Teaching Across the Divide:

The experiences, identity and agency of teachers who teach across the traditional sectors in Northern Ireland

Matthew John Milliken

BA (Hons), MSc

UNESCO Centre
School of Education
Faculty of Social Sciences
Ulster University

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

2nd November 2018

I confirm that the word count of this PhD is less than 100,000 words excluding the title page, contents, acknowledgements, summary or abstract, abbreviations, footnotes, diagrams, maps, illustrations, tables, appendices, and references or bibliography.

For Moira

NOTE ON ACCESS TO CONTENTS

"I hereby declare that with effect from the date in which this thesis is deposited in Research Student Administration of University of Ulster I permit:

1. The Librarian of the University to allow the thesis to be copied in whole or in part without reference to me on the understanding that such authority applies to the provision of single copies made for study purposes or for inclusion within the stock of another library.

2. The thesis to be made available through the Ulster Institutional Repository and/or EThOS under the terms of the Ulster eTheses Deposit Agreement which I have signed.

IT IS A CONDITION OF USE OF THIS THESIS THAT ANYONE WHO CONSULTS IT MUST RECOGNISE THAT THE COPYRIGHT RESTS WITH THE UNIVERSITY AND THEN SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE AUTHOR ON EXPIRY OF THIS PERIOD AND THAT NO QUOTATION FROM THE THESIS AND NO INFORMATION DERIVED FROM IT MAY BE PUBLISHED UNLESS THE SOURCE IS PROPERLY ACKNOWLEDGED."

CONTENTS

Front Material

List of Tables vi
List of Figures viii
List of Appendices ix
Acknowledgements x
Abstract xi
Abbreviations xii

1. Introduction 1

CONTEXT

2. The Separation of Education in a Divided Society 10
2.1 The Evolution of Separation in Education 11
2.2 The Division of Ireland: Education in a Contested Place 12
2.3 Education and Division in Northern Ireland 15
2.4 Post-Conflict Education Policy in Northern Ireland 19
2.5 Schools and the Community Divide 23

3. Teachers and Teaching in a Divided System 31
3.1 Teacher Exemption from Fair Employment Legislation 32
3.2 Initial Teacher Education 34
3.3 Religious Education and the Catholic Religious Education Certificate 36
3.4 Teacher Unions and Division 39
3.5 The Community Composition of the NI Teaching Workforce 48
3.6 The Paradox: Separated Teachers and Peace-building in NI 54
3.7 Summary 55

4. The Research Question and Research Aims 57
4.1 Review of Context and Identifying a Gap in Knowledge 57
4.2 The Research Question and Related Aims 60
4.3 Methodology 60

5. Teacher Identity and Agency: A Literature Review 65
5.1 Literature Scoping 69
5.2 Agency 71

5.3 Teacher Agency 73
5.4 Teacher Identity and Teacher Agency 76
5.5 'Outsider' Identity and Teacher Agency 78
5.6 The Development of Teacher Agency and ITE 80
5.7 Teacher Agency and Change 82
5.8 Teacher Agency and Peace-building 83
5.9 Identity, Agency, Storytelling and The Place of Critical Incidents 85
5.10 Conclusions 86

QUANTITATIVE INVESTIGATION

6. Quantifying the Divide: Method 90
6.1 Establishing A Target Sample Size: Ensuring Reliability 92
6.2 Survey Design 94
6.3 Survey Package Selection 96
6.4 Survey Construction and Development: Ensuring Validity 97
6.5 Distribution and Promotion of the Survey 102
6.6 Data Collection: Review 106

7. Quantifying the Divide: Survey Findings 110
7.1 Testing the Null Hypothesis 110
7.2 Racial and Non-British/Irish National Diversity in the Teaching Workforce 116
7.3 Teachers, Community/Ethnic Identity and Sectoral Separation 119
7.4 Sectoral Composition by Community Identity 124
7.5 Sectoral Composition by Trades Union Membership 126
7.6 Sectoral Composition by Initial Teacher Education (ITE) Institution Attended 129
7.7 Sectoral Composition by National Identity 134
7.8 Cultural Encapsulation 136
7.9 Teachers Who Cross the Divide 141
7.10 Summary of Quantitative Findings 154

QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION

8. Methodology and Method 158
8.1 Aligning Method and Methodology 159
8.2 Interview Structure and Design 160
8.3 Interviewee Selection 162
8.4 Data Saturation and Sufficiency 162

8.5 Establishing a Purposive Sample 163
8.6 Ethical Considerations, Protocols and Logistical Arrangements 165
8.7 Transcription 170
8.8 Qualitative Data Collection: Process Review 171
8.9 Analysing Qualitative Data 173
8.10 Analysing Narrative Data 175
8.11 Six Step Thematic Analysis 178
8.12 Ensuring Quality 185
8.13 Summary 187

9. Qualitative Data: Findings 188
9.1 Reflective: What Maintains Ethnic Homogeneity in the Teaching Workforce? 188
9.2. Agency as Achievement 212
9.3 Agency in Practice 250
9.4 Summary and Concluding Observations 260

Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

10. Discussion 264
10.1 Limitations of the Research 265
10.2 Aim 1: Determining the Distribution of Teachers in NI Schools by Identity 267
10.3 Aim 2: Identifying Movement of Teachers Between Ethnic Sectors 273
10.4 Aim 3: Factors That Moderate Movement Between and Across Sectors 277
10.5 Aim 4: Identity, Agency and the Cross-over Teacher 281
10.6 The Experiences of Those Who Teach Across the Traditional Sectors in NI 286

11. Summary, Future Research Directions and Policy Recommendations 290
11.1 Summary of Findings 293
11.2 Future Research Directions 298
11.3 Policy Recommendations 300
11.4 Concluding Comments 305

End Material

References 307

Appendices 327

List of Tables

Table 1. The Northern Ireland Census: 1926 Religion Report 13
Table 2. Sectoral Profile: Integrated Schools 26
Table 3. Sectoral Profile: Maintained Schools 27
Table 4. Sectoral Profile: Controlled Schools 28
Table 5. Sectoral Profile: Voluntary Schools 29
Table 6. Teacher Unions in NI: An Overview 45
Table 7. Characteristics of Scoping and Systematic Reviews 69
Table 8. Search Terms and Relevant Hits (Screened by Title) 70
Table 9. Survey Promotion and Encouragement Strategy 105
Table 10. Identification of Potential Bias - Profile of Survey Respondents 109
Table 11. Composition of Teaching Workforce by Age and Gender 121
Table 12. Composition of Teaching Workforce by School Type 122
Table 13. Composition of Teaching Workforce in Each Management Sector 123
Table 14. Sectoral Composition by Primary School Attended 124
Table 15. Composition of Teaching Workforce by Sector and Union Membership 127
Table 16. Composition of Teaching Workforce by Sector and ITE Attended 130
Table 17. Composition of Teaching Workforce by Sector and Nationality 135
Table 18. Cross-Over Teachers 143
Table 19. Cross-Over Teachers by School Type and Other Key Indicators 144
Table 20. Protestant to Catholic Cross-Over Teachers by Post Primary School 147
Table 21. Protestant to Catholic Cross-Over Teachers by Nationality 147
Table 22. Protestant to Catholic Cross-Over Teachers by ITE Attended 147
Table 23. Protestant to Catholic Cross-Over Teachers by Union Membership 147
Table 24. Catholic to Protestant Cross-Over Teachers by Post Primary School 149
Table 25. Catholic to Protestant Cross-Over Teachers by Nationality 149
Table 26. Catholic to Protestant Cross-Over Teachers by ITE Attended 149
Table 27. Catholic to Protestant Cross-Over Teachers by Union Membership 149
Table 28. Protestant to Integrated Cross-Over Teachers by Post Primary School 151
Table 29. Protestant to Integrated Cross-Over Teachers by Nationality 151
Table 30. Protestant to Integrated Cross-Over Teachers by ITE Attended 151
Table 31. Protestant to Integrated Cross-Over Teachers by Union Membership 151
Table 32. Catholic to Integrated Cross-Over Teachers by Post Primary School 153
Table 33. Catholic to Integrated Cross-Over Teachers by Nationality 153

Table 34. Catholic to Integrated Cross-Over Teachers by ITE Attended 153
Table 35. Catholic to Integrated Cross-Over Teachers by Union Membership 153
Table 36. Cross-Over Teachers Volunteering to Assist Research 162
Table 37. Purposive Sample Matrix 164
Table 38. Teacher Aliases, Sectors and Cross-Over Descriptors 169
Table 39. % of Protestant Teachers in *de Facto* Catholic Schools 274
Table 40. % of Catholic Teachers in *de Facto* Protestant Schools 275
Table 41. Cross-Over Teacher Identity-Agency Matrix 285

List of Figures

Fig. 1. Hypothesis: The Self-Replication of Division in Primary Education in NI 38
Fig. 2. Teaching Professionals by National Identity (Census 2011) 48
Fig. 3. Nationality: Protestants in the NI Workforce and Protestant Teachers 52
Fig. 4. Nationality: Catholics in the NI Workforce and Catholic Teachers 53
Fig. 5. Screenshot: Search for Teacher* AND Agency 67
Fig. 6. Material Published on Teacher* AND Agency by year: 1998-2017 68
Fig. 7. A Model for Understanding the Achievement of Agency 75
Fig. 8. A Teacher Education Model Based on Dewey's Theory of Education 81
Fig. 9. Binomial Sample Size Confidence Level Calculation 94
Fig. 10. Primary Sector Currently Teaching In and Primary School Attended 111
Fig. 11. Primary Sector Currently Teaching In and ITE College Attended 112
Fig. 12. Primary Sector Currently Teaching In and Union Membership 113
Fig. 13. Post Primary Sector Currently Teaching In and Primary School Attended 114
Fig. 14. Post Primary Sector Currently Teaching In and Union Membership 115
Fig. 15. Survey Responses: Teaching Professionals by National Identity 118
Fig. 16. Filters Applied: All Teachers Employed in *de facto* Catholic Schools 120
Fig. 17. Filters Applied: Catholic Teachers in *de facto* Catholic Schools 120
Fig. 18. Membership of Teacher Unions 126
Fig. 19. ITE Attended: Teachers in *de facto* Catholic Schools 131
Fig. 20. ITE Attended: Teachers in *de facto* Protestant Schools 132
Fig. 21. ITE Attended: Teachers in Integrated schools 133
Fig. 22. Application of Filters: Cultural Encapsulation of Protestant Teachers 137
Fig. 23. Cultural Encapsulation of Protestant Teachers 138
Fig. 24. Cultural Encapsulation of Catholic Teachers 140
Fig. 25. Distribution of Interviewees by School Location 172
Fig. 26. Step 2: "Initial Coding" – Word Map 180
Fig. 27. The Central Organising Principle and Über-Themes 182
Fig. 28. Step 3: "Developing Categories" - Prevalence of Data 183
Fig. 29. Themes and Codes: Reflective 189
Fig. 30. Agency As Achievement: Iterational - Themes and Codes 213
Fig. 31. Agency As Achievement: Practical-Evaluative - Themes and Codes 223
Fig. 32. Agency As Achievement: Projective – Themes 246
Fig. 33. Agency In Practice: Themes 251
Fig. 34. Spectrum of Factors Affecting Cross-Over Teacher Experiences 288

List of Appendices

Appendix A.	Literature Scoping Workbook	328
Appendix B.	Ulster University Ethical Approval	347
Appendix C.	Teacher Survey	351
Appendix D.	Interview Schedule	366
Appendix E.	Research Information for Interviewees	367
Appendix F.	Interviewee Consent Form	368
Appendix G.	Thematic Analysis Codebook	369

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you to all those from whom I have learned and especially during this research, my supervisors Professor Alan Smith, Dr Jessica Bates and Dr Alan McCully (and formerly Dr Ulf Hansson) without their cumulative wisdom, guidance and assistance my dream of PhD completion could never have been fulfilled. I am grateful also to the wider team of staff and research students in the school of education who have helped me to stay on track in innumerable ways.

