

# IS THE ‘SCHOOL INCLUSION MODEL’ A PATHWAY TO INCLUSION IN IRISH SCHOOLS?

In this article, there is an overview of the development of the policy of a new School Inclusion Model (SIM) recently piloted in an Irish context. The paper is essentially an analysis using the theoretical perspective of Bowe, Ball and Gold (2017) and the framework developed to support that perspective of the policy on moving towards full inclusion for all students in Irish schools. The analysis uses the Policy Cycle providing both national and international examinations of ‘context of influence’, ‘context of production of text’, ‘context of practice’ to examine the effects of the policy in the Irish context. The article addresses the core of the inclusion dilemma. The argument is made that all stakeholders voices need to be heard in an evaluation of the policy while the areas of autonomy, access, accountability and the needs of all students ought to be forefront in an assessment of the scheme.

**Keywords:** *Inclusion, School inclusion model (SIM), policy, New Brunswick*

---

**CAROL GARDINER** is a doctoral student in the area of Special and Inclusive Education. She works for the Professional Development Service for Teachers (PDST) as an Advisor for English as an Additional Language at Post Primary Level.

---

*Corresponding author: carolantoniagardiner@gmail.com*

## INTRODUCTION

The focus of this article is on the development and implementation of the Social Inclusion Model (SIM) policy from inception to implementation. SIM is a project piloted in 2018/2019 by the National Council for Special Educational Needs (NCSE), which models one form of full inclusion for all students in Irish primary and secondary education. Since then, it has remained as a pilot which has not been reviewed, reported on or rolled out further to enhance inclusion (DES, 2020). In an Irish context, there is still a three-tier education system (Shevlin and Banks, 2021). Most students attend mainstream school (NCSE, 2022), while some attend special classes in a mainstream school or attend special schools. In Ireland, special schools

and special classrooms have been lauded as places where the needs of all SEN (Special Educational Needs) students are met (Travers et al., 2010). However, there is a body of evidence which argues that, once students are enrolled in the SEN classroom, they rarely make the transition back to mainstream education (Banks and McCoy, 2011). As a policy, SIM seems to attempt to address some of these concerns. This evaluation employs Bowe, Ball and Gold's (2017) theoretical perspective of policy cycle analysis, adopting the tools of 'context of influence,' 'context of text' and 'context of practice' to examine the effects of policy within the growing neoliberalism of educational policy in an Irish context. The goal is to understand the 2018/2019 SIM policy pilot by looking at a unique issue in special and inclusive education through three key policy lenses.

Launched in 2018, the SIM pilot policy features a number of elements. NCSE documents reveal that the main aim of the pilot was to assess whether personalised therapeutic provisions made available to students in school would be beneficial in promoting a system of full inclusion in an Irish context (NCSE, 2019). However, the SIM policy also included seven other key recommendations that may significantly impact inclusion in Irish schools. These key areas included the development of the National Educational Psychological Service (NEPS), NCSE Regional Support teams with specialists in disciplines including Speech and Language Therapy, Occupational Therapy and Behavioural support, development of the National Training Programme for SNAs and specialist nursing service for learners who require that care. The pilot is based in the East of Ireland, specifically in South West Dublin, Kildare and West Wicklow, in seventy-five schools, including a representative sample of primary, post-primary and special schools involving a total of one hundred and fifty settings (National Council for Special Education, 2019).

In Ireland, the Education Act (Government of Ireland, 1998) and the Education for Persons with Special Educational Needs (EPSEN) Act (Government of Ireland, 2004) recognise the importance of education for all students. Recently, Irish policy has responded to the influence from Europe, citing both inclusion and equity for all as being at the heart of its focus (DES, 2019; 2019b). However, there is often a dichotomy between policy and practice (Shafik, 2021). SIM attempts to address the current three-tier education system (Shevlin and Banks, 2021). An inclusion policy would allow for SEN students to transition back to mainstream education (Banks and McCoy, 2011).

This article begins with an exploration of the many understandings of policy followed by an examination of the theoretical perspective used and why it is

appropriate to this context. Next, an outline of the Policy Cycle developed by Bowe, Ball and Gold (2017) for analysing policy from this theoretical perspective is provided followed by an analysis of the context of influence. The policy is explored through the context of influence and finally, conclusions will be drawn by looking at policy as practice.

