

**EDUCATION AND  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION  
IN DIVIDED SOCIETIES**

**BY**

**DR. COLIN IRWIN**

**Department of Social Anthropology  
Queen's University of Belfast  
Belfast  
Northern Ireland  
U.K.**

**May 1991  
Final Report**

**Included are contributions written jointly with:**

**Joanne Hughes  
Department of Social Anthropology  
Queen's University of Belfast**

**and**

**Haviva Bar  
Israel Institute of Applied Social Research  
19 George Washington St.  
Jerusalem  
Israel**

## Acknowledgements

Firstly I wish to thank the students (both past and present), staff, Parents Council and Board of Governors of Lagan College for allowing me to complete the major portion of the programme of research reviewed here. This report could not have been completed without the full cooperation of their school. Funding for this project was provided with grants from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Policy Planning and Research Unit of the Northern Ireland Office. Additional support was also given by Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada; The Queen's University of Belfast, Northern Ireland; the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, Jerusalem, Israel and Apple Computer U.K. Ltd. The staff, at all these universities and research institutions and at the Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster, Coleraine, must also be thanked for providing me with much informal assistance and good advice. Additionally the teachers and students at other schools in Northern Ireland and Israel, that cooperated with Joanne Hughes and Haviva Bar on the comparative studies, must also be thanked. Finally I wish to acknowledge the debt I owe to all my colleagues and anonymous reviewers who took the time to comment on earlier drafts of this report, no doubt their valuable suggestions saved me much embarrassment. They include, Professor F. Boal, Dr. R. Byron, Dr. G. McFarlane, Dr. M. Crozier and J. Hughes of the Queen's University of Belfast, H. Bar of the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, Jerusalem, T. Flanagan and B. Lambkin of Lagan College and J. Mapstone of the Policy Planning and Research Unit of the Northern Ireland Office. However, in the end, the report is principally an account of my own programme of research and I must take full responsibility for the views expressed here.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Abstract	3
Introduction	4
Method and Theory	10
Lagan College Student Population	13
Lagan College Friendship Choices: New Students	20
Lagan College Friendship Choices: Established Students	24
By Religion	25
By Social Class	30
By Gender	33
The Effects of Social Class and Gender on Sectarian Integration	36
The Effects of Primary School on Social Integration	38
Lasting Effects of Social Integration at Lagan College	41
Friendships at Lagan College	41
Friendships of Past Pupils	44
Comparisons With West and South Belfast	49
By Colin Irwin and Joanne Hughes	
Cognitive Development	49
Identity Development	51
Attitudinal Development	54
Israel and Northern Ireland	68
By Colin Irwin and Haviva Bar	
Givat Gonen Student Population	68
Givat Gonen Friendship Choices	71
By Region of Origin	71
By Social Class	73
By Gender	74
The Effects of Social Class and Gender on the Integration of Eastern and Western Jews	76
Comparisons Between Givat Gonen and Lagan College	76
Integrated Education: Fact and Fiction	83
Integrated Education: A Brief Critical Review	86
Integrated Education: Making it Work	91
Recommendations- Social Structure	91
Recommendations- Teachers and Pupils	93
Integrated Education: A Moral Issue	95
Appendix-Questionnaires	99

### Abstract

It is suggested that the problems of segregated education, conflict and the division of societies is at least as old as the history of formal education in Ireland and has contributed to conflict in Israel, Lebanon and in other post-colonial nation states. A review of social science theory suggests that group identity and attitudes may be most accessible to influence during the years leading up to and including puberty. Using a multi-technique and multi-natural experiment methodology the success of an integrated secondary school for Catholic and Protestant boys and girls in Belfast, Northern Ireland was assessed. New students who came to the integrated secondary school from segregated primary schools were found to have very few friends in the "other" community even when they lived in parts of the city where they were a minority. However, after five years at the school the children had slightly more friends in the "other" community than in their own. Past pupils from the school were also found to maintain a significant percentage of friends in the "other" community in contrast to young adults of the same age at an integrated university. This success in the establishment of positive inter-community friendships was matched by an increase in the reciprocal understanding and acceptance of the respective politics and social identities of the Catholic and Protestant students at the school. Inter-denominational social integration at the school in Northern Ireland was not found to be greatly influenced by social class and gender. However, at a similar school for "Eastern" and "Western" Jews in Jerusalem differences in the policies of the school and stronger sociocultural divisions in the wider society made social integration more difficult to achieve in Israel. It was concluded that integrated secondary education can improve inter-community relations in Northern Ireland while segregated education adds to the polarisation of that divided society. Recommendations were made to improve the effectiveness of integrated education within each school and it is suggested that both parents and community leaders should support integrated education through their direct participation and through legislation that would include integrated education as a human right.

EDUCATION AND  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION  
IN DIVIDED SOCIETIES<sup>1</sup>

DR. COLIN IRWIN

## INTRODUCTION

“It would be natural to suppose that in the field of education, more easily and effectively perhaps than anywhere else, something could be done to bring the two discordant races of Palestine nearer together. But, in so far as any policy of that kind would tend to moderate the full-blooded nationalism of both races, it would be vehemently opposed by the spokesmen of both..... The existing Arab and Jewish school systems are definitely widening and will continue to widen the gulf between the races.”

Report of the Royal Commission on Palestine, 1937.<sup>2</sup>

In 1945 the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the System of Education of the Jewish Community in Palestine<sup>3</sup> drew the same conclusion. “The disturbing aspect of education in Palestine which must strike everyone who examines it is its separatist effect.” Both Commissions attributed the root cause of this problem to Article 15 of the 1923 British Mandate<sup>4</sup> which conferred “The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members.....” The Commission’s judgment seems to have been well founded, as the State of Israel declared its independence from Palestine in 1948. Since then Israel has participated

---

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that this report has been written in a way that attempts to make it accessible to as wide an audience as is possible. The report, excluding the footnotes, attempts to use a minimum of technical terms, methodological qualification and theoretical argumentation. However, it is hoped that the footnotes do provide an adequate reference to the principal technical, methodological, theoretical and scholarly issues raised in the main text. Inevitably this approach to report writing may frustrate some academics versed in the conventional styles of their respective disciplines but it is also hoped that the accessibility created by this style will be appreciated by the general public who, in the final analysis, must be the arbiters of applied research and its implications for public policy.

<sup>2</sup> Palestine Royal Commission Report, Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, July 1937. His Majesty’s Stationary Office, London, 1937.

<sup>3</sup> The System of Education of the Jewish Community in Palestine, Report of the Commission of Enquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1945. His Majesty’s Stationary Office, London, 1946.

<sup>4</sup> An agreed text was confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24, 1922, and it came into operation in September 1923.

in five wars<sup>5</sup> with her neighbours and by 1990 each side to this conflict has, or is attempting to obtain, nuclear weapons.<sup>6</sup>

In his doctoral dissertation, written on the subject of segregated education in Lebanon, Joseph Jabbra warned his countrymen that their education system would lead the country to civil war.<sup>7</sup> His dissertation was written in the 1960s and the civil war came in the 1970s. All over the world, as colonial oppression gives way to self determination, ethnic and sectarian violence persistently divides those who once cooperated to fight a common enemy and the social fabric of these new nations is torn apart.<sup>8</sup>

The American and French revolutions encouraged nationalist independence movements in Ireland at the end of the 18th century. Some of these rebellions against British rule attempted to be secular but they had little popular support and failed.<sup>9</sup> By the time the Irish Free State was established in 1921 these nationalist movements had polarised along religious lines resulting in a divided country that was predominantly Catholic in the south and Protestant in the north.

---

<sup>5</sup> The first war of 1948-9 (comprised of three campaigns), the war of 1956, the Six Day War of 1967, the Yom Kippur war of 1973 and the war in Lebanon in 1982.

<sup>6</sup> Although the principal thrust of the research of this report is set in Northern Ireland I have made a point of referring to the Arab-Israeli conflict as it is clearly a good example of the role that education can play in the polarisation of different communities and because many members of the public, including some academics and scholars in Northern Ireland, think Northern Ireland is a special case, and that little can be learnt from comparative studies. I regard such a view, that sometimes focuses on the differences between conflicts at the expense of the similarities, to be dangerous, as it can close the door on valuable lines of enquiry and provide an unwarranted excuse for inaction in both research and policy development.

<sup>7</sup> Jabbra, J. G., 1970, Political Socialisation of Lebanese College Freshmen: A Survey, unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. and Jabbra, J. G., 1972, Political Socialisation and Political Development in Lebanese Schools: A Case Study, Institute of Middle Eastern and North African Affairs, Hyattsville, Maryland.

<sup>8</sup> I do not wish to suggest that segregated education is a sufficient condition for the development of group conflict. For example a history of political polarisation and social inequality can clearly play an important role in the manifestation of group violence. However group conflict can not exist without group formation, and although a comparative international study of segregated education is beyond the scope of this report, I do wish to suggest that segregated enculturation and socialisation may be a necessary condition for the manifestation of ethnic and sectarian conflict and possibly even conflict between social classes, different races and nations.

<sup>9</sup> For example Wolfe Tone, who led the 1798 rebellion, wished to replace the words "Protestant" and "Catholic" with the one name of "Irishman."

It has long been felt that education policy could be used as an instrument of social change in Ireland.<sup>10</sup> In both the last century and this various interested parties and government agencies have attempted to use the school system to break down the sectarian divide, convert one sect to the other or to maintain the sectarian divide.<sup>11</sup> As a consequence of this history the schools in Northern Ireland are nearly all sectarian<sup>12</sup> with the result that Catholic and Protestant children have relatively little social contact with each other through all their formative school years (figure 1).<sup>13</sup>

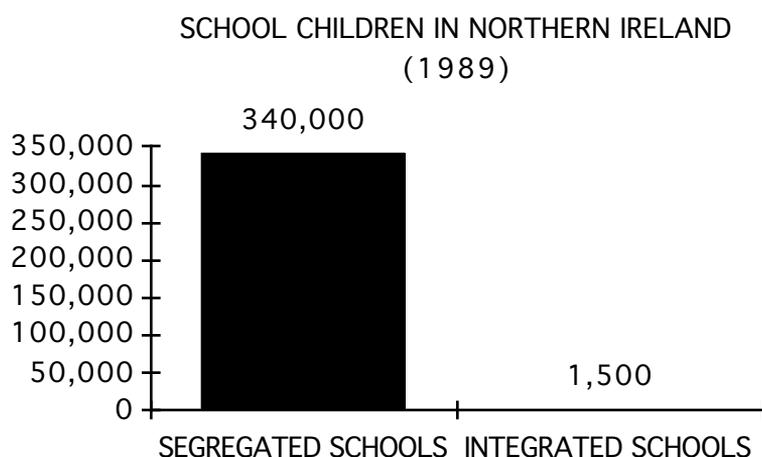
---

<sup>10</sup> For reviews of the history and politics of education in Ireland, both North and South, see D. Akenson, 1970, The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century, Routledge and Kegan Paul, and D. Akenson, 1973, Education and Enmity: the Control of Schooling in Northern Ireland, 1920-1950, Newton Abbott, David and Charles; also, Gallagher, E. and Worrall, S., 1982, Christians in Ulster 1968-1980, Chapter 10. Education. Oxford University Press.

<sup>11</sup> For example the first system of national education in Ireland, set up in 1831, was non-denominational and was established with the expressed “hope that by learning to live together as children they would at least tolerate each other as adults.” Unfortunately this early effort to produce a united or mixed system of education was strongly opposed by the Presbyterian synod of Ulster in 1832 as “some sort of Roman Catholic conspiracy.” As a result of intense political activity, that included both the Anglican and Roman Catholic Church, the liberal mandate of Ireland’s education policy was changed with the result that it became denominational within less than twenty years of its foundation (D. Akenson, 1970, The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century, Routledge and Kegan Paul).

<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that some Catholics do attend Protestant schools and occasionally a Protestant will attend a Catholic school, but the numbers are very small (this point will be discussed further in the section of this report on “Lagan College Student Population”). However it should also be noted that sectarianism extends to the principal teachers training colleges in Northern Ireland (Farren, S. et al, 1989, Student Teachers in Northern Ireland: a sociopolitical profile, paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Educational Studies Association of Ireland, University College Dublin) and to the subsequent appointment of teachers to schools so that most Catholic and Protestant teachers are able to maintain separate professional careers and their students are subsequently taught by a staff that is nearly always either Catholic or Protestant.

<sup>13</sup> Darby, J., et al, 1977, Education and Community in Northern Ireland: Schools Apart?, New University of Ulster, Coleraine. Murray, D. 1985, Worlds Apart: Segregated Schools in Northern Ireland, Belfast, Appletree Press. Cairns, E. 1987, Caught in Crossfire: Children and the Northern Ireland Conflict. Syracuse University Press.



**Figure 1** The number of Northern Irish children in predominantly Catholic and Protestant “segregated” schools compared with those in mixed “integrated” schools.<sup>14</sup>

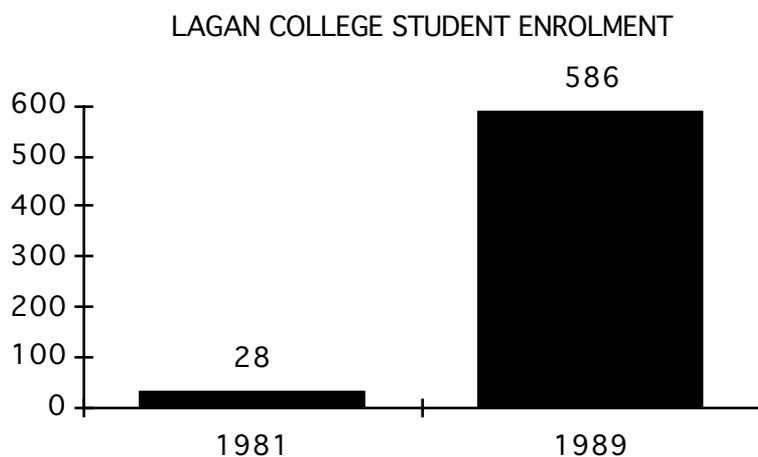
Experience and common wisdom<sup>15</sup> suggests that these children will grow up with separate identities and attitudes, to guide their separate lives, fortified by a detailed history of the injustices one group has inflicted on the other down through the past half millennium.<sup>16</sup> With adulthood group identities and attitudes precipitate group behaviours which result in persistent social injustice and violence. Violence adds to the polarisation of the two communities<sup>17</sup> and with it a wider separation of the experiences of the young on each side of the sectarian divide.

<sup>14</sup> Gallagher, A. 1989, The Majority Minority Review: Education and Religion in Northern Ireland, Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland.

<sup>15</sup> By “Experience and common wisdom” I have in mind the point of view expressed in the Report of the Royal Commission on Palestine in 1937 and the legislation that established a non-denominational programme of national education in Ireland in 1831.

<sup>16</sup> Darby, J. 1983, The Historical Background. In Northern Ireland: the Background to the Conflict, Ed. J. Darby. Syracuse University Press.

<sup>17</sup> Darby, J. and Morris, G. 1974, Intimidation in Housing, Northern Ireland Community Relations Commission, Belfast. Boal, F. et al 1976, Religious Residential Segregation and Residential Decision Making in the Belfast Urban Area, Final Report to the Social Science Research Council (Available from the National Lending Library, Boston Spa, Yorkshire). Boal, F. 1982, Segregating and Mixing: Space and Residence in Belfast, in F. Boal and J. Douglas (Eds.) Integration and Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem, Academic Press, London. Kennedy, L. 1986, Two Ulsters: A Case For Repartition, The Queen’s University of Belfast



**Figure 2** The growth in the number of children attending Lagan College since it's formation in 1981.

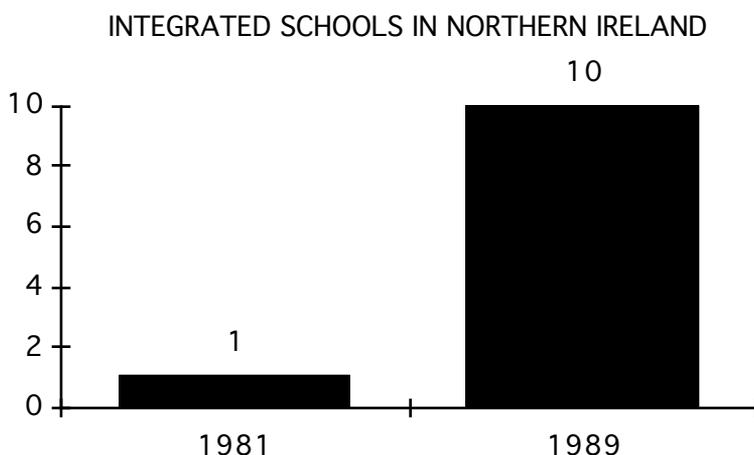
In an effort to break this cycle of developmental enculturation and conflict members of the “All Children Together” movement founded Lagan College, the first integrated<sup>18</sup> school in Northern Ireland. From a modest beginning of 28 students in 1981 their enrolment grew to 586 by 1989 (figure 2) and an additional nine integrated schools were established during the same period (figure 3).<sup>19</sup> The programme of research reviewed in this report has been undertaken to find out if this experiment in creating social change through education works.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> A useful discussion of what is meant by “integrated” school is provided by Seamus Dunn (Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland) in his unpublished paper *Integrated Schools in Northern Ireland*. Dunn emphasises three useful characteristics of integration namely “membership” or mixed student body, “ethos” or plural culturalism and “management” or mixed parental involvement.

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that on Thursday, February the 14th 1991, the Belfast Telegraph reported “Education history was made today as the first Ulster State school opted to become integrated. Parents at Brownlow High School in Craigavon voted 60-40, on an 80% turnout, in favour of seeking controlled integrated status.....” with a head line “SCHOOL VOTES FOR INTEGRATION.”

<sup>20</sup> The term “works” can take on different meanings for different people depending on their particular interests. For example a social psychologist might wish to emphasise positive changes in inter-community prosocial behaviour, a sociologist might focus on shifts in attitudes, an educator might look for an increased emphasis in the plural content of cultural curricula and an administrator might pay close attention to the structure of the parent council and board of governors. These changes in the definition of “works” relate to changes in the definition of “integrated” (see footnote 18) and the theory and methods used to assess the success or failure of an integrated school. The principal thrust of the research reviewed here is focused on changes in patterns of friendships, but it is not limited to friendships alone (see this report “Methods and Theory” for further discussion).



**Figure 3** The growth in the number of integrated schools since the founding of Lagan College in 1981.<sup>21</sup>

This report will draw the conclusion that Lagan College is a success.<sup>22</sup> However, even if the graduates of Lagan College are not burdened by prejudices and sectarian behaviour, characteristic of so many of their contemporaries, can this experiment in education be successfully extended to the rest of Northern Ireland? In order to answer this question it will be necessary to explore the more fundamental issues of why it should work at all and how the success is accomplished. If these questions can be answered in turn, then it may also be possible to speculate on some of the general conditions required to extend the lessons of integrated education to other parts of the world that are subject to the destructive forces of ethnic and sectarian violence.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Gallagher, A. 1989, The Majority Minority Review: Education and Religion in Northern Ireland, Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland.

<sup>22</sup> Implicitly the criteria of “success” are subject to the same definitional, theoretical and methodological issues as the term “works” (see footnote 20 and “Method and Theory” in this report).

<sup>23</sup> Integrated education need not necessarily be limited to the problems of sectarian and ethnic social divisions. It could be argued that various forms of public education attempt, in part, to overcome divisions in social class while the “New Era Schools Trust” in South Africa has established two integrated schools in an attempt to overcome the problems of racism.

## METHODS AND THEORY

Determining the truth of any social fact, such as “does integrated education work?” is a difficult process in the social sciences. Quite properly social scientists are not permitted to manipulate humans in the same way chemists and physicists manipulate molecules and atoms. However the problems of experimental restriction can be overcome by the use of “natural” or “pseudo-” experiments in which the social scientist compares the sociality of groups that have, through choice or circumstance, led different lives. Unfortunately human sociality is so complex that even when social truths can be examined in this way, the methods of enquiry used can very rarely take account of all the variables involved. To overcome this problem several different methods can be used that, having different methodological failings or “blind spots,” produce different types of results. When these are combined or “triangulated” many of the methodological shortcomings, inherent in any given programme of scientific inquiry, can be cancelled out, providing the results consistently point to the same conclusion.<sup>24</sup>

This multi-method, multi-natural experiment methodology was used here and includes comparisons between the friendship patterns of children and young adults who did or did not attend an integrated school. Comparisons between the friendship patterns of Lagan College students, who came from different social backgrounds, have a different gender, came from different primary schools, have attended Lagan College for one, two, three, four or five years and have been in Tutor Groups with different social structures.<sup>25</sup> Comparisons were also made between Lagan College students from South and West Belfast and their contemporaries who attended the same primary schools but transferred to secondary schools

---

<sup>24</sup> “Triangulation of methodologies” can mean different things to different social scientists. In its “narrow” or “pure” form triangulation requires using different methods on the same group of people at the same time. In its “wider” form comparative and historical studies (which necessarily require the study of different people at different times) can also be used providing the enquiries are attempting to examine the same central hypothesis. The view taken here is that both approaches to “triangulation” are valid.

<sup>25</sup> Patterns of friendships were chosen as the principal point of comparison in all these studies for a number of reasons. Firstly, friendship patterns are generally regarded as more reliable indexes of behaviour than attitudes or values. Secondly, asking children about friendships does not require them giving answers to questions that are clearly subjective in character. Thirdly, as the same questions can be used for children of all ages they can be employed to make comparisons between the friendship patterns of children in different form years. Fourthly, as questions about friendships are relatively easy to translate comparisons can also be made across cultures. Attitudinal questions, in contrast, have to be adjusted for children of different ages, even when they come from the same culture, rendering comparisons less reliable. See Appendix for samples of the questionnaires.

in their home communities,<sup>26</sup> and a comparison between Lagan College and an integrated school for “Eastern” and “Western” Jews at Givat Gonen in Jerusalem, Israel.<sup>27</sup> These comparisons were completed using “face to face” interviews, written essays, questionnaires, the computerisation of student records and participation in field trips. The various data were then analysed using statistical techniques that included simple percentages, correlations, social mapping<sup>28</sup> and the simulation of change over time. Finally I should add that these new data and analysis were supplemented with the results of work completed by other researchers.

Understanding why and how integrated education, or for that matter any aspect of human sociality, is the way it is or how it “works,” requires matching up the data, analysis and results of enquiry with the explanations and theories available. Theories in the social sciences tend to fall within the boundaries of the separate sub-disciplines of social science. However it should be noted that these boundaries are artificial, as no single theory can explain a given social fact, such as the success of integrated education at Lagan College. In practice each theory should also be strengthened by its companion theories from its companion disciplines. Given these qualifications, the theories relevant to an explanation of the dynamics and critical parameters of integrated education can be reviewed by discipline. Inevitably aspects of sociobiology, developmental and social psychology, social and cultural anthropology, politics and philosophy are all relevant to this enterprise as human action is shaped by a human nature whose characteristics range from human biology to moral values.<sup>29</sup>

Sociobiology suggests that all humans have a capacity for polarised group behaviour and that humans acquire their primary in-group identity during

---

<sup>26</sup> As the children who stay in the segregated schools of South and West Belfast have very little opportunity to make friends in the “other” community, in contrast to their contemporaries at Lagan College, a comparison of the friendship patterns of these various groups would probably have done little more than document the obvious. Therefore, in this comparison, the sampling of attitudes was used as the principal focus of the investigation although great care was taken to employ an indirect methodology. See “Comparisons with West and South Belfast” in this report for further discussion of the methods used.

<sup>27</sup> Subject to the necessities of translation the same research instruments and methods were used in both Northern Ireland and Israel (see footnote 25).

<sup>28</sup> The technique of social mapping used here was developed at the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research. It is a specialised form of Smallest Space Analysis perfected specifically to investigate the social relationships that may exist between the members of groups of school children although it could also be used with other groups of individuals. I am most grateful to the Institute and Haviva Bar for teaching me how to use this valuable research tool.

<sup>29</sup> Irwin, C., 1985, Sociocultural Biology: Studies in the Evolution of Some Netsilingmiut and Other Sociocultural Behaviors. Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Social Science, Syracuse University, and “The Sociocultural Biology of Netsilingmiut Female Infanticide,” in The Sociobiology of Sexual Strategies, eds. A. Rasa, C. Vogel and E. Voland. Chapman and Hall, London.

the years leading up to and including puberty.<sup>30</sup> Developmental psychology proposes that the cognitive development of group identity and attitudes is a complex process that must necessarily progress with the growth of the child.<sup>31</sup> Social psychology emphasises the importance of the need for human interactions to be positive in character.<sup>32</sup> Social anthropology describes the universal characteristics of group behaviour<sup>33</sup> while cultural anthropology emphasises the relevance of the cultural context, within which group identity develops, as this accounts for much of the variation in group formation.<sup>34</sup> Finally, given the reality of humans socially organised into different groups, politics provides the rationale for group dynamics and interests that would include the socialisation and enculturation of group members. Specifically these interests would include education policy.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Irwin, C., 1986, "A Study in the Evolution of Ethnocentrism," in The Sociobiology of Ethnocentrism. Eds. V. Reynolds, V. Falger and I. Vine, Croom Helm, London. The relevant implication of this theory is that children will probably be most susceptible to the prosocial influences of integrated education during the years leading up to and including puberty. Implicitly it follows that an integrated secondary school education can have a more lasting effect on the social behaviour of a child than an integrated primary school as the benefits of the latter are in some danger of being lost if the student transfers to a segregated secondary school. This prediction of the theory was confirmed in a study completed by Douglas who noted that the "results showed subjects supported their own Religious group but there was increased acceptance of the outgroup in Primary school subjects who were at the integrated school.....This effect was mainly lost at the Secondary School level. It was suggested this was a result of conformity to a different set of social norms when in the segregated schools, created by the absence of institutional and social support" (Douglas, S. E., 1983, Differences in Group Identity and Intergroup Attitudes in Children Attending Integrated or Segregated Schools in Northern Ireland, thesis submitted to Department of Psychology, Queen's University of Belfast)

<sup>31</sup> Piaget, J. and Weil, A. M. 1951, Le Developpement chez L' enfant de L'idee patrie et des relations avec L'etranger, Bulletin International Des Sciences Socciales, UNESCO, 111, 604-625. Although this research has been the subject of some criticism (see this report, "Comparisons with West and South Belfast") the central thesis suggests that the primary group identity and attitudes of children are developed during their school years and may therefore be subject to the influence of an integrated or segregated education.

<sup>32</sup> For example Yehuda Amir stresses the importance of inter-group contacts being between individuals who are equal in status, in the context of a suitable social climate and in pursuit of common goals. Contact should also be rewarding and intimate, as opposed to casual, and should avoid political or social frustration (Amir, Y. 1969, "Contact Hypothesis in Ethnic Relations," Psychological bulletin, 71, 319-42). Clearly many of these goals can be achieved in the context of children from different communities receiving their education in an integrated school.

<sup>33</sup> For a review see LeVine, R. A. and Campbell, D. T., 1972, Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes and Group Behavior, New York, John Wiley and Sons.

<sup>34</sup> For a review see Jahoda, G. and Lewis, I. M., 1988, "Child Development in Psychology and Anthropology," in G. Jahoda and I. M. Lewis, eds., Acquiring Culture: Cross-cultural Studies in Child Development, Beckenham, Kent, Croom Helm.

<sup>35</sup> For a comparison of the politics of education in Ireland with Algeria, the American South, Bohemia-Moravia and Prussian Poland see Wright, F., 1987, Northern Ireland: A Comparative Analysis, Gill and Macmillan, Barnes and Noble Books, Totowa, New Jersey.

The view of human nature presented here predicts that humans will, all other things being equal,<sup>36</sup> favour segregated education, with all its potential for human conflict.<sup>37</sup> Integrated education, in this view, is a very special enterprise, instituted to counter the failings<sup>38</sup> of human nature and promote pro-social behaviour, by changing the way in which the fabric of society is made.<sup>39</sup>

## LAGAN COLLEGE STUDENT POPULATION

The weave of the social fabric at Lagan College does not reflect the weave of the social fabric of the wider society from which Lagan College draws its students.<sup>40</sup> Indeed the structure of the student population at Lagan College stands in contrast to the social structure of the wider society, reflecting more what could be as opposed to what is. Belfast is a divided city that is predominantly Protestant. Some of the minority<sup>41</sup> Catholics live in the more middle class Protestant areas. However, very few Protestants live in the working class Catholic areas, and the mixed areas are predominantly Protestant (figure 4). Given this reality the probabilities of random<sup>42</sup> mixing

---

<sup>36</sup> All other things would not be equal if, for example, segregated education for a disadvantaged minority necessitated an inferior education that condemned the minority to a life of unskilled labour. It follows that a higher quality of education could make integrated education more attractive.

<sup>37</sup> In a review of the mechanisms used to maintain social boundaries in Northern Ireland, the Churches, the Orange Order, Social Ranking, Residential Segregation, Separate Education and Endogamy, Whyte (1986) concludes that "Education divides the population into two communities more precisely than any other market which we have so far examined." This observation is in keeping with the hypothesised direction of cause implicit in the synthesis of social theory outlined above.

<sup>38</sup> By "failings" I mean inter-group injustice, hostility and violence. In the absence of these "failings" the group structures of societies can be beneficial, in a creative manner, and may not require or warrant social intervention.

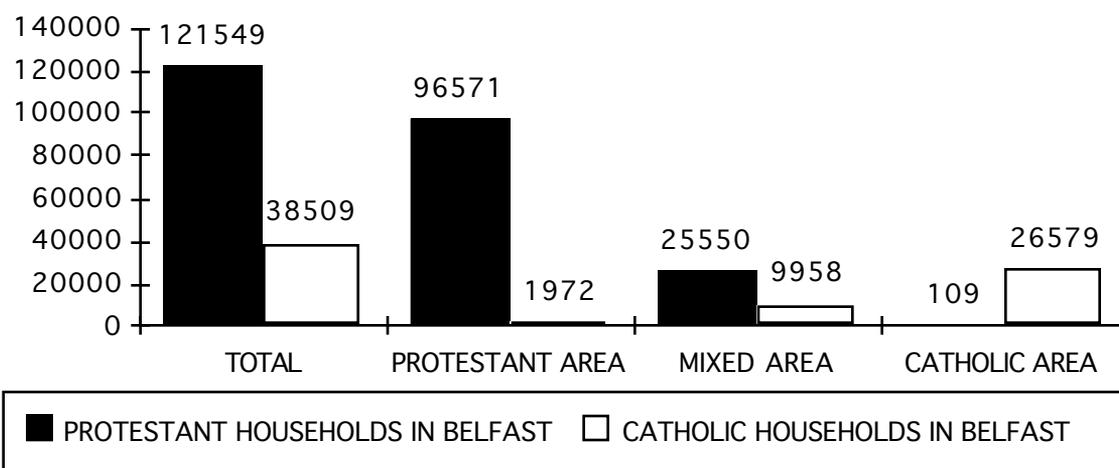
<sup>39</sup> Discussion of the critiques of integrated education are given later in this report, in the sections entitled "Integrated Education: Fact and Fiction" and "Integrated Education: A Brief Critical Review."

<sup>40</sup> By using the term "weave" I wish to emphasise degrees of social, economic and political mixing in contrast to simple proportions. In this view even if the ratio of Catholics to Protestants in the greater Belfast area were to become 50/50 the "weave" of the city could still be polarised through segregated residence and unequal access to economic opportunities and political power. For a comparative analysis of the "weave of the social fabric" see Auger, E. A., 1981, *In Search of Political Stability: A Comparative Study of New Brunswick and Northern Ireland*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal.

<sup>41</sup> It should be pointed out that no value judgments are being implied by the use of the terms "majority" or "minority" in this report. The terms are only being used here with reference to percentages.

<sup>42</sup> In reality human social interactions are never random. However the predictions of random mixing are used here as a conceptual tool to provide a "base line" against which real behaviour can be compared and biases determined.

predict that very few Catholics and Protestants will have friends in the “other” community although the minority Catholic population will have more Protestant friends than Protestants will have Catholic friends.<sup>43</sup>

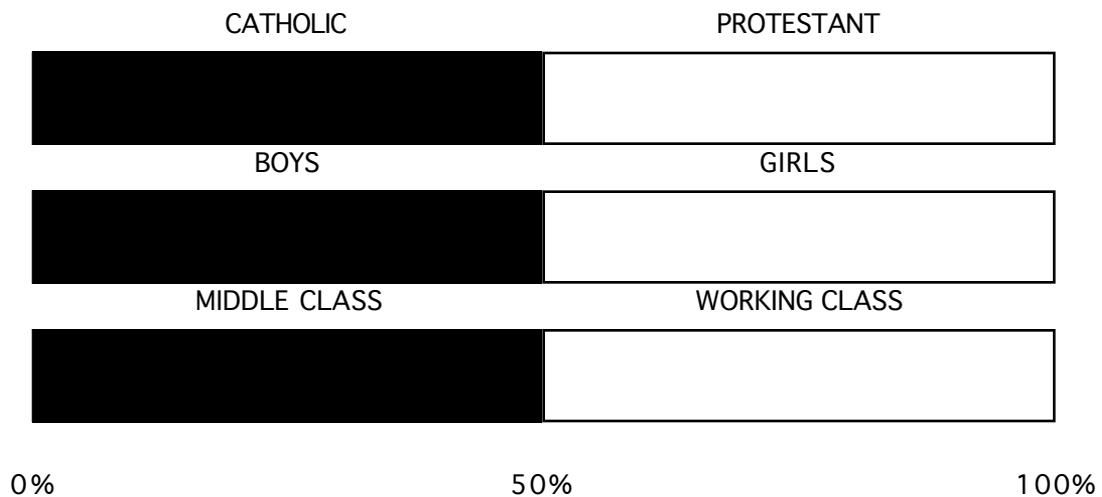


**Figure 4** The number of Protestant and Catholic Households situated in Catholic, Mixed and Protestant areas of Belfast.<sup>44</sup>

The founders of Lagan College deliberately sought to counter this unfortunate situation by creating a school environment in which Catholic and Protestant children would have an equal opportunity to make friends with each other. In an effort to maintain an equal balance of Catholics and Protestants, middle class and working class, boys and girls, ideally in 50/50 ratios (figure 5), Lagan College was established beyond Belfast's residential areas, so that it would not draw its students from its immediate location, which could have contained a strong social class or sectarian bias. Additionally the charter setting up Lagan College prohibited its enrolment from drifting beyond the outer limits of a 40/60 ratio between Catholics and Protestants.