Thanks, are of course also due to every one of the 1,015 teachers who completed the survey and especially those thirty that provided me with an interview; they gave me that most invaluable of all resources - their time. Without the assistance of the teacher unions (ATL/NEU, INTO, NASUWT and UTU) I would have struggled to circulate the survey as widely or attract the same levels of awareness – I specifically thank Mark, Gerry, Justin, and Arlene who opened their doors to me.

When I became overwhelmed with the laborious process of transcription Lena came reliably to my aid – and coped with the challenges of Ulster colloquialisms with unerring good humour.

The road has not been without its diversions. It would be remiss of me not to recognise the part played by Iain, Cathal and Kate in making the challenge a pleasure.

Finally, this journey from my first tentative steps to the submission of this thesis would not have been possible without the unerring love afforded to me by my family. That love was present even when I least deserved it, during those periods of driven, single-minded obsession that directly preceded its completion.

ABSTRACT

Education is a key mechanism for supporting peace-building and the restoration of relations in post conflict societies. The Belfast Agreement contained a commitment to develop a more integrated system of education in Northern Ireland, yet, twenty years later, schools remain largely separated in-line with the community divisions that defined many years of civil conflict. A series of policies also limit teachers' options for moving across this divide.

The impact of this separation upon pupils has been extensively investigated but there has been a deficit in inquiry into teachers' experiences. Prior to this research project, nothing was known about the current community/ethnic profile of the teaching workforce in the separated sectors of education. Furthermore, no research had been conducted into the experiences of those teachers who were teaching in a sector not associated with their community of origin. A mixed method approach was adopted to address these twin lacunae.

An online survey (completed by 5% of teachers in mainstream primary and post primary schools) identified that the separate systems are served by workforces that are generally consistent with the community composition of the school where they are employed. This pattern is endemic in primary schools and least prevalent in grammar schools where one-in-five teachers have crossed the divide.

Interviews were conducted with a purposive sample of thirty cross-over teachers – these explored their formative experiences, their practice and their career aspirations. These narratives were thematically analysed; perspectives were obtained on the factors that maintain the ethnic separation of the teaching profession and how this may affect the potential of cross-over teachers to engage with their identity, achieve agency and effect change. It was found that the experiences of cross-over teachers, and their capacity to engage their 'otherness' constructively, was affected by a spectrum of personal and structural factors.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACT	All Children Together: a parental pressure group that is recognised as having been the catalyst for the setting up of the first Integrated schools.
ADRC	Administrative Data Research Centre: the NI arm of ADRN.
ADRN	Administrative Data Research Network: a Government sanctioned initiative that enables social and economic researchers to access linked, de-identified administrative data in a secure environment.
APTIS	Association of Principal Teachers in Integrated Schools.
AQE	Association of Quality Education: the body that supervises one of the two non-statutory Transfer Tests to determine whether or not a pupil may enter a Grammar school.
ASCL	Association of School and College Leaders: the professional organisation that represents many of the principals of NI Grammar schools.
ATL	Association of Teachers and Lecturers: a UK-wide union that is popular with teachers in Grammar schools in NI. In 2017 ATL merged with the National Union of Teachers to form the National Education Union.
BoG	Boards of Governors are present in every school in NI, they work alongside the school Principal to ensure that the educational needs of the school pupils are met in a secure and safe environment.
B Specials	The B Specials – AKA Ulster Special Constabulary – an official militia created in the run up to partition in 1922 and active until they were disbanded in 1970. The force was viewed with mistrust by many Catholics.
C2K	Classroom 2000 is an initiative managed by the Education Authority and that provides the infrastructure and services necessary to support the enhanced use of ICT in grant-aided schools across Northern Ireland. C2K has ensured that every teacher in NI has a unique, personal email address.
CCMS	Council for Catholic Maintained Schools – the body manages grant aid provided by the Department of Education in order to maintain the 370

Primary and 64 Post Primary schools that are under the administration of the Catholic church.

CI	Controlled Integrated schools have 'transformed' their status to recognise the diversity of their pupils but have opted to remain with the Controlled sector.
CnaG	Comhairle na Gaelscolaíochta is the body that was established in 2000 to represent those grant-aided schools that deliver education through the medium of the Irish Language; this includes 27 stand-alone Irish-medium schools and 12 English-medium schools with Irish-medium units.
CNR	Catholic/Nationalist/Republican – a collation of terms used to define various components of the ethnic grouping within NI that generally collectively referred to as 'Catholic' (see also PUL).
CoI	The Episcopalian Church of Ireland is aligned with the Church of England and represents the faith throughout the island of Ireland. It is the second largest Protestant faith (after the Presbyterian Church) by membership in NI.
CRED	The Community Relations Equality and Diversity policy was introduced in 2011 and requires all educational institutions receiving grant aid from the Department of Education – including schools and youth work settings – to 'contribute to improving of relations between communities'.
CSI	Cohesion, Sharing and Integration: a community relations strategy proposed in the NI Government's 2008-11 Programme for Government.
CSSC	Controlled Schools Support Council was brought into being in 2016 and is the advocate for Controlled schools. It supports and represents the interests of Controlled schools in ethos, governance, school achievement and planning.
DE/DENI	Department of Education/Department of Education, Northern Ireland.
EA	The Education Authority was established on 01 April 2015 as a non-departmental body of the Department of Education, Northern Ireland – it

has responsibility for education, youth work and school library services throughout Northern Ireland with a headquarters and five regional offices

EIS — The Educational Institute of Scotland is the largest teaching union in Scotland. It was founded in 1847, making it the oldest teaching union in the world.

ELBs — Education and Library Boards – the five ELBs (Belfast, Northern, Southern, South-Eastern and Western) were introduced in 1973 and served a similar function to EA, which replaced them in 2015.

EMU — Education for Mutual Understanding: a cross-curricular theme introduced in the Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order 1989 in order to "contribute to the improvement of relations between the two communities".

FETO — The Fair Employment and Treatment Order – the most recent version of this became law in 1989

GB — Great Britain. This term denotes the eastern British Isle which contains England, Scotland and Wales. GB specifically does not include Northern Ireland.

GL — The Granada Learning test, which is used by the Post Primary Transfer Consortium to assess pupils wishing to transfer from a Primary school to a Grammar school.

GFA — Good Friday Agreement AKA The Belfast Agreement – the political agreement, signed in 1998 and endorsed in referenda in both NI and RoI which in effect marked the end of the period of inter-community violence in NI known as the Troubles which had started in 1969.

GMI — Grant-Maintained Integrated schools consciously and deliberately seek to bring together the various traditions present in NI. They differ from Controlled Integrated schools in that their staff are employed directly by the BoG and not EA.

GTCNI The General Teaching Council of Northern Ireland is the statutory independent body for the teaching profession in NI – all teachers seeking employment in NI are required to be registered with GTCNI.

IEF Integrated Education Fund: an independent charity supporting the growth of Integrated education in Northern Ireland.

INTO Irish National Teachers Organisation: an all-island teaching union with a long history and high membership amongst teachers in Catholic Maintained schools.

ITE Initial Teacher Education is the term that has largely replaced the concept of Teacher Training.

MAG The Ministerial Advisory Group on advancing shared education. It was established in July 2012 by the Minister of Education; its findings set the foundations for the Shared Education Policy.

NAHT National Association of Head Teachers – a UK wide union and professional organisation for those with school leadership functions.

NASUWT National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers has the largest membership of any of the teaching unions in NI. It is particularly strong in Post Primary schools.

NEU National Education Union – the union was created in 2017 when the National Union of Teachers amalgamated with ATL.

NI Northern Ireland – the state that was brought into existence under the terms of the 1920 Government of Ireland Act on the 3rd May 1921 following, and in response to, the setting up of the Irish Free State.

NICIE Northern Ireland Council for Integrated Education is a Voluntary organisation that was established to promote and support the development of Integrated education in Northern Ireland.

NISRA Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency is an executive agency within the Department of Finance. It is responsible for the collection and

publication of statistics related to the economy, population and society of Northern Ireland – including the Census.

NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher – a teacher who has successfully completed their ITE but has yet to complete their statutory induction (generally twelve months employment as a full-time teacher).
OFMDFM	Office of the First Minister (and) Deputy First Minister (AKA The Executive Office) is the devolved government department that has overall responsibility for the running of the NI Executive. The First Minister and deputy First Minister of the NI Assembly have joint responsibility for the department.
PfG	Programme for Government is the NI Government's schedule of agreed priorities and targets for the mandated period between elections to the Assembly.
PS	Primary School – the generic term for mainstream schools that educate children aged between the ages of 4 and 11.
PP	Parish Priest - the Catholic priest appointed by the bishop to represent him in a local parish i.e. a specific village, collection of townlands or part of a city.
PPS	Post Primary School – the generic term for mainstream schools that educate children aged between 11 and 16 or 18. The term includes both non-selective schools and Grammar schools.
PPTC	Post Primary Transfer Consortium as a group that co-ordinates the assessment of pupils who are seeking entry to 34 of NI's 72 Grammar schools.
PUL	Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist (sometimes also Protestant/Ulster/Loyalist) a collation of terms used to define various components of the ethnic grouping within NI that is generally collectively referred to as 'Protestant' (see also CNR).

(CA)QDAS	(Computer Aided) Qualitive Data Analysis Software has been developed by many commercial concerns to support researchers in the processes of organising, managing and analysing information.
QUB	The Queen's University Belfast is the oldest of the two universities in NI. It received its initial charter in 1845.
RC	Roman Catholic – the term 'Catholic' is used throughout the document to represent both the Roman Catholic faith and the ethnic community in NI that is associated with the faith i.e. Irish/Nationalist/Republican.
RoI	The Republic of Ireland officially came into being in August 1949. The Act that established the new Republic removed the remaining elements of British sovereignty that had been retained when the Irish Free State was created in 1921.
RUC	The Royal Ulster Constabulary was the police force in Northern Ireland from 1922 until 2002 when it was reformed in line with commitments contained in the Belfast Agreement. The RUC was succeeded by the Police Service of Northern Ireland.
SELF	Shared Education Learning Forum was established in 2011 to bring the practitioner voice to the debate on shared education in NI.
TA	Thematic Analysis is a research technique that focuses on identifying and examining themes within qualitative data; in contrast with other methods of qualitative analysis, it allows for rich description of the data set.
T:BUC	Together Building a United Community was introduced in 2013 to accompany the 2011-15 Programme for Government. It replaced the NI government's previous community relations strategy, CSI.
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; UK is comprised of four separate nations (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) with varying degrees of political autonomy.

UTU	Ulster Teachers Union broke away from INTO in 1919 with which it now shares a Partnership Board. UTU has a strong presence amongst those employed in the Controlled sector, particularly in Primary schools.
UU	Ulster University was established as the New University of Ulster in 1968 – in 1984 it merged with the Ulster Polytechnical College and dropped the epithet 'New'. UU covers four campuses: Magee, Coleraine, Jordanstown and Belfast.
UWC	Ulster Workers' Council was set up in 1974 to co-ordinate opposition to the power-sharing Sunningdale Agreement. The group included both trades unionists and Loyalist paramilitaries.
YCNI	The Youth Council for Northern Ireland is an 'arm's length' advisory body of the Department of Education – it was established to provide leadership and independent advice on youth work.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

In November 1977 a car bomb exploded in the street outside the school that I attended in central Belfast. The blast was deafening. It shattered windows and sent silver shards of glass spinning through our classroom. We cursed the fenians (who we were certain had planted the device) as our teacher sought to calmly lead us through the debris to safety. Then it dawned on me. To the best of my knowledge, this teacher was the only Catholic employed to teach in our school. How had he ended up here? How was he feeling?