## THE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The definition of policy used here is as a course of action adopted or proposed by an institution to change the way societal or institutional structures operate (Bowe, Ball and Gold, 2017). The theoretical perspective is the lens through which we examine policy (Howlett, Kekez and Poocharoen, 2017; Howell, Bradshaw and Langdon, 2020). The public nature of policy adds to its complexity, which can alter the theoretical perspective (Ball, 1993; Howlett, 2012; McConnell, 2016). This work examines the SIM pilot as proposed by the NCSE to potentially change the policy of inclusion in Irish schools. In this context, the roots of the proposed policy for inclusion seem to be in New Brunswick in Canada, but they have been shaped by the NCSE to adapt to an Irish context (National Council for Special Education, 2019).

## THE POLICY CYCLE DEVELOPED BY BOWE, BALL AND GOLD

The triangulation of three key areas forms the bedrock of the theoretical framework which is used in this article (Bowe, Ball and Gold, 2017). These areas are context of influence, context of policy text production and context of practice as illustrated in Figure 1.

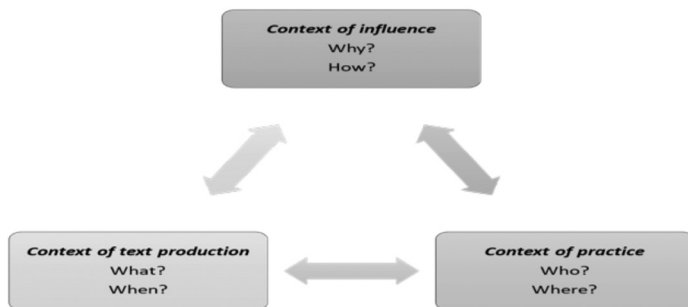


Figure 1: Policy Analysis Framework Examining the Key Focus in Each Category

To begin with, it is imperative to examine the context of influence. The focus will be on what caused this policy to become a reality. Secondly, an examination of policy text production will follow. Since there is no official Department of Education Curricular in this case, the examination of policy text will include a press release from the Department of Education (McHugh, 2019a, 2019b), Guidelines from the Department of Education on its implementation (Department of Education and Skills, 2019) and Policy Advice from NCSE to the Department of Education (National Council for Special Education, 2019). Finally, this review will examine the context of practice. There has been no official report to the Department of Education from NCSE about the SIM Model yet- due to delays occasioned by Covid-19 restrictions. In the absence of a review, in August 2020, Ministers Foley and Madigan extended the pilot to run for another year (NCSE, 2020). However, a critical analysis of what the context of practice may look like if the pilot is extended countrywide is included.

### **Context of Influence**

This dimension of the policy analysis framework considers the key factors which shaped the origins of the policy. Internationally, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Person was influential in changing SEN Policy in countries (Szmukler, 2015, 2019). Article 42 established the importance of a fully inclusive system (Amanze and Nkhoma, eds., 2020; Black-Hawkins and Grinham-Smith, eds., 2022). The recommendation is that countries work to allow everyone in society equal access to the same educational opportunities, regardless of their special educational needs (UNCRPD, 2007, Article 24). Policy needs to work towards a culture of practice where the needs of all students are accommodated (Lindner and Schwab, 2020; Tiernan, 2021). General comment no 4 supports governments in working towards this ideal (Slee, 2018; Florian, 2019; Graham et al., 2020). The pressure to align Irish national policy and practice with international policy is evident (Murphy and Sugrue, 2021). However, there is still ambiguity at the level of policy documentation in an Irish context, including what inclusive provision is available, for whom and where (National Council for Special Education, 2019; Holland, 2021). This is the source of much current debate in Ireland (O'Brien, 2019; O'Kelly, 2022; Michael, 2022). The SIM pilot attempts in some way to address this gap within a wider framework of measures. However, the question remains- is SIM the best pathway to full inclusion in Irish schools?

Many European countries, including Portugal (Alves, 2020) and Italy (Nes, Demo and Ianes, 2018), have models of inclusion that may be influential in an Irish context (Banks et al., 2016). However, in the Irish context, there is a desire to find

the best fit in terms of inclusion (Young, McNamara and Coughlan, 2017). While some critics continue to feel that the idea of full inclusion is a fanciful allusion (Imray and Colley, 2017); others worry that, in Ireland, the practice of maintaining a three-tier system may allow some key actors to opt out of an inclusive vision (Shevlin and Banks, 2021).