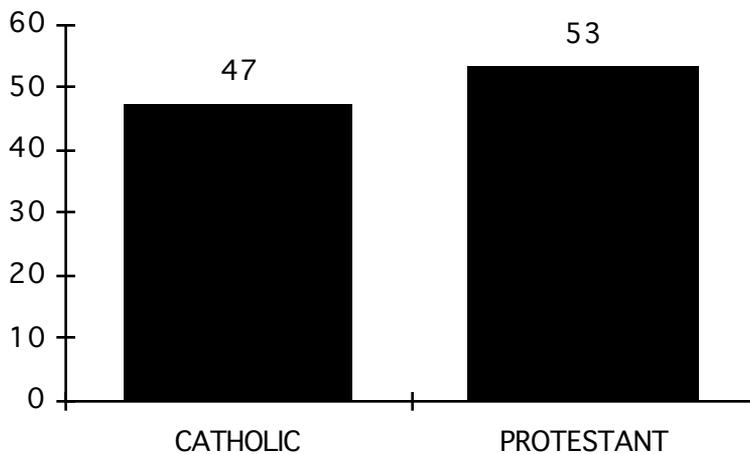
<sup>43</sup> Boal, F. 1982, *Segregating and Mixing: Space and Residence in Belfast*, in F. Boal and J. Douglas (Eds.) *Integration and Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem*, Academic Press, London. Keane, M. C., 1990, *Segregation Processes in Public Sector Housing*, in, *Geographical Perspectives on the Belfast Region*, Geographical Society of Ireland Special Publications, No. 5, Ed. P. Doherty.

<sup>44</sup> These numbers are calculated from percentages given by Keane, M. C., 1990, in her paper, “Segregation Processes in Public Sector Housing,” in, *Geographical Perspectives on the Belfast Region*, Geographical Society of Ireland Special Publications, No. 5, Ed. P. Doherty. It should be noted that although these statistics are based on data collected in 1977 the processes of residential segregation in Belfast have produced a situation in which the contemporary population of the city is now more, not less, polarised (see Keane, 1990, and footnote 17 for additional references). Segregated areas were defined here as more than 90% Catholic or Protestant and mixed areas as less than 90% Catholic or Protestant.



**Figure 5** The desired student population structure of Lagan College.

In practice Lagan College has been able to maintain a 47/53 Catholic/Protestant ratio (figure 6); a 42/58 working class/middle class ratio (figure 7) and a 55/45 boy/girl ratio (figure 8). Clearly the definition of “boy” and “girl” are not an issue here however definitions relating to religious denomination and social class can effect these ratios.



**Figure 6** The religious structure of the student population at Lagan College.

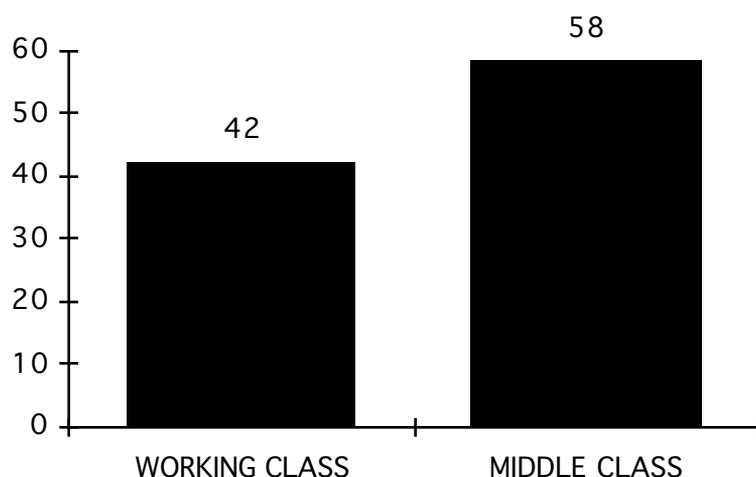
In October 1989, the Lagan College student population of 586 contained one Hindu and one Muslim. All the remaining students were “labelled” as Protestants or Catholics in much the same way as each member of

Northern Irish society is “labelled” by their peers.<sup>45</sup> The principal criterion used was the stated religious denomination of the parents. The children of mixed marriages were defined by the religion of the mother unless otherwise instructed in their request for the religious education of their child.<sup>46</sup>

---

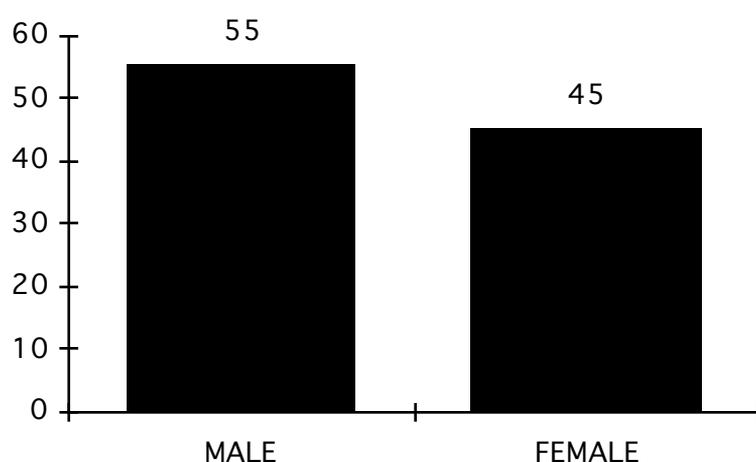
<sup>45</sup> Although the members of Northern Irish society use a number of “short hand” techniques for identifying the religious affiliation of strangers such as their name, area of residence and school attended (Cairns, E., 1987, Caught in Crossfire: Children and the Northern Ireland Conflict, Syracuse University Press) an individuals declared affiliation is probably more accurate. In the case of Lagan College students the declared religious affiliation of their parents and their preference for the religious instruction of their children were used to classify the students as “Catholic” or “Protestant.” It should be noted that there are no Anglo-Catholics at Lagan College. In the case of mixed marriages the declared preference for religious instruction was used or, in the absence of such a preference, the primary school attended by the child and religion of the mother were taken into account. In the few cases where the parents declared themselves and their child to be non-denominational, the religious/social affiliation of the parents and primary school attended by the child were used. Although this method of classification may appear to be some what arbitrary, with respect to the children of mixed marriages and those who wish to be seen as non-denominational, it should be noted that it closely follows the system used by those who live in Northern Ireland and adjust their interpersonal relationships by criteria of religious affiliation.

<sup>46</sup> Of the 586 students at Lagan College in October 1989 only 13 pairs of parents declared they had a mixed marriage on their registration forms (2.2%), with a maximum of 5 pairs in the second year (3.2%). As the percentage of mixed marriages in Northern Ireland has been estimated to be approximately 3.6% (Compton, P. A. and Coward, J. 1989, Fertility and Family Planning in Northern Ireland, Avebury, Aldershot), the percentage given for Lagan College may seem a little low. However it should be noted that not all the parents declared their religion on their forms and the rates of mixed marriage for the greater Belfast area are slightly lower than the provincial average (Compton and Coward, 1989). But these percentages are all based on the current religion of the parents and when the conversion of one parent to the religion of the other is taken into account the provincial rate increases to 6.0% (Compton and Coward, 1989). From a more intimate knowledge of the parents of the new 1989 first year the Principal of Lagan College was able to estimate the percentage of all mixed marriages to be between 7% and 8%. This percentage seems a little high. However it should be noted that this discrepancy could be accounted for by the fact that the rates of mixed marriage in Northern Ireland have steadily increased from 1.3% in 1943-47 to 9.7% in 1978-82 (Compton and Coward, 1989). This increase may also partly explain why 51 of the 485 parents (10.5 percent) who applied for places for their children at Lagan College in 1991 had mixed marriages. Although it is generally felt that integrated schools provide a special opportunity for the children of mixed marriages Lagan College does not appear to be significantly over represented by this section of the community. However this may not have been true of Lagan College when it was first founded and it may not be true of small integrated schools that have only recently been formed.



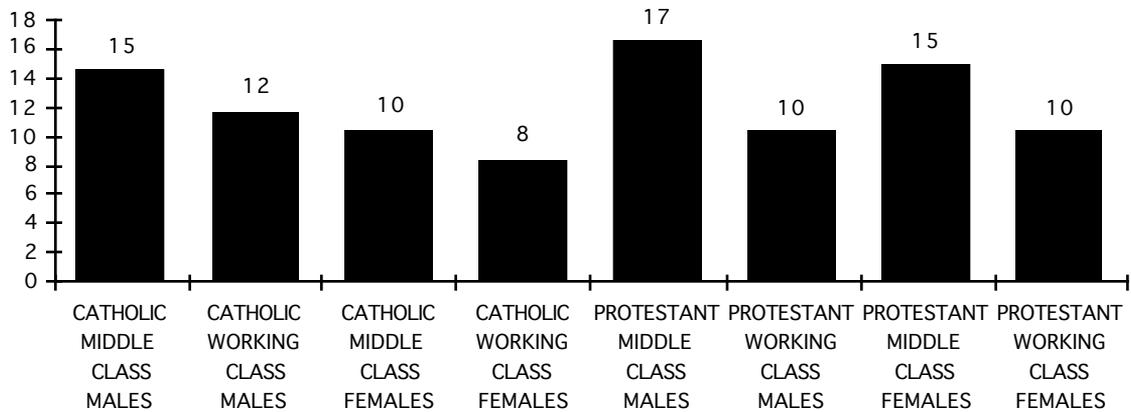
**Figure 7** The social class structure of the student population at Lagan College.

In a similar way, social class was defined by the occupation of the parents. However, it should be noted that the occupation of both parents was used here. Had the occupation of only the father been used, as is common practice in many government surveys, then the percentage of working class would be higher and the percentage of middle class lower than the 42/58 ratio recorded.<sup>47</sup>



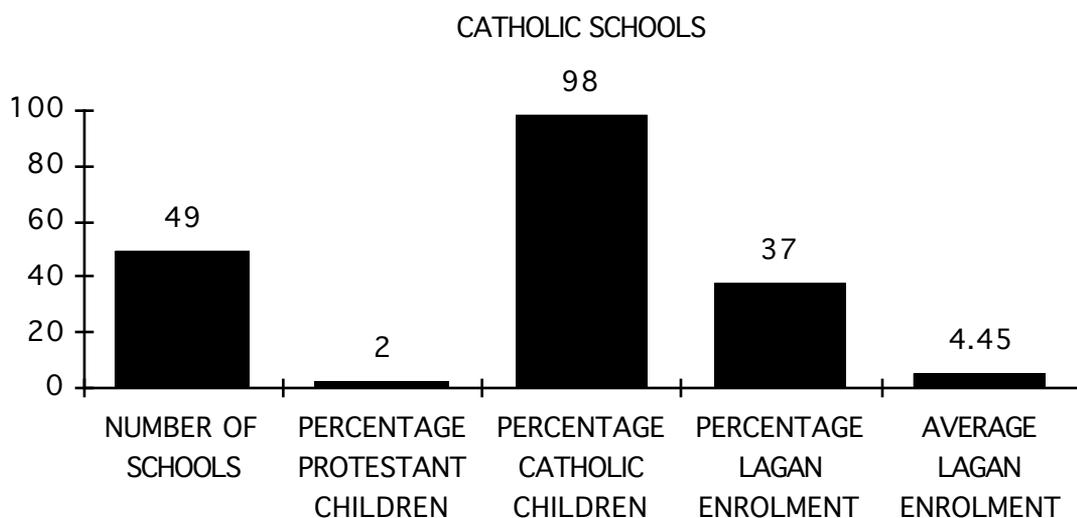
**Figure 8** The gender structure of the student population at Lagan College.

<sup>47</sup> Social class was divided into four categories, (1) upper middle class, professional, (2) lower middle class, skilled non-labour, (3) upper working class, skilled labour and (4) lower working class, unskilled labour. In cases of uncertainty, such as unemployed individuals or civil servants who could be government ministers or office cleaners, address was also taken into account. If they lived in an expensive residential area of Belfast they were classified as middle class. Finally, if there was still any doubt, individuals were classified at the higher of two categories so that any bias in the results would work against the thesis that Lagan College was a middle class school.



**Figure 9** The combined religious, social class and gender structure of the student population at Lagan College expressed as percentages.

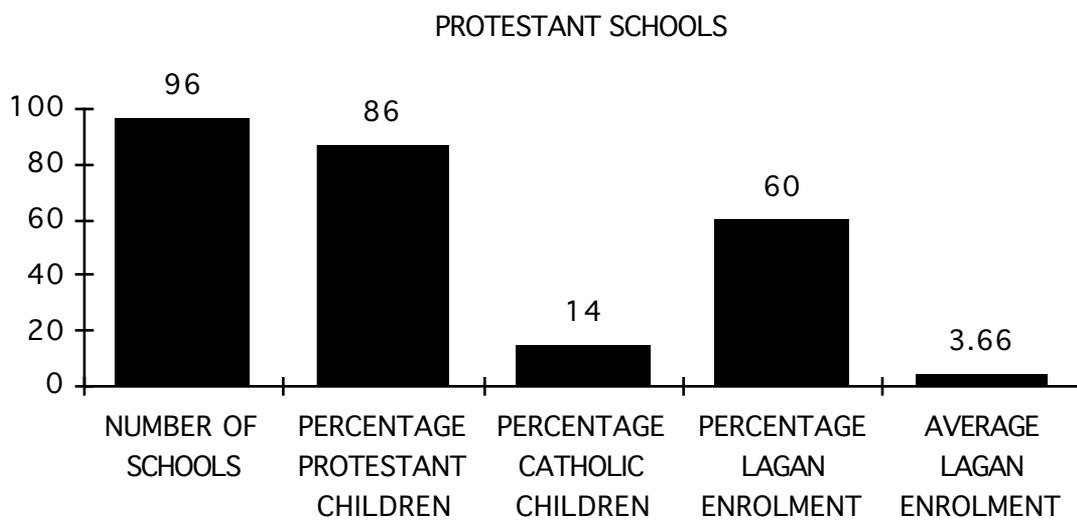
When the characteristics of religious denomination, social class and gender are combined it is obviously the case that the demographic balance of the student population is not perfect (figure 9). For example there is an equal number of Catholic and Protestant boys while there are more Protestant than Catholic girls. Of course perfection in this matter is impossible to achieve in practice. Nonetheless the question of whether or not these imbalances in the structure of the student population can effect the quality of social integration will have to be addressed.



**Figure 10** Lagan College students from Catholic primary schools.

Students are transferred to Lagan college from 149 schools in the greater Belfast area. These transfers are generally made from the student's primary school at age eleven. Due to adoptions, divorces, deaths,

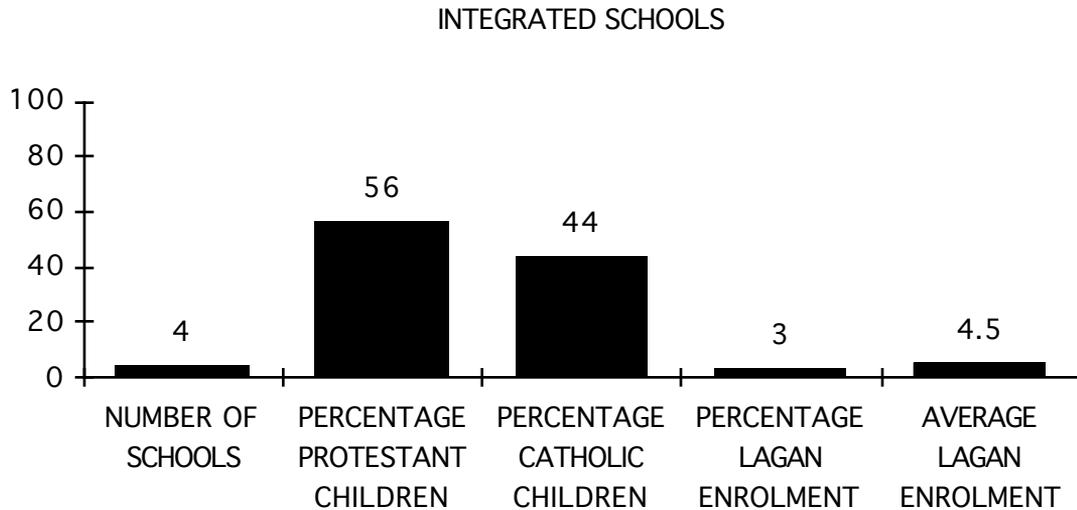
remarriages, mixed marriages, or the lack of an appropriate primary school close to the parents home, between one and two percent of the students that come to Lagan College from Catholic schools are Protestant (figure 10) while nearly fourteen percent of the children from Protestant schools are Catholic (figure 11). These percentages are probably not representative of the percentages of minorities in sectarian schools in the Belfast area but more closely reflect a requirement for secondary integrated education amongst Catholics and Protestants that find themselves outside the social mainstream of their respective communities. It should be noted that these percentages are now declining as the needs of these minorities are met. Of the 139 students enrolled into the new first year in 1990 only 4 were Catholics from Protestant schools while only 1 Protestant came from a Catholic school.



**Figure 11** Lagan College students from Protestant primary schools.

With an average of only four pupils from each of 96 Protestant schools, 49 Catholic schools and 4 Integrated schools (figure 12) Lagan College represents a cross section of the greater Belfast population. Given this situation it may be possible to find out if the primary school of origin can have any effect on the success of sectarian<sup>48</sup> integration at the secondary level of education. For, as will now be seen, the primary school of origin does have a profound effect on the patterns of friendships established between children before they become students at Lagan College.

<sup>48</sup> By using the term "sectarian integration" I simply wish to draw a distinction between the three types of social integration investigated in this report, namely, integration between religious groups, between social classes and between genders. The term "religious integration" has not been used here as it may imply an ideological as opposed to purely social interaction.



**Figure 12** Lagan College students from integrated primary schools.

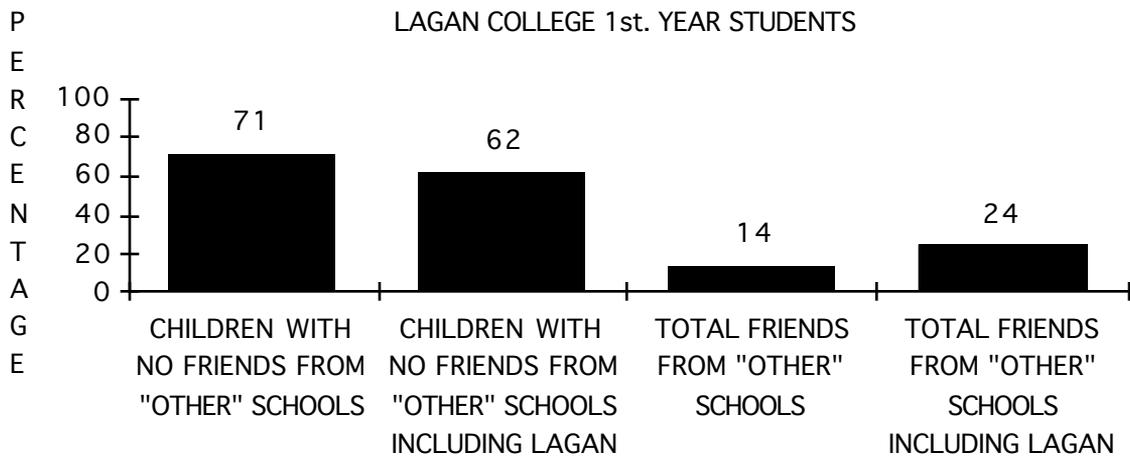
### LAGAN COLLEGE FRIENDSHIP CHOICES: NEW STUDENTS

On the 18th of September 1990, the new First Year, just two weeks after arriving at Lagan College, were asked to list ten friends they played with outside school. They were also asked to list the school these friends attended. As it is known that almost none of the children at Catholic schools are Protestant and that only a small minority of students at Protestant schools are Catholic,<sup>49</sup> it is possible to use the school attended by the friends as a fairly accurate index of their religious denomination. Of the 120<sup>50</sup> Lagan College students included in this survey, 71 percent listed no friends at all from the “other” community. However when their new friends from Lagan College were included, this percentage dropped to 62. Of all the friends listed only 14 percent were from the “other” community

<sup>49</sup> Of the 139 students enrolled into the new first year at Lagan College in 1990 only 4 were Catholics from Protestant schools while only 1 Protestant came from a Catholic school. These numbers represent percentages that are probably a little higher than the provincial average which place approximately 1% of Protestants in Catholic schools and between 2% and 3% of Catholics in Protestant schools (for a review see Whyte, J. H., 1986, How is the Boundary Maintained Between the Two Communities in Northern Ireland?, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2).

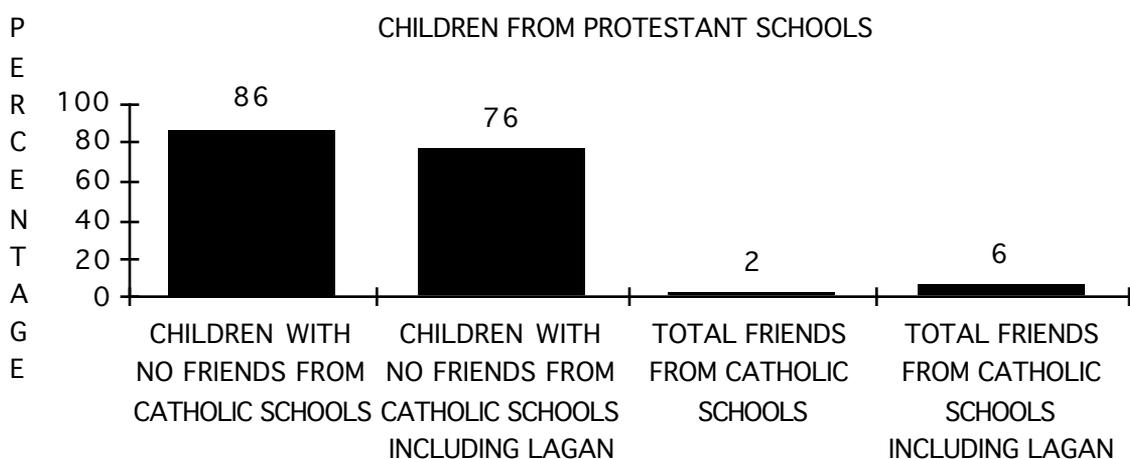
<sup>50</sup> 14 children who were absent on the 18th. of September were not asked to complete the questionnaire at a later date in case their answers could have been influenced by discussing the survey with their new school friends. 5 children who came to Lagan College from an integrated primary school in 1990 were also excluded from this survey as their school could not be used as a reasonably accurate index of religious affiliation. A copy of the questionnaire is provided in the Appendix.

and this percentage increased to 24 when their friends from Lagan College were added in (figure 13).



**Figure 13** School of origin and the school attended by the friends of new students at Lagan College.

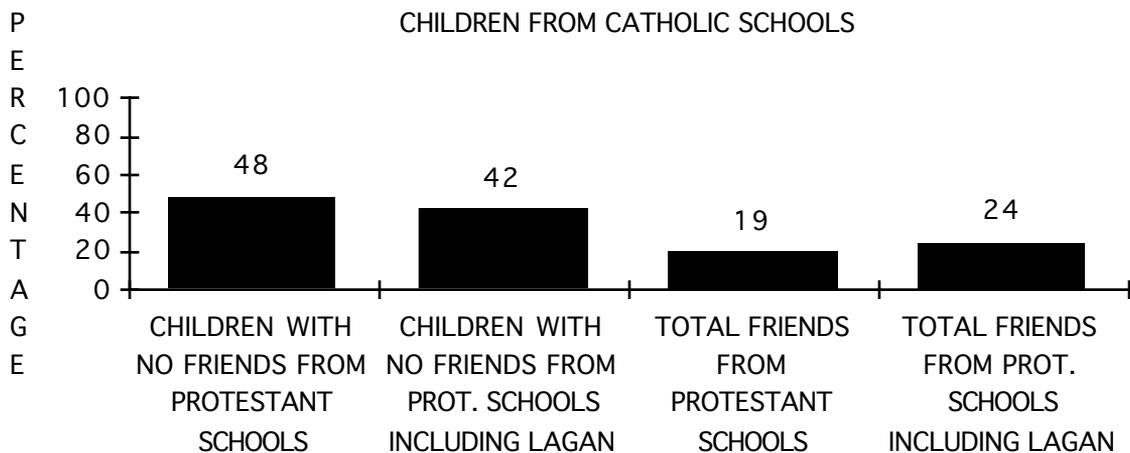
These data were then analysed separately, for the children who had attended Catholic or Protestant primary schools. A significant difference was found between the friendship patterns of the two groups. Of the children from Catholic schools, 48 percent had no friends in the "other" community (figure 14) in contrast to 86 percent for children from Protestant schools (figure 15). Only 2 percent of the friends of children from Protestant schools came from Catholic schools, while 19 percent of the friends of children attending Catholic schools were from Protestant schools.



**Figure 14** The school attended by the friends of new students at Lagan College who come from Protestant Schools.

The strong bias found in this result will have been exaggerated by the fact that some of the children attending Protestant schools are Catholic.

However, even if a generous allowance is made for this error it is clearly still the case that Catholic children from Belfast have more Protestant friends than Protestant children from Belfast have Catholic friends. Although some individuals might wish to draw the conclusion that Catholic children are in some way less bigoted than Protestant children, it would be quite wrong to do this until all other possible explanations had been eliminated.<sup>51</sup>

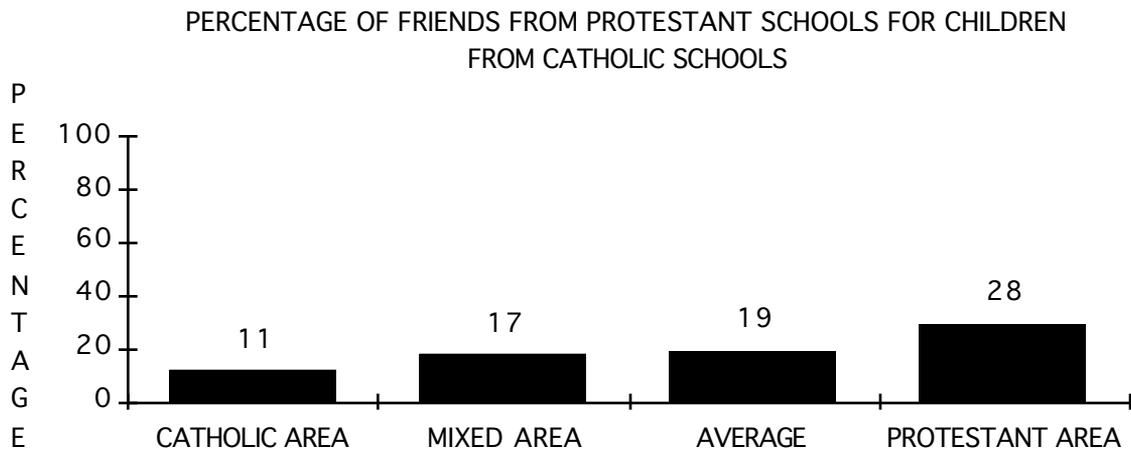


**Figure 15** The school attended by the friends of new students at Lagan College who come from Catholic Schools.

The population of Belfast, in contrast to the student population of Lagan College, is not a balanced mix of Catholics and Protestants. The Catholics of Belfast are a minority so that the probability of a Catholic making a Protestant friend is necessarily greater than the probability of a Protestant making a Catholic friend. This consequence of the demographics of Belfast is further strengthened by the fact that far more Catholics live in Protestant areas of the city than Protestants live in Catholic areas. Additionally, it should be noted, that Protestants also outnumber Catholics in the mixed areas.<sup>52</sup> If this explanation has some merit then it follows that children going to Catholic schools in Catholic areas of Belfast will have fewer Protestant friends than Catholics going to Catholic schools in Protestant areas of Belfast. This turns out to be the case with the percentage of the “Protestant” friends of these children ranging from a low of 11 percent in Catholic areas to a high of 28 percent in Protestant areas (figure 16).

<sup>51</sup> The history of making value judgments about religious, ethnic and racial groups, on the basis of so called scientific evidence, is notoriously bad and has been subject to the most horrendous forms of political manipulation in both the last century and this. Clearly all research that has the potential to be misused in such a way must be subject to the highest possible standards of methodological scrutiny.

<sup>52</sup> See figure 4 and footnote 43 and 44 for references.



**Figure 16** The percentage of friends from Protestant schools for new students who came to Lagan College from Catholic Primary Schools situated in Catholic, Mixed and Protestant areas of Belfast.

It is clear from these results that the demographics of the student population of the school attended by a child in Belfast has far more effect on the choice of the friends of the child than the local demographics of the housing area in which they live. This fact is perhaps most poignantly illustrated by the observation that Catholic children, living as a minority in Belfast and as a minority in a Protestant area of Belfast, have far more Catholic friends than Protestant friends, if they go to a Catholic school. Conversely it follows that if children are to have an equal opportunity to make both Catholic and Protestant friends then sending children to mixed schools will provide a greater opportunity for such friendships to develop than simply living in a mixed housing area. However, creating the “opportunity to make both Catholic and Protestant friends,” in a statistical or probabilistic kind of way, is not the same as actually making friends. The question that must now be asked is whether or not the children who come to Lagan College, with their patterns of friendships shaped by the experience of a segregated primary school education, do now make friends, across the sectarian divide.

## LAGAN COLLEGE FRIENDSHIP CHOICES: ESTABLISHED STUDENTS

One approach to monitoring the changing patterns of friendships of students entering Lagan College would be to make annual observations on an incoming first year over the period of their five years at secondary school. An advantage with this method is that the children, or subjects, do not change. Some disadvantages are the influence the researcher could have on the social behaviour of the students while making the observations over an extended period; the influence a significant social event could have on the school and/or children during the course of the research; and finally the practical and financial difficulties in maintaining a five year programme. Given the extreme mix of the Lagan College students from 149 schools in the Belfast area, there is little reason to believe that an “average” student in any one year is very different from an “average” student in any other year. This would be particularly true if all the students at Lagan College were made a part of any study.

Working from this premise, a “snap-shot” methodology was used in which every student attending Lagan College on October 10th 1989 was asked to list, from their tutor group, his or her three best friends, three other students they would like to have as friends, three students they would invite home and three students they prefer to work with on school projects. In order to prevent any discussion the questionnaire was given to all the students at the same time, 10.35 a.m.<sup>53</sup> When this data was combined with the age, tutor group, religious denomination, social class and gender of the students, over twenty thousand observations were created that could be analysed from any desired point of view.<sup>54</sup>

### By Religion

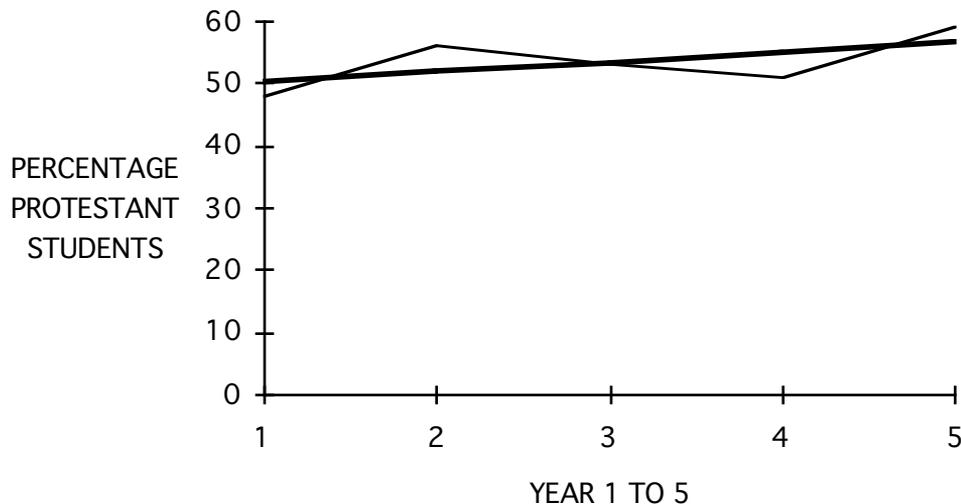
If an “average” student at Lagan College chose their friends at random, then 53 percent would be Protestant and 47 percent would be Catholic as this is the actual mix of students at the school. However this mix varies a little from year to year, but if these changes, from form one to form five,

---

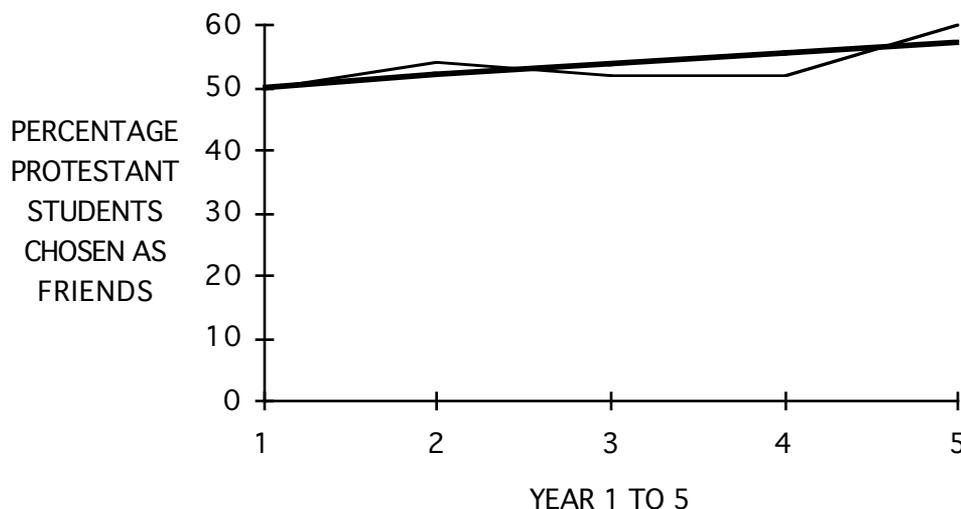
<sup>53</sup> The questionnaire was based on those used by the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research at Givat Gonen in Jerusalem. A copy is given in the Appendix. The particular methodological benefits of surveying all the informants at the same time, when the social setting involves conflict, is made by Ed Cairns (Cairns, E., 1987, Caught in Crossfire: Children and the Northern Ireland Conflict, Syracuse University Press).