More than forty years later and, notwithstanding two decades of largely peaceful co-existence between the two dominant communities, the question of the dominion and position of Northern Ireland (NI) within the United Kingdom remains contested.

Education is recognised as a crucial mechanism for the restoration of relationships in post-conflict societies around the world. The school system in NI, however, is still largely separated along the ethnic demarcation lines that defined the thirty-year conflict known, somewhat euphemistically, as ‘the Troubles’. It is widely taken for granted that those employed as educators in the divided schools will share the community identity of the students that they teach – but, prior to this research, this assumption could not be supported by any recent empirical evidence. Nothing was definitively known about those who teach across the divide.

The impact of ethnic division upon educational policies and practices has been documented in many other conflict-affected and post-conflict societies – Cyprus (Zembylas, 2010), Israel (McGlynn and Bekerman, 2007), Sri Lanka (Lopes-Cardozo and Hoeks, 2015) and many other places besides. Thus, the lessons learned from this investigation, whilst specific to Northern Ireland, may have relevance in other contexts and have the potential to be generalisable to other contested jurisdictions around the world.

In the intensely partisan contexts of deeply divided societies, claims of objective neutrality will inevitably be contested; the indigenous researcher is, rightly, subject to particular scrutiny. With this knowledge, I have assiduously endeavoured to ensure that the contextual and historical material presented in this thesis is as unbiased as possible, and that all of the methods employed in for research and analysis are transparent throughout. In addition, by providing background information on myself as the

researcher, the reader is empowered to make their own decisions as to the veracity of the process and the conclusions drawn.

As is evident from the vignette at the start of this chapter, I grew up in Belfast at the height of the troubles – my father was a police officer and consequently, as a representative of the forces that ensured the British presence, he was seen as a ‘legitimate target’ by those who sought, through force, to achieve a united Ireland. My childhood was thus deeply affected by the Troubles and, as I entered adolescence, I began to consciously seek another path. At the age of 17 I began leading projects designed to bring young people together across the sectarian divide and a few years later undertook an undergraduate degree in Youth and Community Work. This course required me to work in unfamiliar and potentially politically hostile settings – I learned to use my identity in my work, to selectively hide and/or reveal pertinent aspects of my background and experiences in order to build trust or challenge prejudice.

My subsequent professional and personal path led me to explore new horizons and I spent some years living and working in Berlin before returning to NI. I gained employment initially as a youth worker and later as an education officer with responsibility for supporting community relations initiatives in schools and youth groups. It was in this role that - after a professional life within which ‘testing values and beliefs’ was central to the curriculum[1] - I became intensely aware of the capacity of teachers to shape their pupils’ attitudes to engaging with diversity; that teachers held the gate that could permit or deny their pupils opportunities to explore new perspectives and that their willingness to engage with their own identity was instrumental on their capacity to enable their pupils to do the same.

The terms Catholic and Protestant are widely used as determinates of the parameters of the division in NI but these terms offer an anachronistic and potentially misleading shorthand by which to define the two dominant communities. Whilst issues of faith are still hotly debated in some settings, church attendance and affiliation have declined significantly on both sides in recent years (Gregory et al, 2013; McCartney and Glass, 2015). It is a misrepresentation to view the division as being grounded mainly in religious tenets and beliefs.

[1] “Testing values and beliefs” has been a core tenet of the NI Curriculum for Youth Work since the curriculum was first introduced in 1987.

The communities are separated most clearly by their political aspirations for the future of the region. For the main part, the community generally referred to as Protestants wish to retain the national connection with Great Britain and remain part of the United Kingdom; they identify with a broadly British cultural identity. The community collectively known as Catholics on the other hand are more likely to wish for a removal of the border and the (re-)unification of Ireland in a state that is independent of British rule and influence. This section of the population tends also to relate to an Irish cultural and national identity[2].

Shuttleworth and Lloyd (2007; 2009) identified that, in spite of government efforts to encourage integrated housing, 90% of the population of NI still live in 'single identity' communities and that this figure rises to 93% in urban areas. In many locations, so-called Peace Walls have been erected along the demarcation lines that separate these communities (see Gormley-Heenan and Byrne, 2012; Gormley-Heenan et al, 2013).

The divisions are evident in many aspects of daily life. The two communities in NI may not celebrate the same holidays; they do not celebrate in the same way. They may play and watch different sports; the culture and rules of which are generally little understood by those on the 'other side' (Sugden, 1995; Mitchell et al, 2016). Where both sides do participate in the same sport (e.g. soccer) sectarian rivalries and tensions are commonplace.

Language too has frequently been referred to as a 'Political Weapon' (e.g. O'Leary, 2014) – whilst use of the Irish language has been embraced and championed by Republican politicians, some Unionists have sought equivalent status for the Ulster-scots dialect. The origins of a protracted political impasse (that commenced with the suspension of the Assembly on 26th January 2017 and was still ongoing at the time of writing) could be traced, at least in part, to a disagreement between the two blocs with regard to the introduction of an Irish Language Act – vociferously supported by Republicans – implacably opposed by Unionists.

Thus, although the labels Protestant and Catholic are historically rooted in religious conviction and remain indicative of a wider social identity (Mitchell, 2017), it is overly-reductionist and misleading to label the NI conflict as a religious war. Many commentators have sought to develop broader constructs to conceptualise the cumulative

---

[2] The issues of demography and identity are addressed in depth in Chapter 3

and combined effect of all of these issues in the maintaining of the separation and volatile relationship between the Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist (PUL) and Catholic/Nationalist/Republican (CNR) communities. Northern Ireland has all of the features required to be classified as a 'deeply divided society'; "conflict exists along a well-entrenched fault line that is recurrent and endemic and that contains the potential for violence between the segments" (Guelke, 2012, p. 30). The nature of this societal divide was defined by Wright (1996) as being characterised by internal '*ethnic frontiers*'[3].

> Where more than one claim is made over the same territory or people, the most likely consequence is the emergence of persistent division between groups divided into competing claims to legitimacy and potentially violent antagonism between an emergent *staatsvolk* and its unassimilated competitors. Specific ritual and symbolic differences are raised into defining political claims of distinct nationhood (Morrow, 2011, p. 302).

This ethnic separation arguably finds its most significant and enduring expression in schools. The NI Young Life and Times Survey has consistently recorded that over half of parents (both Protestant and Catholic) would prefer to send their children to a mixed religion school (e.g. Devine, 2013, pp. 7-10). Nevertheless, education in Northern Ireland remains stubbornly separated. Most state (*Controlled*) schools in Northern Ireland are predominantly Protestant, whilst the majority of Catholic children attend schools that are grant *Maintained* under the auspices of the Catholic Church. The Department of Education in NI recorded that, in the 2016-17 school year:

- 93% of pupils attended schools that were significantly separated according to Religion/Community/ethnic identity.
- 96% of those pupils in schools run by the Catholic orders, or are under *de facto* Catholic management, are themselves Catholic.
- 93% of those pupils in state 'Controlled' schools are non-Catholic (DENI, 2017).

It has been observed that it is wholly possible that the overwhelming majority of Ulster's children can go from four to 18 without having a serious conversation with a member of the 'rival creed' (Cohen, 2007).

Catholic beliefs and liturgical practices pervade the ethos of Maintained schools whilst the educational culture and practices of the Controlled sector are largely aligned within a

[3] Whilst it is accepted that the nature of the community division in NI is more accurately described as *ethnic* as opposed to *religious,* the terms "Catholic" and "Protestant" have been used throughout this thesis as identifiers of both ethnicity and broader community identity.

traditional British model (Murray, 1985). In spite of the fact that schools on both sides work to a common curriculum, the provision of certain subjects is consistent with this ethnic separation – for example, whilst the Irish language is routinely taught in both Primary and Post-Primary Maintained schools it is offered only as a short, unexamined, sixth form *general studies* option by a very small number of non-Catholic Grammar schools (Gault, 2017).

The ethnic division of education can be traced to the inception of a system of organised education on the island of Ireland and has endured in the face of several ill-fated attempts to introduce a common model (documented by Akenson, 1973; Murray, 1985; and others). Merry (2013) argued that, where a lack of political will means that genuine integration may not be a realistic possibility, some forms of separation may not be antithical to values of equality. He proposed that, in some cases, voluntary separation of education may be preferable. Where separation cannot be eliminated, it may be more productive to advance an educational approach through which the terms of the division can be explored.

By way of contrast, in his cross-national, mixed method research into the relationship between education and ethnic violence, Matthew Lange (2012), identified that, far from being a panacea in conflict affected regions, education can serve to exacerbate tensions in those societies with unresolved disputes, where the perspectives of pupils and teachers are informed by division and ethnic stereotypes. In such settings, socialisation through separated schooling only serves to intensify intercommunal disfavour and contributes to the strength of the opposing identities that shape intercommunal relations.

Johnson and Johnson (2005, p. 284) illustrated how the division of schools along ethnic lines plays a pivotal function in the preservation of community separation and separateness.

> Students are introduced into opposing cultural worlds through the curriculum tailored for their cultural group. Socially, the very separation of different groups emphasizes the differences and hostilities. Students are thus culturally and socially taught the values, attitudes, norms, and information underlying the continuation of the conflict.

Notwithstanding an explicit commitment included in the Belfast Agreement to "facilitate and encourage Integrated education" (UK Government, 1998), the Government of NI has,

since 2014, been actively promoting a concept known as *Shared*[4] *Education* (DENI, 2013, 2015a and 2015b). At a time of restricted budgets, the Shared Education programme offers comparatively large sums of project and infrastructure money to those schools that are willing to co-operate with one another across the community divide. The Shared Education model that has been promoted is grounded in research into the effect of collaborative initiatives between schools (Bell et al, 2006; Chapman et al, 2009; Chapman and Muijs, 2014). It places an emphasis on parental choice and explicitly foregrounds *educational outcomes* ahead of the *reconciliation outcomes* that had been the unambiguous goal of earlier policy initiatives: EMU (DENI, 1982) and CRED (DENI, 2011). As such, it falls short of Merry's (2013) fundamental requirement that, for voluntary separation to prove effective, the underlying issues of inequality and contested citizenship need to be addressed. Nolan (2015) considered that this change in focus was politically motivated and indicative of a wider policy inertia with regard to actively addressing the ethnic division; he suggested that the preservation of community division through education could be seen as being in the interest of the two political blocs.

Just as there is separation of pupils, so too there is evidence that the divided schools are staffed, on the whole, by teams of community consistent teachers (Darby et al, 1977; Dunn and Gallagher, 2002; Equality Commission, 2003). Nelson (2010) and UNESCO Centre (2015) identified that this state of play is supported and sustained by three specific areas of policy.

First, all Primary school teachers in NI are required to teach Religious Education; in order to gain employment in Catholic Maintained primary schools, prospective teachers are required to demonstrate that they have attained a Catholic church approved RE teaching certificate or (for those teachers who have transferred to a CCMS school to obviate a potential redundancy) to commit to obtaining this within three years of appointment.

Second, initial teacher education (ITE) in NI is provided by four separate institutions – two of these are mixed (Queens and Ulster universities), a third Stranmillis University College) is predominantly Protestant whilst a fourth (St Mary's University College) is virtually exclusively Catholic (Doyle, 2014). The Catholic teaching certificate is provided as a matter or course for those student teachers who attend St Mary's or who

[4] It is notable that in German the word 'shared' has two possible translations – *Gemeinsam* – which means common, or commonly held and – *Geteillt* – which means divided or shared-out. If the latter of these two definitions is accepted, then Shared Education may be seen as being a reflection of the consociational sharing of power in Stormont.

opt for the RE option at Ulster but is only available as an additional correspondence course for teachers in Stranmillis and QUB.