On a macro level, one could argue there is a sense of ‘policy borrowing’ and influence when we examine the ‘policy text’ of the Irish SIM (National Council for Special Education, 2019) and compare it with New Brunswick’s Policy 322 based on the idea of ‘intentional’ inclusive education as a ‘human right’ (Carr, 2019; AuCoin, Porter and Baker-Korotkov, 2020). New Brunswick is one of the ten provinces in Canada. The province has an education policy of full inclusion known as Policy 322. The support model used is similar to the Irish model of SIM. The concept of the neighbourhood school is the philosophical basis of the model which is seen in other jurisdictions—such as India and Italy—that have employed a full-inclusion model (Narayan, Pratapkumar and Reddy, 2017; Nes, Demo and Ianes, 2018; Ramberg and Watkins, 2020). The classroom becomes a microcosm of society where the goals of the policy are clear; that is, to eliminate obstacles for all students to learn within the same classroom by guaranteeing ease of access (Canadian Department of Education and Early Childhood, 2013). This model allows every student to remain in their base classroom in their local school. However, no system is flawless.

Having examined the origins of ‘context of influence,’ concerns remain about whether SIM is the best pathway to inclusion in Irish schools. By examining the context of ‘policy text production,’ which considers what is being proposed and for whom, we may come closer to understanding what is proposed.

### **Context of Policy Text Production**

To begin to unpack the question of whether SIM is a good pathway to full inclusion in Irish schools, it is important to examine the proposal through the lens of text. While there is as yet no circular available from the DES on inclusion, the focus here is on available documentation, including press releases issued by the DES when the pilot was launched (McHugh, 2019a), policy advice available from the NCSE (National Council for Special Education, 2019), an annual report from NCSE (National Council for Special Education, 2020) and the publication of plans to review the scheme by the ESRI (Economic and Social Research Institute, 2020). There is also a decision to continue the scheme but no other details available as to the rationale that led to that pronouncement (NCSE, 2020).

SIM is based on the premise of inclusion. However, the idea of inclusion has several meanings in society (Smith and Leonard, 2005; Travers et al., 2010; Banks and McCoy, 2011; Colum, 2020). As the SIM policy is the brainchild of the NCSE, their definition of inclusion adopted from the UNCRPD seems most appropriate:

Inclusion involves a process of systemic reform embodying changes and modifications in content, teaching methods, approaches, structures and strategies in education to overcome barriers with a vision to provide all students of the relevant age range with an equitable and participatory learning experience and the environment that best corresponds to their requirements and preferences (United Nations, 2008).

The suggestion is that inclusion implies a universal restructuring of education systems to allow every student to become an active participant within the classroom (McHugh, 2019a).

The policy of SIM emerged in response to the political desire to ratify the UNCRPD in 2018. The three-tiered education system was in breach of the convention. Ireland, lagging behind its European colleagues, moved to implement an inclusive system of education (Shevlin and Banks, 2021). The review of the provision for children with SEN attending special schools and classes (National Council for Special Education, 2019) resulted in policy advice from the NCSE, which suggested the move as the best practice.

The interplay between the ‘context of text production’ and ‘context of practice’ is interesting. One of the key philosophical arguments from the NCSE and DES for promoting the policy of SIM was to move from a culture of labelling students by their needs to a more inclusive model where students who need help are assisted (National Council for Special Education, 2019; Holland, 2021). This is in line with the international literature and practice on inclusion (Nes, Demo and Ianes, 2018). Given the vast amount of investment in the scheme, the SIM pilot allows stakeholders to examine how the needs of students are being met within this paradigm. In March 2019, the DES allocated €4.75 million to the SIM project (National Council for Special Education, 2019). However, one of the key criticisms of the SIM continues to be resourcing (Rose, 2021). The political actors continue to point out that the government has made SEN a key priority for funding (McHugh, 2019a, Merrion Street, 2022). Financial resources have increased in this area, while they have been cut in many other areas of education (McHugh, 2019b; Kenny, McCoy and Mihut, 2020). However, there remain concerns about the dichotomy between the aspirations of the NCSE policy advice and the political rhetoric that if the policy was to work appropriately, it needs appropriate financing (O’Brien, 2019; Mohan et al., 2020).