<sup>54</sup> The variables taken from the records of each of the 586 student at Lagan College and placed in an EXCEL file were: Surname, Given Name, Form Year, Tutor Group, Sex, Year of Birth, Age, Religion, Address/Road, District/Post Code, Father’s Occupation, Mother’s Occupation, Entry Year to Lagan College, Entry Form, Primary School and 11 Plus Results. Social class was then added to this data along with the 12 friendship choices made by each student. Finally, using an EXCEL function, the 12 friendship choices were transformed into a new data set expressed in terms of religion, social class and gender to give 36 sociometric observations for each child in the school.

are plotted, their trend or “average” can be calculated. This “average religious structure” of Lagan College represents the choice students at Lagan College would make if there is no bias in their choice. This “average” is equivalent to the random or predicted choice for the school, from the first year to the fifth year (figure 17).



**Figure 17** The “average” religious structure of Lagan College from the 1st form to the 5th form.<sup>55</sup>

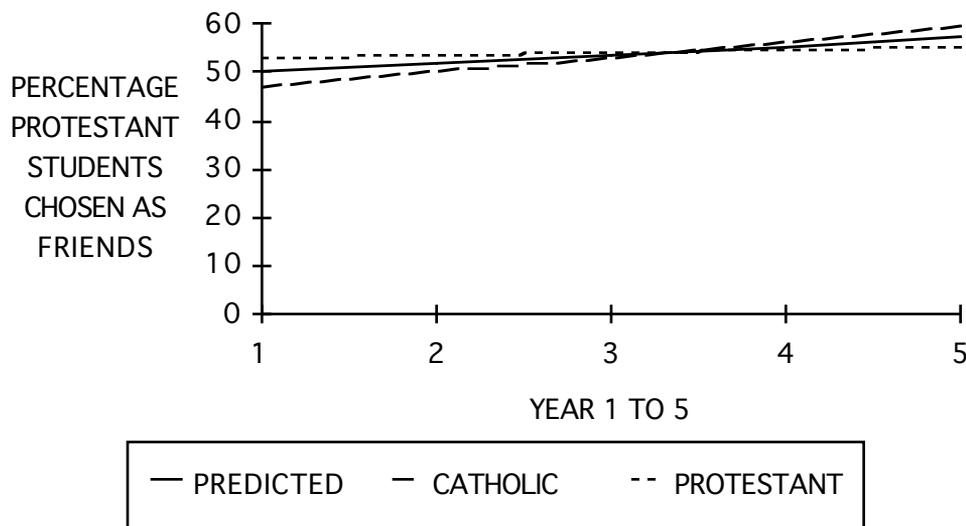


**Figure 18** The “average” religious choice of friends amongst students at Lagan College from the 1st form to the 5th form.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> It should be noted that the presentation of this data as “Percentage Protestant Students” is quite arbitrary as the “Percentage Catholic Students” is simply the residual of this data which can be visualised by turning the graph upside down. This arbitrary aspect of the presentation of these results is also true for the “Percentage Middle Class Students” and “Percentage Male Students.”

<sup>56</sup> See footnote 55.

When the actual friendship choices made by Lagan College students are plotted in the same way it is found that the fluctuations in the proportion of Catholics and Protestants in each year closely follows the fluctuations in the choices of the friendships of the students (figure 18). However, when these choices are separated to represent the changing friendship patterns of Catholics and Protestants, the trends show a bias for the children to chose members of their own denomination in their first year. This bias changes to a slight preference for members of the “other” denomination by the fifth year (figure 19).

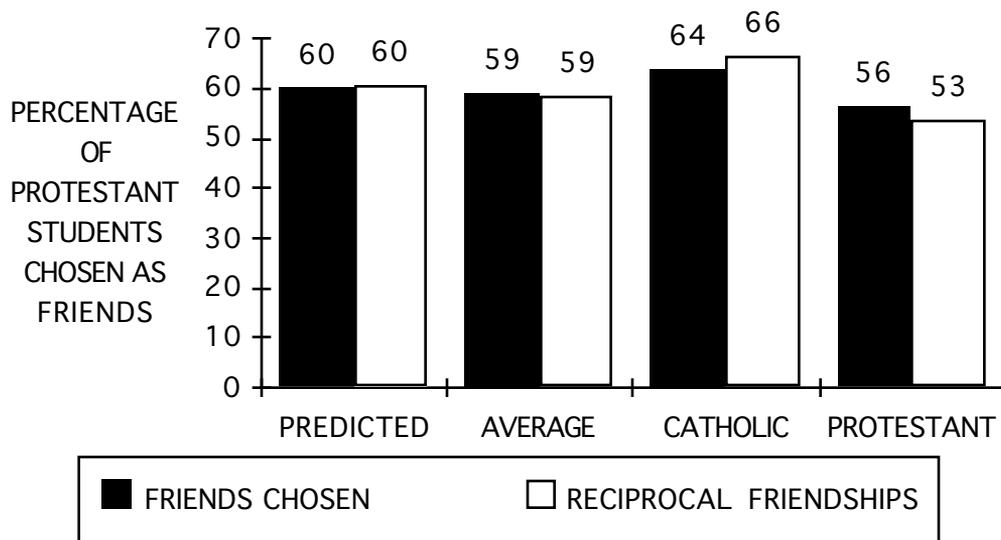


**Figure 19** Trends in sectarian integration at Lagan College.<sup>57</sup>

A bias toward friendships amongst their own sectarian community, in the first year, leading toward more friends in the “other” community in subsequent years, is expected and welcome. However a slight bias toward the “other” community in the fifth year is surprising. Perhaps the fifth year, anticipating the use to which the questionnaire was to be put, biased their answers? However when only the responses for the choices of their three best friends is analysed for reciprocal friendships,<sup>58</sup> namely when two students unknowingly chose each other, the same surprising result is reproduced (figure 20).

<sup>57</sup> See footnote 55.

<sup>58</sup> When a student chooses another member of his or her Tutor Group as a friend there may be a certain element of “wishful thinking” on the part of the student. However, when two students unknowingly chose each other, and when they are only permitted to make three choices, then clearly such “reciprocal friendships,” as they are termed here, are qualitatively more significant than simple “one sided” friendship choices. It should be noted that these “reciprocal friendships” were identified by the computer programme used to analyse the data at the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research in Jerusalem.

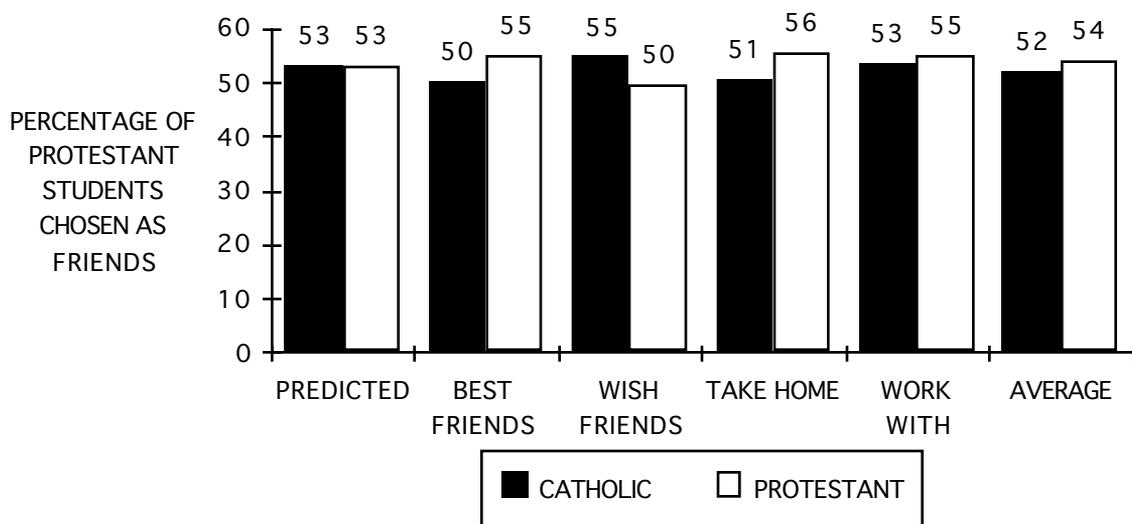


**Figure 20** Reciprocal friendships across the religious divide at Lagan College in the 5th year for the category of their “three best friends.”

Additionally, when the results are analysed for each of the four questions, the variations in the responses are more consistent with expectations. Namely, the choice of “best friends” and “take home friends” at Lagan College are slightly biased toward their own community, while the choice of “wish friends” is biased toward the “other” community<sup>59</sup> (figure 21). It may be important to note that some fourth and fifth year students refused to answer the question which asked them to list the three members of their tutor group they would like to have as friends, and occasionally remarked on their questionnaire that everyone in their class was their friend. Given all these results I believe the observation that the fifth year students at Lagan College have a slight preference for friends in

<sup>59</sup> Although this result may stimulate speculation that the children's desire to make friends in the “other” community represents a “value” that precedes the establishment of such friendships it should be noted that when the students were asked to list their three “wish friends” they were not allowed to include their “best friends.” With their “best friends,” who were slightly biased toward their “own” community, now removed from their range of choice, the probability of selecting a “wish friend” from the “other” community is increased. In other words the bias towards the choice of “wish friends” in the “other” community is in part a statistical artifact of the bias in the choice of “best friend” in their “own” community. It should be noted that the bias in “best friend” is equal and opposite to the bias in “wish friend.” However, I would not wish to dismiss this result “out of hand.” A robust interpretation of this finding clearly requires additional research and analysis.

the “other” community must be taken seriously and may<sup>60</sup> represent the replacement of values that favour sectarian friendships with new values that encourage friendships to be created between the divided communities of Belfast. It may be speculated that these values could be introduced by the parents encouraging their children to make more friends in the “other” community and by the school whose “ethos” may encourage the children to make more friends in the other community. A combination of these, and perhaps other factors, is probably at work here. Either way, the role of Lagan College may be indispensable to this process in as much as it is able to provide a “social opportunity” for the establishment of these new friendships and the expression of these social values.<sup>61</sup>



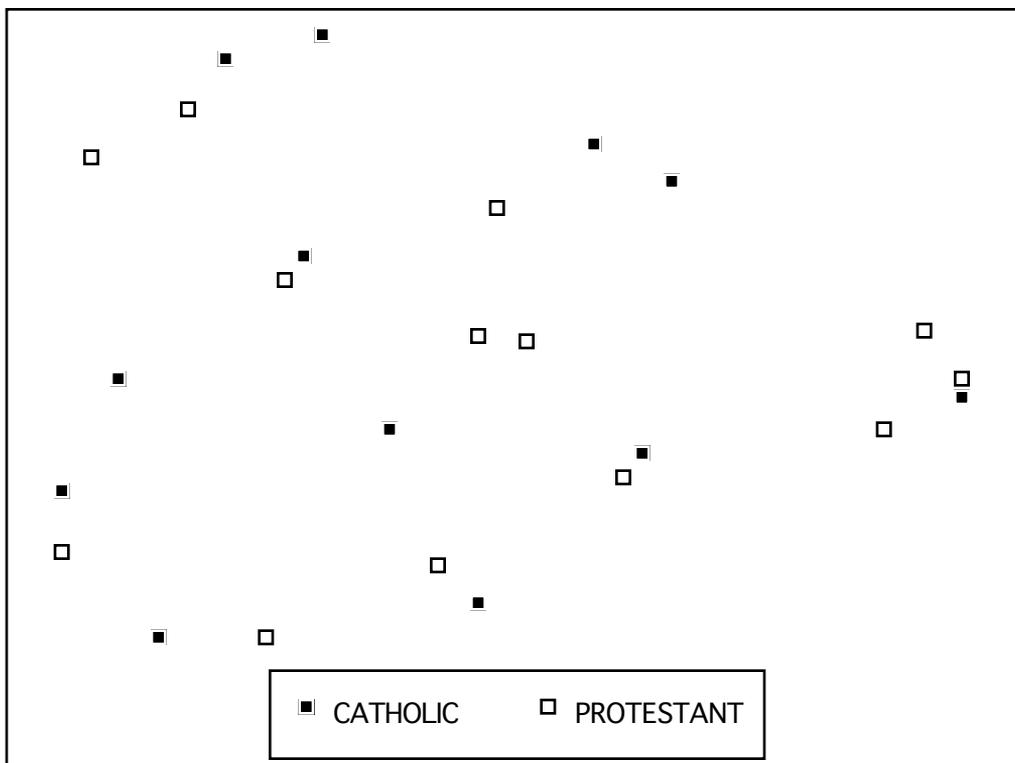
**Figure 21** Best friends, possible friends, out of school friendships and working relationships across the religious divide at Lagan College.

Using a very different statistical technique the same data, from the same questionnaire, was analysed using a computer programme specifically developed to map the social relationships that exist between the members of groups of school children. In this variant of Smallest Space Analysis

<sup>60</sup> I have cautiously used the term “may” as some children probably did not come to Lagan College with values that could be described as sectarian but have tended to make more friends amongst their “own community” because they more frequently came to school with them on the same bus, went to the same church, lived in the same neighbourhood, etc. However, as will be seen in the section of this report that compares the children from South and West Belfast, the children who enter Lagan College can not be described as mere “blank slates.” Generally speaking the Catholic and Protestant children who come to Lagan College do not share a common pool of knowledge and experience associated with a common social identity and set of social attitudes. Perhaps the social circumstances of the new students at Lagan College do help to shape their friendships, but if this is true, then the preference for friendships in the “other community,” characteristic of the fifth year students, is even more remarkable.

<sup>61</sup> This proposition is supported by some of the interviews conducted at Lagan College, see this report “Comparisons with West and South Belfast” footnote 148.

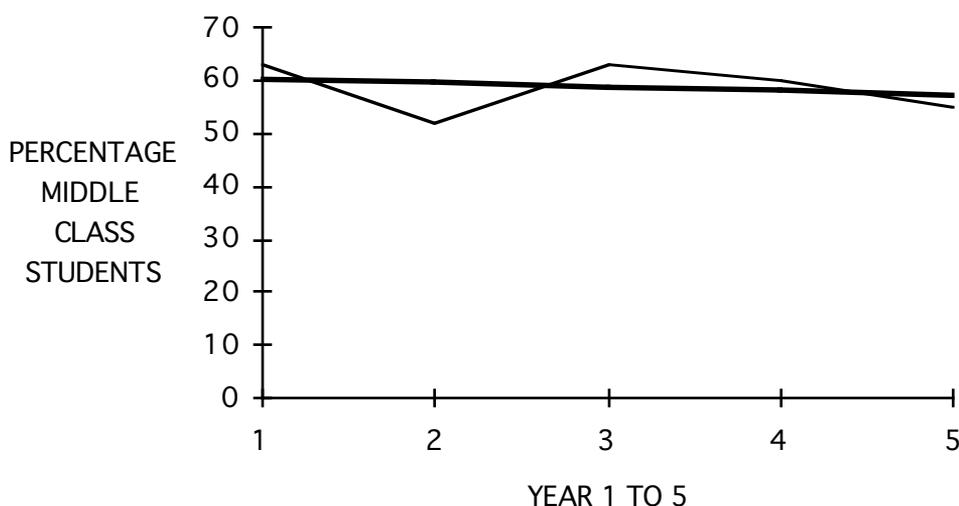
each student in the tutor group is represented by a point on a map such that children with more in common, socially, are closer together, and children with less in common, socially, are farther apart. If the children are not integrating well, they will be clumped together on the map, and if they are integrating, then they will be dispersed (figure 22). Only two out of the twenty two tutor groups examined in this way showed a tendency toward sectarian polarisation at Lagan College. However social integration, like all social facts, are relative. Therefore, in an effort to gauge the importance of this positive result, it is necessary to compare sectarian integration at Lagan College with other aspects of social interaction.



**Figure 22** Religion and the social structure of a sample 5th year tutor group at Lagan College.

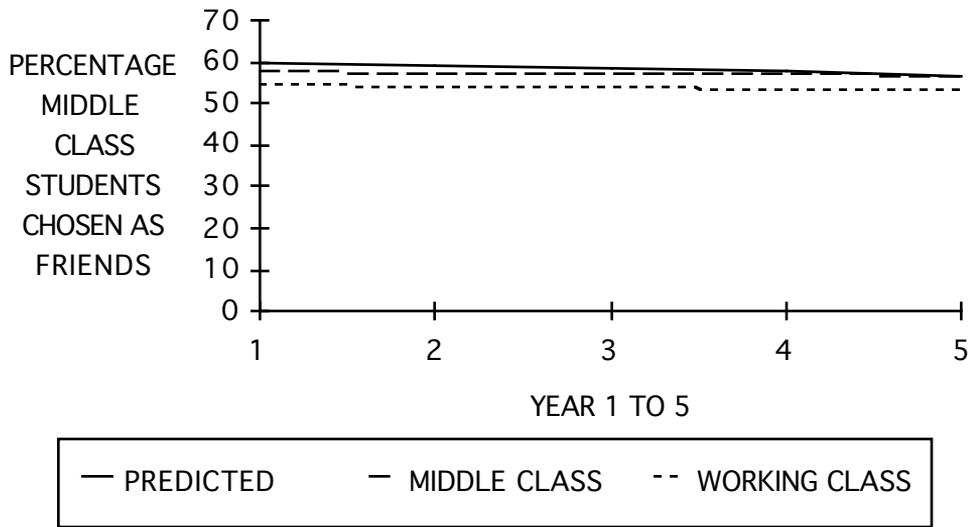
## By Social Class

Providing the exact same data and statistical techniques continue to be employed comparisons can now be made between the dynamics of sectarian, social class, and gender, group relationships. In contrast to the tendency for Catholics and Protestants to make more friends in the “other” community during their years at Lagan College, there is a tendency for the working class children to have a few more working class friends than the middle class friends. And this trend persists from the first form to the fifth form (figure 23 & 24). The selection of friends by the middle class shows little or no social bias towards their own group. These observations are confirmed by both the friendship patterns of the fifth year (figure 25) and the friendships of all the students at Lagan College when broken down for each of the four questions used in the survey (figure 26). Clearly social class is a marginally more potent force for the creation of social relationships at Lagan College than religious denomination. However, when the social maps of the tutor groups are examined, the diffuse patterns of middle class and working class students confirms how very marginal segregation by social class really is (figure 27).

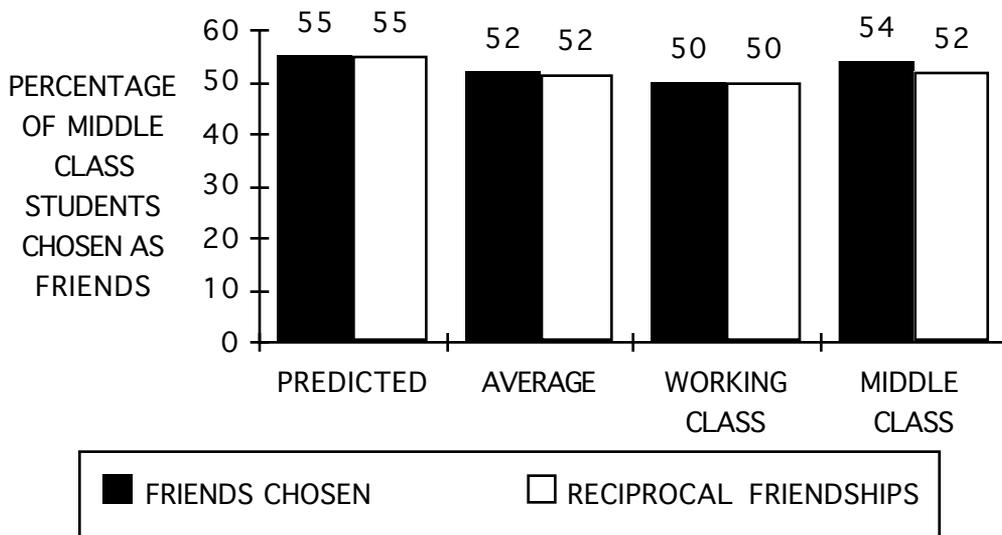


**Figure 23** The “average” social class structure of Lagan College from the 1st form to the 5th form.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> See footnote 55.

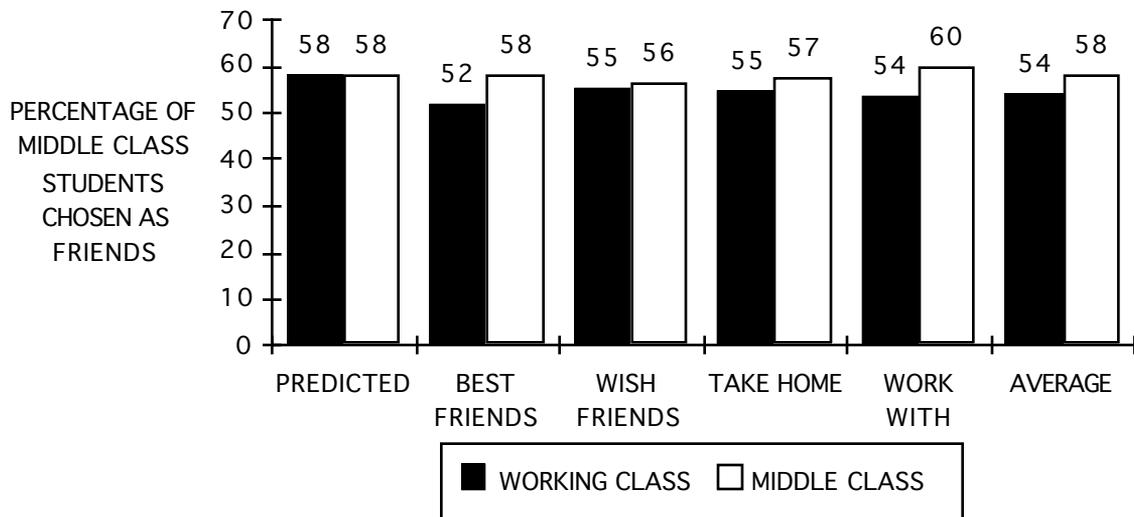


**Figure 24** Trends in integration between the social classes at Lagan College.<sup>63</sup>



**Figure 25** Reciprocal friendships across what may be termed the “class barrier” at Lagan College in the 5th year for the category of “best friends.”

<sup>63</sup> See footnote 55.



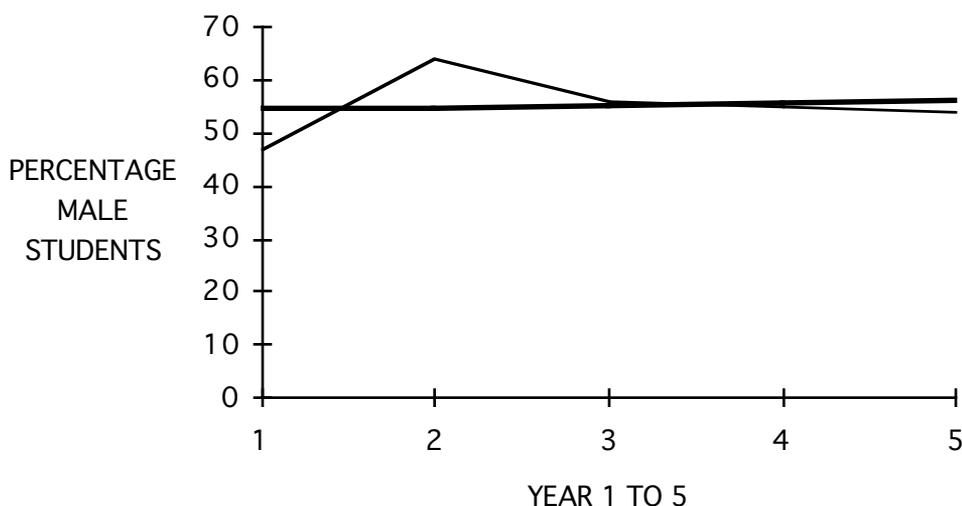
**Figure 26** Best friends, possible friends, out of school friendships and working relationships across the class barrier at Lagan College.



**Figure 27** Social class and the social structure of a sample 5th year tutor group at Lagan College.

## By Gender

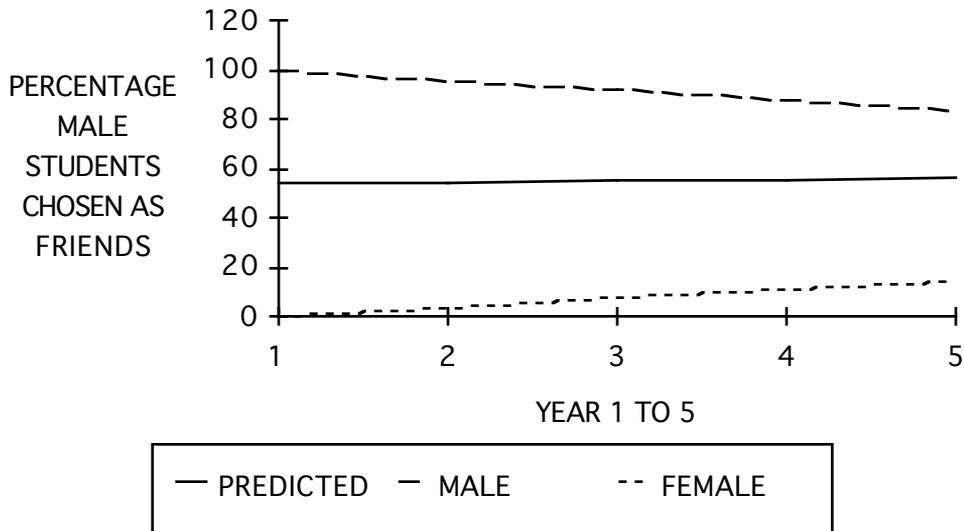
The results for the analysis of social interaction by gender stand in stark contrast to the results for sectarian, and social class, group relationships. Boys and girls entering Lagan College make very few friends across, what may be termed “the gender barrier” (figure 28 & 29). However, unlike the somewhat static social class relationships, there is a steady increase in the number of friends made across this gender barrier. As might be expected, this is particularly true for the fourth and fifth year students, who have matured past puberty. But this observation should be put into its correct perspective. When the friendships in the fifth year are examined, it is clear that males establish more reciprocal friendships than females and that these strong friendships are rarely established between children of the opposite sex (figure 30). Additionally, when the breakdown of the results by each question, and the social maps are examined, the separation of the social relationships of boys and girls is found to be extensive and persistent (figure 31 & 32).<sup>64</sup>



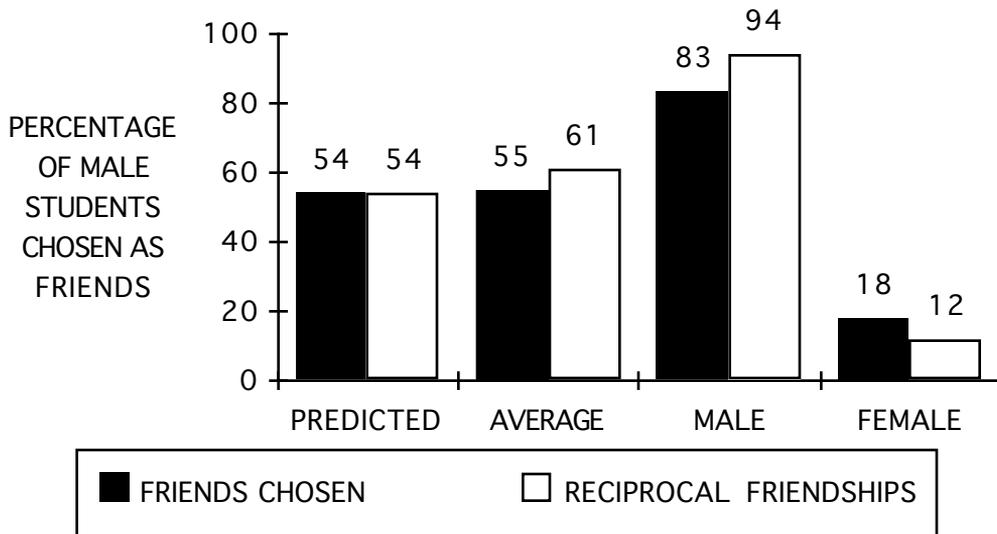
**Figure 28** The “average” gender structure of Lagan College from the 1st form to the 5th form.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Several reviewers of this report have asked if the children from mixed schools make friends across the “gender barrier” with any more ease than the children from single sex schools and also why do the boys make more reciprocal friendships than the girls? Unfortunately, although these questions are very interesting and should be investigated they are beyond the scope of this current programme of research. However, for some additional comments see Israel and Northern Ireland, Givat Gonen Friendship Choices, By Gender, later in this report.

<sup>65</sup> See footnote 55.

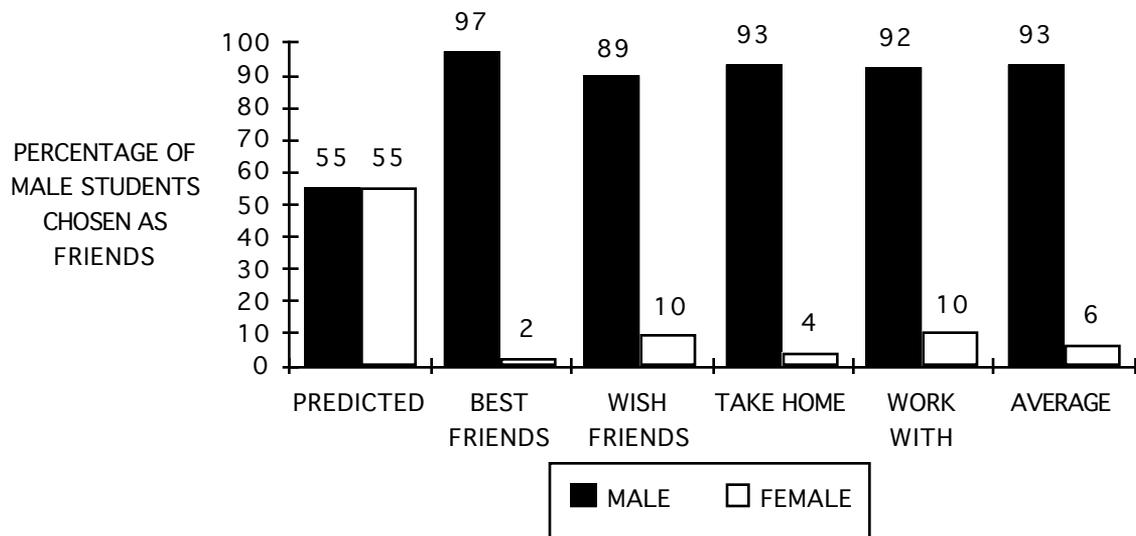


**Figure 29** Trends in the development of friendships between boys and girls at Lagan College.<sup>66</sup>

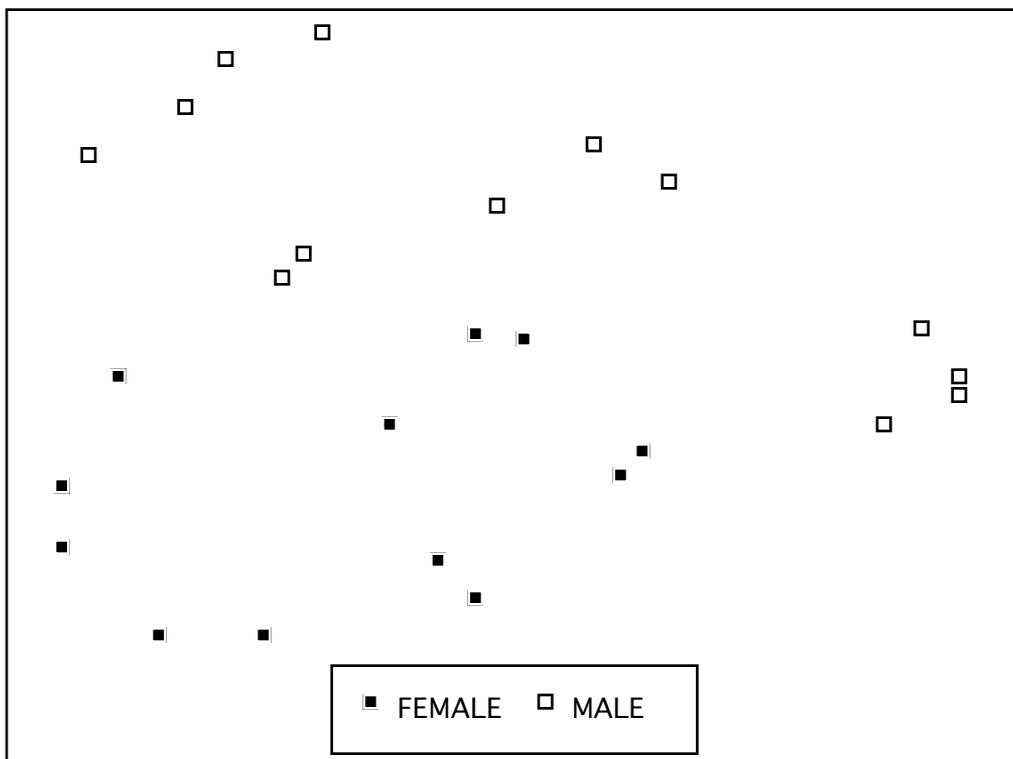


**Figure 30** Reciprocal friendships between boys and girls at Lagan College in the 5th year for the category of "best friends."

<sup>66</sup> See footnote 55.



**Figure 31** Best friends, possible friends, out of school friendships and working relationships between boys and girls at Lagan College.



**Figure 32** Gender and the social structure of a sample 5th year tutor group at Lagan College.

## The Effects of Social Class and Gender on Sectarian Integration

Analysis of the social relationships at Lagan College illustrate a change from a sectarian to an antisectarian bias, across the religious divide. A slight preference for working class friends by the working class and a very strong separation of the friendships of the boys and the girls. Clearly, it follows that if all the Catholics in a tutor group were girls and all the Protestants were boys, very few friendships would be established between the two religious groups even if the tutor group maintained a 50/50 mix. It also follows that this preference for friends of their own gender will influence the probability of friendships being established between the two denominations at Lagan College, when the ratio of Catholics to Protestants fluctuates with the sex ratio.