Third, in 1976, when legislation was introduced to NI to restrict the practice of religious discrimination in the workplace, schools were specifically excepted from the requirement to promote fair employment in their appointment of teachers. This exception to the Fair Employment and Treatment Order (FETO) is still in force and has only rarely been tested in law[5]. The most up-to-date quantitative research into the profile of the NI teaching workforce dates back 15 years (Equality Commission, 2004). It lacks currency. Furthermore, no research could be identified that had specifically set out to explore the motivations and experiences of those teachers that crossed between the two ethnically defined sectors of education in NI.

This research project was undertaken in light of these lacunae to explore the experiences of cross-over teachers and to determine whether or not those teachers who have departed from a community consistent career path have capacity to create a counter-narrative through which the hegemony of ethnic separation through education in Northern Ireland can be challenged. Teacher identity and teacher agency stands centre-stage.

> In order to generate full accounts of teacher identity… we need to draw on a range of approaches (Menter, 2008, p. 61).

A mixed methods research model was constructed. Quantitative data was gathered with which previous research into the distribution of teachers in Northern Ireland by community/ethnic and racial identity could be updated and new data could be obtained on the community profile of the teaching workforce in Northern Ireland in schools in each of the various management types (i.e. Controlled primary, Controlled post primary, Maintained primary, Maintained post primary, Catholic voluntary grammar and non-Catholic voluntary grammar). Through this it was to prove possible to identify the extent of movement of teachers between the ethnically separated sectors. The research model also included qualitative investigation to both identify the factors that may serve to moderate teachers' movement between and across these sectors *and* to explore the manner

---

[5] Only two cases have been brought – one unsuccessful (Debast and Flynn v Dr Malcolmson, Laurelhill Community College and SEELB) and one successful (Julie Brudell v Ballykelly PS Board of Governors) http://www.equalityni.org/ECNI/media/ECNI/News%20and%20Press/Press%20Releases/2010/Teacher-Wins-Discrimination-Case.pdf

in which those teachers who had crossed between these sectors had engaged their identity and applied their agency.

The relationship between teachers' community-ethnic identity and their career paths was established through an online survey. Alongside this a series of narrative interviews were conducted with a purposive sample of those teachers who had left the community consistent career path – these were thematically analysed in order to explore the effect this decision had had on their identity and agency.

This thesis has consequently been constructed in four sections. In Section One the historical background and context of the enduring division of education is identified and examined - including the impact of key policies from the past and present. It was through these reflections the gap in knowledge was identified and defined. This first section includes the research question and aims; it also identifies the underpinning ontology and epistemology that have informed the development of the research method and methodology. The investigation then commences with a review of literature in respect of teacher identity and teacher agency.

Sections Two and Three are focussed on the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the fieldwork. Each of these sections has a binary structure: an initial methodology chapter in which the data gathering processes and analysis techniques are documented alongside the story of the fieldwork as it progressed, and a chapter outlining the findings - as guided by the research aims. Section Four contains a further two chapters. In the first of these, the findings from the previous two sections and the implications of the work are discussed, and its original contribution to knowledge is identified i.e. the experiences of 'outsider' teachers in the context of the ethnically divided school system in post-conflict NI. The final chapter provides a summary of the preceding chapters, makes suggestions regarding pedagogical policy and practice, and outlines a series of potential avenues for future research.

Teachers' identities in NI may have been forged in a divided and contested society but those who are willing to cross-over may hold a uniquely valuable key to opening their students to perspectives that might otherwise remain unexamined and alien to them. This investigation quantifies the phenomenon of teacher cross-over. It casts new light on the experiences of such teachers and explores the identity of those who teach across the divide and the agency that they can bring to their work in the classroom.

CONTEXT

Chapter 2. The Separation of Education in a Divided Society

"Education is simply the soul of a society as it passes from one generation to another… we cannot give what we have not got, and cannot teach to other people what we do not know ourselves." GK Chesterton (1924)

Education is a crucial component in the social mechanisms that serve to ensure the maintenance and development of any society. This function is further enhanced when that society is contested, in conflict or emerging from conflict (Horner et al, 2015). A successful and lasting transition from conflict to peace requires social and civic transformation - relations between the communities on either side need to be restored. Education can play a vital role in enabling or restricting these processes (Bush and Saltarelli, 2000). Teachers are consciously or unconsciously, at the fulcrum of change; they become gatekeepers at the threshold of a new model of society.

Northern Ireland has been affected over a protracted period by inter-community conflict and enduring societal division. The origins of the divisions apparent in the present day educational systems of NI were forged on the island long before the northern state came into existence in 1922; whilst these roots may have been inherited, developments post-partition have served to substantially reinforce divisions.

Research into the ways in which education in NI has responded to conflict and the processes of post-conflict transformation can provide an insight into both the generic (the operation of education in contested societies) and the specific study of a unique situation (e.g. the place of education in the particular and enduring inter-community division in NI). Studies into the experiences of teachers have the potential to enhance understanding of their capacity to effect change from within.

Policy and practice initiatives in Northern Ireland (NI) from the 1970s onwards sought to ameliorate the consequences of a system of education that has routinely separated pupils along the lines of community/religious division that defined the conflict that became known as *the Troubles*. A generation of pupils has passed through education since the signing of the Belfast peace agreement on Good Friday 1998, yet, in the overwhelming majority of NI schools, most pupils still sit alongside classmates who share the same community background as themselves. The limited research that has been conducted into teacher demographics indicates that the composition of the school staffroom closely reflects the community homogeneity of the classroom (Darby et al, 1977; Dunn and Gallagher, 2002; Equality Commission 2003 and 2004).

Hard copies of the Belfast Agreement were circulated to every household and, in a referendum held on 23rd May 1998, it was endorsed by the people of both jurisdictions in Ireland[6]. A pledge was built into the Agreement "to facilitate and encourage integrated education" (UK Government, 1998, p.23), yet, at the time of writing, only 7% of pupils were being educated in integrated schools (i.e. schools which actively seek to ensure that Catholics and Protestants are taught alongside each other).

This chapter uses academic literature, policy documents and other material to identify how this ethnic division in education has come about and then outlines the latter's current configuration.

2.1. The Evolution of Separation in Education

Rafferty and Relihan (2015) documented the development of educational practices in Ireland from ancient times. They located the first references to some recognisable form of education in Ireland in ancient Brehon Law which laid down guidelines for the practice of passing down agrarian and bardic skills through a process known as 'fosterage'[7]. Church involvement in education can be traced to the establishment of monastic schools in the Sixth Century. These schools introduced a more structured system through which prospective clerics and the sons of landowners could avail of ecclesiastically orientated studies; becoming versed in Latin and the psalms.

In the Sixteenth Century, Tudor policy in Ireland acted to enforce and buttress the Protestant Reformation through teaching in English rather than Latin and by curtailing the educational provision of the Catholic church (and those Protestant denominations – Presbyterian, Methodist – that *dissented* from the established episcopal church)[8]. This was augmented by a system of proselytising delivered through Charter Schools in which pupils were raised as (Church of Ireland) Protestants and 'transplanted' into areas far from their original homes. The Anglo-centric and episcopal control over education was further reinforced by Penal Laws; those Catholic priests and clergy from dissenting Protestant

---

[6] NI 71.1% in favour (on a turnout of 81.1%) - RoI 94.4% in favour (on a turnout of 55.6%) http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fref98.htm

[7] The custom of placing children in the charge of other members of the clan was practised by all classes, but especially by the wealthy.

[8] An Act to Restrain Foreign Education (1695) and An Act To Prevent the Further Growth of Popery (1703)

denominations who facilitated the teaching of children in informal 'Hedge Schools'[9] put themselves at risk of penal transportation.

The Act of Union in 1801 formally brought the islands of Ireland and Great Britain together as one state - the United Kingdom. By 1829, following a sustained campaign for Catholic emancipation, the Penal Laws were substantially repealed.

In 1831 a template for a national education system in Ireland was proposed by the Chief Secretary of Ireland, Lord E. G. Stanley. The *Stanley Letter* set out a vision of a system that would unite children of different creeds. Pupils were to be taught nonspiritual subjects together; religious instruction was to take place *outside* of school hours. The National School system was also "to look with peculiar favour" on those schools that were managed jointly by Catholics and Protestants[10].

This secular ideal was challenged by church authorities on both sides. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church, fearing a loss of influence, brought pressure to bear on the National Board to allow them to control their own schools. The Presbyterian Synod of Ulster passed a resolution rejecting the Act and opposition in County Antrim and County Down led to teachers being intimidated and schools being burnt down (Magee, 1995). Cohen (2000) observed that the religious composition of the province of Ulster at that time ensured that education became a volatile and intense area of cultural politics. The churches' organised resistance to the school system proposed by Stanley proved so effective that, by the mid-nineteenth century, only 4% of national schools were under mixed management. Akenson (1973) identified that, long before the partition of Ireland, the system of education was already broken and divided along sectarian lines

2.2. The Division of Ireland: Education in a Contested Place

The years directly preceding the Great War had seen a period of increasing political agitation in support of self-determination for Ireland and autonomy from Britain. The campaign led to insurrection in Easter 1916. In 1920 the British Government acceded to the inevitable and drafted the Government of Ireland Act - devolving many administrative powers from London to a regional government in Dublin. At the same time, the

---

[9] It has been proposed that the Presbyterians acquired their sobriquet 'black mouths' during this period due to the proclivity of hedge school pupils to take advantage of the availability of blackberries during classes.

[10] Full text of the Stanley letter: http://irishnationalschoolstrust.org/document_post_type/the-stanley-letter/

Westminster parliament recognised that the predominantly Protestant population in the industrialised north-eastern province of Ulster remained fiercely opposed to the prospect of an authority dominated by southern Catholics – any attempt to force a settlement on a resistant North risked seriously destabilising a situation that was already potentially explosive. The Act therefore included a stop-gap solution to this seemingly intractable problem, allowing for the creation of a temporary territory, Northern Ireland, made up of the six parliamentary counties in Ulster that had a pro-British/Unionist majority.

The Government of Ireland Act came into effect on 7th December 1922; Northern Ireland opted out of the newly formed Irish Free State and remained within the United Kingdom as a self-governing province with delegated powers for a number of internal matters – including policing, housing and education. In line with the Westminster model, members of the parliament of Northern Ireland were elected by a 'first-past-the-post' system (although a model of proportional representation had originally been proposed).

The demographic profile of the northern region at the time of partition - two-thirds Protestant, one-third Catholic (Table 1) - ensured that the majority community felt itself to be in an almost unassailably dominant position; albeit one that required perpetual vigilance in order to defend itself against a perceived, covetous neighbour in the south and the occasional, poorly supported, uprising by indigenous Irish republicans (as in 1942-44 and the Border Campaign of 1956-62).

		Catholic	**Presbyterian**	**C. of I.**	**Methodist**	**Other**
Year	**Total population**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**
1926	1,256,561	33.5	31.3	27.0	3.9	4.3

Table 1. The Northern Ireland Census: 1926 Religion Report[11]

In common with standard political practice, the ruling party in NI (the Unionist Party) developed policies and enacted laws to benefit those who supported them at polling time; state bodies were thus established with an inherent pro-union (and by implication, Protestant) bias. Notwithstanding the likelihood that a Unionist government would be returned in perpetuity, a number of constituency boundaries were deliberately drawn in such a way as to further minimise Nationalist/Catholic representation in local political

[11] Adapted from http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/ni/religion.htm#1a

governance[12]. In 1967 '*The Times'* stated that the Stormont government was effectively treating the Catholic population of NI as "second class citizens".[13]

Inspired by Martin Luther King, the civil rights movement in the United States and the revolutionary student spirit of the 1960s, the Catholic/Nationalist minority (with the support of a number of liberal Protestants) began to challenge this situation. The civil rights demonstrations that took place were met with resistance from both the police (the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)) and a state-sponsored militia (the Ulster Special Constabulary, also known as the 'B' Specials).