The SIM pilot was rolled out in schools in 2018/2019. However, due to the pandemic, the evaluation of its efficacy still has not taken place. In its annual report for the NCSE, SIM does get a brief mention in terms of the allocation of resources (National Council for Special Education, 2020). As there is more than one text, a study of those involved spanning across a wide range of actors and texts will be challenging. It will be interesting to evaluate whether stakeholders' voices are heard within the evaluation of the scheme, which will be conducted by the Economic and Social Research Institute (ERSI) (ERSI, 2020). Having explored the origins of 'context of influence and context of text production,' an examination of the 'context of practice' would help to throw further light on the issue of whether SIM is the best pathway to inclusion in Irish schools.

### **Context of Practice**

A policy has to become practice to be useful (Kerr and Dyson, 2017; Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016). It has to affect the ordinary lives of everyday people to be completely understood (Ball, 2017). Bourdieu's notion of 'field' is crucial to explore how educational policy texts 'circulate without their context' (Bourdieu 1999, 221) which Ball refers to as 'policy text' becoming 'policy discourse' and ultimately, 'policy effect'. Researchers accept that a policy is a method of discourse that involves philosophical shaping which Foucault calls 'subjectification' (Regmi, 2019). While examining the SIM pilot within the context of practice, it is worthwhile to consider how the policy will become embedded and the barriers to implementation. In terms of policy mobility, and in light of the SIM Model, there are five key areas of focus here: autonomy, implementation, access, impact and accountability.

### *Principals*

Policy depends on leadership to make it work on the ground in schools (AuCoin, Porter and Baker-Korotkov, 2020). In terms of the context of practice, there are struggles on the leadership level (Frizzell, 2022). There seems to be some fear that the implementation of the SIM policy leads to less autonomy in schools (Irish Primary Principals' Network, 2019). Some critics argue that those in management positions should be given the opportunity to examine a menu of policies available to their schools and choose those which align with the needs of their school (Sugrue, 2009) and that lack of a "top-down prescription" affords schools more effective interventions (Tracey et al., 2014). Leaders with a burning desire for inclusion may choose SIM for their schools, but not all leaders may have that aspiration, leading commentators such as Kenny et al., (2020) to call for ongoing evaluation of reforms such as the Special Education Teacher Allocation Model

(DES, 2017) and the SIM.’ Equally, the lack of a unified curricular from the DES as a blueprint for schools might prove problematic.

There may continue to be concerns that the implementation of the SIM pilot will lead to a loss of autonomy amongst leadership in schools. In Ireland, at present, principals get no extra allowance for managing their SNA staff (Irish Primary Principals’ Network, 2019). There appears to be no appetite on the part of the government to increase funding to support Principals for their extra work in this area (McHugh, 2019a, 2019b; NCSE, 2020). Interestingly, after examining the frontloading of the SIM scheme, 88.4% of principals agreed that they have less SET time than they would have had in the older allocation model (Irish Primary Principals’ Network, 2019). Although the Irish government suggested that the new model would ensure extra teaching support to ensure inclusion, almost all schools have lost time for supporting children with additional needs (National Principals’ Forum, 2019). The question of who implements, oversees and leads the policy is key. Financial remuneration may make this extra work more palatable. It is crucial to clarify roles and responsibilities to make the alliance effective (Rhodes, 1996).

### *Teachers*

Equally, SIM cannot work without buy-in from teachers. In New Brunswick, Policy 322 works due to the long-term commitment by teachers to engage with all learners in their classroom (Korostov, 2019; Fraser, 2017). This is replicated in other countries where full inclusion has been successful, such as Finland, Italy and India (Avramidis and Norwich, 2002; Riddell, 2003; Florian and Rouse, 2009; European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education, 2011; Nes, Demo and Ianes, 2018).

The ratio of teacher to student in New Brunswick is 12:1 (Carr, 2022). Teaching staff are also supported by behaviour mentors and school intervention mentors. In addition, specialist teachers take primary school students for specialist subjects freeing classroom teachers up for professional learning time during the day (Frizzell, 2022). As the workload continues to increase for teachers (Pijl, 2010), this model demands that Irish teachers engage not only with SNAs in their classrooms but also with other professionals. Additional professional time during the teaching day may make the idea of inclusion more appealing for teachers in an Irish context. Teachers working within the SIM pilot liaising with other professionals can ensure that the student gets the support that they need—in school—and they are not absent from class for long periods (Irish Primary Principals’ Network, 2019). In my own experience, in rural Ireland, students may be absent for a full day in order to attend an appointment with a specialist. If there are several appointments, rates



of absenteeism can be alarming and counterproductive. SIM seems to address some of the issues teachers worry about, however, one wonders if they will have the appetite for the extra work required on top of huge existing workloads without being accommodated in some way for the extra toil.