Providing this gender bias aspect of the group relationships at Lagan College is allowed for, it is possible to compare the degree of sectarian integration for each subgroup of the student population broken down by religion, social class and gender (figure 33). The results of this analysis are mixed. Amongst the Catholics the working class have more Protestant friends than the middle class, and amongst the Protestants the females have more Catholic friends than the males. The only firm conclusion that can be drawn from this result is that there is little difference between Catholic and Protestant children, boys and girls, and middle class and working class children, when it comes to making friends across the sectarian divide.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Without the benefit of additional research I would not wish to draw any further conclusions from the observation that the working class children at Lagan College appear to make friends in the "other" community a little more easily than the middle class children. However, it is also interesting to note that the rates of mixed marriages in Northern Ireland are higher amongst the working class than the middle class (4.7% for non-manual workers and 7.0% for manual workers, Compton, P. A. and Coward, J. 1989, Fertility and Family Planning in Northern Ireland, Avebury, Aldershot). It could therefore be speculated that if most of the mixed marriages of the parents of the children at Lagan College were amongst the working class then the slight increase in the cross community friendships of these children could be due to the social relationships established through the mixed marriages of their parents. However, of the 13 pairs of parents at Lagan College who declared their marriages to be mixed 10 were classified as middle class and only 3 as working class (see footnote 47 for definitions of social class). Clearly this analysis does not provide any evidence to support the hypothesis that mixed marriages play a significant role in the development of inter-denominational friendships between the majority of the children at Lagan College. But this would probably not be expected anyway, given the rate of mixed marriages at Lagan College to be close to the provincial average (see footnote 46). The results presented here, and the corresponding data analysed and presented in figure 70 for Givat Gonen in Israel, are clearly provocative and warrant a more detailed analysis. However, examining why boys or girls, from the middle class or working class, from the locally more or less successful groups, behave in a slightly more or less open or closed manner in establishing their inter-group social relationships, is beyond the scope of this present study.

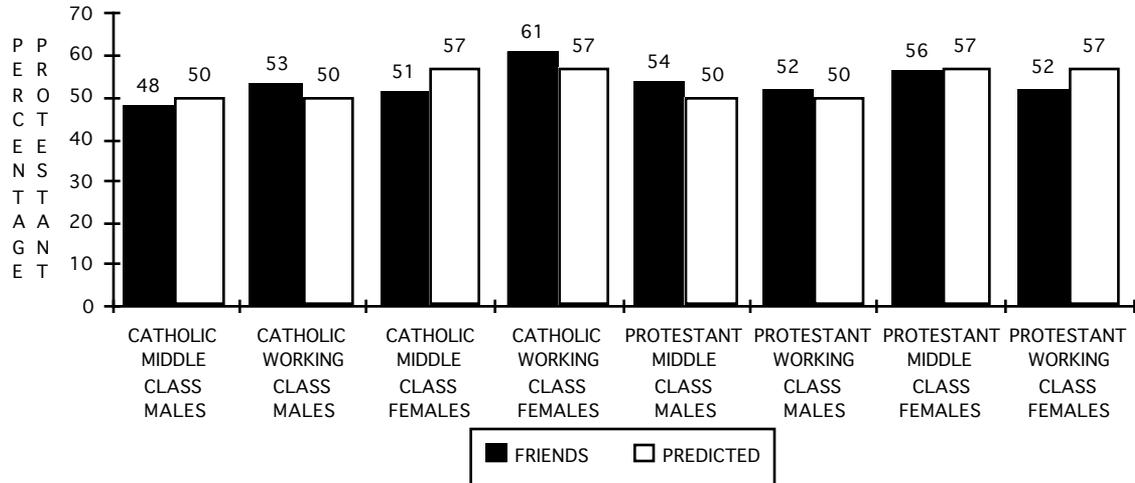


Figure 33 The percentage of Protestant friends chosen by each group of students at Lagan College.

## The Effects of Primary School on Social Integration

Although religious denomination, social class and gender do not have a significant effect on sectarian integration at Lagan College<sup>68</sup> it is possible that the primary school, from which the students come could have such an effect. In an effort to explore this question, all the primary schools with more than ten students at Lagan College were listed, along with the religious denomination, social class, and gender of the students and their friends, expressed as percentages. When this list was ranked, from the school whose students had the smallest percentage of Protestant friends, to the school whose students had the highest percentage of Protestant friends, no consistent patterns emerged in the table produced (table 1). Neither the Protestant or the Catholic schools were grouped together in a way that could suggest that the schools produced students that tended to prefer friends of one denomination or the other.

RELIGIOUS STATUS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL	PERCENTAGE OF PROTESTANT FRIENDS	PERCENTAGE OF MIDDLE CLASS FRIENDS	PERCENTAGE OF MALE FRIENDS	PERCENTAGE OF PROTESTANTS FROM SCHOOL	PERCENTAGE OF MIDDLE CLASS FROM SCHOOL	PERCENTAGE OF MALES FROM SCHOOL
CATHOLIC	43	61	49	0	42	54
PROTESTANT	44	47	40	90	50	40
INTEGRATED	49	54	33	53	60	33
PROTESTANT	49	56	55	100	50	62
CATHOLIC	49	62	60	0	62	59
PROTESTANT	50	47	71	80	70	80
PROTESTANT	50	60	26	70	70	30
PROTESTANT	51	47	49	100	22	60
PROTESTANT	51	55	77	90	60	80
CATHOLIC	51	57	71	4	60	70
CATHOLIC	52	64	57	0	52	57
CATHOLIC	52	64	58	0	92	62
MIXED	54	52	54	71	45	52
PROTESTANT	55	54	56	100	74	56
CATHOLIC	56	67	50	0	58	42
PROTESTANT	59	54	31	100	17	32
PROTESTANT	59	50	32	100	70	30
CATHOLIC	62	55	59	0	46	46

**Table 1** The friendships of Lagan College students, their social background and the principal religious denomination of their primary school for primary schools with more than 10 students at Lagan College.

These observations were examined further by generating correlations between the variables for both, this table, and a similar table for all the schools that had more than three students at Lagan College (table 2 & 3). Again the results are very mixed, with many of the correlations fluctuating between the two sets of data, rendering the interpretations of the

<sup>68</sup> This may not be quite so true of social class, see footnote number 67 for further discussion.

relationships unreliable (figure 34 & 35). However the consistently highest correlations are the ones existing between the gender of the students and the gender of their friends (0.93 and 0.87) and the consistently lowest correlations are the ones existing between the religion of the students and the religion of their friends (0.05 and 0.09). These results confirm the previous analysis, that boys and girls prefer friends of their own sex and that religious denomination is relatively unimportant when it comes to making friends at Lagan College.

10+ SCHOOLS	RELIGION OF FRIENDS	SOCIAL CLASS OF FRIENDS	GENDER OF FRIENDS
RELIGION OF SCHOOL GROUP	0.05	-0.75*	-0.29
SOCIAL CLASS OF SCHOOL GROUP	-0.07	0.29	0.22
GENDER OF SCHOOL GROUP	-0.28	-0.03	0.93*

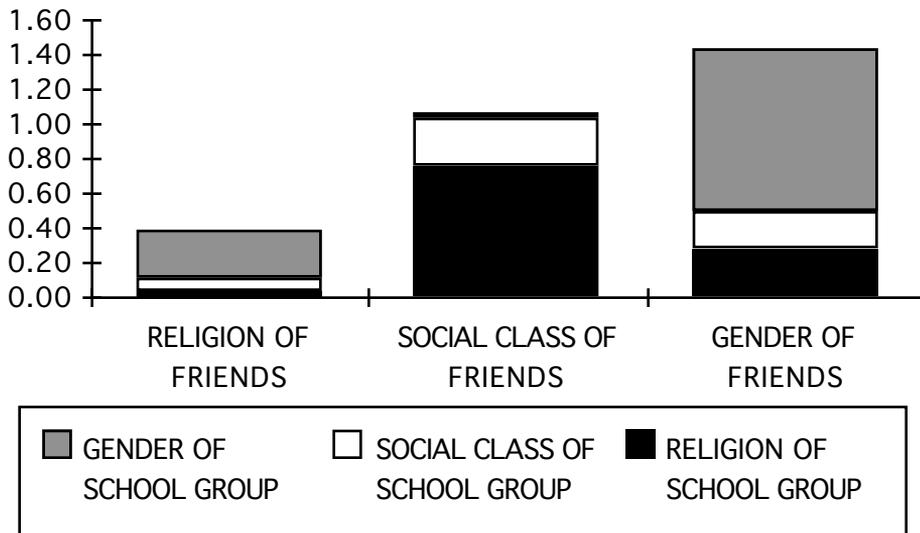
**Table 2** Correlations between the religion, social class and gender of both the students at Lagan College, and their friends, from primary schools with more than 10 students at the college (Table 1 above).<sup>69</sup>

3+ SCHOOLS	RELIGION OF FRIENDS	SOCIAL CLASS OF FRIENDS	GENDER OF FRIENDS
RELIGION OF SCHOOL GROUP	0.09	-0.05	-0.19
SOCIAL CLASS OF SCHOOL GROUP	-0.14	0.34**	-0.05
GENDER OF SCHOOL GROUP	-0.05	-0.11	0.87*

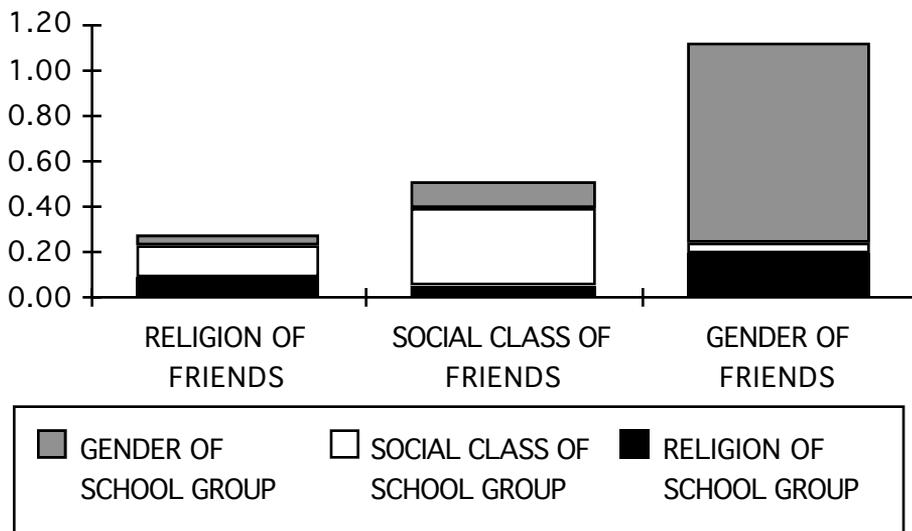
**Table 3** Correlations between the religion, social class and gender of both the students at Lagan College, and their friends, from primary schools with more than 3 students at the college.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> \* These correlations are significant at a level of  $p < 0.001$

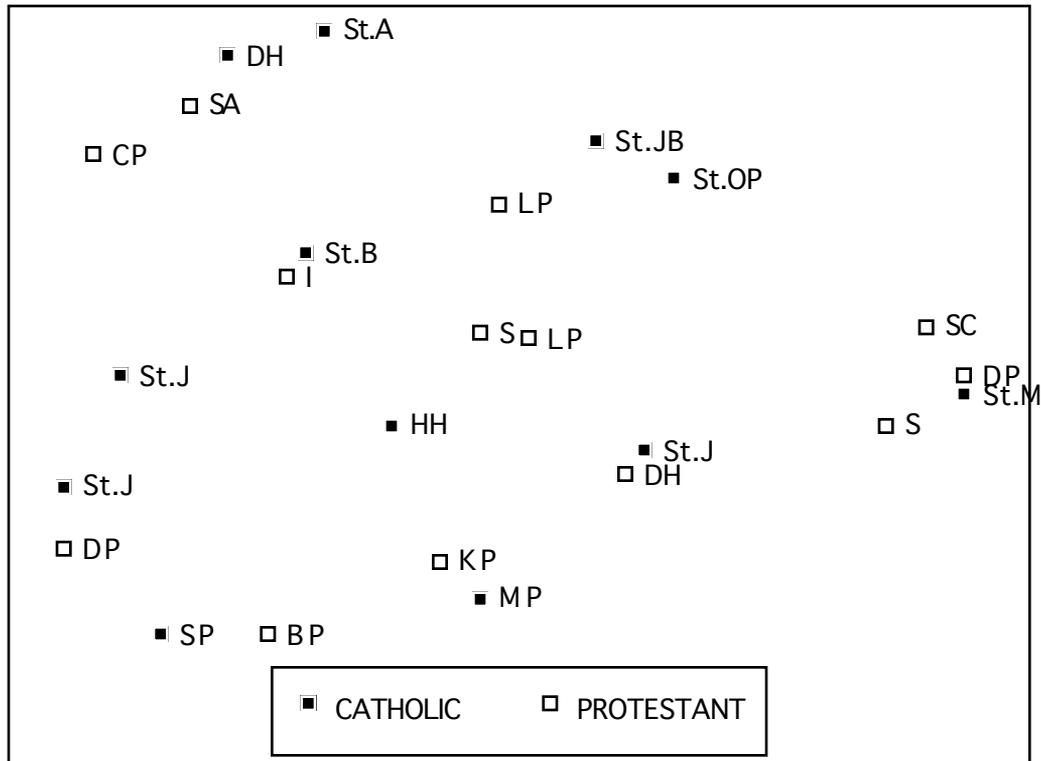
<sup>70</sup> \* This correlation is significant at a level of  $p < 0.001$  and \*\* this correlation is significant at a level of  $p < 0.01$ , however, as this particular correlation was not significant for the smaller data set no effort will be made to give an interpretation of this result here.



**Figure 34** The relative significance of correlations between the religion, social class and gender of both the students at Lagan College, and their friends, from primary schools with more than 10 students at the college (Table 2 above).



**Figure 35** The relative significance of correlations between the religion, social class and gender of both the students at Lagan College, and their friends, from primary schools with more than 3 students at the college (Table 3 above).



**Figure 36** Primary School of origin and the social structure of a typical tutor group at Lagan College.

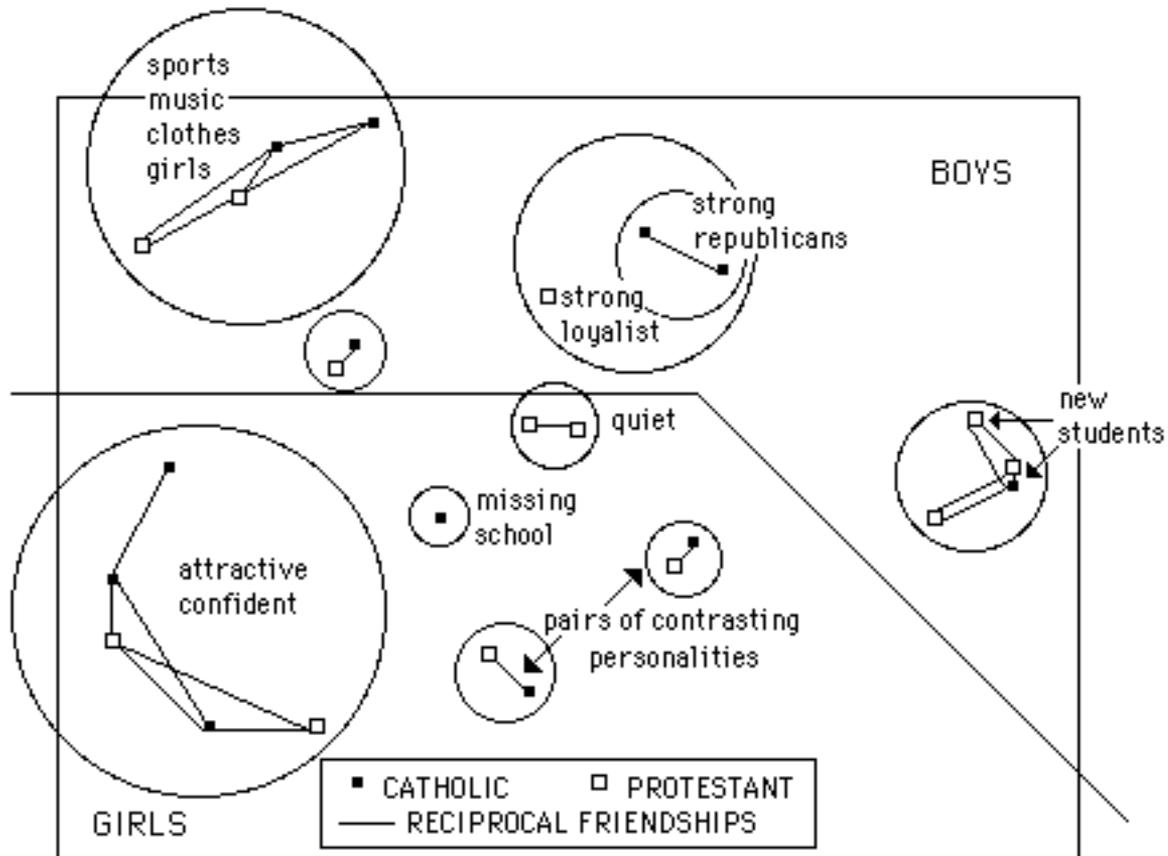
Finally, the possibility that the primary school might have a more lasting effect on individual friendships was examined, using the social maps generated for each tutor group (figure 36). Although some students remained close friends with a particular primary school colleague, there was no significant clustering of students by primary school of origin. Clearly, excepting gender, a very different collection of factors influence the establishment of close friendships at Lagan College.

## LASTING EFFECTS OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION AT LAGAN COLLEGE

### Friendships at Lagan College

The social maps for each tutor group at Lagan College were discussed in interviews with each tutor group supervisor and year head. As the data collected in October had to be taken to Israel for analysis there was a six month delay prior to these interviews taking place. This delay proved to be most fortuitous as it was found that the maps of the social relationships of the new first year had changed a great deal, and the tutor group

supervisors were able to describe, in detail, how the patterns of friendships had been rearranged during the past six months.<sup>71</sup> However, in comparison to the first year, the social relationships had changed comparatively little in the second to fifth years.<sup>72</sup> Changes in these years were most notable when a student was moved, left, or a new pupil was introduced into a class.

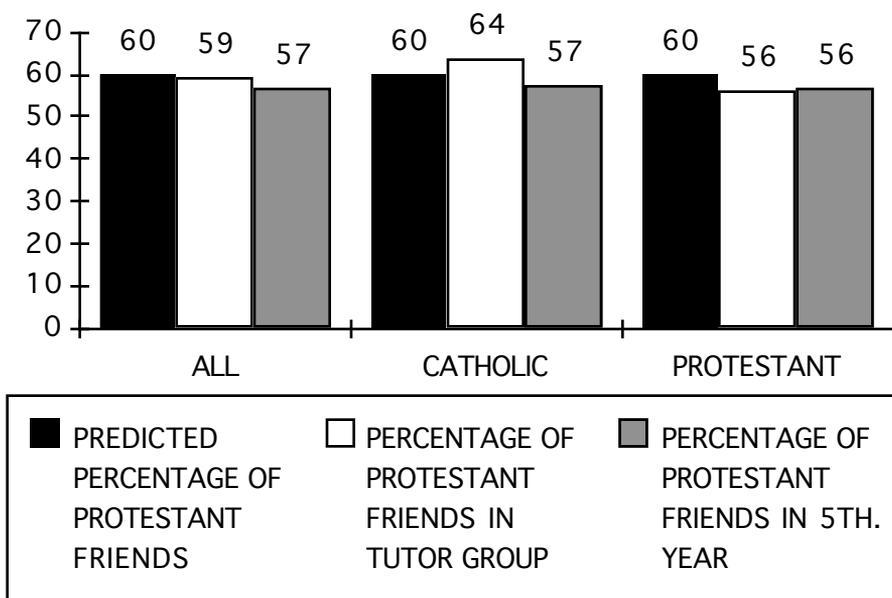


**Figure 37** Personality-interests and the social structure of a sample 5th year tutor group at Lagan College.

<sup>71</sup> These changes occurred in all five of the first year Tutor Groups so that the differences in these developing patterns of friendships can not be attributed to differences in the interpretations of the maps by the Tutor Group Supervisors.

<sup>72</sup> This relative consistency in the patterns of friendships of these Tutor Groups also extended to all the Tutor Groups in each of these years, with only one exception. A small group of 10 students who had been placed into a new Tutor Group, in their 4th year, for the purposes of special educational attention. These students had to be dropped from the general analysis of the friendship patterns as they preferred to choose friends from their old Tutor Groups when they filled out the questionnaire asking them to list friends in their current Tutor Group. Although this made the social mapping of their social relationships an impossible task it did help to emphasise the importance of the friendships they had established during their first three years at Lagan College.

Another obvious difference was found in the patterns of close, or reciprocal friendships, that were relatively open in the first year and increasingly clustered, or closed, in later years. The tutor group supervisors, particularly those that had been with their students for several years, were able to give detailed information about the nature of these friendships (figure 37). It became clear from these interviews that although initial friendships were influenced by a preference for members of their “own” community, common interests and characteristics, such as sports, personality, academic pursuits and social activities, soon came to replace any residual sectarian bias as the primary foundation for the creation of lasting relationships.

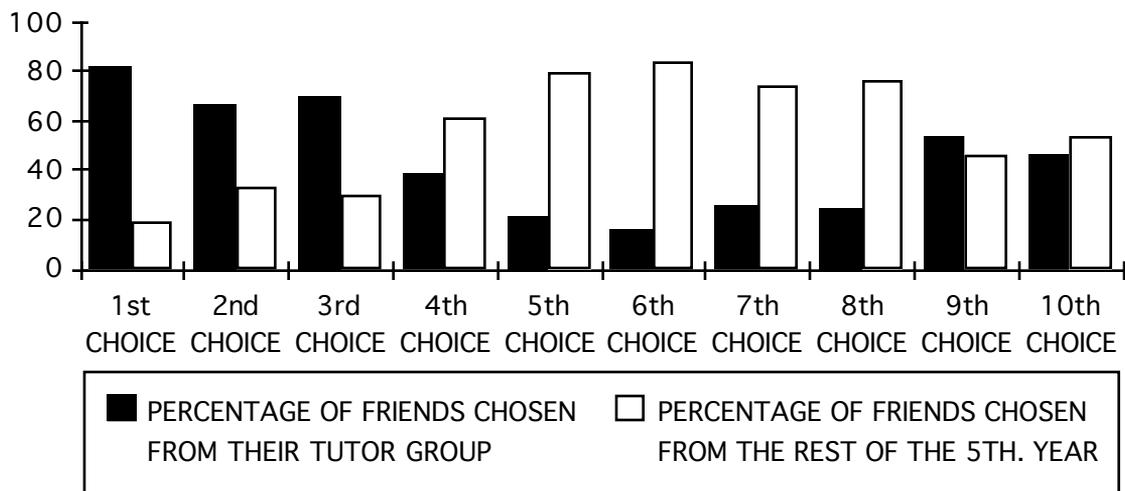


**Figure 38** Religious integration and the development of friendships beyond the tutor group in the 5th form at Lagan College.

In the fourth year, the social importance of the tutor group at Lagan College is diminished when the students start to specialise in subjects that are held in classes formed from the whole year. By the fifth year, the pupils have had a considerable opportunity to make many new friends, with whom they would share common academic interests. However, although the religious structure of these new groups could be quite arbitrary, the fifth year students showed little or no tendency to revert to sectarian patterns of friendships when asked to list their ten best friends from throughout the whole of their year (figure 38).<sup>73</sup>

<sup>73</sup> A copy of the questionnaire is provided in the Appendix. This survey was completed by 86 students out of a possible total of 100 students in the 5th year when they attended a careers class. One new student, who came to Lagan College after the Tutor Group data was collected in October 1989, was dropped from this analysis.

When the results of this survey were examined in greater detail, it was found that approximately half of the students' friends were chosen from their original tutor group and half from the three remaining tutor groups in the fifth year. Further, when the friends chosen were ranked, from their first choice to their tenth choice, most of their best friends were found to be from their old tutor group (figure 39).<sup>74</sup> Clearly, both quantitatively and qualitatively, friendships established during the first three years at Lagan College come to dominate the closest relationships found amongst the students at the school.



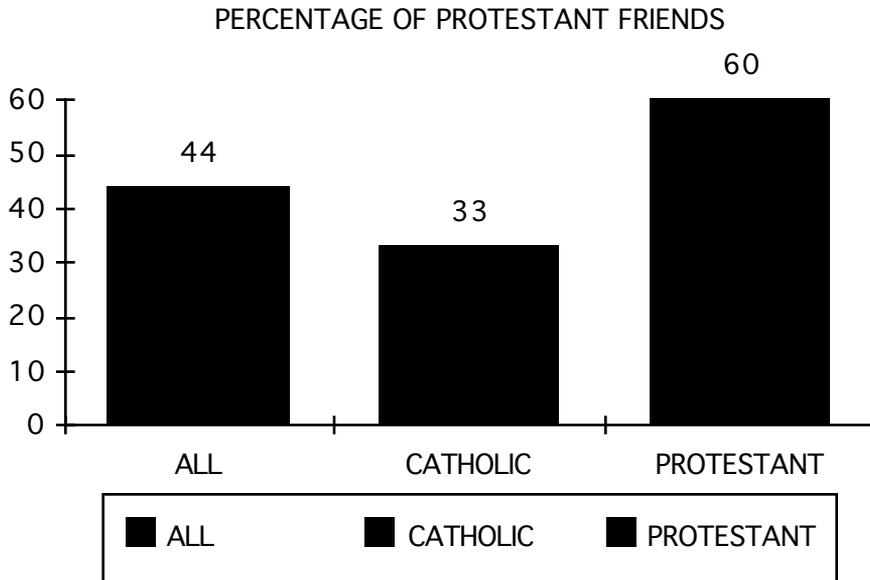
**Figure 39** The percentage of friends chosen from their own Tutor Group and the percentage of friends chosen from the rest of the 5th. year ranked from choice one to choice ten.

### Friendships of Past Pupils

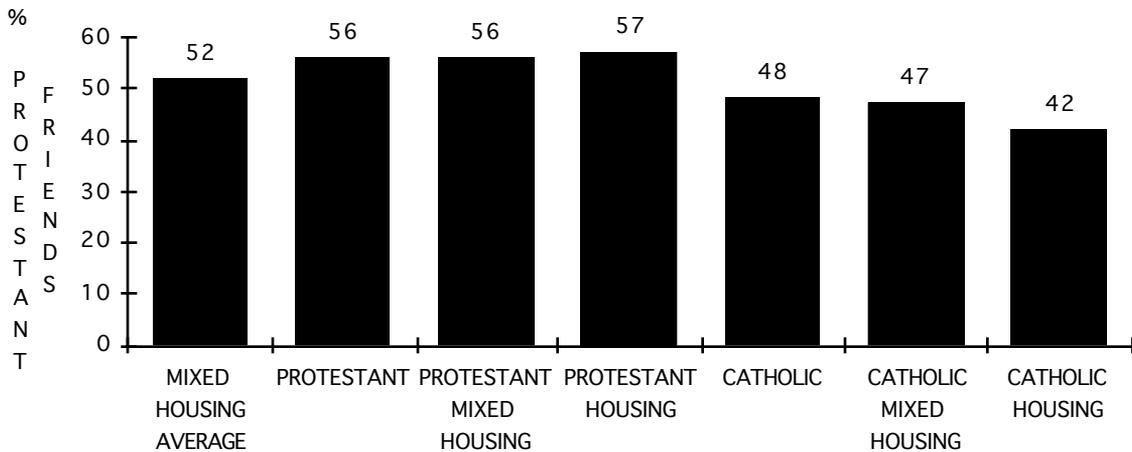
Some of the friendships established at Lagan College may well turn out to be friendships that the students will carry with them for the rest of their lives. This is probably true for most children at most secondary schools. However, it may be hoped that the lasting social effects of Lagan College would not be limited to simply just a few “best friends,” from across the sectarian divide. In an effort to explore this issue I first met with a group of twelve past pupils attending a reunion at the ecumenical community at Corrymeela. In addition to listening to their views on the value of their years spent at Lagan College, I asked them to anonymously list their ten best friends by using their initials. When this was done I asked them to identify the religion of each friend. The results of this “pilot study”

<sup>74</sup> This analysis was completed for 22 students out of a possible total of 27 students in the Tutor Group “5.1.” Clearly, if the whole 5th year had been used for this analysis the “smoothness” of the result would have been even more striking.

indicated 33 percent of the friends of the Catholics to be Protestant, and 40 percent of the friends of the Protestants to be Catholic (figure 40). In this group only one individual listed no friends from the “other” community.<sup>75</sup>



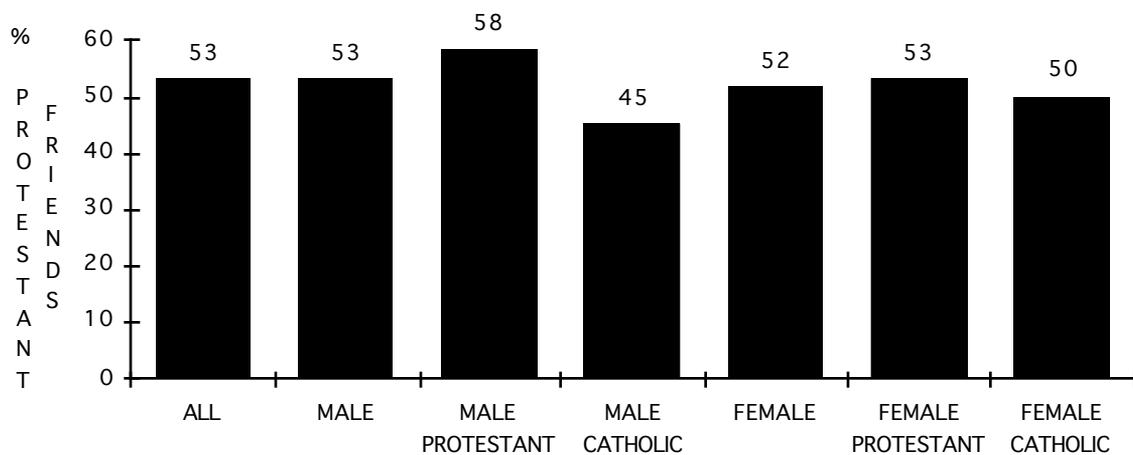
**Figure 40** Religious denomination and the choice of friends for a group of Lagan College past pupils attending a reunion at Corrymeela.



**Figure 41** Religious denomination and the choice of friends for past pupils of Lagan College from different regions of Belfast.

<sup>75</sup> Clearly some of the methodological difficulties with this “pilot study” is the small size of the “sample” and the potential this creates for a bias. An advantage, however, was the informal way in which the survey could be verbally administered.

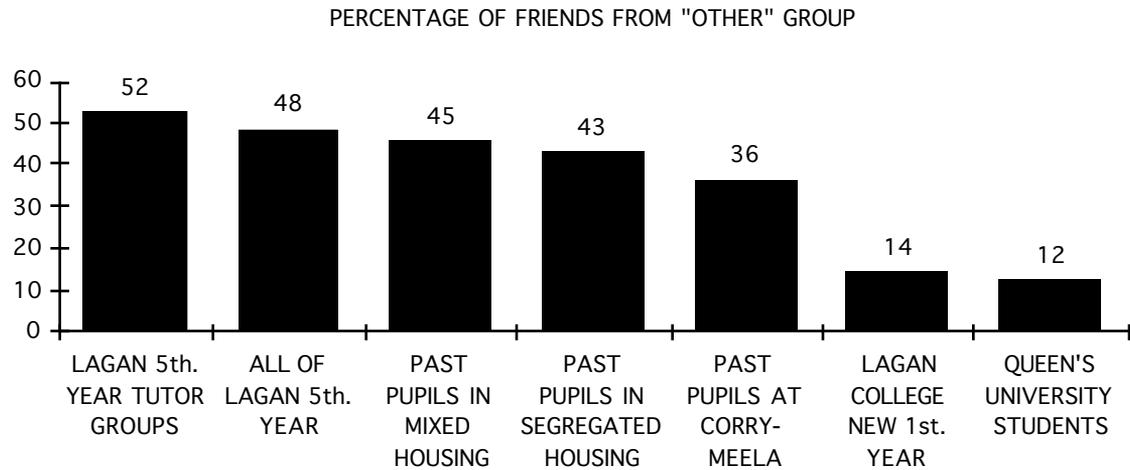
A second, larger, sample of past pupils was obtained with the use of a postal questionnaire that, in addition to the “ten best friends” methodology, also requested information on the past pupil’s gender, age and housing area. Of 270 questionnaires sent out, 92 were returned and analysed.<sup>76</sup> As might be expected, those living in Protestant or Catholic housing areas had fewer friends in the “other” community than those living in mixed housing areas (figure 41). Males also tended to have slightly fewer friends in the “other” community than females<sup>77</sup> (figure 42). In general, however, these past pupils, aged between seventeen and twenty, continued to have significant numbers of friendships on both sides of the sectarian divide.



**Figure 42** Religious denomination and the choice of friends for past pupils of Lagan College broken down by religion and gender.

<sup>76</sup> Although a period of approximately three months passed between the date when the questionnaire was sent out and the time when the data was finally coded and entered into the computer an additional 8 forms were returned late and were consequently not included in this analysis.

<sup>77</sup> The observation that the girls at Lagan College, both as past pupils and as students (see figure 33, The Effects of Social Class and Gender on Sectarian Integration in this report), tended to make slightly more friends in the “other” community than the boys prompts many interesting questions. It should be noted that the data collected by Hughes, for her dissertation in progress (see Comparisons With West and South Belfast in this report), also finds strong differences in the social attitudes of boys and girls. All these results suggest a need for further research and analysis that will have to remain beyond the scope of the current report.