In 1969, amid a particularly intense period of political and sectarian rioting in Belfast and 'Derry, the Stormont Government requested military support from Westminster. They had hoped that the presence of the army would help to diffuse the crisis – such optimism was to prove misguided. The arrival of British soldiers on the streets of Northern Ireland in August that year is generally regarded as marking the start of three decades of violent inter-community conflict.

Between 1969 and the signing of the Belfast Agreement in 1998 more than 3,600 people were killed and thousands more were injured (Fay et al, 1998 and 1999). It has been calculated that, in relation to population size, this would have been the equivalent of around 115,000 fatalities in United Kingdom as a whole (Hargie et al, 2003).

The combined effects of violence, intimidation and fear led to increased physical separation of the Protestant and Catholic communities. In the initial years of the Troubles, NI witnessed a population movement that, at the time, was said at that time to have been the biggest to have taken place in Europe since the Second World War[14]. Areas that had previously been 'mixed', became increasingly identified as being of either one side or the other. Those communities of Northern Ireland that had already been divided became polarised – physically, culturally and socially. The division of the two communities through education had however already been previously well established.

---

[12] This process became known as 'Gerrymandering'

[13] The BBC references the use of the term in an editorial in The Times published in 1967 http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/northern_ireland/understanding/events/civil_rights.stm

[14]Dennis Murray "Everyday Life in the Troubles" http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/topics/Troubles_everyday_life

2.3 Education and Division in Northern Ireland

The system that the Northern Ireland Ministry of Education had inherited in 1922 was largely denominational, with the majority of schools under clerical control. Within the borders of the newly created NI lay a total of 2,042 national schools, 75 intermediate schools (mostly Grammar) and 12 model schools. The Commissioners of Education for the whole island of Ireland were still based in Dublin; Northern Ireland had, in effect, been established without any structure for the administration of education (Daly and Simpson, 2004).

A section of the ruling Unionist party considered that it would be better to try to involve the minority Catholic community in state affairs from the outset rather than to exclude and further alienate them. Consequently, the commission set-up in 1921 to design an education system for Northern Ireland, the Lynn Committee, invited representatives of the Catholic church to take part in the process; Catholic authorities were however suspicious of the motives of the new Government and boycotted the proceedings.

The legislation that emerged from the Lynn Committee (the 1923 Education Act) proposed that *all* primary schools should be under the control of the state – that the existing array of schools would be replaced with a single, unified, non-denominational system. The 1923 Act also banned religious instruction during school hours and prohibited school authorities from taking religion into account in the appointing of teachers. A school that chose to remain outside this new system would still receive state funding according to a sliding scale – the less control the government had over the school the lower the level of funding that would be made available to it.

Three classes of school emerged under the new system: (state) Controlled, (Catholic) Maintained and Voluntary (generally – but not exclusively – private grammar schools). Whilst the 1923 Act committed the NI government to pay teachers' salaries and meet basic heating costs in all three sectors, Maintained and Voluntary schools would receive no additional funding for any other running costs.

The legislation was unpopular with churches on both sides of the divide. The same suspicions and anxieties that had prevented the establishing of a common, non-denominational system of education in 1831 resurfaced in 1923. The Catholic church authorities (already antipathetic towards the Northern Irish state) saw the new education

system as a direct attack on the schools that they managed – they saw the funding system as discriminatory and felt that a Catholic *ethos* could only be guaranteed if they were able to keep complete control of their schools (Farren, 1989). The main Protestant churches considered schooling to have both moral and educational functions; they were dismayed by the Act's secularism and were troubled by the idea of non-denominational institutions.

The Government ceded to building pressure from the churches and, in 1925, certain aspects of the Act were radically amended; all schools in receipt of government funding would henceforth be *required* to provide "simple Bible instruction" and permission for employing authorities to use faith as a consideration in the appointment of teachers was granted (Bardon, 1992). The non-denominational aspirations of the Act were further diluted when, in 1930, clerical representation was permitted on both regional education committees and the management boards of schools (so called 'transferors') – at the same time additional funding to Voluntary and Maintained schools was increased; they would receive 50% of that which was being provided to similar schools in the Controlled sector.

In 1947 the NI Government introduced compulsory education for all children up to 15 years of age. Primary education was to cease at age 11. The nature of the post-primary education that pupils would receive was henceforth to be determined by a series of tests; the results of these would indicate whether a pupil was better suited to attend a vocational Secondary Modern/Intermediate school or a more academically orientated grammar school. The 1947 Act also increased the additional funding that was available to schools outside the state system (to 65% of the level that Controlled schools were eligible for). A further revision to the Education Act in 1968 raised the payment to Catholic Maintained Schools in respect of additional costs to 80%[15] but, by that stage, increasing community tensions were beginning to place other pressures on the NI government.

A few individuals sensed the gathering storm and engaged in efforts to build bridges between the two opposing communities through education. John Malone, a headmaster in East Belfast, was one of the seminal innovators in community relations work in schools. In 1970, Malone took a secondment from his post in Orangefield School and established the *Schools Project in Community Relations*. Malone's work has since been recognised as being the first education and community relations programme to have been supported with public funds (Gallagher, 2014). The project aimed to support 13 to 16

[15] Maintained schools were finally awarded the same level of funding as Controlled schools in 1993.

year-olds to adopt "a considerate style of life" and was led by a small team of Field Workers who delivered workshops with groups of young people to explore interpersonal and group relationships, conflict and division with local and international perspectives (Malone, 1973).

The Schools Project in Community Relations was essentially a curriculum development project, with some elements of joint school activities and cross-community meetings. Malone had plans to produce curriculum support materials, but the funds for these were not, in the end, made available. A senior civil servant at the time, Maurice Hayes, was cited as having commented that Malone's pioneering work was "disgracefully ignored by the sceptical and non-practicing pundits in the Ministry of Education" (Gallagher, 2014).

The Integrated Education movement traces its origins to around the same time. Cecil Linehan (2002) documented how, in the early 1970s, a group of Catholic parents, who had decided not to send their children to schools in the Maintained sector, came together to provide religious instruction classes for their children. The parents adopted the name *All Children Together* (ACT).

In 1973 agreement was reached between NI politicians and the Governments in Dublin and London to establish an Assembly in Stormont that would enable the sharing of power between Unionists and Nationalists. In this brief period of optimism and rapprochement the then Minister for Education, Basil McIvor, announced a *Shared Schools Plan*. Several Protestant parents joined forces with ACT to promote the notion of these shared schools: "Hopes were high that existing schools would change their management structures, and that the churches both Catholic and Protestant which held dominant positions on the boards of all schools would be prepared to share power and places with parents and thus allow an Integrated ethos to develop" (Linehan, 2002).

In May 1974, an alliance of those opposed to both the sharing of power and Dublin's limited role in the administration of NI, The Ulster Workers Council (UWC), called a general strike. The UWC strike was organised by trade union shop-stewards, enforced by Loyalist paramilitaries and fronted by anti-agreement Unionist politicians. In less than a month it had brought down the Assembly and, in doing so, scuppered McIvor's plans for Shared Schools.

ACT however maintained pressure for educational reform and organised a well-attended conference – *Integrated Schools: How? Why? And the Way Ahead* – from which a paper was published proposing the shared management of schools and suggesting a model for integrating existing schools alongside the development of a curriculum to promote "a common pattern of religious and moral education, and of historical and cultural studies". The 1978 Education (N.I.) Act took on board some of ACT´s proposals and, in 1981, Lagan College was established as the first independent Integrated school.

Lagan College's arrival on the scene was soon followed by a ground-breaking declaration from the Department of Education (DENI). The DENI Circular 1982/21, *The Improvement of Community Relations: The Contribution of Schools,* stated that:

> Every teacher, every school manager, Board member and trustee, and every educational administrator within the system has a responsibility for helping children to learn to understand and respect each other, and their differing customs and traditions, and of preparing them to live together in harmony in adult life (DENI, 1982).

By the end of the 1980s a whole generation of children had grown up with experience only of life during the Troubles. A baby born in the weeks leading up to the arrival of British army onto the streets of NI would have reached the age of majority and have been eligible to vote in the General election of June 1987 that brought Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party to power.

That same year DENI introduced a *Cross-community Contact Scheme* to encourage and support the development of links between Catholic and Protestant pupils. The scheme provided generous funding for joint activities between Maintained and Controlled schools. In 1996 responsibility for the management of the Scheme was handed to the Education and Library Boards whose Youth Sections were to administer an annual 'ring-fenced' budget for both inter-school contact programmes and training for teachers in facilitating such encounters.

In the meantime, schools had been endeavouring to interpret and apply the requirement of the 1982 DENI Circular that they "actively contribute to the improvement of community relations". That challenge was clarified, to some extent, by Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order 1989 which introduced a requirement upon all schools in Northern Ireland to deliver the cross curricular theme Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU). Notwithstanding the combination of policy directives and the

availability of funds, a review of the impact of EMU recorded that, a decade later, teachers lacked the confidence and skills required to engage with the community relations aspects of EMU (Smith and Robinson, 1992). The report included recommendations for additional training for teachers and better co-ordination between agencies.

Elsewhere in the world, the twin policies of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost*[16] instigated in the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985-86, led ultimately to the breeching of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, the demise of the Warsaw Pact and the end of the Cold War. In June 1989 images of a lone protestor in Tiananmen Square, Beijing facing down a column of tanks appeared on international TV screens. As the two monoliths of state communism and capitalism established a new *entente cordiale* the world's diplomats were able to turn their attention to the resolution of other conflicts. On 11th Feb 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from prison and on 27th April 1994 South Africa held its first free election.

The same year, on 31st August, the IRA announced a "complete cessation of military activities". In a massively symbolic gesture, the US President, Bill Clinton, switched on the Belfast Christmas lights in 1995. He was accompanied by two children – one Protestant and one Catholic. The following year US senator George Mitchell arrived in Northern Ireland to chair multi-party peace talks. There was a hiatus in the process when the IRA resumed their campaign from February 1996 to July 1997, but nevertheless on 10th April 1998 (Good Friday), following months of delicate discussion and painstaking negotiation, a peace settlement was agreed.

2.4. Post-Conflict Education Policy in NI

Despite several early set-backs, the consociational Agreement held. The policies and initiatives that had been devised and implemented by DENI in the midst of the on-going violent conflict began to appear increasingly out-dated in the context of a new-found peaceful co-existence. In 2002 the Department commissioned a review of the Schools Community Relations Programme; the resulting report observed that "a major strength of the programme was the continued commitment and dedication of teachers, both personally and professionally" (O'Connor et al, 2002, p. 39). The Review also noted

[16] 'Perestroika' and 'Glasnost' have been translated from Russian into English as 'Restructuring' and 'Openness'.

however that many programmes lacked progression and commented on the "reluctance by teachers to engage in controversial issues" (p. 44).

In 2007 a revised curriculum was launched for all state-funded schools in NI. This included elements with a clear focus on reconciliation including: a *Local and Global Citizenship* module for post primary schools (encompassing the themes of: diversity and inclusion, equality and social justice, democracy/participation and human rights) and a *Personal Development and Mutual Understanding* module for primary schools.

In 2008 the then Minister for Education, Caitríona Ruane – a representative of the Irish Nationalist, Sinn Féin party – initiated a working group to review her department's Community Relations policy. Sinn Féin's stated position at that time was that inequality was the factor that sustained the division between the two dominant communities; discrimination was the key priority that needed to be addressed, rather than the promotion of mutual understanding, by creating opportunities for cross-community contact.

