses on the labour market aspects of ESA and its relationship to disability benefitsm, in particular, Grover and Piggott (2010) offers a radical reading of the UK's recent reforms, and the move to abolish the Work Related Activity Group (WRAG) component of the ESA. Grover (2015) draws attention to the discursive symbolism within these developments, accusing the 'summer budget' 2015 of an "ideological assault on unemployment benefits for disabled people, in the hope of forcing such people into competing for wage work in the open market" (p. 1573). These studies offer a wealth of insightful lessons in the art of reading of policy from a critical

disability perspective—the analyses therein, equally important in tracing the genealogy and tracking the travelling ideas emerging from chapter four.

Activation Studies Ireland

A number of Irish studies have focused their attention on labour market activation. Phelan (2007) in particular, assists with insights from the political discourse and structures of Irish welfare policy-making during Ireland's 'boom and bust' eras, providing evidence of a neoliberal hegemony "constituted through a plurality of (inter)discursive forms and rhetorical strategies" (p. 29). Murphy's analyses of Irish activation and welfare policy discourse (2012a &b; Kirby and Murphy, 2011) are particularly insightful, offering a theory of 'path dependency' in tracing the Irish context to broader discourses of labour market activation in the UK. These studies note policy divergence not only in terms of payment rates, but also with regard to issues of conditionality of payments, and the extent to which disability payments have been subsumed into activation programmes. Murphy's (2012b) montage of labour market policy studies specifically, provides rich ideological perspectives on the influence of different political regimes on welfare policy in Ireland, over the period 1986-2010, paying particular attention to the relationship between politics and ideas, and their role in shaping Irish welfare policy. From these studies it is possible to trace the ancestry of ideas and institutions emerging from the dominant discourses of CES. Dukelow and Considine (2014, 2011) offer detailed accounts of Ireland's response to the recent economic crash in comparison to previous recessions. Similarly, Fraser, Murphy and Kelly's (2013) study locates Ireland's activation narrative within Klein's concept of 'disaster capitalism'. These studied deliver valuable contextual evidence for reading CES against the context of the EU troika agreement in chapter four, and subsequent critique in chapter five, set against the backdrop of retrenchment and 'fit for work' discourses.

Inclusive Education Studies

The international literature on inclusive education converges on the debate as to what constitutes inclusion and the extent to which a discourse of 'special needs' can deliver its desired outcomes for an inclusive education system. The field of inclusive education represents some of the most discussed, debated, and contentious within educational research, with a wide variety of definitions and understandings proliferating the

literature, The discourse of special needs is a particularly contentious issue, featuring in many of the studies internationally (Hardy & Woodcock, 2015; Borland, 2012; Liasidou, 2011; Gidley, Hampson, Wheeler, & Bereded-Samuel, 2010; Nunan, Rigmor, & McCausland, 2010; Thomazet, 2009). Notwithstanding the hard battle fought for human rights charters and national legislation around the world, international scholar Roger Slee (2013), in pointing to the 'need' to hold an international conference on *Making Inclusion Happen*, reminds us that the struggle for disabled people's rights to education work and citizenship, remains an urgent and critical issue globally. According to Slee and Weiner (2001) inclusive education is a "form of cultural politics, which requires new forms of thinking about education and social issues' (p. 94). Similarly, Florian (2007, p. 11) calls for a form of "identity politics to interrupt deviant, grotesque or otherwise impoverished problem representations of disability". And so it is that I come to locate this research within the field of inclusive education studies.

Inclusive education and Social Justice
Recent developments in understanding inclusive education have led to its contextualisation within the theoretical framework of social justice (Liasidou, 2016, 2014, 2011, 2008). Theories of social justice are most clearly visible in the concept of inclusive education through its claims to human rights, respect for diversity and equity for all (Rioux, 2007).   The concepts of 'inclusion' and 'social justice' are integral to the goal of equality for people with disabilities, "framing disability at its core as exclusion" (Marshall, 2012, p. 57). From an inclusive education perspective, social justice is concerned with a commitment to ensuring that all students have access to equal opportunities and outcomes that will in turn lead to full participation in society and realisation of their full potential (Shepherd & Brody-Hasazi, 2007). The concept of inclusion, from a critical disabilities studies perspective represents an ideological or paradigmatic shift aimed at bringing about transformative changes for people with disabilities within education and wider social activities. (Liasidou, 2014).

While inclusion has become a mainstream term in policy and practice for more than two decades, the struggle to achieve education for all has been a longstanding battle for much longer than this. Liasidou and Symeou (2016) along with Graham (2011; 2005), draw our attention to the overlapping discourses of 'special educational needs' and

'disabilities'—both highlighting the tensions, conflicts and challenges that this problematic brings for those engaging with the literature, which indeed this study can testify to. The definition and practice of inclusive education, varies significantly not only between cultures and educational systems but also *within* cultures and educational systems. While international conventions and legislation have played a key role in the promotion of inclusive education across Europe and the rest of the world, approaches adopted by different countries vary with respect to the adoption of policy within a rights based framework. Rix (2011) examines how the discourses of inclusive education, as articulated in the Salamanca Agreement, become diluted and reframed within domestic contexts to facilitate their progress into implementation. Analysing this discourse within a range of academic, legal and media texts within the UK, he argues that "with the arrival of the constructs of specialisation and personalisation, segregated settings have found a way to reposition themselves within the mainstream, and in so doing to blunt the perceived threat to their existence" (p. 276).

The language of inclusive education policy in particular therefore, invites the necessity of its own critique because of the multiple meanings that lie within and surrounding the discourses. Feminist theorist Spivak (1997) engages with the word "~~inclusion~~" using Derrida's concept of writing under erasure: writing this way she explains, "effaces the presence of a thing, while necessarily keeping it legible" (np). On this, Graham and Slee (2008) highlight the implicit centeredness associated with the term inclusion, drawing attention to the inferred 'bringing in' through the inbuilt supposition of a prefabricated, naturalised space, into which someone can be integrated. Discourse theory has come to occupy a central place in inclusive education studies across the literature. While the studies vary in depth, scope and context, many of the more recent studies are beginning to problematise the "rhetoric, puffery, and other discursive and linguistic features" of policy text (Webb, 2014, p. 367). Liasidou and Symeou (2016) and Liasidou (2016, 2011, 2008) in particular offer insightful analyses through which to examine the issues of social justice and equity rhetoric in inclusive educational policy texts.

A reading of the critical literature reveals an almost unanimous verdict that rights based approaches to inclusive education remains a significant challenge internationally in the face of globalised discourse of special needs. The right to education for children with

disabilities in international law is rife with hidden contradictions and conditionality. With regard to inclusion and support Byrne (2013) points to the over emphases on individual impairment and deficit, allowing structural and institutional deficits off the hook. The international evidence is overwhelming—there is no meaningful equality of opportunity without equality of condition (Lynch 2013).

The literature converges around what are seen as tensions between neoliberal discourses of social justice in the pursuit of equality (Perry & Clarke, 2015) (Smyth, et al., 2014)—the challenges and opportunities of UNCRPD being a central theme. North's (2006) essay on the many complex and often contradictory aspects of social justice theories examines the tensions that arise when various conceptualisation of social justice collide in the field of education, which provided me with a useful backdrop from which to view complicated relationship between redistribution and recognition politics, and the transformation of poverty discourses over time. Reindal (2016) investigates the ethical aspects of inclusive education through this lens of social justice, drawing on Martha Nussbaum's (2006) version of the capabilities approach: "Policies that aim to improve the lot of groups are to be rejected", Nussbaum argues (2006, p. 216), unless they deliver the central capabilities to each person". Inclusive education challenges the notion of normality as it values a broad range of diversity beyond disability. Reindal proposes that the capabilities approach offers the possibility of suggesting ethical aspects that can build an ethical framework for inclusive education. Following Reindal, the study will look for and problematise 'ethical norms' and standards of justice in the articulated discourse of CES.

Liasidou (2010) drawing on the work of Len Barton, specifically proffers an exciting opportunity to draw on and weave my own sociological background and ontology into the crafting of this study. Barton (2001) was one of the first sociologists to exploit the 'sociological imagination' (Liasidou, 2010) in revealing the highly political and contested nature of disability and special needs education discourse, his aim being to understand and analyse the intricate interplay between "history, biography, context and structural factors" (Barton, 2001, p. 8, cited in Liasidou). Barton's work plays a key role in providing alternative theoretical tools with which to deconstruct and contest "unequal power relations, value-laden assumptions and vested interests that give rise to binary

oppositions of normality and abnormality with regard to disability and difference."
(Liasidou, 2010, p. 232).

Given the rapidly shifting political, social and economic landscape that we are
witnessing in Ireland, the UK and beyond as the reality of Brexit starts to dawn, the
discursive space offered by the sociological imagination offers the potential to create
the discourse of hope that both president Higgins and Len Barton call for, in order to
shape and transform new disability policy into the future. Thus, it is within this
discursive space that my research sits—a space where the 'sociological imagination' has
been drawn on "in order to expose and challenge the complicated ways in which
individualised pathological accounts and special needs discourses re-invent themselves
through more inclusive linguistic veneers" (Liasidou, 2010, p. 225).

Irish Literature

Closer to home, Smith (2014), in undertaking a critical discourse analysis of recent
special needs education reforms in Northern Ireland, highlights the importance of
reading a policy text critically within the context of its political and cultural
environment. Drawing attention to the diachronically contextual relevance of the
rhetorical device 'segregation' to the region's troubled past, the term inclusive
education he argues, has unfortunately become ubiquitously clichéd because of the
"progressive gloss" it adds to policy's proposals (p. 390). Despite its stated intentions to
the contrary, the discourse of deficit, diagnosis, classification and appropriate
placement, locates the policy problematisation firmly within the gaze of a
professionalised medical model of disability.

The concept of inclusive education is relatively new in the Republic of Ireland;
consequently there is an emerging body of literature in this field, mainly focused on
aspects of policy content and the "the perceived struggle for its interpretation and
implementation" (Rose, Shevlin, Winter, & O'Raw, 2010, p. 363). While many of the
studies problematise discursive aspects of policy articulations, none of the Irish
literature reviewed as part of this study, adopts a uniquely discourse analysis approach
in doing so.

The keystone in constructing this thesis however, is the study by McDonnell (2003). This study is widely acknowledged in the Irish literature (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh 2007; Scanlon and Shevlin, 2014) for digging beneath the everyday surface structures, to reveal the deep conceptual thinking behind special education policy-making. McDonnell's study found "deep structural issues of inequalities and exclusion" operating within the special education system, framed as the 'inclusion' of people with disabilities in 'mainstream' education. This view has been consistently upheld and endorsed in similar studies of the Irish special education context. For example, Drudy and Kinsella (2009), while acknowledging the developments and progress made over the past two decades, argue that "lacunae still remain" (p. 660), proposing bold and creative thinking to bring about a truly equal and inclusive system. Similarly, Rose Winter, Shevlin and O'Raw, (2010) argue that, whilst policy espouses an inclusive education discourse, the reality is far from its stated intentions.

Exclusionary practices are common-place within Ireland's inclusive education system, despite the spirit of recent rights-based legislation (NCSE, 2013; Phillips & Clark, 2010; Shevlin, Kenny, & Loxley, 2008; Shevlin, Kenny, & McNeela, 2004). During my doctoral journey, I (Van Aswegen, 2013a; 2013b) have attempted to problematise conceptualisations of disability and highlight a number of tensions in the communicative discourse of the Irish National Plan for Equity of Access to Higher Education (HEA, 2008) drawing on McDonnell's study, such as the neoliberal discourse of human capital and the social democratic ideals of an inclusive education system (2013a); the discourse of special needs education sitting alongside inclusion; the quasi-medical categories and compensatory-type supports, which fail to challenge the deep structural issues of inequality. With the passing of the Education of Special Education Needs Act (2004) (EPSEN), the Disability Act, 2005, and Ireland's signing of UNCRPD in 2006, the spotlight has rested on a rights approach to the inclusion of children with special educational needs, within an Irish perspective (De Wispelaere & Walsh, 2007; Shevlin & Rose, 2008; Shevlin, Winter, & Flynn, 2013). More recently Perry and Clarke (2015) have adopted what is termed as 'system's approach' in their examination of the policy of special needs education in Ireland, through the lens of legal practitioners representing parents of high profile cases through the current legislative system. This

study highlights the inadequacies and limitation of the existing legislative framework and legislation, which they argue is inadequate and requires change. Of particular interest to this study is the reported lack of awareness and the negative perceptions among the legal practitioners of the EPSEN Framework and the EPSEN Act respectively; their argument being that "the existing legislation actually limits a citizen's constitutional rights" (p. 501). This has led to a growing disenchantment with the rhetoric of equality in the Irish model of inclusion, which perpetuates and legitimates inequality, creating in the process, a truly 'careless State' (Lynch, 2013).

Addressing these tensions is crucial in challenging the inclusive education agenda within the Irish Education system. Consequently Shevlin (Scanlon et al., 2014) has challenged the critical disability research community to engage with these issues—specifically "the inability of the inclusive agenda within the Irish education system to facilitate all young people to reach their full potential as citizens with rights" (p. 13). In response, this study commits to examine the intersectional effects of these tensions in order to "destabilise reductionist accounts of individual pathology, and privilege new forms of thinking that prioritise a social justice framework in tackling wider systemic rigidities and oppressive educational regimes" (Liasidou, 2013, p. 299). My intention is to examine and assess the implications of how welfare and education discourses in CES "interweave and compound forms of oppression, marginalisation and discrimination" (p. 300) experienced by people with disabilities, in both social and educational domains.

Locating the Study

Following Goodley's assertion that 'we must all join the fight against disablism' (2016) this study aims to situate itself within a second wave disability studies writing project, with an eye for the wider educational equality and inclusion agenda. This is especially significant, given that the Irish education system in Ireland is rapidly changing as it emerges from the era of austerity, bringing with it, limitations and opportunities across the board for dis/abled people wishing to access this system. Being the first of its kind in the history of the state, CES represents a significant opportunity to revisit the McDonnell's ideological challenges for the inclusion of disabled people within this education system and to assess again, what this might mean for those who are assigned the label of 'special', and those who are not (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh, 2007).

Following Springer (2016) and Peters (2011) and in the spirit of positionality, this study aims, not only to challenge the problematic policies associated with neoliberalism, but attempts to produce a critique of CES that begins the process of establishing a new foundation for neoliberalism's eventual collapse, and the societal change that this will necessitate. Critical discourse analysis can aid critical disability studies, both in terms of theoretical development and in furthering its goals of social change (Liasidou, 2014, Grue, 2011). Following Marshall (2012), this study seeks to dig deep into the core of CES, using Bacchi's WPR approach, to develop a critical awareness and understanding of the forces and context that shape the communicative discourse of this policy. It is this study's intention to challenge and interrupt, through a Foucauldian-inspired problematisation approach, the knowledge and truth claims underpinning this policy. Through the lens of Liasidou's (2014) intersectional perspective, this study aims to target that space where welfare and education discourse collide, with the aim of highlighting the "cumulative and overlapping effect on the lives and educational trajectories of disabled students" (p. 131). In doing so, I aim to go beyond the nuts and bolts of CES, to explore instead the discursive parameters of disability and inclusion, aiming to make explicit the ideas, assumptions and discourses that reproduce disability as an oppressive category, through the lens of "new and responsive theories, ideas, politics and passions" (Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2010, p. 274).

Chapter 3 Methodology and Method

Because of the distinction between methodology and method, this chapter is divided into two parts, dealing with these concepts respectively. Part one discusses the overall strategic approach taken in setting out the research design for the overall study, while part two describes the specific analytical methods brought to bear on the reading and interpretation of CES in chapters four and five.

Part One

Critical educational policy analysis from the interpretive perspective, challenges constructions of the norm on the basis of the "situated context of the 'knower' producing it" (Yanow 2014b, p. 10). However, before embarking on a discussion of the interpretive paradigm, it is important to outline the positioning that I bring to this research endeavour, on the grounds of transparency and positionality, for, as Bletsas argues, "to study a subject is to intervene in it, placing the certainty of any knowledge produced forever out of reach" (2012, p. 48). Thus the concept of reflexivity plays an important aspect in putting the researcher centre stage, in the narrative of the story that is my interpretation of CES.

Locating the Self through Reflexivity

Reflexivity has a central role in responding to the challenges that the WPR approach, as a 'thinking tool', can elicit, especially for a researcher like me, "for whom political commitment to disability equality is a powerful motivator" (Marshall, 2012, p. 60). Rather than 'assuming' as Pillow suggests (2010) that reflexivity is part and parcel of the qualitative approach adopted, my intention is to make explicit what this concept means, for the interpretations presented within the arguments of this study. This level of reflexivity is essential and, as I can testify, unavoidable in engaging with the process of interpretation from a political positioning. Only by bringing such a critical and reflexive gaze to our enquiry, Ockwell and Rydin (2010, p. 194) argue, can discourse analysis "fulfil its potential as a heuristically powerful and potentially emancipatory tool". The challenge is to remain as Wodak (1999) suggests, somewhat 'at a distance' from the object of inquiry, in order to avoid the interpretation of texts and discourses as a way of

endorsing or proving what the researcher already pre-supposes; Webb (2014, p. 371) calls this, "a defamiliarisation of the self". Put another way, "when we scrutinize our conceptual baggage and jettison that which weighs us down, we become open to new forms of situational knowledge" (Shope, 2006, p. 173).

Trustworthiness and Positionality

Researchers emanating out of an interpretive paradigm must prepare themselves for criticism on the basis that their scholarship is neither rigorous nor objective (Yanow 2014b), the crux elements being, but not exclusively, trustworthiness, rigour, bias, generalisability and credibility. With this in mind, I aim to meet this challenge head on. Therefore, in the interests of transparency and trustworthiness, this study commits to providing a detailed and thick description of how the analytical tools and theoretical framework have been applied and deployed across the entire research process. Guba and Lincoln's (1985) definition of 'thick description' is particularly appropriate for this study, understood here as providing enough detail in the narrative, so as to allow the reader evaluate, the extent to which the conclusions drawn, are transferable to other research sites.

Rigour for this study, resides in a philosophical context, what Yanow (2014b) refers to as 'analytical rigour'—"the mapping and crafting of sound argument" logically constructed and adequately supported, "such that the reader is persuaded by the cogency of its arguments" (2014b, p. 102). It is important to state that this study does not start out with a formal hypothesis, acknowledging upfront that it is my interpretations of the policy that inform the conclusions based therein. Instead, through a process of prolonged engagement and persistent observation following Lincoln and Guba (1985), a form of 'indwelling' (Yanow2014a) took place with CES, in what I refer to, as the 'dark room' of interpretation. Within this space, a process of reading, pondering, musing and connecting began; thinking and theorising in an abductive way through the filters, frames and lenses offered by the "light of prior knowledge from the theoretical literature" (pp. 71-72). From a further process of reflexive thinking and writing, the portraits and interviews of chapters four and five emerged—the data from CES making sense in a new way, under this light.

The text and narrative of CES plays an integral part in the telling of this story, providing the raw data on which the arguments constructed in this study are based. Golden-Biddle and Locke's 'show tell show' sandwich structure, (2007, p. 53), is used extensively throughout chapters four and five, in an attempt show my engagement with the data directly, through annotations and mark-ups, within the framed snapshot of evidence. Thus, in presenting a series of portraits in chapter four, I provide the evidential base for each representation in snapshot form, taken from the pdf systems view of the document, showing moments of analysis captured directly within the dark room. In cases of large tracts of text, such as the foreword and action plans, the full text will be presented in the appendices, drawing on snippets and collages of this text in the narrative of chapter four, where appropriate. Mindful that within the dark room, I am a constructionist in this process, it is fitting that I outline my position on the issues under study, conscious that my prolonged engagement through employment with many of the institutions of power named in this study, places me as somewhat of an 'insider' within this process—"the knowledgeable storyteller" (Golden-Biddle & Locke, 2007, p. 76).

My indoctrination in the world of 'work' at the end of the 1980s, began with the Department of Social Welfare (now the Department of Social Protection that administers the welfare system), as frontline administrator of unemployment and disability payments, which in those days was typified by long and winding queues of 'claimants' not jobseekers. As a school leaver, on a part time study trajectory, my first taste of educational studies was through the sociological scholars of Paulo Freire (1968), Ivan Illich (1971) and Anthony Giddens (1989), subsequently inspiring my final year research project, 'the sociological impact of unemployment on the individual'. Later I joined the ranks of another powerful institution, the University of Limerick as a lecturer in management, where the discourse of strategic planning and human resource management became part of my daily lexicon. My subsequent move to Institute of Technology Sligo, brought me up close with the 'non-standard' learner and 'recognition of prior learning' (RPL), just as the first programme of labour market activation (LMA) was making its way onto the educational landscape in the form of free places for those on the live register; the funding invitations for which, contained clear eligibility criteria

to competing educational institutions for qualifying fields of study. My role in this process was one of broker, between the Department of Social Protection for eligibility; the further education and training sector in facilitating RPL for entry to these programmes; and the higher education institution, the producers of knowledge and skills—that space, where the activation policy gets implemented with enormous impacts on and for people's lives. And lastly whilst journeying on my EdD trajectory, I came to work in the area of disability policy, with the Disability Federation of Ireland (DFI), itself a contributor directly and indirectly to the development of this policy, as the list of written submissions in appendix 4 testifies.

In order to clarify any issues of 'confirmatory evidence' or 'pet theory' therefore, I employ on the advice of Hyatt (2016), qualitative research guidelines for naturalistic inquiry, following Lincoln and Guba (1985). A process of prolonged engagement and persistent observation since the policy was launched late last year, mitigated jumping too quickly to any one interpretation or theory. This process involved checking and testing my own theories and assumptions against the policy text itself and the related literature, looking particularly for evidence that may contradict my own patterns of interpretations and explanations of the data. This was most relevant and indeed quite challenging, towards the latter stages of this study, in light of the dynamic and contentious debates played out in the media at this time, surrounding the formation of a government, and specifically the intention announced in the new Programme for Government (Government of Ireland, 2016c), to introduce a new 'Fit for Work' programme. Whilst this study reports on the media and political interest in this issue, following Lincoln and Guba (2007) and staying true to the WPR approach, my intention with this data is not to create a scare-mongering policy-hunt, but instead to establish "plausible inferences about the patterns and webs of such shaping" (Lincoln & Guba, 2007, p. 17) in this given context. In chapter three, I also draw on negative case analysis, using Hyatt's warrant (2013a) as a means of triangulating the point, from which the subsequent WPR analysis proceeds.

An Interpretive Frame

The metaphor of policy 'frame' discussed in chapter two, is equally relevant to the methodological frame employed in this research, understood following Yanow (2007) as the setting up of an interpretive framework, within which, policy-related artefacts make sense. The role of 'frame' in methodology is to reveal and justify the research assumptions and decisions taken throughout the research process, and in so doing, to locate the arguments which it makes, within the tradition of enquiry that use it (Clough & Nutbrown, 2007).

Yanow's (2014b) four interpretive moments provides an overarching framework for locating the methods employed within this study; as Kincheloe and McLaren (2002), posit of the many dynamic moments of the critical policy research journey, "there is none so important as the moment(s) of interpretation" (p. 96). Yanow's framework plotted broadly and simply as four interpretive moments (p. 20), takes this research process from the selection of the core text to the point where the thesis is read and examined. The moments will be revisited at the end of the chapter, but first of all a look at the perspective this approach brings.

Central to the approach taken in this study, is the hermeneutic tradition, which views people's self-interpretations as central to understanding social organisation and structures around us. Rejecting the positivistic notion of a social scientific mirroring of reality or truth through research, the interpretive approach is built upon the pre-supposition that social realities, and therefore knowledge itself, is created by human actors through our actions, interactions and thereby, our experiences of life. From this perspective, there is no one truth or absolute reality; social realities are socially constructed, embedded with individual and subjective viewpoints in their construction.

An interpretive approach to policy analysis focuses on types of organisational artefacts, which represent policy and agency meaning. Policy documents are regarded as artefacts which are capable of being deconstructed in different ways, depending on the contexts in which they are read; each hermeneutic moment an opportunity to examine, interrogate or challenge its embodied meaning and ideology. Drawing on the works of Stuart Hall, Cherney (2011, np) defines ideology as "the mental frameworks—the

languages, concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and systems of representation—which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works". CES from this approach, is understood as an expression of meaning and collective identity of the State, 'a conduit' embodying its values and beliefs at a particular point in time, in a particular socio-cultural context, thus accommodating the central issues of deep conceptual understandings and mental frameworks that this study is concerned with. The focus is not only on the 'what' of meaning, but also on the processes through which policy meanings are communicated, who their intended audiences are, and the contextual meanings attributed at the production stage of the policy-making process. The policy text, following Bacchi (2009), represents some sort of 'consensus on a way forward'—in other words, a map as to "how one is proceed" (p. 34), which is then subjected to a variety of interpretations of its semantics; the very act of reading itself, a deeply subjective one, influenced by a variety of contextual factors (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2014). This study therefore, takes account of the broader economic, social, historical and social context within which policy was created; for to not include such context is to miss the basic premise of policy as process.

The concept of policy frame has further resonance for this study, allowing me the scope to frame my interpretations of CES in a series of five portraits, each representing a depiction of my reading. In addition, the concept of frame suits me well in underlining the evidentiary bases for my portraits, allowing me to present framed snaps of text, lifted directly from the field of study. Through the snapshot storyline, the interpretive approach functions somewhat like a tripod allowing scope and aspect; the lenses and camera representing the specific methods to capture the snap. In this way, the portraits in chapter four represent framed 'moments in time', within which my interpretations of CES are presented, allowing them in turn to be problematised through further moments of interpretation in chapter five. In summarising the contribution of the interpretive approach to this study, I underline the key assumptions that have guided this research process from beginning to end, as follows:

- Facts rarely speak for themselves, always have to be interpreted, applied and drawn out; "the narrative you bring to the facts are almost always as important, if not more important than the facts themselves" (Quinn, 2015, p. 5).
- Interpretative frameworks, conscious or unconsciously, shape our view of 'social reality', which in turn is shaped by our experience with that reality, meaning that those experiences too, are lived in the context of intersubjective meaning making (Yanow 2014b).
- An understanding of 'policy as discourse', reflecting particular beliefs values and power positions (Bacchi, 2000).
- That policy does not have a single meaning, but instead means different things to different people, conveyed in more than one way, not least of which, is the interpretive process of reading (Yanow, 2006a)
- Researchers engage in subjective interpretation from the first moment of engagement with the research process Therefore, it is not only impossible for researchers to be distant and objective, but undesirable (Hatch, 2002, p. 15)

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a research methodology that has its roots in critical linguistics, dating back to the work of Wittgenstein in the 1920's, and later Rorty's 1967 anthology, *The Linguistic Turn*', and is based on the premise that language and grammar can be used as ideological instruments (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Mayr, 2008). CDA as a methodological approach, is utilised extensively within the literature. But of particular relevance are the studies by Liasidou, who has used this methodology to examine and critique inclusive education policy-making (Liasidou, 2016, 2014, 2011, 2008).

Subsuming a variety of approaches, depending on the aims of the study and the theoretical framework adopted, CDA is a problem-oriented, interdisciplinary, social science research approach, bringing together social theory and textual analysis (Hyatt, 2013,a,b). As a methodology, it is both a creative and reflective process (Webb, 2014). However, a focus on discourse alone is not enough; the researcher needs to adopt a specific perspective from which to view how discourse operates socially and within policy contexts (Ockwell & Rydin, 2010). Viewed through the lens of interpretivism, it is not just a means of describing social processes and structures, but is viewed as creating, supporting and enabling them (Saarinen, 2008).

While this study is firmly based on a Foucauldian-inspired version of discourse analysis, Fairclough's (2003) three-dimensional framework for conceiving and analysing discourse, and Wodak's (2001) discourse historical approach, are also relevant to this study, inspiring the Hyatt CDA Framework (2013a). Employed here as method, the Hyatt's framework brings a focus to the linguistic features, choices and patterns in vocabulary, linked to the cohesion and structure of the policy narrative.

CDA and Policy Analysis

As a research methodology, CDA is particularly appropriate for critical policy analysis, allowing the researcher to systematically investigate the complex relationship between language and other social processes, including power, structures and institutions. In so doing, it helps make visible values and power relations behind policy text—going beyond mere guesswork to demonstrate how policy texts work. CDA recognises that the prioritisation and presentation of policy issues are the result of power relations, contestations and conflicts, and that 'what is real' depends on what is 'presented as real' by those in positions of power. Government's conceptualisation of policy enjoys a particularly privileged position, given that their understandings 'stick'—meaning, their 'version' of problems (and solutions) actually get enacted and implemented, taking on "lives of their own…they exist in the real" (Bacchi 2009, p. 33).

Thus, CDA as employed in this study, focuses on how policy positions are sustained by examining the way policy problem and subsequent solutions are linguistically framed. Hyatt (2013a) explains the multidisciplinary nature of CDA in utilising both linguistic and social analyses in transdisciplinary approach, examining social practices "both within and beyond discipline boundaries to seek the possibilities of new perspectives", (p. 42). Language from this perspective, is not an isolated phenomenon, but a deeply social, intricately interwoven in social norms and values. The combination of the linguistic and social analysis in CDA, makes it a particularly useful tool for critical policy analysis.

Ockwell and Rydin (2010, p. 170) points to three distinct benefits of the policy as discourse analytical approach: Firstly it facilitates an understanding of different policy actor perspectives and their self-presentation within the policy process, as expressed through language; the argument being that language is not only a medium of

communication, but is constitutive of actors, their identities, and their values; secondly, attention to language allows consideration of how actors' power is at least, in part discursive—that is, how policy actors use language to convey meaning, build arguments and legitimate claims, by means of links and references to prevailing societal discourses; and thirdly, the discursive elements allows the possibility of discover new modes of communication to achieve normatively better policy outcomes, the communication between actors being, not just a matter of how that communication is arranged, but the language of the interaction also needs to be considered. These benefits create a discursive space, from which to being a process of engagement in the politics of change, which is primarily what this study is essentially about.

Critical Discourse Analysis and Social Change

Research methodology and social change are intrinsically connected. Within the literature, there are ample studies exemplifying the role that CDA plays in forwarding a 'change agenda' (Liasidou, 2016, Pinto, 2011; Bacchi, 2000). CDA is an "emancipatory research tool" (Liasidou, 2008, p. 495) that has the potential to threaten the authoritarian discourses imbedded in educational policy agendas and texts. By drawing attention to the meaning making that is constructed in policy text and debates, policy-as-discourse analysts adopt and adapt the concept of discourse in creative ways, to forward and achieve their goals, and agenda for change (Bacchi 2000). Change can be difficult however, not only because of reform opposition, but because the ways in which issues are represented, have a bearing on reform effort, as this study shall exemplify. Power struggles are often reflected in discursive practices (Hyatt 2006). Consequently, Pinto argues that policy texts are therefore excellent ways "to study how relations of power are enacted in discourse and with what sorts of consequences" (Pinto, 2011, p. 2/13). Similarly, Hyatt (2006. P. 114) views policy texts as "central tools" of the trade of critical policy analysts.

In this process of selection and interpretation, CDA allows for an exploration of the relationship between language, power actors and relations. Through an analysis of the articulated language of CES, CDA has the potential to reveal the underlying normative frameworks embedded within the assumptions of the proposals therein. Through CDA, this study is committed to exposing hierarchical relations and discriminatory discourses

within Irish policy-making, with a view to challenging the ways in which people with disabilities experience subordination and oppression (Liasidou, 2016). Following Liasidou (2016; 2014), I am particularly interested in understanding why the publication of the strategy in particular, and the aspiration of inclusive education generally, has been so slow and difficult to achieve in Ireland. This is particularly relevant given the length of time it has taken to bring this policy to publication stage.

Problematisation

Foucauldian-inspired problematisation steps back into the story here, through its links with interpretivism and poststructuralism. When used in the context of a political endeavour, the term implies an understanding that the study takes place at a deeper level than commonly assumed in everyday usage (Bacchi 2015). The interpretive approach is associated with this concept, via its "commitment to questioning foundational conceptions of the political subject" (ibid, p. 2), while Foucault-influenced poststructuralists critically perceive problematisations as the ways in which 'problems' are constituted and represented in governmental policies and practices. Problematisation in this role, challenges the notion that governments react to 'pre-existing', problems; instead, it is assumed that "every policy by its nature, constitutes a problematisation" (ibid, p. 31), and by extension, that we are all ruled through problematisations, rather than policies.

Arising out of its function as a verb in this instance, Bacchi (2015 p. 2) posits that governments are seen to be implicit in the creation of problems by extension of the fact that 'to problematise' is to 'put forward' certain issues for problem-solving, supported by an ever increasing number of state advisory bodies and "partisan networks" (Webb, 2014, p. 365). Performing the role of methodology here, problematisation acts as the "terms of reference" (Bacchi, 2012b, p. 1) within which disability and inclusion are cast for questioning and interrogation in chapter five. In seeking to address the legitimacy gap and naturalistic fallacy that Higgins (President of Ireland, 2015) and Quinn (2015) respectively highlight, the interrogation that takes place in chapter five, can be described therefore as a "recursive methodology that seeks difference and complexity in thinking…rather than a recursion that seeks repetition of the same" (Webb, 2014, p. 369). To interrogate however, is not to pose questions from any particular standpoint;

problematisation involves the conceptualisation of thought devoid of *a priori* views and the wisdom of established practices or beliefs (Marshall, 2007). Webb (2014) challenges educational researchers to engage in problem development and problem design, drawing attention to the politics of problem formulations, which creates "manufactured crises for desired and already designed solutions" (p. 366). In other words, this is a critique of CES from a critical disability studies perspective—a matter of pointing out the "familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought that the practices we accept, rest upon" (Vehmas & Watson, 2014, p. 640).

Ball (1995) calls on the creative possibilities of problematisation, in challenging education policy researchers to de-familiarise themselves from common social practices and categories of everyday usage, "to open up spaces for the invention of new forms of experience" (p. 266). Aligning with this approach, this study is constructed upon thinking problematically, in order to explore "how and to what extent it might be possible to think differently, instead of what is already known" (Foucault, 1977, p. 9). Problematisation here can be understood as the darkroom conditions, within which the critique of CES is undertaken, focusing on the exploration and development of alternative creative opportunities, rather than on a problem-focused approach to perceived 'fixed' social problems.

Similarly, Yates (2015) points to the potential of Foucauldian analytics for a radical critique of neoliberal politics and policy-making. However, whilst advocating this approach to disrupt assumptions provided by neoliberal governmental rationalities, he argues that "they do not, in and of themselves, suggest a form of critique that is capable of mounting an effective challenge to the neoliberal consensus". Thus, Yates challenges Foucault-inspired researchers to ally with other methodologies available from this perspective, which can in addition "diagnose and respond to problems of social exclusion, economic disadvantage, and the marketisation of the social" (p. 84). Bacchi (2009) on this matter, suggests being particularly watchful for the use of contested concepts, such as 'inclusion' and 'mainstreaming'—the underlying rule being, they have no fixed meanings. Whilst the purpose with this approach is not to devalue the achievements of disability inclusion or mainstreaming, it is to turn the focus on the politics and interaction that have been used in order to give shape to the political vision

sought after. Once you apply this this rule to contested concepts she argues, the politics involved in the use of concepts immediately become apparent.

So, it is from within this frame of thinking that I pursue a critical discursive analysis of CES, through a hybridised methodology of problematisation and CDA using the metaphor of snapshot. While the approach taken here is not suggesting that the issues of employment and low participation rates of people with disabilities are not real, what I am suggesting is that affixing the label 'problem' to these issues, casts them in ways that need to be interrogated. Given the 'comprehensive' pitch of CES, the aim following is to disrupt the commonly held assumption that once a policy is published, a great success has been achieved. With this in mind, the snapshot metaphor can thus be stretched to incorporate the idea of a 'red carpet interview' with CES on 'her' journey into implementation—except, it is more of an interrogation, and at no stage is it assumed that this policy is driven by social change (Bacchi, 2009).

Part Two

There being no precise 'formula' or best way to conduct critical discourse analysis, the method adopted depends entirely upon the nature, circumstances and aims of the study (van Dijk, 2013). While some of the literature recommends the researcher to simply start the analysis and "let the actual ways of working and thinking about the material evolve" (Jóhannesson, 2010, p. 256), having never had a grounding or experience with either methodology or method before, this approach did not appeal to me. Being an interpretive policy artefact, interpretation of language and discursive constructions is the most appropriate method for analysing CES, given that the concerns therein are subject to human meaning. To this end, and in order to bring a sense of order to the analytical task (which soon evaporated, I hasten to add), I started off on my research journey both methods sitting side by side—neatly in my camera box. Not surprisingly however, what sprang from this box 'on location' was far from ordered, neat or tidy, but instead a mess of interwoven tentacles, weaving their way through my thoughts and writing, representing Bacchi (2009) and Hyatt (2013a) each eager to work together, in creating the narrative that is chapter four and five—Hyatt doing the background digging, Bacchi asking the difficult questions; good cop, bad cop strategy.

Hyatt's CDA Framework

Hyatt's framework (2013a) is an evolving methodological approach into the field of educational research in general, and the field of higher education more specifically. The framework was developed as an analytical and heuristic framework for the critical analysis of higher education policy texts, "grounded in considerations of relationships and flows between language, power and discourse" (p. 41). Based on Fairclough's (2003) CDA perspective, it aligns with Ball's (1993, p. 16) concern for taking into consideration "influences of contexts and those of practice". Coming from a "transdisciplinary orientation" (Hyatt & Meraud, 2015, p. 222), I selected this framework because of its potential to combine a Foucauldian approach with discourse theory and a critical perspective of policy as discourse. In addition, the framework allows me to examine the policy from a macro and micro level; the former through contextualisation and interdiscursivity, understood here as the "diverse ways in which genres and discourses interpenetrate each other" (Hyatt, 2005a, p. 53), the latter by

means of intertextuality and a range of other discursive tools proffered by Hyatt (2013a, 2005a).

Contextualising CES

Context matters hugely in this study, as indeed it does in all matters relating to policy-making. Discourses do not ascribe meanings to texts in isolation but instead knit them together to form contextual narratives. The contextualisation aspect of the analysis explores the interdependent relationship between CES and its political, social and historical contexts, recognising that discourse is not just a matter of text and ideas—but encapsulates the context in which the ideas are developed and promoted (Tsarouhas & Ladi, 2013). Hyatt's framework therefore, is key in providing for the temporal aspect of the analysis, which eventually worked its way into chapter four.

Central to undertaking a temporal reading of CES, is the conceptualisation of time from both a synchronic and a diachronic context (Hyatt, 2005b). Peters (2007) adds another layer to this understanding, describing the relationship between historical occasions and social contexts as an "unpredictable and fluid tangle requiring a critical analysis that delves beneath the chronology of policy as event" (p. 100). Linking the language of CES to its broader social and political context, provides an insight into the processes of social and cultural change taking place through a synchronic context, and over the course of the diachronically relevant era (Hyatt 2005b). In undertaking the critical reading of CES therefore, it is necessary to locate the policy itself within its surrounding discourses, drawing on the larger immediate and long-term context, locating the 'moments of hubris' when such discourses become universally accepted into the lexicon of Irish policy-making. Hyatt's (2013a) 'epoch' based on Foucault's concept of 'episteme' (1972) takes centre stage at this point, understood here as the discourses of a particular era, naturalised into acceptance as "the way things are" (p. 48). Particular attention therefore, is given to how epistemes are constructed and reinforced, through what is included and excluded in the narrative: "evidence of the discourse at work in their guise as sets of statements" (Potter, Wetherell, Gill, & Edwards , 1990, p. 209). Thus, while there is a consideration of the socio-political context within and of itself, in addition there is an exploration of how context functions to influence the institutional, discursive and generic features of the text under scrutiny (Hyatt, 2005b).