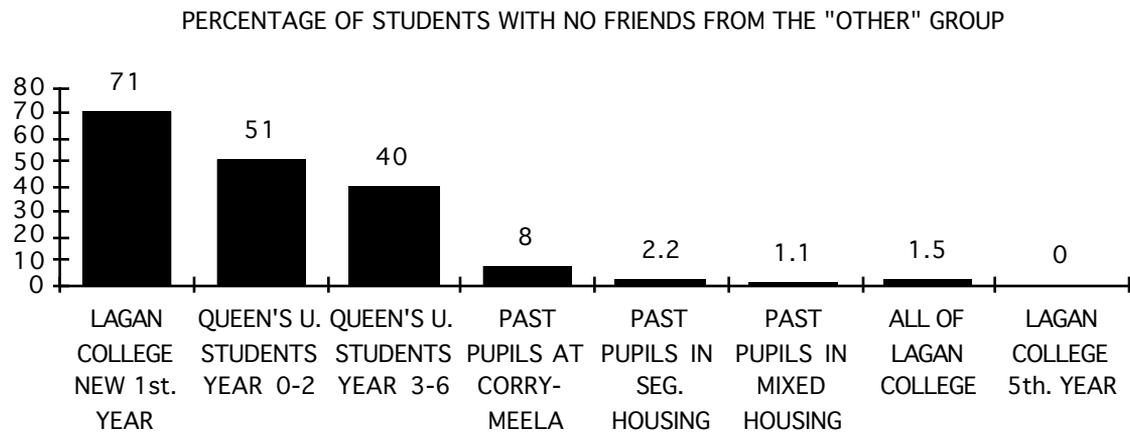
**Figure 43** Religious denomination and the choice of friends for Queen's University and Lagan College students expressed as percentage of friends from the "other" group.

But it must be remembered that this success in maintaining the effects of social integration, amongst the past pupils of Lagan College, is relative, and needs to be put into comparative perspective (figure 43). In a survey of Catholic and Protestant students at The Queen's University of Belfast<sup>78</sup> only 12 percent of the students friends were from the "other" community compared to 44 percent for the Lagan College past pupils. It is interesting to note that only 14 percent of the friends of the new first year students at Lagan College were from the "other" community suggesting that they, and the students at Queen's University, may be equally representative of the social relationships of Belfast residents.

When these same data are expressed as percentages of those with no friends in the "other" community the results range from highs of 71 percent, for new students at Lagan College, to 51 percent for students who had been at Queen's University for less than two years (figure 44). This compares to 8 percent for the 12 past pupils surveyed at Corrymeela, and zero percent for the Lagan College fifth year, in contrast to 40 percent for students who had been at Queen's University for between three and six years. Clearly the prosocial effects of an integrated secondary school education are significantly stronger than the prosocial effects of an education at a integrated university. By the time the children of Northern Ireland reach university student age the best opportunity for

<sup>78</sup> Spencer, A. E. C. W., 1982, Integration and Segregation in the N. Ireland Educational System: Lagan College and its Context, *Queen's News*, November 1982, Queen's University of Belfast. Although this survey was completed in 1982 my informants, amongst the students at Queen's University, tell me that there is little reason to believe that the social relationships between the students have changed significantly in recent years.

social integration seems to have passed them by.<sup>79</sup>



**Figure 44** Religion and the choice of friends for Queen's University and Lagan College students expressed as those with NO friends from the "other" group.

<sup>79</sup> Although the 92 respondents to the postal questionnaire may represent a biased sample of the past pupils from Lagan College it should be noted that even if the best results from this survey are discounted the worst results (namely the male past pupils and past pupils in segregated housing) are still strikingly different from the results obtained for the percentage of friends in the "other" community for the Lagan College 1st year and the Queen's University students.

## COMPARISONS WITH WEST AND SOUTH BELFAST

By Colin Irwin and Joanne Hughes

In an effort to begin to explore the reasons why the Catholic and Protestant pupils at Lagan College make friends with such relative ease, some comparisons were made between children who stayed in their home communities and those who went to Lagan College for their secondary school education. For this study, children were selected from Catholic West Belfast<sup>80</sup> and Protestant South Belfast.<sup>81</sup> When comparisons were made with Lagan College, only children who had attended the same primary schools in West and South Belfast were selected. These restrictions on the methodology limited the size of the sample from Lagan College to a maximum of 31 students so many of the results presented here must be considered preliminary. However, more than 200 students were surveyed in West and South Belfast as part of a wider research project undertaken to complete a detailed investigation into the development of group identity and attitudes in these divided communities.<sup>82</sup>

### Cognitive Development

The extent and precise way in which cognitive development is linked to the development of group identity and attitudes may be an open question.<sup>83</sup> However, understanding the complex motives that underlie intergroup relations and behaviour in Northern Ireland must necessarily require a certain level of cognitive ability.<sup>84</sup> Using Piaget's study,<sup>85</sup> "The Development in Children of the Idea of the Homeland and of Relations with Other Countries," as a starting point, four stages of cognitive development were identified<sup>86</sup> in a survey of South and West Belfast school children, using

---

<sup>80</sup> The area of West Belfast selected was predominantly Catholic and working class characterised by high rates of unemployment and associated social problems.

<sup>81</sup> The area of South Belfast selected was predominantly Protestant and made up from both the working class and middle class characterised by low levels of unemployment and few associated social problems.

<sup>82</sup> J. Hughes, doctoral dissertation in progress, Department of Social Anthropology, Queen's University of Belfast.

<sup>83</sup> For a review of these processes see Tonnesmann, W. 1987, Socialisation and the Study of the Development of Children's Attitudes Towards their Own and Other Nations, in The Sociology of Ethnocentrism, eds. V. Reynolds, V. Falger and I. Vine, Croom Helm, London.

<sup>84</sup> Implicitly the emphasis on the aspects of cognitive development being investigated here are those associated with cognitive ability.

<sup>85</sup> Piaget, J. and Weil, A. M. 1951, Le Development chez L' enfant de L' idee patrie et des relations avec L' entranger, Bulletin International Des Sciences Sociales UNESCO, 111, 605-621.

<sup>86</sup> It should be noted that both Piaget and Jahoda (footnote 92) used only three stages.

face to face interviews.<sup>87</sup> As would be expected, there was no significant difference between the results obtained for these two groups (table 4). Cognitive development progressed through stages identifiable as a lack of any real knowledge,<sup>88</sup> to confused knowledge,<sup>89</sup> to correct knowledge lacking an abstract explanatory model,<sup>90</sup> and finally, to correct knowledge understood in the context of appropriate principles.<sup>91</sup> As Jahoda<sup>92</sup> noted in his study that replicated Piaget's research, there is considerable overlap between the age groups associated with the stages of cognitive development (figure 45).<sup>93</sup> However, most children do not reach the final stage of sophistication until they have almost finished their primary school education. This result suggests that many children may not be able to acquire the more complex aspects of group identity and attitude before they transfer to secondary school.<sup>94</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> 95 children attending schools in South and West Belfast and 31 children from South and West Belfast attending school at Lagan College were asked a uniform schedule of questions that focused on where the children lived, their national/in-group identity, other countries, nationalities and out-groups, the concept of foreigner, attitudes towards foreigners/out-groups and their speculated attitudes towards the informant. Great care was taken not to lead the children in any of their answers to the questions and all the interviews were conducted confidentially in a "one on one" and "face to face" setting.

<sup>88</sup> For example Piaget suggests that "At the outset, then, children have only a simple notion of the territory in which they live, a notion comprising a more or less direct knowledge of certain characteristics, but these ideas are mixed up with verbal notions such as "canton", "Switzerland", etc., which they can neither understand nor fit into a coherent picture."

<sup>89</sup> For example Piaget suggests that at this stage "Among these verbal notions picked up from other children or adults, one finally becomes rooted in their minds at about five or six years of age: this is that 'Geneva is in Switzerland'--- they none the less think of the two as situated as side by side."

<sup>90</sup> For example Piaget suggests that at this stage "children grasp the idea that Geneva is enclosed spatially in Switzerland --- But the idea of this spatial enclosure is not yet matched by any idea that logical categories can be included one in another. Whilst the category of Genevise is relatively concrete, that of Swiss is more remote and abstract: children then, still cannot be Swiss and Genevise 'at the same time'."

<sup>91</sup> For example Piaget suggests that at this stage "their ideas are finally synthesised correctly.--- It is only at this stage that the notion of country becomes a reality". It should also be noted that for the purpose of facilitating this study in the development of identity "correct knowledge" or "synthesised correctly" is defined here as the geographical knowledge characteristic of the adult population of the child's community. An alternative to this methodological or conceptual framework is to understand the child's culture as being distinct from the culture of the adults in the same community. This perspective, which places the stages of Piagetian development in question, has been adopted by Hughes in her thesis (see footnote 82).

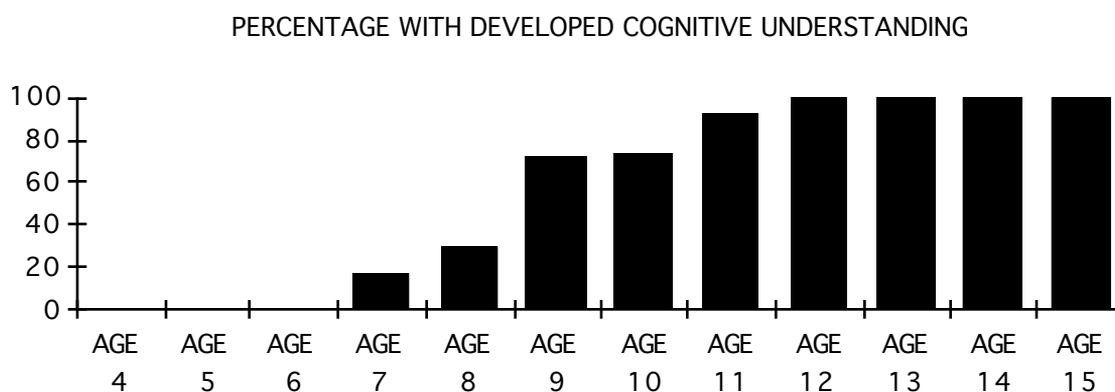
<sup>92</sup> Jahoda, G. 1964, *Children's Concepts of Nationality: a Critical Study of Piaget's Stages*, Child Development, 35, 1081-92.

<sup>93</sup> A more detailed discussion of the replication of this finding is given by Hughes in her thesis (see footnote 82).

<sup>94</sup> It should be noted that the development of identity and attitude may not be limited to the aspects of cognitive development identified here (Jahoda, 1964, *ibid.*).

<u>Catholic</u>	<u>4-7</u>	<u>7-10</u>	<u>10-12</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>4-7</u>	<u>7-10</u>	<u>10-12</u>
Stage one	88.9	3.7	/	Stage one	85.7	/	/
Stage two	11.1	25.9	/	Stage two	14.3	25.0	/
Stage three	/	37.0	28.6	Stage three	/	50.0	37.5
Stage four	/	37.0	71.4	Stage four	/	25.0	62.5

**Table 4** Percentages of Catholics and Protestants at each of the four stages of cognitive development for group identity in Belfast children aged four to twelve.<sup>95</sup>



**Figure 45** The Development of cognitive understanding in Belfast Children, aged four to fifteen, expressed as a percentage of those who have reached stage four “correct knowledge understood in the context of appropriate principles.”<sup>96</sup>

## Identity Development

The development of identity steadily progresses from a high rate of confusion and “not knowing” toward the accepted identities characteristic of the adults of their separate communities. For the 10 to 12 age group the prevalent nationalities identified by the West Belfast children were Irish, 50 percent, and Northern Irish, 30 percent, (table 5), while in South Belfast the prevalent national identities were British, 57 percent, and Northern Irish, 43 percent, (table 6). Although the number of students sampled was small, and their average age a little older, the Lagan College pupils from Catholic West Belfast and Protestant South Belfast also identified Irish, 78 percent, and British, 75 percent, respectively, as their principal nationalities.

<sup>95</sup> This analysis was based on 95 interviews completed in South and West Belfast.

<sup>96</sup> This analysis was based on 95 interviews completed in South and West Belfast.

<u>West Belfast</u>	<u>Seg.</u>	<u>Seg.</u>	<u>Seg.</u>	<u>Lagan</u>
<u>Catholics</u>	<u>4-7</u>	<u>7-10</u>	<u>10-12</u>	<u>11-15</u>
British	/	3.3	/	6
Irish	22.7	46.7	50.0*	78*
N. Irish	9.1	10.0	30.0	11
English	22.7	10.0	10.0	6
Don't Know	45.6	30.0	10.0	/

**Table 5** Percentages of perceived national identity for West Belfast children, in segregated schools, compared with West Belfast children at Lagan College, broken down by age.<sup>97</sup>

<u>South Belfast</u>	<u>Seg.</u>	<u>Seg.</u>	<u>Seg.</u>	<u>Lagan</u>
<u>Protestants</u>	<u>4-7</u>	<u>7-10</u>	<u>10-12</u>	<u>11-15</u>
British	/	/	57.1*	75*
Irish	/	/	/	8
N. Irish	20.0	60.0	42.9	/
English	/	/	/	17
Don't Know	80.0	40.0	/	/

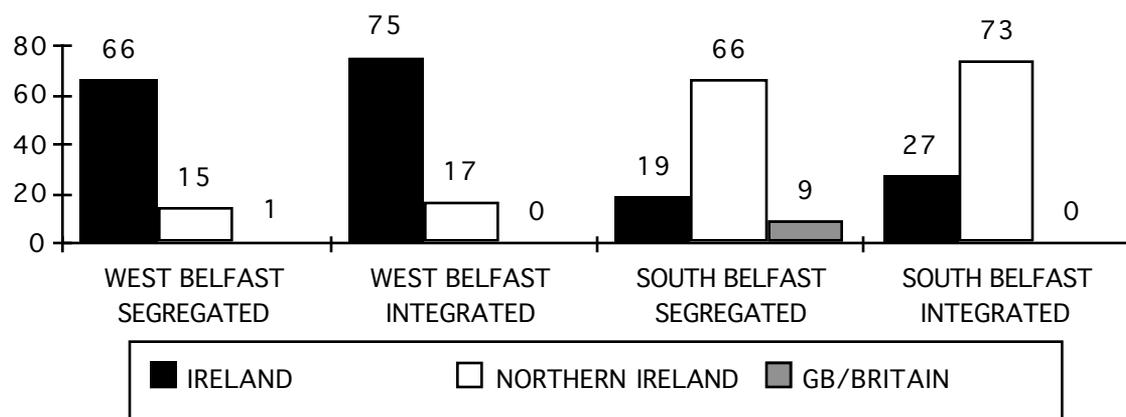
**Table 6** Percentages of perceived national identity for South Belfast children, in segregated schools, compared with South Belfast children at Lagan College, broken down by age.<sup>98</sup>

When a less structured methodology,<sup>99</sup> of writing an essay on “My Country,” was substituted for face to face interviews, a very similar result was obtained (figure 46). 66 percent of the children from West Belfast attending segregated schools identified their country as Ireland, in comparison to approximately 75 percent, Ireland, for the children at Lagan College. The students from South Belfast most often chose Northern Ireland as their country at a rate of 66 percent for the children in segregated schools and approximately 73 percent at Lagan College.

<sup>97</sup> The data for Table 5 and Table 6 was based on 95 interviews in the segregated schools and 31 interviews at Lagan College. Given the limited size of the Lagan data set we only wish to suggest that the general trend towards an Irish\* or British\* identity is worthy of note in a comparison of these two groups.

<sup>98</sup> See footnote 97.

<sup>99</sup> 200 children attending schools in South and West Belfast and 23 children from South and West Belfast attending school at Lagan College wrote essays on “My Country” which were read and scored for content on a wide range of topics. This data was then entered into a computer along with the age, school, religion and sex of the child. Correlations and percentages were then generated for all available variables. Some examples of quotations from the essays, illustrative of the limited set of topics used for this part of the report, are provided in the footnotes. All the children from West Belfast were Catholic and all the children from South Belfast were Protestant. However, one additional Lagan College student was dropped from this sample as he had moved from West Belfast to South Belfast.



**Figure 46** The percentage of children from South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools, who identified their Country as Ireland,<sup>100</sup> Northern Ireland<sup>101</sup> or Britain<sup>102</sup> in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>103</sup>

Both the Piagetian interviews and essays written on “My Country” suggest that an integrated secondary school education may have little effect on national identity. But perhaps this was to be expected as children are cognitively capable of acquiring “correct knowledge” in this matter at quite an early age.<sup>104</sup> However, as the children become older, and this simple “correct knowledge” is enhanced with abstract understanding, more comprehensive meaning, and increasingly sophisticated attitudes, perhaps what may be termed “the collective intellectual content” of what it is to be Irish, Northern Irish, or British develops with the age, the educational environment, and the social environment of the children.

<sup>100</sup> Example, “My country is lovely in parts of it. In some parts of my country there is fighting. My country is called Ireland.” Catholic, Male, age 10.

<sup>101</sup> Example, “This country is called Northern Ireland.” Protestant, Male, age 8.

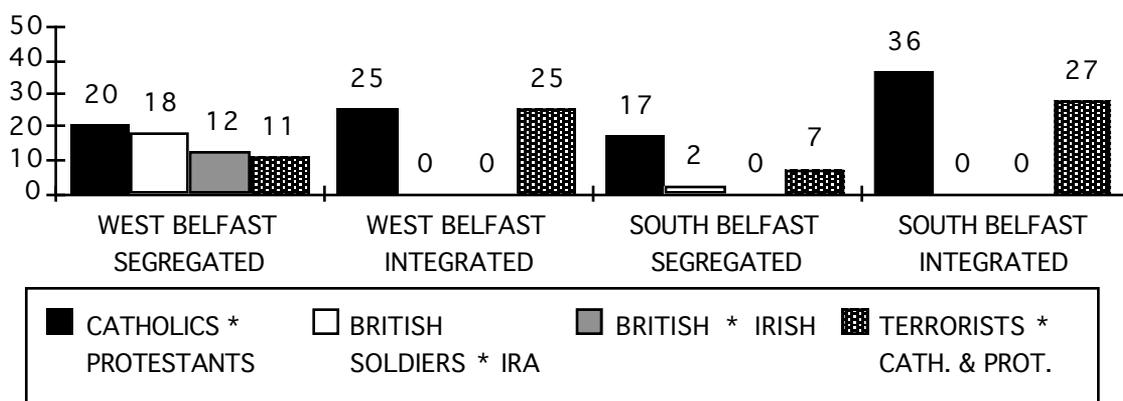
<sup>102</sup> Example, “My country is called Britain.” Protestant, Male, age 7.

<sup>103</sup> The data for Figure 46 was based on 200 essays collected from the segregated schools and 23 essays collected at Lagan College. Given the limited size of the Lagan data set we only wish to suggest that the general trend towards an identification of their country as Ireland or Northern Ireland is worthy of note in a comparison of these two groups.

<sup>104</sup> It should be noted that simple attitudes expressed, for example, as likes and dislikes of groups, unsupported by a rational set of abstract principles and appropriate beliefs, can also be acquired at an early age (Hughes, dissertation in progress and, Tajfel, H. and Jahoda, G. 1966, Development in Children of Concepts and Attitudes about Their Own and Other Nations: A Cross-national Study, *Proc. XVIIIth Internat. Congress Psychol.*, Moscow, Symp. 36, 17-33.).

## Attitudinal Development

In contrast to the results obtained for national identity, there appear to be noticeable differences between the children attending integrated and segregated schools, when perceptions of “the troubles” and attitudes toward the various groups in Northern Ireland are analysed using the essays written on “My Country.” For example, Lagan College students seem to be more inclined to analyse the conflict in terms of terrorists against both Catholics and Protestants (approximately 25 and 27 percent of essays from West and South Belfast) in comparison to the students from segregated schools, 11 and 7 percent of essays from West and South Belfast (figure 47). These results, in turn, correspond with distinctly polarised attitudes being expressed towards Catholics and Protestants by the children in the segregated schools in contrast to relatively mixed results for the children from Lagan College (figure 48 & 49).



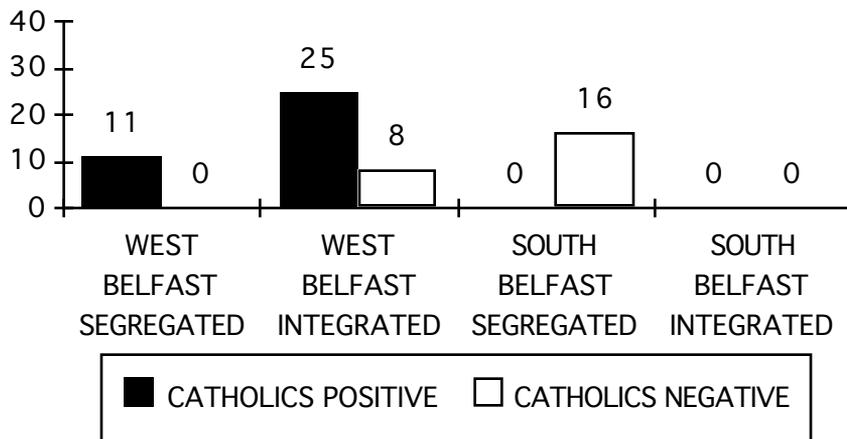
**Figure 47** The percentage of children from South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools, who identified the parties to the conflict as, (a) Catholics and Protestants,<sup>105</sup> (b) British Soldiers and IRA,<sup>106</sup> (c) British and Irish<sup>107</sup> and (d) Terrorists against both

<sup>105</sup> Example, “There is a lot of trouble in Northern Ireland between Catholics and Protestants. They have groups like the IRA on one side and the UDA and UVF on the other. It usually happens when one group goes out and kills someone from the other religion and then that religion goes out and kills two from the other religion, and it keeps on going like that, and it’s all to do with England and Northern Ireland being joined together, but most of the Catholics want Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland to be all one.” Protestant, Male, age 15.

<sup>106</sup> Example, “Many people fight against the soldiers, and they say they will not stop the killing until Britain moves out of Ireland. These people are known as the PIRA.” Catholic, Male, age 15.

<sup>107</sup> Example, “My country is in Europe. My country is beside Britain. My country is at war with Britain” Catholic, Male, age 10 (continued from footnote 100).

Catholics and Protestants,<sup>108</sup> in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>109</sup>



**Figure 48** The percentage of children from South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools, who expressed positive<sup>110</sup> or negative<sup>111</sup> attitudes towards Catholics in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>112</sup>

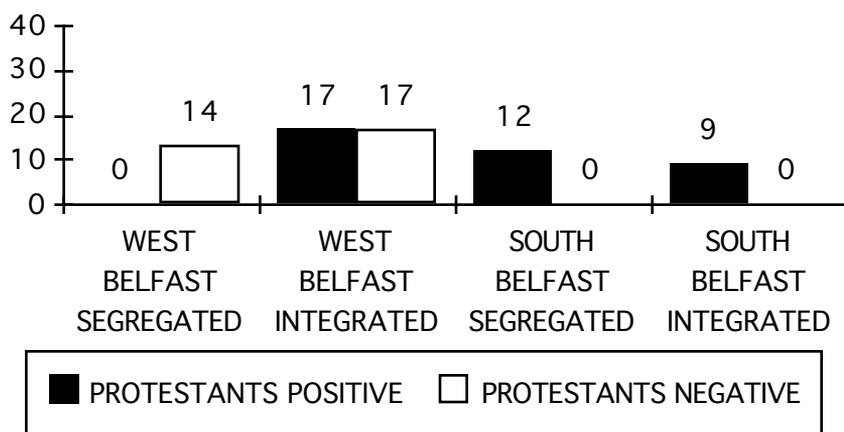
<sup>108</sup> Example, “I don’t like the way the fighting is going on, eg. the IRA shooting Protestants and Protestants shooting and bombing Catholics.” Protestant, Female, age 13.

<sup>109</sup> The data for Figures 47 to 56 are all based on 200 essays collected from the segregated schools and 23 essays collected at Lagan College. Given the limited size of the Lagan data set we only wish to suggest that general trends in similarity or dissimilarity are worthy of note in any comparisons that may be made between these two groups. However, the results have been expressed as percentages as the data set for the segregated schools, based on 200 essays, is clearly more accurate and open to more detailed interpretations.

<sup>110</sup> Example, “ On Saturday nights I would go to the local disco in ..... with a few of my mates. The bad thing about this is that you must get a lift to and from the disco as there are gangs of Protestants who wait at the bottom of the lane to get a innocent Catholic.” Catholic, Male, age 15.

<sup>111</sup> Example, “Today there is nearly a police man or an army man being shot every day. The troubles are getting worse and soon, very soon the taigs will be ruling our Protestant city.” Protestant, Male, age 11.

<sup>112</sup> See footnote 109 for significance and limits of interpretation.



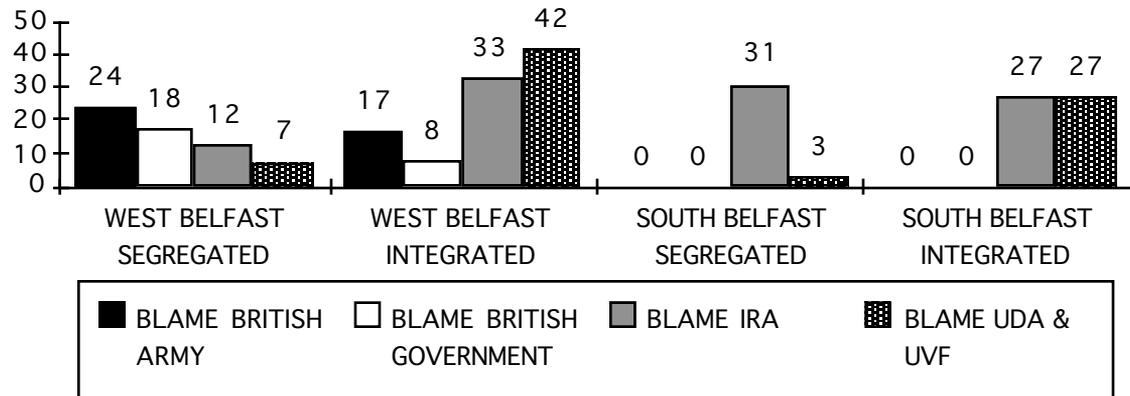
**Figure 49** The percentage of children from South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools, who expressed positive<sup>113</sup> or negative<sup>114</sup> attitudes towards Protestants in essays written on "My Country."<sup>115</sup>

In a similar analysis the students from Lagan College were more inclined to blame both the Catholic and Protestant paramilitary groups for the continuation of the conflict, (between approximately 27 and 42 percent), in contrast to the students from the segregated schools, (between 3 and 7 percent), (figure 50). Although the West Belfast children from both the segregated and integrated schools expressed negative attitudes towards the British soldiers (figure 51) only children from the segregated schools expressed any positive attitudes towards the paramilitary groups, and the Lagan College students' negative attitude towards the paramilitaries appeared to be more consistent and even handed (figure 52 & 53).

<sup>113</sup> Example, "N. Ireland would be a better country if all the Catholics would leave (as Northern Ireland is meant to be a Protestant country) and go back down south or whatever." Protestant, Male, age 11.

<sup>114</sup> Example, "I live on the outskirts of Belfast in ..... I have lived here for most of my life. (My area) is mostly of Protestant domain. There is a lot of young Protestants who do not like me because of my Catholic beliefs... There is a youth centre around the corner from where I live, but it is safer to stay away as only Protestants go there." Catholic, Male, age 15.

<sup>115</sup> See footnote 109 for significance and limits of interpretation.



**Figure 50** The percentage of children from South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools, who identified the parties blamed for the conflict as, (a) British Army,<sup>116</sup> (b) British Government,<sup>117</sup> (c) IRA<sup>118</sup> and (d) UDA and UVF,<sup>119</sup> in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>120</sup>

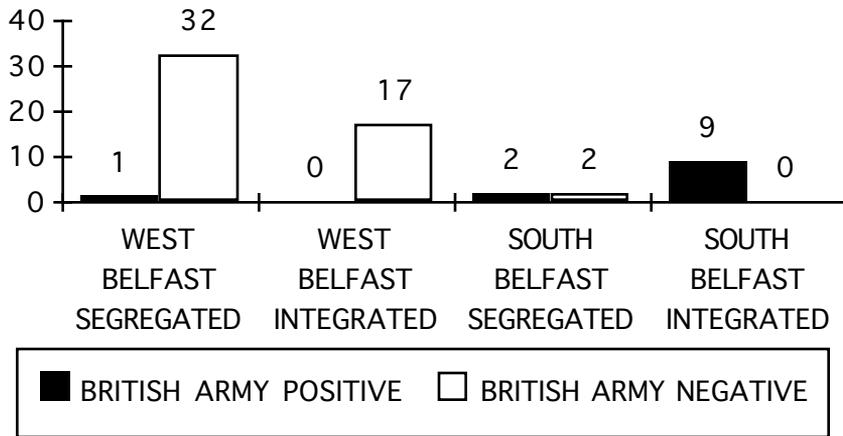
<sup>116</sup> Example, “In June last year my own brother was murdered. I thought the man that done this would have paid for his wrongness in court, but no, in our land it’s British troops, language, TV, papers, food, cloths and law. Now I know he suffers when his day comes God will do what he thinks right.” Catholic, Male, age 15.

<sup>117</sup> Example, “Officially my country is Northern Ireland but patriotically my country is Ireland, without the Northern in front of it. The predicament I find myself in is all because of the British Government. If the British hadn’t been land greedy and afraid of the Spanish My Country would be in a much better state of affairs than it is now.” Catholic, Male, age 15.

<sup>118</sup> Example, “I don’t really like the brits but I would rather have them protect us than the IRA as the IRA are shooting their own people. I hope you will take this into consideration. As I don’t like the place I live in and don’t want to move, but I would like to see action taken as this is spreading to other areas. Because of this (my estate) has got a very bad name and so has most of the people. Catholic, Female, age 14.

<sup>119</sup> Example, “Catholics: On this side there is the Provos, PIRA, INLA, etc. Protestants: On this side there is the UFF, UVF, UDA, etc. These various groups are playing ‘Tit for Tat’.” Catholic, Male, age 15.

<sup>120</sup> See footnote 109 for significance and limits of interpretation.



**Figure 51** The percentage of children from South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools, who expressed positive<sup>121</sup> or negative<sup>122</sup> attitudes towards the British Army in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>123</sup>



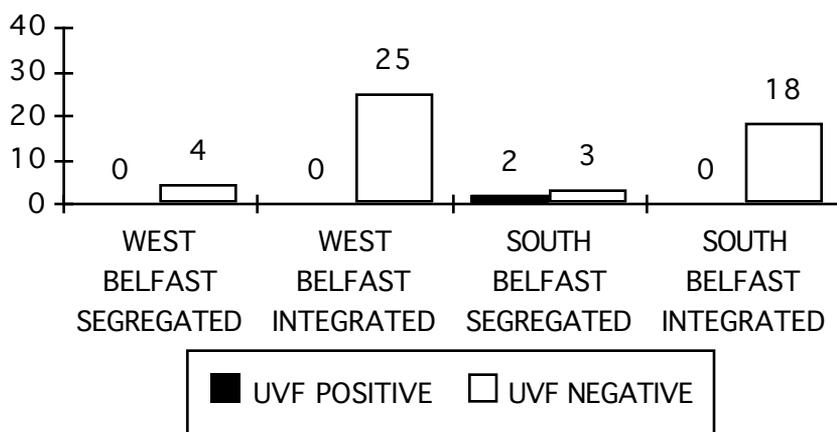
**Figure 52** The percentage of children from South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools, who expressed

<sup>121</sup> Example, “And all this rubbish that Tom King talks about like, the IRA will be defeated in time is rubbish. The government will have to take action or bring in the SAS.” Protestant, Male, age 11.

<sup>122</sup> Example, “ I was once playing football and a “brit” was lying, taking aim on the moving ball, what a cheek,... They stand in the gardens of people’s houses, sometimes lying down with their big boots. I wish they would get out of Ireland.” Catholic, Male, age 13.

<sup>123</sup> See footnote 109 for significance and limits of interpretation.

positive<sup>124</sup> or negative<sup>125</sup> attitudes towards the IRA in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>126</sup>



**Figure 53** The percentage of children from South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools, who expressed positive<sup>127</sup> or negative<sup>128</sup> attitudes towards the UVF in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>129</sup>

The differences in the children's analysis of the causes of the conflict, the attribution of blame, and group attitudes, point to a result that may not come as a surprise. The students at Lagan College more frequently express an interest in a peaceful solution (approximately 35 percent), than the students in the segregated schools (22 percent), (figure 54). However, it should be noted that this positive desire or attitude also corresponds with the students from Lagan College appearing to have a better understanding of the motives of the various groups involved in the conflict,

<sup>124</sup> Example, “In general I am proud to call myself Irish. I am just aggravated at the way the English people along with Maggie Thatcher insist that they can rule our country better than us Irish. Tiocfaidh ar La! ‘Support our Freedom Fighters.’” Catholic, Male, age 15.

<sup>125</sup> Example, “The only thing I really hate is the IRA terrorists because they kill innocent people and they shoot police men just because they are in the armed forces.” Protestant, Male, age 11.

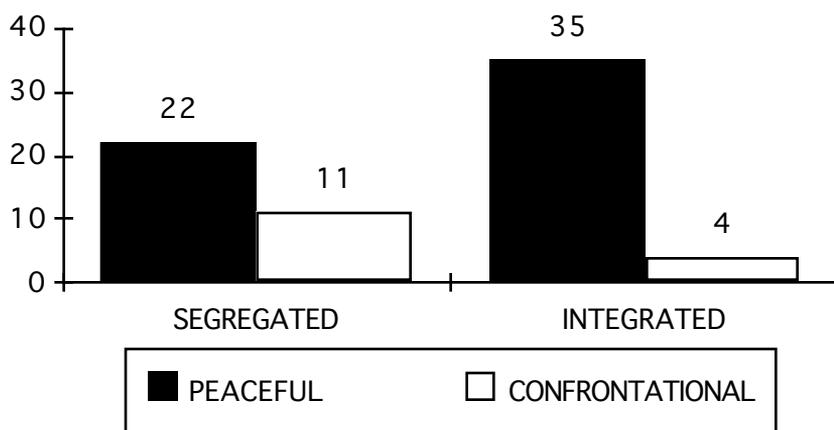
<sup>126</sup> See footnote 109 for significance and limits of interpretation.

<sup>127</sup> Example, “The people of Belfast rely on the armed forces. For twenty years the IRA (Irish Republican Army) in the South have been killing people and planting bombs. Groups like the RUC, UDA, UDR and UVF are trying to stop the killing so Belfast is OK.” Protestant, Male, age 11.