The policy review took place at a time of increasing financial pressure. The global financial crash of 2008 had tightened the flow of money into NI and many international philanthropists who had previously been keen to support reconciliation work turned their attention closer to home. In the lead up to the 2011 Assembly election the total withdrawal of community relations funding in education had seemed possible. In the event, funding was reduced by over 60% - from £3.4M in 2009-10 to £1.1M in 2010-11[17].

In 2011 DENI published the *Community Relations, Equality and Diversity Policy* (CRED). This new policy drew on the equality clauses of the Belfast Agreement (Section 75) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. It was, in addition, specifically designed to sit comfortably with the schools and youth work curricula and other education policy initiatives. The policy marked a conscious move away from the concept of *tolerance* – it was no longer enough to simply *tolerate* others – *acceptance* was the objective. The term 'Single Identity', that had become widely adopted to describe work to explore identity without actual cross-community contact, was assiduously avoided.

CRED was, at its core, about recognising all the multifarious aspects of identity rather than lumping everyone from one community together into some convenient, common

[17] These figures were provided by DENI in response to a direct request in respect of this research project. They have not been published anywhere else.

catch-all. It was notable however that while CRED drew consciously on the established peace-building principles of Equity, Diversity and Interdependence (Eyben et al, 1997) the notion of *equity* with its intrinsic tenet of fairness had been replaced with the concept of *equality* (one-for-you-one-for-me); *interdependence* had been dropped altogether. All schools and youth groups receiving government funds (directly through DENI or indirectly through CCMS, YCNI or ELBs) were henceforth obliged to deliver their services with 'due regard' to this new policy. A new common funding scheme was introduced to support that process: the CRED Enhancement Scheme.

Meanwhile, the Stormont Government had struggled to introduce its own Community Relations Policy for wider society. In 2005, a wide-ranging consultation exercise was introduced with the aim of formulating a policy document to address community divisions, segregation, and sectarianism in Northern Ireland. The resulting document, *A Shared Future* (OFMDFM, 2003), raised concerns around the polarisation of Northern Ireland. It advocated "sharing over separation" (p. 13) and "cultural variety" (p. 10). The proposals arising from the document did not however gather the required cross-party support.

The Shared Future document had been developed during a brief period of direct rule from Westminster. Once the Assembly had been re-established, local politicians were keen to distance themselves from any initiatives enacted during direct rule and establish their own stamp on policy. The development of a subsequent community relations strategy was slow and arduous. A policy hiatus ensued.

The *Programme for Government 2011-15* (PfG) (OFMDFM, 2011) included a commitment to "build a strong and shared community" and contained specific objectives relating to Shared Education – any reference to Integrated Education was conspicuous in its absence. In July 2012, the Minister of Education established a Ministerial Advisory Group (MAG) on *Advancing Shared Education*.

Crucially, Shared Education and Integrated Education offer markedly different visions of post-conflict education. Put simply, Shared Education supports the sharing of resources and contact between pupils of "different religious belief and from different

socioeconomic backgrounds"[18]; Integrated Education on the other hand advocates the dissolution of the divided system and the establishing of wholly mixed schools.

In the winter of 2012-13 the removal of the Union Flag from permanent display outside the City Hall in Belfast precipitated a period of civil unrest. Still without a community relations policy, the NI Government could not even fall back on the Belfast Agreement – the Institute for Conflict Research observed that, since the Agreement had included nothing about the flying of flags, both nationalists and unionists were able to use the document to support quite contrasting interpretations (Nolan et al, 2014).

The MAG revealed its report on the advancement of Shared Education in Northern Ireland in April 2013 – the recommendations were duly accepted by the Minister[19].

Pressure from the US and UK governments mounted on the Assembly in Stormont. In response, *Together: Building a United Community* (T:BUC), was published in May 2013. The strategy undertook to remove peace walls, support shared housing, promote cross-community sport, initiate a citizenship/employability training programme and provide cross-community summer camps. T:BUC restated the PfG commitment to promote Shared Education.

In February 2015, DE issued a consultation on the cessation of earmarked CRED funding and, at the end of March 2015, the ring-fencing of future CRED funding was completely withdrawn. At the same time, the ELBs (which had been created when direct rule was introduced in March 1972) were stood down and replaced with a, NI-wide, Education Authority. Those ELB officers that had been funded to support the implementation of the CRED policy were offered early retirement or re-assigned – generally to the new *Shared Education Signature Project* department which was supported with a significant cash injection[20]. The Shared Education Bill was introduced in November 2015,

[18] Shared Education Bill - Article 1, Sections 2a and b
[19] The chairman of the MAG was also the main recipient of funding to evaluate shared education from the same donor that provided funding for the development of shared education to the same university (and subsequently to the NI Assembly to support shared education as a statutory duty).
[20] In October 2015 the Minister called for applications to the £25million Shared Education Signature Programme (part financed by Atlantic Philanthropies): https://www.deni.gov.uk/news/final-call-applications-%C2%A325million-shared-education-signature-project In January 2016 the Minister announced that €35.29millon was to be assigned to Shared Education from Peace IV: https://www.deni.gov.uk/news/education-minister-welcomes-%E2%82%AC3529millon-shared-education-peace-iv In March 2016 a further £50million over ten years was announced for the creation of Shared Campuses: https://www.deni.gov.uk/news/ministers-announce-funding-shared-and-Integrated-education-phoenix-Integrated-ps

progressed rapidly through Committee and Consideration stages and was passed by the Assembly for Royal Assent on 8th March 2016.

2.5 Schools and the Community Divide

The education system that has developed in NI presents a complex myriad of management sectors for the 821 primary and 201 post primary, mainstream, grant-aided schools that serve a student population of just over 312,000 (DENI, 2018).

DENI provides direct support to 438 schools in the state Controlled sector: including Primary schools (for pupils aged 4-11), non-selective Post Primary schools (for pupils aged 11-16 or 18) and selective Grammar schools (for pupils aged 11-18). The Department also provides funds to the Catholic Council for Maintained Schools (CCMS) that enables it to run 434 primary and post primary schools. A further 27 primary and post primary schools deliver the curriculum through the medium of the Irish language; these are Maintained through Comhairle na Gaelscolaíochta (CnaG). Three primary schools are Maintained by the Church of Ireland and one by the Presbyterian church.

The Integrated sector (which is characterised by a high level of parental involvement in their management and the setting of quotas to ensure a cross-community mix of both staff and pupils) includes both primary and post primary schools. This sector includes 38 schools whose Boards of Governors receive their budgets directly from DE - grant-Maintained Integrated schools (GMI) – and 27 schools which, although they have *transformed* to attain Integrated status, still retain the direct funding mechanism of the Controlled sector (such schools are commonly referred to as Controlled Integrated).

In 2017 the Department of Education recorded that, in these deliberately and consciously mixed Integrated schools, 36% of pupils were Catholic, 40% Protestant and 24% were classified as being 'other' (i.e. non-Christian, other Christian and no religion). These schools provide education for nearly 22,000 pupils or 7% of the total mainstream, primary and post primary school population (Table 2.).

In marked contrast, the profiles of pupils that attend the other management types of schools demonstrate a clear pattern of division between the two dominant communities. Just over 1,000 of the 114,000 pupils attending primary and post primary schools managed through CCMS are designated as being Protestant; 96% of pupils in CCMS Primary schools and 97% in CCMS secondary schools were designated as Catholic –

there were no Protestant pupils recorded as attending post primary schools in the Irish Medium sector (Table 3.). Less than 1% of pupils in Grammar schools under Catholic management are Protestant (Table 5.). There are at least two notable exceptions to this post primary profile of ethnic homogeneity in Catholic schools: Dominican College, Portstewart and St Columbanus, Bangor[21].

Of those pupils enrolled in schools in the Controlled primary sector, 7% are classified as Catholic, 3% of pupils in Controlled non-selective post primary schools are Catholic as are 9% of those receiving their education in Controlled grammar schools (Table 4.).

The figures produced by DE are based on an aggregation of enrolment figures obtained from all schools in Northern Ireland; individual schools may show patterns of greater or lesser division or diversity. By way of example, in a newspaper interview on 13th March 2017 the Chief Executive of the recently established Controlled Schools Support Council (CSSC) stated that "there are Controlled schools in Northern Ireland which are attended by more than 95% Catholic children… other Controlled schools are naturally Integrated… Ballykelly, Strabane, Sion Mills all sitting on 40-something or 50-something"[22]. It follows therefore that the 7% of Catholic pupils that are recorded as attending Controlled schools are not evenly distributed throughout the sector. They must instead be disproportionately concentrated in a relatively small number of schools. If a high proportion of those Catholic pupils who attend schools in the Controlled sector are concentrated in a small number of schools then, by inference, the majority of Controlled schools must have a pupil profile that includes significantly fewer Catholic pupils than the mean of 7% might be assumed to suggest.

NI has currently 66 grammar schools; 16 of these are Controlled and 50 are independently managed (Voluntary) – 29 of which are managed within the auspices of the Catholic Church. Of the 21 non-Catholic Voluntary grammar schools, 11 have 'preparatory departments' i.e. primary schools that are managed within the structure of a Grammar school and for which parents are required to make a financial contribution. It is worthy of note that, whilst still some way short of parity, the figure for Catholic pupils attending non-Catholic Voluntary grammars slightly bucks the trend observed above.

[21] Dominican College: 32% Protestant. St Columbanus: 35% Protestant. "How Integrated are Schools Where You Live" The Detail: 23rd November 2012
[22] Belfast Telegraph: 13th March 2017

Catholic pupils account for around one pupil in every eight (12%) in non-Catholic Voluntary grammar schools (Table 5.). There is evidence that in some of these schools, the figure may be much higher: Belfast Royal Academy, Strabane Academy and Rainey Endowed School have been reported as having a roll that is comprised of approximately 25% Catholic pupils, whilst Methodist College Belfast was reported to be educating a population of pupils that has a highly diverse composition (with as many as 23 different religions present in the pupil-body)[23]. The uptake of places in preparatory departments by Catholic pupils is consistent with this pattern.

State support for a system of testing pupils in their final year of primary school in order to determine whether or not they should further their post primary education at an academically orientated grammar school or a more vocational secondary school – the 'Transfer test' – was officially withdrawn in 2008. Testing, however, persists. It is coordinated through two bodies: the Association of Quality Education (AQE) and the Post Primary Transfer Consortium (PPTC).

In another manifestation of the community division evident in education, the PPTC test (which is purchased from the Granada Learning Education Group and often referred to as the GL test) is used by all Catholic Voluntary Grammar schools in NI, on the other hand most non-Catholic Grammars use the AQE test (AKA the Common Entrance Assessment (CEA)). In June 2018 it was announced that steps were being undertaken by the two organisations to develop a common transfer test[24].

Hayes et al (2007) documented the cumulative impact of years of educational division and identified that, in spite of all schools working to a common curriculum, Protestant and Catholic children on the whole played different sports, learned different languages, read different books, received instruction in different religions and, perhaps most importantly, learnt different perspectives on history according to their ethnic background. They proposed that the dearth of contact between the two communities had in effect become institutionalised through a system of formal education that served to perpetuate community division by religious identity.

---

[23] Irish News: 24th March 2015

[24] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-44598805

Description	Number of Schools of this Type	Pupil Profile (by Community)	
Integrated schools may be either Controlled or Grant-Maintained. They are distinguished from the other types of schools by their specific commitment to ensure a cross-community balance in the composition of both the classroom and the staffroom.	Primary: 45	Protestant	3,406 (34%)[25]
		Catholic	3,661 (37%)
		Other Christian	629 (6%)
		Non-Christian	147 (1.5%)
		No religion	2,110 (21%)
		Total	**9,953**
	Post Primary: 20	Protestant	5,385 (45%)
		Catholic	4,278 (36%)
		Other Christian	612 (5%)
		Non-Christian	163 (1%)
		No religion	1,599 (13%)
		Total	**12,037**

Table 2. Sectoral Profile: Integrated Schools (DENI, 2018)

[25] All percentages have been given as whole numbers

<table>
<tr><th>Description</th><th>Number of Schools of this Type</th><th colspan="2">Pupil Profile
(by Community)</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="20">Members of BoGs include those nominated by “trustees”, alongside representatives of parents, teachers and EA.