Deconstructing CES

Hyatt's (2013a) concept of warrant and strategies of legitimation are central to the reading of CES presented in chapter four, engaging directly with text and discourse, through Bacchi's (2009) WPR questions one two and three. Following Liasidou (2008), attention is paid to the "tiniest and most inconsequential linguistic utterances", assumed here to convey the "subjugating effects of discourse, something that is especially relevant to the field of disability studies, where issues of labelling, stigmatization and 'bad mouthing' have played a significant role in the oppression and marginalization of disabled people" (p. 484). Appendix 1, therefore provides a snapshot of one of many layers of deconstruction in this study, using both CDA and WRPR in the interpretive darkroom of analytical development.

Warrant

Of central importance to this analysis, is the rhetorical structure, which argument theory calls 'the warrant'. Cherney (2011, np) identifies warrant as that "self-authorising statement" connecting the grounds of an argument (also called 'data') to the claims it is making. Hyatt (2013a, p. 50-51) draws on Cochran-Smith and Fries (2001) conceptualisation of warrant, understood as "the justification, authority, or reasonable grounds …established for some act course of action statement or belief", which is categorised into evidentiary, accountability and political warrant respectively. Evidentiary warrant refers to a justification on the basis of the perceived credibility and trustworthiness of evidence provided, often found in the form of statistics, figures, and forecasts, constructed in such a way as to position the arguments offered as uncontestable. This is of particular interest to the study given the heavy dense nature of the evidence section of CES (p. 23-40). Political warrant on the other hand, is justified by means of the state or public interest; paternalistic or charitable discourses frequently accompany warrants of this nature, particularly in relation to issues of inclusion and social justice (Liasidou, 2016). A political warrant is often rhetorically linked to an accountability warrant, expressed through concern or pondered consideration for what 'ought to be done', sometimes inferring overtly or covertly, potential negative outcomes of an alternative approach or indeed, lack thereof (Reyes, 2011). Mythopoesis acts a discursive strategy in itself, functioning as a form of 'myth-

making' legitimating device (Yanow 2014, a&b) in leveraging support for positions adopted.

Strategies of Legitimation

Reyes's (2011) extends a depended understanding of each of the modes offered by Hyatt's framework, drawing attention to the concept of 'linguistic intentionality'; intentionality is fundamentally related to political discourse and the act of legitimation. By means of explanation, Reyes highlights how strategies of legitimation in political speech acts, tend to be used by political leaders to "justify their political agenda to maintain or alter the direction of a whole nation" (p. 783). The questions that need to be asked of strategies of legitimation, Liasidou (2010) argues, "are highly political, requiring a perennial critical enquiry into the ways in which issues of exclusion and marginalisation are rationalised and legitimised" (p. 226). Hyatt's framework encompasses four modes of deconstruction through legitimation, each playing a critical role in this study, as can be seen from appendix 1, which traces the dominant discursive themes and their respective portraits in chapter four.

Authorisation

Strategies of authorisation refers to the degree to which political actors legitimate their policy solutions through authoritative forms of expertise, in order to strengthen the position of their proposals. Carefully selected 'voices of expertise' are frequently foregrounded in policy discourse to demonstrate that experts within the field are backing the proposal with their knowledgeable statements (Reyes 2011). Precision and exactness are widely used as part of this strategy, drawing on statistics to endorse or partly support the claims made by those legitimating the policy. This aspect of the analysis therefore, looks specifically for instances of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, meaning reference to or borrowings from other texts, and the ways in which discourses interpenetrate each other respectively. Of particular interest here is the relationship between the discourses of 'special needs education' to that of CES, examining the voices, data and experts presented, for evidence of same. This aspect of the analysis, includes an examination of the extent to which key political actors are positioned within the discursive space of the narrative; this in particular, plays a key role as the story of CES unfolds.

Rationalisation:

This strategy typically presents policy solutions as a product of a heeded, evaluated and considered process, implying a form of what Van Leeuwen (2008) calls 'theoretical rationalisation' to the problem solving process. Reyes (2011) stresses the importance of viewing this legitimating strategy as a modus operandi, encouraging an examination of how and what is considered rational, and in turn, an interrogation, for what it reveals about the underlying assumptions of the discourse. Attention is particularly required here to both evert and covert discourses, the obvious often masking more subtle forms of justification.

Moral Evaluation & Mythopoesis

Moral evaluation as a mode of legitimation, works by way of an appeal to a value system around what is good or desirable, where these evaluations are seen as ideological and linked to specific discourses" (Hyatt, 2013a, p. 53). Often manifesting themselves as appeals to emotions, allowing the policy strategist a window into the conscience of the reader, the intention with this strategy is to influence the opinions of their audience, with regard to a sense of what is morally right or justifiable, being closely linked to the political and accountability warrants. Furthermore, this legitimation strategy can be used in conjunction with and even supported by mythopoesis, by means of narrative inference as to what might happen if a particular course of action is, or is not pursued. This is not to suggest however that the neatly packaged modes of legitimation presented here operate in isolation from one another; on the contrary—at times it was difficult to detangle these strategies from each other, as appendix 1 illuminates.

Bacchi's WPR Approach

And now to the other lens in the study's toolbox. The WPR approach is a questioning tool, located within an interpretive policy paradigm, which facilitates the critical interrogation of policy text and policy processes. By shifting the focus from a 'problem solving' paradigm to one of 'problem questioning', WPR challenges "the ways in which 'problems' are commonly conceptualised in policy-making and policy analyses" (2010, p. 1). In this way it serves to disrupt taken for granted assumptions and knowledge while creating spaces for new ways of thinking about such issues at the same time

(Marshall, 2012). The WPR approach therefore, has been used throughout this study as an alternative mode of thinking, making for a deeper exploration of "policy as constitutive…enmeshed in a focus on the political dimension of problem creation" (Bacchi, 2009, p. 4). A key aspect of the 'WPR' approach as a critical policy analysis tool, is also to make transparent the politics of research, recognising that research itself is, as Bacchi argues, "by no means neutral" (ibid, p. 15) but rather, is always a political act with social consequences. Recognising this, the study proposes to capture a series of portraits in chapter four from a critical reading of the policy text, which in turn facilitates a deep and critical interrogation of their embedded assumptions in chapter five.

WPR is comprised of six questions (Bacchi 2009, p. 2), which are used for further probing as intended:

1. What is the problem represented to be in CES?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?
3. How has this representation of the problem come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the problem be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?
6. Where or how has this representation of the problem been produced disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

The Questions Explored

Further exploration of the questions provides a brief for conducting the red-carpet interview. Question one helps to clarify the implicit problem representation within the policy document itself. Following Bacchi's formula, the quest for the policy problematisation starts with the postulated solutions (the six strategic priorities of CES) and works backwards. As Bacchi explains "see what the policy proposes and 'read off' the implied problem" from here (2009 p. 48). Riddell (2012) also notes the importance of examining a policy's "chosen solutions" as they are a clear indication of "how we are governed" (p. 851). However, in the interests of trustworthiness, I employed a cross-checking strategy via Hyatt's (2013a) legitimating strategies, in order to locate and

pinpoint overt warrant within the text. Comparing the two as a form of triangulation, I then identified the supposition from which to proceed to question two.

Question two calls for a form of Foucauldian archaeology, a reflection on the underlying assumptions within the problematisation, looking for what is included, foregrounded, back-grounded and excluded, the aim being to pinpoint the conceptual logic operating behind the text. Conceptual logic here is understood as "meanings' that must be in place in order for a particular problem representation to make sense" (Bacchi, 2009, p. 5). Following Liasidou (2008), question two seeks to interrogate "the linguistic paraphernalia" (p. 484) of CES, identifying key concepts, binaries and categories. Through this lens, consideration is also given to what the policy expressions might reveal about broader sets of ideas on the role and interrelationships between the State, education, welfare, society and its citizens. A guiding premise surrounding this question is the pre-supposition that "policy is a 'creative' rather that a 'reactive' process; hence the need to examine how issues are shaped" (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010, p. 53). Thus, the five key portraits emerging from chapter four represent those assumptions that this study argues, need to be in place, for such representations to occur.

Backdrop matters to all snapshots, and to fully understand and appreciate the thrust and implications of CES for Irish society, it is essential to extend the frame to include the wider social, economic and political landscape into which, this strategy was launched. Question three requires a form of Foucauldian genealogy, focusing on the practices and processes—the 'conditions, ' in other words, "that allow these particular representation to assume dominance in the policy.   What is being snapped and studied through this lens is not the concept disability in itself, but rather, how it came to be and is actively constituted as a problem resulting in a national strategy to address it. Addressing this question requires a sharpened awareness of power differentials operate in the construction of a problem representation, tracing 'that' moment when 'inclusion of people with disabilities in employment' emerged and was established as a problem to be rectified. Furthermore, Hyatt's temporal and synchronic concepts allows me to consider the discursive context surrounding the conception, gestation and birth of CES, against the diachronic relevance of emerging discourses of the studied epoch.

The aspect of the analysis also draws on advice from Mayr (2008, p. 7) who argues "that to fully and critically interpret text, we must work out what the writer is *doing* through discourse, and how this *doing* is linked to wider interpersonal, institutional, socio-cultural and material contexts". The process of contextualising the policy also considers related policy texts and media reports, in order to identify the common themes, discourses, accepted norms and concepts of the policy era in question. This exemplifies how textual practices are social practices, taking place within social, historical and political contexts, bringing into focus the interrelationship between agency and structure, whilst acknowledging "the dialectical nature of the relationship between the individual and society, and informing how structural and institutional properties of society play a part in the constantly dynamic transformation of the (self)-construction of individuals" (Hyatt, 2013a, p. 48). An inter-textual approach adds weight to the arguments, providing a more balanced perspective of the core text and its relationship to the wider discursive practices of the epoch that it sits within.

The cross-cultural comparisons across time in question three, helps us to think about the relationship between disability and government policy in question four. This relationship is a product of a particular way of thinking about disability, and thus thinking and enacting the practice of governing disability, which is "neither neutral, natural, nor apolitical" (Bletsas, 2012, p. 40).   To problematise this policy therefore, it is necessary to look at the wider configuration of governing practices impacting on disability. Guiding questions offered by Jóhannesson's (2010), focus on a snowball type questioning here, looking at the significance of timing of the policy publication, what is happening in the disability policy arena, nationally and internationally, along with their relevance. In this way, the WPR approach allows me to shift the focus from 'problem-solving' aspect to one of 'problem-questioning', by grasping the taken-for-granted ways of thinking, and turning them into questions.

When discourses are approached primarily as linguistic artefacts' it is important to pay attention to both what is in the picture and what is not (Fairclough, 2010). Understanding the 'silent meaning' of a text is a valuable skill in the field of educational research (Jóhannesson, 2010; Taylor 1997). 'Silences', Liasidou argues (2008, p. 492), "have an equally pervasive bearing" on the ways that people with disability are

constructed and positioned within policy documents. Hence, a core element of this aspect of the study is bringing to the surface, structured silences of educational disadvantage. Tormey's (2010) study of Irish educational disadvantage was key to this endeavour, providing a lens with which to undertake a "contrapuntal" (p. 190) reading of the discourses on educational reform in Ireland, thus opening up a space for challenge, contestation and critique, while considering new problematisations, which are of course open to the same scrutiny in turn.

Question five directs us to be mindful of the ways in which the dominant discourses and problem representations have real and meaningful effects for lived and living bodies (Eveline & Bacchi, 2010). Goodwin (2012) reminds us that WPR, as a mode of critical practice, is key to highlighting the politics of research. Following Goodwin, the proposals of CES are taken as political interventions in 'the real', by the meanings they introduce and establish as 'truth', affecting how people with disabilities are perceived, treated and how they live their lives. Bacchi (2009) identifies three types of interconnected effects: discursive, subjectification and lived effects. Discursive effects include what is discussed and not discussed, paying attention to how particular forms of 'knowledge' frame certain issues in certain ways. Subjectification effects, examine how people are thought about, and how they think about themselves; how various policy actors, be they individuals or institutions, are positioned within particular understandings of the problem. Following an intersectional approach espoused by Liasidou, (2014) particular attention is paid to the "pervasive effects of normalcy in creating subordinate identities and negative attitudes towards disability and difference" (p. 125). Marston (2008) offers further guiding questions at this stage, asking how people with disability are named and framed through the discourse of CES, looking out for traits, characteristics, qualities and features attributed to them. Thus, in what it includes and what it leaves out, this aspect of the analysis is actively constructing a mirror image of what it means to be a person with a disability in Ireland in the 21st century—portrait one of chapter four. And lastly moving beyond the linguistic determinism of the discourse, the study addresses the lived experiences created by this form of problematisation. While an examination of the impact of CES on the lived experience of people with disabilities is not within the scope of this study, particular

attention is drawn to effects of 'this way of thinking' on the lives of people with disabilities. However, it is possible to draw on up-to-date Irish studies, which have documented the lived effects on people with disabilities and their families, as they navigate the disability legislative framework and the special needs education system; Scanlon, et al (2014) and Perry and Clarke (2015) provide rich evidence in this regard. Through question five therefore, the study examines how the problematisation of disability is shaped by, and shapes competing discourses, examining the implication of hegemonic positions on the State's aspirations towards an inclusive agenda.

Question six calls for us to consider alternative representations of the problem representation. The shared goal of questions three and six, is to heighten awareness of the forms of power embedded within problem representations; as Rix (2011, p. 264) notes "a key expression of power within a discourse, is the meanings associated with terms within that discourse". Ball (2009) also advises that it is important to consider the "increasing variety of 'business opportunities', including new forms of outsourcing, which are emerging, as more of the business of the education state is divested and privatised" (p. 84). The study therefore examines what and whose interests are served through this problematisation, and whose are not.

Taken together, Bacchi (2011, p. 37) explains that analysis through these six questions, amount to a form of "political reflexivity" allowing for a critical understanding of how "we as social individuals are positioned within systems of governance, through which concepts, hierarchies, boundaries and processes of subjectification are experienced and culturally reproduced". A unique feature of this study therefore, is the interplay of the two analytical lenses, Hyatt's and Bacchi's, focusing together to form the frame, within which CES is shot and interrogated. The "methodological flexibility" of both the 'WPR approach (Marshall 2012, p. 54), and Hyatt's CDA Framework (2016, personal communication), facilitates and indeed encourages the inter-impregnation and innovative hybridisation of methods.

Mapping the Interpretive Moments

In attempting to show how the methodologies and methods sit within the interpretive framework, table 1 is designed to show the research process through Yanow's four interpretive moments (2014b, p. 20).

Table 1 Mapping the Interpretive Moments of the Study

Yanow's Interpretive Moments CDA Approach	Method	Research Process and Outputs
Moment One Initial interpretations of the phenomena under study CDA Approach *Policy as Discourse*	Problematization Bacchi WPR approach Reading, writing, thinking Engaging with the Literature Hyatt's CDA Framework (Warrant)	*Pre-launch* DFI press releases Initial evaluations of drafts Emily Logan Press Release *Post Launch* Selection of core text Surrounding texts, media reports, press release Aims of the study and research questions Constructing the theoretical and methodological framework
Moment Two Making sense of related contextual material CDA Approach	WPR approach Q1-3 Hyatt CDA Framework Temporal Context Warrant Legitimating Strategies Deconstruction Discursive strategies	Multiple readings, Draft thoughts ideas, themes emerging, checking, reading around the policy event Lines of thought considered/developed, pursued/abandoned/ modified/crystallised Related to the literature: searching, checking, testing, formulating arguments Draft Reading and Critique Chapters
Moment Three Analysis and writing up CDA	Bacchi's WPR: Q4-6 Hyatt CDA: Contextualisation and Deconstruction	Reading, crafting, shaping, smoothing, checking, polishing, finalising
Moment Four Readings and 'hearing' of the dissertation	Reading, critiquing, debating, exploring.	Published Thesis Framed Snapshot: Open to multiple interpretations (interpretations of interpretations) Publications

1a Selection of the Core Texts

The first interpretive moment involves two inter-related processes in this study—the selection of the core text and the formulation of the research questions.   Mapped to this study, the first moment involves initial observations of the actual policy event, interpreted here as pre and post-launch of CES. This stage includes observations about

other policy events surrounding the launch in the media and political arena, including my thoughts in anticipation of, and as the strategy was being published. DFI were engaged in the consultation process via the Disability Stakeholder's Group, so I was also aware of how the policy was 'received' in the voluntary disability sector. The choices faced at this stage of the research process were, what aspects of the text to focus on-- all or some? and whether to take detailed close ups or broad panoramic views of the data. Rather than prescribe at the beginning what aspects to focus on, I let the story of the interpretation take its own course and self-select the data. What emerged in the end was a mixture of both approaches, sharp focus and wide angle perspectives, across the entire 77 pages of text, including its appendices. Following my commitment to transparency and trustworthiness, a thick description of the data from CES is presented in snapshot form, throughout chapters four and five.

1b. Formulating the Research Questions

WPR (Bacchi, 2009) and Hyatt's Framework (2013a) played a significant role in shaping the aims of this study, each providing a vehicle, with which to apply a problematic lens to the generation and formulation of the research questions. Alvesson and Sandberg (2011) offered a guide on using problematisation as a methodology for formulating the research questions, while Hyatt's warrant (2013a) in particular underpins research question 1 of this study. The combination of approaches kick-started a critical mode of 'thinking' about the policy under study. As the research questions crystallised, so too did the theoretical framework supporting this study; the process being an iterative one, reflexively moving between theory and questions, methodology and methods, sharpening and focusing all the time, until their final presentation in chapter one.

2. Selecting the Reading Frame

Bacchi's (2009) WPR questions one to three were used to undertake a critical reading of CES, using strategies of legitimation and warrant to triangulate the outcome of WPR's question one. Put simply, I identified the problematisation in CES using both Hyatt (2013a) and Bacchi's (2009) tools, and I got the same answer (appendix 1). In addressing WPR question three, Hyatt's framework proved particularly useful in adding a structure to approach the genealogy of the policy. In other words, I contextualised

CES using the headings from Hyatt's temporal context precisely, applying them in linear fashion, and wrote it up into a chapter, thinking I would slot it straight into question three. However, I soon realised that I needed to 'loosen the frame' and let the context form its own composition, working with WPR question three, using Hyatt's headings more as pointers than checkboxes. This proved an innovative way to critically examine social and political developments across space and time, following Bacchi's conceptualisation of policy as "travelling problem representations, whose journey needs to be tracked" (2009, p. xx). The immediate socio-political context, although difficult to capture, was particularly pertinent to the study, extending into the 'wrapping up' stage of the study. Here I got to experience first-hand, that oft-talked-about 'messiness' (Taylor, 1997) that is the analytical process; moving between data, theory, literature and media, as the political landscape kept unfolding dramatically changing day by day. This is not to say that the longer term view offered by Hyatt's (2013a) temporal context was not as important in constructing the frame. Indeed, Higgins (2015) goes back to Milton Friedman's famous 1953 essay, *The Methodology of Positive Economics,* in tracing the genealogy of thought that defines neoliberalism today. And so, with this in mind, the study endeavours to trace the moments that define the discursive frame that constitutes CES, lining them up as part of the backdrop for chapter four, and their subsequent critique in chapter five through WPR and Hyatt's discursive tools.

3. Problematizing the Policy

The third interpretive moment involves the analysis and writing up of the interpretations and arguments contained in chapters four and five. Several iterations and drafts were involved at this stage, the writing process itself becoming part of the sense making and analytical logic, constructing perceptions of the subject under study, rather than a perceived reflection of it (Yanow, 2014b, p. 16-17). In following the theorised storyline trajectory offered by Golden-Biddle and Locke (2007), the position adopted behind this lens is that of 'field-knowledgeable storyteller', given my positioning 'of being there' when this policy event took place. Following Braidotti (2013) on the need for critical and creative thinking "about who and what we are actually in the process of becoming" (p. 12), the assumptions are synthesised into a series of

portraits, each with a corresponding caption, reflecting a key theme from the literature; each representing my construction of the "the assumed thought" (Bacchi 2009, p. 5) that lies behind the proposals of CES. By writing myself into the storyline as "participant in the field" (p. 77), I have adopted the voice of photographer and interviewer in the telling of this story.

4. *Publishing and Examining the Thesis*

The fourth moment of interpretation takes place at the point where reader, text and author intention interact, giving rise to an infinite set of interpretations, or triple-plus hermeneutics (Yanow, 2014b, p. 21), as each reader hypothetically brings a different interpretation to the reading.

In summary, this chapter divided the research design process into two key parts, outlining the methodology and method employed, respectively. The study is encompassed within an interpretive framework, underpinned by the premise that CES, as a form of knowledge, is interpretive. Problematisation as a methodology, is introduced showing its appropriateness to the study along with its interpretive methodological partner, CDA. A detailed description is provided in part one, showing how each of the approaches contribute to the achievement of this study's aims and objectives.

Part two introduces and describes the methods chosen to undertake the field work analysis, demonstrating how these work together within Yanow's (2014) interpretive framework. Hyatt's CDA Framework and Bacchi's WPR approach offer an exciting partnership in achieving the aims and objectives of this research endeavour, which as a reminder, is to stimulate a change in thinking, not just within those who hold privileged positions of power, but within the everyday social practices across society as a whole, including the self. And so, it is from this juncture that the process of reading and interrogating CES commences.

Chapter 4 A Critical Reading

This chapter is divided into two parts for ease of reading and following the trajectory of the story within. Part one is a guided tour of CES, via the table of contents (TOC) as a navigation tool, an annotated version of which is provided in appendix 2. Appendix 2 serves here to signpost various discursive aspects of CES, which will become the subject of further discussion in part two, linking this data directly to the five portraits emerging therein. Part one therefore, can be seen as an introduction to the evidence on which this study is based, providing the opening arguments to a more forensic interrogation of the data in part two and chapter five.

A key element of part one, is that of establishing the policy's positioning and authorship, which is key to locating CES within the inclusive education agenda that this study concerns itself with. This is achieved by way of intertextual evidence from the 'foreword' of CES, and a number of other sources presented in a series of exhibits in appendix 3. This foreword is also important, establishing the extent to which rhetoric plays a part in the discursive strategies of CES. Furthermore this is particularly useful in "recognising the constant negotiations between authorship and audience" in that discursive space within CES, where the "sedimentations of meanings" (Dolmage 2012, p. 2) are laid down by the Minister.

Part two picks up on this discussion, presenting a more detailed discursive analysis of the remainder of the data, set against five portraits, representing the key interpretations of this study. In presenting evidence to support my portraits, I take snapshots of the data from a systems view of a pdf version of the policy document, which allows for various aspects of the data to be highlighted through annotations, comments and mark-ups. Thus part two commences the problematisation element of the analysis and brings us to the point of critique, chapter five.

Part One: Introducing the Data.

Using the table of contents (TOC; appendix 2a) as a guide, it is possible to navigate the overall policy document at this point. Scanning TOC, we can see that CES is comprised of 76 numbered pages, including a foreword, introduction, three main headings labelled 1, 2, and chapter 3 (sic) respectively, followed by six appendices A-E (sic). The introduction section of CES (Government of Ireland p. 6; *for ease of reading in this and the next chapter, this reference will be cited as CES*) describes itself as having two main sections: section one sets out the overall strategic approach, section two, the detailed action plan for each of the proposals.

The foreword is a revealing piece of evidence, worth examining in full in appendix 3 (exhibit 3a), in order to re-orient the reader with the genealogy of this policy— the NDS (Government of Ireland, 2004). Although the Minister does not draw attention to the fact that CES is eleven years in the making, he does draw attention to the most recent process of consultation underway on the "*new* National Disability Inclusion Strategy 2016-2019" (emphasis added), thereby firmly locating CES within the inclusion agenda and reinforcing the thrust of NDS which was originally guided by the Cabinet Committee on Social Inclusion (appendix 3b).

Legitimating strategies are evident straight away in the foreword, by means of positive evaluative terms (Hyatt, 2005a) such as the "significant achievement" and the rhetoric of "fruition" (CES, p. 3), thereby establishing a self-congratulatory 'reaping of rewards' discourse, which is reinforced throughout the narrative. The attention to the word 'comprehensive' by the Minister in this section, immediately establishes the legitimacy for including this term in the title '*Comprehensive Employment Strategy*'. This is further legitimated in the introduction (p. 10), where CES allocates specific space to justifying its 'comprehensive status', as exhibited in appendix 3e.

Equally important is the Ministry from which this policy is launched. Signing the foreword is the Minister of State for New Communities, Culture, Equality and Drug Strategy, an interesting home, given that this strategy started out with the Department of Enterprise Trade and Innovation, a point expanded in part two. Very little is made by the Minister here, by way of locating CES within a rights based framework. Instead CES

is firmly aligned with the "co-ordinated approach" (CES, p. 3,) of the mainstreaming agenda established by NDS (Government of Ireland, 2004) eleven years prior. Thus, the sediments of the inclusion warrant are clearly laid down and established.

The foreword is equally important in establishing the authorship of CES, following Hyatt (2016). Enter 'voice of expertise' (Reyes, 2011) in the form of the National Disability Authority (NDA), the "independent state body providing expert advice on disability policy" (CES, p. 44), supported by a team of "senior officials" (p. 11), from a "full range Government Departments" (p.3)—the evidentiary warrant and authorisation to legitimate the proposals. The NDA worked on the detail of the strategy with senior civil servants and the 'Chief Executive Officer of KARE', founder member of the Irish Association of Supported Employment (IASE), who we are told was "invited by the Minister" (p. 11) to work on the development of CES. KARE is a charitable organisation, widely regarded in the inclusive education sector; it's privileged positioning on the Board of the National Council for Special Education (NCSE exhibit 3g), themselves authors of the national 'Inclusive Education Framework', (NCSE, 2014), is testimony to KARE's status and positioning within the co-ordinative discourse of inclusive education. Thus, CES is now firmly located within an inclusive education discourse, a significant point of departure for this study, kicking of the collage of evidence in figure 1.

Figure 1. Locating the Inclusive Education Agenda
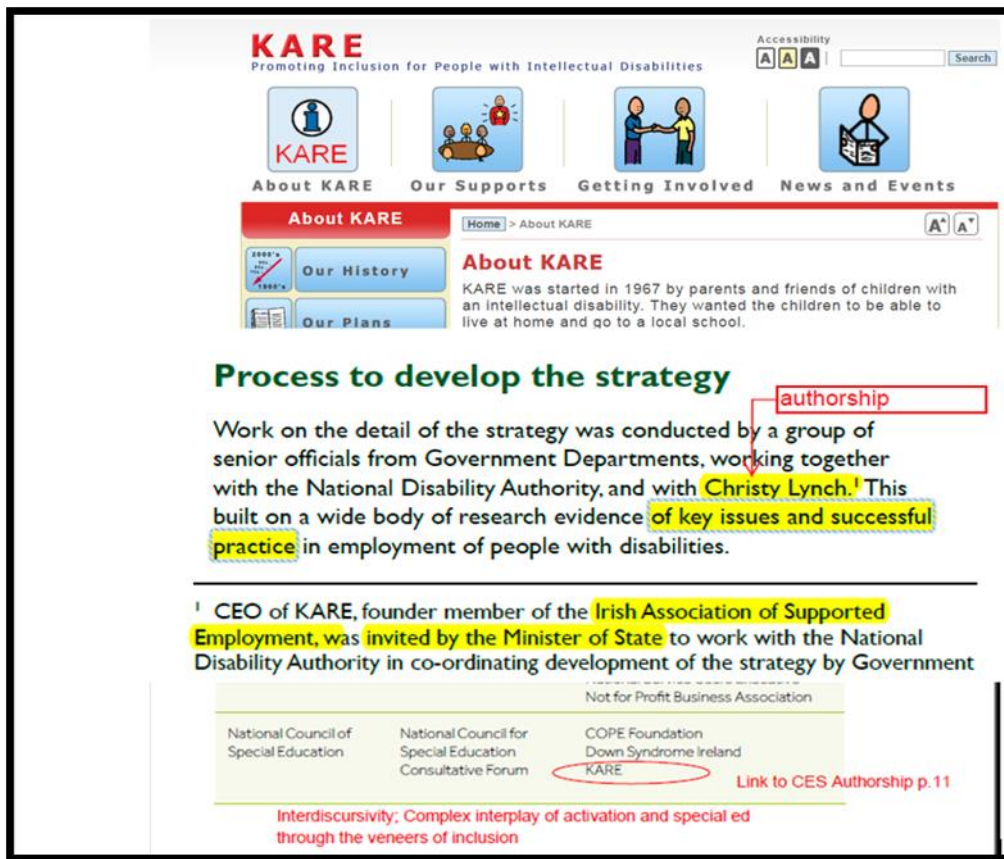
Returning to the foreword (exhibit 3a), "the complex nature of the strategy" is the reason given for establishing a new group to oversee implementation process. Although the group is to operate independently of Government, charity-boss of Barnados and columnist with the *'Irish Examiner'* Fergus Finlay, is appointed to chair and make periodic reports to the relevant Minister, who in turn, will report to two heavyweight Cabinet Sub-Committees—Economic Recovery & Jobs and Social Policy and Public Service Reform committees respectively (p. 42); the bolded text framing the former committee in appendix 3d, signifies the importance given to the economic and recovery agenda. The appointment of Finlay serves to further reinforce the connection with special needs education, by virtue of his strong association with the visit of Special Olympics to Ireland in 2003. A self-declared exponent of Taoiseach Enda Kenny as appendix 3c testifies, Finlay's appearance here resonates with the 'silencing of dissent' surrounding the coordinative discourse of Irish policy-making, which Lynch (2013) and others (Murphy 2012; Phelan 2007) have noted in their critiques.

The role of the NDA here is significant too, not just in terms of its authorised status across the pages of CES, but more so in terms of its role in co-ordinating the consultation process. Appendix C of CES (CES, p. 67) provides rich data on the coordinative discourse surrounding this policy's development in the form of 'points raised' under each of the strategic priorities and captured for further reference in appendix 4. The 'helpline' to be established by the NDA is also noteworthy, indicating the only action warranting specific attention by the Minister, a clue to evidence of a charitable employer discourse that "comforts those it is supposed to confront" (Rix, 2011, p. 275).

The TOC provides a clear view of the six strategic priorities in bolded text, which are the key proposals around which the policy is constructed. Proposals 1 and 2 specifically, provide a useful window on the positioning of education within this policy. Each of the proposals are key sources of evidence in themselves and will be subjected to a process of deconstruction in part two. Scrolling down the TOC gives an indication of the key themes that are developed throughout the remainder of this study. The introduction is an insightful piece of evidence, the 'vision and underpinning values' in particular (p. 4) revealing some of mental frameworks awaiting within CES. The rhetoric of 'flows into joblessness' in TOC, hints at a 'workfare' discourse, its prolific use as axiomatically problematic, appears no less than 13 times throughout the first section of CES alone.

Moving down the TOC to sections 2 'evidence and context', brings us to a key focus of this study—the legitimating strategies and evidentiary basis underpinning the warrant and policy problematisation. This is a particularly important section, spanning 17 pages, presenting an array of 'key facts', 'key learning' and a number of infographs, which will form a key focal point in constructing all five portraits in chapter four, and their subsequent questioning in chapter five. The 'policy context' locating CES within a discourse of human rights and equality warrants further attention, given the Ministry this policy emanates from, while 'issues for employers' is a key site of evidence in locating the demand side interventions within Lynch's (2013) careless State and 'virtuous patron' discourse.

The headings within 'Chapter 3' provides a strategic view of the plan for implementation; the role of the NDA is again significant here. The section of appendices are key sources of evidence also. The appendices are significant in size, appendix A, the three year action plan in particular taking up fifteen pages alone, providing a thick description of the first cycle of three yearly action plans, and a glimpse of policy steering and the discourse of new public management. The action plans for the strategic propriety 1 and 2 specifically, provide a key source of evidence in locating a discourse of special needs education within the contours of CES, snapshots of which will feature strongly in part two, while Appendix B will be a key site of interrogation in chapter five especially.

This ends the whistle-stop but nevertheless guided tour of TOC and introduction to the evidence. From here, we enter the darkroom of interpretation for an introduction to the framed portraits constructed in this study.

Part Two: Framing the Problematisation in CES

The starting point from which this analysis proceeds is CES' problematisation. Following Bacchi (2009) this involves zooming in on the proposals, which are

1. Build skills, capacity and independence
2. Provide bridges and supports into work
3. Make work pay
4. Promote job retention and re-entry to work
5. Provide co-ordinated and seamless support
6. Engage employers

(CES, p. 3)

The strategic priorities, hereinafter referred to as proposals, are heavily weighted towards supply side interventions, five being directly aimed at the individual, the sixth towards employers. Proposal 1 and 2 put forward supportive measures targeted directly at people with disabilities. The stated intent of the first being that "each person with a disability will have the education, skills, competence and independence to gain employment" (p. 5), while proposal 2 intends to provide "individualised bridges and supports" (p. 14). Proposals 3, 4 and 5 focus on easing transitions from disability payments to work and vice versa, including the provision of 'ready reckoners' for assisting in cost-benefit analysis between take home pay and disability payments.

Working backwards from the stated aims of these proposal as a whole, the problematisation appears to be thus: *Disabled people, do not have the skills and/or capacity to access, participate or retain employment alongside their non-disabled peers, due to individual incapacities or dependency related behaviours.* Checking back with the proposals*, the solutions appear to revolve around individualised interventions, including measures that redefine their perceived attachment to the welfare system*. This could actually be further distilled to read, *people with disabilities are not capable of securing or retaining employment without intervention*. For the moment, I will call this the *WPR problematisation*.

Now, taking off Bacchi's lens and switching to Hyatt's warrant (2013a), it does not take long to locate an articulated problematisation within CES itself, sitting right at the start of the introduction, clearly visible here in figure 2.

Figure 2 Articulated Warrant
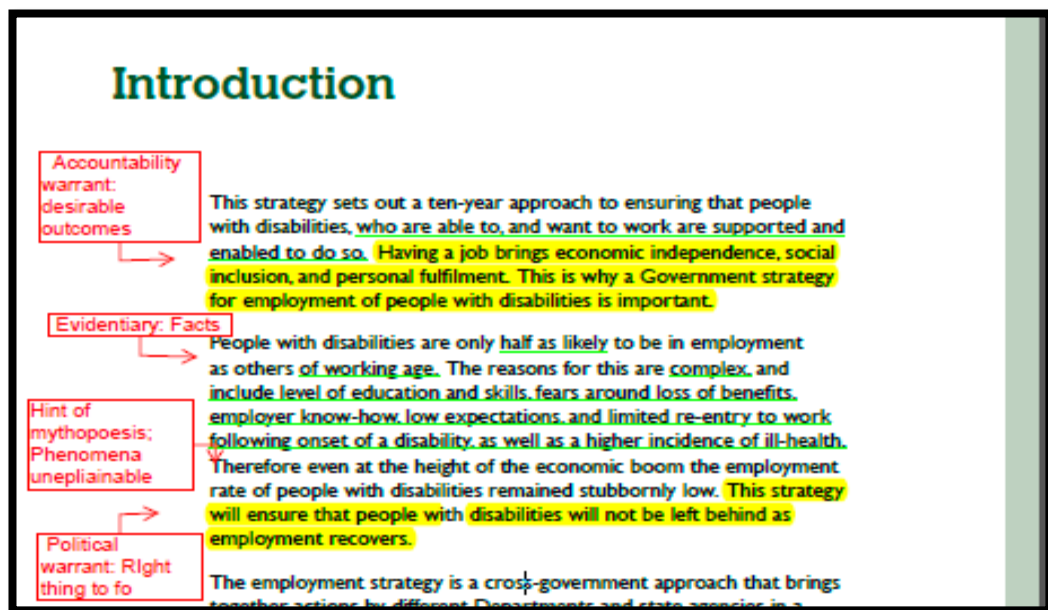
Deconstructing the first two paragraphs in this framed snapshot, the accountability warrant, (the first statement highlighted) pitches for the desirable outcomes of social inclusion, fulfilment and independence that "having a job brings". The 'this is why' clause, reinforces the sediments of fruition and reaping of rewards discourse established by the Minister in the foreword. Hyatt's (2013a) evidentiary warrant in paragraph two, then throws out one 'troubling fact' on the basis of an already

established authority, the use of the word 'only' here, serving to heighten its impact. CES then turns to the source of the problem, where "complex" notwithstanding, it quickly presents a litany of 'causes'—education and skills getting top priority; fears, motivation, know-how and dependency, following closely behind.

Next, the clause beginning with "therefore, even at the height of the economic boom…", can be read, not so much as a warrant here, but as a form of mythopoesis (Hyatt, 2013a) thrown in for good measure, building on the "concerted effort" (p. 3) discourse established in the foreword, framing the problem firmly as an enduring one— a bewildering phenomenon, despite best efforts. The political warrant is simple, based on the right thing to do: "people with disabilities will not be left behind, as the economy recovers". And with this statement, the gallant warrant is born, representing the overall self-justification of CES.

Discursively, this is a clearly articulated problematisation, framing the problem effectively with all three warrants, in a neat package of problem, solution and authoritative evidence, although if somewhat in reverse. The discourse of recovery is introduced early, serving to activate CES as a gallant and noble rescuer of sorts, heightening again the sense of achievement this strategy signifies. The "activisation" of CES in this clause following Hyatt (2013a, p. 56), indicates "the agency of a process", where, in this instance, "the agent is being evaluated with strong praise" (ibid). 'Having a job' is quickly established and embedded as the means to…well happiness really, when you add up the desired outcomes of inclusion, fulfilment and independence. Together, the three warrants highlighted in figure 2, represent the 'expressed or articulated warrant' of CES, which is clearly couched in the rhetoric of 'rescue' and 'recovery'.

Cross Checking

Examining the expressed warrant and the WPR problem together, the two conclusions are not mutually conflicting. Although coming from different routes, they both distil down to the same problematisation, locating the problem firmly within the individual and framing the welfare system as the lever for change through its perceived influence on the 'behaviour' of the individual. From this position, the task now becomes to

identify the deep conceptual premises that lodge within the expressed warrant; to examine how it is possible that these frameworks of thinking have come to shape the proposals and arguments constructed within CES. Thus, the analysis will proceed from here, on the basis of the expressed warrant being equal to the outcome of WPR's question one.

Framing the Assumptions

1. A Portrait of People with Disabilities

Others

CES firmly situates itself against a backdrop of inclusion, applauding itself as a 'significant achievement' in bringing 'this strategy to fruition' despite challenging times and the stubborn nature of the 'disability' problem. However, on close examination, what emerges from this analysis, is a deeply disabling portrait of ill health, old age, fears, lack of education, know-how and motivation, as both causes of, and solutions to disabled people's biggest problem—'joblessness'.