<sup>128</sup> Example, “If more people learned to live together they would help things along. One of the main problems is the law don’t stop it now. So why should they stay? Keep the British army out of our country and it will make things an awful lot easier. IRA, UDA, PIRA, RUC, British Army, Sinn Fein, Garda, UVF, UFF, just leave us alone,” Protestant, Male, age 14.

<sup>129</sup> See footnote 109 for significance and limits of interpretation.

both Catholic and Protestant (figure 55).<sup>130</sup>



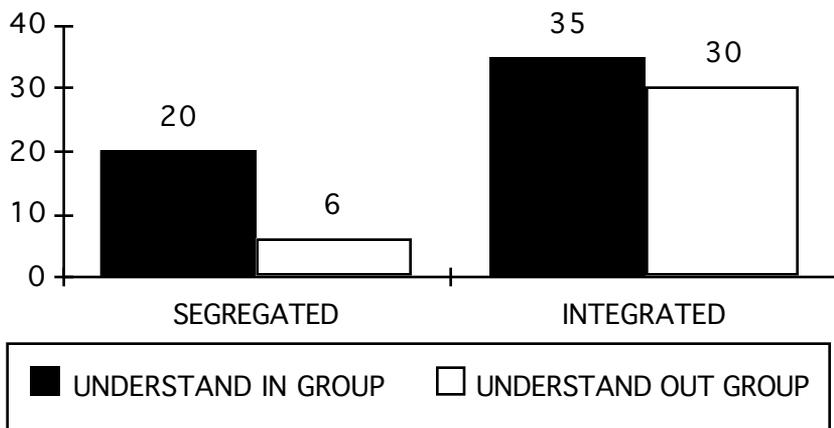
**Figure 54** The percentage of children attending segregated and integrated secondary schools who expressed a desire for a peaceful<sup>131</sup> or confrontational<sup>132</sup> solution to the conflict in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>133</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Haviva Bar, of the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, has noted that the general trend for the Lagan College students to be more sensitive to the issues categorised and presented in these preliminary results is a phenomena she has observed at both Neve Shalom and Givat Gonen in Jerusalem (see this report “Israel and Northern Ireland” for a comparison of friendship patterns between the students of Givat Gonen and Lagan College).

<sup>131</sup> Example, “I don’t like the awful killings and shootings we have in this country, people getting killed for no good reason except their religion. I think it does not matter if you are a Catholic or a Protestant you should not go around killing each other, I think Belfast would be a more peaceful place if the Catholics and Protestants come together and live together. But no one is willing to do that. Maybe some day, we will live in a more peaceful place without all the revenge killing.” Protestant, Female, age 12.

<sup>132</sup> Example, “I know Belfast would be a better place if the IRA were shot and all the taigs were shot. If the shooting goes on then I think the SAS should then come and handle the IRA. I think the UDA are doing wrong but I will not go against them. If this country wants to defeat the IRA we will have to take up arms ourselves. Belfast is peaceful to the south and east towards Bangor, but west and north Belfast is the trouble area. No Surrender” Protestant, Male, age 11.

<sup>133</sup> See footnote 109 for significance and limits of interpretation.



**Figure 55** The percentage of children attending segregated and integrated secondary schools who gave an explanation for the motives of their in-group<sup>134</sup> or out-group<sup>135</sup> in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>136</sup>

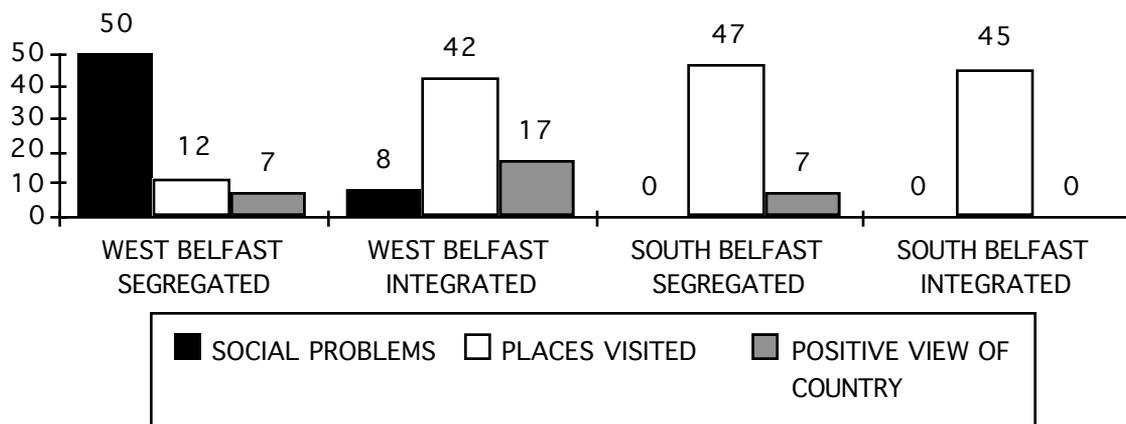
The essays written on “My Country” covered a wide range of topics, that varied considerably by the home community, school, gender and age of the child. For example, “social problems” were mentioned most frequently, and “places visited” least frequently, by the children living in the Catholic ghetto area of West Belfast (figure 56).<sup>137</sup> Having a strong positive attitude toward their life and social environment was very much a characteristic of the younger children in Belfast (average age 9.4 years). Similarly writing about “places visited” was also a youthful trait, (average age 10.9 years). In contrast to these simple interests of the younger children “attributing blame” in the troubles (average age 13.2 years), and attempting to explain the motives of the in-groups (average age 13 years) and out-groups (average age 13.7 years) was an aspect of discourse limited more to the writings of the secondary school pupils (figure 57).

<sup>134</sup> Example, “The people from the South of Ireland would like Ireland to be all one, but where I come from is the North of Ireland and they do not want Ireland to be all one. They would like to stay with the UK, the United Kingdom.” Protestant, Male, age 14.

<sup>135</sup> Example, “The South of Ireland try to take the land of Northern Ireland and that is why the South of Ireland supporters such as the IRA try to kill the police and the army.” Protestant, Male, age 14.

<sup>136</sup> See footnote 109 for significance and limits of interpretation.

<sup>137</sup> It should be noted that these observations are probably due to a combination of factors that would include social class and rates of unemployment as well as religious denomination (see footnotes 80 and 81).



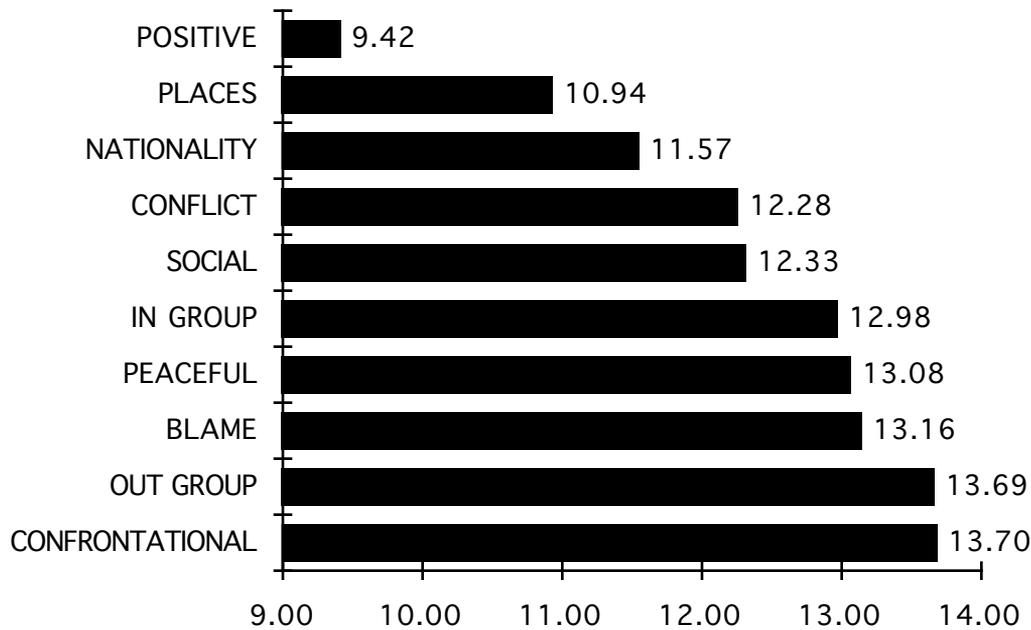
**Figure 56** The percentage of children from South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools who (a) identified social problems,<sup>138</sup> (b) identified places visited<sup>139</sup> and (c) expressed a positive view of their Country<sup>140</sup> in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>141</sup>

<sup>138</sup> Example, “Also boys drink at all the corners and throw away the cans and they write their names and pop groups and disgusting words all over the walls of houses and on lamp posts. There is even hoods that drive into peoples streets and try and show off in front of every-body. One time when my granny was sitting in her chair that’s made for people with bad backs the hoods crashed right into her wall. My granny was thrown of her chair and the chair fell on top of her. I would like all this to stop but how can I, I am only thirteen, but other people can and if they did I would join them.” Catholic, Female, age 13.

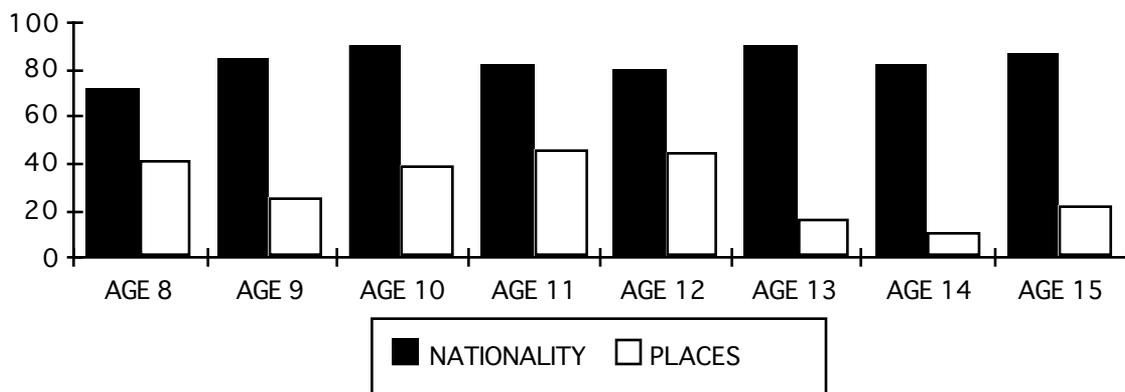
<sup>139</sup> Example, “I like to go to Portrush and Newtownards and Newcastle and Cregagh they are four places I like to go and see. Yesterday I went to Newcastle it was great fun.” Protestant, Female, age 8.

<sup>140</sup> Example, “I like my country. It is a nice country. I love it and it loves me, It is called Great Britain. It is beautiful.” Female, age 8. “The thing I like (about this country) is the people because they are nice and good friends. There is hardly any fights but plenty of shooting.” Protestant, Male, age 8.

<sup>141</sup> See footnote 109 for significance and limits of interpretation.



**Figure 57** The average age of children from South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools who (a) were very positive, (b) identified places visited, (c) identified their Country, (d) mentioned the conflict, (e) mentioned social problems, (f) identified their in-group, (g) wanted a peaceful solution, (h) attributed blame, (i) identified their out-group, and (j) wanted a confrontational solution, in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>142</sup>

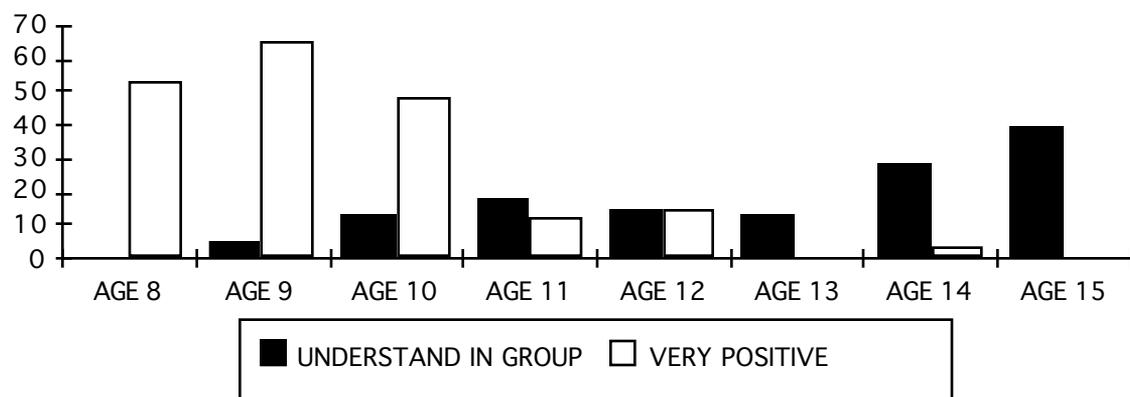


**Figure 58** The percentage of children from age 8 to age 15 living in South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools who (a) identified their Country and (b) identified places visited, in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>143</sup>

<sup>142</sup> This analysis was based on all of the 223 essays collected in Belfast.

<sup>143</sup> This analysis was based on all of the 223 essays collected in Belfast.

When the age of the children mentioning these various topics in their essays is plotted against the frequency with which the topics are referred to, then this sometimes produces a “flat” result. For example, most of the children, in all the age groups from eight to fifteen, identified their nationality (figure 58). This is perhaps to be expected in an essay written on “My Country.” However the very positive attitude of the younger children dropped sharply at about age eleven as they increasingly articulated an understanding of the motives of those involved in the troubles (figure 59).



**Figure 59** The percentage of children from age 8 to age 15 living in South and West Belfast, attending segregated and integrated secondary schools, who, (a) express an understanding of their in group and (b) express a very positive attitude, in essays written on “My Country.”<sup>144</sup>

Clearly cognitive development and the development of identity and attitudes are complex processes that cannot be usefully examined in isolation from each other. As the simplest characteristics of identity can be acquired at an early age, it is not surprising to find that the identity of Lagan College students do not appear to be significantly different from the identity of their peers living in the various Catholic and Protestant districts of Belfast. However, given the age limitations on the development of more advanced cognitive abilities, it is likewise not surprising that the students at Lagan College may have developed a very different analysis of the conflict, and different refinement of their attitudes towards the groups involved, when they are compared with their peers who remained in the segregated school system.

<sup>144</sup> This analysis was based on all of the 223 essays collected in Belfast. It may be important to note that this increase in the understanding of the in-group positively correlates with the cognitive development of a capacity for abstract thought (figure 45).

The previous sections of this report illustrate how the Catholic and Protestant children at Lagan College make friends across the sectarian divide. In this study our preliminary results suggest that they may also begin to develop a better understanding, and possibly even a less confrontational acceptance, of the politics of their new friends.<sup>145</sup> Piaget concluded that “the main problem is not to determine what must or must not be inculcated in the child; it is to discover how to develop that reciprocity in thought and action which is vital to the attainment of impartiality and affective understanding.”<sup>146</sup> Lagan College may well have accomplished a great deal of what Piaget had hoped could be accomplished. However, we see the problem as being more complex than Piaget’s representation of it. Our research suggests that “reciprocity in thought” can be achieved by both “hawks”<sup>147</sup> and “doves,” in either an antisocial or

---

<sup>145</sup> It should be noted that we were not drawn to this preliminary conclusion simply on the basis of our small sample of essays but also on the basis of the Piagetian study in which nearly all of the 31 students interviewed at Lagan College expressed a prosocial inter-group attitude in their “reciprocity of thought.” Additionally the limited anecdotal evidence available also lends support to our preliminary claim (for examples see “A Lesson in Banishing Hatred,” *Newsweek*, November 7, 1988, and “Lessons for Ulster at Lagan College,” *Reader’s Digest*, December, 1989).

<sup>146</sup> In spite of some of the failings of Piaget’s methods and thesis, noted earlier, we chose to use Piaget’s approach in order to allow comparisons to be made between Swiss children and Northern Irish children who, unlike their Swiss counterparts, are living in a society divided by conflict. This was done specifically to explore the relationships that may exist between reciprocity of thought and group attitudes.

<sup>147</sup> Example 1, Female, Catholic aged 13 years and six months. Are there any differences between people living in different parts of Northern Ireland? “Yes, some people are British and some people are Irish.” How does that make them different? “They have different politics. The British are mostly Protestant and the Irish are mostly Catholics. The Protestants usually don’t vote for Sinn Fein, and Catholics don’t usually vote for Unionists.” Do you think this has any effect on the way people think? “Yes, because if we were all the same then there wouldn’t be any fighting.” What do you think? “I will always say I’m Irish even though we are under British rule, because this is our country. I hate the army being in this country, they have no right. The Protestants in this country think differently to us, they want to be British and we don’t. That’s why we don’t get on.”

Example 2, Male, Protestant aged 13 years and 5 months. Are there any differences between the different people living in the different parts of Northern Ireland? “Yes, they have different religions, also some belong to paramilitary organisations, some are Protestant and some are Catholic.” What do you think of them? “Well, the Protestants and the Catholics are always fighting, and killing each other. The Catholics blow up the British and they kill people, then they say they made a mistake. Like at Enniskillen.” Do all Catholics do this? “No, just the ones in the IRA, but a lot of Catholics agree with what they do.” Why do they do that? “Because they want the British to get out of Ireland, and for Ireland to be united again.” What do you think of them? “I don’t like them.” What do you think of the people who support the Protestant terrorist organisations? “I think they are wrong as well.” What do you think of the security forces? “They are good, we need them.”

prosocial<sup>148</sup> manner. Hawks, unfortunately, come to understand that their enemy, like themselves, hates them and wishes them equal ill. Their cognitive reciprocity remains bound by their sociocentric group attitudes. But the children at Lagan College, unlike their counterparts in segregated schools, attain their capacity for “reciprocity in thought” in the mixed social environment of a Catholic and Protestant integrated school where group stereotypes can be brought into question on an almost daily basis. We will not presume to suggest that integrated secondary education provides the only social and intellectual environment in which prosocial reciprocity can develop.<sup>149</sup> However, our initial research suggests that it may well provide one of the best environments for the realisation of this goal.

---

<sup>148</sup> Example, Lagan College Student. Catholic, Male aged 15. “Are there any differences between people living in different parts of Northern Ireland? “Some people might say they are Irish and some people might say they are British” Why do you think that is? “It’s just people living in different parts of town. Like in East Belfast people say they are British and from West Belfast people say they are Irish.” Why is that? “It’s just whatever way they feel. The way they say people should be running the country” What do you think of people who say they are Irish? “Nothing much. Just go about a normal life” What about people who say they are British? “I don’t really mind it’s the way they think.” Are there any other differences between them? “Not really, just trouble, trouble can divide people. Dividing people so it is.” Why do you think there is trouble? “The Irish are trying to get back Northern Ireland and the British are trying to keep it in.” Do you think the troubles are justified, do you think there is a good reason for it? “Not really. I think everybody should just be living a normal life. So they should.” Do you think that coming to an Integrated School has had any difference on the way you think? “I think it is a good idea bringing Catholics and Protestants together because I used to live in ..... and before I came to this school I thought, you know, different about them. But now that I know them, I don’t know why people are fighting. Because it’s, there’s no point in fighting. Because all people are the same. So they are.” However, after a very similar interview another Lagan College student concluded with a slightly different observation about integrated education “It’s not that its made any difference. Its helped me not develop opinions. You know I never had opinions. Locally I’m a Catholic. I was at a Catholic Primary school and everybody was just who they are. We got a lot of religious stuff drummed into us, we would go on and all, that sort of stuff. You know when you are young you just listen. But I didn’t have any bad opinions on anybody or religions. I suppose if I had gone to a different school I would have formed opinions from listening to other people. But here I didn’t form any opinions.”

<sup>149</sup> For example, one of the children who had developed “prosocial reciprocity,” but who attended a segregated secondary school, came from a mixed marriage, and another regularly attended, and had developed friendships at, a cross community youth club.

## ISRAEL AND NORTHERN IRELAND

By Colin Irwin and Haviva Bar

The analysis of the data collected on the friendship patterns of the new students at Lagan College, for the established students during their five years of attendance, for the past pupils living in mixed and segregated housing and for the inter-group attitudes of Catholic West Belfast and Protestant South Belfast school children, all suggest that integrated education may be able to make a valuable contribution towards the long term reconciliation of the divided communities of Northern Ireland. However, in an attempt to place this proposition under some further scrutiny it may prove useful to try and draw comparisons between Lagan College and similar efforts made to use integrated education as a force for social change in other countries.

As with Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, small numbers of Arabs attend Israeli schools for various practical and educational reasons. These students represent Christian, Muslim and Druze minorities in predominantly Jewish institutions. The only full time school that makes an attempt to positively bridge the social and sectarian divisions that exist between these communities is the integrated primary school at Neve Shalom.<sup>150</sup> Unfortunately only six Arab and Jewish pupils, between the age of six and nine, attended this primary school in the spring of 1989 when the data for our comparative study was collected.<sup>151</sup> It was therefore quite impossible to use this integrated school as a point of reference with Lagan College.

However, although the government of Israel does not promote integrated education between Arabs and Jews, at least during their school years, it should be remembered that the population of Israel has been substantially created by Jewish immigration. This Jewish population can be divided into numerous groups, organised by both religious sect and ethnic origin. However, it is popularly accepted that one major division does separate Jewish Israelis into two principal groups. Those that migrated to Israel from the Middle East, termed "Eastern" Jews here, and those that migrated from Europe and America, who will be referred to as "Western" Jews.<sup>152</sup> As might be expected, the cultural and educational background of

---

<sup>150</sup> It should be noted that "Neve Shalom" has three components, the childrens' school, the multi-national, multi-lingual community with Muslim, Jewish and Christian residents and The School for Peace. Neve Shalom or Wahat al-Salam means "Oasis of Peace."

<sup>151</sup> Several more children, whose parents work and live in the community, were expected to be moved from the kindergarten to the primary school in the following year, and a further five graduates of the school, aged ten to thirteen, were attending secondary schools elsewhere.

<sup>152</sup> "Western" Jews are frequently referred to as "Ashkenazim" and "Eastern" Jews as "Sephardim."

Eastern and Western Jews are very different<sup>153</sup> and the Israeli Government actively encourages educational policies that will promote their social integration.

In this context, a school was established in 1982 for “Eastern” and “Western” Jewish boys and girls, aged six to eighteen, in a poor predominantly “Eastern” Jewish district of Jerusalem.<sup>154</sup> During the past nine years the social mapping techniques used here<sup>155</sup> have been employed to monitor and improve the success of the school. The data collected in 1989 for the children aged 11 to 16 was analysed in the same way as the data collected at Lagan College.<sup>156</sup> From this analysis it is now possible to make comparisons between the two institutions.

### Givat Gonen Student Population

Givat Gonen, as a school established to serve the families in its neighbourhood, gives preference to local children and only secondly takes in students from other parts of Jerusalem when vacancies are available. This policy produces an approximately 40:60 ratio in favour of Eastern children in the first year of the elementary school which compares well with the approximately 40:60 ratio of Easterners to Westerners in the local population.<sup>157</sup>

However, this situation is almost reversed to an approximately 65:34 ratio in favour of Westerners amongst the 11 to 16 year old children (figure 60). This is due to a number of factors. Firstly, if the parents of the poorer local pupils are able to move out of the district, in an effort to improve their socioeconomic circumstances, then they often enrol their children in schools closer to their new homes. Secondly, some students

---

<sup>153</sup> Although some Jewish elements, that make up modern Israeli society, do not fall neatly into the “Eastern” and “Western”/origin and culture dichotomy proposed here strong correlations have been found with respect to these criteria associated with, for example, Easterners and “support of the political right, preference of eastern culture and adherence to ethnic customs” on the one hand and Western or Ashkenazi “support of the political left, support of democratic values and equal attitude towards Israeli Arabs” on the other hand (Shye, S., 1987, Social Integration in Israel: Systematic-Theoretic Analysis and Multiple Scaling Assessments, The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, Publication No. SS/987/E).

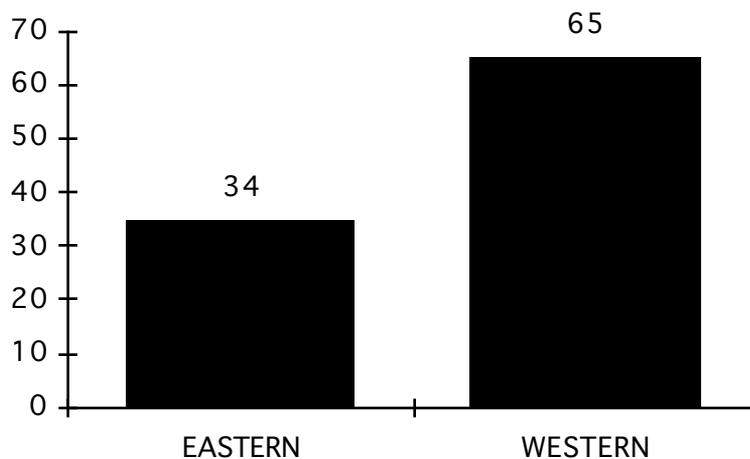
<sup>154</sup> This district of Jerusalem is known as Katamon and has a national reputation amongst the Jewish population of Israel as being distressed by poverty and associated social problems.

<sup>155</sup> These techniques were developed at The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research (see footnote 28 for acknowledgement and this report “Integrated Education: Making It Work, Recommendations-Teachers and Pupils).

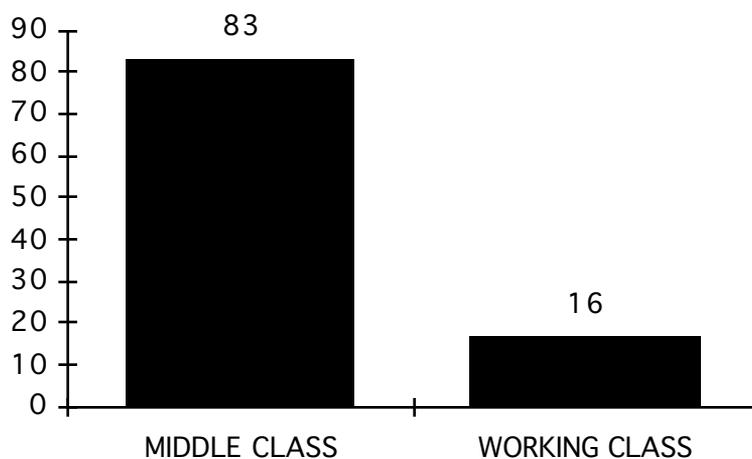
<sup>156</sup> Although Givat Gonen is a 12 year school, for children aged six to eighteen, only the junior-high grades were used in our comparison as Lagan College only taught children at the secondary level in a 5 year programme when our data was collected in 1989. This was done to keep the age range of the students compared at the two institutions approximately the same.

<sup>157</sup> Haviva Bar fieldnotes.

drop-out or transfer to other schools because they are academically weak or backward and are not suited to an education at a “regular” school. Finally, increased enrolment of children from other parts of the city combines with this decrease in local enrolment to produce a gradual process of “Westernisation” throughout the 12 years of both the elementary and secondary schooling at Givat Gonen.



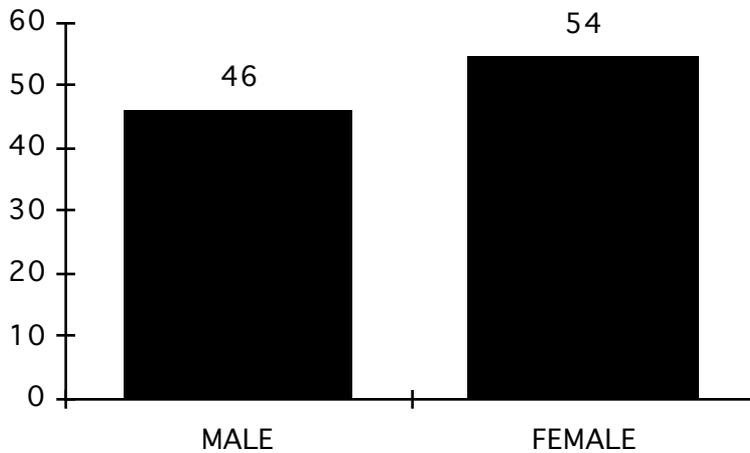
**Figure 60** The structure of the student population at Givat Gonen defined by region of origin.



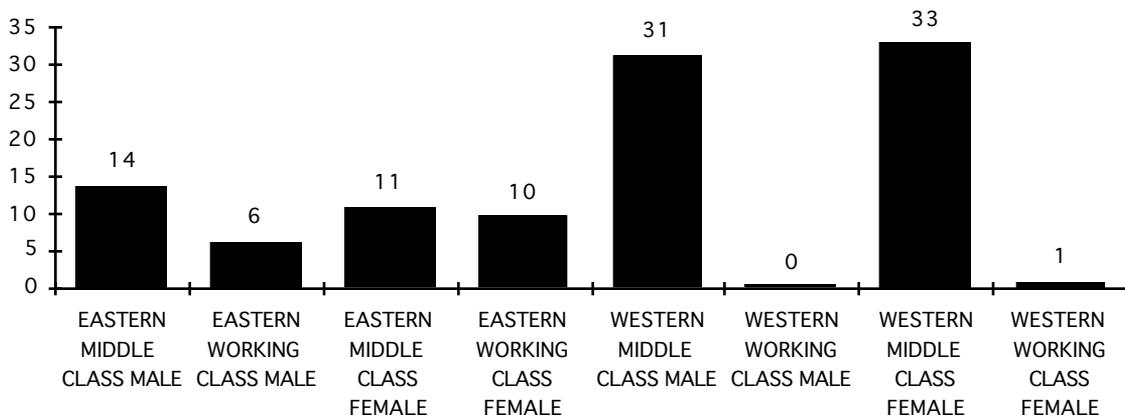
**Figure 61** The social class structure of the student population at Givat Gonen.

As the Israeli middle class is dominated by Western Jews, and as a substantial proportion of the unskilled workers are Arab, the school at Givat Gonen is strongly middle class due to a combination of these factors and the steady loss of Eastern students. When the same criteria for the

definition of social class<sup>158</sup> used at Lagan College are applied to Givat Gonen, the ratio of middle to working class students is 83 to 16 in the 11 to 16 age group (figure 61). The sex ratio, however, is well balanced, with only a slight female bias of 54 girls for every 46 boys (figure 62).



**Figure 62** The gender structure of the student population at Givat Gonen.



**Figure 63** The combined region of origin, social class and gender structure of the student population at Givat Gonen.

When the characteristics of regional origins, social class and gender are

<sup>158</sup> It should be noted that the criteria used to define social class, specifically the occupation of the parents, is only an operational definition created to produce an “index” that will approximate to locally accepted categories of social status adhered to in Northern Ireland and Israel respectively.

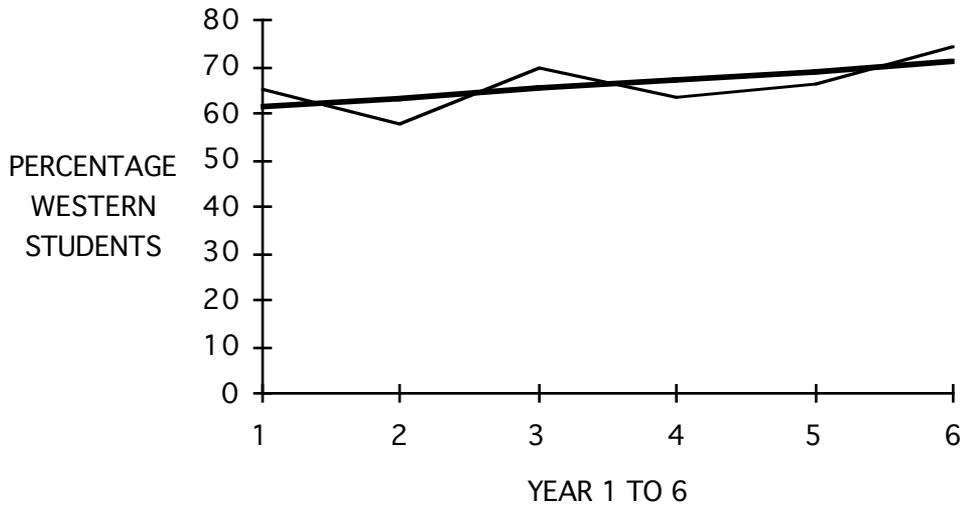
combined, the distortions in the student population at Givat Gonen become quite apparent, with almost all the working class students having Eastern origins (figure 63). In part this is a reflection of the wider Israeli society in which most of the Jewish working class are Eastern and most of the Jewish middle class are Western. However it should also be noted that the students at Lagan College are bussed to a socially neutral school location, from every district of Belfast, so that the demographics of the city has little or no impact on the demographics of the school. In contrast to this proactive social policy the demographics of Jerusalem do effect the social structure of the student population at Givat Gonen as the parents must pay the cost of transporting their children to the school. It necessarily follows that nearly all the children at Givat Gonen who are not local come from middle class families.

As a consequence of the different enrolment policy, the location, and the cost of transporting in non-local students, the “social fabric” of the student population at Givat Gonen does not stand in contrast to the social fabric of the wider Jewish society. The sociocultural divisions, characteristic of the Jewish population in Israel, are substantially replicated at Givat Gonen.

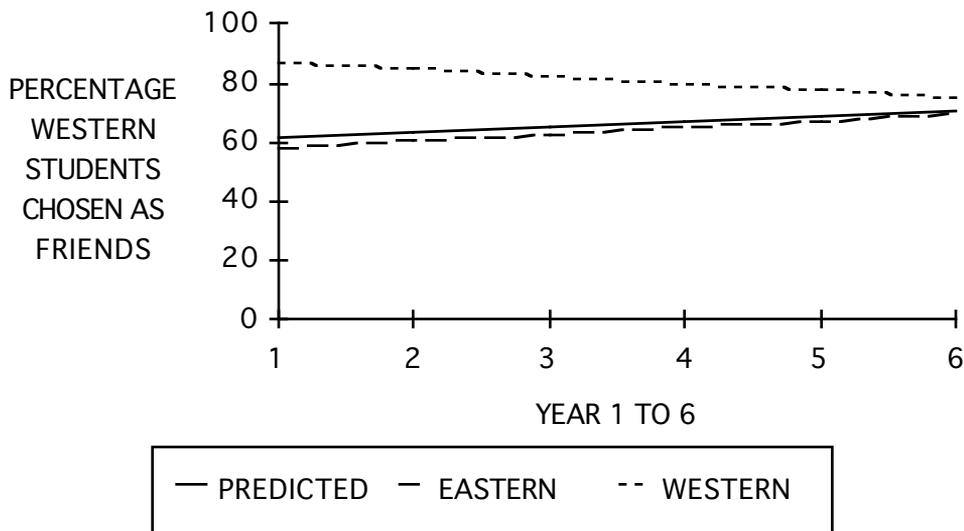
## **Givat Gonen Friendship Choices**

### **By Region of Origin**

As might be expected, distortions in the balance of the social and cultural characteristics of the school do have an impact on the integration of Eastern and Western students. Although Eastern children seem to make friends, with no significant bias influencing their choice, Western children seem to have more Western friends than chance would predict. However the Western students do make more Eastern friends during their years at Givat Gonen, confirming the process of social integration to be a success, although the results are not quite as striking as those produced at Lagan College (figure 64 & 65).