EA provides funding for running costs and DE funds capital building works.

For most (but not all) Maintained schools staff are employed the Council for Catholic Maintained Schools (CCMS).

Other Maintained schools include Irish medium schools and four Primary schools which, although technically Maintained, are not within CCMS and serve a predominantly Protestant community.</td><td rowspan="6">CCMS Primary: 370</td><td>Protestant</td><td>600 (<1%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Catholic</td><td>74,175 (96%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Other Christian</td><td>465 (<1%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Non-Christian</td><td>519 (<1%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>No religion</td><td>1,263 (2%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td>77,022</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">CCMS Post Primary: 64</td><td>Protestant</td><td>478 (1%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Catholic</td><td>36,652 (97%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Other Christian</td><td>221 (<1%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Non-Christian</td><td>140 (<1%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>No religion</td><td>425 (1%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td>37,916</td></tr>
<tr><td>Irish Medium Primary: 25</td><td colspan="2">No information available</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">Irish Medium Post Primary: 2</td><td>Protestant</td><td>Nil</td></tr>
<tr><td>Catholic</td><td>580 (94%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Other Christian</td><td>*[26]</td></tr>
<tr><td>Non-Christian</td><td>Nil</td></tr>
<tr><td>No religion</td><td>#[27]</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td>620</td></tr>
<tr><td>Other Maintained: 4 (all Primary)</td><td colspan="2">No information available</td></tr>
</table>

Table 3. Sectoral Profile: Maintained Schools (DENI, 2018)

[26] * Fewer than 5 cases

[27] # Information supressed

Description	Number of Schools of this Type	Pupil Profile (by Community)	
Managed and funded by the Education Authority through Boards of Governors (BoG). Includes both Primary and Post-Primary schools (including Grammar schools).	**Primary:**366	Protestant	51,765 (67%)
		Catholic	5,401 (7%)
		Other Christian	4,430 (6%)
		Non-Christian	777 (1%)
		No religion	14,949 (19%)
		Total	**77,322**
BoGs are generally comprised of representatives of the Protestant churches, parent-representatives, teachers and the EA.	**Post Primary:** 55	Protestant	22,055 (80%)
		Catholic	925 (3%)
		Other Christian	1,133 (4%)
		Non-Christian	161 (<1%)
		No religion	3,049 (11%)
		Total	**27,323**
	Grammar: 17	Protestant	11,043 (74%)
		Catholic	1,339 (9%)
		Other Christian	802 (5%)
		Non-Christian	90 (<1%)
		No religion	1,626 (11%)
		Total	**14,900**

Table 4. Sectoral Profile: Controlled Schools (DENI, 2018)

Description	Number of Schools of this Type	Pupil Profile (by Community)	
Self-governing Grammar schools, often long established and sometimes with a preparatory department. Funded by the Department, parental contributions and managed by BoGs - usually including representatives of foundation governors, parents, teachers and DE/EA representatives. The BoGs is the authority responsible for the employment of all staff in its school	**Preparatory:** 11	Protestant	837 (48%)
		Catholic	210 (12%)
		Other Christian	234 (13%)
		Non-Christian	38 (<1%)
		No religion	438 (25%)
		Total	**1,757**
	Grammar (Under Catholic management): 29	Protestant	273 (<1%)
		Catholic	27,446 (97%)
		Other Christian	153 (<1%)
		Non-Christian	96 (<1%)
		No religion	289 (1%)
		Total	**28,257**
	Grammar (Under Non-Catholic management): 21	Protestant	13,062 (65%)
		Catholic	2,507 (12%)
		Other Christian	1,400 (7%)
		Non-Christian	263 (1%)
		No religion	2,970 (15%)
		Total	**20,202**

Table 5. Sectoral Profile: Voluntary Schools (DENI, 2018)

Considering the evidence above, it is difficult to refute their assertion that the divisions in the system of schooling is a key mechanism by which the separation of the Catholic and Protestant communities in NI is defined and maintained. It follows too, that those who have passed through this deeply divided system on their way to a career in teaching are likely to enter the profession having already been inculcated into the educational ethos, practice and social culture of one, particular ethnic community and, potentially, in ignorance of the ethos, practice and culture of schools outside of that community.

CHAPTER 3. TEACHERS AND TEACHING IN A DIVIDED SYSTEM

It would however appear that, just as pupils are systematically separated into schools according to their religion/culture, so too the division between schools may be reflected in the community profile of the teachers employed within them. Teachers' experiences will inevitably play a significant role in the capacity of education to develop restorative relationships. Liechty and Clegg (2001, p. 345) proposed that, in order to "move beyond sectarianism", individuals and institutions needed to develop strategies that include "wider inclusivity", "boundary crossing" and co-operation "across traditions to develop positive relationships". The depth of engagement required to make such a move successful is made even more difficult when conversations between members of the two dominant communities are dictated by a *'Cultural Grammar'* of polite avoidance with regard to topics that may be perceived as being politically or religiously sensitive (McMaster, 1993; Cairns, 1994; Gallagher, 2004).

McMinn and Phoenix (2005) and Nelson (2010) documented how the teaching profession is affected by a number of policies and practices that sustain sectoral community division. The IEF commissioned 'Review into Policy Areas Affecting Integration of the Education System in Northern Ireland' (UNESCO Centre, 2015) identified three major factors that serve to limit the diversity of the teaching workforce across and between the sectors: teacher exemption from fair employment legislation, teacher education and the requirement for schools to provide Religious Education. In an investigation conducted on behalf of the Equality Commission, Dunn and Gallagher (2002, p. 24) alluded to the possibility that the teaching unions may be "divided in ways similar to the rest of the community".

In this chapter, the range of policies that sustain the professional separation of teachers by community identity will be explored, as will the nature of this division on the teaching unions. Bespoke material provided to this research from the NI census will then be reviewed. This has provided previously unknown insights into the national identities of Catholic and Protestant teachers in NI and revealed how teachers' identities differ from those of their co-religionists. The chapter concludes with some reflections on the combined impact of these on the potential of teachers in NI to effectively contribute to peacebuilding.

3.1 Teacher Exemption[28] from Fair Employment Legislation

Inequalities of opportunity in the public sector in NI were at the heart of the concerns of the Civil Rights movement of the late 1960s. Subsequent research identified that, whilst some low-level discrimination was undoubtedly taking place in respect of minor public-sector appointments, the impact was much more considerable for higher ranking positions – it seemed that Unionist ministers preferred senior civil servants who they considered to be *loyal* rather than those who might potentially be dedicated to overthrowing the state. Accordingly, throughout the Stormont period (1922-1971), Catholics occupied only 7.4% of senior posts in the civil service (Gudgin, 1999).

Sectarian employment discrimination had undoubtedly existed in the private sector in the northern part of Ireland from before partition – most notably in the heavy industry in and around Belfast. Catholic workers were violently expelled from the shipyards several times during the nineteenth century and those Catholics who had obtained jobs in the Harland and Wolff shipyard and other large engineering firms during the first world war (whilst many male Protestant workers were away 'at the front'), were forcibly removed during the 1920 sectarian unrest which preceded partition (Johnston, 2008).

In 1976, under Direct Rule, the British Government introduced legislation to effectively prohibit discrimination in employment with regard to religion in NI. Section 37 of the Fair Employment (NI) Act (FEA) however specifically excepted four groups from the new regulations: clergy, private households, employment as a teacher in a school and "where the essential nature of the job requires it to be done by a person holding, or not holding a particular religious belief… [or] a particular political opinion." The Catholic church's right to employ its own teachers in its own schools was effectively to be balanced by *de facto* Protestant control over appointments in state schools. Education was cemented into law as a segmented labour market; where Catholic teachers would look to the Maintained schools for employment whilst Protestant teachers took up posts in the Controlled sector.

The Fair Employment NI Act was revised in 1989 - it maintained the status quo regarding the exception of teachers. The current legislation, the Fair Employment and Treatment (NI) Order (FETO) came into being in the wake of the Belfast Agreement in 1998: Part

[28] The term 'exception' is that which was used in the 1976 legislation – since 2000 the term 'exemption' has been the more commonly preferred term. I have used both terms interchangeably and without prejudice.

8, Article 71, Paragraph 1 of the Order is explicit: “This Order does not apply to employment as a teacher at a school.”

Unlike other major employers, schools are not required to conduct reviews of their teaching workforces to identify their composition by community background, nor do they need to review their employment policies and practices to determine whether or not they are providing fair participation for members of both dominant communities. A potential challenge to the legitimacy of the exception came in European law with Article 13 of the Amsterdam treaty which was drafted in 1997. This treaty stated that the European Parliament was to “take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation”. However, by the time that the treaty formally came into force in November 2000 it included (in Article 4) the following exclusions: “in very limited circumstances a difference of treatment may be justified where a characteristic related to a [discriminatory ground]… constitutes a genuine and determining occupational requirement” and “the need to promote peace and reconciliation between the major communities in Northern Ireland necessitates the incorporation of particular provisions into this Directive”.

Further European regulations from December 2003 regarding the implementation the European Union Directive on Discrimination narrowed the exception for teachers in NI to recruitment only. Teachers in NI remain the only occupational group across the 27 member-states of the EU to be excluded from anti-discrimination protection.

In 1976 the Government had assigned the Fair Employment Agency (the forerunner of the Equality Commission) responsibility to keep the teacher exception under review and, in 2002, Seamus Dunn and Tony Gallagher were engaged to investigate the impact of the “Teacher Exception Provision and Equality in Employment in NI” on behalf of the Equality Commission. They discovered that the exception was “accepted generally as one of the characteristics of the school system in Northern Ireland” (Dunn and Gallagher, 2003, p. 1).

The dominant view that emerged from their work was that “if separate schools were permitted on the basis of parental choice, then the school authorities should be able to recruit same-religion teachers to work in the schools in order to maintain denominational ethos” (Dunn and Gallagher, 2003, p. 1). Only a minority of the teachers that they interviewed supported a change to the legislation.

Central to their findings was the identification of a significant "chill factor" which served to discourage candidates from one community from applying for jobs where they would be in a minority in the workforce. One interviewee stated that it would take an "act of courage" for a teacher to move across sectors to seek employment *on the other side* (Dunn and Gallagher, 2003, p. 23). In addition, they noted that this chill factor appeared to affect Protestants more than Catholics.

3.2 Initial Teacher Education

The origins of the religious division in the education of teachers has deep historical roots. The churches (both Protestant and Catholic) have, on several occasions, intervened to overturn Government efforts to establish a system of non-denominational education. The religiously divided system that has come about was sustained by the preparation of teachers in separate colleges; this separation served to reflect and replicate the division.

At the time of the partition of Ireland there was only one Teacher Training College in Northern Ireland, St Mary's on the Falls Road in Belfast. St Mary's prepared women for teaching in Catholic schools[29]. Those Protestants, and Catholic males, who wanted to become teachers were obliged to attend colleges in Dublin – or further afield.

In 1922, a teaching college was opened in Fisherwick Place, Belfast (the college was later relocated to Stranmillis). The college was originally envisaged as a non-denominational institution. No clergy were appointed to sit on the NI government's Committee for the Training of Teachers. The Catholic authorities made it clear that they would not recognise teachers who qualified from the new college and the Protestant churches were strongly opposed to the secularism inherent in the management arrangements – they demanded parity with the Catholic college.