There is no definition of disability offered in CES—instead disability is constructed and constituted through the workings of the text. The warrant, being right at the beginning of the introduction, establishes very quickly a deeply disablist framework, setting up the discursive contours for this portrayal. Even though the reasons attributed to the low levels of participation in the labour market are acknowledged as "complex" (figure 2), without taking a breath, CES immediately highlights negative associations of impairment, such lack of expectations and ill health. Thus in one fell swoop, it manages to reduce the causes of the problem to a small number of disablist characteristics, firmly located within the individual. The warrant is underpinned by a "body of national and international research evidence about what works" (CES, p. 9), alongside 'senior officials', the NDA and a number of named individuals (figure 3), who bring a "wide body of research evidence on key issues and successful practice" (CES, p.11) to this concerted task. From here, the evidence base and its corrective solutions, become part

of a process of legitimising a disablist rationality logic, and rhetorical strategy, informed by a medicalised discourse of 'special needs'.

Figure 3 Quartet of Disability Experts

Figure 4 More Experts

Figure 5 More Excerpts from Excerpts

Campbell, J., Wright, C., Mosley, A., Chilvers, R., Richards, S. and Stabb, L. (2007). Avoiding long-term incapacity of work: Developing an early intervention in primary care. Department for Work and Pensions (Health Work and Wellbeing).

Dibben, P., Wood, G., Nicolson, R. and O'Hara, R. (2012). Quantifying the effectiveness of interventions for people with common health conditions in enable them to stay in or return to work: A rapid evidence assessment, DWP Research Report No. 812. London: Department for Work and Pensions.

Equality and Human Rights Commission (2012). Working Better: The perfect partnership-workplace solutions for disabled people and business.

Waddell, G., Burton, K. and Kendall, N. (2008). Vocational rehabilitation: What works, for whom, and when?, TSO.

Whitehead M, Burström B, Dahl E, et al. (2009). Helping chronically ill and disabled people into work: what can we learn from international comparative analyses? Final report. Public Health Research Consortium, York. www.york.ac.uk/phrc/papers.

Williams, B., Copestake, P., Eversley, J. and Stafford, B. (2008). Experiences and Expectations of Disabled People. London: Office for Disability Issues.

Wehman, Paul, Revell, WG, BrookeV, (2003), Competitive Employment: Has It Become the "First Choice" Yet? Published in Journal of Disability Policy Studies, V14(3), pp 163-173.

World Health Organisation/World Bank (2011) World Report on Disability. Geneva: WHO.

Wynne, R. and McAnaney, D. (2004). Employment and disability: Back to work strategies. Eurofound.

So here it is then, one of those 'moments' captured in a frame, where "disability is found and medicalisation aroused" (Goodley, 2014, p.4). The evidence section itself is fore-fronted by a strong quartet of disability experts, (figure 3). A closer inspection reveals Ball's (1994) babble of legitimating voices, speaking with confidence of "perfect partnerships-workplace solutions" knowing "what works", "for whom and when" (figure 5), supported by a tidy packet of solutions including "randomised control trials" from

the US (p. 39) and "further categorisation" from Finland and Denmark (figure 4). It is therefore not surprising that the introduction articulates a clearly medicalised understanding of disability, located firmly within a 'discourse of impairment'—the whole range it seems, even 'autism', as figure 6 testifies.

Figure 6 Informing Understanding of Disability
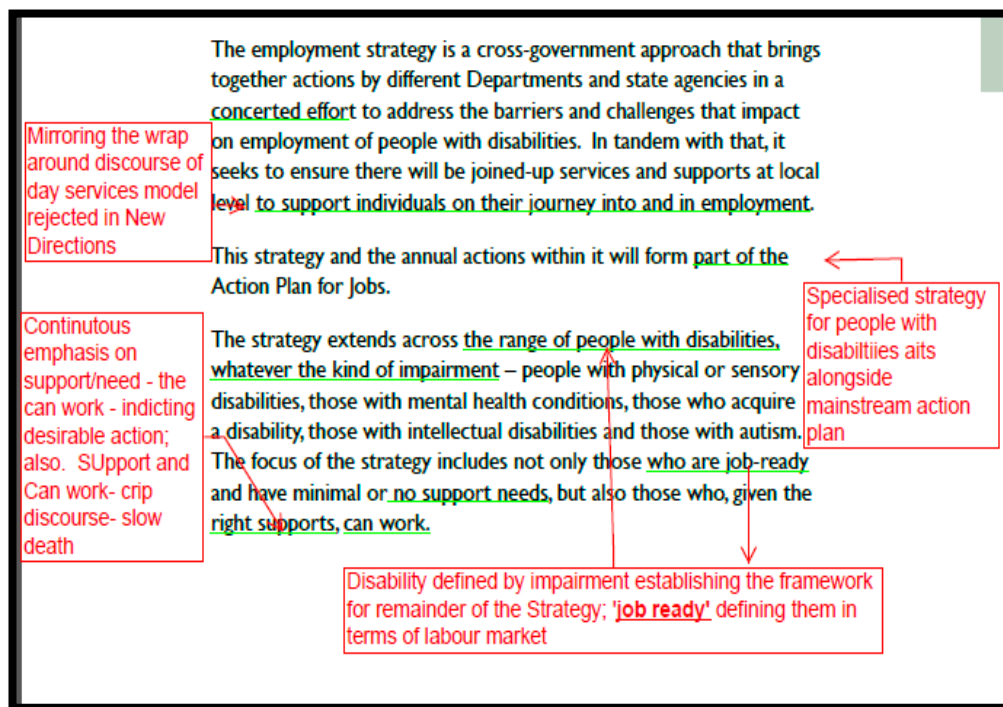
The analytical process shown in figure 6 is proof of a deeply disabling construction of disability, heavily legitimated by the professional voices of medicalised experts (Figures 4&5), reifying Quinn's (2015) outdated models of wraparound intervention, which themselves serve to lock people with disabilities into a lexicon of exclusion, through a charitable discourse of specialness.

Neoliberal Ableism

This is also where we get our first flavour of the human capital discourse of 'job readiness'—further labelling to add to the list of categorisations offered in lieu of a definition of disability, extended charitably in virtuous tones, to those "who, given the right supports, can work" (p.5). The bolded text in figure 7, particularly the emphasis given to 'maximising potential' and 'capacity', indicates that discursive space where "ableism edits out lack and emboldens (hyper) normality" (Goodley, 2014, p. 33). Enter

'mainstream', further evidence of the presence of neoliberal ableism, up close and first hand; a central piece of evidence, serving here to situate this policy alongside its able-bodied counterparts *Action Plan for Jobs* (Government of Ireland, 2016a) and *Pathways to Work* (Government of Ireland, 2016c). It is here in the discursive space between CES and the mainstream, where we meet 'Normals' for the first time.

Figure 7 Vision and Values
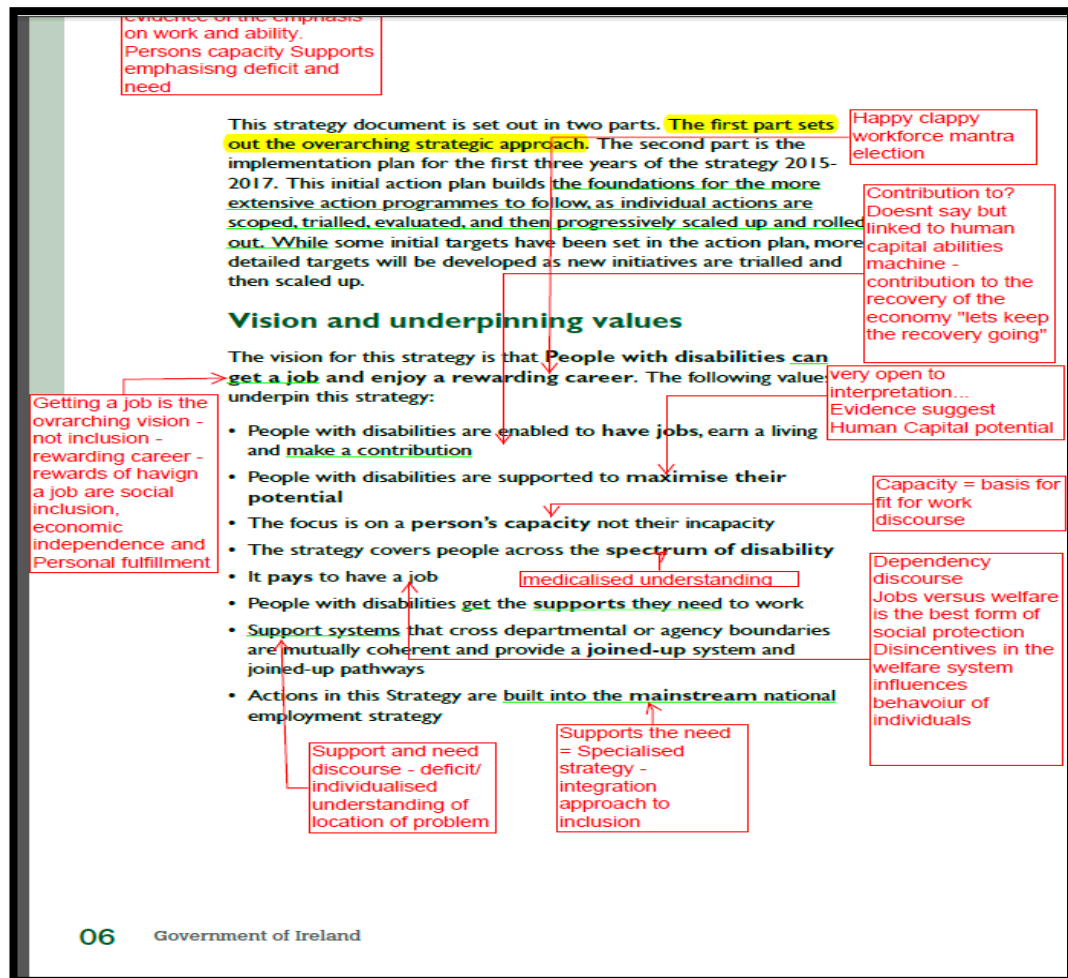
The portrait of people with disabilities by CES thus far, is not a particularly healthy one, the ill health, serious difficulties and poor stamina articulated in figure 9, doing nothing to interrupt the medically aroused discourse (Goodley, 2014) of special needs and deficit, established in figures 6, 7 and 8, and reinforced in figure 9, as another 'no matter what we do moment' takes shape, (underlined in green).

Figure 8 Disablist Rhetoric

Heavy emphasis on legitimating proposals; policy steering; at a distance;

Further charitable discourse; disablim. More steering (ideal conditions)

election discourse

The overall employment forecast has been derived by examining

- a range of forecasts for net increase in jobs as the economy recovers
- the scale of annual job vacancies, and the competition to fill them
- the likely contribution a reduction in flows into joblessness could deliver over the ten year period of the strategy
- international experience of return to work rates among people with a disability who are long-term out of work
- the potential upper limits to labour supply by people with disabilities, given levels of illness and incapacity, even if employment conditions and support arrangements were ideal
- an exercise examining employment rates by reference to European experience, taking account of national differences in the measurement of disability
- a synthesis of what could be realistically achievable, taking both supply and demand sides of the job market into consideration

Disability Bitch mud-wrestling UK

Reinforcing helpless and pitying discourse; managing the poor discourse; informed paternalism

Order of all realms; scientific discourse; measurements and categories

Raising employment levels of people with disabilities is a long-term project:

- Measures to reduce the flows into joblessness take time to make an impact on the numbers. These measures focus on young people with disabilities entering adulthood, and on adults experiencing onset of disability
- A key element of the strategy is to improve education, raise expectations, and expose post-primary students with disabilities to work opportunities. Work with today's young teenagers may take a number of years to bring results
- A high proportion of those not in work have moderate to high support needs, and it may take time to reorient current systems of support to address those needs

Raising: implying effort; lifting; - matched with long-term project. NPM discourse

Flows into ... taking time: supporting the "stubbornly low" reference (intorduction)

Recovery prioritizing those most able/ fit for work: capacity discourse value no 3. see appendix four;

No Rush Discourse

Results: Riddell Neat package of ready made solutions solutions; logical paradigm of

KEY WINDOW on Role of Education Handmaiden discourse

08   Government of Ireland

A flick over to appendix 6, reveals a proliferation of special needs education discourse dominating these pages, excerpts from which, are exhibited in figure 10, signalling the impregnation of this discourse of the faithful implementation plans. Closer examination of figure 10, in the context of appendix 6, reveals a lexicon of now familiar terms, such as diagnosis, autism, special needs education, special needs assistants, transitions plans, school leavers and day centres—the discursive contours of disablism within which, the education of children with disabilities is envisaged and acted upon, within mainstream and specialised schools (Liasidou, 2011). The uncontested reification and seemingly

logical redeployment of this kind of language further compounds, naturalises and perpetuates its insidious effects (Liasidou, 2008) on the people that it is supposed to emancipate (Rix, 2011).

Figure 9 Reinforcing Ableism/Disablism

Figure 10 Resulting in Discourse of Special Educational Needs

But perhaps most revealing is figure 11, noted in TOC, providing overwhelming evidence of the disablist framework that informs these proposals. Delivered with overwhelming vehemence, not once but twice, this particular piece of text declares with certainty that no matter how good the economic conditions or the proposal are, the employment rate for people with disabilities will always be below their non-disabled peers. Again we are

offered a whole host of causes, fears coming out tops this time, bringing to the fore a stereotypical subjectification of oppressed innocuous people, presented as normal, naturalised and uncontested. The disablist rhetoric continues throughout the strategy, legitimated heavily by a series of facts, graphs and stats (figure 12) that emphasises disability type, impairment and restrictions, the "clinical–medical discourses on which the mechanics of the welfare state depend" (Grue, 2011, p. 536). As Liasidou (2008) notes, "exclusion in terms of presumed 'difference' and 'need' has been increasingly becoming an inconspicuous device submerging the deepest recesses of the education system and society" (p. 484). Within these snippets of evidence too, inclusion passes uncontested, "under the historical imperatives of special educational thinking…legitimising the 'othering' image … through linguistic veneers that legitimise binary perspectives of normality and abnormality" (ibid).

Figure 11 Human Capital or Dishuman?

Figure 12 Disablist Binaries, Divisions and Branding

Sight	44%	24%	15%	6%	11%
Hearing	44%	26%	14%	6%	11%
Physical	46%	27%	14%	5%	8%
ID	67%	20%	8%	2%	3%
Learning	50%	26%	13%	5%	7%
Mental Health	32%	29%	18%	7%	14%
Other disability	36%	27%	15%	7%	14%

Source: Census 2011. pwd – people with disabilities. ID – intellectual disability. Lr. sec – Junior Cert.. Upr sec –Leaving Cert

Employment rate of people with disabilities, 2011, by disability type
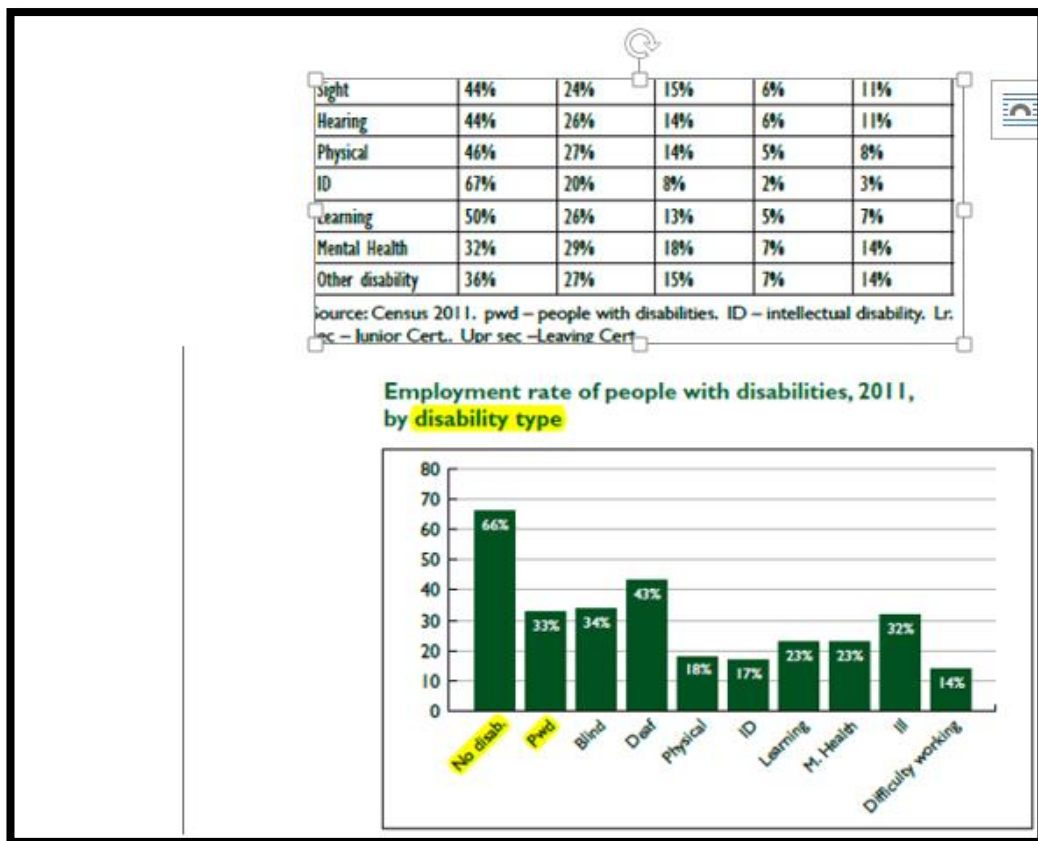
Furthermore, the tables and categories exemplify a rational legitimating strategy of "precision and exactness" (Reyes, 2011, p. 787) mirroring Foucault's 'bio-power' through the "'increased ordering of all realms' under the guise of improving the welfare of the individual" (Hook, 2010, p. 227). But what is particularly notable in this discourse is the extraordinary ordinariness with which such constructions are made as demonstrated through a detailed analysis of a short piece of text (figure 13), where the scene is almost palpable. Goodley and Runswick-Cole (2010, p. 283) draw our attention to "a new eugenics of sorting and differentiation" a form of essentialism following Hyatt (2006) that ascribes fixed abilities that results in the stereotypical labels and categories to be found in CES.

Figure 13 Therapeutic Discourse

Figure 13 Therapeutic Discourse
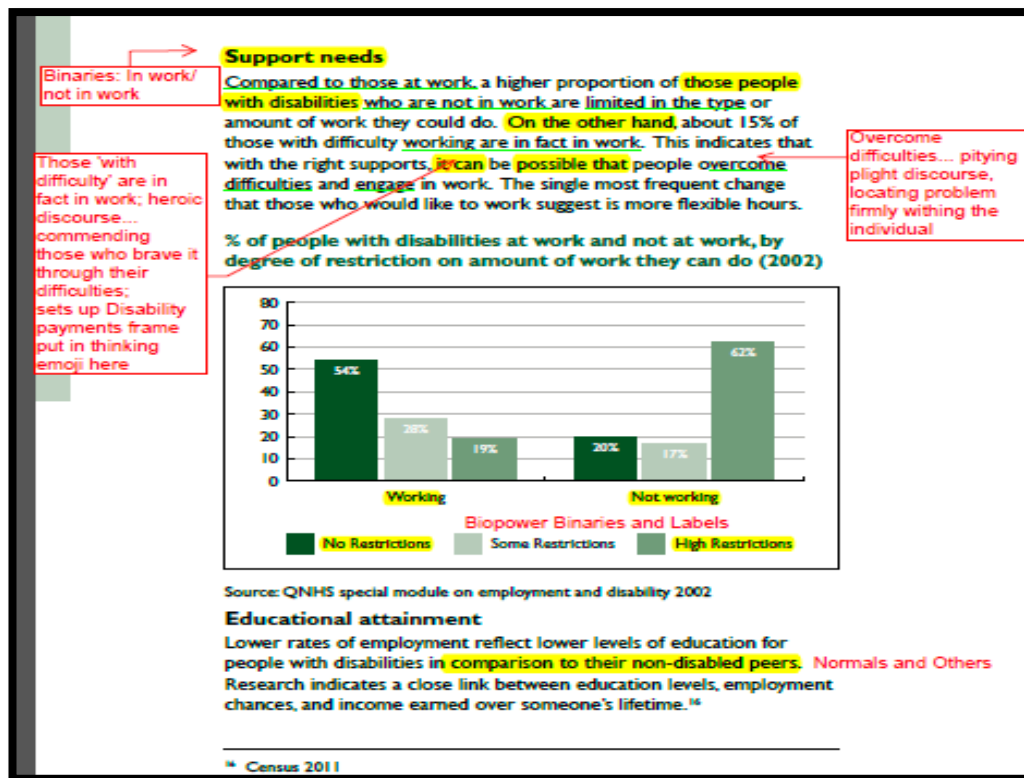
Once we get beyond the seemingly neutral 'compared to those at work' and "those people with disabilities" clauses, which immediately sets up the by now customary able/disabled binary backdrop, the wording and the construction of this sentence is worth noting for a couple of reasons. Firstly, with a dis/ability lens in place, the image that immediately transpires, is that of a dated and dusty hospital ward—empty but for a solitary anxious cripple, waiting hopefully but humbly of course, news of one's fate. The 'on the other hand' presupposition, gives a sense of considered response, here. Presuppositions as Hyatt (2013a) demonstrates, serve here too, to represent constructions as "convincing realities" (p. 55); the 'in fact' clause, adding another layer of legitimacy, before arriving at the rationalised and not unsurprising conclusion that "with the right supports" (of course) it can *actually* be possible that *those* people overcome difficulties and engage with work (figure 13, emphasis added). Thus we have further evidence that "can allegedly 'normalize' the 'deviant' through expert intervention and remedy" (Liasidou, 2008, p. 492).

The play of substitutions marking this text, through Graham and Slee's (2008) 'illusory interiority' frame too, leaves more than a trace of doubt in the readers mind here,

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projecting a sort of 'apprehended' inclusion as it were, held in check by what is considered right, normal and natural, ensuring that they, the *Others*, "live a marginal existence as representatives of the included (p. 285). Furthermore, the 'can be' of the clause, implies a willingness to 'try' something, maybe something new…despite all odds; the solution 'with the right supports' suggests a form of therapeutic intervention—"the scientific, therapeutic and medicalised interventions that maintain the ableist prerogative" (Goodley, 2014, p. 22) perhaps. The evidence thus far presented is strikingly similar to Liasidou's study of Cypriot special education policy, where the inclusive warrant "is consistently contradicted by a plethora of 'linguistic minefields' that render inclusion a provisional and contingent endeavour, naturalised and legitimated here, through the scientific discourse of 'expert' intervention" (2008, p. 486) and the discourse of therapeutic recovery.

One could be forgiven at this point, for checking again the date under this portrait. Processed through Hyatt's (2005b) synchronic and diachronic context, the construction, rhetoric and structure of this clause could be a line from the script of '*Downton Abbey's'* faithful servant to the lame and injured war heroes, Isobel Crawley. The discourse of recovery here is the only indication that this is a modern day policy, however deceptive this may be, managing at the same time to reinforce traditional meanings and moral orders that assign to each "his 'true' name, his 'true' place, his 'true' body, his 'true' disease'" (Foucault, 1977, cited in Graham and Slee, 2008, p. 285).

While CES systematically constructs a view of the world, where the term disabled equals distant Other, the benefits of being (en)abled are nowhere to be seen in this strategy; the ideal 'all singing, all dancing able-bodied Irish citizen', being the absent beneficiary of this classification process. These discursive practices and the conceptual understandings they represent, are unlikely as Komesaroff and McLean (2006) and Riddell (2012) suggest respectively, to be considered significant in the corpus of evidence—silenced in this context by a legitimating strategy that seeks to justify a neat package of tidy policy solutions. Through this lens, the warrant emerges as deeply embedded in a disablist conceptualisation of disability—that process "where life becomes processed through the reductive use of medical discourse" (Goodley, 2014, p. 4).

2. A Portrait of Human Capital Abilities Machine

Normals

Yates' (2015) analysis of Foucault's lectures on neoliberalism is useful in framing the construction of the ideal Irish citizen, through the lens of Foucault's 'abilities-machine'—although one does not have to dig too deep within CES itself, to find ableism's role in celebrating the norm, functioning, like Campbell's "conceptual sledgehammer" (2015, p. 46), to shape the social status of disabled people on both an individual and collective level. Ableism lurks silently within a discourse of power and domination, being so pervasive that it is difficult to discern, until like Cherney (2011) reminds us "one begins to cross-examine the governing assumptions of well-intentioned society" (np).

Figure 14 Disablist Rhetoric from 'Facts and Figures'
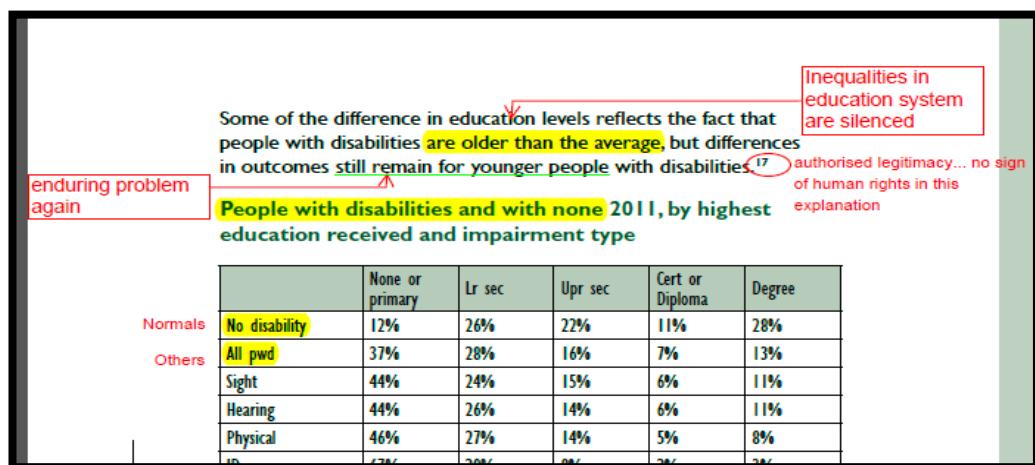
Figure 15 Normals and Others

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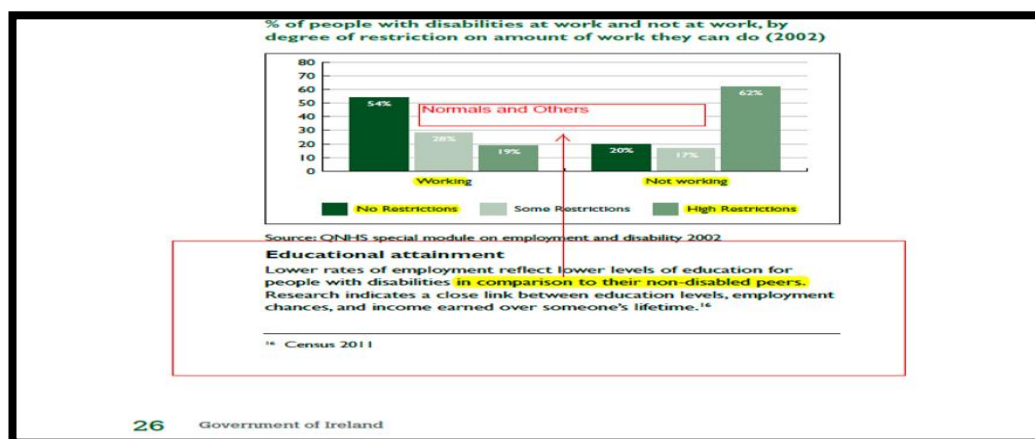
The infographs within chapter 3 are key sources of evidence, thus repeated here as figures 14 and 15 depicting normals and *Others*. From the ableist angle, the binaries of at work/not in work; working/not working; no restrictions/ high restrictions; capacity/incapacity; no disability/all PWD, represent the normalised, naturalised lexicon of an "everyday eugenics" (Madriaga, Hanson, Kay, & Walker, 2011, p. 901), that is sometimes hard to detect (Cherney 2011). These represent through Bletsas lens "a kind of embeddedness: a radical connection between our ways of knowing the world and our ways of occupying it" (2012, p. 43). Through a dishuman lens, these represent something more—a "system from which forms of disablism emanate and has in mind a species-typical human being" (Goodley 2014, p. 22). This is perhaps most obvious in the seemingly neutral positioning of the 'non-disabled peer' (figure 15) as the ideal norm against which, the performance of the 'disabled 'peer' is measured. The use of the term 'peer' is not unproblematic either, suggesting a 'bringing in', an equalness of sorts; the non-disabled aspect of this clause marking at the same time, a clear distinction in terms of ability. This is reinforced through a range of 'no matter what we do' moments, as in the stubbornly low rhetorical moment depicted in the warrant, (figure 2) and systematically reinforced with negative evaluations such as "is always likely to be lower than among the population at large" (CES, p. 9, figure 9).

Ableism does not stop at producing the 'typical 'species' however, but the ableist rhetoric in these charts, tables and binaries, continues to dictate "what a healthy body means—a normal mind" (Campbell 2014, p. 82). Thus, digging deeper and examining the text more closely in figure 14, we have an interesting binary, reflecting younger and older people with disabilities—both 'equally unskilled' it would appear, legitimated by an Irish study on 'disability and social inclusion', denoted by the hypertext reference in this clause. Ableism in this instance, goes beyond the administrative procedures and structures for governing civil society; the authoritative legitimacy achieved, serving to embed this 'fact' quietly inside the "arena of genealogies of knowledge" (Campbell, 2009, p. 5).

Through the lens of ableism, we get a clear snapshot not just of people with disability 2016-2024, but the 'Irish Human Capital Abilities Machine'—a portrait of Normals and *Others* in the same frame. Thus, on October 2nd 2015, inspired by the words of Franklin

Roosevelt, The Minister for Justice and Equality (Department of Justice and Equality, 2015) unveiled a portrait of normals, with the vision of creating an environment that is accessible to everybody, regardless of ability or disability—"that's what the Comprehensive Employment Strategy for people with disabilities is all about" (Appendix 5a, Fitzgerald).

It is not just the infographs that demonstrate the overt use of ableist rhetoric, the narrative too is proliferated with the discourse of 'complexity' and 'restriction' which soon becomes part of a normalised lexicon, giving way to figure 16.

Figure 16 More Normals and Others
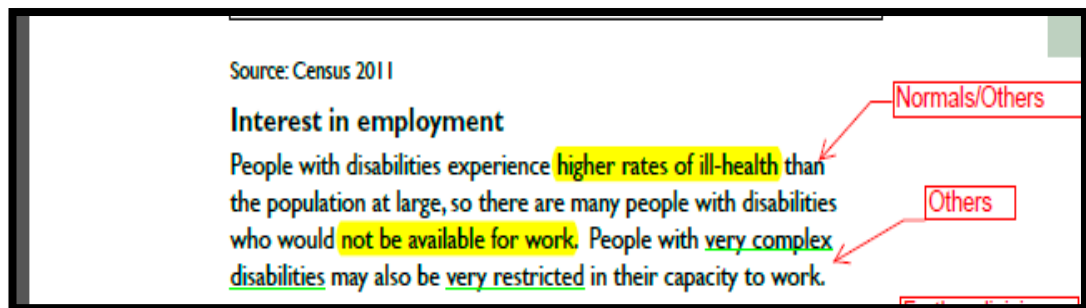
Here we see the framing of *normals* within an ableist human capital discourse, depicting the ideal Irish citizen as having the 'capacity' to produce an income—and on the basis of having a job, having the capacity to produce their own "economic independence, social inclusion and personal fulfilment" (CES p. 5) in that order; the sequencing giving a clear indication as to which of these three desirable outcomes is top dog. Work through this causal relationship, is reconceptualised as a rational individualistic behaviour, calculated and executed by an active self-fulfilling economic agent and the state is positioned as intervening, not in the labour market directly, but rather "on their stock of human capital" (Yates, 2015, p. 89). Within the space afforded by these rhetorical devices, Cherney (2011) argues, "ableism appears natural, necessary, and ultimately a moral discrimination required for the normal functioning of civilisation" (np).

How has this come about?

Returning to the official press release accompanying the launch of CES (appendix 5a, Taoiseach) from the official Government Press Room, it is perhaps unsurprising to find that "this strategy is not only about those living with disability—it is about all of us as a society… the kind of Ireland we want to build and work in and live in together, each with our own particular ability" (Department of the Taoiseach, 2015). Remember, this policy was launched amid frenzied speculation at the time as to when the Taoiseach would call the general election; the campaign posters were out of the boxes. A cursory glance inside the front cover of Fine Gael's election manifesto (Fine Gael, 2016, appendix 5b) reveals an all smiling able-bodied workforce—*Others* nowhere to be seen in this snap. Flicking over the page to appendix 5c, the 'Disable Inequality' social media election campaign (Disable Inequality, 2016,) tells a very different story however; one in which, the everyday experience of the dis/abled Irish citizen of the 21st century, includes deeply embedded ableist exclusion and discrimination. Side by side these portraits paint a picture of a very familiar tale indeed—the Cinderella status of people with disabilities in Ireland.

Mainstreaming Others

It is generally accepted in the literature that the notions of inclusion has arisen from the practices of mainstreaming or integrating students with disabilities into mainstream classroom settings (Smyth, Shevlin, Buchner, Bieweret al., 2014; Rose, Shevlin, Winter, & O'Raw, 2010; Liasidou, 2008; Graham & Slee, 2008). While 'inclusion' and 'disability mainstreaming' are highly contested concepts, they have nonetheless become the focus of policy proposals in recent decades, prompted by recent global policy events the most recent being UNCRPD (UN, 2006, p. 1), the opening page of which, emphasises "the importance of mainstreaming disability issues as an integral part of relevant strategies of sustainable development". Inclusion has become the 'carte blanche' global response, "not just to what the UN has termed the 'silent crisis' of disabled people's exclusion and marginalisation, but also to the effects of that on national social and economic development" (Marshall, 2012, p. 55). The European Union (EU) in particular has facilitated a discursive shift from a traditional, catholic, anti-poverty ethos, framed by a charitable discourse, to one of 'social inclusion' if not equality (Lynch, 2013; 2012;

2007 Murphy 2012a). However, the evidence from the literature suggests that the EU social policy and directives are principally a matter of discourse (Barbier, 2012) (de la Porte & Jacobsson, 2012) and in particular, the Irish literature shows evidence of a continuing divergence from the European social model, (Dukelow & Considine, 2014) (Kirby & Murphy, 2011), particularly in response to the economic crash.

Although the terminology of inclusive education is now a familiar aspect of the lexicon in Irish disability policy, there are various contested and competing discourses through which meanings and interpretations differ, both at the policy-making and implementation level (Rose, Shevlin, Winter and O'Raw, 2010). On the surface, these differences are very often concealed and waxed over by the continuous use of over generalised terms within the education system (O'Brien & Ó'Fathnaigh, 2007). While the discourse of inclusive education offered in the Salamanca Statement and EFA was originally offered and targeted at radical change to the institutional inequalities of the education system, increasingly it is being used as a frame for explaining and protecting the status quo (Liasidou, 2016) (Liasidou & Symeou, 2016) .

The Careless State

The disablist rhetoric that plays on the concerted effort discourse established in the foreword peppers the narrative, one such instance being: "raising employment rates for people with disabilities in a long term project (p. 8)…that will take time to bear fruit, even with optimum policies in place and optimum labour market conditions" (p. 33). This depiction is systematically reinforced through a range of rhetorical devices and representations that position the person with disability as helpless, powerless and in need of recovery, reflecting the wider political context in which the strategy was born. This resonates with Marston (2008) account that very often, globalised discourses invoked in the public domain, are "characterised by a language where growing inequality and injustice are a result of 'global' processes over which no one seems to have any control". (p. 364). Recovery was the key theme of the speeches of Budget 2016 and the subsequent mantra for election 2016 campaign. Here it is used as political warrant to position CES as knight in shining armour; lifting people into the arms of recovery while the State watches on hopefully, quietly confident that some of *those people* make it at least. Alongside the literature reviewed, this suggests the presence of

more than a shadow of Lynch's (2013) careless State lurking in the background of this framed portrait.

Citizenship discourse

Being a citizen in Ireland is equated with a participatory role rather than a dependent one (Lynch 2013). In Ireland Scanlon, Shevlin and McGuckin (2014) point to the relationship between attributes associated with impairments, categorisation and labels, and the 'citizenship status' of those to whom those labels are applied. Globally, welfare reforms since the mid-1990s have shifted their focus rights-based policies to reflect a 'conditional citizenship' based on active and full participation in society (Gould & Parker-Harris, 2012). Indeed, governments across Europe have impregnated and in some cases replaced entirely the discourse of welfare with that of a workfare discourse emphasising independent market participation, as the "essence of adult citizenship" (Parker Harris, Owen, & Gould, 2012, p. 826). Changes to Ireland's social welfare system since its introduction in the 1950s, due to changing demographics and external forces has resulted in a widening of the scope of social insurance (Fitzgerald, 2016). The principles that have guided much of Irish welfare policy and indeed the disability sector itself, have been those of voluntarism and/or subsidiarity, principles that have been strongly influenced by Catholic social teaching (Lynch, 2013; Murphy, 2012a).

Within this context, the discursive construction of work in CES linked to independence and fulfilment, reflects a global 'social integrationist' discourse of inclusion which constructs the ideal citizen pre-eminently as "an active economic agent, with the linked assumption that paid employment is privileged over other forms of work activity" (Barnes & Mercer, 2005, p. 532). This discourse is remarkably similar to New Labour's welfare mantra in the UK, positioning work as the principal route out of poverty, mirroring its emphasis on 'working age' individuals and 'making work pay', which in the UK, Newman (2011) posits, "is driven by the desire to establish a new discourse in which it is uncontestably accepted that life should be shaped by work" (p. 91). Not surprisingly therefore, CES specifically prioritises young adults with disabilities, and those who acquire a disability in the course of their working life to "'*reintegrate*' into employment" (Government of Ireland, 2015, p. 7, emphasis added)—thereby creating a new category within the Irish welfare system, *the capable disabled*.

3. A Portrait of Education

Handmaiden to Labour Market

CES places upskilling at the heart of the policy agenda and positions education and welfare in a subservient relationship with employment right from the start, as figures 17 to 21 in this portrait exemplify. Clearly education's role here is nothing more than a mere 'driver' of employment (figure 17 & 21) where 'raising achievement in education' is seen only in terms of 'job prospects and earnings' (figure 18).