### *Parents*

SIM does in some way address the needs of those parents of SEN children who may have three to four appointments for services each week. As a parent/professional with a child who had intense levels of intervention, I struggled while trying to balance working full-time with the four or five additional appointments—SLT, OT, physiotherapy and play therapy—each week which put serious pressure on the family resources. It is possible that the SIM model addresses some of the stress faced by parents. However, there is an ongoing argument in New Brunswick that some students need much more on-site, intensive therapy than is being allocated under the model (Fraser, 2017, 2020). The idea of an integration service model, which is used in New Brunswick, may also be very welcome in an Irish context (Frizzell, 2022). The idea is simple- every child has one file containing all their specialist reports and professional input from those supporting them each school year. The file moves with the student so that the next teacher and school can pick up without the parent having to fill the teacher and staff in on the students' story so far. Parents give one time consent which allows everyone to support the student. This reduces the administration burden that is felt so keenly in an Irish context. However, in an Irish context, there are likely to be data protection regulation concerns in this regard.

## **CONCLUSION**

Using Bowe, Ball and Gold's (2017) theoretical perspective, this work examined the pilot SIM within an Irish context. While the pilot has merit as explored here, the pathway to full inclusion in Irish schools is by no means straightforward. There are likely to be ongoing concerns from all stakeholders. Expansion in the rollout of the SIM model is likely to be widely welcomed if accompanied with appropriate funding, guidance and professional development. However, whether that is likely to happen given this period of volatility, uncertainty, complexity, and ambiguity (VUCA) is very uncertain. Challenges remain (Brown, 2021; Smith, 2021) even in a context such as New Brunswick where there is a policy of full inclusion. In the absence of further development and review of SIM, it seems as if we are still in a state of flux. We are no closer to knowing whether the system will be rolled out countrywide or remain a well-intended pilot in the east of the country.

## REFERENCES

- Alves, I., (2020) 'Enacting education policy reform in Portugal—the process of change and the role of teacher education for inclusion.' *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 43(1), 64-82.
- Amanze, N. and Nkhoma, S. (Eds.) (2020) *Disability is not Inability: A Quest for Inclusion and Participation of People with Disability in Society*. Malawi: African Books Collective.
- AuCoin, A., Porter, G.L. and Baker-Korotkov, K., (2020) 'New Brunswick's journey to inclusive education.' *Prospects*, 49(3), 313-328.
- Avramidis, E. and Norwich, B. (2002) 'Teachers' attitudes towards integration/inclusion: a review of the literature.' *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, 17(2), 129-147.
- Bacchi, C. and Goodwin, S., 2016. *Post Structural Policy Analysis: A Guide to Practice*. New York: Springer.
- Ball, S. J. (2017) *The Education Debate*. Bristol: Bristol University Press.
- Ball, S.J., (1993) 'What is policy? Texts, trajectories and toolboxes.' *The Australian Journal of Education Studies*, 13(2), 10-17.
- Banks, J, McCoy, S., Frawley, D., Kingston., G, Shevlin, M., Smyth., F., (2016) *Special Classes In Irish Schools Phase 2: A Qualitative Study. A Qualitative Study 24. Trim, Co. Meath: National Council for Special Education Research Report No. 9*. Available at: <http://ncse.ie/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/NCSE-Special-Classes-in-Irish-Schools-RR24.pdf> (Accessed: 18 March 2021).
- Banks, J. and McCoy, S. (2011) *A Study on the Prevalence of Special Educational Needs*. National Council of Special Education. National Council for Special Education Research Report No. 9. Trim: NCSE.
- Black-Hawkins, K. and Grinham-Smith, A. (Eds.) (2022) *Expanding Possibilities for Inclusive Learning*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Bowe, R., Ball, S.J. and Gold, A., (2017) *Reforming Education and Changing Schools: Case Studies in Policy Sociology*. London: Routledge.
- Brown, L., (2021) 'Policy on grade retention to be reviewed this summer, says N.B. education minister', Atlantic | News, 1 June. Available at: <https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/policy-on-grade-retention-to-be-reviewed-this-summer-says-n-b-education-minister-1.5450393> (Accessed: 8 June 2021).