**Figure 64** The “average” structure of Givat Gonen for the age group 11 to 16 broken down by region of origin.<sup>159</sup>



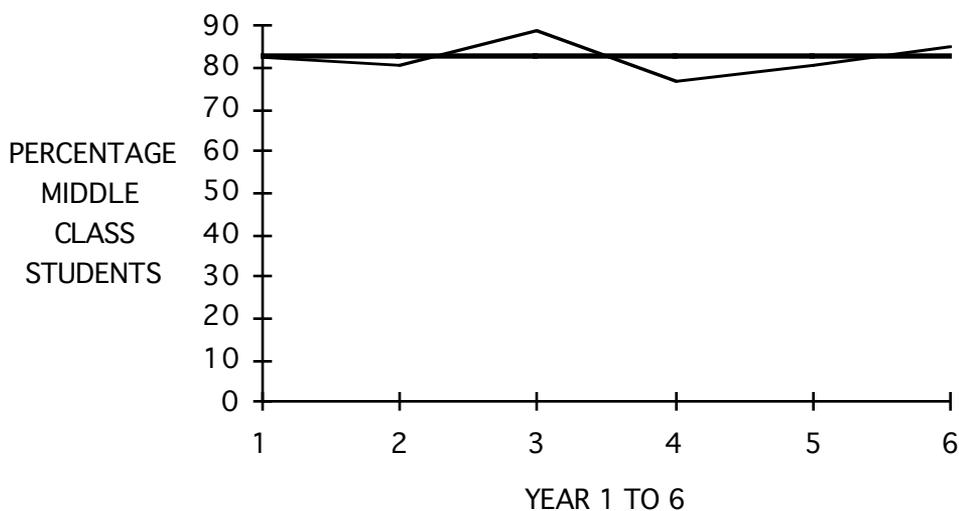
**Figure 65** Trends in integration between students with different regional origins at Givat Gonen.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>159</sup> It should be noted that the presentation of this data as “Percentage Western Students” is quite arbitrary as the “Percentage Eastern Students” is simply the residual of this data which can be visualised by turning the graph upside down. This arbitrary aspect of the presentation of these results is also true for the “Percentage Middle Class Students” and “Percentage Male Students.”

<sup>160</sup> See footnote 159.

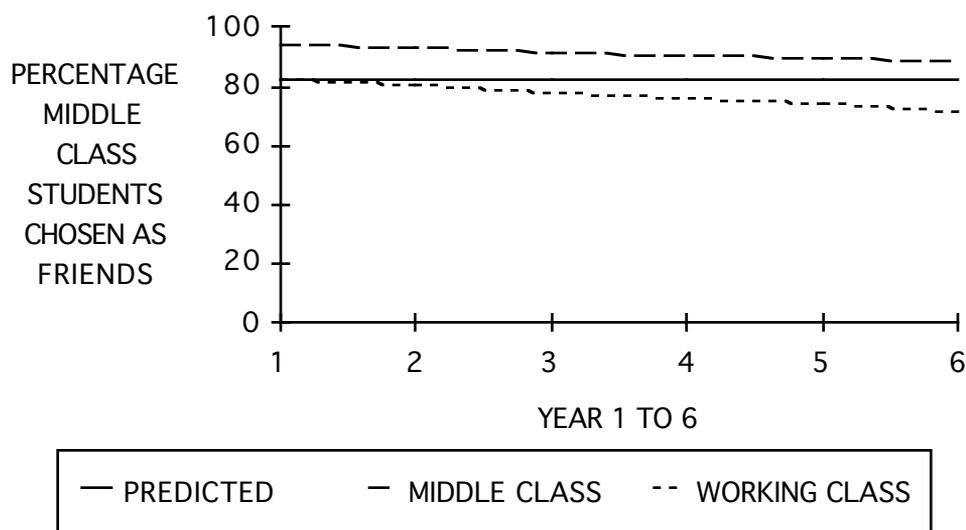
### By Social Class

As it has already been established that Western children progressively make more friends with Eastern children (figure 65) and as the Western students are nearly all middle class while the Eastern students account for most of the working class (figure 63) it follows that the middle class children are likely to make more friends amongst the working class children during their years at Givat Gonen. This probability is confirmed by our results (figure 67). However, the working class, who are nearly all Eastern, also appear to be progressively making more working class friends (figure 67). This result suggests that the working class Eastern children at Givat Gonen are becoming more isolated. If this is true then it may also follow that most of the new Eastern friends established by the Western children (figure 65) are from the Eastern middle class and not the Eastern working class. Perhaps the struggle for upward mobility in this poor district of Jerusalem is influencing changes in the friendships of Eastern children in much the same way as their parents' ambitions to move to more prosperous areas of the city.



**Figure 66** The “average” social class structure of Givat Gonen for the age group 11 to 16.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>161</sup> See footnote 159.

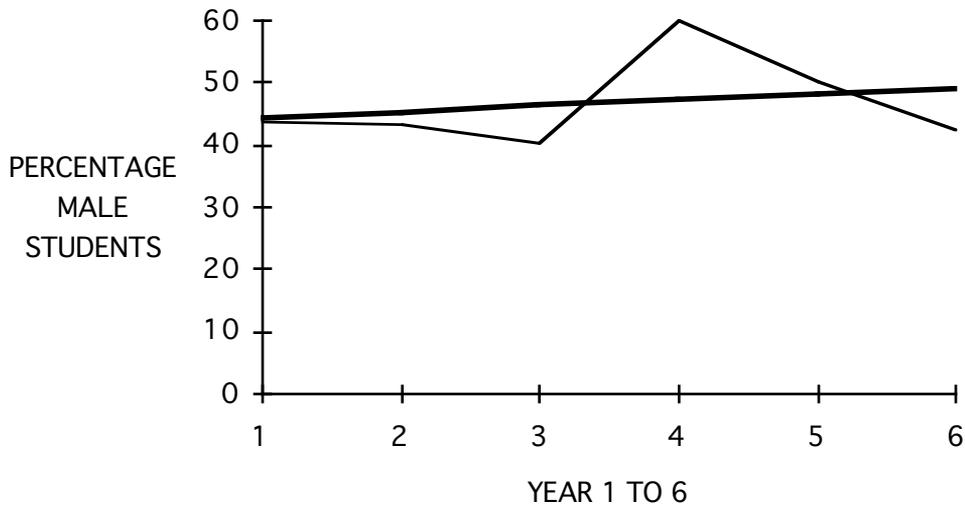


**Figure 67** Trends in integration between the social classes at Givat Gonen.<sup>162</sup>

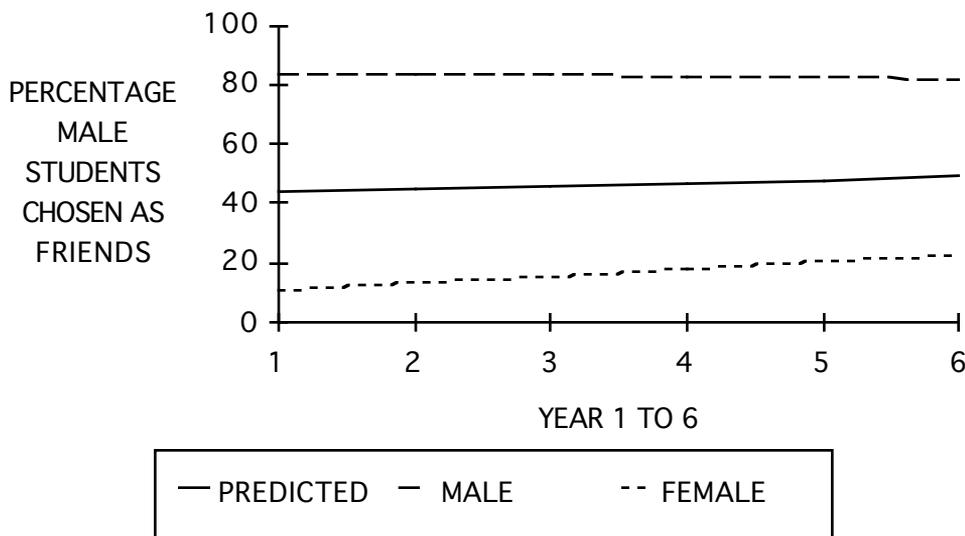
### By Gender

The patterns of friendships created by gender, at both Givat Gonen (figure 69) and Lagan College (figure 29), are remarkably similar. During their years in school, the boys slowly make more friends amongst the girls and the girls slowly make more friends amongst the boys. However the results also indicate that the children at Givat Gonen have more friends of the opposite sex, at an earlier age, than their counterparts at Lagan College. It might be speculated that Israel is a less sexist society than Northern Ireland. But many of the children at Givat Gonen have been at school together since they were six years old, and were not obliged to make a totally new set of friends at age eleven. In the absence of additional data, we are inclined to be persuaded by this explanation, which requires accepting only the simple hypothesis that increased contact increases friendships across social barriers.

<sup>162</sup> See footnote 159.



**Figure 68** The “average” gender structure of Givat Gonen for the age group 11 to 16.<sup>163</sup>



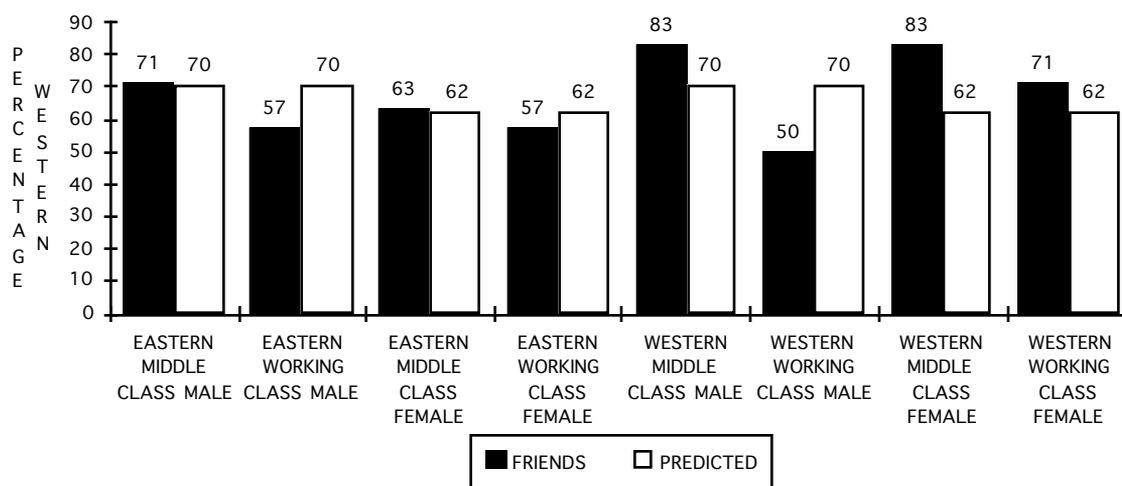
**Figure 69** Trends in the development of friendships between boys and girls at Givat Gonen.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>163</sup> See footnote 159.

<sup>164</sup> See footnote 159.

## The Effects of Social Class and Gender on the Integration of Eastern and Western Jews

After corrections have been made for differences in the proportions of male and female Eastern and Western pupils at Givat Gonen, it is possible to compare the degree of social integration achieved by each section of the student population (figure 70).<sup>165</sup> As previous results suggested, the Eastern middle class make more Western friends than the Eastern working class. However, although the sample size is very small, the Western working class make more Eastern friends than the Western middle class. In contrast to the analysis made for Lagan College (figure 33), these results are not mixed. Social integration across the cultural barriers at Givat Gonen appears to be persistently influenced by social class.<sup>166</sup>



**Figure 70** The percentage of western friends chosen by each group of students at Givat Gonen.

### Comparisons between Givat Gonen and Lagan College

In an effort to further understand why the social integration of Catholics and Protestants at Lagan College is more successful than the social integration of Eastern and Western Jews at Givat Gonen, the friendship choices of all the students sampled at the two institutions were correlated, with their region of origin or religious denomination, social

<sup>165</sup> This correction is the same as the one used for the data collected at Lagan College (see this report "The Effects of Social Class and Gender on Sectarian Integration").

<sup>166</sup> These results, and the corresponding data analysed and presented in figure 33 for Lagan College, are clearly provocative and warrant a more detailed analysis. However, examining why boys or girls, from the middle class or working class, from the locally more or less successful groups, behave in a more or less open or closed manner in establishing their inter-group social relationships, is beyond the scope of this present study.

class, gender, academic ability or eleven plus exam results, and the form they were in (table 7 & 8).

FINAL GIVAT n=429 <sup>167</sup>									
	INTEGRATION	% WESTERN	% MIDDLE CLASS	% MALE	REGION-ORIGIN	SOCIAL CLASS	SEX	ACADEMIC	FORM
INTEGRATION	1								
% WESTERN	-0.321*	1							
% M. CLASS	-0.251*	0.668*	1						
% MALE	-0.020	0.079	0.044	1					
REGION-ORIGIN	-0.716*	0.417*	0.400*	0.086	1				
S. CLASS	0.410*	-0.417*	-0.393*	-0.052	-0.627*	1			
SEX	-0.031	0.057	0.028	0.871*	0.079	-0.07	1		
ACADEMIC	-0.275*	0.348*	0.317*	-0.035	0.446*	-0.463*	-0.056	1	
FORM	0.093	-0.034	-0.102	0.049	0.009	-0.006	-0.002	0.001	1

**Table 7** Correlation matrix for the principal variables effecting the social integration of “Eastern” and “Western” Jews at Givat Gonen.<sup>168</sup>

FINAL LAGAN n=461 <sup>169</sup>									
	INTEGRATION	% PROT.	% MIDDLE CLASS	% MALE	RELIGION	SOCIAL CLASS	SEX	ELEVEN+	FORM
INTEGRATION	1								
% PROT.	0.038	1							
% M. CLASS	-0.022	0.028	1						
% MALE	-0.014	-0.056	0.026	1					
RELIGION	-0.129	0.025	-0.091	-0.061	1				
S. CLASS	0.086	0.055	-0.086	-0.005	-0.068	1			
SEX	-0.033	-0.074	0.016	0.962*	-0.054	-0.018	1		
ELEVEN +	-0.053	0.037	0.021	-0.061	-0.017	-0.163*	-0.046	1	
FORM	0.066	0.103	-0.039	0.008	0.041	-0.030	0.008	0.168	1

**Table 8** Correlation matrix for the principal variables effecting the social integration of Catholic and Protestant Christians at Lagan College.<sup>170</sup>

When the region of origin, social class and sex of the students at Givat Gonen are compared with the region of origin, social class, and sex of their friends, strong correlations are found between the origins of the students and the origins (coef.=0.417) and social class (coef.=0.4) of their friends, and between the sex of the students, and the sex of their friends (coef.=0.871), (figure 71). When similar comparisons are made for the students at Lagan College, with respect to religious denomination, social class and sex, the only strong correlation is found between the sex of the students, and the sex of their friends (coef.=0.962), (figure 72). These results confirm previous findings. Firstly, boys make friends with boys, and

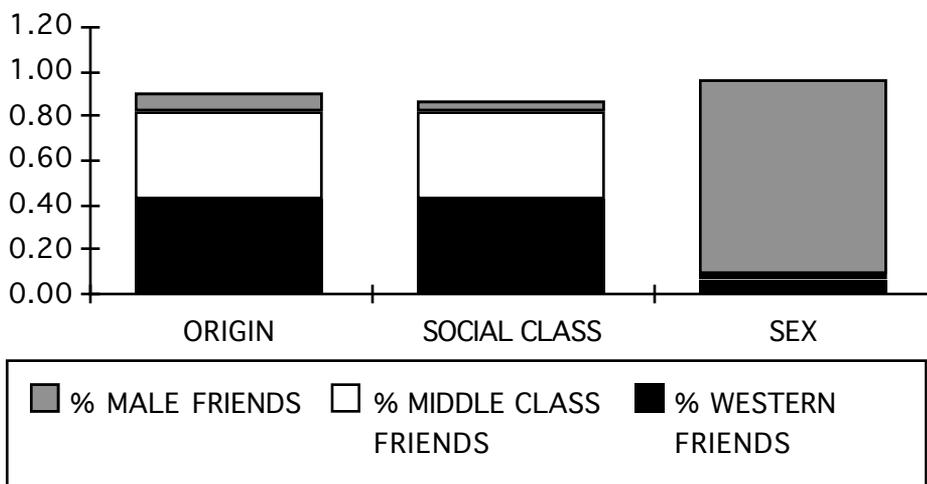
<sup>167</sup> Out of 482 students 53 were dropped from this analysis due to missing data points.

<sup>168</sup> As the value of n is similar for both data sets (n=429 and n=461) rough comparisons may be made between the derived correlation coefficients in each matrix. \*p<0.001.

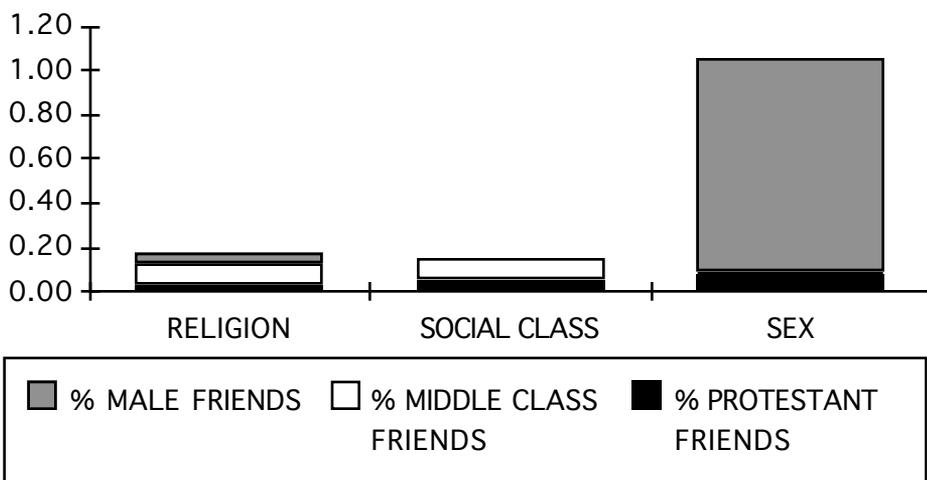
<sup>169</sup> Out of 586 students 125 were dropped from this analysis due to missing data points.

<sup>170</sup> As the value of n is similar for both data sets (n=429 and n=461) rough comparisons may be made between the derived correlation coefficients in each matrix. \*p<0.001.

girls make friends with girls, although the boys and girls at Givat Gonen have a few more friends amongst pupils of the opposite sex than the pupils at Lagan College. Secondly, region of origin and social class have a strong effect on the choice of friendships at Givat Gonen, while religious denomination and social class have relatively little effect on the choice of friends at Lagan College.



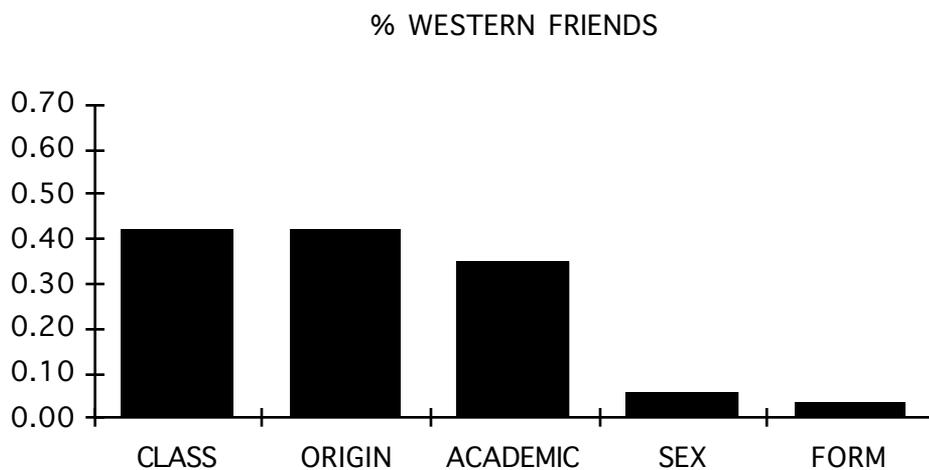
**Figure 71** Comparison of the relative significance of variables effecting social integration at Givat Gonen in Israel.



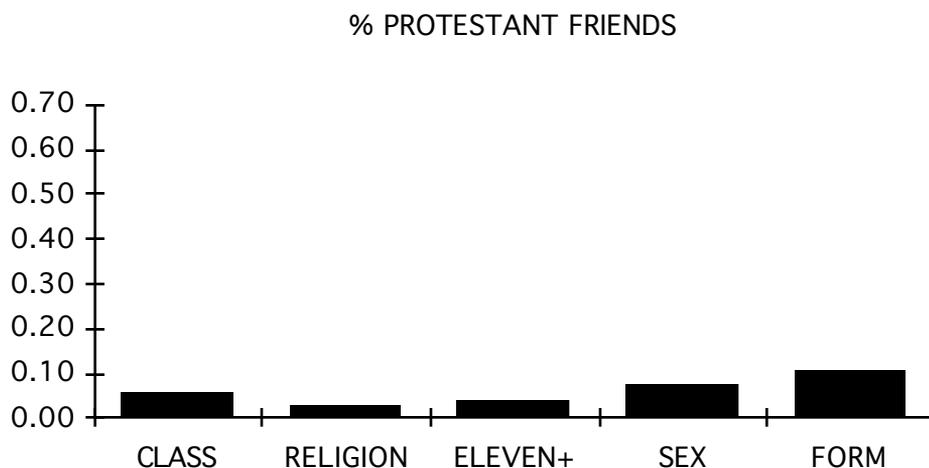
**Figure 72** Comparison of the relative significance of variables effecting social integration at Lagan College in Northern Ireland.

Givat Gonen was established with the specific objective of promoting friendships between Eastern and Western Jewish children in Israel. Given this objective it is important to know how strongly the variables being examined here correlate with the region of origin of the students being

chosen as friends. From this perspective we find that a preference for Western friends, or conversely Eastern friends, correlates strongly with social class (coef. $=-0.417$ ), region of origin (coef. $=0.417$ ) and academic ability (coef. $=0.348$ ), (figure 73). In contrast to this result, the correlations between the religion of the friends of students at Lagan College, and social class (coef. $=0.055$ ), religion (coef. $=0.025$ ) and eleven plus exam results (coef. $=0.037$ ), are relatively insignificant (figure 74). This analysis suggests that choosing an Eastern or Western friend at Givat Gonen can be strongly influenced by social class, region of origin and academic ability while choosing a Protestant or Catholic friend at Lagan College is not significantly influenced by equivalent factors characteristic of Northern Ireland.

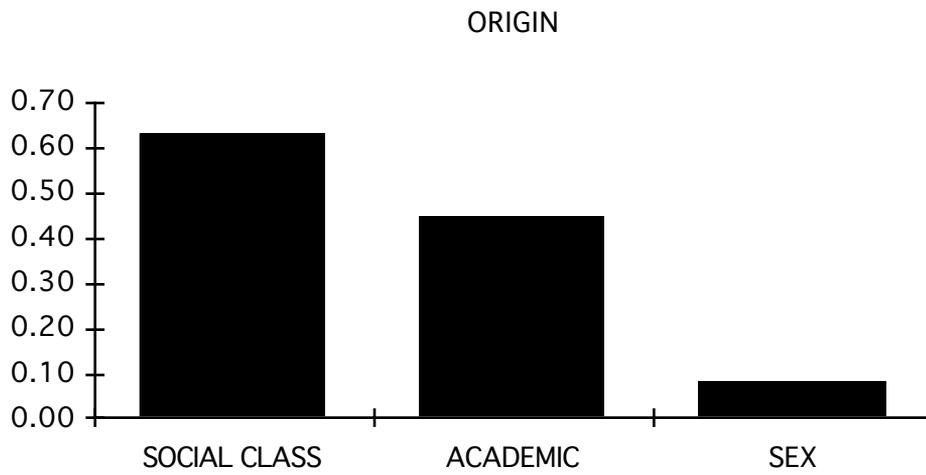


**Figure 73** Comparison of the relative significance of variables effecting the percentage of Western friendships at Givat Gonen in Israel.

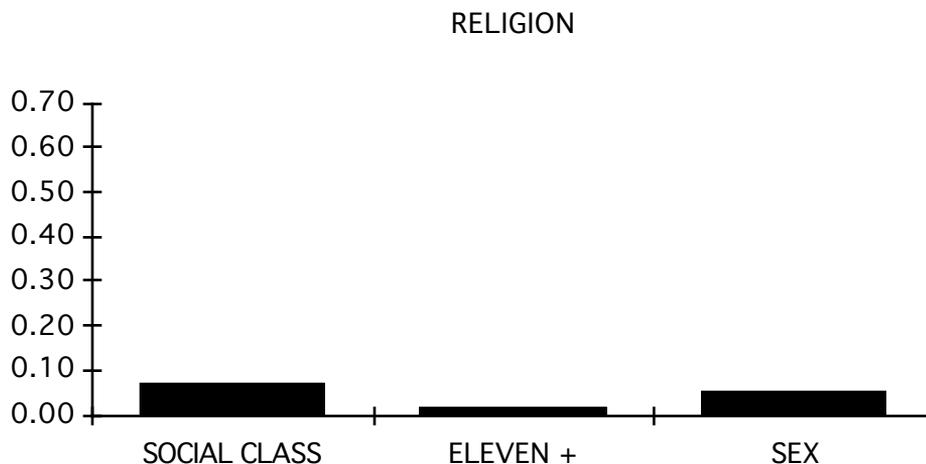


**Figure 74** Comparison of the relative significance of variables effecting the percentage of Protestant friendships at Lagan College in Northern Ireland.

Although a strong relationship has now been established between the region of origin, social class and academic ability of friends at Givat Gonen, this fact, in isolation, cannot establish cause. In an effort to address this problem, two further observations can be made. Firstly, although region of origin strongly correlates with both social class (coef. $=-0.627$ ) and academic ability (coef. $=0.446$ ), the correlation with social class is stronger (figure 75). Secondly, at Lagan College, where social integration is more successful, religion does not correlate strongly with either social class (coef. $=-0.068$ ) or eleven plus exam results (coef. $=-0.017$ ), (figure 76).



**Figure 75** Comparison of the relative significance of variables correlating with region of origin at Givat Gonen in Israel.



**Figure 76** Comparison of the relative significance of variables correlating with religious denomination at Lagan College in Northern Ireland.

In these various comparisons between Lagan College and Givat Gonen, including the social structure of the schools, the friendship patterns of the

students, and the correlations of critical factors, one common element seems to run through all our analysis. The division between Catholic and Protestant Christians at Lagan College is not compounded by divisions in social class<sup>171</sup> and academic ability,<sup>172</sup> while the division between Eastern and Western Jews at Givat Gonen is positively aggravated by differences in social class<sup>173</sup> and academic ability.<sup>174</sup> This situation could have been worse. The divisions between Catholics and Protestants, Easterners and Westerners, could have been compounded by one group being dominated by boys, in opposition to the “other” group being dominated by girls. This difficulty has, for the most part, been avoided. However, the geographical location, the economic restrictions of bussing, and the social and academic characteristics of the wider society, have made a balance in terms of social class and academic ability across what may be termed the “cultural

---

<sup>171</sup> Although proportional representation and equal opportunity employment legislation has been introduced to Northern Ireland the economic and political cleavages that separate the population into distinctive groups still correlate with the divisions created by religious denomination (Rolston, B., 1983, *Reformism and Sectarianism: The State of the Union After Civil Rights*, in, *Northern Ireland: the Background to the Conflict*, Ed. J. Darby, Syracuse University Press). For example Catholic rates of unemployment are higher than Protestant rates of unemployment (Harbison, J., 1989, *The Social and Economic Context of Growing up in Northern Ireland*, in, *Growing Up In Northern Ireland*, Ed. J. Harbison, Stranmillis College, Belfast). Lagan College appears to have successfully overcome this failing of the wider society with a proactive enrolment policy for the students, a proactive employment policy for the teachers and a proactive appointment policy for the Board of Governors.

<sup>172</sup> Although Lagan College do have to make a positive effort to enrol academically weak and academically strong children from both the Catholic and Protestant communities of Belfast, with some attention to denominational balance, this problem is not frustrated by significant differences in the quality of Catholic and Protestant education in Northern Ireland (Gallagher, A. 1989, *The Majority Minority Review: Education and Religion in Northern Ireland*, Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland). If the Catholic community and recent changes in government funding policies had not successfully maintained high standards of Catholic education social integration at Lagan College would have been far more difficult to achieve.

<sup>173</sup> Like the Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland economic opportunities and social class do separate Eastern and Western Israeli Jews into distinctive groups. However, unlike the Catholics in Northern Ireland Jews with Middle Eastern origins are a numerical majority in Israel and are therefore not politically disadvantaged by their democratic institutions. Unlike Lagan College differences in enrolment policies, economic restrictions and the structural characteristics of the wider society combine to frustrate efforts to balance Eastern and Western social class differences at Givat Gonen.

<sup>174</sup> Unlike the Catholics in Northern Ireland “Easterners” are consistently less well educated than their “Western” contemporaries (Shye, S., 1987, *Social Integration in Israel: Systematic-Theoretic Analysis and Multiple Scaling Assessments*, The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, Publication No. SS/987/E). This is not simply due to differences in the quality of formal education but is compounded by different cultural values associated with education and different levels of linguistic competence associated with the languages spoken and range of vocabulary. Clearly, the educational resources required to deal with this problem are, to say the very least, considerable.

divide,” an impossible goal to achieve at Givat Gonen in Israel.<sup>175</sup>

Our research indicates that Eastern and Western Jews increasingly make more friends across the cultural barriers that divide them. However, our research also suggests that increased attention to location, and/or the use of bussing, could increase the success of Givat Gonen, by better maintaining the social and cultural balance of their student population. Additionally, the equivalent of the “Head Start” programme, created in the United States of America to benefit disadvantaged minorities, could be introduced to help bring young Eastern students up to the academic standards enjoyed by the majority of Western students.<sup>176</sup>

---

<sup>175</sup> Although the variables examined in our study, region of origin, religious denomination, social class and academic ability, may all contribute to what has been referred to here as the “cultural divide” a more detailed analysis of the performance of this barrier, with respect to integrated education, is beyond the scope of our current research. Any further analysis should attempt to include a closer examination of the complexities of these variables discussed briefly in footnotes 171 to 174 above.

<sup>176</sup> It should be noted that both experience and theory predict that divided societies are often the first to promote the uniting benefits of external aggression (see Realistic Group Conflict Theory, 3.22, Page 41, in Levine, R. A. and Campbell, D. T., 1972, Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes and Group Behavior, New York, John Wiley and Sons.). It follows therefore that although the resolution of conflict in the region is dependent on the reconciliation of Jewish and Arab interests this goal would probably be advanced by a break down of the divisions that also separate Jew and Jew.

## INTEGRATED EDUCATION: FACT AND FICTION

The opponents of integrated education in Northern Ireland hold many beliefs that are not substantiated by the programme of research reviewed here. These fictions range from the authority of popular myths to the more dangerous categories of unsubstantiated claims and research results taken out of context.<sup>177</sup> Here are some examples of these fictions:

**1. Lagan College is a middle class school.** The analysis of the structure of the student population at Lagan College dispels the view that it is dominated by the children of the middle class. Lagan College students transfer from 149 different schools, of whom 42 percent were recorded as working class, using a definition that shifts any bias in the categorisations used toward the middle class. These results suggest that the parents of Lagan College pupils come from a broad cross section of the greater Belfast community.<sup>178</sup>

**2. Lagan College students do not require integrated education.** Although the parents who choose to send their children to Lagan College may be making an exceptional decision, the sectarian patterns of friendships, characteristic of the new pupils suggests that they may not be very different to their contemporaries in segregated schools. Only 14 percent of the “out of school” friends of the new students came from the “other” community.<sup>179</sup>

**3. Integrated housing is more important than integrated schools.** As the friendship patterns of children are dominated more by the school they attend than by their parents choice of residence, it follows that integrated education is as equally important, if not more important than integrated housing in the development of good inter-community relations amongst the young. Very few Protestants attend Catholic schools or live in Catholic districts of Belfast. However, the friends of first year Catholic students coming to Lagan College from Protestant schools, were nearly all Protestant, and approximately 72 percent of the friends of Catholic children, from Catholic schools, but living in Protestant neighbourhoods,

---

<sup>177</sup> For a review see Loughran, G., 1987, The Rational of Catholic Education, in Education and Policy in Northern Ireland, Eds. R. D. Osborne, R. J. Cormack and R. L. Miller, Policy Research Institute, The Queen’s University of Belfast and The University of Ulster. For a more detailed critique of the principal theoretical objections to integrated education see this report “Integrated Education: A Brief Critical Review.”

<sup>178</sup> During my two and a half years of research in Northern Ireland I do not believe I have met anyone (other than those associated with Lagan College) who did not believe Lagan College was dominated by the children of the middle class.