Figure 17 Handmaiden Discourse
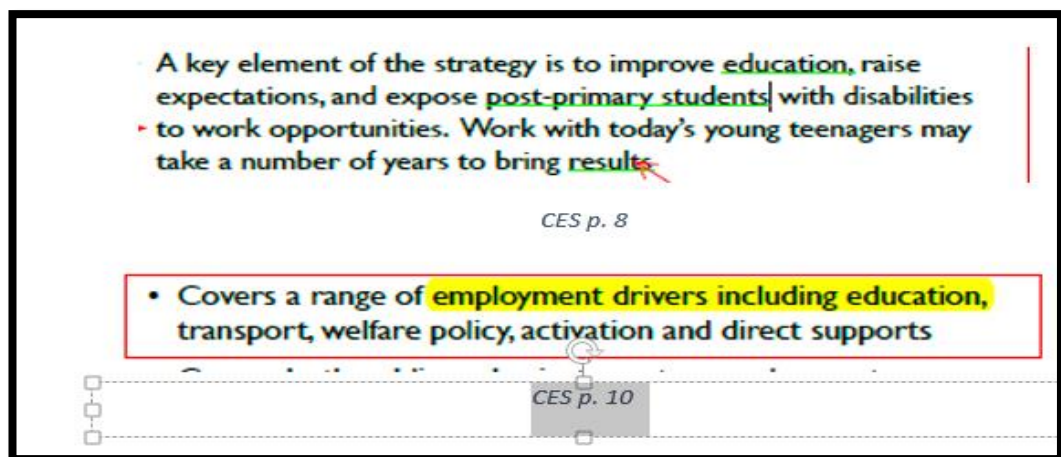
Proposal 1 (figure 18) represents a key educational proposal focusing on upskilling through education, training, and promoting positive expectations—that is, positive expectations of 'capacity' and 'potential to work', not education itself. Supports for students with disabilities 'to learn' focuses on the discourse of early intervention, with specific models, ages and years identified, (figure 19) and heavy emphasis of transition planning to training and further education, not higher education it seems. The link between earnings and job prospects, forefronted in figure 19, reveals a crudely reductionist view of education, resonating with the 'unchallenged hegemony" of neoliberal ideology within Irish educational policy-making, (Holborrow, 2012, p. 93). The *handmaiden* caption on this portrait reflects Holborrow's assessment of the *Hunt Report* (Department of Education and Skills, 2011), the key higher education strategy, which he summed up in one word—skills (2012, p. 95). Skills it seems, has now become the key business for the Department of Education as figure 20 testifies (Department of

Education and Skills, 2016); the overriding role of education in this snap, launched shortly after CES in January 2016, being that of an adjunct to the economy rather than that of empowerment.

Figure 18 Education Framed

Strategic Priority 1: Build skills, capacity and independence

Statement of Intent

Each person with a disability will have the education, skills, competence and independence to obtain employment.

Actions include the following:

- Promote positive expectations around the person's capacity from birth or onset of disability

  Capacity: Fit for work

- Promote expectations of employability

  What about positive expectations of Education system: Clarke study re retaliation

- Support for students with disabilities to learn

  SNE Discourse

- Develop and foster each student's independence during their school-years

  Independence gets a stronger description

- Plan young people's transitions from school to training and further education

  EPSEN! No IEP's Shevlin 2014 Choices/ what choices?

Raising achievement raises employment

On average, people with disabilities have lower skills and qualifications than the population at large.[4] As job prospects and earnings are strongly linked to education levels raising the educational achievement of young people with disabilities in turn can only have positive results in terms of employment rates.

Job and earnings first

Figure 19 Education framed

Actions under this heading focus on developing the education, skills, competence and independence of people with disabilities, and in particular of young people, so that they will have the capacity and confidence to obtain employment.[5] This is rooted in the evidence that these factors are linked to success in obtaining and retaining employment. The actions set out under this goal are also aimed at fostering positive expectations around the potential of people with disabilities. ← Who's expectations... employers

Planning ahead in the school years

Putting employment on the agenda for young people with disabilities during their school years has a positive impact on longer-term employment prospects. The UK 'Getting a Life' project, as part of the 'Getting Employment Now' programme, focused on helping young people with disabilities to plan for future lives and careers after school. Results from this programme show that a focus on employment and career planning need to start as early as age 13 or the first year of post-primary school rather than leaving it to the last year or two of school life.

Work experience

Research evidence shows that young people with disabilities who take part in work experience during their school years, and in particular, paid work, have a significantly higher employment rate.[6]

Figure 20 Education and the National Skills Strategy

AN ROINN
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EDUCATION AND SKILLS

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27 January 2016 - Government launches Ireland's National Skills Strategy 2025 – Ireland's Future

The new Strategy is a key pillar in the Government's plan to keep the recovery going and build sustainable economic growth.

The Taoiseach and Tánaiste today (Wednesday) launched the new National Skills Strategy 2025 – Ireland's Future, along with Minister for Education and Skills Jan O'Sullivan, TD, and Minister for Skills, Research, Innovation Damien English, TD, at the Blackrock Further Education Institute, Dublin.

The Strategy identifies Ireland's current skills profile, provides a strategic vision and specific objectives for Ireland's future skills requirements, and sets out a road map for how the vision and objectives can be achieved.

Figure 21 Role of Education for People with Disabilities

The key learning and evidence sections of CES also reflect the dominant discourse of market imperatives, as figure 22 demonstrates, with preparation, planning and goal setting become key instruments in delivering results under this proposal.

Figure 22 Key Learning Education

The politically conservative understanding of educational disadvantage that Tormey (2010) speaks of, is also evident from this angle, "becoming spirited into the practical processes of identifying who is, and who is not, educationally disadvantaged" (p. 189). This is most clearly evident in educational disadvantage discourse surrounding the infographs which is magnified in figure 23.

Figure 23 Window on Educational Disadvantage

Educational attainment

Lower rates of employment reflect lower levels of education for people with disabilities in comparison to their non-disabled peers. Research indicates a close link between education levels, employment chances, and income earned over someone's lifetime.[16]

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[16] Census 2011

Some of the difference in education levels reflects the fact that people with disabilities are older than the average, but differences in outcomes still remain for younger people with disabilities.[47]

Inequalities in education system are silenced

People with disabilities and with none 2011, by highest education received and impairment type

	None or primary	Lr sec	Upr sec	Cert or Diploma	Degree
No disability	12%	26%	22%	11%	28%
All pwd	37%	28%	16%	7%	13%
Sight	44%	24%	15%	6%	11%
Hearing	44%	26%	14%	6%	11%
Physical	46%	27%	14%	5%	8%
ID	67%	20%	8%	2%	3%
Learning	50%	26%	13%	5%	7%
Mental Health	32%	29%	18%	7%	14%
Other disability	36%	27%	15%	7%	14%

Source: Census 2011. pwd – people with disabilities. ID – intellectual disability. Lr. sec – Junior Cert.. Upr sec –Leaving Cert

The making of human capital is education's primary role in this line up, reflecting a paradigm operating upon an individualised notion of responsibility. The neoliberal frame surrounding the handmaiden portrait of education, gives voice to two specific interests, following Holborrow (2012): the provision of a workforce tailored to meet the current needs of employers, and the amplification of competition between individuals in the labour market. The rational logic policy-making discourse reveals a functionalist understanding of the role of education' (Young, 2011; North, 2006)—the intent of proposal 1, clearly on providing information and support in the formation and pursuit of

appropriate aspirations, in this case, pre-dominantly economic independence. From this angle, learning is something primarily aimed at increasing an individual's earning potential, the basic premise being that ultimate responsibility for solving the this problem rest with an "aspiring, self-investing and choosing individual" (Yates & Roulstone, 2013, p. 461).

How has this come about?

The Irish education system has moved from a pre-modern to a post-modern education system, without ever developing a modern, public, shared and democratic education paradigm (O'Sullivan 2005). Over the past decade and a half in particular, policy discourses have shifted dramatically towards a human capital paradigm focusing exclusively on education's role in building a 'knowledge economy' and enhancing social cohesion, as O'Sullivan argues, "the successful penetration of a human capital paradigm and its subsequent mutation and fracturing in Irish consciousness" paved the way for a mercantile paradigm, resulting in a hollowed out education system awaiting its inscription (2005, p. 181).

Ireland's geographic location has a bearing on how we have come to this view of education. Operating within the Anglo-American zone of influence due to history, culture, language, colonisation and trade, it is not surprising to find many of the features of its powerful neo-liberal neighbours in terms of its social, education and employment policies (Lynch 2012). While the tone and tune of neo-liberalism was accentuated in the Celtic tiger era, Ireland was not a newcomer to pro-market politics in the 1990s (Mooney Simmie, 2012); as Fraser et al (2013, p. 50) argue, "once neoliberal ideas gain a foothold, they prove difficult to displace, as indeed the case of Ireland highlights". Murphy (2008), identifies the period 1987-1992 as the temporal period that 'locked' the country into a neoliberal policy agenda of competitiveness for the coming decades. Path dependence she argues, "suggests that institutions are self-reinforcing, that policy, once developed in a particular direction, is locked into that policy choice and difficult to change" (2012, p. 348). Lynch (2012) too argues, that although no Irish political party endorsed the neoliberal policies of Thatcherism during this period, "a muted language of social democracy…belied the rhetoric" (p. 92).

Modernisation discourses, she notes, had already begun to make their appearance on the Irish educational landscape from the 1960s, on foot of a review and report on investment in education, which resulted in the displacement of education as a means of personal development, on the grounds of economic unsustainability and accountability. At the same time, the role of the church in education began to contract giving rise to a mercantile and modernisation discourses that spoke of an Ireland "outward and forward looking, industrialised and affluent, freeing itself from the regulating pieties of religion, nation and self-sufficiency" (O'Sullivan, 2005, p. 181). The discourse of new managerialism "the organisational arm of neoliberalism" (Lynch, 2014. P. 1) made its way onto the political landscape during this time also. New managerialism Lynch argues, represents "a mode of governance designed to realize the neoliberal project through the institutionalising of market principles in the governance of organisations" (ibid), bringing with it significant implications for what counts as knowledge in the Irish education system, in terms of who are vested with such knowledge and who is empowered to act, all within a legitimating framework of public choice and market accountability. Similarly, Tormey (2010) argues that the conservative understanding of educational disadvantage continues to be reified in new educational policies with contemporary policy targets representing little more than re-heated versions of those set out in the National Anti-Poverty Strategy (NAPS; Government of Ireland 1997).

Educational Disadvantage

Intervention became the new discourse surrounding educational disadvantage in key policy documents during the Celtic tiger era, such as the NAPS (Government of Ireland , 1997), the subsequent National Action Plan for Social Inclusion (Government of Ireland, 2007a) and National Development Plan ' (Government of Ireland, 2007b). Special and general education had however, over the years developed separately, with special education issues rarely making it into mainstream education decision-making and policy development. The twin-track approach began to change in the 1990s, due to a combination of interrelated factors, including international agreements and trends, pursuing both an understanding and development of inclusive education, as briefly discussed in the introduction (Smyth, et al., 2014; Shevlin, Winter, & Flynn, 2013; Shevlin, Kenny, & Loxley, 2008). Around this time the National Council for Special

Education (NCSE) was established by order of the Minister for Education and Science in 2003, as an independent statutory body to improve the delivery of education services to persons with special educational needs arising from disabilities, with particular emphasis on children. The National Office for Equity of Access to Higher Education was established within the Higher Education Authority (HEA) the same year, to promote access to third level education by disadvantaged students, including those with disabilities, and the first ever National Access Plan for Equity of Access to Higher Education was published in 2007, with a subsequent plan covering the period 2008-2013 (HEA, 2008). As the discourse of intervention developed, it soon drew on themes from other discourses including the administering of social services in response to the needs of the "deprived distant *others*" (O'Sullivan, 2005, p. 324). At this time, O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh (2007) expressed a critical concern for "how notions of 'disadvantage' and 'social exclusion' are ideationally conceived and used within an Irish policy context". Specifically, they point to definitional problems and "ambiguous consensus across government departments" (p. 601), noting a lack of debate and contestation. McDonnell (2003) in particular highlights the dangers of a psycho-medical definitions and Irish responses to disability imported into the special needs education framework, warning that failing to address these deep structures will inevitably lead to further "exclusions and marginalisation through well intentioned and well-supported programmes" (p. 259).

More recently, significant changes have been taking place in the further education and training sector over the past 3 years in Ireland, "driven by a performance-based and market-orientated vision of education" (Grummell & Murray, 2015, p. 432). This is set against the backdrop of a history of anti-intellectualism and a political context of consensual politics where alternative voices were only afforded token recognition at the policy-making table (Lynch 2013). Lynch draws attention to the rather smooth advancement of neo-liberalism in Ireland, noting a silencing of dissent, a closing down of concepts and intellectual frameworks where "those who spoke of the dangers of neoliberalism were dismissed as 'ideological'" (2012, p. 92). Neoliberal policies she argues, were implemented in Ireland without being named.

4. A Portrait of Joblessness

Trapped.

At the epicentre of this portrait, is a conceptualisation of the disabled individual as essentially being responsible for their own 'employability' (Yates & Roulstone, 2013). The appearance of the term 'joblessness' across TOC is an indication of its extensive proliferation throughout lexicon of CES, revealing at its core, a set of assumptions that underpin and define the cultural characteristics of people with disabilities and their relationship with the Irish welfare system. The assumption behind this representation following Lindsay and Houston (2013), is linked to the benefits system itself, and its influence over the behaviours of *Others*, the dominant rationale for activation in the UK being, "to reduce the cost to the state and to place more economic responsibility on citizens" (p. 16).

The policy narrative here is guided by the assumption that sources of economic advantage are largely attributable to behavioural issues within the individual rather than structural inequalities in wider society. The solution?—well-chosen, strategic policy levers, that strenuously applied and followed up, will result in the realisation of desirable outcomes (Riddell, 2012). Following Tormey (2010), this represents a rational approach to decision making, where "the problem to be solved becomes 'simply' a technical question that requires a technical answer" (P. 189), as a collage of snaps in figure 24, taken from the 'key learning' section of CES, testifies.

Figure 24 Collage of Key Learning informing Welfare Dependency

- For many people with disabilities, a 'place and train' model works better than 'train and place', particularly where the nature of a person's disability makes it harder for them to transfer learning from one context to another
    - Demonstration/Pilot projects can help address how people think about work and disability, and may help in resolving blockages in the current system

Snapshot of Evidence Key Learning section p. 36

- Incentives for people with disabilities to work, and for employers to hire them

Snapshot of Evidence 1 CES Key Learning p. 38

A key element of the process should be a systematic profiling of clients' work capacity, as in Australia and Norway, combined with the facility for a swift referral to the most appropriate service, if required[28]

Proposal 2 (figure 25) revolves around the expansion of the current job placement services *Intreo* to include disability payment recipients.

Figure 25 Proposal 2 Provide Bridges and Supports into Work

The rhetoric of 'active engagement' in the narrative of figure 25, reflects the 'workfare' discourse that has swept the western world over the past two decades (Marston, 2008) and more recently in Ireland this its sister policy *Pathways to Work*, which points job-seekers firmly towards their "personal responsibility…as a pre-condition for receipt of their welfare payments" (Government of Ireland, 2012b, p. 9). Parker Harris et al (2012) note that while governments have adopted neoliberal labour market activation policies to varying degrees, "individuals are expected to bear the burden of meeting their needs and securing a decent standard of living with minimal government assistance" (p. 824); a damming indictment, they argue, on people who already experience a high level of discrimination and hardship in an unregulated market. In addition, the discourse of 'individualised bridges and supports' and 'gateways to

employment' bears a striking similarity to the discourse of the recent UK changes to disability payments in the UK in the form of ESA (Grover & Soldatic, 2013; Grover & Piggott, 2010).

Figure 26 Proposal 3. Welfare Dependency

Strategic Priority 3: Make work pay

Statement of Intent

Work will pay, and will be seen to pay. People who get a job and have to leave it will have a streamlined return to disability payments.

Actions include the following:
- Develop ready reckoners to show how someone with a disability will fare financially if they take a job
- Maintain a streamlined way for people to resume their disability payment if they have an episodic condition or have to leave a job

People with disabilities need to know that it pays to work. This involves not only addressing disincentives to work in the system, but also ensuring that people know with confidence what they will take home when in work compared to their entitlements on welfare. Accurate, trustworthy and widely-available knowledge in this area has an important role to play in making the decision to work. Research shows that fear of losing entitlements, and fear about not requalifying for benefit if it doesn't work out, can deter people from seeking employment.

Since 2007, not only was the first €120 of earnings from employment disregarded in the means-test for Disability Allowance, but a sliding scale was introduced for earnings up to €350. However there is evidence that employment is often pitched at the lower limit and that full use is not being made of the opportunity offered by the earnings taper on higher levels of income.

The medical card is of particular benefit to people with disabilities, and valued by them and their families, not only because people with disabilities are more likely to experience ill-health than the population at large, but also because certain supports are linked to the medical card, including assistive technologies. The Keane report (2014) has made recommendations in relation to a continuing use of discretion in the award of medical cards to people with severe

18   Government of Ireland

Annotations on figure:
- Dependency discourse established immediately
- Binary: work welfare
- Generous benefit system Echoes Howlin speeches foist austerity budget
- Mythopoesis: legitimation through narratives- moral tales/cautionary tales
- Generous welfare system; addressing disincentives - influence on behaviour of individuals
- Much sterner tone here: discourse of disability retrenchment
- Dependency discourse
- Mythopoesis Fear discourse plays an important part of CES. Vs Fear of Retaliation of the State - Perry & Clarke Study
- Medical card is vital to offset cost of disability…
- Reflects Charity discourse: Lynch.. gift of the state;

The discourse of 'make work pay' (proposal 3, figure 26) on the other hand, takes on a different note, legitimated here following Marston (2008) by authoritative evidence that implies the "flawed behaviour and morality of welfare recipients on the one hand, and the virtue of paid work on the other" (p. 359). The 'dependency discourse' is subtle, but nonetheless palpable in this snap; who's opening lines 'work will pay', establishes quickly the dependency frame, which receives further detailed legitimation in the narrative, through mythopoesis and a discourse of perceived 'fear and ignorance': "fear about losing and fear about not requalifying for benefit, if the job doesn't work out" (first paragraph). Unlike the 'benefits scrounger' discourse in the UK (Piggott and Grover 2009) however, the dependency discourse here is couched within the soft soothing tones of assisting disabled people 'to know with confidence the difference between what they take home when in work compared to their entitlements on welfare

(ibid). Thus, emphasis is put on the welfare system itself, and the 'decoupling' and reconfiguration' of certain entitlements, through a newly appointed interdepartmental group as shown in figure 27.

Recent analyses of UK welfare reforms under New Labour government, reveal a popular environment conducive to the retrenchment and the disability reform agenda, aimed at "activation, coercion, and responsibilisation" (Lindsay & Houston, 2013, p. 16), further reinforced by the didactics of a popular media discourse of "scroungerphobia" (Piggott & Grover, 2009, p. 161). Houston and Lindsay (2013) identify two intertwined discourses that they contend has systematically led to the framing of disability payments within a discourse of crisis in the UK: the first being a hegemonic adherence to neoliberal principles; the second, "a pejorative discourse of dependency which has developed in response to people with disabilities on welfare payments, observing that political and popular discourse typically revolve around disability benefits "being overly generous, too easily accessible, excessively complex to administer and too passive" (p. 178).

Theodore's (2007) analysis of the use of the term 'worklessness' in the lexicon of New Labour Government in the UK, is a useful perspective in examining the proliferation of the term 'joblessness' in CES: Used in policymaking arenas "the term worklessness draws a distinction between work as an economic activity and as an individual behaviour, and this has produced non-trivial shifts in the direction of public policy" (p. 931). This discursive strategy, he argues has been used by New Labour to redraw the parameters around the problem of unemployment, whilst steering a range of policies aimed at activating the unemployed disabled. When viewed from this perspective, the rhetoric of 'joblessness' represents "more than just an economic concept to describe a weak attachment to the labour market and the problems of long-term unemployment" (ibid, p. 930). Here, it represents a clear indication of how the problem of participation rates of people with disabilities in employment is conceived in policy terms.

With the introduction of terms such as 'joblessness', 'capacity' and 'active engagement', a 'consensual' discourse about activation and welfare for people with disabilities becomes the new reality, forging what Lunt and Horsfall (2013) call a 'relationship at a

distance' between the citizens and the state, defined by the level of perceived attachment to the labour market and meeting the requirements of 'abilities machine' citizenship. While Parker-Harris, Owen and Gould (2012) observe that this shift in policy approach emerged during the era of economic growth, they stress that the trend towards active disability policy is deemed even more important during times of economic downturn, as has been the case in Ireland.

After the dependency frame is established in figure 26, the overriding discourse of authorisation takes over, speaking of the need for "accurate trustworthy knowledge…in making the decision to work" CES, p. 18). Mythopoesis continues its work here too, allaying fears and anxieties, alluding to recommendation (note not assurance) "to a continuing use of discretion" (ibid) in severe cases of dependency and loose 'intentions to introduce, in stages', free GP care and universal health insurance as outlined in figure 27.

Figure 27 Proposal 3 continued

Ball's (2008b) policy ratcheting is evident here too, the 'work will pay discourse' (figure 26), reflecting the key message of Budget 2016, whereby a decent job and fair wages are proffered as "the best weapon against inequality… not the social welfare system". (Howlin, 2016)—further evidence of the rising 'neoliberal tolerance' that proliferates

the literature (Springer, 2016; Goodley, Lawthom, & Runswick, 2014). Although CES was not a political issue in election 2016, the window of opportunity afforded by general elections is noted by Bailey and Ball (2016, p. 126) whereby "the ratcheting of policy is perhaps never more apparent", opening up 'policy windows' for new ideas and new trajectories.

Tracing the Genealogy of Joblessness

Neoliberalism challenges the idea of a welfare state and government intervention, favouring instead retrenchment, the promotion of the free market, and the prioritisation of the economy over social rights. The impregnation and continued emphasis of the term 'joblessness' in the lexicon of CES is evidenced in the collage of snaps in figure 28, which feature just three of its 15 instances in CES; Above all else, neoliberal regimes are committed to economic strategies "in the name of producing unfettered markets" (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010, p. 47).

Figure 28 Joblessness Discourse
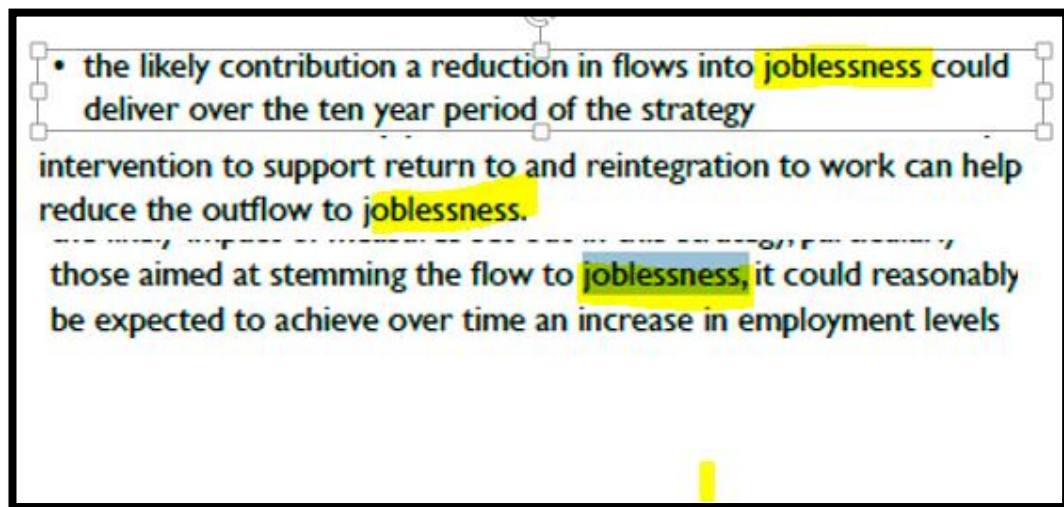
Prior to the programme of troika inspired austerity budgets, Ireland's policy response to the economic crisis was already being described as 'aggressive', gaining approval from international think tanks lauding the Irish case "as a model of the necessity of cuts" (Dukelow, 2011, p. 421). The discourse emanating from Europe at this time puts emphasis on labour market activation policies, framed within active inclusion discourse, most notably in the Commission's *Recommendation on the Active Inclusion of People Excluded from the Labour Market* (European Commission, 2008). However inclusive

activation was "more often than not a euphemism for tighter eligibility criteria in welfare systems" (Barbier, 2012, p. 387).

Although the Troika insisted on further cutbacks, the Irish government had already embarked on a series of cutbacks in three consecutive budgets, during the 14 months to December 2009. Benefit cuts were justified on the basis of an overly generous welfare system with "rate of assistance that compares very well internationally, particularly with payments in Britain and Northern Ireland" (Lenihan, 2009b). Labour market changes in the unemployment benefits category introduced under the troika agreement (Department of Finance, 2010) were aimed at addressing the perceived passive activation policies in Ireland in "such a way as to make it more effective" (Department of Finance, 2010, p. 21). Thus, the benefits and payments that people with disabilities receive were no longer immune from pressure to decrease expenditure on welfare, as they faced new assessments and categorisation with respect to their 'assumed abilities' to perform certain types of work or to be eligible for different types of social support (Yates, 2015). In the case of CES, the extensive use of the term joblessness, drives a key message of the outgoing Government: 'you are better off working than on benefits'. Through the impregnation of the terms joblessness and capacity in CES, future changes to disability payments are made possible "through a 'ratchet effect' of changing practical and discursive possibilities" (Ball 2008b, p. 195).

5. A Portrait of Disability Payments

Trouble Ahead

And last but by no means least we meet 'trouble ahead' in the form of disability payments, a competitor for the role of warrant it would appear, as this story unfolds. This portrait was particularly difficult to capture because of its rather 'Pimpernelian' qualities, lying quietly, but not silently, within the shadows of the 'economic context' section (figure 29), cloaked in stark statistics and laced with an undertone of 'looming crisis'.

Figure 29 Silent Warrant
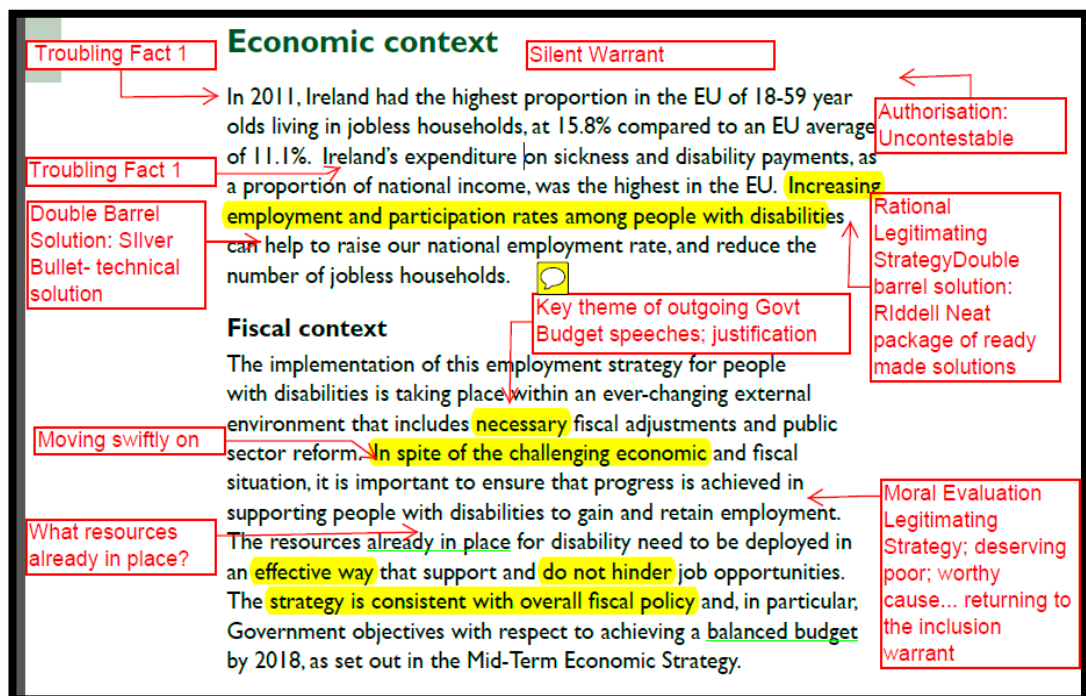
The narrative in this portrait is simple—disability 'costs'; the problems are (under)presented as two-fold: Statement one throws out the first worrying fact building on the joblessness discourse; statement two, another worrying fact, this time the burgeoning disability payments, highest in the EU; statement three proffers the ingenious silver bullet solution, effectively killing these two birds with one stone, before returning swiftly with a 'clipped if comforting tone, to the political warrant 'the right thing to do', despite the 'challenging economic and fiscal situation' that we find ourselves in. Following Quinn (2015), this is where "disability is framed, narrowed, measured and judged—the default against change in all countries" (p. 10). Although

the framing of the problematisation is achieved discreetly and the discourse downplayed here, it is nevertheless very clear that Ireland's expenditure on disability payments is the 'real problem' for Irish society—well the economy that is.

Examining these three statement through Hyatt's framework (2013a), the accountability warrant in statements one and two creates a subtle allusion as to what could happen if these stark statistics are left unchecked. The discourse of 'pending crisis' is not invoked explicitly, but implied here, through the inferred consequences of a burgeoning and burdensome "outflow to joblessness" (CES p. 20, figure 30) against which disability expenditure is subtly compared. The dominant discourse reflects Lindsay and Houston's assertion that "high levels of working age incapacity and economic inactivity represent a waste of human capital as skills and labour are haemorrhaged out from a productive economy" (2013, p. 14). As a warrant, this is thinly drawn but discursively effective, given the economic landscape into which the strategy was born. The selection and use of the collective 'our' within the third solution statement in framing the national employment rate, qualifies as strategic use of wording (Serrano-Velarde, 2015), achieving successfully to plant the seeds of the problem lightly but firmly, as a societal one. Despite the existence of paternalistic and pitying discourses here, people with disabilities are in a precarious position in this frame, "not only are they held to be financially burdensome, they are also held to have detrimental supply-side effects that are also held to reduce profitability" (Grover & Soldatic, 2013, p. 226).

The discursive frame of proposal 4, (figure 30) focuses on solutions ranging from early intervention to disability champions focusing on 'reintegration' and seamless supports, reinforcing the ubiquitous recovery discourse that frames the inclusion warrant. The use of terms such as 'colleagues', 'support', 'regain', 'gain', 'prospect' and 'integration' qualify as positive evaluation devices (Hyatt, 2005a) serving once again as discursive strategies to frame work as the elixir for all exclusions.

Figure 30 Proposal 4 Promoting Job Retention
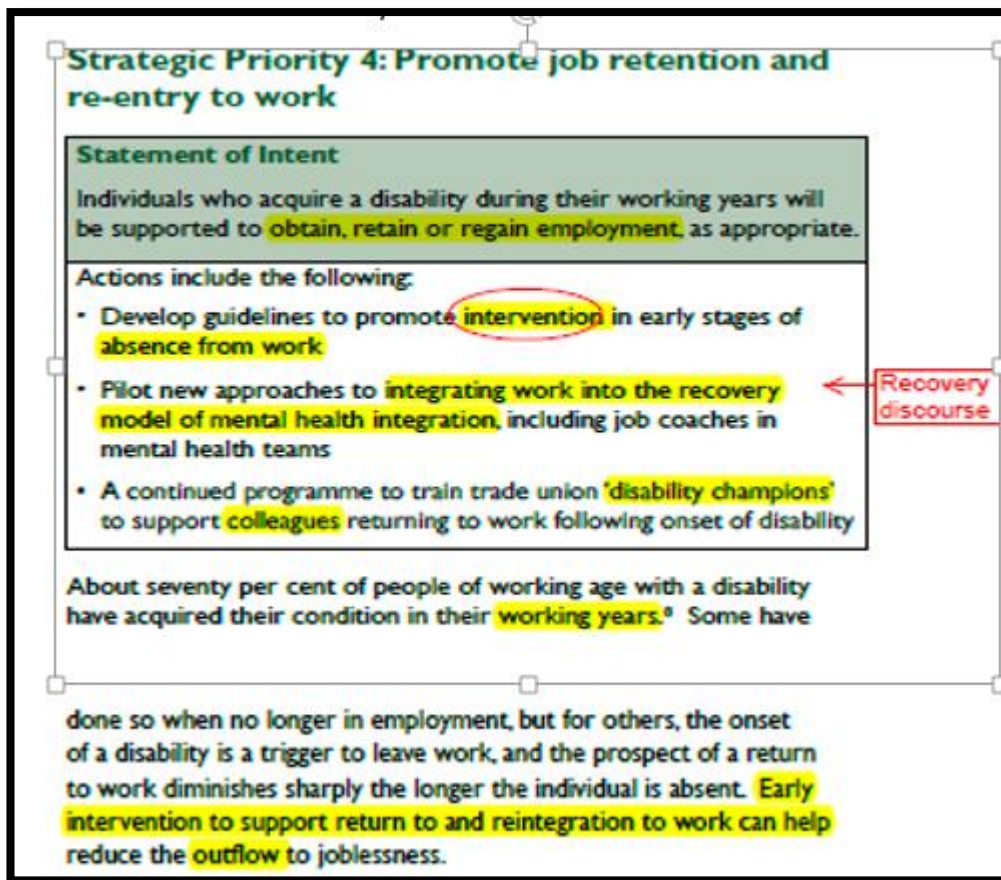
How has this come about?

This is not an unusual warrant however, as concern over spending on disability payments overt or covert, is certainly not unique to Ireland. In response to the problem of reducing expenditure on disability payments while increasing employment rates, Governments across the globe including UK, the US and Australia "have tightened their embrace on neo-liberal philosophy" (Parker Harris, Owen, & Gould, 2012, p. 824) and are pursuing a process of reform in the areas of disability services. Likewise, CES positions itself within a similar policy context. The 'Value for Money' (figure 31) report (Department of Health, 2012) is the key driver of such reform within the Irish context and is the key source of the prevailing '*do more with less'* mantra, dominating this sector. Within this context, ever-increasing competition for shrinking resources between government departments, has led to a seven year cycle of cuts right across disability services, including the complete wipe-out through an overnight withdrawal of funding for the national organisation 'People With Disabilities Ireland' in 2011.

Figure 31 Policy Context

Programme of reform in disability and mental health services

An active programme of reform in both disability and in mental health services is being driven by a series of key policy documents:

- Value for Money and Policy Review of Disability Services (2012)
- New Directions, a Review of Adult Day Services (2012)
- A Vision for Change (2006) – national mental health strategy

Older persons and disabled people of late, have become a particular focus in current welfare reform in the UK, complete with a complimentary rhetoric of "how 'we' can reduce the increasing 'burden' 'they' represent" (Beresford, 2016, p. 15). A greying society and fewer people in the labour market has put pressure on pension expenditure; hence governments' emphases on keeping the country working and working for longer. The combination of these factors represents an "explosive cocktail for the welfare state", paving the way for a form of acceptance towards reductions in public spending and a renewed focus "on the balance between state, market and civil society" (Greve, 2011, p. 334). Given these shifting trends, many governments are turning their problem-solving gaze towards the active management of health conditions and 'disablement problems'.

Turning back to the Irish context, Fraser et al's study (2013), following Naomi Klein's work on 'disaster capitalism' (2007), positions the period following the economic crash as Ireland's first ever neoliberal crisis. Crisis periods they argue, are exploited by neoliberal champions, in order to "push through policies and reforms that claim to be about crisis resolution, but in fact tend to have highly problematic social impacts on workers and other citizens" (p. 48). However, rather than the big bang 'all at once' shock that Klein speaks of, Fraser et al argue that a period of "uninterrupted disturbance" characterises the first few years of structural adjustment, reflecting a more subtle and incremental process of reform, slowly "chipping away…frightening…and agitating with apocalyptic warnings" (ibid). Following this line of evidence, subtle referencing to the previous 1980s welfare crisis and the overgenerous

nature of the welfare system can be found in the ministerial speeches around this time (Lenihan, 2009a; 2009b) as the snippets in figure 32 testify.

Figure 32 Generous Benefit Discourse Established 2009
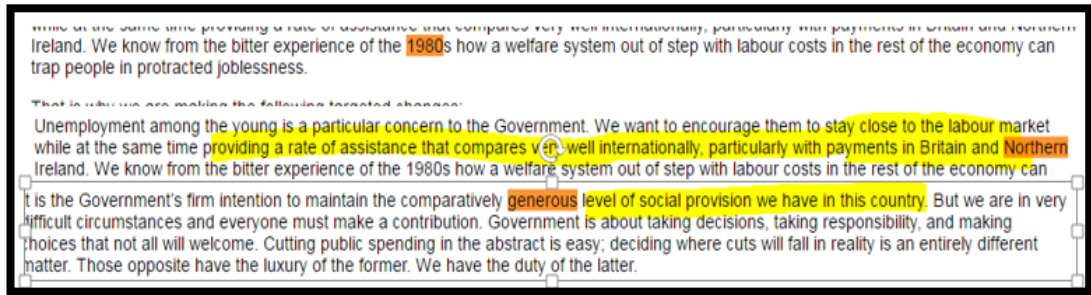
Building on this context, CES alludes to a generosity discourse, but more nuanced, more subtly, as a close-up examination of an excerpt from proposal 3 demonstrates (figure 33). The prefacing of the clause with the 'since 2007' presupposition in figure 33, gives emphasis to the generosity of the welfare system, while the positioning and use of terms such as 'not only' and 'but' serve to give impact to the generous measures outlined. The inclusion of specific figures (€350) here, bring the generous nature of disability payments to the fore—the amount not insignificant, followed by the charge that 'evidence' suggests that 'full use' of this generous opportunity is not being availed of.

Figure 33 Generous Benefits Reinforced 2015
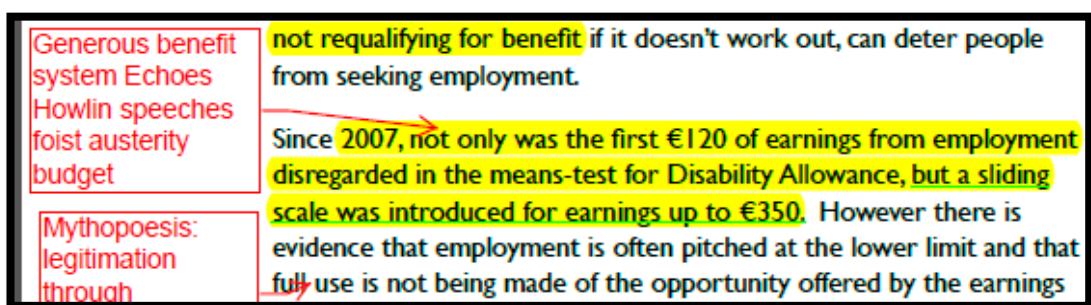
Proponents of disability rights view increasing labour market participation as a central goal, albeit for very different reasons. Put very simply, but acknowledging this is far from the case, the social model of disability sees employment from a rights and social justice perspective; the emphasis being on education and wider public services such as transport, housing and community based services. From its beginning, disability activists have advocated for a user-controlled welfare state with pro-active services, delivered

through a system underpinned by rights and entitlements with meaningful rights of address (Morris, 2011). From this perspective, the central goals of the welfare state are inclusion, not exclusion, equality, not inequality and a high level of employment (Greve, 2015). From an education perspective, the social model looks to policies of "alleviation rather than compensation" (Lunt & Horsfall, 2013, p. 170), and rather than individualised understandings of the problem of unemployment, "calls for recognition of structural inhibitors within complex decision making contexts" (ibid, p. 167).