- Carr, J. (2022) *'Inclusive Education in New Brunswick, Canada'*, Online presentation in Dublin City University (virtually), 28<sup>th</sup> Feb 2022.
- Carr, J. (2019) *'Inclusive Education: Lessons Learned. Trim: NCSE.'* Available at: <https://ncse.ie/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Jody-Carr-presentation.pdf>.
- Colum, M. (2020) 'The Inclusion of Learners with Moderate General Learning Disabilities and Challenging Behaviours in School and Class Activities in Special Schools.', *REACH: Journal of Inclusive Education in Ireland*, 33(2), 83-100.
- Department of Education and Skills (2019) Action Plan for Education 2021-2023. Available at: <https://www.education.ie/en/The-Department/Action-Plan-for-Education-2016-2019/>.
- Department of Education and Skills (2019b). (2019) *'Action Plan for Education 2019: Empowering through learning'*. Dublin: DES. Available at: [https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Corporate\\_Reports/Strategy-Statement/action-plan-for-education-2019.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Corporate_Reports/Strategy-Statement/action-plan-for-education-2019.pdf).
- Department of Education and Skills (2020), *'School Inclusion Model Group'*. Dublin: DES. Available at [gov.ie](http://gov.ie) - School Inclusion Model Group ([www.gov.ie](http://www.gov.ie))
- Department of Education and Early Childhood (Canada) (2013) *Policy 322, New Brunswick: Department of Education and Early Childhood*
- Department of Education and Science (2017) *Circular to the Management Authorities of all Post Primary Schools: Secondary, Community and Comprehensive Schools and the Chief Executive Officers of the Education and Training Boards Special Education Teaching Allocation*. Available at: [https://www.education.ie/en/Circulars-and-Forms/Active-Circulars/cl0014\\_2017.pdf](https://www.education.ie/en/Circulars-and-Forms/Active-Circulars/cl0014_2017.pdf).
- Economic and Social Research Institute (2020) *Evaluation of the School Inclusion Model*. Dublin, Ireland: Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) Research Series. Available at: <https://www.esri.ie/current-research/evaluation-of-the-school-inclusion-model>.
- European Agency for Development in Special Needs Education, (2011) *Teacher education for inclusion across Europe—Challenges and opportunities*. Odense. Available at: <https://www.european-agency.org/sites/default/files/te4i-synthesis-report-en.pdf>.

- Florian, L. and Rouse, M., (2009) ‘The inclusive practice project in Scotland: Teacher education for inclusive education.’ *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 25(4), 94-601.
- Florian, L., (2019) ‘On the necessary co-existence of special and inclusive education.’ *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 23(7–8), 691-704.
- Fraser, E., (2017) ‘*Teachers call for changes to inclusion policy for classrooms*’, CBC News, 21 November. Available at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/inclusion-policy-new-brunswick-teachers-association-1.4411713>.
- Fraser, E., (2020) ‘*Education minister calls for review of classroom inclusion policy*’, CBC News, 24 February. Available at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/new-brunswick/inclusion-policy-education-nb-cardy-1.5473448>.
- Frizzell, K., (2022), ‘*Inclusive Education in New Brunswick, Canada*’, Online presentation in Dublin City University (virtually), 4<sup>th</sup> March 2022.
- Government of Ireland, (1998) *The Education Act*. Available at: <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1998/act/51/enacted/en/html>.
- Government of Ireland, (2004) *Education for Persons with Special Educational Needs Act*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.
- Graham, L.J., Medhurst, M., Malaquias, C., Tancredi, H., De Bruin, C., Gillett-Swan, J., Poed, S., Spandagou, I., Carrington, S. and Cologon, K., (2020) ‘Beyond Salamanca: A citation analysis of the CRPD/GC4 relative to the Salamanca Statement in inclusive and special education research.’ *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 27(2), 123-145, DOI: 10.1080/13603116.2020.18316271-23.
- Holland, K., (2021) ‘*Dublin school criticised over refusal to let three pupils with disabilities sit LCA- Junior minister accuses Clonturk college of ‘failing to be inclusive’ over the issue*’, *The Irish Times*. Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/dublin-school-criticised-over-refusal-to-let-three-pupils-with-disabilities-sit-lca>.
- Howell, M., Bradshaw, J. and Langdon, P.E., (2020) ‘There isn’t a checklist in the world that’s got that on it’’: Special needs teachers’ opinions on the assessment and teaching priorities of pupils on the autism spectrum.’ *Journal of Intellectual Disabilities*, 26(1) 211–226.
- Howlett, M., (2012) ‘The lessons of failure: learning and blame avoidance in public policy- making.’ *International Political Science Review*, 33(5), 539-555.