<sup>179</sup> The suggestion that children who go to integrated schools do not require an integrated education was made by Russell (Russell, J., 1974, Sources of Conflict, The Northern Teacher, 11, 3).

were Catholic.<sup>180</sup>

**4. Integrated education will directly increase rates of intermarriage.** As boys tend to make friends with boys, and girls tend to make friends with girls, it is not surprising to find that on average only 7 percent of the friends of Lagan College students are of the opposite sex. Given this bias in the friendships of children, it seems reasonable to suggest that integrated education will have less effect on the rates of intermarriage in Northern Ireland than integrated places of residence, work and recreation.<sup>181</sup>

**5. The middle class do not require integrated education.** Although I do not consider the difference to be significant, the working class students at Lagan College consistently made a few more friends across the sectarian divide than the middle class students. Clearly any suggestion that the inter-community relations of the children of the middle class do not require improvement, and that the inter-community relations of the children of the working class is beyond improvement, is very possibly a self-deception.<sup>182</sup>

**6. Integrated primary schools are more important than integrated secondary schools.** As the primary school of origin appears to have no significant effect on the success of social integration at Lagan College it would be wrong to conclude that an integrated primary school education is more important than an integrated secondary school education. However, it would also be wrong to conclude that the success of Lagan College makes integrated primary schools redundant. The social effects of integrated primary schools have not been studied in this programme of research.<sup>183</sup>

---

<sup>180</sup> The suggestion that integrated housing was more important than integrated education was made by Russell (Russell, J., 1974, Sources of Conflict, The Northern Teacher, 11, 3).

<sup>181</sup> Although integrated education may not have a significant direct effect on rates of intermarriage an improvement in inter-community relations could and possibly already has as the rates of intermarriage in Northern Ireland have been steadily increasing in recent years from 1.3% in 1943-47 to 9.7% in 1978-82 (see footnote 46 and Compton, P. A. and Coward, J. 1989, Fertility and Family Planning in Northern Ireland, Avebury, Aldershot).

<sup>182</sup> The suggestion that the working class require integrated education more than the middle class is implicit in the accusation that Lagan College is a middle class school and the suggestion made by Russell that children who go to integrated schools do not require the experience (Russell, J., 1974, Sources of Conflict, The Northern Teacher, 11, 3).

<sup>183</sup> The claim that integrated primary schools are more important than integrated secondary schools has understandably been made the principals of some integrated primary schools. For a study of the effects of an integrated primary school education see Douglas (Douglas, S. E., 1983, Differences in Group Identity and Intergroup Attitudes in Children Attending Integrated or Segregated Schools in Northern Ireland, thesis submitted to Department of Psychology, Queen's University of Belfast.).

**7. The social effects of integrated education do not last.** Although Lagan College had been established for only eight years, when the data for this report were collected the quality of the friendships of the fifth year students and the friendship patterns of the past pupils provided no evidence that Lagan College did not have a lasting effect on inter-community social relations. On average, 44 percent of the friends of Lagan College's past pupils were in the "other" community in contrast to 12 percent for Queen's University students of the same age.<sup>184</sup>

**8. Integrated education changes the political identities of children.** Lagan College students from Catholic West Belfast and Protestant South Belfast develop a better understanding of the "other" community's attitudes and motivations, when compared to their contemporaries who transferred to segregated secondary schools. However their political identity, as predominantly Irish or British, does not change.<sup>185</sup>

**9. Integrated education can never work because of the differences between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland.** In the context of integrated education, the academic, socioeconomic, and cultural barriers that separate Eastern and Western Jews in Israel appear to make the social integration of that divided community more difficult than the integration of Catholic and Protestant Christians in Northern Ireland. Although some cultural differences do exist between the Catholic and Protestant communities of Northern Ireland, they are relatively insignificant and do not present a barrier to the social integration of school children.<sup>186</sup>

---

<sup>184</sup> The suggestion that integrated education can not have a lasting effect on children's attitudes is made by Douglas in her study of an integrated primary school (Douglas, S. E., 1983, Differences in Group Identity and Intergroup Attitudes in Children Attending Integrated or Segregated Schools in Northern Ireland, thesis submitted to Department of Psychology, Queen's University of Belfast). The research reviewed here concludes that integrated secondary schools are quite a different matter (for further discussion see this report "Integrated Education: A Brief Critical Review.")

<sup>185</sup> Reid (1987) and McEwen (1990) have suggested that integrated education could produce (1), an assimilation of Catholic identity within Protestant identity, or (2), different but equal respect for the treatment of identities, or (3), the creation of a new agreed combined culture and identity. Lagan College seem to have produced (2), different but equal respect for the treatment of identities (McEwen, A., 1990, Segregation and Integration in Northern Ireland's Education System, in Schools Under Scrutiny: The Case of Northern Ireland, Ed. L. Caul, MacMillan Education, London and Reid, J., 1987, Religiously Integrated Schools: A Parental Perspective, M. Ed. Thesis, School of Education, Queen's U. of Belfast).

<sup>186</sup> During my two and a half years of research in Northern Ireland quite a few individuals have made the suggestion to me that the differences between Catholics and Protestants represent an insurmountable barrier to the success of integrated education. However, it has been my impression that such persons often believe nothing can be done to resolve or mitigate the "troubles" in either the short or long term.

10. **Integrated education does not work.** As with all research in social science, no single study can address all the relevant issues, and answers to questions invariably formulate new directions for inquiry. This programme of research is no exception. For example, studies of integrated primary schools and sixth form colleges, integrated schools in other social settings, and studies of integrated and segregated schools in other countries with different demographics, histories and political structures, would all be welcome. But the separate results of the various studies presented here, the historical record, comparative evidence, and theory, all point to the same conclusion. Integrated secondary education works, and is particularly successful in Northern Ireland. Graduates of Lagan College make lasting friendships in, and acquire a better understanding of, the “other” community, to a degree that is not achieved by their contemporaries in segregated schools.

### INTEGRATED EDUCATION: A BRIEF CRITICAL REVIEW

The principal theoretical objection made against the social effectiveness of integrated education is that formal education can make little difference to the values and behaviour of individuals when compared to the socialising force of a child's community. This would be represented by, for example, the child's family, peer group, neighbourhood, church, youth groups, etc. (Greeley and Rossi, 1966;<sup>187</sup> Salters, 1970;<sup>188</sup> Russell, 1974<sup>189</sup>). However, this thesis is not supported by the study of integrated and segregated schools in Northern Ireland completed by Douglas (1983)<sup>190</sup> who concludes that:

“The change in attitudes at the intergroup level found in pupils at an integrated school appear to be lost within 3 months of attending a segregated Secondary school. One reason that could be given to account for this change of attitudes in such a short period of time is that it is due to social conformity. The children who go to the segregated Secondary school from an integrated Primary school may have to conform to a different set of social norms.”

Douglas, 1983

---

<sup>187</sup> Greeley, A. M. and Rossi, P. H., 1966, The Education of Catholic Americans, Aldine Press, Chicago.

<sup>188</sup> Salters, J., 1970, Attitudes Towards Society in Protestant and Roman Catholic Schoolchildren in Belfast, Unpub., M. Ed. Thesis, Queen's University of Belfast.

<sup>189</sup> Russell, J., 1974, Sources of Conflict, The Northern Teacher, 11, 3

<sup>190</sup> Douglas, S. E., 1983, Differences in Group Identity and Intergroup Attitudes in Children Attending Integrated or Segregated Schools in Northern Ireland, thesis submitted to Department of Psychology, Queen's University of Belfast.

This observation, and the research reviewed in this report, may add some support to the thesis that peer groups established in schools have a significant influence on the development of a child's friendships and attitudes. But this observation is not new as Greely and Rossi (1966)<sup>191</sup> make the point that:

“Social scientists are ready to concede that a considerable amount of socialisation occurs in the school milieu, but they suggest that it takes place, not as a result of formal instruction in the classroom, but in the informal groups which grow up amongst the students.”

Greely and Rossi, 1966

Additionally, in their study of the patterns of friendships of Catholic children in American schools, Greeley and Rossi (1966)<sup>192</sup> are drawn to the conclusion that children in Catholic schools do make more Catholic friends than children in public schools and that:

“there is, therefore, support for the idea that religious mingling at the high-school level will increase friendship ties across religious lines.”

Greely and Rossi, 1966

However Greely and Rossi (1966) go on to conclude that: “No confirmation was found for the notion that Catholic schools are divisive” and for this reason the critics of integrated education in Northern Ireland (see Loughran, 1987, for a review)<sup>193</sup> continue to refer to Greely and Rossi (1966) in support of their case. How is the discrepancy between the conclusions of the research reviewed in this report and the conclusions of Greely and Rossi (1966) to be explained. The answer may lie in an observation made by Salters (1970):<sup>194</sup>

“Strictly speaking, the findings of sociological research are relevant only to the culture in which they are made.”<sup>195</sup> That Graham's

---

<sup>191</sup> Greeley, A. M. and Rossi, P. H., 1966, The Education of Catholic Americans, Aldine Press, Chicago.

<sup>192</sup> Greeley, A. M. and Rossi, P. H., 1966, *Ibid.*

<sup>193</sup> Loughran, G., 1987, The Rational of Catholic Education, in Education and Policy in Northern Ireland, Eds. R. D. Osborne, R. J. Cormack and R. L. Miller, Policy Research Institute, The Queen's University of Belfast and The University of Ulster.

<sup>194</sup> Salters, J., 1970, Attitudes Towards Society in Protestant and Roman Catholic Schoolchildren in Belfast, Unpub., M. Ed. Thesis, Queen's University of Belfast.

<sup>195</sup> I do not think this limitation applies to studies that deliberately set out to be comparative in an effort to examine the differences between societies. The comparison made in this report, between Lagan College, Belfast and Givat Gonen, Jerusalem, is an example of such a methodology.

(1968)<sup>196</sup> findings in Northern Ireland run contrary to most of the American studies is a reminder that questions posed by the dual system (of education) in Northern Ireland must be approached by research carried out in this country.”

Salters, 1970

Although Salters (1970) then attempts to overcome this problem in his study of “Attitudes Towards Society in Protestant and Roman Catholic School Children in Belfast” his research does not include an analysis of patterns of friendship, which are part of both the programme of research reviewed in this report and the Greely and Rossi (1966)<sup>197</sup> research. He also does not make a comparative study of integrated and segregated schools, as has been done here, and by Greely and Rossi (1966) in their comparison of Catholic and mixed public schools in America and by Douglas (1983) in her study of integrated “Mill” schools and segregated schools in Northern Ireland. If either Salters (1970)<sup>198</sup> or Russell (1974)<sup>199</sup> had done this then they may not have been drawn to the apparently false conclusion that integrated education is of little or no value with respect to the improvement of inter-community relations in the Province of Ulster.

However, even if sociocultural differences, between North America and Northern Ireland, can account for the differences in our respective conclusions, one is still bound to ask what the critical differences between the two societies might be. In his comparative study of community relations in New Brunswick and Northern Ireland Auger (1981)<sup>200</sup> pointed out that many of the social, economic and political divisions fall **along** the Catholic/Protestant divide in Northern Ireland while they cut **across** the Catholic/Protestant divide in New Brunswick. The same may be true of North America where the principal lines of social division are not always religious but may be ethnic and racial. In such a situation ethnic and racial differences could actually increase religious mixing when the members of different religious groups come from the same ethnic or racial groups. For example, this may be true of Catholic and Protestant North American Ethnic Irish.

It may also be important to draw attention to some methodological issues that may be relevant to the different interpretations of our separate

---

<sup>196</sup> Graham, E. J., 1968, Prejudice in Outgroup Attitudes, Department of Psychology, Queen’s University of Belfast.

<sup>197</sup> Greeley, A. M. and Rossi, P. H., 1966, The Education of Catholic Americans, Aldine Press, Chicago.

<sup>198</sup> Salters, J., 1970, Attitudes Towards Society in Protestant and Roman Catholic Schoolchildren in Belfast, Unpub., M. Ed. Thesis, Queen’s University of Belfast.

<sup>199</sup> Russell, J., 1974, Sources of Conflict, The Northern Teacher, 11, 3

<sup>200</sup> Auger, E. A., 1981, In Search of Political Stability: A Comparative Study of New Brunswick and Northern Ireland, McGill-Queen’s University Press, Montreal.

results. Firstly, as Greely and Rossi (1966)<sup>201</sup> are careful to explain, their comparison between Catholics in Catholic schools and Catholics in public schools may have produced similar results because:

“in many of the immigrant neighbourhoods in large metropolitan areas most of the young people attending public schools were Catholics too.”

Greely and Rossi, 1966

This observation highlights a second difficulty with the Greely and Rossi (1966) research, namely, as well as making little effort to allow for the ratio of Catholics to non-Catholics in the mixed schools that they studied they also did not allow for this ratio in either the neighbourhoods where their informants lived or their cities and states as a whole. The interpretation of their results would have been made much easier if they had been placed in such a context that provided a ratio of the “potential” for both Catholic and non-Catholic friends. It is against this “potential” that biases can most accurately be assessed. However, perhaps Greely and Rossi (1966) did not do this because they did not consider it to be important as they held the view that:

“the homogenising forces within an industrial culture (mass media, common life style, frequent interaction in the work environment, breakdown of immigrant ghettos) ought to be strong enough to overcome whatever “divisive” influence a separate school system might have.”

Greely and Rossi, 1966

Of course this may be true of North America, but as the studies of increased residential polarisation in Belfast have shown (Darby, J. and Morris, G., 1974;<sup>202</sup> Boal, F. et al., 1976;<sup>203</sup> Boal, F., 1982;<sup>204</sup> Kennedy, L., 1986<sup>205</sup>) these homogenising forces do not exist in Northern Ireland. Perhaps the efficacy of the informal aspects of formal education in divided societies, such as the role of the school in the community and the establishment of peer groups, have been significantly underestimated by

---

<sup>201</sup> Greeley, A. M. and Rossi, P. H., 1966, The Education of Catholic Americans, Aldine Press, Chicago.

<sup>202</sup> Darby, J. and Morris, G. 1974, Intimidation in Housing, Northern Ireland Community Relations Commission, Belfast.

<sup>203</sup> Boal, F. et al., 1976, Religious Residential Segregation and Residential Decision Making in the Belfast Urban Area, Final Report to the Social Science Research Council (Available from the National Lending Library, Boston Spa, Yorkshire).

<sup>204</sup> Boal, F., 1982, Segregating and Mixing: Space and Residence in Belfast, in F. Boal and J. Douglas (Eds.) Integration an Division: Geographical Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Problem, Academic Press, London.

<sup>205</sup> Kennedy, L., 1986, Two Ulsters: A Case For Repartition, The Queen’s University of Belfast.

the critics of integrated education. If this is true then schools like Lagan College may have the potential to produce a far more positive effect on the improvement of inter-community relations in Northern Ireland than Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) alone. As the principal focus of EMU is on the more formal aspects of education associated with curricular reform.

Having said this, I would not wish my comments, or the results of the Douglas (1983)<sup>206</sup> study, to be regarded as a criticism of EMU or integrated primary schools. Although the research reviewed in this report illustrates the effectiveness of integrated education at the secondary level these findings do not lead to the conclusion that EMU and integrated primary schools are totally ineffective. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that they are, relatively speaking, probably less effective.<sup>207</sup>

In this view integrated secondary schools, with carefully balanced classes and staff, coupled with integrated primary schools and a common curricular, are seen as an educational ideal for the improvement of inter-community relations in divided societies. By way of contrast, a segregated primary and secondary education, without EMU, is seen as the worst of possible educational worlds. In the real world, between the educational ideal and its antithesis, there can be little doubt that EMU and integrated primary schools have important roles to play. However, I do wish to suggest that the benefits that the children of Northern Ireland may receive from an integrated primary school education, or Education for Mutual Understanding, would be greatly enhanced and significantly extended if those same children were provided with the opportunity and benefits of an education at an integrated secondary school, during the critical years that mark their transition from childhood to young adults.<sup>208</sup>

---

<sup>206</sup> Douglas, S. E., 1983, Differences in Group Identity and Intergroup Attitudes in Children Attending Integrated or Segregated Schools in Northern Ireland, thesis submitted to Department of Psychology, Queen's University of Belfast.

<sup>207</sup> Although I have little doubt about the essential truth of this statement with respect to the education of individuals it should be noted that while the availability of integrated secondary education is limited EMU may have an important role to play so long as it has the potential to reach a wider audience and the contact schemes executed under EMU are positive in character(see footnote number 32).

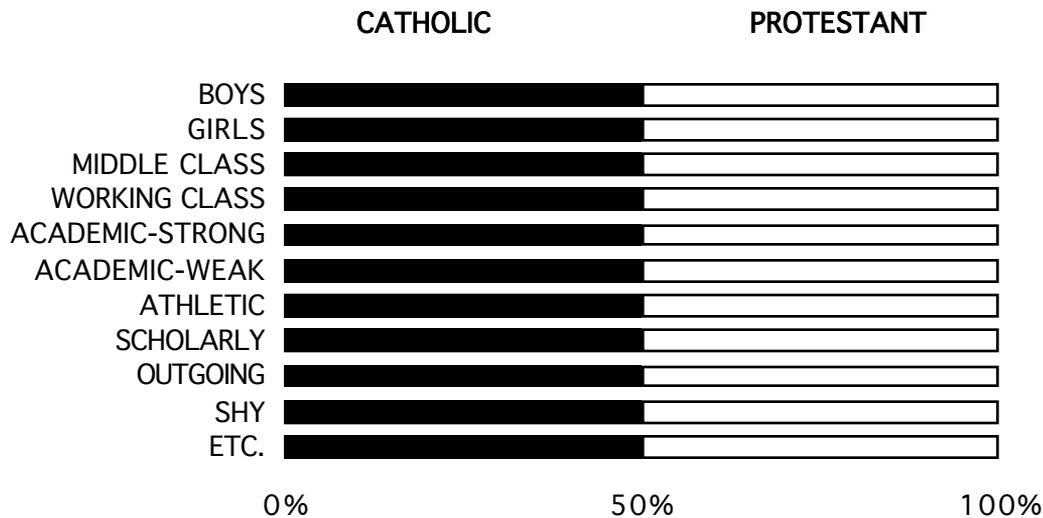
<sup>208</sup> It should be noted that many parents who wish to send their children to integrated secondary schools in Northern Ireland are not able to do so due to the lack of available places at such institutions. For example 252 parents chose Lagan College as the first preference on their 1991 "Transfer Procedure" forms although only 150 places were available.

## INTEGRATED EDUCATION: MAKING IT WORK

I believe the body of theory that focuses on the nature, development and context of human group identity and attitudes reviewed at the beginning of this report predicts the inter-community prosocial success of integrated education, and the divisive effects of segregated education. I also believe the results of this programme of research add support to that body of theory and its predictions. Although it would be quite wrong to place the responsibility of reducing the level of conflict in Northern Ireland, or anywhere else, on the education system alone, I do wish to suggest that integrated education plays a very special role in this process, as it can change the character and weave of a community's social fabric, while other political and economic actions can only hope to reshape the social fabric that is given. In this context, I wish to make some recommendations that will help to maximise the effectiveness of integrated education.

### Recommendations-Social Structure

All the studies of social integration presented here, from the formation of individual friendships around common interests and personalities, to the social, economic and cultural structure of the society in which the integrated school is placed, all point to one simple principle for increasing success. As children make the majority of their school friends in their tutor group, or school class, the opportunity to find a friend in the "other" community must be equal for the members of both communities. Ideally this requires a 50/50 ratio. However, as boys make friends with boys, and girls make friends with girls, and footballers make friends with footballers, and computer hackers make friends with computer hackers, etc., then it follows that in an ideally structured group of students, all these characteristics of the children should be equally divided between the communities that are the focus of social integration. In Northern Ireland these are Catholics and Protestants (figure 77). Of course, in practice, this ideal classroom structure is impossible to achieve, although several steps can be taken to ensure the closest possible match to the ideal.



**Figure 77** The ideal student population structure for Lagan College tutor groups.

**1. Enrolment.** The enrolment of the school should be balanced to make sure that, in the case of Northern Ireland, an equal number of Catholics and Protestants are boys, girls, academically weak, academically strong, middle class, working class etc. However, although Lagan College try to maintain an equal balance by all these criteria, and given their success this is to be encouraged, it may not matter too much if the school were all boys or all girls, or all academically weak or all academically strong, or all working class or all middle class, or any combination of these characteristics, providing each aspect of the school population is equally divided between Catholics and Protestants. In practice a perfect balance is impossible to achieve; therefore, in practice, integrated schools should strive to maintain a balance in those aspects of the student population that they do have some control over, while remembering that a balance within each sex should be given the highest priority.

**2. Location and Bussing.** The possibilities for achieving a balanced enrolment can be improved by placing integrated schools in demographically balanced locations and/or, using bussing, as Lagan College does, to bring students to the school from a wide catchment area.

**3. Classroom Balance.** Because most friendships are made in the classroom, any balance that is achieved through enrolment should be reflected in, and equally distributed through, each tutor group. This can be achieved by carefully sorting and dividing up each incoming first year into

balanced classes.<sup>209</sup> Additionally new students who arrive from time to time can be carefully placed to improve balance.

**4. Staff Balance.** Although I have not made a study of the behaviour and attitudes of the teachers at Lagan College, or elsewhere, balance amongst the staff is probably of no less importance than balance amongst the students. Given the significant contribution teachers make towards the development of their pupils as role models, it must surely be beneficial to have an equal number of Catholics and Protestants, from the Northern Irish community, as members of staff.

## Recommendations-Teachers and Pupils

As perfect social balance is impossible to achieve, and as a lack of balance does not prevent social integration, but only makes it more difficult, it would be pointless to suggest that all integrated schools must maintain a 50/50 ratio of students, from each community, in order to qualify as integrated institutions. Although a 50/50 ratio should always be pursued as an ideal, other steps can be taken to improve social integration when this ideal cannot be met.

**1. Teacher Responsibility.** Teachers responsible for tutor groups should be aware of the religious background of their pupils and should acquire a knowledge of the interests and social relationships in their class. When this knowledge is pooled with the leaders of the other tutor groups in their year, and their year head in what Lagan College term “Pastoral Groups,” it is possible to imaginatively orchestrate improvements in sectarian integration. For example, if a tutor group contained two boys who were very close friends by virtue of their keen interest in football, and if those two boys happened to be Catholic, then, if a new boy of the same age came to the school, and if this boy was also a keen footballer, but happened to be Protestant, then, clearly, introducing this new boy into this tutor group would expand the social possibilities for all three children. However, this can only be done when the religious denomination, interests and social relationships of the children are known.

---

<sup>209</sup> A very simple computer programme has been “written” that can evenly distribute new students throughout a number of classrooms with equal balance. This has been done by placing a list of all the new students in EXCELL along with their sex, religion and school. EXCELL is then instructed to “SORT” the list of students by firstly, sex; secondly, religion and thirdly, school. When this sort is completed EXCELL is instructed to place the first student in the new list in the first class, the second student in the second class, etcetera, until all the students have been assigned to a classroom. This logical process could also be achieved by writing the information about each student on a card and then proceeding to go through the four sorts described above, in the order described above.

**2. Teacher Continuity.** Therefore, as acquiring this knowledge takes time and as this knowledge is valuable, it should be maximised and retained by having the tutor group leaders stay with their classes for at least the first three years of the student's introduction to the school. The rapid growth of Lagan College has made this difficult in the past. However, there is no reason why this recommendation can not be followed in the future as the size of the school stabilises.

**3. Sociometric Mapping.** It should be noted that the sociometric mapping of each tutor group proved to be both a useful research and diagnostic tool. Discussions of the maps with the leaders of each tutor group raised the awareness of the teacher to the social relationships of the children in their class and also increased the attention given to the issue of social integration at Lagan College by the whole staff. Given the costs of sociometric mapping, I cannot recommend its general use. However the service should be made available to schools that request it, particularly if the school finds it difficult to meet the recommendations outlined above.<sup>210</sup>

---

<sup>210</sup> This is done at Givat Gonen, with considerable success, for precisely these reasons. It should be noted that the sociometric maps succeed as a diagnostic tool because they complete the sociological picture from the children's point of view, for each group of students. This information allows the teacher to adjust their perceptions of their pupils social relationships; it also serves as an instrument for identifying intervention targets for advancing the social objectives of the school and finally it allows these objectives to be examined by providing feedback to the teacher with respect to each intervention.

## INTEGRATED EDUCATION: A MORAL ISSUE

Maintaining a balanced student population and monitoring the social progress of the pupils should help to ensure the success of any integrated school. Unfortunately, there is one circumstance under which integrated education can never work: when parents and community leaders choose not to send their children to, or permit the establishment of, integrated schools. This problem is not new, for example, although the 1937 Report of the Royal Commission on Palestine recommended:<sup>211</sup>

“An effective policy for bringing the races together would bring them together in actual fact. The boys and girls of each race at the primary stage would have to be taught in separate schools or at least in separate classes, because the language of instruction would have to be their respective vernaculars, but great attention would be given to their mastering English, and at the secondary stage they would be taught side by side in the same schools and through the medium of English only. At this stage an important part of the Curriculum would be devoted to the languages, literature and history of both races. Had it been practicable in Palestine, such a system, adopted at the outset and consistently pursued, might have gone far in a generation to break down the barriers between Jew and Arab and to nourish a sense of common Palestinian citizenship. But it was not practicable. Article 15 (of the 1923 British Mandate)<sup>212</sup> precluded it.”

Similar educational rights established in Britain and Northern Ireland helped to seal the fate of the Catholic and Protestant communities in Ulster. As a consequence, educational compromises similar to the one outlined above, could never be put into practice. However the Education Reform (NI) Order 1989 makes a move to correct these errors by openly encouraging the establishment of integrated schools.

Shortly after the 1967 war, Meron Benvenisti, the then Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem, briefly promoted the idea of Arab and Jewish integrated education in an effort to unite the separate communities of that divided

---

<sup>211</sup> Palestine Royal Commission Report, Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, July 1937. His Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1937.

<sup>212</sup> An agreed text was confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24, 1922, and it came into operation in September 1923.

city.<sup>213</sup> The suggestion drew few supporters and probably had little real hope of ever becoming educational policy, as Israel is governed by Israel, in contrast to contemporary Northern Ireland, which is governed externally from Westminster. These points are made to underline the fragility of the legislative foundations upon which integrated education is built. In the context of Northern Irish politics, integrated education is only actively promoted by the minority Alliance and Workers Parties. If political power were returned to the province then official support for integrated education could disappear as quickly as it came.

The 1990 Charter of Paris for a New Europe ensures that:<sup>214</sup>

“The ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of national minorities will be protected and persons belonging to national minorities have the right freely to express, preserve and develop that identity without any discrimination and in full equality before the law.”

The liberal intent of these rights are surely commendable providing they are not eventually extended to explicitly include segregated education in the way that it was protected under Article 15 of the 1923 British Mandate. Clearly charters that protect “national minorities” need to be very carefully worded in order to avoid creating opportunities for various groups to use the socialising power of segregated education to change “national minorities” into “minority nationalisms,” with all their potential for social conflict. Conversely the development of legislation and human rights that protect integrated education should be encouraged at every possible opportunity.

Although very few church leaders openly oppose integrated education in Northern Ireland, most church leaders do encourage their members to send their children to segregated sectarian schools. I should emphasise at this point that Lagan College is not a secular school: it is a Christian school that provides religious education and guidance, in both the Roman Catholic and various Protestant traditions. If all other things were equal, if there were no conflict in Northern Ireland, if the Catholic and Protestant communities were not divided, then perhaps nothing more need or should be said. However, all other things are not equal. Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland hate and kill each other, and the programme of research

---

<sup>213</sup> Conversation with Meron Benvenisti, Jerusalem, March 29th, 1989 and Benvenisti, M., 1983, Jerusalem: Study of a Polarized City, Research Paper No. 3, The West Bank Data Base Project, Jerusalem, P. O. Box 14319, Israel. In this paper Benvenisit also notes that in mid-1968 the Jerusalem Municipality conducted a survey of Jewish attitudes in the city which revealed that 55% would not allow their children to attend a mixed Jewish-Arab school.

<sup>214</sup> “Blueprint for a New Era,” The Independent, London, Thursday 22nd. Nov., 1990.

reviewed here concludes that segregated education contributes to the polarisation of the two communities while integrated education brings the communities closer together, through increased friendship and mutual understanding.

These facts change the calculus of morality.<sup>215</sup> Because integrated education can reduce the potential for harm the imperatives of sectarian education are brought into question. In Northern Ireland this shift in the balance of principles has been answered with the establishment of a number of integrated schools. Unfortunately these schools lack the official support of the Catholic and Protestant churches. In Israel, the Neve Shalom community and School for Peace, does not receive the full support of the state enjoyed by other new communities and schools. However, it does receive the support of the Church. It was founded in 1972 by a Dominican, Father Bruno, on 100 acres of Church land leased to “him” for this purpose from the adjacent Latrun Monastery.<sup>216</sup> Promotional materials for the Neve Shalom nursery, kindergarten and primary school state that:

“The principles of coexistence and equality are our guide at all-times. Here, in the only bi-national, bi-lingual school of its kind to date, the children absorb these values naturally and are taught about their national and cultural differences, whilst stressing their own individual identities.”<sup>217</sup>

As might be expected, Father Bruno has received some criticism from some members of his Church. However, questioning and discussion are both natural and healthy prerequisites for constructive action. The point is, Father Bruno was able to gain the support of his Church,<sup>218</sup> and perhaps this is one of the reasons why he has also received nominations for the Nobel Peace Prize. When the President of Israel, who was born in Belfast and grew up in Dublin, visited Neve Shalom, he suggested that if Israel did not adopt the educational policies practised there, Israel would end up like

---

<sup>215</sup> Implicitly, by using the term “calculus of morality,” I am suggesting that an application of utilitarian, rule utilitarian or other moral theories could be undertaken with respect to this issue. However, a detailed ethical analysis of the morality of integrated and segregated education by these or other moral theories, in societies subject to social divisions and associated conflict, is beyond the scope of this report.

<sup>216</sup> Although the publication “NEVE SHALOM: WAHAT AL-SALAM” (the Coordinators and Representatives of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam at Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam, Doar- Na Shimshon, 99761, Israel) gives the founding date as 1972 one of the members of Neve Shalom informed me that Father Bruno attempted to establish an ecumenical community at the present site as early as 1970 (fieldnotes based on conversations with Coral Aron, Neve Shalom, Israel, April 6th., 1989).

<sup>217</sup> NEVE SHALOM: WAHAT AL-SALAM, published by the Coordinators and Representatives of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam at Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam, Doar- Na Shimshon, 99761, Israel.

<sup>218</sup> Fieldnotes based on conversations with Father Bruno, Paris, France, April 18th, 1989.

Northern Ireland.<sup>219</sup> President Hertzog made these comments before the Palestinian uprising, the Intifada.

We create the societies we desire through our schools. But the societies we dream of, and proclaim as our own ideal, egalitarian, meritocratic, non-racial and non-sectarian, are very rarely mirrored in the learning institutions to which we entrust our children, the future generation. This hypocrisy can create exploitation and hatred of one group by another. In Northern Ireland, and elsewhere in the world, this segregation and bigotry can lead to violence and violent death. We can no longer justify this hypocrisy. The tolerant and just societies that we desire must first be created in our schools, and those who oppose such institutional changes must take much of the responsibility for the social failings of their communities.

One of the major roles of all religious institutions is the mapping out of the “moral high ground” that sets the agenda for human action. Unfortunately many religious institutions succumb to the human weakness of in-group centrism and use this failing of human nature to promote their own interests, and the interests of their members, at the expense of others. This behaviour is not acceptable in the modern world. If they can not change they will lose their moral authority to the secular morality of national and international law, constitutions, treaties, and charters that promote prosocial ethnic, racial, and sectarian relations, and to the moral authority of parents who choose to send their children to integrated schools.

---

<sup>219</sup> Fieldnotes based on conversations with Father Bruno, Paris, France, April 18th, 1989.

**APPENDIX**

**QUESTIONNAIRES**

**LAGAN COLLEGE  
FIRST YEAR QUESTIONNAIRE**

**TUTOR GROUP** \_\_\_\_\_

**FULL NAME** \_\_\_\_\_  
(Please print)

Please list ten friends you play with outside of school. You can list any friends you like, who may or may not go to Lagan College. Next to each of the friends you name please list the school they go to now. If you do not know which school they go to now give the name of the school they were at last year.

	<b>FULL NAME</b> (Please print)	<b>SCHOOL</b> (Please print)
1	_____	_____
2	_____	_____
3	_____	_____
4	_____	_____
5	_____	_____
6	_____	_____
7	_____	_____
8	_____	_____
9	_____	_____
10	_____	_____

Please do the best you can. Thank you.

Lagan College Questionnaire

1 Who are your three best friends in your tutor group?

-----  
-----  
-----

2 Who are three members of your tutor group you would like to have as friends (but who are not yet your friends)?

-----  
-----  
-----

3 Who are the members of your tutor group whom you would most like to invite to your home?

-----  
-----  
-----

4 When your class does group work which three members of your tutor group would you like to work with?

-----  
-----  
-----

**Thank you for your cooperation**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Tutor group: \_\_\_\_\_

Teacher: \_\_\_\_\_

Lagan 5th. Year Questionnaire

From all the people you know in the 5th. Year at Lagan College please list your ten best friends:

	First Name	Family Name
1	_____	_____
2	_____	_____
3	_____	_____
4	_____	_____
5	_____	_____
6	_____	_____
7	_____	_____
8	_____	_____
9	_____	_____
10	_____	_____

Thank you for your cooperation

	First Name	Family Name
Name:	_____	_____
Tutor group:	_____	

**Lagan College Questionnaire  
Past Pupils Association**

Note: This questionnaire is anonymous. No names please !!!

(1) How old are you ?

Years \_\_\_\_\_

(2) Please circle the years you attended Lagan College

1st    2nd    3rd    4th    5th    ALL

(3) What Sex are you?                      Male or Female

(4) Please list ten of your friends. Do not put their names just their initials.

1 \_\_\_\_\_

2 \_\_\_\_\_

3 \_\_\_\_\_

4 \_\_\_\_\_

5 \_\_\_\_\_

6 \_\_\_\_\_

7 \_\_\_\_\_

8 \_\_\_\_\_

9 \_\_\_\_\_

10 \_\_\_\_\_

(5) Please circle the kind of housing area that you live in?

Mostly Protestant or Mostly Catholic or Very Mixed

(6) Please indicate which of your friends you listed above are

Catholic or Protestant by writing a P or C next to each initial.

(7) Finally are you Protestant or Catholic? (If other please explain)

Protestant      Catholic

or Other \_\_\_\_\_

Please make sure you have completed all parts of the questionnaire and return it in the self addressed envelope to Lagan College. Thank you.