When seen from within this frame, the disability benefits system has already created a dependency discourse with its constructed dichotomies between 'unfit' and 'fit for work', in its day-to-day welfare eligibility criteria, as well as the distinction between 'disability allowance' and 'jobseeker's benefits' in the classification of payments, along with another layer of work related payments such as 'incapacity benefit' and 'occupational injury benefit'. Roulstone (2015) argues that the relentless economic challenge represented by continued recessionary economies, together with longer-run social and demographic shifts, has contributed to a "hardening of rhetoric towards disability" in many western capitalist economies (p. 676). In common with many other European countries, the UK government in recent years, has reformed the sickness benefit system with "the aim of reducing expenditure by restricting access, increasing activation measures and reducing benefit generosity" (Sissons & Barnes, 2013, p. 233).

The hidden warrant of burgeoning disability payments is a key portrait concluding this chapter, reflecting a key theme from the international literature and a compelling piece of evidence, as we turn our gaze now to the second stage of problematisation—the interrogation chapter. With all five portraits framed and hung, this study now turns to the critique of these depictions using WPR questions three to six, supported by various aspects of Hyatt's CDA framework (2013a).

Chapter 5 Interrogation

Before the process of interrogation begins, it is useful to review the story thus far. By means of a collage from the portraits and snaps presented in the preceding chapter, a whole-picture emerges, representing my initial observations, thoughts and reflections on the line up and cast of CES.

First of all, there is '*Sir Warrant*' (clearly the producer), very gallant on his white horse named '*Recovery*'. *Sir Warrant* is flanked by '*Work* and *Inclusion*', a rather fetching couple—*Work* looking very desirable; *Inclusion* very pleased with herself indeed. Next, we have leading character '*Other*', sitting it appears somewhat uncomfortably beside an all-singing all-dancing '*Normal*'. Lagging behind this pair and looking rather unamused, comes *Hollowed-out Education* and a confused looking *Jobless* individual, who are in turn overshadowed by a rather brusque looking pair—*Activation* and *Careless State*. And finally, lurking in the background of this story rather shiftily is *Disability Payments*, looking quite uneasy, but none-the less determined; while *Human Rights* is noticeably absent from this line up.   It is to these understandings and conceptual premises that I now turn my attention to, for close up inspection, some hard questions, and critique. But first, a reminder of the prompt questions that guide this element of the analysis.

4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the problem be thought about differently?

5. What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?

6. Where or how has this representation of the problem been produced disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?
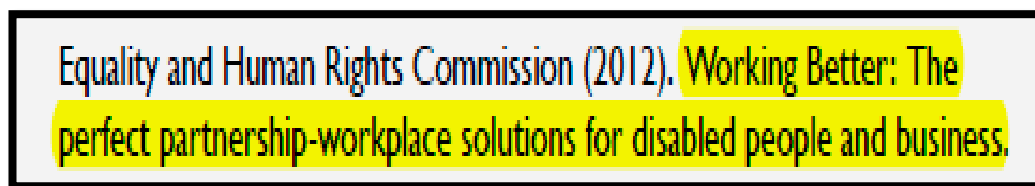
Problematising Warrant:

The idea of 'condensation symbol' is often found associated with inclusion discourses in educational policy analyses of this nature (Lane, 2015; Grimaldi 2012), because of their power, impact and seductive characteristics coupled with their intrinsic ability to defy specific definition (Troyna & Vincent, 1995). However, within an Irish context, the term 'pastiche' is particularly pertinent to this study. O'Sullivan (2005) defines pastiche as a postmodern mixing of educational disadvantage and inclusion discourses—"a cultural form of non-generative, consensually-driven mixing of texts, as distinct from an intertextuality" (p. 199). Because pastiche generally discourages dissonance, it allows 'intervention discourses' to be foregrounded readily. As a discursive strategy he argues, it works to accommodate policies, while simultaneously disengaging from its embedded complexities and inherent contradictions.

So, what is wrong with this picture?

Well firstly, to draw on the words of Graham and Slee (2008, p. 278) "to include is not necessarily to be inclusive". A pastiche marriage of 'work and inclusion' is presented uncontestably in the expressed warrant (figure 2) as the perfect partnership, underpinned by an army of authoritative evidence pointing to work as the royal road to social inclusion, status and identity (figure 34, figure 35).

Figure 34 Work and Inclusion: The Perfect Partnership

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Figure 35 Work Inclusion and Recovery Discourse

Figure 35 Work Inclusion and Recovery Discourse

And why not? I here you ask, after all this is an employment strategy isn't it? Yes it is, but… read through a dis/ability perspective, the warrant constructs people with disabilities as pitiful 'victims of circumstances', who, with the right interventions, can catch up with the rest of us normals on the 'yellow brick road' to the labour market. Following Tsarouhous and Ladi (2013), the rhetorical device of 'recovery', an example of which can be seen in figure 35, reveals a deeply embedded disablist view of disability, confidently legitimated by a bank of evidence and articulated equally reassuringly, through a soothing paternalistic discourse of caring State. The inclusion and work pastiche, functions here as a moral legitimating device to accommodate a market-focused programme of welfare reform, insulating otherwise problematic problematisations from criticism. The rhetorical parameters of recovery presented in CES are not unproblematic either, performing a dual function here in the recovery '*of*' the economy (expressed warrant), and '*for*' people with disabilities (figure 35), representing 'their recovery' too. Read through Hyatt's (2005a) discursive lens, the term recovery represents a positive evaluation term; however, notions of positives and negatives are subjective and are themselves indicative of deeper epistemological assumptions. From this perspective, the trajectory of the enduringly stubborn and

bewildering problem of disability must be subjected to "didactic and intrusive forms of government so that 'they' can be caught up to the rest of 'us'" (Bletsas, 2012, p. 47)—the normal, able-bodied mainstream. As Mallett and Runswick-Cole advance (2014), "when the boundary of 'us' is drawn, the boundary of 'them' is also redrawn and reinforced" (p. 103).

Secondly, the relationship between disability, poverty and social exclusion the simple one directional construction given in the warrant, but rather the relationship between all three is both complex and bidirectional (Ghosh, Dababnah, Parish and Igdalsky 2015). Drawing on evidence from the UK, Ghosh et al (2015) note that barriers to employment and education—both measures of social exclusion, are significant factors that mediate the relationship between disability and poverty. Being disabled they argue, brings stigmatisation, discrimination and "outright legal exclusion" (p. 91). Similarly, Vehmas and Watson (2014) point out that clustering on the basis of bad heath or impairment as evidenced in the infographs (figure 12) "are by no means the only and most significant sources of causal clustering of disadvantage" (p. 646). They too point to social factors such as educational attainment, background and context, which significantly impact on disadvantage and poverty, thereby reducing the opportunities for control over one's external environment.

Social exclusion as a result of disablism impacts on the educational experience and opportunities for children and people with disabilities alike, and in turn, their employment experiences and opportunities. To break the cycle of disability, social exclusion and poverty, all three factors must be tackled simultaneously (Ghosh et al, 2015). CES through its expressed warrant on the other hand, constructs a simple uncontested and one-directional causal relationship between work, social inclusion, financial independence and well-being. The complex causal factors of low skills, poor education and fears are the only explanation proffered in CES, not once but twice (p. 5, & p. 23)—like Quinn (2015, p. 2) argues, "facts are stubborn things". Given the hegemony of this policy discourse, it is easy to see why and how certain facts are not included in CES.

Locating 'Pastiche Discourses'

On this form of discursive framing, Goodley et al (2014, p. 982) are emphatic "it is absolutely essential that we consider the ways in which disability and poverty are once again cast together as inseparable". Equally, Barnes and Mercer (2005, pp. 535-536) argue that the pattern of equating social inclusion with paid employment has resulted in further marginalisation for many disabled people. Furthermore, the positioning of inclusion as the 'outcome of employment alone', coheres with Tormey's (2010) account of the representation of educational disadvantage in Irish antipoverty policy, reflecting what he calls a 'phoney consensus', without discussion or definition, silencing the diversity of perspectives on, and the opportunity for, critical debate.

This is problematic on two counts. Firstly, the strategy presents social inclusion as an uncontested and indeed an undefined concept—"a 'cliché –obligatory in the discourse of all right-thinking people" (Arnesen, Mietola, & Lahelma, 2007, p. 98). Secondly, as Newman (2011) and others have vehemently argued, depicting paid employment, as the elixir of social exclusion is both unrealistic and ill-founded. Such tensions reflect broader tensions and debates in the field of critical social policy analysis as global discourses become reworked and 'glocalised' (Liasidou, 2008) in the national interest. Thus, *Sir Warrant*, through the pastiche of a 'gallant and glorious' work and inclusion partnership, creates the ideal conditions and discursive space for a charitable discourse of N*ormals* and *Others* to sit side by side—a space where the lexicon of 'intervention' becomes both realised and reified, as the collage of snaps in figure 36 exemplifies. Thus it would appear, O'Sullivan's (2005) pastiche inclusion and McDonnell's (2003) deep conceptual inequalities, are still alive and well in the Irish lexicon of inclusion discourse.

Figure 36 Intervention Discourse

Work and Inclusion: A Pastiche Marriage

The general framing of paid employment as the royal road to social inclusion is fundamentally flawed--specifically the premise that the rising tide of employment lifts people out of poverty; the neo-liberal assumption within this frame being that it is natural and normal for individuals to have pre-determined motivations, premised on the selfish pursuit of money. Newman (2011) and Goulden (2010) both argue that employment alone cannot provide a sustainable route out of poverty in the absence of similar measures to address low pay, job security and lack of progression: "work is the most important route out of poverty for working age people, but not a guaranteed one" (Newman, 2011, p. 96). Yes, employment *is* a key factor towards independence and social integration, but for many people with disabilities "it fails to generate the

resources to get a life" (Quinn, Naughton, & Flynn, 2016, np). True, CES devotes considerable attention to the issues of transport under proposal 2 (figure 41), but saying very little really, apart from pointing to 'significant progress' made under NDS and stressing the essential role it plays in accessing employment.

Figure 37 Mainstreaming through Car-Pooling
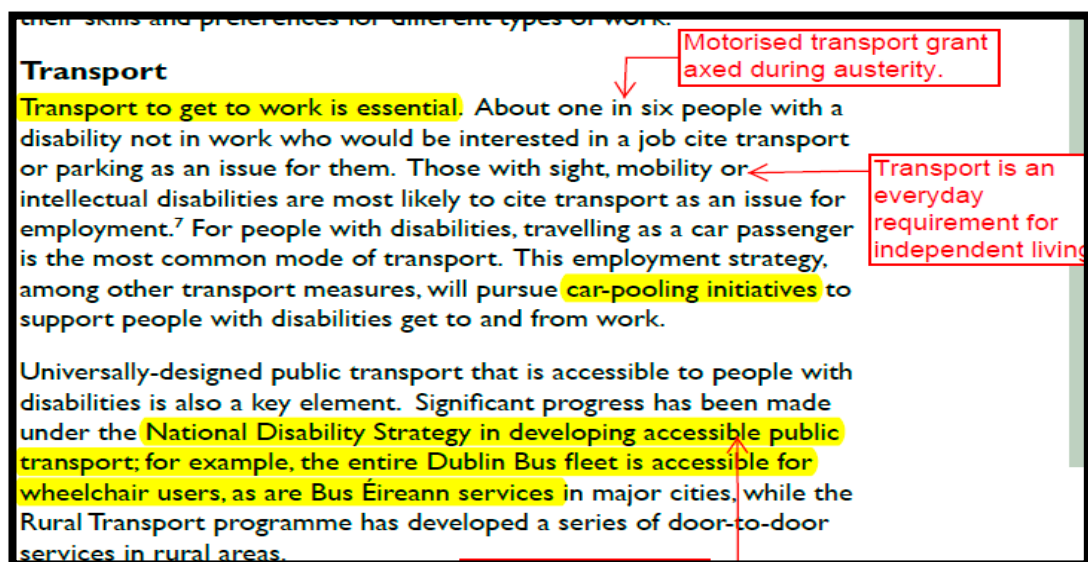
What this frame isn't saying however, is that one in four people with a disability in Ireland cannot use public transport because it is not accessible; wheelchair users have to give 24 hours' notice to travel by train; buses are inaccessible to many, and there are fewer accessible taxis than before the recession (DFI, 2016). Wheelchair user, Sean O Kelly's twitter campaign *#adayinmywheels* (Twitter Inc, 2016) twenty one and his girlfriend Megan twenty three, still have to rely on their parents to shuttle them on dates around Dublin. Yet these 'truths' are not represented in CES, while vague and uninspiring commitments such as "car-pooling" (CES, p. 17) offer little in the way of tackling deep inequalities within the system; as another disability advocate testifies, "it's as if we are not being seen as equals and it seems as if the government don't want us to have equal rights and don't want us to participate in Irish society," (Noonan, 2016). These testimonies must be read in the context of a State that is spending less on home support services now than in 2008, despite an increase in the number of people with complex conditions, resulting in a bizarre situation where 'geography not need is deciding who gets this service in Ireland' (O'Regan, 2016).

Similarly, the level of educational supports a child with special needs receives in preschool, is also determined by ones location. The approach taken and available supports within nine geographic administrative regions are operating unfit for purpose service models; as Quinn et al argue: "while the Government pours money into old and discredited models, the world has moved on" (Quinn, Naughton, & Flynn, 2016, p. 2/4). Home support and educational supports are both critical to achieving social inclusion for individuals and their families. The continued withdrawal of funding from these vital services has had and continues to have significant impacts on people's lives, as the stories told during the disable inequality election campaign 2016 testifies. Against this backdrop, the promise of disability mainstreaming looks indeed precarious. The question thus arises, how CES can achieve its goals of social inclusion if the approach is inherently flawed to begin with?

Normals and *Others*

The title of the strategy '*Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities*' is, as it suggests, a specialised, standalone policy for people with disabilities, taking over a decade, to use its own words 'to come to fruition'. Although the pre-supposition 'since 2007', was used to highlight the generosity of the disability payments system in proposal 4 , the emphasis on the even longer period since CES was conceptualised in 2004, is framed by the discourse of 'concerted effort' 'fruition' and 'significant achievement'. In addition, CES sits alongside the mainstream *Pathways to Work* programme (Government of Ireland, 2016b) and *Action Plan for Jobs* (Government of Ireland, 2016a) in which specific elements of CES are included (figure 37). Based on this dichotomy, it is this study's contention that regardless of achievement, CES amounts to a pure form of identity politics bringing with it the discursive effect of difference (Graham & Slee, 2008); as Goodley puts it, "disavowing that which sits outside of the normative imaginary, threatens the very ontological status of disabled people" (2014, p. 127).

Figure 38 Mainstream and Distant Others

Within the discursive space between CES and its mainstream counterpart policies (figure 38), medicalisation, identity and the politics of dis/ability, can be seen through Goodley's frame (2014), merging in complicated ways in the context of an active neoliberal State, resulting in a segregationist policy of specialised and institutionalised employment schemes "that threaten to totally deskill people" (ibid p. 9). Existing but unnamed in the tokenistic space between the mainstream *Pathways to Work* and CES, is the invisible "ghostly centre" (Graham & Slee, 2008, p. 278), from which *Others* (portrait one) and their marginal positions from *normals* are realised. It is within this space that we find "the origins of disablement in exclusion from and within the labour market" (Goodley 2014, p. 9).

Locating Careless State

The 'almost rights based' Irish disability legislative framework, poised quietly in the corner of this snap, is not unproblematic either.

Figure 39 Careless State Legislation

The various Acts have been criticised from a rights perspective, for their limited reach and over-reliance on the discourse and ideology of charity to address injustices (Perry & Clarke, 2015; De Wispelaere & Walsh, 2007). Drudy and Kinsella (2009) in particular, point to the anomalies and inequalities within the system, facilitated by the greater focus on 'provider' than 'rights', which the legislation is guilty of, due to the extensive language of slippage *'having regard to the resources available'* peppering all the pieces of disability legislation—"delimiting any rights therein" (p. 660).

We need not dig very far to find the language of slippage within CES as well; the 'legislative context' section makes that point perfectly clear in its brief description of the Acts, where the language of slippage is forefronted throughout the narrative (figure 40). Here we see the lexicon of the discussion laced with terms such as 'reasonable steps', 'as far as is practicable', 'not obliged', 'unless there are good reasons' 'who could not undertake', and last but not least, icing on the cake—'burden to employer'. The burden discourse is particularly poignant here, building on the concerted effort established in the foreword—further evidence of the state's careless approach to tackling deep structural inequalities in the system. Meanwhile, the Government, State and political system have used the financial crisis as an opportunity to dismantle the human rights infrastructure in Ireland, evidenced by the systematic closure of a suite of key equality authorities and bodies throughout the period 2000-2013, resulting in the widespread and uncontested view "that people should be grateful for the services provided" (Lynch, 2013 p. 2/8).

Figure 40 Language of Slippage

Figure 40 Language of Slippage

The limited and ambiguous notion of inclusion represented in figures 38, 39 and 40 ensure the reification of ever more insidious and complex forms of exclusion. The narrow and limited legalistic approaches, as Oliver and Barnes (2006) argue, benefits rights-based industry professionals more so than those they are supposed to serve. When processed through Graham and Slee's (2008) filter, the limited notion of inclusion reflected in these snaps qualifies this policy "as strategy within a political project" (p. 285) that is more about maintaining established orders of neoliberal-ableism, than a recognition of rights. The discursive framing of inclusion constructs "not simply illusory positions of interiority/exteriority, but the play by which borders and limits are conceived" (p. 283).

However, the discursive framing of "inclusion as limitless" (Hansen, 2012) as suggested in figure 39, is not the vision suggested to realise the goals of inclusive education either. The charitable discourse delivered in this soothing paternalistic tone, serves only to silence the unequal power relations between able-bodied and disabled people, reinforcing the normative status ascribed to able-bodied characteristics. When viewed from this perspective, the causes attributed to the plight of the disabled are rendered
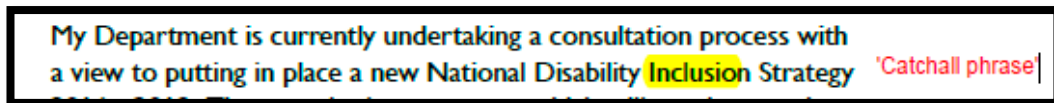
plausible, being reified in an uncontested political discourse without dissonance, much less disruption.

The values associated with diversity, rights and social justice are given no space whatsoever in this portrait. Even though the legislative framework is cited in CES, the discussion is sparse—nothing more than technocratic regurgitation of what the Acts preclude. Instead, CES extols a charity model of distribution that is concerned with managing the poor; not eliminating inequality and injustice. The nuance of this was not lost on Joanne O'Riordan however, a sixteen year-old girl with no limbs, who successfully challenged Taoiseach Enda Kenny in 2011 to do a U-turn on his budget pledge to slash disability benefits for young people, after it was revealed he had promised Joanne in his pre-election campaign that he would not do so. The embarrassing pledge, captured and shared on social media, proved a step too far for the charitable careless State—even in TINA times it seems.

A Charitable Model
A charity model of equality leads to the moral judgement of those who are in receipt of it; a framing of the recipients as deserving or undeserving. The cumulative effects of a charitable model has a direct and significant impact on disabled people's experiences of making their way in higher education, as well as on the parents and families of those in compulsory schooling (Scanlon et al 2014). As Lynch (2013) argues, because charity is a gift proffered by those who decide to donate, on the terms which they decide to provide it, those on the receiving end of charity are assumed not to have rights to the services or goods offered. Continuous redistributions and re-designations are required in this approach to social justice, with inequalities being reproduced and produced anew. As disadvantaged groups are identified and prioritised in the redistribution of wealth and allocation of resources, it creates a system of perpetual exclusion, giving rise to Campbell's concern (2013, p. 215) that "to claim inclusion one must have a permanent under-cohort of the excluded".

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Thus, CES, in what it implies, assumes, names and un-names, embodies the normative 'centre' against which difference is measured and evaluated. As argued by O'Brien & Ó Fathaigh, 2007 "common notions of disadvantage and social exclusion, bring with them a danger of them being used as 'catchall' phrases both conceptually and practically" (p. 599). Furthermore, a pastiche inclusion discourse is equally as accommodating, catering for a wide range of strategies of 'intervention'—as O'Sullivan argues, "it is not in its nature to be restrictive" (2005, p. 323).

Locating Naturalistic Fallacy: Legitimising Disability

As state bureaucracies expand, so too does the wealth of texts written about disabled people and the "discourse structures that define their social identity" (p. 536). On the verities and the implications of evidence-based policy-making in an Irish context, Professor Gerard Quinn (2015) argues that we all work from mental frameworks and reservations and policy makers are no different. However, Ball (2008a) reminds us not to overestimate the logical rationality of policy given that its articulations are often messy, inconsistent, tangled and unclear. Thus the conceptualisation of disability as articulated through CES is understood here following Bacchi (2009) as more of a reflection of the State's *thinking* about the issues of inclusion, disability, welfare and education, than it is a product of something enduring in the *nature* of disability itself. And so it is to Quinn's notion of 'naturalistic fallacy', and 'thinking frames' that this study now turns its gaze towards—that discursive space in CES where the relationship between 'disability facts' and 'evidence-based research' becomes tantamount.

World Report on Disability

CES is based on a logical application of solution focused proposals, legitimated by a battalion of evidence, which is forefronted by an 'empire' of disability experts, as exhibited in figures 3 and 4. Of particular interest in this line up, is the '*World Report on Disability*' (2013). Goodley (2014) is sceptical of this 'empire' document; referring to a "globalised biopolitical machine" (p. 143) of sorts that is capable of spreading distinct

readings and thus practices of disability across the globe. Because of its liberal rights perspective on disability, The *World Report* he argues, risks suffocating more rounded, less individualised forms of being human, thus halting any disruptive potential therein. Having the authoritative legitimacy of the *World Bank*, and the *World Health Organisation*, the *World Report* cannot hold a neutral position, its "crip readings of disability…being firmly fixed on an individualised meritocratic and ableist conception of citizenship" ibid, p. 143). Thus, we find further evidence of Quinn's (2015) naturalistic fallacy making its way through a process of glocalisation into the domains of Irish disability policy-making, under the guise of inclusion.

Infographs

The representation of the 'disadvantages associated with people with disabilities' in the infographs (CES, pp. 25-27), based on impairment, restrictions and educational disadvantage, can be read as the "arbitrary and dogmatic templates of normality" (Liasidou, 2010, p. 228) against which the depiction of Otherness is measured and reinforced; thus reaffirming the disabled person's structural location in terms of exclusion, disadvantage and poverty. Based on deviations from the norm of "functions and tasks" (CES, p. 9), "restrictions" (p. 26) and "employability" (p. 14), CES constructs disability as an enduring pathological problem, framed in an undisputable manner by "fix it and get better" (Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2010, p. 283) interventions as the warrant and evidence from its bibliography testifies.

Figure 42 Legitimising Dis/ability

> • **Early intervention,** before absence from work where that is possible, is important to prevent sick absences becoming long-term one. This is particularly important where there is a mental health difficulty.[30] The longer someone is out of work, the less likely they are to return to work.
>
> **The World Health Organisation in its 2011** World Report on Disability[31] documented some international good practice on promoting employment of people with disabilities, and has emphasised the importance of
>
> _____
>
> [27] Greve (2009) cited in UK Department of EWork and pensions – What Works?
> [28] OECD 2010
> [29] OECD 2011. This found that generally public employment services in OECD countries do not have tools to identify mental ill-health. Many people with common mental disorders claim mainstream unemployment payments rather than disability/sickness benefits
> [30] OECD 2011. In Australia, after a certain period of prolonged sickness absence, the person is called in for an assessment of both work capability and support needs. Other countries, such as Finland and Denmark, have introduced a categorisation so as to better identify cases at risk of developing into long-term absence

Figure 43 'Enduring Problem' Discourse

> health, restricted stamina, or complex disabilities. These factors mean that however good the economic conditions or however effective the employment strategy, the employment rate for people with disabilities would always be below their non-disabled peers.

Locating the Dishuman

As well, the distinctly rational tone suggested in figure 44, in the form of 'expert workshops' and 'looking at what works' for 'different types of impairment', brings a particularly 'distant *others*' discourse to this frame of thinking. Digging deeper it is possible to discern traces of Goodley's dishuman in the last frame of figure 44 especially, through its implied suggestion that some form of specialised knowledge is required to deal with 'those people with disabilities'.

Examining this snap more closely, supports in the form of 'authoritative knowledge' and 'helplines' are legitimated by the need to and 'build confidence' and 'know how' in employers and 'those new to this area', serving to reinforce the concerted effort discourse established by the Minister in the foreword.   Thus, as Dolmage (2014) argues, in those discursive spaces, where disability is framed by 'type', 'restrictions' and 'impairment' the disabled person is rendered "abject, invisible, disposable and less than human" (p. 22). The preceding statement "many private sector employers *successfully* employ people with disabilities" (figure 43 emphasis added), serves here to underline the dishuman representation allowed within the discursive contours of the chosen evidence.
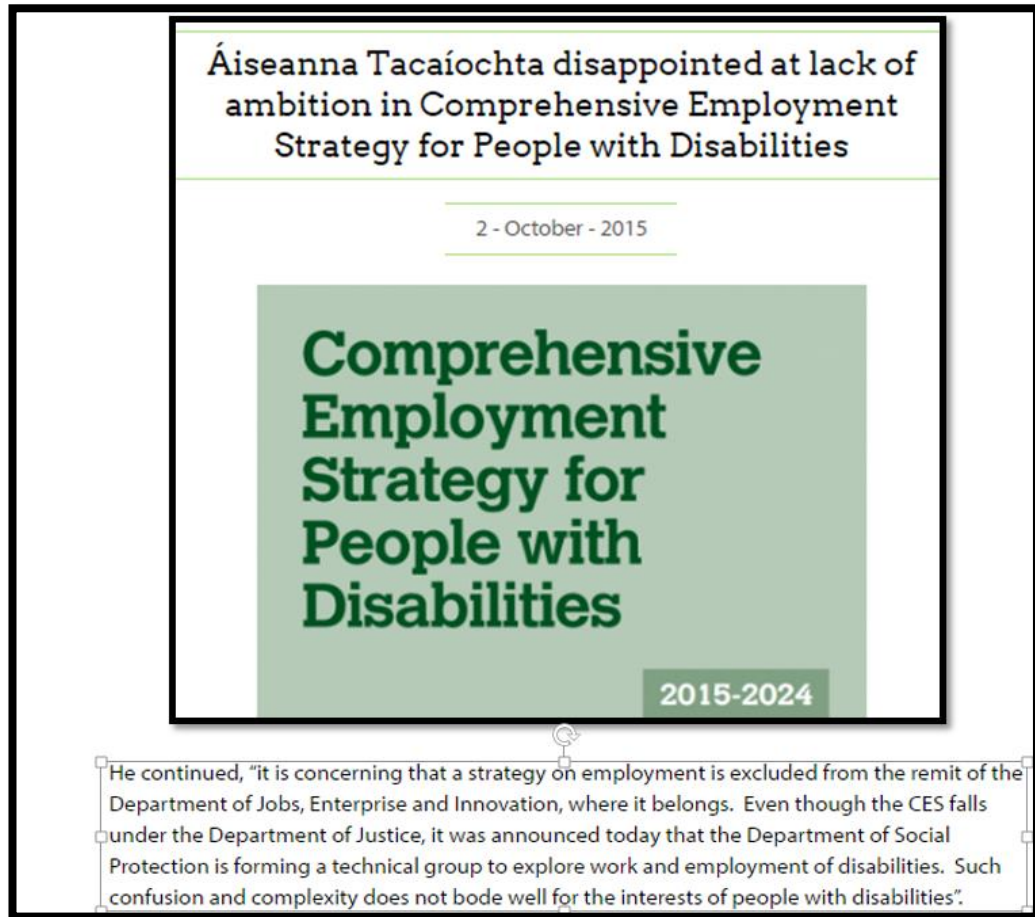
Intervention Discourse

Notwithstanding that we would like to consider ourselves as a State with a more sophisticated infrastructure and lexicon for describing and understanding disability, people with disabilities are still constituted as "targets of interventions rather than sources of socio-political change" (Grue, 2011, p. 535). Thus, CES constitutes one of

those conservative policies that at best, "end up patronising people instead of liberating them" (Quinn 2015, np). Nowhere does CES point to institutional change, nor indeed does it imply anywhere in its narrative that any change is needed. In fact, the opposite is suggested through the consistent problematisation of disability as an enduring one "even with optimum policies in place" (p. 33; figure 43), reifying the political warrant established in the introduction. Although studies have shown that there are benefits associated to varying degrees (Whitehead, et al., 2009) with the approach and measures adopted in the policy, a simplistic social capital enhancement and a supply-side focus, does not of itself reduce employment barriers for people with disabilities (Yates, S & Roulstone, 2013). Barnes (2003) too, although not saying that they are unwarranted, reproves supply-side interventions, arguing vehemently that, they "are the very opposite of what is needed", serving to "reinforce, rather than undermine, the traditional assumption that disabled workers are somehow not equal to non-disabled peers" (p. 4). In the UK, Houston and Lindsay (2013) argue that "political debates around passiveness and dependency are at best simplistic, and at worst inaccurate" (p. 177); low motivation, they argue, being more a 'symptom' of poor employability prospects than a 'cause'. While this critique does not set out to disregard the contribution made by medicine to the quality of life of people with disabilities, the literature is clear: "deficit-oriented constructions undermine the realisation of an inclusive discourse" (Liasidou, 2016, p. 151).

People may be impaired for many reasons, but it is an ableist society and ableist discourse, which produces disablism and renders people disabled (Campbell 2013). This working model of inclusion, Campbell argues, "is really only successful to the extent that people with disabilities are able to 'opt in' or be assimilated through being countable, categorisable" (2013, p. 213); or as Allan (2006) suggests, "be forced to enact a version of inclusion, which is merely about tolerance and management of difference and which leads to a constant reiteration of exclusion" (p. 126). At home, leading disability campaigner and colleague, Professor Martin Naughton (2015) has conveyed his disappointment in CES, highlighting its "shortcomings and lack of ambition" (np) and expressing particular frustration at the paradoxical exclusion represented by the

housing of this policy outside of its natural home, the Department with responsibility for employment (figure 45).

Figure 45 Conservative Policy

> Áiseanna Tacaíochta disappointed at lack of ambition in Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities
>
> 2 - October - 2015
>
> **Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities**
>
> **2015-2024**
>
> He continued, "it is concerning that a strategy on employment is excluded from the remit of the Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation, where it belongs. Even though the CES falls under the Department of Justice, it was announced today that the Department of Social Protection is forming a technical group to explore work and employment of disabilities. Such confusion and complexity does not bode well for the interests of people with disabilities".

Unfortunately, this is not an isolated instance of conservative Irish disability policy-making. The apparently technical and value-free nature of targets and measures to address educational disadvantage in Irish educational policy making as Tormey (2010) suggests "has enabled a conservative political perspective to become embedded in public educational policy without debate" (p. 189). Through the authoritative legitimating strategy of special needs education and intervention discourse, the "eugenicist legacy of the past century is (re)produced, taken for granted, left hidden and unmarked in notions of inclusion and widening participation" (Madriaga, Hanson, Kay, & Walker, 2011, p. 901).
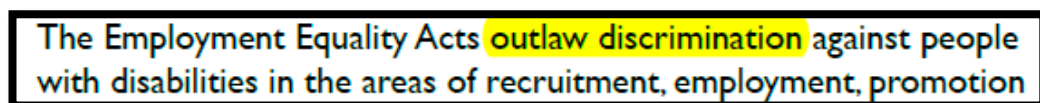
Drawing on Phelan (2007), the portrait of *Others* represents an insidious form of rhetorical strategising, where ableism is forefronted as natural, necessary and rational

for the normal functioning of society, and where "disabled people have to embrace ableism to overcome their disabling conditions" (Goodley, Lawthom, & Runswick, 2014, p. 981). This is the endemic disablism that Scanlon et al (2014) and other Irish scholars speak of in highlighting the injustices in the lives of people so-labelled. Quinn (2015, p. 5-6) puts it bluntly: "if you want to put fancy words on it, then 'reification' comes to mind, where facts tend to remain at the level of epiphenomenon". And it is to the reification of a discourse of special needs that we now turn our attention towards, in examining the discursive effects therein.

Reifying a Special Needs Discourse

The disablist rhetoric that proliferates this strategy is exactly the type of policy discourse that Scanlon et al (2014) argue, makes young people with SEN intensely aware of their position of Otherness, within an education system that "places the onus on the individual to limit their aspirations" (p. 13). Furthermore, by locating this policy within a discourse of special needs education, the State has reinforced and reified that 'naturalistic fallacy' of intervention-based policy solutions, and with them the "subliminal undertow toward outdated models" (Quinn, 2015, p. 6). Although CES talks about outlawing discrimination by means of our legislative framework (p. 28; figure 46), it itself is guilty of reifying an "outlaw ontology" of neoliberal-ableism (Goodley & Runswick Cole, 2010, p. 283)

Figure 46 Outlaw Ontology

The Employment Equality Acts outlaw discrimination against people with disabilities in the areas of recruitment, employment, promotion

A discourse of special educational need is in fact "a form of oppression and exclusion produced by and with particular social and political conditions and relationships" (Armstrong & Barton, 2001, p. 696)—a form of social control that legitimates the positions of those who hold power. The discourse of special needs education that overlays this policy is rooted in individualistic, psycho-medical assumptions, in which all 'associated problems' are attributed to individual deficits and deviance. The 'inclusive' education model in Ireland is firmly rooted within special needs discourse, providing for children on the basis of medicalised diagnosis of individual deficits. Central to this

system is a hegemonic discourse of disablist normalcy, constructing and controlling disability through extensive emphases on the discourse of difference, need and support—devices that have "been historically deployed to single out presumed abnormal individuals and to relegate them to the fringes of mainstream social and educational spheres" (Liasidou, 2010, p. 228). The discourse is further compounded by an army of associated professionals, compelling parents to pathologise their children, in order to access services and partake in the "insidious colonisation and professionalisation of disability politics" (Barnes, 2007, p. 140). There is no shortage of evidence of the pervasive influence of normalcy across the education system (NDA 2011) (Scanlon, Shevlin, & McGuckin, 2014; Scanlon & Barnes-Holmes, 2012) and the complex implications of normalcy, when "seen through the mirror of the able self" (Scanlon, Shevlin, & McGuckin, p. 9). Its insidious presence across the pages of CES is something that should be the cause of deep concern for those that aspire to an inclusive society for people with disabilities.

Yet one must ask further questions of this policy, given the extent to which emphasis is given to the consultation process in the narrative and the appendices. Figures 47 and 48 in particular, provide key windows on the co-ordinative process involved in developing the communicative discourse of this policy, further illuminating the legitimation strategies at work. The Disability Stakeholders Group (of which DFI is a member) in particular, serves to present a partnership approach to problem solving.

Figure 47 Legitimating the Coordinative Discourse
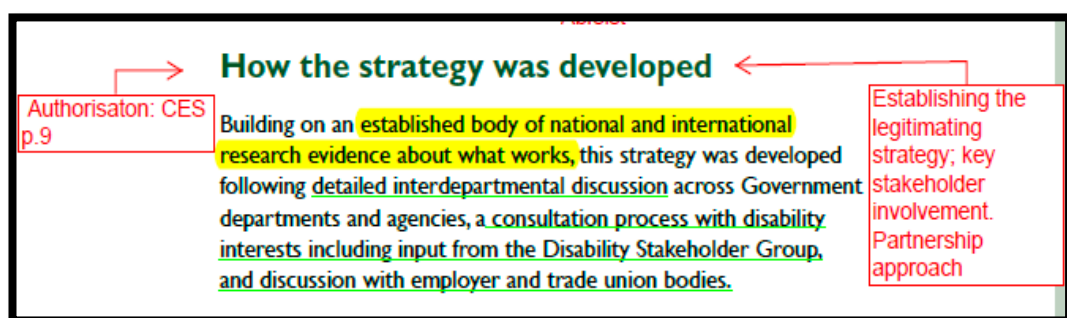
An examination of figure 48 reveals that a mail shot inviting submission was issued, but we are not told to whom. What we do know is that the submissions revolved around suggestions slotted into 'the strategic framework'. From a quick view of appendix 4, we

can see that this consists of the six strategic priorities—the 'neat package of solutions' into which suggestions were invited. From this angle and following Molla (2014), the role of the NDA can be seen here to represent, "an instrument of regulation working to influence the behaviour of policy actors through framing problems and creating ideas" (p. 231).

Figure 48 Capturing the Co-ordinative Process

The themes emerging from the consultations (appendix 4) and the action plans for proposals 1 and 2 (appendix 6), suggests little or no deep engagement with the issues of structural exclusions and inequalities. The points raised and detailed actions in these snapshots do little, if anything, to interrupt the discourse of individual pathology, with its emphasis on 'intervention, 'supported employment' and 'specialised training' provision. The action plans (appendix 6 and figure 10) in particular, are impregnated with the lexicon of special needs education, where 'specialised targets' and 'interventions' are the order of the day; the term 'special educational needs' itself, representing the human with disability, as different and deficient (Liasidou, p. 2008).

Figure 49 Collage of Co-ordinative Discourse
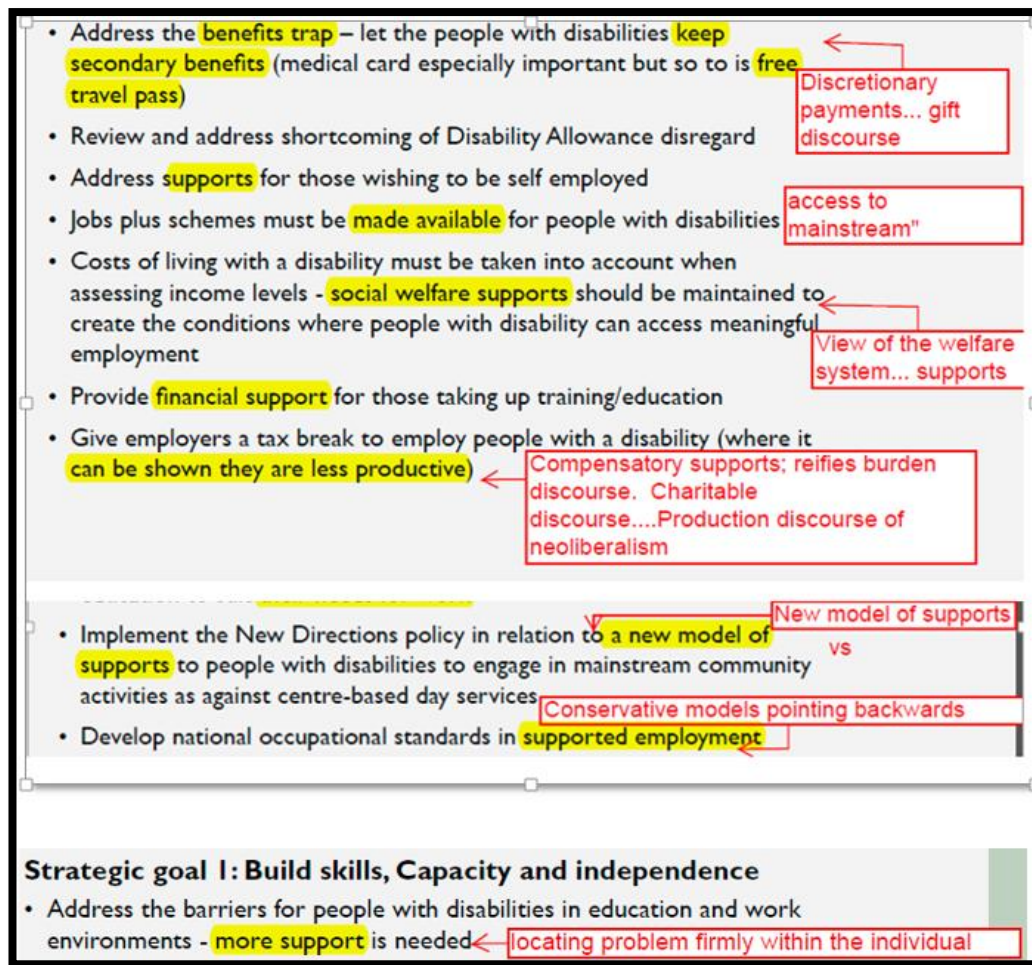
Turning our critical gaze to the welfare system (figure 49) through this lens, 'benefits traps' and 'free passes' come into focus, paving the way for the 'make work pay' discourse, where an ideology of meritocracy and personal responsibility awaits (Power, O'Flynn, & Courtois, 2013). From this perspective, inequalities in educational achievement are photo-shopped onto the individual in the form of 'new models of supports' and 'supported employment', thus "striking at the heart of the neoliberal ambition" (Goodley 2014, p. 145). The discourse of supported employment is particularly strong, not just within the co-ordinative discourse visible under the heading 'points raised' during the consultation process (figure 50), but within the actual CES narrative itself, where it warrants its own discursive space (p. 38). The compensatory-type measures suggested and magnified in figure 50, which emphasise new models of support, collides directly with the outdated and backwardly focused models that Quinn

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(2015) speaks of, echoing those "fact-finding projects" (np) that end up patronising, rather than liberating its intended subjects (ibid).