- Howlett, M., Kekez, A. and Poocharoen, O.O., (2017) 'Understanding co-production as apolicy tool: Integrating new public governance and comparative policy theory. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 19(5), 487-501.
- Imray, P. and Colley, A., (2017) *Inclusion is Dead: Long Live Inclusion*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Irish Primary Principals' Network (2019) NCSE Policy Paper on Full Inclusion. Cork: IPPN. Available at: [www.ippn.ie/index.php/9-uncategorised/8002-ncse-policy-paper-on-full-inclusion](http://www.ippn.ie/index.php/9-uncategorised/8002-ncse-policy-paper-on-full-inclusion).
- Kenny, N., McCoy, S. and Mihut, G., (2020) 'Special education reforms in Ireland: changing systems, changing schools.' *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, p. pp.1-20. DOI: 10.1080/13603116.2020.1821447.
- Kerr, K. and Dyson, A., (2017) 'Area-based responses to educational disadvantage.' *In Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.160>
- Korostov, K., (2019) '*Implementing Inclusive Education*'. National Council for Special Educational Research Conference, Dublin, Ireland, November.
- Lindner, K.T. and Schwab, S., (2020) 'Differentiation and individualisation in inclusive education: a systematic review and narrative synthesis.' *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 1-21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.202.1813450>
- Merrion Street (2022) *Ministers Foley and Madigan announce details of €9.6 billion education funding in Budget 2023* (Press Release). Available at: [Ministers Foley and Madigan announce details of €9.6 billion education funding in Budget 2023 - MerrionStreet](#) (Accessed: 11 November 2022).
- McConnell, A., (2016) 'A public policy approach to understanding the nature and causes of foreign policy failure.' *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23(5), 667-684.
- McHugh, J. (2019a) '*Minister McHugh announces trial of a new School Inclusion Model to provide the right supports at the right time to students with additional needs*'. Dublin, Ireland, Press Release. Available at: [www.education.ie/en/Press-Events/Press-Releases/2019-press-releases/PR19-03-27-1.html](http://www.education.ie/en/Press-Events/Press-Releases/2019-press-releases/PR19-03-27-1.html).
- McHugh, J. (2019b) '*Minister McHugh welcomes progress report from National Council for Special Education (NCSE) on Policy Advice on Special Schools and Special Classes*'. Press Release. Available at: [www.education.ie/en/Press-Events/Press-Releases/2019-press-releases/PR19-11-19a.html](http://www.education.ie/en/Press-Events/Press-Releases/2019-press-releases/PR19-11-19a.html).

- Michael, N. (2022), ‘12-year-old who addressed Dáil on autism urges health officials to ‘just do their job’’, *Irish Examiner*, 8<sup>th</sup> November. Available at: [12-year-old who addressed Dáil on autism urges health officials to ‘just do their job’ \(irishtimes.com\)](https://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/12-year-old-who-addressed-dail-on-autism-urges-health-officials-to-just-do-their-job-1.4109360)
- Mohan, G., McCoy, S., Carroll, E., Mihut, G., Lyons, S. and Mac Domhnaill, C., (2020) *Learning for All? Second-Level Education in Ireland During COVID-19*. Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) Research Series.
- Murphy, G. and Sugrue, C., (2021) ‘*Deliberate Leadership: Distinct Contribution or more adjectivalism?*’. Trinity College, Dublin, 25 May.
- Narayan, J., Pratapkumar, R. and Reddy, S.P., (2017) ‘Community managed services for persons with intellectual disability: Andhra Pradesh experience.’ *Journal of Intellectual Disabilities*, 21(3), 248-258.
- National Council for Special Education, (2019) *Policy Advice on Special Schools and Classes: An Inclusive Education for an Inclusive Society*. Trim: NCSE
- National Council for Special Education, (2020) *Annual Report 2019*. Trim: NCSE
- National Council for Special Education, (2021) *NCSE Allocations to Special Schools Teaching and SNA Posts for September 2021*. Dublin, Ireland. Available at: [https://ncse.ie/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Spc-Sch-allocations-21-22-for-website\\_26.05.21.pdf](https://ncse.ie/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/Spc-Sch-allocations-21-22-for-website_26.05.21.pdf).
- National Council for Special Education, (2022/23) *NCSE Allocations to Special Schools Teaching and SNA Posts for September 2022*. Dublin, Ireland. Available at: [Statistics – National Council for Special Education – Working to deliver a better special education service \(ncse.ie\)](https://www.ncse.ie/working-to-deliver-a-better-special-education-service)
- National Principals’ Forum (2019) *The Inclusion Illusion*. Available at: <http://principalsforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/NPF-FB-Update.pptx-1.pdf>.
- Nes, K., Demo, H. and Ianes, D., (2018) ‘Inclusion at risk? Push-and pull-out phenomena in school systems: the Italian and Norwegian experiences.’ *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 22(2), 111-129.
- O’Brien, C., (2019) ‘*Is Ireland ready for a “total inclusion” approach for special education? Controversial plans could see end of special classes in favour of all children being placed in mainstream*’, *The Irish Times*, 17 December. Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/is-ireland-ready-for-a-total-inclusion-approach-for-special-education-1.4109360>.