Figure 50 Engaging Employer Discourse
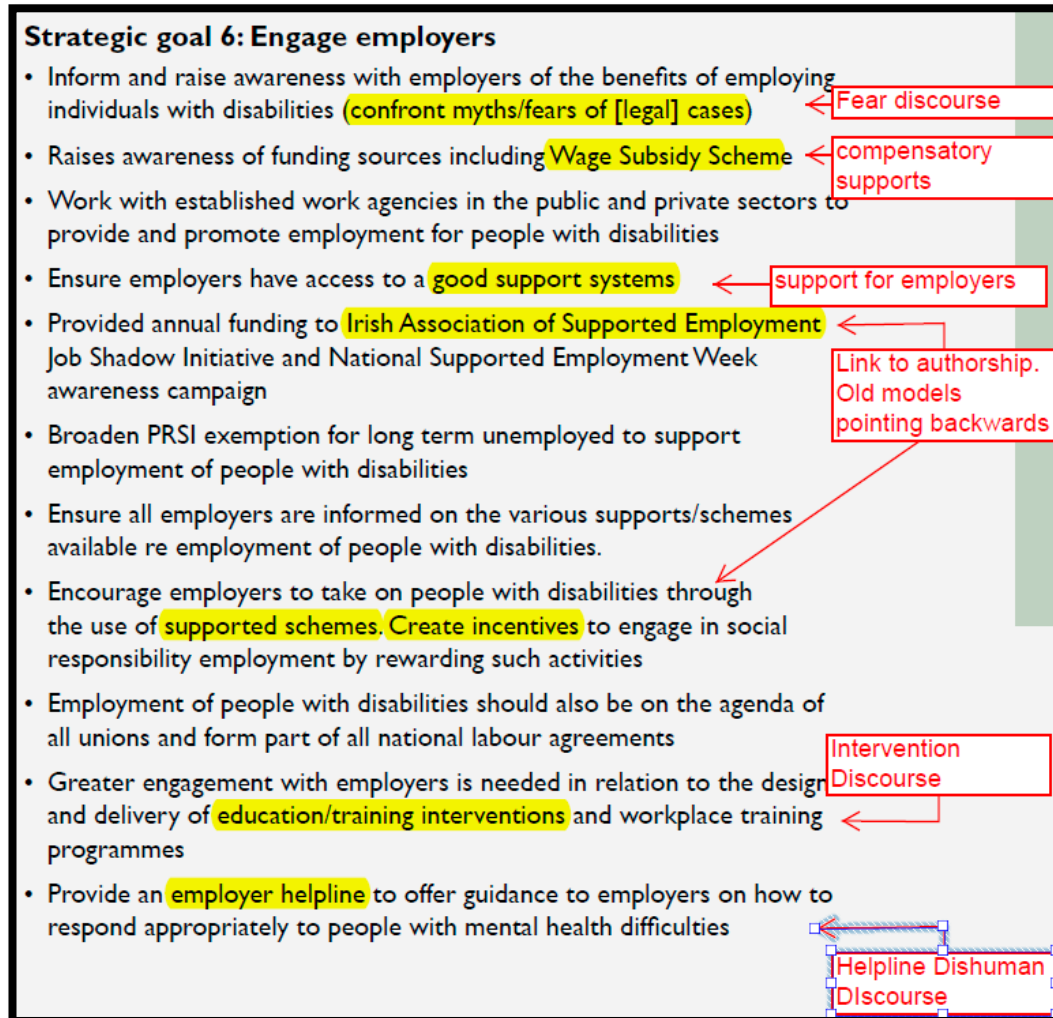
Thus, CES continues to reinforce a cycle of 'specialness' and 'otherness' under an integrationist model of inclusion, legitimated through an authoritative discourse of supports and interventions, the mainstay lexicon of special education; as Quinn (2015, p. 6) argues, "a static picture of the way things are, tends to bury within itself, a constellation of forces, which, through time, have produced the evidence that currently presents to us". Following Liasidou (2010), inequalities in the education system are thus 'skilfully reconfigured' here, through the paternalistic warrant of inclusion, disguised as 'fear and anxiety', requiring expert 'intervention' through a discourse of recovery. Thus, the snaps in this section, point to the "incessant interplay of unequal power relations

that give rise to and perpetuate discursive fabrications of 'normality' and special educational needs" (p. 228) across Irish disability policy-making, thereby encumbering in the process, the attempts of Shevlin, Quinn, Naughton and the wider disability movement, towards a truly inclusive education system. Why do I say this? Because, "authentically inclusive education invites the deconstruction of normalcy to arrive at ground zero" from which ideals of 'centre' are banished" (Graham & Slee, 2008, p. 280).

Hollowed-out Education

The portrait of education presented in the preceding chapter is testimony to the ableist underpinnings of neoliberal imperatives that lies at the heart of this policy. Concurring with Holborrow (2012), this study argues that a skills-driven higher education system alongside a "crudely reductionist view of education (*as shown in figures 17-23*), sets limits on the unchallenged hegemony of this particular strand of neoliberal ideology" (p. 93, emphasis added), a reminder of which is presented in figure 51. Education from this perspective, is given the enormous challenge of balancing an "increasingly liberalised market-driven economy, with the requirements of a socially just society", following Alexadiou (2005, p. 102). The link between neoliberalism and ableism has become a strong theme across the literature raising concerns among the critical disability community; as Gibson's (2016) tweet from the '*Theorising Normalcy and the Mundane*' conference, hosted by Manchester Metropolitan University testifies: "neoliberalism creates an environment where ableism flourishes" (twitter).

Springer (2016) argues that his title '*Fuck neoliberalism'* is precisely the everyday, ordinary and unremarkable language of the mundane, in which he believes the "politics of refusal" (p. 286) must be located, in bringing about the demise of neoliberal policy-making. From the capabilities perspective, governments have a responsibility to support the education of disabled people as key to their empowerment, rather than "merely as a provider of useful technical skills" (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 322). Given the direct relationship between labour market status and educational experience, a quality education system is a vital pre-requisite for ensuring employment opportunities in the trajectory of the life course of the person with a disability. It is also possible as Bacchi (2009) points out, to challenge the assumption that skills sit outside the individual waiting to be transferred: "the whole discourse of skills is questionable, based on

tensions arising from its foundational human capital ideology where human beings are constituted as skill-*acquiring* and skills *possessing* creatures" (2009, p. 66).

Figure 51 Skills-driven Education System
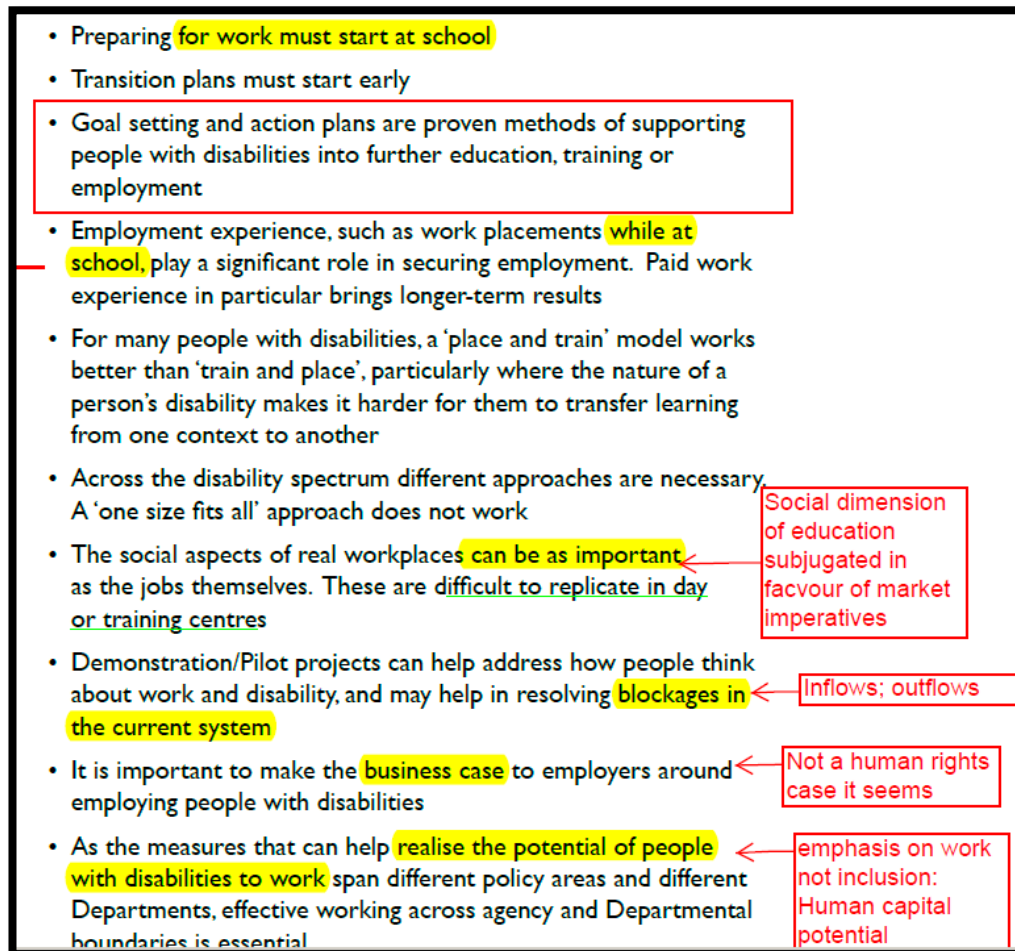
Internationally, 'welfare to education' programmes are seen somewhat as an extravagance, taking a backseat to 'welfare to work' programmes (Power, 2006), as is increasingly the case in Ireland, reflected by the ever shrinking and limited range of courses on the *Back to Education Allowance* programme (see for example, Department of Social Protection, 2016). Social justice ideologies, human rights and social policy goals are subsumed here to the superiority of economics because the "welfare state is forced to prove that it is not just a luxury and an unsustainable burden to competitiveness" (Parker Harris, Owen and Gould 2012, p. 826). With the protraction of the crisis austerity programme in Ireland, higher education has occupied the frontline of opposition to neoliberalism; as Holborrow notes "in times of capitalist crisis, education can often become a political and ideological battleground" (Holborrow, 2012, p. 94).

The implementation of successive austerity budgets have impacted significantly on the ability of children special education needs to reach their full potential through education, with cuts to resources and services, and caps on the recruitment of educational professionals. On top of a reduced health service, the lack of educational assessments provided for in the Disability Act 2005, leaves many children and families in limbo, waiting for assessments (Scanlon, Shevlin, & McGuckin, 2014). The reconfiguration of the further education and training (FET) sector in recent years has resulted in another key educational strategy (SOLAS, 2014), which is equally as labour market focused, with its specially targeted activation programmes, allowing government to control political and educational agendas even further. Grummell and Murray (2015) point to the profound effects of this orientation on the FET learner, particularly the individualisation of responsibility for learning and capacity-building, "leading to an over-reliance on the individual and false sense of emancipation" (p. 436).

Education is an important human right that impinges on the success of this policy, in achieving its goal of inclusion. A quarter of children in Ireland have some form of special educational need, and yet many cannot access their local school because of the lack of supports and 'soft' exclusionary admission policies (NCSE, 2013). Despite this, the State denies any responsibility for the problem of low employment of people with disabilities. In fact the warrant problematises disability as a global phenomenon in an Irish context, out of control, despite the State's best efforts, even at the height of the economic boom. Is not article 24 of UNCRPD, still to be ratified by the Irish state, equally pertinent to this picture? After all, aren't 'inclusion' and 'recovery' the warranting justifications for CES? These arguments are nowhere to be seen in this frame, the voice of dissent silenced, the evidence presented uncontested, as the analysis in figures 47-49 testify. The contextual complexity and voice of the individual is silenced in portrait three, where the structural inequalities in the education system are rendered invisible. Rhetorical statements like that served in the warrant, reflects the growing 'Cinderella' discourse surrounding people with disabilities in Ireland, as the legacy of scapegoating the most vulnerable continues. Within the paternalistic discourse of CES's moral legitimating strategy, lies a view of rights as 'gifts' to be given at the will of a compassionate State; "to be taken away at the will of the powerful" (Lynch 2013, p. 5/8).

The policy paradigms that inform this policy are as ingrained and inflexible as that reported by O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh (2007) and equally as difficult to effectively question or challenge here too, since "they are considered to coincide with the limits of normality and common sense" (p. 600). Following O'Sullivan (2005), CES can be seen to reify a mercantile understanding of education, seen here celebrating its "plasticity as a social institution" (p. 113) alongside the authoritative medicalised discourse of scientific voices and their social configurations of the disabled person. Thus the consensualism, innate conservatism, and prevailing anti-intellectual bias that O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh observed in the Irish education system in 2007, is still alive and well it would appear, begging the same answers that their critical study posed then: "how can social exclusion be tackled on the ground, when it is not sufficiently informed from above?" (2007, p. 600).

Silencing of Dissent

The hegemonic discourse of a complex enduring phenomenon established in the warrant and reified throughout the narrative of CES, exerts a powerful influence over debate and contestation. O'Sullivan (2005) and Murphy (2008) each note that in the absence of well-resourced alternative policy-advocacy coalitions, pastiche approaches to educational disadvantage attract silver bullet politicians and hasty lobbyists, driven by fear of displacement by other resource-competing social justice issues. Following this line of questioning, the transition from a unitary vision of education to a hollowed mechanism of power and knowledge reflects "a fundamentally-changed logic in establishing what the education system is to be in society" (O'Sullivan, 2005, p. 113). The absence of policy paradigm and governance critiques exposes us "to state-directed strategies whereupon social inclusion measures are confused with integrationist policies; the latter merely focuses on technicist solutions and on the 'normalisation' of disadvantaged groups and in consequence fails to challenge the legitimated status quo" (O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh 2007, p. 600). The voices from the consultation process can be explained by Morris (2011) who draws attention to the "various ways in which people seize opportunities to work within dominant political agendas, following words and phrases which will resonate with the dominant discourse" (p. 3); as Oliver and Barnes (2006, np) argue, "to get too close to the Government, is to risk incorporation and end

up carrying out their proposals rather than ours. To move too far away is to risk marginalisation and eventual demise".

Focusing solely on issues of social exclusion through activation on the grounds of disability, without a conversation on the issues access and participation in higher and further education represents "a futile endeavour that leaves gaping holes in a host of dynamics" (Liasidou, 2014, p. 121). There is no doubt that significant improvements have been put in place for students with disabilities by the establishment of National Access Office under the HEA, and with measures introduced under a series of their national access plans for equity of access to higher education (HEA, 2008, 2015 for example). But these contributions and discussions of relevance are absent from this discussion. The new FET strategy has as one of its core objectives social inclusion (SOLAS, 2014, p. p. 5), but this policy is nowhere to be seen in the references or narrative of CES. The newly designed FET sector plays a vital role in meeting the agenda of an inclusive education system, yet the relentless drive of neoliberalism in everyday practice is evident in the current economic and training discourses of this newly landscaped sector, where clearly the objective is "upskilling and enhancing the employability of marginalised sectors of the population" (Grummell & Murray, 2015, p. 433). The rhetoric of 'student choice' and 'opportunity' bandied across educational policies, such as the Hunt Report (Department of Education and Skills, 2011, p. 100 for example) and FET Strategy (SOLAS, 2014, p.19 for example), conceals the fact that in a market-led system, "only those with resources can buy education services that are privatised" (Lynch, 2012, p. 91).

Apart from their inclusion in the complex labyrinth of overlapping structures and institutions designated responsibility in CES' faithful implementation plan, the National Access Office of the Higher Education Authority and the newly established SOLAS does not appear to have been involved in the development of this plan at all. Not appearing in the list of written submissions, we are left to wonder if they were indeed invited in the mailshot to respond to the consultation process. What we can say for certain is that the Department of Education was not among those Departments charged with completing sectoral plans under the NDS launched twelve years ago (Government of Ireland, 2004).

Individualised Responsibility and Careless State

Portrait four (figures 24-28) depicts the State as affecting the behaviour and social practices of welfare recipients through a range of interventions directed at the level of the individual. The supply side measures articulated in the soft paternalistic discourse of 'promoting positive expectations', 'planning young people's transitions' and 'fostering independence' are traded in exchange for a commitment from people with disabilities to "maximise their potential" and "make a contribution" (CES p. 6, figure 7). Social problems are reframed primarily as one of personal inadequacy rather than deep structural inequalities and individual failings are ascribed to "laziness and lack of drive, motivation and intelligence that consequently absolve the state from any responsibility" (Leyva, 2009, p. 369). In emphasising 'stemming the flow into joblessness', young people and those requiring a disability during their working years (figure 52) are selected as 'priority passengers' on the gallant warrant of recovery.

Thus we find another key theme reflective of the international literature: when the state absolves itself from the responsibilities to protect its most vulnerable citizens, rights are subjugated (Liasidou, 2016, 2010). Lynch has highlighted this tension more than once within an Irish context (2013, 2012, 2007, 2006, 2005): "only the state can guarantee the rights of people to be educated (2007, p. 3), countering the view that the state is an observer only in matters of justice. The tensions in this discourse are clearly visible: from a rights based perspective, the individual has an equal right to access, participation and outcomes; in CES, it is "critically dependent" on the wider economic and market forces (Government of Ireland, 2015, p. 34). Once again it would appear, neoliberal-ableism scoops the prize for "making lop-sided growth wealth for a few and immiseration for many, seem sexy…modern and progressive" (Goodley et al 2014, p. 981). Thus, Lynch's careless State emerges an eliminable character in this critique.

Figure 52 Deserving Disabled

Figure 52 Deserving Disabled

Individualised policies and structures are the main culprits for the deprivation of rights of people with disabilities; as Raffo (2013), argues "social arrangements are themselves inherently inequitable, and education in its current form both reflects and replicates unequal distributions of power and resource" (p. 346). Neoliberal individualist premises removes notions of rights from this policy, the focus instead being on individual behaviour over structural explanations, thus firmly placing the blame and responsibility on the individual to make changes for themselves.

By locating the problem within the individual, policy responses, like those in the UK, have been cast in too narrow of terms (Houston & Lindsay, 2013). Although neoliberal welfare policies tend to push individuals into jobs, they fail to ensure that people with disabilities can participate equally in the open labour market (Gould & Parker-Harris, 2012). Soldatic (2011) highlights how disabled people, through a regime of neoliberal stratification "undergo a qualitative process of sorting, whereby states divide out and classify bodies into hierarchical socio-political formations that are in line with the temporal demands, ebbs and flows of the capitalist labour market"(p. 4). Such policy responses produce winners and losers, who are expected "to mud wrestle to prove who is most disabled, and therefore most deserving" (Disability Bitch, 2010, np given). As Bacchi and Eveline (2010, p. 52) attest "policies do not simply 'impact' on people; they 'create' people".

Being classified as disabled in most western democracies including Ireland, entitles a person to a number of rights or benefits. The disability benefits system in Ireland reinforces the repetition of exclusion and difference in setting up false dichotomies between 'sick and healthy', 'employed and unemployed', as well as a plethora of work related schemes, such as 'incapacity benefit' and 'occupational injury benefit', thereby shaping and influencing people's lives in real and meaningful ways. The challenge for disabled people on a daily basis is "the re-cognition of impairment within pre-existing psycho-medical categories that have benefits" (Campbell, 2013, p. 213). Thus as Barnes (2003, np) argues "the more technically sophisticated a society becomes, the more disability it creates".

The continued focus on individualised solutions without consideration of decently paid work opportunities, fails to address the complexities of disablement and disadvantage, leading to further marginalisation of disabled people in the process (Yates and Roulstone, 2013). Continuing to shift responsibility for employment outcomes onto disabled individuals, not only sets up failure to meet the employment target, but further adds to the stigmatisation of disabled people in the process. Dwyer and Ellison (2009, pp. 44-45) argue that through targeted interventions and personalised supports, individuals are gradually conditioned to govern themselves, through the embedded assumption that individuals are not only responsible for finding employment, but to have a life shaped by employment as well. Similarly, Lemke (2001, p. 199) too has argued "however pathological an individual may be, in the eyes of the neo-liberals he or she is always to a certain degree also a rational being".

Yet, these aspects of joblessness are silenced in CES, their political implications being "less acceptable to governments that wish to minimise market regulation and reduce constraints on employers" (Newman, 2011, p. 104). Barnes (2003) vehemently expostulates supply-side measures too, arguing that "they are the very opposite of what is needed", serving to "reinforce, rather than undermine, the traditional assumption that disabled workers are somehow not equal to non-disabled peers" (2003, p. 4). Australia and UK have begun to recognise that current policies embracing neoliberal and human rights discourses are inadequate and ineffective (Parker Harris et al 2012, p.833). Although, studies have shown that there are benefits associated to varying

degrees (Whitehead, et al., 2009) with the approach and measures adopted in CES, the literature is unanimous: supply side measures by themselves can only have a limited impact on overall employment and unemployment rates (Yates and Roulstone 2013; Houston and Lindsay 2013, 2010). Houston and Lindsay (2013; 2010) contend that policy solutions focused on building the motivation of individuals, is but one element of the solution puzzle: low motivation being more a 'symptom' of poor participation employability prospects, than a 'cause'. Thus, they posit, political debates around "passiveness and dependency are at best simplistic, and at worst inaccurate" (2013, p. 177). The question thus arises, as to how CES can achieve its goals of social inclusion, if the discourse that enables them to succeed is inherently flawed to begin with. The simplistic, authoritative and individualised framing of barriers to employment as articulated in this strategy, fails to take account of the complex impacts of disablement and inequality, and ignores the very significant impact of the other issues that impinge on, and limit the opportunities available, and the types of decisions people are able to take. When viewed from this perspective, the strategy positions itself within a framework of equal rights and equal opportunities without so much as acknowledging educational inequalities that perpetuate themselves, through policy discourse from one generation to the next.

This is not unusual, Irish educational policy-making for disadvantaged or at risk groups has not significantly concerned itself with eliminating the 'equalities of condition' that produce these inequalities in the first place (Power, O'Flynn, & Courtois, 2013; Lynch. , 2007; O'Brien & Ó'Fathaigh, 2007). Disability activists under the banner of the social model, have argued for a welfare state delivered through a framework of rights and entitlements with meaningful rights of redress. In this regard, Oliver and Barnes (2009) posit that the welfare state is "an essential ingredient for the development of a truly inclusionary society (cited (Morris, 2011, p. 4).

Against this backdrop, the strategy fails to acknowledge the societal barriers that limit people with disabilities capacity to meet their own needs; the essential premise of neoliberalism being that ultimate responsibility for solving the problem "rests with an aspiring, self-investing and choosing individual" (Yates & Roulstone, 2013, p. 461), linking poor performance with "bad individual choices rather than bad policies"

(Marston, 2008, p. 368). The rational legitimating strategy found all over this strategy reflects the growing dominance of a developmental narrative, "counterposing the 'problems' of welfare and inequality with 'new' problems of post-materialism, individual aesthetics and self-actualisation" (Bletsas, 2012, p. 47).

Disability Mainstreaming and Neoliberalism. Uneasy Bedfellows

Although the discourse of disability mainstreaming is now commonplace across government departments, the reality on the ground for people with disabilities in Ireland is very different. Scanlon, Shevlin and McGuckin (2014, p. 13) point to the "grave consequences" of Ireland's careless approach to equality on the choices of young people with SEN. Perry and Clarke (2015) exemplify the impact of these accumulative effects, drawing attention to the financial and emotional stress experienced by families of children with SEN in the struggle to secure adequate resources through the Irish special education system. Kline and Flynn (2015) also highlight a worrying trend—that of state retaliation in response to complaints against a school or the HSE for failure to provide services. Unfortunately, this reflects the ongoing frustrations expressed by parents who contact me for advice on how to overcome such barriers, in light of their real fears around losing existing supports as a consequence. It is a stark reality for many parents of children with special education needs, who in seeking to remove barriers faced by their children, often face further barriers imposed by state bodies as a result.

Disability equality from a neoliberal perspective belies the promise of mainstreaming, which involves the transformation of institutions rather than continuing to improve people with disabilities access to and performance therein (Marshall, 2012). Disability mainstreaming is only possible against a backdrop of human rights. Recognition of difference, sameness and their co-existence, is required for social justice, inclusion and equality. People with disabilities are not a homogeneous group—even within impairment type as suggested by the infograph on educational attainment (figure 53). Just because a group of people have a similar impairment type or classification of disability, doesn't make them the same.

Figure 53 Sameness Blindness

People with disabilities and with none 2011, by highest education received and impairment type					
	None or primary	Lr sec	Upr sec	Cert or Diploma	Degree
No disability	12%	26%	22%	11%	28%
All pwd	37%	28%	16%	7%	13%
Sight	44%	24%	15%	6%	11%
Hearing	44%	26%	14%	6%	11%
Physical	46%	27%	14%	5%	8%
ID	67%	20%	8%	2%	3%
Learning	50%	26%	13%	5%	7%
Mental Health	32%	29%	18%	7%	14%
Other disability	36%	27%	15%	7%	14%

Each have multiple identities beyond impairment type and restrictions. In common with all of us, each has a gender, an ethnic orientation, a social background a situational context. For instance, two children in Ireland with similar needs may have very different experiences of being disabled, depending on which school they go to, or health service catchment area they reside within; in such instances, situation matters and context matters. Whether disability characteristics are relevant, and even which are relevant, depends on the situational context in which the person is located. Drawing on Witcher (2005), this represents "sameness blindness". Mainstreaming on the other hand, necessitates a widening of mainstream society to accommodate difference, a redrawing of the boundaries between sameness and difference, and "the recognition that they co-exist" (p. 57).

When taken together and problematised through the lenses of Schmidt (2010, 2008) and Bacchi (2000), CES' problematisation, its legitimating strategy and detailed action plans (appendix 6), exemplify a form of comprehensive rationalism, following a technocratic logic of cognitive ideas, supported by "recipes and maps for political action" (Schmidt 2008, p. 306). The soothing paternalistic tones of assisting disabled people on their journey into employment, not to mention their 'recovery' (figure 54) however, are tempered very quickly with a more measured discourse that speaks of reasonable expectations, forecast and factors that are 'likely' 'dependant' and 'uncertain' (figure 55).

Figure 54 Soothing Recovery Discourse

together actions by different Departments and state agencies in a concerted effort to address the barriers and challenges that impact on employment of people with disabilities. In tandem with that, it seeks to ensure there will be joined-up services and supports at local level to support individuals on their journey into and in employment.

- A national strategy to build recovery-oriented services working towards recovery for individuals with mental illness
- Pilot new approaches to integrating work into the recovery model of mental health integration, including job coaches in mental health teams

The evidence shows that for some people with disabilities, work contributes towards their recovery. Work is important both in maintaining mental health and in promoting the recovery of those who have experienced mental health difficulties.[10]

Figure 55 Uncertainty/ Steering Discourse

How the economy will do over the medium term will affect potential job opportunities for all, including for people with disabilities. Forecasting the future supply of jobs is always an uncertain exercise, depending as it does on developments in the international economy, especially in our trading partners, as well as what happens in Ireland.

The Irish labour market has shown a significant recovery since the 2008 economic collapse. Looking at the seasonally-adjusted figures for employment, an additional 94,000 people were at work in the third quarter of 2014 compared to the low point of Q3 of 2012.[21]

Based on an analysis of a range of medium-term jobs forecasts, and the likely impact of measures set out in this strategy, particularly those aimed at stemming the flow to joblessness, it could reasonably be expected to achieve over time an increase in employment levels from 33% to up to 38% by 2024. This would mean an increase of up to 15% on current employment levels.

This would be achieved progressively over time, with much of the increase occurring towards the latter end of the period. This is because many of the actions to achieve this will involve a preparation and foundation phase and would take time to fully roll out.

Intersectional Effects of Government Steering

Thus, the technical approach to problem solving as articulated in the "cross governmental approach and joined up services and supports to support the individual on their journey into employment" (CES, p. 5) creates an illusion of the busyness of Government, 'Father of the State'. Based on government knowing 'what works', the strategy's 'faithful implementation plan' is laid out in tabular format, detailing 'actions' and 'responsible bodies' through a complex 'delivery chain' to the place where people with disabilities are affected. Here the careless State is recast into the role of 'steering institution' echoing Foucault's 'not too much' style of governing (Bacchi & Eveline, 2010; Bacchi, 2000) through the choppy waters of the neoliberal markets. Thus, like Mooney's neoliberal 'Pied Piper' (2012) CES continues to shove responsibility and accountability down the hierarchical chain as the detailed action plan in appendix 6 testifies.

Figure 56 Disability Reform Discourse

However, despite the busyness of the reform in disability and mental health services (figure 56), the experience of government's steering on the ground for many people and families, is very different. A brief examination of this programme of reform is warranted. Starting from the bottom, the mental health strategy '*A Vision for Change'* is about to run its course. Although this policy has led to considerable positive achievements for people with mental health, from the evidence emerging, it is becoming alarmingly worrying and increasingly obvious that people with enduring and disabling mental illnesses, have been left behind in recent reforms (Kennedy, 2016); the government it appears, is more interested in implementing the troika's demands for a

water utility, than servicing an ailing health system, as O'Malley's (2015) report on expenditure demonstrates.

'New Directions' is not unproblematic either. Adult day services are often the only option available (subject to funding) to those with more complex learning needs. For students with severe and profound learning difficulties, Scanlon and Shevlin are clear: "there is no choice" (2014, p. 8). Access to education services for this cohort are provided through the HSE in day centres, with little or no training for these young adults; where there are no rights and the 'do more with less' doctrine prevails, through the official discourse of the *Value for Money and Policy Review of Disability Services* (Department of Health, 2012), or 'VFM', as it is widely called in the sector. VFM is clearly top billing in this line up. It is the source of the 'do more with less' doctrine that is responsible for forcing the withdrawal of disability services to students with intellectual disabilities, due to a significant reduction in funding (RTE News, 2016). All of this occurs within a careless State where "it is increasingly recognised that for third level to be equitable, primary and second levels must be likewise" (O'Brien & Ó'Fathnaigh, 2007, p. 597).

Sitting invisibly in this line up of reform policies, is '*Time to Move On from Congregated Settings*' (HSE, 2011). This is the national strategy for the de-congregation of institutional residential settings for people with intellectual disabilities, prioritised over the next number of years, through committed funding, following a series of recent damning reports from the State watchdog agency Health Information and Quality Authority (HIQA). While the abandonment of institutionalised living to "a more socially inclusive community integrated service" (ibid, p. 14) for people with intellectual disabilities is to welcomed, this strategy is being steam-rolled ahead, with little or no planning as to how these people will be supported in the community sector, which itself has been decimated by the reform and austerity programmes (DFI, 2016; TheJournal.ie, 2014). A recent interview (Ocean FM, 2016) with a parents and guardian representative, testifies to the 'grave concerns' of families, battling to ensure the voice of their loved ones are heard, in what is assumed to be a "cost-neutral" exercise (HSE 2011, p. 111) . The list of collateral damage goes on unfortunately: In 2011, UNHRC made a total of 127 recommendations, including of course the ratification of UNCRPD; on their return

visit in May 2016, the Irish Government faced tough questions over our human rights record (Kelly, 2016; figure 57) and questions as to what has happened in the meantime—the answer being, 'not a lot'.

Figure 57 Careless State

> Other headline issues for review include the State's ongoing failure to create national monitoring mechanisms to oversee the treatment of people with disabilities and to independently inspect places of detention. Germany, Sweden and the UK will quiz the Tánaiste about why Ireland signed the UN Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities nine years ago, but has yet to ratify it.

As Lynch (2013, np) demonstrates, Ireland has never really had a deep-rooted commitment to equality, relying instead on a legacy of charity to address social injustices. The charity model is, she argues, politically dangerous for a number of reasons.

> At the individual level, it is driven by the desire for moral recognition on the part of those who give rather than recognition of the rights of those who receive. It can and does service the guilt of the better off, rather than the needs of the vulnerable to live with dignity and independence. Being in receipt of charity is demeaning; it has to be sought through supplication (effectively by asking). One cannot assume one has an entitlement.

This resonates with Surbaugh's (2012) argument that "almost all societies everywhere have sought to immunise themselves from the existential threat that impairment and disability represent" (p. 123).

Virtuous Employer Discourse

Proposal 6 'engaging employers' however, in stark contrast to the stern but caring discourse of 'make work pay', introduces a range of 'soft' measures and incentives, through an equally soft discourse of encouragement, engagement and exploration that clearly requires no mandatory change at all. This proposal relies instead on a charitable model of 'openness' and 'commitment' to do the job; in other words, the virtuous giver discourse, representing Lynch's (2013) Irish brand of 'moral superiority'.

Figure 58 Soft Employer Discourse
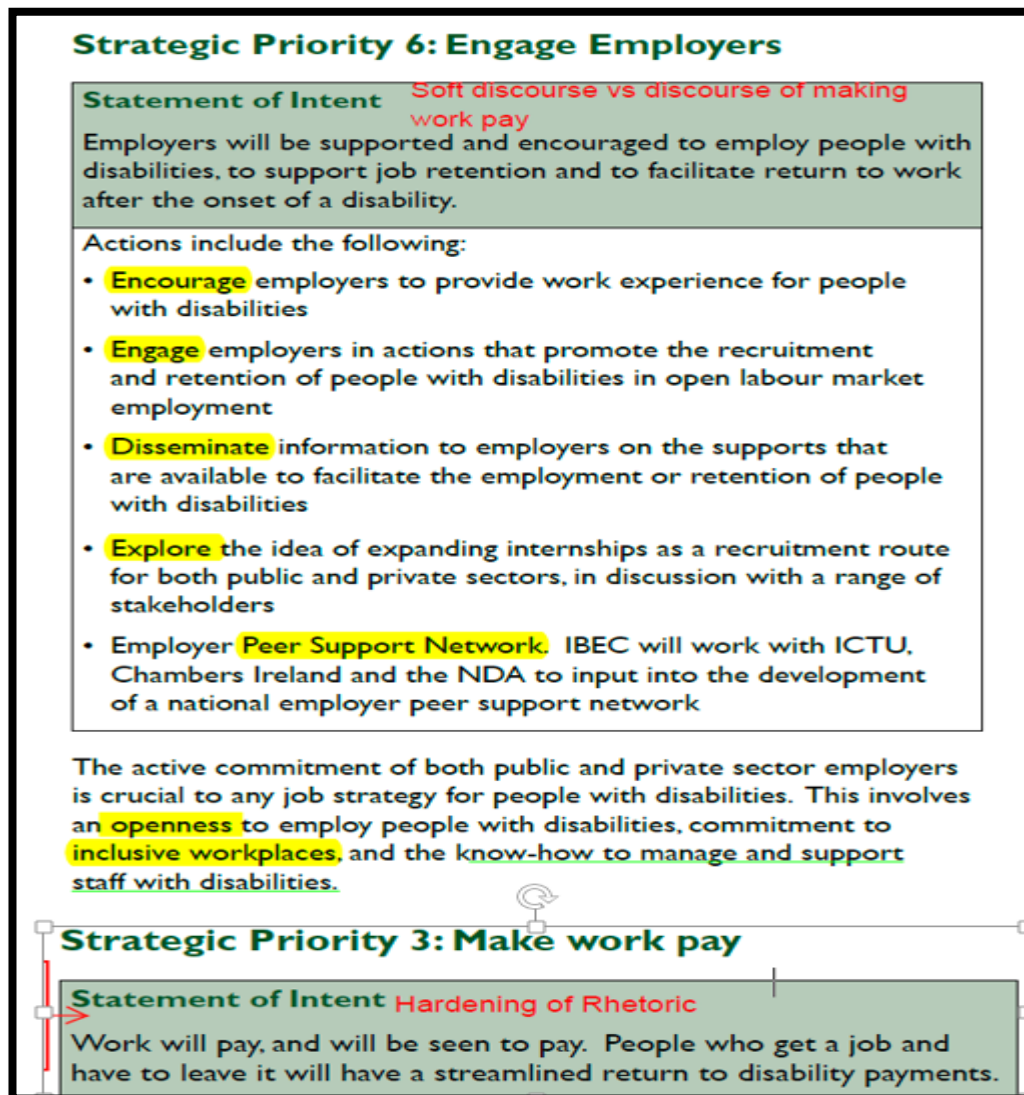
Calls for positive discrimination from employers on the basis of 'good will' and 'commitment to a cause', represent an attempt to redraw the boundary between 'those who work' to include disabled people—categories of 'us' and 'them'. This however does nothing to "challenge the neoliberal conditions and work practices that require such high levels of flexibility and autonomy" (Mabbett and Runswick-Cole 2014, p 103). It must be borne in mind that these soft measures, are being proffered within a legislative framework that is framed itself by the 'outlaw ontology' of a language of slippage. As can be seen from figure 59, the generosity of the State in providing a 3% target since 2005 is highlighted, while the generosity of the private sector is inferred through their participation in this 'concerted effort', based on volunteerism and

goodwill in supporting this enduring, but nonetheless worthy cause. Another virtuous goal is achieved in this process it seems—that of helping to build a further 'body of expertise' around this phenomenon that constitutes 'those people with disabilities'.

Figure 59 Virtuous Giver Discourse

> In the public sector, the long-standing target of 3% of employees with disabilities, which is on a statutory footing since 2005, has raised employment levels, and has helped develop a body of expertise across the public sector around employment of people with disabilities.

Missing from this narrative is any analysis of the forms or location of power within the welfare or education systems. The issues of structural inequalities and the normative ways in which people with disabilities are already disadvantaged, in terms their relative position in a privileged, ableist labour market and education system, are completely silenced in this policy. Disability from this perspective belies the promise of inclusion by focusing on access to and performance within institutions, rather than the requiring transformation of those institutions instead. Barnes argues that notions of 'mutuality', inevitably gravitate toward supply side interventions because of the pressures of "international corporate interests, and their ongoing propagation of ideologies that prioritise profit over people" (2003, p. 4). More recently, Goodley (2015) raises further questions directed towards what he sees as "the blurring of ambitions between the medical establishment, the economic ambitions of nation states and insatiable demands of the global profit driven drug and medical industries" (p. 5). This resonates with O'Brien & Ó'Fathnaigh (2007) argument that education policy makers "still appear to act in the interests of those who positively benefit from prevailing conditions" (p. 602).

No Rush Government Approach
Viewed from this perspective, the delay in bringing CES to publication, reflects a widespread 'no rush' government approach and attitude to disability rights in Ireland (GIlligan, 2016). Our embarrassing track record in ratifying CRPD is by no means an isolated incident. On the last day of 2015, the Government quietly announced the activation of section 25 of the Disability Act 2005 (Oireachtas, 2005) enforcing disabled access to public buildings, again taking ten years to implement. The EPSEN Act

(Oireachtas, 2004) is yet another case in point—only parts of which have been enacted to date. The individual education plans (IEP) that CES so confidently endorses has no statutory footing, bringing considerable frustrations and pain for children, young people and their families in accessing learning supports, some of which have been highlighted by Perry and Clarke (2015). As Higgins argues, "it is long past time that we moved the human rights discourse out of the legal and academic area" (Siggins, 2016, np).

Against this backdrop, it is perhaps not surprising that disability, like many other social justice issues, failed to make it into the main pre-election debates, nor indeed into the protracted deliberations and negotiations of forming a government over the following two months, being subsumed by the political imperatives of 'fiscal space' and the Irish water debacle. In essence, the no rush government approach exemplified through the delay in publishing CES, combined with the disappointing realisation of a disablist conservative policy, reaffirms "the second-tier citizenship status" (De Wispelaere & Walsh, 2007, p. 521) of people with disabilities in Irish society. Rather than disrupting this cycle of reification, CES reflects yet another 'missed opportunity' for the inclusive agenda that Ireland aspires to, as Mooney Simmie's 'Pied Piper' (2012) continues to play a distinctively Irish neo-liberal tune.

Looming Disability Payments Crisis

And yet, there is something not so obvious that we should notice here too, as Goodley (2014, p. xiv) posits "the process of ableism and disablism are never simply about dis/ability". Returning our gaze to the UK, Grover (2015) highlights the rational legitimating strategy used to justify the argument that the ESA was the cause of entrapment, locking disabled people into a state of 'worklessness'—a logical extension he argues, of an approach to disability payments that has treated disabled people as unemployed labour.

ESA and Fit for Work

Grove's (2015) analysis of ESA is particularly noteworthy for a number of reasons. Like the legitimating strategy underpinning 'joblessness' in CES, the economic and political justification for the changes to the ESA suggest "worklessness and its consequences (notably poverty) are the consequence of personal failings" (2015, p. 1575); like the

'make work pay' proposals of CES (proposal 3), the proposed change to ESA "is presented in paternalistic discourse as something that is good for disabled people, by improving their employment rate"; and the promotion of ESA as "a measure that will 'transform (disabled) people's lives, by empowering them to make choices in the same way as those in work do" (ibid) mirrors exactly the recovery discourse presented in chapter four. With these comparisons in mind, let us turn Bacchi's problematisation lens on the final portrait from chapter four, '*Looming Disability Payments*'.

Although CES extends a paternalistic concern for the catch-up of people with disabilities on the royal road to inclusive recovery, its aim is articulated clearly in figure 60.
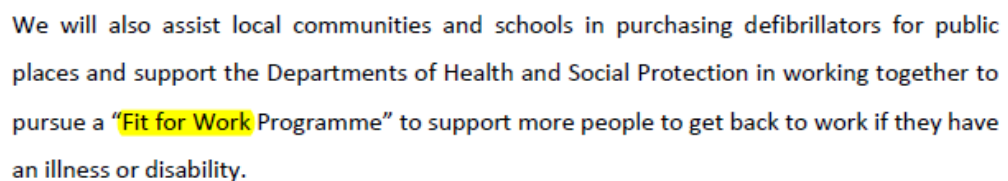
Figure 60 Articulated Aim
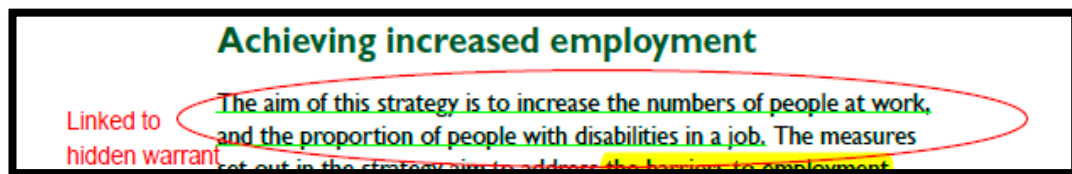
What becomes evident from the hidden warrant in chapter four, read in the context of the arguments made thus far, is that economic cost-cutting motives drives this policy, rather than social inclusion—in essence amounting to "more neoliberalism to fix a neoliberal crisis" (Fraser et al 2012, p. 50). By prioritising youth and those of working age, the policy is reinforcing the message that only those who can contribute to the recovery of the economy are considered worthy of the label 'deserving poor'; 'youth and economically active' only, on this white horse it seems. Despite the charitable and paternalistic tones to the contrary, the bottom line from this angle is the market and growth—not inclusion. Thus far, this study has presented a series of coherent arguments that make a convincing case for a conservative disability mainstreaming policy, steeped in a hegemonic lexicon of neoliberal imperatives. As I draw this aspect of the analysis to a close, a key argument emerges: It is this study's contention that the downplayed discourse of looming disability crisis, is the covert, but real warrant of this policy.

The UK has a disability benefits crisis, although the scale of the problem has taken some to be recognised (Beatty & Fothergill, 2015). In Ireland, a mixture of an overgenerous welfare system and the legacy of a previous welfare crisis in the 1980s framed the legitimating strategy of the budget cuts during the austerity period (see for example Lenihan, 2009), to international applause for what was considered to be unsustainable welfare state (Dukelow, 2011). However, a key piece of evidence comes to light during the final stages of this analysis, as the 'Fit for Work' programme is discreetly mooted in the newly published Programme for Government (PFG; Government of Ireland, 2016c). Even through the PFG sets out its ambition for 'improving the lives of people with disabilities' in chapter seven (p. 70), the Fit for Work proposal sits, like the silent warrant of CES, seemingly benevolent, within the last line of chapter three, under the section and heading of 'health' (figure 61).

We will also assist local communities and schools in purchasing defibrillators for public places and support the Departments of Health and Social Protection in working together to pursue a "Fit for Work Programme" to support more people to get back to work if they have an illness or disability.

That this programme carries the same title as that recently introduced in the UK by Fine Gael's sister party the Conservatives, the devastating consequences of which are widely documented, should be a cause of critical concern to the disability community. Under this programme in Britain, it is reported that over two thousand people declared 'fit for work' were dead within six weeks; over 40,000 were dead between 2010 and 2014, many by suicide (Broadsheet.ie, 2016). The case of Robert Barlow is highlighted by Goodley et al (2014, p. 982) and others, as an example of the devastating impact of this programme on disabled people's lives and their families.

It is not that we need to turn to the UK for evidence of the devastating impact of this new wave of disability retrenchment—that too, unfortunately, is sitting on our own doorstep, as the letter read by Independent TD (member of parliament) Clare Daly, from a sister of a woman who died by suicide, following suspension of her disability payments, after having failed to attend a review of her entitlements appointment with

the Department (TheJournal.ie, 2016b). It would appear from the evidence thus far, that the needs and power of capital have become the key drivers of this policy at the expense of genuine Irish citizenship. Higgins (President of Ireland, 2012, np) has powerfully argued against what he sees as the neoliberal values at the heart of the Irish policy-making crisis:
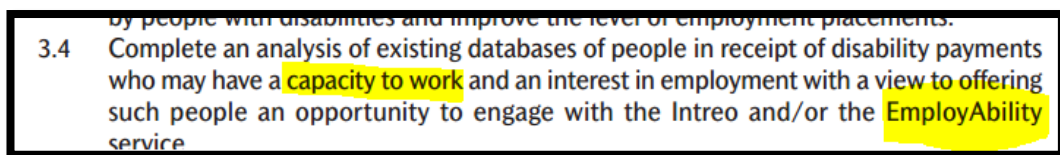
> The neoliberal model of unregulated markets, the privatising of the public space and the redirection of active participating citizens with rights to an existence of passive consumers with unlimited needs, has exacted a terrible price on our economy and society.

Anti-Austerity Alliance party leader, Paul Murphy (Murphy, 2016) was quick to highlight cases from the UK, in voicing his concerns at seeing the 'Fit for Work' slip into PFG. His comments reflect Grover and Piggott's (2010) assertion that ESA is as being "aimed at managing the perceived economic and social costs of sick and impaired people" (p. 265), rather than the altruistic articulated aims of improving the lives of disabled people. There are indeed remarkable similarities between the underplayed warrant of the unsustainable disability payments in CES, and the trajectory of the policy developments in the UK. For example, the paternalistic discourse of relieving poverty and removing disincentives highlighted by Grover (2015), is almost identical to that of the inclusion warrant highlighted in this study—although Grover is under no illusion that the budget was driven by the objective of less eligibility. In response to increased levels of sickness benefit claims, successive governments in the UK have sought to reform the sickness benefits system "by regulating on-flow (by introducing more stringent medical assessments); and increasing off-flow, through additional activation measures" (Sissons & Barnes, 2013, p. 234); Have we have not seen the rhetoric of 'flows' into joblessness, on more than one occasion in this story too?

The introduction of ESA programme in the UK represented a major shift in the sickness benefits system, with a higher medical/functional threshold for entitlement and a stronger focus on a return to work. Even though the Minister for Social Protection has given assurances that the Government is not planning to introduce the UK model here, CES has now established a discourse of 'capacity' that can facilitate this policy ratchet— in the very first sentence of the introduction as it happens: "This strategy sets out a ten-

year approach to ensuring that people with disabilities, *who are able to*, and want to work are supported and enabled to do so" (CES p. 5 emphasis added). The lexicon that facilitates a "medicalised perceptions of capability to work" (Grover & Piggott, 2010, p. 265) is written all over CES from the "availability for or capacity for work" (CES, p. 9) to the "systematic profiling of a clients' work capacity" (ibid, p. 37). Not only is the 'fit for work' proposal a carbon copy of its sister party in the UK, but the entire programme of health, social protection and reform in its fundamentals is a copy and paste job "lifted from the Tory playbook" (Murphy, 2016, np). This is the real ticking time bomb lurking within the paternalistic discourse of CES. 'Making work pay' in the UK is not about providing well paid jobs with equal rights, it is about restricting benefits eligibility and introducing conditionality (Grover & Piggott, 2010). The lexicon of Fit for Work is written all over the disability element of the mainstream *Pathways to Work* programme too (Government of Ireland, 2016b, p. 23), as we can see from figures 62 and 63 excerpting from same.

Figure 62 Pathways to Work—Disability Payments

This programme plans to extend labour market programmes to other people who, although not classified as unemployed jobseekers, "have *the potential* and the desire to play an active role in the labour force" (p.4 emphasis added). It further plans to '*consider*' the extension to other programmes of a 'payment by outcomes' approach, similar to those used in other activation programmes such as '*Momentum*' and '*JobPath*', which are currently contracted out to two private companies paid on an 'outcomes' basis.

Figure 63 Marketisation of Education in Pathways to Work
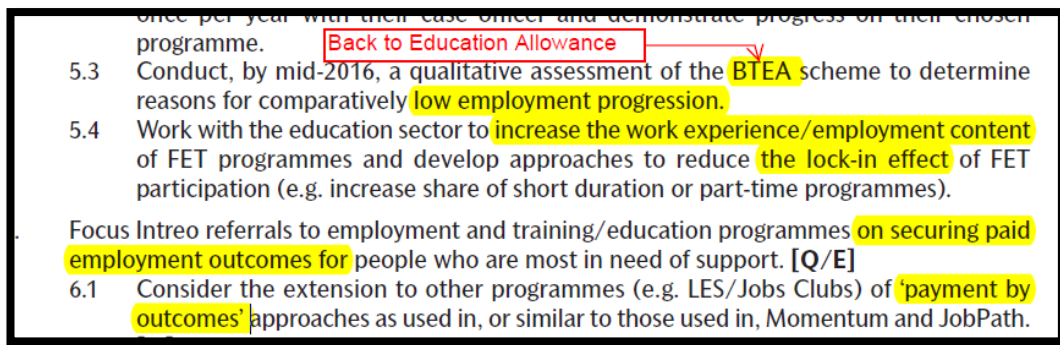
We can also see from this frame more of the handmaiden discourse of the hollowed out education system, where the role of *Back to Education Allowance*, is presented as nothing more than a driver to employment. The neoliberal lexicon of human capital is written all over education's role in PFG as well, as the final piece of evidence in this story testifies figure 64; PFG, p.86).

Figure 64 Final Snapshot: Framing Neoliberalism
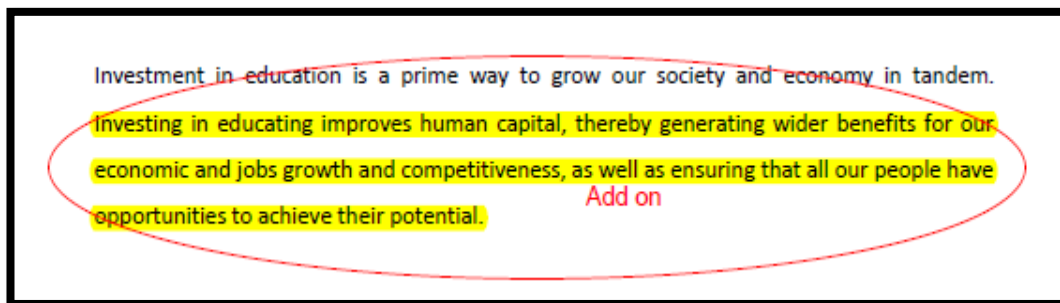
The 'Fit for Work' proposal has caused heated debate in Government chambers with accusations of removing people's access to benefits and providing cheap labour to business. Murphy (2016) has also spotted the similar discourse trajectory between the UK and Ireland, in programmes like '*WorkFare*' and its Irish cousin '*Jobsbridge*, noting "the same fluffy language" that legitimates the twin approaches. Indeed this study goes further and argues that the 'Fit for Work' trajectory has skulked onto the Irish policyscape already—last October in the form of a 'wolf in sheep's clothing'.

CES therefore represents a 'policy ratchet' in the global and now it seems, national 'Fit for Work' discourse trajectory. While CES and the 'Fit for Work' programmes are both positioned as assisting the deserving poor into recovery, what they really create is the

discursive space for further disability retrenchment. As the name suggests 'Fit for Work', no matter which way you look at it, is aimed at declaring people with disabilities currently classed as ill or disabled, as being… well… fit for work. . Reducing the number of jobless households is the key aim of ESA (Grover & Piggott, 2010); 'minimising the flow into joblessness' is a core feature of CES, as we have seen from the evidence thus far in this study. It doesn't take a genius to work out what this means for those on disability payments.

However, the newly appointed Minister for Social Protection (Varadkar, 2016, p. all emphasis added, np) in a follow-up radio interview, denied suggestions that the Fit for Work proposal has anything to do with the Tory Workfare programme, arguing vehemently that he is targeting "those groups who *haven't managed* to get *back into* work". Attempting to throw cold water on Murphy's attack in the media, the Minister counter-attacked in true rhetorical fashion: "I don't like the view that there are jobs *not worth having*, I don't think that's the *right attitude* and I don't think *most people in society* would share this view", quickly pointing to the generous wage subsidy scheme under CES's 'Make Work Pay'. In the official transcript from a follow-up parliamentary debate on the issue, the newly appointed Super Junior Minister for Disability, emphasised that the UK model is all about savings, not at all like the Irish 'version' it seems; "our scheme is all about early intervention and supports" (McGrath, 2016) he vehemently argues.

Closing Arguments

However, despite similarities between the UK and Irish 'Fit for Work' discourse, Murphy (2012a) notes a "softer Irish divergence" (p. 350) in relation to the UK discourse, and in particular, the more limited, less ambitious approach and appetite for bringing disability payments into the activation programmes on the same scale as Incapacity Benefit has been subjected to in the UK (2008). The perceived risk of loss of votes percolating its way down the ballot paper through the unique proportional representation electoral system, as opposed to the UK system of 'first past the post', is but one possible reason for this divergence—the 'Joanne O'Riordan effect' on the Taoiseach being a case in point.

Despite this divergence however, this study is suggesting that the discursive contours established by CES *has* made way for 'Fit for Work' to slip into the lexicon of future policy discourse, thereby creating possibilities for further disability payment condionality and retrenchment in the future. As Goodley (2014) argues "disabled people are caught in a catch 22: either to show that they are really disabled or emphasise their job-readiness" (p. 10), for a labour market where very few quality jobs, little fulfilment, and much exclusionary social practices await.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This study, like Graham and Slee (2008) picks up on the conversation with Baker's (2002) '*Hunt for Disability*', in seeking out old and new discourses that allow ableist normativity to reproduce and multiply. It does so by asking a series of research questions, a quick reminder of which is in order, before drawing this study to a conclusion.

1) What is the warrant of CES, how is this legitimised and for what purpose?
2) How is disability conceptualised in CES, how are people with disabilities constructed and with what effects?
3) How is education and training framed within CES and with what implications for people with disabilities?
4) How do the discursive contours of CES reflect the State's aspiration to an inclusive society for people with disabilities?
5) What are the implications of the interpretations of this study for disability policy-making in Ireland and in particular, inclusive education policy-making?

This chapter now synthesises the key interpretations from the study, outlining the implications, opportunities and challenges therein, for the achievement of Ireland's aspiration of an inclusive educational system.

Key Themes

CES's first claim to success is its claim to the title '*comprehensive*', supported by warrant that puts the inclusion of people with disabilities at the heart of its agenda. In pausing CES for four interpretive moments to take a series of snapshots through a discursive frame, it has been my intention to halt CES and its leading cast and crew, with a view to challenging this and the many assumptions it makes, within the discursive contours of its narrative. This chapter therefore, summarises the key arguments arising from chapters four and five, before turning the lens on the contribution to knowledge that this research makes to the body of literature reviewed in chapter two. From this synthesis, the conclusion points to potential areas for future practice and research development in the field of inclusive educational policy analysis, before concluding with a few carefully chosen last words.

Defining Disability

Reflecting a common theme in the international literature, CES presents a deficit understanding of disability, underpinned by a global discourse of classifications and functions, heavily legitimated and delivered through a distinctly rational, but soothingly paternalistic discourse. No definition of disability is offered in CES, instead disability is problematised through a series of warrants depicting the policy problem as an enduring perplexing, but worthy 'cause', strongly underpinned by a concerted effort discourse. The policy itself is situated within an achievement discourse strongly supported by the rhetoric of fruition and a warrant of recovery.

A Pastiche Discourse

The inclusion destinations of personal fulfilment and economic independence represent a pastiche discourse, supported by a gaggle of legitimating voices in white coats and clipboards, leaving the comforting arm of government to rest lightly (Bacchi, 2000, p. 29). Missing from the narrative of CES are the macroeconomic processes that determine levels of employment and its distribution; the availability and quality of jobs for people with disabilities are taken as a 'given' in this strategy. Fiscal policies that determine the extent to which essential public services, such as education and health will be provided, are also silent; the only fiscal consideration cited in CES, being that of "achieving a balanced budget" (Government of Ireland, 2015, p.30). These silences enable a rather two-dimensional view of people with disabilities, who are seemingly to be 'included' in our journey to recovery, but "apparently inhabit a world in which their poverty is unrelated to a wider social, political and economic context" (Ghosh, 2015, p. 854).

Normals and Others

Despite its claims to an inclusive agenda, CES embodies at its core, the logic of neoliberal ableism and more than a strong resemblance to the dishuman (Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2016; Goodley, Runswick-Cole, & Liddiard, 2015). The binarisation of everyday life and the biopolitics of ableism, lie deeply embedded within the discursive space created by the mainstream programmes of activation for *normals* on the one hand, and the specialised policy for *Others,* which this policy represents. Although the disabled person's 'capacity' is hailed in the values of this policy, the snapshot of the

disabled person, sitting in the deficit clothes of categories and labels, makes for a stark contrast, when pictured alongside the 'all-singing, all-dancing' Irish human capital abilities machine, presented in chapter four. The binaries of deserving/undeserving associated with UK retrenchment, is not as evident so much here, as is the helpable/helpless binary that singles out those capable of becoming the human capabilities machine , thereby aligning CES more to Goodley's dishuman, than Grover's (2015) scroungerphobia discourse.

Reifying a Discourse of Special Needs Education

This study has sought to revisit the deep structural levels of disability policy-making following McDonnell (2003) and O'Brien and Ó Fathaigh (2007), through the window afforded by CES. Following Liasidou (2011), this study as sought to expose and critically examine the ways that power and unequal power relationships lurk within and perpetuate discursive fabrications of 'normality', through the reification of a 'special educational needs' discourse. In particular, the study has examined the extent to which old and outdated models of intervention and 'fix it and get better' solutions are facilitated through the reification of a therapeutic recovery discourse, which fails to address deep structural inequalities within the education and welfare systems, and ultimately threatens the achievement of an inclusive education agenda.

Careless State

The political discourse of patronage and benevolence is strongly reinforced through CES, a recurring theme in the literature, compounding the Irish studies of Shevlin (2014), De Wispelaere (2007), O'Sullivan (2005), and particularly, Lynch (2013). A charitable discourse is legitimated strongly by an inclusive warrant, projecting the State akin to a 'Knight in shining armour' for people with disabilities, as the austerity period comes to an end, and Ireland's economy revs into recovery mode. Human rights are silenced in this strategy, playing no role in the Ministerial foreword, even though the policy sits with the Department with responsibility for equality; the nod to the 'get out of jail' clauses and the language of slippage, a cause of deep concern. Rather than a human rights or equality focus that one would expect, given where this policy is housed, the inclusive warrant is supported throughout CES by a disablist construction of a

disability 'subject', their vulnerability exposed and laid bare in stark facts and diagnoses, alongside their able-bodied peers, the ideal Irish working citizen.

Hollowed-Out Education System

The framing of education as 'handmaiden' to the political ideologies of neoliberalism is indicative of the marketisation of education that has swept over educational policy-making in Ireland in the last few decades (Holborrow, 2012), leaving in its wake, a hollowed-out education system, driven by market forces and consumer choice. This study has drawn attention to the interdiscursive connections between this policy and that of other key educational policy documents, with the view to highlighting tensions between a human capital perspective on education and the potential for education to act as agent for social change. But, transformative change must "be effected at a number of levels and social domains, so as to tackle the multiple sources of disadvantage experienced by disabled students" (Liasidou, 2013, p. 300). No attention is paid whatsoever in CES to the structural inequalities within the education system that have as much, if not more to do with the exclusion of this cohort from mainstream employment. A further worrying concern is the extent to which the ideology of neoliberalism dominates the vision for education in the new PFG (Government of Ireland, 2016c), as this study has revealed.

Unsustainable Disability Payments

A critical reading of this policy against the literature of recent disability retrenchment policies in the UK, suggests that the real warrant of CES is that of an unsustainable disability payments problem. The emphasis on individualisation and supply-side interventions, reflects a dependency discourse to be found in the UK literature and beyond. Unlike the UK scroungerphobia discourse however, the discourse surrounding CES' 'make work pay' proposals are couched in paternalistic and caring rhetoric, emphasising positive evaluations associated with a recovery discourse. This is not to suggest that there is manipulation or intent to deceive; more that the Irish welfare and activation model thus far, has followed and continues to follow, the UK model, rarely deviating or showing innovation, and focusing solely " on containing, narrowing and mitigating risks" (Quinn, 2015, p. 6).

My interpretation of the hidden warrant is based on a notable hardening of rhetoric around 'making work pay', reflecting a strong theme in the UK's ESA and 'Fit for Work' discourse, following Grover (2015). The political legitimating strategy that this reading suggests, is far from the inclusive society that people with disability aspire to. The discourse of dependency and privilege that this warrant represents, positions CES within arm's reach of further alignment of disability and jobseeker payments, similar to the approach taken in the UK. The discursive contours that 'fit for work' in any shape or form suggests, poses a real and detrimental threat to the aspiration of an inclusive society, much less an inclusive education system, which the disability community aspire to.

Intersectional Effects of Neoliberal Policy-Making

Although the discourse is strongly paternalistic, through the rhetoric of recovery, the State is positioned as a 'steering institution', supported by a strong and authoritative research base of tidy rational solutions at their disposal. Thus, the discourse of 'confident deference' to 'evidence' and 'experts' is strong throughout CES, reflecting Quinn's (2015) naturalistic fallacies that govern the domains of worthy knowledge in disability policy-making. A key concern from this reading, is the threat that neoliberalism poses to the inclusive education agenda. Drudy and Kinsella's policy analysis of the inclusive education system in 2009 is equally pertinent to this study, highlighting in particular that

> an inclusive education system is a precursor of, and in turn is dependent upon, an inclusive social system. An inclusive social system is dependent on an inclusive economic system that is located within a re-distributive set of state fiscal policies. The dominance of neo-liberal, anti-welfare state politics globally, provides a serious challenge to the political achievement of such redistributive and enhanced funding.
>
> (2009, p. 661)

Students with disabilities in Ireland experience compounded and overlapping forms of oppression that continues to be reified through the discourse of individualisation and deficit-focused interventions, in mainstream education policy and practice. The subjugation of equality to the market rules principle, reflects a key social justice concern in critical dis/ability studies, the pervasive and intersectional effects of which, have been

documented in this study, drawing on the Irish educational literature, but building upon the studies of Shevlin (Scanlon et al 2014), O'Brien and Ó'Fathaigh (2007) and McDonnell (2003) in particular.

For people with disabilities, the period since the introduction of the EPSEN Act (Oireachtas 2004) has brought a systematic hollowing out of state educational supports and services, through the subjugation of social justice, in favour of the neoliberal imperatives of balanced budgets, recovery and public sector reform. The long awaited publication of CES, signifies a wider 'no rush' approach to disability policy-making in Ireland. The shelving of the EPSEN Act since 2004, is evidence of the carelessness that Lynch (2013) speaks of, showing no signs of improvement in the new PFG, apart from its commitment to consulting with stakeholders to ascertain "how best to progress the sections of EPSEN Act that were introduced on a non-statutory basis" (Government of Ireland, 2016c, p. 73). This is despite being advised on numerous occasions that the full implementation of disability legislation is of fundamental importance to the policy goal of creating a socially inclusive society (NCSE 2013; National Office for Equity of Access to Higher Education, 2010).

Looking Back

A reading of this study through Allan (2006), begs the question as to whether justice and inclusion is even possible and whether reification and repetition of unjust and exclusionary effects of legislation and policy, is not simply inevitable. Sadly, as Goodley (2014, p. 122) observes, where the collective unconscious of the *normals* of society view disability as charity, it is difficult to see how disability can be "wrenched free" of such entrenched worldviews. However, possibilities exist for engineering shifts in the mental framework of those in policy-making positions, as Allen (2006) argues. This requires disruption of political and public discourses on disability, which is precisely the climate out of which the social model approaches to inclusive education have emerged, bringing with them disruptions to assumed positions about ability, normalcy, and citizenship (Taylor, 2012).

The lack of attention in CES to structural factors of inequality, coupled with a deficit conceptualisation of 'barriers' to employment articulated through an ableist discourse,

undermine attempts to deliver substantive disability equality through disability mainstreaming. To borrow the words of Bacchi and Eveline, (2010, p. 51):

> locating difference in a group or individual fails to recognise the political activity involved in the allocation of difference: so long as the focus remains on presumed biological characteristics, a neoliberal argument for freeing up economic arrangements to encourage individual success is uncontested.

Clearly evidence matters to CES; this is what gives CES its confidence I believe. The advancement of neoliberalism in Ireland, as Lynch (2013, 2012) demonstrates, has been greatly enabled by the longstanding history of anti-intellectualism within Irish political and cultural life. Irish people are still poorly educated in social and political analysis; there is no opportunity to study critical sociology, politics, women's studies, equality studies, media studies. in mainstream compulsory education. The Freirean emancipatory approach of enabling communities to self-educate with relevant tools and resources to make social change, have been all but eradicated through an intersectional 'chipping away' at the voluntary and community sector alongside the prioritisation of human capital over human beings. Critical intellectual scrutiny of the social processes of public life are scarce within the higher education sector, which itself is locked into a deep consensualism and conservatism (Lynch, 2012).

However, this study is not about 'dis'ing' CES, but, it *is* about testing this confidence and its claim to achievement. Scratching the surface of any policy that claims to be inclusive, is crucially important if we as a State, 'really' want to test our aspiration to achieving an education system that recognises and values the human within *Others.* My concluding argument: While CES may be dressed from head to toe in rhetoric and cliché, the view and evidence from this side of the red carpet, suggests that this policy is 'comprehensively lacking', in many fundamental dimensions.

Contribution to Knowledge

This study has attempted to dig beneath the text of CES, in seeking to challenge its inherent assumptions, in the hope of generating alternative ways of viewing the 'problem' that is inclusion of people with disabilities in mainstream education and by extension, mainstream society. Drawing from President Higgins in this endeavour, it is my hope that this study will open up a space for conversation, a 'deepening of the

discourse', that will contribute to the continued improvement of social inclusion policy-making for people with disabilities, not just in Ireland, but across our globe. I am aware that this endeavour is a long term project for critical disability scholars, requiring continuous scrutiny and further studies that question the paradigms of theory that constrain our policy options, in order to chip away at old and established ways of viewing the world. But I am also mindful of Hyatt's (2013b) observations (drawing on Lingard, 2010) that the most profound effects of doctoral research "are the slow percolation of research into policy, the generation of knowledge and the development of critical understanding" (p. 833).   Looking back, to where this study started, the most profound and immediate effect for me, is the new lens that I bring to my viewing of the world as a result of the doctoral journey, whereby I believe that nothing will ever look quite the same again.

This study therefore, provides a window of insight into the deep conceptual issues within which Irish disability policy-making is co-ordinated and articulated, doing so by means of a discursive analysis of CES, using methods of problematisation and critical discourse analysis. The 'portrait of people with disabilities' presents to Goodley & Runswick-Cole, "a moment of reflection, where impairment and disability are interrogated as phenomena, enacted at the levels of the psyche, culture and society" (Goodley & Runswick-Cole, 2016, p. 1). At the same time, this study contributes to a poststructuralist agenda, where desire to expose and bring about the demise of neoliberal forms of governing through a politics of refusal (Springer 2016) is critical, if we are to re-imagine our future in the interests of all of our citizens equally.

Furthermore, this study responds directly to a call from Irish disability scholars (Scanlon, Shevlin, & McGuckin, 2014) and farther afield, to engage with the politics of neoliberal ableism, in the pursuit of an inclusive educational agenda (Goodley, Runswick Cole, & Lawthom, 2016; Liasidou, 2016; Liasidou, 2014). In rising to this challenge, and pursuing my objective to illuminate the research process right throughout this study, the portrait represents, not so much 'a whole picture', as a series of snapshots from a number of carefully selected angles and lenses. My intention here is not to suggest a wicked policy conspiracy, but to draw attention to the intersectional effects that neoliberal mental frameworks has had on disabled people in Ireland and to reflect on

what this means in terms of a pattern of governing. This is particularly relevant given that all eyes are now on Ireland to finally 'put their money where their mouth is' and once and for all ratify, what has been up to now, a vey elusive CRPD.

The Government 'portrait of people with disabilities' provides yet another interpretive moment, where the disability identity is held up for scrutiny. The hanging of this portrait allows us to stop and ponder a while, what this might mean for their identity, value and subsequent positioning in Irish educational policy-making. The reading and interpretations of this study provide rich evidence as to the actual effects of a neoliberal hegemony on the lives of disabled individuals, as well food for thought on the implications of this 'way of thinking' on the quest for the inclusive society that Ireland aspires to. This portrait is particularly important for the disabled people's movement in Ireland and beyond, serving as a tool by which future policy development may be measured against; by which future snaps can, and I argue, *should be* compared to, serving as a reminder as to what disability policy should *not* look like. By illuminating the darkened room through the voice behind the camera, this study contributes to the growing body of literature highlighting the importance and value of CDA and problematisations in critical education policy research. In this way, the study has shown clearly how the politics of disability and disabled people's politics has been used directly "as a means to challenge the psychopathological tendencies" in policy discourse (Goodley, 2014, p. 133).

Thick description of positionality, process, outcomes, application of methodologies, theories and methods, qualifies this study as transparent and comprehensive, thereby allowing replication of application in future studies of policy discourse. The snapshot of the process and outcomes of working with CDA and WPR through four interpretive moments, has resulted in what can be termed a 'hybridised framework' for undertaking a discursive critique of policy texts. The frame captures the philosophical and theoretical 'thinking' work that is not only required, but unavoidable, within the process of interpretation. Whilst the scope of the study does not allow for a more in-depth look at this aspect of learning, table 1 in chapter three, mapping the interpretive moments to Hyatt's framework and Bacchi's WPR approach, creates a space for future application and learning. In addition, appendix 1 provides a snapshot of one of the many layers in

this interpretive process, its contribution lying in the depth of description offered—not only of the data itself, but of the process of interpretation, deconstruction and critique, showing, how, when and where, theories, methodologies and methods were applied, and with what results.

Limitations

However, like Hyatt (2013a) suggests, CDA studies need to be reflexively mindful of their limitations and this study is no exception. Being an interpretive study, the arguments made therein have been shaped and formed by my positioning, not just through my political engagement within the disability sector itself, but by the epistemological, ontological and methodological orientation that I bring to this project. I am aware that this is but one of many potential readings and interpretation of CES, the problematisations therein, subject to their own scrutiny and critique. Neither the WPR questions nor the CDA framework are intended to be an exhaustive and comprehensive checklist and therefore this study acknowledges any gaps that this may render in the analysis therein.

To be fair, it must be acknowledged that individual centred approaches to special needs education, have emerged from benevolent origins, and CES will no doubt bring positive change for some, if not all. But this study does not set out to assess CES through a rational lens; the aim of this study was never to evaluate the proposals effectiveness, but rather to challenges its claim to achievement, inclusion, comprehensiveness and truth. Following Bacchi (2009) therefore, I have attempted along the research journey to apply the six WPR questions to my own mental framework through a reflective process of internalisation, reflexivity and negative case analysis, conscious that this study too is subject to a number of readings, interpretations and critiques, which is welcome and to be encouraged.

Looking Forward

As this 'chapter', rather than 'story' comes to a close, a number of timely opportunities emerge, creating new windows of hope for that inclusive agenda that this study seeks.

- The Chairperson of DFI was elected to the upper house of parliament, the Seanad.
- A new 'Super Junior Minister for Disability' has been appointed by the new minority Government, who have in turn, given a fresh commitment to ratify CRPD by the end of 2016.

Challenges Ahead

The new Senator and the Minister for Disability have a significant body of work to achieve during their terms of office. This not only includes raising public consciousness about disability, but questioning why disability remains outside of the contours of political and public consciousness, boxed squarely within a charitable discourse, where services are seen as privileges and gifts, rather than entitlements and rights. Essentially, this is as Liasidou (2016) and Goodley (2014) have argued, a linguistic project—the challenge being to ensure an inclusive society in which "both disabled and non-disabled people can participate and realise their full potential and where the notion of disability and all its associated deprivations are little more than a dim and distant memory" (Oliver & Barnes, 2009, cited in Morris, p. 4).

In particular, the Senator and Minister must make it their priority to disrupt and dismantle the charitable and pitying framing of disability policy and bring the voices of alternative discourses to the political process of policy-making. This means, "facing squarely the challenge of re-engineering deeply embedded systems to change how they function" (Quinn 2015, p.8), the difficulty and politics of which, should never be underestimated. Now is the time for co-operation across the houses of the Oireachtas (legislature of Ireland; of which the Seanad is a member) to enact legislation that will reflect the values of rights and equality in this, the centenary year of the birth of the Irish State. As Liasidou argues, "it is important that educational professionals and policy-makers understand, develop and implement a social justice framework in dealing with difference and diversity" (2013, p. 299).

No one is denying the green shoots of Irish economic recovery are on the horizon for some at least. But this is no longer good enough; it is no longer the acceptable discourse of this epoch. We need a social recovery to match the recovery envisaged by CES—one in which, the transformative potential of the disabled voice and body is valued in the discourse of the policy-making process. One that not only 'aspires' to an inclusive society, but as Professor Quinn and his colleagues at the Centre for Disability Law and Policy point out, "one based on equal citizenship, as well as productive capacity of persons with disabilities" (Quinn, Naughton, & Flynn, 2016, np). There is no reason why we cannot break the cycle of assumptions in policy-making that associate people with disabilities with low skills and welfare dependency, unless intervened upon.

The discourse of 'reconnection, renewal and hope' offered by Higgins (President of Ireland, 2015) provides us with a tool to achieve this vision. Higgins also points us towards Sen's (2005) capabilities approach, in calling for a "deepening of the discourses and interconnectedness between economics and human rights" (Siggins, 2015). Education's role is central to this endeavour, in empowering those who are disadvantaged by offering "a clear philosophical basis for issues of social justice" (Polat, 2011, p. 52). The politics of dis/ability called for by Shevlin (Scanlon, Shevlin et al 2014) and espoused by Goodley (2014), and Campbell (2014), allows us an opportunity to reconsider, how the lived experience and identity of people with disabilities in Ireland is constituted by, what is essentially a neoliberalist Irish State, where "we are trapped in a single paradigm of thought, from which we are finding it difficult to escape" (Higgins, 2015, np). Although no political party in Ireland describes themselves nor would they as 'neoliberal', to deny such is to simultaneously deny the effects of their own exclusionary political discourses (Allan, 2007).

So, as to challenges emerging from this study's interpretations. Following Bacchi (2015, p. 4), the challenge for Irish critical disability studies researchers arising out of this study, is to consider "how these different configurations of problematisation—the interpretive focus on political agents who problematise, and the Foucauldian emphasis on the problematisations within policies that shape us as subjects, map onto political visions and political agendas and policy development". While it may seem that the two approaches are concerned with different analytic tasks—interpretivism primarily

concerned with those involved in processes of policy making, and Foucauldian inspired poststructuralism focusing on the critical interrogation of policy problematisations, Bacchi postulates that Foucauldian perspectives provide important insights for interpretivist goals and objectives, "raising important questions about the form of critique they offer" (ibid).

Discourse has the potential to give the right to say what is so; thus it is critical to bear in mind that policy, even that which claims to be comprehensive, is likely to be watered down when translated into politics. The new partnership Government of Fine Gael and Independents, under the gaze of a left wing opposition reflects a society that has become disenchanted and disillusioned with the popular rhetoric of recovery, inclusion and now 'fairness for all'. There is I believe, a real appetite for equality, following the rainbow victory for same-sex marriage in 2015. While analysts ponder what contributed to this hugely successful referendum campaign, I believe the critical success factor was the creation of a space within public consciousness for a new discourse to emerge and take shape. It is this discursive space that I believe holds the key to reclaiming and advancing the inclusive education agenda.