- O’Kelly, E., (2022) ‘*Principals warn of ‘devastating’ impact of teacher shortage*’, RTE, 28 Oct. Available at: [‘Failing our children’ - warning over teacher shortage](#)
- Pijl, S.J., (2010) ‘Preparing teachers for inclusive education: Some reflections from the Netherlands.’ *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*, 10, 10 197-201. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-3802.2010.01165.x>
- Ramberg, J. and Watkins, A., (2020) ‘Exploring inclusive education across Europe: some insights from the European Agency Statistics on Inclusive Education.’, *In FIRE: Forum for International Research in Education*, 6(1) 85-101
- Rhodes, R.A.W., (1996) *The new governance: governing without government*. Political studies. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1996.tb01747.x>
- Riddell, S., (2003) ‘Procedural justice and special educational needs assessments in England and Scotland.’ *International journal of inclusive education*, 7(3), 201-222.
- Rose, R. (2021) ‘Stalling beneath the Summit: Why is Progress Towards Inclusion Proving Elusive?’ *REACH: Journal of Inclusive Education in Ireland*, 19(1), 3-15.
- Shafik, M., (2021) *What we owe each other. A New Social Contract for a Better Society*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Shevlin, M. and Banks, J., (2021) ‘Inclusion at a Crossroads: Dismantling Ireland’s System of Special Education.’, *Education Sciences*, 11(4), 161.
- Slee, R., (2018) *Defining the Scope of Inclusive Education*.
- Smith, C., (2021) ‘*A New Brunswick mother’s fight to get more classroom supports for son with autism*’, Global News. New Brunswick, Canada: Global News. Available at: <https://globalnews.ca/news/7919410/new-brunswick-mother-classroom-supports-son-autism/>.
- Smith, R., and Leonard, P. (2005) ‘Collaboration for Inclusion: Practitioner Perspectives’, *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 38 (4), 269-279.
- Sugrue, C., (2009) ‘Performativity and Professionalism: Irish primary principals’ experience of building leadership capacity.’ *European Educational Research Journal*, 8(3), 372-386.
- Szmukler, G., (2015) ‘Compulsion and “coercion” in mental health care.’ *World Psychiatry*, 14(3), 259.

- Szmukler, G., (2019) ““Capacity”, “best interests”, “will and preferences” and the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.’ *World Psychiatry*, 18(1), 34-41.
- Tiernan, B., (2021) ‘Inclusion versus full inclusion: implications for progressing inclusive education.’ *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, 37(5), 882–890 DOI: 10.1080/08856257.2021.1961197
- Travers, J., Balfe, T., Day, T., Dupont, M., Mc Daid, R., O’Donnell, M. and Butler, C. and Prunty, A., (2010) *Addressing the Challenges and Barriers to Inclusion in Irish Schools*, Report to Research and Development Committee of the Department of Education and Skills, Dublin: St. Patrick’s College.
- Tracey, L., Chambers, B., Slavin, R.E., Hanley, P. and Cheung, A., (2014) ‘Success for All in England: Results from the third year of a national evaluation. S’, *Sage Open*, 4(3), DOI: 10.1177/2158244014547031.
- United Nations (2008) *UN, 2008. United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Article 24)*. Available at: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities/article-24-education.html>.
- Young, K., McNamara, P.M. and Coughlan, B., 2017. Authentic inclusion-utopian thinking?—Irish post-primary teachers’ perspectives of inclusive education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 68 DOI:10.1016/j.tate.2017.07.017