Implications and Recommendations

Public awareness and discourse (or lack thereof) was a key concern for DFI in election 2016, as social justice issues took a back seat to Irish water and the rhetorical debates of 'fiscal space' latitude. There are lessons arising from this experience, in light of the attempts of the disable inequality campaign to act as a platform for a politics of resistance in this endeavour. It is the contention of this study that disability scholars and disabled people's organisations must meet the challenges of the EU discourse legitimacy gap, by forging new alliances with the critical disability community in order to, as Bacchi (2000) suggests, "spend more time theorizing the space for challenge" (2000, p. 55); or as Allan (2006) proposes, "scripting disability and inclusion as an issue of cultural politics in order to find forms of analysis and expression which create new expectations" (p. 128).

Disability scholars and critical policy analysts have a key role to play in filling this discursive space with a new lexicon that challenges preconceived policies of 'ableness'

and 'incapacity' for normals and *Others* respectively. This study recommends therefore, that the focus of the educational policy research community, should adopt a 'policy as discourse perspective', in seeking to challenge the neoliberal tune that constitutes the discursive frame of Irish disability inclusion policy 2015-2024, that is CES today. We have come, as this study demonstrates, to accept many pastiche discourses in the wake of both the great roar of the Celtic tiger and the flames of austerity, not just in Ireland but across Europe and beyond. CES positions and defends itself on the grounds of its comprehensive status, yet as this study demonstrates, its narrative leaves gaping holes and silences that require further questioning, exploration and critique. Between WPR, CDA, the politics of dis/ability and the lens of the posthuman, we have the powerful language and methodology to do so; our challenge now is to "keep open the fertile tensions between theoretical perspectives" (Bacchi, 2000, p. 55) in a bid to secure the inclusive education system, which we as Irish citizens, should all aspire to equally.

The learning captured in the methodological mapping and detailed analytical processes of this study, has the potential to provide a platform for future critical disability and educational policy analysis endeavours. In particular, this study has highlighted "the inconspicuous, yet powerful ways in which language is used as a manipulative device to disguise deficit-oriented perspectives and exclusionary regimes" (Liasidou, 2016, p. 151). These tools have the potential to contribute to not only the disability policy research community but also to disability policy analysts and advocacy organisations like DFI, where our remit includes raising awareness and public consciousness of disabling discourse of everyday life, through training and education. DFI's national, regional and local networks of interest in both welfare and education policy, places them in an ideal position to maximise the potential of this learning among the disability community. Our recognised positions within the complex labyrinth of new structures and processes, established under public service reform, provides an excellent opportunity to raise awareness of, and promote the CDA and WPR methods within the voluntary disability sector and the wider civic policy-engagement arena.

This study further contends that the disable inequality campaign, intended as a platform for election 2016, has not only much learning to yield, but also much potential to advance a politics of dis/ablism. Taylor (2012) makes a convincing case for a

'capabilities approach' in this endeavour, arguing that campaigns aimed at disrupting deeply embedded ableist views, can be considered part of the equalisation of disabled people's capability that this approach pursues. The politics of 'voice' (Thill 2015) as espoused by the Independent Living movement's mantra 'Nothing about Us without Us', offers an alternative to the individualistic and market-driven emphasis on 'consumer choice' associated with neoliberal policies; but this too, is equally dependent on a political commitment to *listening*. Thill has highlighted the potential of this approach, examining The National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS) in Australia, focusing on the amplification of the voices of disabled people and their advocates, "not as tragic victims, but as active campaigners for policy change" (p. 16). The focus on listening moves accountability for policy change and development from marginalised *Others*, to instead, the norms, institutions and practices that determine which voices are included in the policy-making process. This was what the Disable Inequality (Disable Inequality, 2016) social media campaign was all about; the strapline 'does that seem fair to you' representing an attempt to raise awareness of the intersectional effects resulting from ableist policy-making, on those who want to make the contribution so 'expected' of them in the recovery discourse of the outgoing Government. The stories told as part of this campaign need not be packed away until the next election. Instead, the lessons drawn from this study should instil a new sense of hope—a hope for a new discourse of inclusive education that speaks of social justice, not charity; capability not capacity; citizens not *Others*.

Further Research

In response to the many scholars that I have drawn on in this study, but in particular Goodley, Shevlin, Higgins and Lynch, this study argues that there is a need for a new public debate on the framing of inclusion within political discourses and official policy articulations. This is not however, to suggest a reinvention of language in an attempt to escape that which has gone before, but to posit that there is a new discursive space, within which such concepts can be evaluated, contested and debated, with the aim of peeling away the layers of pastiche that surrounds such notions in official, common and everyday social discursive practices. As disability scholar Tom Shakespeare in a recent

interview contends, "negative association will pin itself to any word. Changing parlance will do nothing if there is not a shift in attitudes towards disability" (Atkinson, 2015).

Writing under erasure as espoused by Spivak (1997) is a particularly powerful step in the realisation of an inclusive agenda. Inclusive education research, through a critical dis/ability studies lens, offers a powerful tool to the Irish academic community, with which to challenge the centred-ness implicit in conservative and tokenistic attempts to include the marginalised *Other* in mainstream social practices. Disability advocacy organisations, such as the one that I work for, have a key role to play in this endeavour, being in what is perhaps an underutilised position of power at the table of policy-making institutions. Our job therefore, as Graham and Slee (2008) task, is to "jettison the rhetorical inertia of instrumentalist gestures *towards* inclusion', by making visible and deconstructing the centre from which all exclusions derive?" (p. 278).

Rather shamefully, Ireland are now among only a handful of countries yet to ratify UNCRPD. The commitment given by the new partnership Government to ratify the convention is welcome; but this is a sceptical welcome, given that that the new Programme for Government shows no indication of implementing the EPSEN Act (2004) apart from those parts introduced on a non-statutory basis. The ratification of CRPD provides one more opportunity for Ireland to show its commitment to real and meaningful inclusion for people with disabilities. Government must ratify this convention with conviction within a frame and discourse of 'contribution' and 'responsibility', not abdication and steering, as this study suggests. What we do not need now, is yet another empty vessel or tick-boxing exercise in the quest for an inclusive society. The contribution discourse must speak of positive strategies that tackle difficult issues of deep structural disability inequality, discrimination and exclusion; it must talk about meaningful change and meaningful rights for people with disabilities; not recoveries, help and charity, in order to defend ourselves every four years before the UNHRC. Future policies for disabled people should not be based on the "eradication of disability, but rather on new social structures, relations, systems and practices made possible through new rhetorics" (Dolmage, 2014 p. 2). Otherwise, as Quinn muses, "given the poor law mentality behind so much of our model" one could

be forgiven for "questioning what 1916 was all about" (Quinn, Naughton, & Flynn, 2016, p. 3/4).

Last word

I have given careful consideration to how I would end this story and who might be given the last word in this debate. In doing so, I am mindful of where this story started and with what expectations it started out. Bacchi's "reluctant optimism" (2000, p.5) brings to mind the possibility of new discursive spaces, alongside Higgins' (2015) desire to fill the European legitimacy gap with theoretical connections and methodologies that harness the power and potential of discourse to elicit social change. I too share this optimism—an optimism for inclusive education. To borrow from the discourse of hope), "we are not living in circumstances that cannot be changed" (Higgins 2015, np. And so, through these words of inspiration, 'inclusion' for me, is a journey part-travelled; therefore the cup is always half-full.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Analytical Frame using Hyatt and Bacchi Methods

What's the problem represented to be

Bacchi Q1: Working Backwards: 5 proposals = supply side interventions (individualisation/deficit oriented). Discourse = paternalistic, concerned- but confident
Hyatt Political Warrant: PWD "will not be left behind as the economy recovers" (overt warrant p.5) a pitying discourse ('only half as likely' 'left behind' (wider political discourse of recovery…happy clappy workforce election 2016 campaign poster)

Both problematisations speak to each other negative case analysis triangulation

Assumptions q2	Dominant discourse Interpretive Lens Foucault's Order of Discourse	strategies of legit Hyatt Framework	How does it achieve this Evidence in doc Intertextuality/inter discursivity	Contextualise it Why Q3 (Hyatt Framework)	Q4 What's wrong with this representation (CDS) Lens	Q5 Effects of this representation Discursive/subjectification/	Q6 Alternative ways of Seeing the Problem
1. Work is the royal road to social inclusion Solution	**Paternal/charity** relying on authoritative knowledge **Recovery** - not being left behind- knight in shining armour **Knowing what works**	Relying on authoritative/scientific 'knowledge'/expertise Rational problem solving approach (what works)	Heavy intertextuality to what works and 'professional knowledge' Expertise **worklessness** Associated with independence and social inclusion fulfilment	Globalised Neoliberalism Activation —passive Irish approach pre-crisis Troika/bailout/reform /austerity Election; Discourse of recovery. Defending poor track record on equality- decision made — outgoing mantra	Exclusion is caused by structural inequalities in system… Pastiche inclusion	Ableist norm **Abilities machine frames ideal citizen** **silences inequalities in ed system** Sets up a binary of work/workless – Dependency discourse established	Other routes to inclusion Education is route also. Managing the poor
2. The cause worklessness among PWD lies within the individual (supply)	Paternalism/soothing, with right interventions, Medical discourse , confidence; patience	Authorisation (evidence-based, medicalised framing; WHO, Experts, Rational problem solving model (knowing what works) evidence shows, clinical trials, experts	Even at height of recession ref- out of control (crisis discourse linked to 5 below) Constructs a representation of PWD based on categories Labels/stats Medicalised intertextual references Subtle Ableism/ normalcy	Reflects globalised neo lib approach People with disabilities always been the subject of intervention (ref 'their recovery too' Medicalised model of disability No rush policy approach marketization of disability; It leaves structural inequalities intact	Charity model reflecting SNE discourse Supply side interventions (Barton/Barnes) its not a rights based model	Reifies medical individualised definition of disability Subjectification effects Disablist representation of PWD Supply side lets gov't off the hook – who's interests- Binaries normals and Others	Evidence-based research old models — pointing backwards (Quinn) system itself creates binaries Barnes and Mercer Goodley and Dishuman/ slow death
3. Disincentives in the welfare system cause barriers to employment	Authoritative discourse of what works 'need to know' discourse Welfare and dependency discourse Discourse of reform (played down in relation to welfare but framed in context of disability reform instead.	Authorisation Rational problem solving logic Paternalistic overtones But turns to a form of preaching… reprimanding	Worklessness binaries with dependency Need to know Take home compared on welfare Emphasis is on disability reform rather than welfare reform	Globalised Activation welfare reform discourse Trend in focusing on supply Policy borrowing Recent activation of unemployed Troika Spotlight on activation passive Focus on youth reflects a globalised approach	Welfare reform (reform is presented in the context of PWD health plus value for money* not welfare reform	Effects of worklessness discourse: Welfare system itself sets up binaries that impact on daily lives Note: Effects of deserving poor on scarce resources — competing interests	McDonnell Deep Structural Issues
4. Education is the engine of Economic Growth (recovery)	Hands off approach Human capital Steering role of government — Depending on external factors – outside of control	Steering -	Places education in a subservient relationship to market Skills	Marketization of Irish Ed system Holborrow, skills agenda (Irish context) New Sales Strategy Pathways to work programme	Murphy Studies Ireland Hollowed out education system Education has a social dimension – social justice Ref to day services Lynch's studies point to charity model of rights – Same approach to Disability policy/ mainstreaming of	Education becomes a gift – deserving poor – only those who conform to abilities machine norm – there are references to old age in the strategy Impact for Inclusive education- choice for children with SEN – Shevlin Scanlon study Clarke Study Irish context – subjugation of Human Rights No rush government approach to disability policy EPSEN ACT shelved – real implications for PWD lives Impact on families "struggling through legal system" and for scarce resources	Education is a human right Human rights approach UNCPRD Social dimension of Education is ignored Education for pwd framed by employment
5. Looming Disability payments crisis	Crisis discourse – relate to budget Factual/underplayed/ just stats/fiscal space	Overt = context of disability reform Moral evaluation) Covert = Rationalisations – two birds with one stone Looming disability payments crisis – trouble ahead Facts. (inferred) (mythopoesis).	balancing budget/fiscal commitments Disability policy reform – Value for Money; adult day services; congregated settings	UK Crisis discourse Troika and reform programme fiscal agreement Budget speeches crisis of 80's references Fit for work – post CES Programme for Government	PWD view of welfare system is a recourse for social justice – redistribution of resources	Retrenchment Crisis discourse – Hardening of rhetoric towards disability Effects of austerity on PWD Logan – new inequalities during the boom also	Capabilities approach

Appendix 2. Table of Contents

Contents

NB window on conceptual thinking framework-

EVIDENCE

NB section establishing legitimacy - appendix C is key here also

EVIDENCE

Key theme repeated headings

+ chap 3 = section 1; section 2 is Appendix A

Key Window on role of education

Welfare Dependency 'decoupling' discourse

Revovery Discourse

Disability payment = absence from work

Soft discourse

"sustaining them in employment" Goodley's slow death

Work and Inclusion warrant authorised legitimation Hyatt

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Authorisation: 'Facts are stubborn things' Quinn 2015

EVIDENCE

Interdiscursivity: special needs ed

Language of slippage highlighted

Focus on art 27.. no mention of education

'Assumed' interconnectivity- rational logic

NB: Provides particularly good window on understanding of disability **snapped for

Key Window: on

Integration discourse

Establishing and embedding Key binary: Normals and Others:

Foreword

NDS Original Strategy 2004 states: "Preparation of the Strategy has been guided by the Cabinet Committee on Social Inclusion. T

This refers to the latest iteration of NDS 2004. First commitment to publishing CES in Department of Enterprise Trade and Innovation sectoral plan

The National Disability Strategy Implementation Plan contains a commitment to publish a Comprehensive Employment Strategy for people with disabilities. I am delighted to acknowledge the assistance of the National Disability Authority and of the full range of Government Departments in bringing this Strategy to fruition. In publishing this comprehensive strategy, we are ensuring a coordinated approach to support persons with disabilities to progress into employment. This is a cross-government approach that brings together actions by different Departments and state agencies in a concerted effort to address the barriers and challenges that impact on employment of people with disabilities.

The Strategy's six strategic priorities are:

- Build skills, capacity and independence
- Provide bridges and supports into work
- Make work pay
- Promote job retention and re-entry to work
- Provide co-ordinated and seamless support
- Engage employers

Meet the key proposals for the first time

The Government has already taken a number of key decisions as recommended in the Strategy:

- the public service employment target of people with disabilities will be increased on a phased basis as set out in the Strategy from 3% to 6%

- special public service competitions for people with disabilities will be arranged and we will open up alternative recruitment channels for people with disabilities

- the complex nature of the strategy requires a cross governmental approach which is why a group to oversee its implementation will be established and chaired by Fergus Finlay. This group will monitor the progress of the six strategic priorities of the strategy ensuring that each Government Department is fulfilling their obligations and meeting any necessary targets. Although this group will be

High profile self declared exponent of Taoiseach

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independent of Government, it will make periodic reports to the relevant Minister updating him or her on the development of the strategy

- an employer helpline will be provided with the assistance of the National Disability Authority, to provide expert guidance and peer support to employers in relation to the employment of staff with disabilities.

The Strategy sets out a ten-year approach to ensuring that people with disabilities, who could and want to work, are supported and enabled to do so.

Implementing the strategy will require continuing interdepartmental co-operation and a joined-up approach to supports and services for jobseekers and workers with disabilities. The implementation of the strategy will be subject to regular monitoring, and there will be a review and renewal every three years.

My Department is currently undertaking a consultation process with a view to putting in place a new National Disability Inclusion Strategy 2016 - 2019. The consultation process – which will continue to the end of 2015 - allows interested parties to make recommendations in key areas such as service provision, accommodation, health, employment, and education. We have an opportunity now for the first time in many years to address the issues of concern to people with disabilities in a sustained way. This Employment Strategy is one of the key building blocks in that process.

Aodhán Ó Ríordáin, TD
Minister of State for New Communities,
Culture, Equality and Drug Strategy

04   Government of Ireland

3a

5. Monitoring

Preparation of the Strategy has been guided by the Cabinet Committee on Social Inclusion. The Cabinet Committee will continue its role as the elements of the Strategy are being put in place.

3b. Government of Ireland (2004). Excerpt NDS locating Inclusion Agenda

Enda Kenny belongs high on list of greatest Irish Taoisigh

FERGUS FINLAY: Enda Kenny belongs high on list of greatest Irish Taoisigh

3K

Tuesday, May 10, 2016

Fergus Finlay

Surely the time has come to acknowledge what a substantial figure Enda Kenny is, and what a mark he has made on the Irish political landscape, says **Fergus Finlay**. He established a place in history last week as the first Fine Gael leader ever to have been re-elected to the office of Taoiseach.

It wasn't easy, and it wasn't pretty, but then, establishing a record like that was never going to be a straightforward task.

You know the way you often come across lists of great American Presidents? It can frequently be the case that the one you admire is way down on the list, and those you despise get much higher rankings than you'd expect. So I guess it wouldn't be possible to rank great Irish Taoisigh without generating at least some controversy.

But I can remember with reasonable clarity every Taoiseach since Jack Lynch. The list from then on consists of Liam Cosgrave, Charles Haughey, Garret FitzGerald, Albert Reynolds, John Bruton, Bertie Ahern, Brian Cowen and Enda Kenny.

http://www.irishexaminer.com/viewpoints/columnists/fergus-finlay/enda-kenny-belongs-high-on-list-of-greatest-irish-taoisigh-398520.html   1/4

3c

3 Implementing the Strategy

Three-yearly Action Plans

The Strategy will be implemented through a series of three-yearly Action Plans. The first such Action Plan is published with the strategy. Over the lifetime of an Action Plan it will be refined on an ongoing basis as individual actions are completed and the next step is put in place. At three year intervals, new Action Plans will be put in place for the subsequent three-year period.

Implementation and monitoring structures

The Government is committed to fully implementing the Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities. Implementation will be supported by a multi-layered monitoring framework that includes:

- Delivering on actions within Departments and through cross-departmental working and corresponding joint problem-solving
- Detailed measurement and reporting of progress on specific measures in the 3-yearly Action Plans, including key performance indicators and adherence to timeframes
- Annual review by the Disability Consultative Committees[36] for relevant Departments of the specific actions committed to by such Departments and their agencies
- Periodic advice papers from the National Disability Authority to independently assess progress and guide on implementation
- Annual review by the National Disability Strategy Implementation Group of overall progress and cross-cutting issues[37]

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[36] Membership of these Committees includes Departmental officials, representation from the Disability Stakeholders Group, the National Disability Authority, and other disability representatives.

[37] This is comprised of the Senior Officials Group on Disability, the National Disability Authority and the Disability Stakeholder Group

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- Relevant actions for a given year will be included in that year's Action Plans for Jobs, and monitored and reported on through that structure

- Annual reporting of implementation to two Cabinet SubCommittees both chaired by an Taoiseach – the Cabinet SubCommittee on **Economic Recovery & Jobs**, and the Cabinet SubCommittee on Social Policy and Public Service Reform

Implementation in practice

Responsibility to implement

Individual Departments and agencies will take responsibility for delivering the actions they own in the initial Action Plan, and in subsequent 3-yearly Action Plans developed under the Strategy. These actions will be co-ordinated via the Senior Officials Group on Disability, and other established interdepartmental fora as appropriate.

Oversight of delivery

The Minister of State with responsibility for Disability Co-ordination[38] will be responsible for oversight of delivery of the actions in the Action Plan, and for ensuring periodic review and updating of the Action Plans. The Minister, as chair of the National Disability Strategy Implementation Group, will work with the Implementation Group *of which DFI is a member* to monitor delivery of the strategy and identify practical solutions if difficulties arise. The Minister will submit annual reports on progress to the Cabinet SubCommittee on Social Policy and Public Service Reform.

Inclusion of actions in mainstream Action Plan for Jobs

Inclusion and Work pastiche reinforced

Specific actions under this strategy will be included in the Government's annual Action Plan for Jobs, an annual plan co-ordinated by the Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation which details

Normals and Others:

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[38] In 2015, this is the Minister of State for Disability, Equality, New Communities, Culture and the Drugs Strategy.

3d

1 Vision, Values and Strategic Priorities

Locating deep conceptual issues

This comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities sets out a strategic approach by Government over 10 years to ensure that people with disabilities who want to work in the open labour market are supported and enabled to do so.

The strategy framework is accompanied by a detailed, phase-one, three-year action plan covering 2015-2017. This action plan has over 80 time-bound commitments, which constitute the building blocks for the implementation of the full strategy. Revised action plans will be developed at three-year intervals over the lifetime of the employment strategy.

The cross-governmental approach used in the strategy, brings together actions by different departments and state agencies, in a concerted effort to address the barriers and challenges that impact on employment of people with disabilities. It provides for development of joined-up services and supports at local level to support individuals on their journey into employment and to develop and sustain a career.

Support discourse

Individualised barriers not deep structural

The strategy aims to be comprehensive in that it

defining disability in terms of impairment

- Includes people with physical, sensory, intellectual or mental health disabilities, and people with autism
- Ranges across the spectrum of abilities and degrees of impairment
- Addresses both the demand side and the supply side of the labour market

heavily weighted on supply side 'conservative policy' at best...

- Covers a range of employment drivers including education, transport, welfare policy, activation and direct supports
- Covers both public and private sector employment

Education subserviant to Employment

Discourse of targets and language of slippage respectively

3e

KARE
Promoting Inclusion for People with Intellectual Disabilities

Accessibility
A A A

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Our History

Our Plans

About KARE

KARE was started in 1967 by parents and friends of children with an intellectual disability. They wanted the children to be able to live at home and go to a local school.

Process to develop the strategy

authorship

Work on the detail of the strategy was conducted by a group of senior officials from Government Departments, working together with the National Disability Authority, and with Christy Lynch.[1] This built on a wide body of research evidence of key issues and successful practice in employment of people with disabilities.

[1] CEO of KARE, founder member of the Irish Association of Supported Employment, was invited by the Minister of State to work with the National Disability Authority in co-ordinating development of the strategy by Government

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Table 2

Departments and agencies with active consultative bodies which include disability civil society organisations

CDLP Establishing a Monotoring Framework

Department	Committee Name	Civil Society Members
Department of Social Protection	Disability Consultative Forum	Asperger Syndrome Association Brothers of Charity Centres for Independent Living DeafHear Disability Federation of Ireland Inclusion Ireland Irish Association of Supported Employment Mental Health Reform National Council for the Blind of Ireland National Federation of Voluntary Bodies Not for Profit Business Association WALK
Department of Transport, Tourism and Sport	Public Transport Accessibility Committee	DeafHear Disability Federation of Ireland Inclusion Ireland Irish Senior Citizens Parliament Irish Wheelchair Association National Council for the Blind of Ireland National Federation of Voluntary Bodies National Service Users Executive Not for Profit Business Association
National Council of Special Education	National Council for Special Education Consultative Forum	COPE Foundation Down Syndrome Ireland KARE

Link to CES Authorship p.11

Interdiscursivity; Complex interplay of activation and special ed through the veneers of inclusion

3g

3h

Appendix 4. Co-ordinative Process

Points raised

Strategic goal 1: Build skills, Capacity and independence

- Address the barriers for people with disabilities in education and work environments - more support is needed ← locating problem firmly within the individual
- Place the aim of securing employment at the heart of education and training programs. Ensure training matches labour market vacancies to facilitate transition to employment and it incorporates on-the-job training
- Better guidance on types of courses/employment opportunities that are suited to particular conditions (general sense that guidance is poorly tied to actual opportunities)
- Support services/transitional services for people who move between educational institutions and/or into open employment
- More supported employment/on the job employment and support for those unable to access competitive employment
- Address transport issues to and from employment/education – have dedicated travel training
- Empower people with a disability to expect to work form a young age (enhanced career advice from a young age) – vocational training to start from age 14 where appropriate for people with a disability

Strategic goal 2: Provide bridges and supports into work

- Consult with people with disabilities on what they need to help them — Needs/help discourse
- Implement supported employment for people with mental health difficulties e.g. the Individual Placement and Support (IPS) model of supported employment
- Provide training in ways that is not always exam based
- Positive discrimination towards people with a disability in the public sector
- Ensure that public procurement promotes equality
- More information on training courses suitable for people with disabilities — Homogoneous Group
- Develop a process/pathway that will encourage and facilitate people with disabilities either to enter or return to employment and keep supports for a time after they have entered employment — Dependency trap

- Young people with disabilities and particularly school leavers need to be targeted for activation and progression into employment
- Provide more information on supported employment
- Provide easy to read job contracts

Flexible employment is needed (e.g. reduced hours, shorter working week)

- Disability competency training for employers/colleagues so they know how to support staff with disabilities (provide successful case studies
- More work experience/placements/job shadow schemes for people with disabilities
- More Personal Assistance support in the workplace
- More traineeships and apprenticeships for people with disabilities
- Earmark some of the internships for people with disabilities, increase time that people with disabilities spend on internships
- Promote self-employment

Strategic goal 3: Make work pay

- Income supports need to be flexible to allow people enter/leave the workforce in times of illness (automatic reverting to relevant benefits if person has to leave labour force)
- Address the benefits trap – let the people with disabilities keep secondary benefits (medical card especially important but so to is free travel pass)
- Review and address shortcoming of Disability Allowance disregard
- Address supports for those wishing to be self employed
- Jobs plus schemes must be made available for people with disabilities
- Costs of living with a disability must be taken into account when assessing income levels - social welfare supports should be maintained to create the conditions where people with disability can access meaningful employment
- Provide financial support for those taking up training/education
- Give employers a tax break to employ people with a disability (where it can be shown they are less productive)

- Provide employers with a realistic sense of how much it costs for reasonable accommodation

Strategic goal 4: Promote job retention and re-entry to work

- More on the job training and work adaptations
- Promoting diversity, acknowledge difference and provide support for businesses to adapt to change
- Promote the inclusion of a designated disability contact person on employment sites
- Engagement with employers and employer organisations to promote effective work strategies and human resource policies and practice that facilitate employees with a disability return to/remain in the workplace
- Compile a directory of supports on available supports around employment issues
- Work preparation courses running in social care and educational settings prepare people for re-entry into work after a time away due to illness or acquired injury
- Allow people with disabilities to become paid carers
- Monitor statistics on unemployment among people with disabilities
- Advertise the employee retention scheme
- Allow wage subsidies scheme to be used where an employee develops a disability
- Change rules around sick leave so that it is not a cost to employers

Strategic goal 5: Provide co-ordinated and seamless support

- Provide a point of contact for both the employer and employee regarding advice, advocacy and support throughout employment (one stop shop)

NPM

- A need for a cross Departmental/coordinated/joined up strategy: Employment, health and welfare will work together and invest in keeping people with disabilities well and in work; this needs clear and transparent pathways
- Look at models in different countries e.g. the Danish model of "Flex-jobs
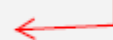
- Ensure national strategies are working together; link up different agencies with different strategies

- Share learning from best practice that works e.g. WAM project for employers, Work4You assessment

- A person-centred planning approach could assist with seeking employment

- Use the same definition of disability across all sectors and government departments i.e. for welfare benefits, unemployment statistics and the Census as well as for the comprehensive employment strategy

- Reducing the Live Register figures is currently prioritised, which affects pathways available to those on Disability Allowance via training and employment opportunities provided via Department of Social Protection Intreo or Solas

Mud wrestling .. disability Bitch

- Co-location of employment support workers with other services/support teams

- A national strategy to build recovery-oriented services working towards recovery for individuals with mental illness

- Make transitional planning the norm. When a person with a disability is at school leaver stage ensure that they are offered planned vocational education to suit their needs for work

- Implement the New Directions policy in relation to a new model of supports to people with disabilities to engage in mainstream community activities as against centre-based day services

New model of supports
vs
Conservative models pointing backwards

- Develop national occupational standards in supported employment

- Reduce delays in Garda vetting

4a

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C Outcome of public consultation process

NDA received 47 submissions from disability organisations, employment organisations, and social partners on suggested actions, following a mail shot and an invitation on the website in 2013. Consultees were asked to slot their suggestions within the strategic framework and to give a rationale for any proposals.

[Margin note: Who was on the mail shot? DES/HEA SOLAS are nowhere to be seen in written submissions]

[Margin note: k are ...ities]

The NDA project team held a special session with Disability Stakeholder group, and other key disability/employment stakeholders in 2013. This discussion focused on the ideas received in the submissions and explored other possible actions for inclusion in the framework document.

[Margin note: Segregation discourse/ Integrationist model of inclusion]

Key themes emerging from this consultation process were

- To embed the Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities into the national employment framework e.g. Action Plan for Jobs, Pathways to Work

[Margin note: Focus on access; mainstream binary]

- To give people with disabilities access to mainstream employment initiatives

Submissions were received from a number of agencies including the following:

- Acquired Brain Injury Ireland
- Association for Higher Education Access and Disability (AHEAD)
- Camphill Communities
- Catholic Institute for Deaf People
- Centre for Independent Living
- COPE Foundation
- Cystic Fibrosis
- Daughters of Charity
- DeafHear
- Disability Federation of Ireland
- Employ Ability
- Employment Strategy CoAction West Cork
- Drumlin House Training Centre

- Dublin Airport Authority
- Epilepsy Ireland
- HSE Training and Occupational Guidance Servi
- IBEC
- Inclusion Ireland
- Irish Association of Speech and Language Ther
- Irish Association of Supported Employment
- Irish Small and Medium Enterprise Association
- Irish Stammering Association
- Leitrim Association of People with Disabilities
- Mayo Mental Health Service
- Mental Health Ireland
- Mental Health Reform
- MS Ireland
- National Learning Network
- National Women's Council of Ireland
- NCBI
- Occupational Therapy service (HSE)
- Pobal
- RehabCare
- Rehabilitation & Recovery Team
- Spina Bifida Hydrocephalus Ireland
- Spinal Injuries Ireland
- Steadfast House
- STEP supported employment
- St Christopher's Services
- St Michael's House
- WALK (Walkways project)
- as well as from a number of individuals

4b

Published on Friday 2nd October 2015

Taoiseach Launches Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities

Taoiseach Enda Kenny and Tánaiste Joan Burton chat with Anne Marie Healy of the Irish Association of Supported Employment

Taoiseach, Mr Enda Kenny launched the Comprehensive Employment Strategy for People with Disabilities at an event in Farmleigh House today.

The strategy requires a cross-government approach that brings together actions by different departments and state agencies in a concerted effort to address the barriers and challenges that impact on employment of people with disabilities.

Speaking at the launch the Taoiseach said:

Speaking at the launch the Taoiseach said:

> This strategy is not only about those living with disability. It is about all of us - a society. It's about the kind of Ireland we want to build and work in and live in together, each with our own particular ability. You must have your opportunity to work and we must make sure you get it.

Welcoming the launch of the report Minister Fitzgerald said:

> The plan maps a way forward for people with disabilities to participate more fully in society and also to live more independently. The objective is to create an environment that is accessible to everybody, regardless of ability or disability.

Minister Ó Ríordáin stated:

> The task ahead is to build on the work that has been done in preparing this Strategy and to see it through to full implementation. This will require effort on the part of a wide range of organisations. I have arranged for the establishment of a group to oversee the implementation of the Strategy which will be chaired by Mr Fergus Finlay. This group will monitor the progress of the six strategic priorities of the Strategy ensuring that each Government Department is fulfilling its obligations and meeting any necessary targets.

5a

5b

One Story at a Time

13 Stories 13 Days – Martin Naughton - For our final piece for #13days13stories, Martin Naughton has written an open letter to An Taoiseach Dear An Taoiseach It is public knowledge that you have been keeping a score card on how your Ministers have been doing in their jobs. Well, I have been keeping similar on you for the last five years. You went into Government with attitude, with ideas on getting a better deal from Europe, of burning bond holders, of making disability your number one social justice priority. Well, I'm afraid that you have fallen a long way short – you have got an F! I [...]

13 Stories 13 Days – Paddy Smyth - Introduction to Paddy Smyth and his Disabled Life My names Paddy Smyth (@paddyysmyth) I do a snapchat based around #mydisabledlife it showcases my life whilst I deal with having Cerebral Palsy in my legs and walk with crutches fulltime! (they're black and glam) I document all aspects of my life, the good and the bad of having a disability whilst living in Dublin city in my 20's. I call my followers #mydisablers due to the fact that I want to 'disable' the stigma around having a disability. I chose that word as I wanted to choose a word that would [...]

New Video – Does That Seem Fair to You? - New #GE16 Video Ask Voters to Vote to End the Inequality and Discrimination Experienced by People with Disabilities. The Disable Inequality Campaign today launched its Does That Seem Fair to You? online video, showing real life issues facing people with a disability in Ireland, from support needs for young people with mental health to additional costs faced by older people with disabilities, to policy change needed to make employment pay.

13 Stories 13 Days -Shelly Gaynor's - Shelly is someone who has lived with a disability from birth. She has Cerebral Palsy Quadriplegia which means all four of her limbs are effected by Cerebral Palsy. She uses a powered chair to get a round. Shelly first encountered technology in School, She came to realise how powerful technology can be when she was in second level education. It was the use of a mini keyboard and tracker ball that made it easier

GET INVOLVED NOW

You can add your voice to Disable Inequality. Together we will be heard.

- Tell us your story here.
- Ask someone you know to add their story.
  Send us a picture. Send us a video.
  Tweet your story. Use the hashtags #disableinequality and #GE16
- Contact your candidates
- Share the campaign.
- Call us on 01-4547978

One story at a time

One story at a time, Disable Inequality is painting a picture of unfairness, discrimination and segregation across Irish society. By adding your voice, you can be part of a movement to create a more equal Ireland.

People living with disabilities, and their families, encounter inequalities, barriers and biases daily, from accessing public transport and health services, to enrolling in education or finding a job.

Nobody understands these issues better than you. Tell us your story and together we will be heard in Election 2016.

5c

A Phase one Action Plan 2015-2017 with key performance indicators and timeframes

Comprehensive Employment Strategy: Strategic Actions

SP1 - Build Skills, Capacity and Independence

	Actions	Responsible Body	KPIs	Timeframes
1.1	Promote positive expectations. Provide key messages from point of diagnosis of disability to emphasise the person's positive potential.	HSE - Multi Disciplinary Teams and others.	Preparation of 'knowledge packs' (build on Informing Families to include all disabilities) to provide positive messages regarding potential.	Guidance Group established by HSE Q.1 2015. Guidance Prepared Q.3 2015.
			Key message providers all receive knowledge packs/ guidance. Rollout of knowledge packs and incorporation of guidance into ongoing practice	Dissemination Strategy agreed & commenced Q.4 2015. 25% providers 2016 50% providers 2017 25% providers 2018
1.2 (a)	Raise awareness and expectations. Raise awareness of training and employment options among school-goers, via parents, schools, occupational guidance officers and guidance counsellors. Raise the expectations that education and employment are real options post school.	DES, Solas, HEA, ETBs NDA, DSP, DOH, HSE, libraries, schools, NCGE NCSE.	See SP 1.6	
1.2 (b)	Raise awareness and expectations. HSE to liaise with special and mainstream schools to provide information in regard to the supports service provided for young people with disabilities.	HSE and partners	Enhanced awareness in schools. Liaison structure developed Select 2 CHO areas and pilot liaison structure Review and amend Roll out 7 other CHOs	Continuous. 2015 2016 2017 2018
1.3	Development of revised allocation model for additional teaching supports for pupils with special educational needs.	DES.	Gather data to support implementation of proposed new model and undertake consultations with stakeholders.	2015.

Immediately focuses on medicalised understanding of disability

Diagnosis and knowledge packs... looks like this could also be informed by babble of legitimating voices in white coats

Yet Education gets no discussion in the narrative apart from work related aspects; Wer Solas invited to submit to consultation? They are not in the list of written responses

1.4 (a)	Special Needs Assistants (SNAs) in School Link SNA support to individualised planning for each pupil. Focus is on developing students' independence skills. 2014 circular outlines SNA role to promote child's independence.	DES, NCSE.	Circular issued 2014.	DES Circular 0030/2014 Revised allocations made in Sept 2015. Monitoring and reporting of implementation are ongoing.
1.4 (b)	Special Needs Assistants in School Periodic review of pupils' needs for Special Needs Assistants in schools	DES, NCSE.		
1.5 (a)	Transition Planning Consider recommendations of NCSE Research Report on Moving to Further and Higher Education. Work together to ensure the effective transition from school to further and higher education for students with special education needs.	DES, Solas, ETBs NCSE, DSP	Work commenced to develop a multi level transition process.	Q.1 2015.
		DES, Solas, ETBs NCSE, DSP	Report delivered.	Q.4 2015.
		DES, Solas, ETBs NCSE, DSP	Incremental Targets agreed.	Q.4 2015.
1.5 (b)	Transition Planning To ensure effective links with the National Oversight Group and the New Directions Implementation Group to address school leaver issues	DES, NCSE, Solas, HSE, DOH.	Links operating effectively.	Q.4 2015.
1.5 (c)	Transition Planning To promote the use of the Education Passport to provide information to parents and post primary schools (post-enrolment) on students' achievements.	DES, NCCA, Schools.	Schools using the Education Passport.	Q.4 2015.
1.6	Publish mapping of further education and training supports for people with disabilities.	NCSE.	Report published.	Done
1.7	Work together to consider how Guidance Counsellors can effectively support students with disabilities in guiding them on further education, training and career options, for example: Guidance and training provided for Guidance Counsellors Counsellors provided with the skills to develop individual FET options.	DES, NCSE, schools.	Action plan agreed. All guidance counsellors in post primary and Further Education and Training settings, as part of their initial training and on-going CPD to consider how they can effectively support students with disabilities and thereafter to implement such support.	Q.1 2015.

1.8 (a)	Further Education and Training Sector Further to publication of a 5 year strategy for further education and training, to develop a specific action plan with targets for people with disabilities.	DSP.	targets for people with disabilities.	
1.8 (b)	Further Education and Training Sector Ensure new structures (ETBs) enhance the provision of services previously delivered by VECs.	Solas, DES.	Establish national and local targets for people with disabilities.	
1.8 (c)	Further Education and Training Sector Solas to link their action plan with Intreo activation process	Solas, Intreo.	Links to Intreo agreed.	Q. 4 2015.
1.8 (d)	Further Education and Training Sector Memorandum of Understanding between Solas and DSP to include targets and outcomes for people with disabilities	Solas, DSP, DES.	MOU signed.	Q. 4 2015.
1.9 (a)	Joined Up Working for Effective Pathways NCSE Guidelines on transition of students with Special Education needs	NCSE.	Guidelines produced.	Done
1.9 (b)	Joined Up Working for Effective Pathways Transitions in school and from school and post school options involving key stakeholders. As part of the transition planning process opportunities should be created for learners with disabilities to experience training, work experience and employment sampling during their school years. These measures will assist students on a pathway to a career.	DES, teachers, DSP, HSE.	Structured systematic transition planning process developed.	Q.4 2015.
1.9 (c)	Joined Up Working for Effective Pathways Ensure that where available, access to Transition Year is open equally to all students including students with disabilities.	DES, teachers, HSE.	Structured systematic transition planning process developed.	Q.2 2015.

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