Thus, began an intense, and ultimately successful, lobbying campaign on the part of the Protestant churches for control of the management board of Stranmillis – the so-called Battle of Stranmillis (Roulston and Dallat, 2001). This separation of teacher training along sectarian lines was upheld as a virtue by The United Education Committee of the Protestant Churches, who warned in 1925 against "[throwing] the door open… for a

[29] The Catholic authorities responded to an increased demand for training for prospective male teachers by establishing St Joseph's on the Stewartstown Road in Belfast in 1945. St Mary's and St Joseph's later merged into one college on the St Mary's site in 1985.

bolshevist, or an atheist, or a Roman Catholic to become a teacher in a Protestant school" (reported in Bardon, 1992).

The 1973 Education Act included new stipulations that required all teachers employed in NI schools to have a recognised teaching qualification – Queens University Belfast, the Open University and (the then) New University of Ulster responded and, over the ensuing years, introduced a range of post graduate and undergraduate courses.

The issue of the proliferation of separate teacher training institutions was challenged in the early 1980s in a report produced by the academic Henry Chilver at the behest of the Conservative Government. The Chilver Report proposed a unified collegiate *Centre for Teacher Training,* but the proposal was severely attacked by the churches on both sides and eventually shelved (McMinn and Phoenix, 2005). Subsequent reports commissioned by the Department of Education (Taylor and Usher, 2004; Osler, 2005) identified that the configuration of ITE colleges in NI had resulted in an over-supply of teachers and that the system was financially unsustainable.

In 2011 the Department of Employment and Learning commenced another review of teacher education. In its initial phase the review identified that educating a teacher in NI was considerably more expensive than elsewhere in UK – the review specifically singled out the education of primary school teachers in separate colleges as being particularly costly. The second phase (an investigation by an international panel of experts led by Prof Pasi Sahlberg) reported back to the Assembly in 2014 and highlighted the issues of fragmentation and duplication.[30] The team noted that there was potential for greater cooperation and collaboration between providers; they proposed four alternative models. The report was met with vocal (and effective) opposition – particularly from supporters of St Mary's[31] – further progress on the matter has subsequently stalled.

At present, initial teacher education takes place in four institutions in NI; Queens University and Ulster University provide mainly postgraduate education for those intending to teach in post-primary schools and have a religiously mixed student profile, St Mary's and Stranmillis (who mostly provide undergraduate programmes for teachers for primary schools) still strongly reflect the religious divide. This separation is most

[30] See https://www.economy-ni.gov.uk/articles/initial-teacher-education
[31] See https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/belfasts-st-marys-and-stranmillis-teacher-training-colleges-in-fight-for-survival-30927620.html

marked in the homogeneity of community identity amongst those students attending St Mary's students; it was reported in 2014 that, whilst 18% of the student teachers enrolled at Stranmillis were Catholic, there were no Protestant students at St Mary's[32].

The consistency between separate school sectors and the separate colleges is compounded by the limited opportunities available to students to cross-over through placements during their studies:

> In practice historically, each college has tended to draw its students from a segregated school sector place them in the same sector for school-based work and on graduation the students return to the same sector for employment (Nelson, 2008, p. 1731).

3.3 Religious Education and the Catholic Religious Education Certificate

Under the terms of the Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order 1989 all grant-aided schools in NI are obliged by law to provide a "daily act of collective worship" and pupils are entitled to receive Religious Education (RE) in accordance with a syllabus drawn up by the four largest Christian denominations: Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Episcopal (Church of Ireland) and Methodist. Teachers in primary schools are not subject specific in the same way that teachers in the post primary sector usually are – they are expected to teach all subjects in the primary curriculum.

The outworking of this is that there is effectively a general requirement upon *all* Primary school teachers to teach religion. Under Article 9 of the European Convention of Human Rights teachers are entitled to exercise their 'freedom of conscience' not to teach religion or attend common acts of worship – a right of conscience is also included in NI education legislation. Research by Montgomery and Smith (2006) and Lundy et al (2012) indicate that exercising this right might prove difficult in practice and that advertisement and recruitment processes may directly or indirectly refer to an expectation that the successful candidate will support the religious dimensions of school life; under the guise of 'ethos'.

Teachers in the primary sector are expected to have obtained a Religious Education certificate in addition to their teaching qualification – for those primary schools in the Catholic Maintained sector, only a religious education certificate that has been obtained at an institution recognised by the CCMS Trustees will suffice; the Catholic Certificate

---

[32] Irish News 25th November 2014 "No Protestant Trainee Teachers at St Mary's College" by Simon Doyle http://www.irishnews.com/news/2014/11/25/news/no-protestant-trainee-teachers-at-st-mary-s-university-college-108939/

of Education (CCE). The Trustees recognise 47 such institutions in Britain and Ireland as well as a college in Ontario, Canada and the Australian Catholic University in Sydney. CCE is offered as a matter of course to undergraduate students at St Mary's. The RE certificate offered at Ulster is recognised as meeting the requirements to be classified as CCE. Those students at Stranmillis, on the other hand, who wish to attain the CCE must do so by means of a part-time distance learning course from the University of Glasgow (for an additional fee).

In 2013 CCMS relaxed their stipulation for all of their Primary school teachers to hold CCE as an occupational requirement in order to accommodate the transfer of teachers from closing Controlled schools and thereby obviate redundancies (CCMS Circular 2013/06); teachers transferring due to the closure of Controlled schools were henceforth in a position to gain employment in the Maintained sector on the condition they made a commitment to completing the CCE (from an approved institution) within three years. New applicants to vacant posts are however still required to hold the CCE. A DE review in 2013 found the role that CCE plays in teacher selection not to be in breach of fair employment legislation.

It is hypothesised that the combined effect of the teachers' exception from FETO, the involvement of the churches in teacher training and the issues surrounding the practice of RE in schools will have created a self-sustaining cycle of separate schooling and separate systems of employment of teachers - and that this will be most evident in the primary sector (Fig. 1).

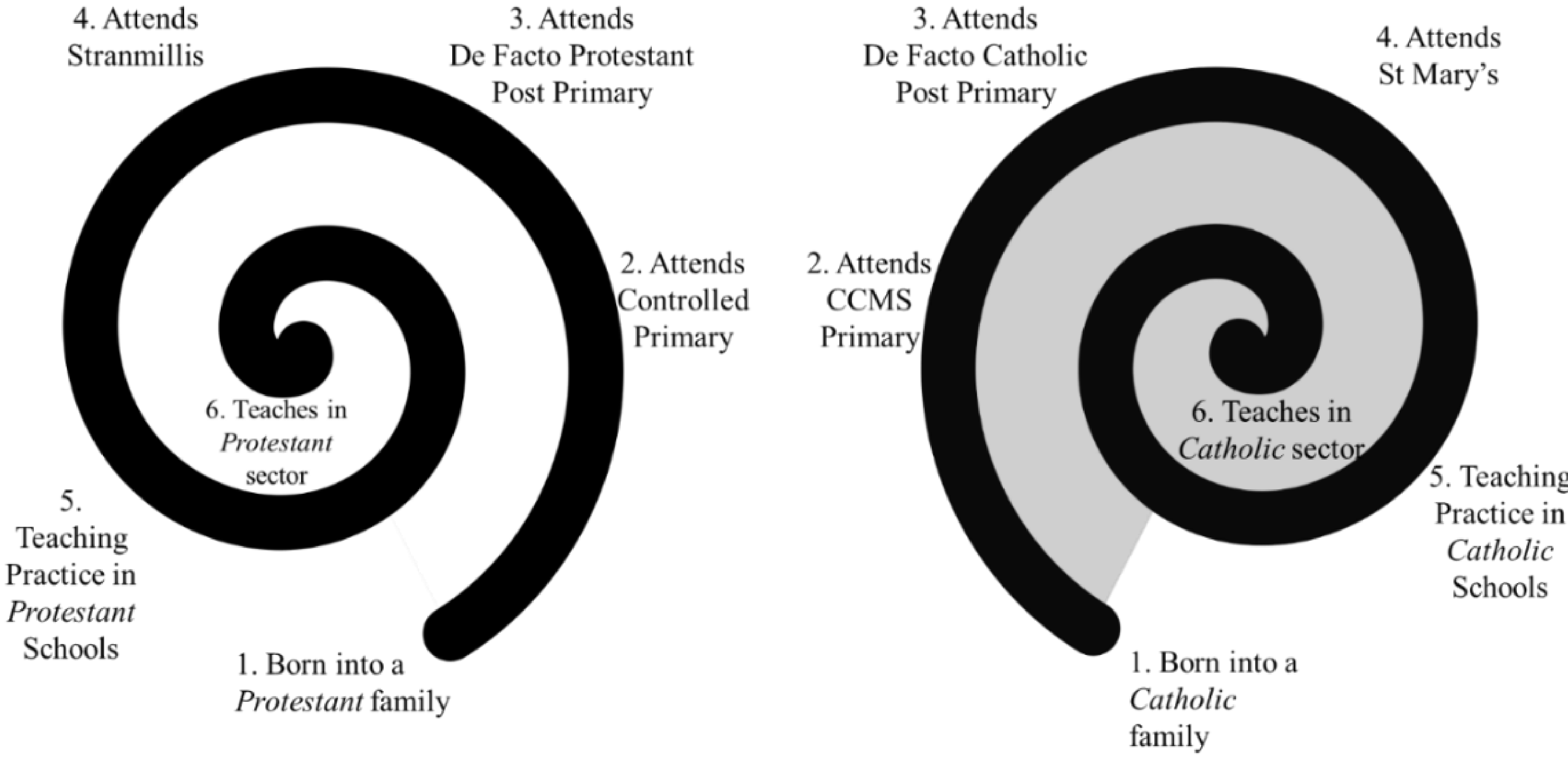


Fig. 1. Hypothesis: The Self-Replication of Division in Education in NI

3.4 Teacher Unions and Division

Issues of community, political and religion affiliation are rarely far from the surface in any aspect of life in Northern Ireland and so it is with trade unionism: "People in Northern Ireland are born into physically and structurally divided communities. Trade union organisation acts as a mirror to this division" (Mapstone, 1986, p. 90).

The connection between inter-community tension and trade unions in the industrial north-east of Ireland can be traced into the nineteenth century. The pre-cursors to trade unions, the *Professional Guilds*, emerged in the skilled trades in Belfast in the early nineteenth century. Munck (1985) suggested that these Guilds inevitably reflected the predominantly Protestant demography of the city at that time; and that the demographic profile changed dramatically in the middle of the century with the influx of (predominantly Catholic) workers from the famine-affected countryside seeking work. Those in employment sought to protect themselves against the incursion of those offering cheap labour. Thus, the nascent unions became intimately involved in a struggle between Protestants and Catholics.

> The labour and trade union movement in Northern Ireland is widely regarded as a historic failure - thwarted by, and impotent against, the sectarianism which divides its constituency (Finlay, 1992, p. 83).

Whilst the aspiration of the founders of the National Schools to keep religious instruction outside of the classroom had fallen to pressure from the churches at almost the first hurdle, the shared system introduced after 1831 did enable groups of teachers to organise themselves into so-called *'Improvement Societies'* to "bring to the notice of the public the wretched conditions in which they were expected to exist and to carry out their responsible duties" (O'Connell, 1968, p. 61). Teachers in Ireland began to organise themselves and, in August 1868, the first congress of the Irish National Teachers Association (later, Organisation) (INTO) took place. A fundamental rule of INTO at its foundation was that "no political or sectarian topics shall be introduced at meetings"; clearly it was felt that the purpose and aims of the new organisation could best be achieved by teachers agreeing to work together to achieve reforms that reflected their common interest, whilst, as far as possible, keeping clear of those things which were divisive. This noble ambition was doomed from the outset.

At around the same time as the formation of INTO the political and religious strains in Ireland between the identities and aspirations of the industrialised, largely pro-British, predominantly Protestant, north-eastern province of Ulster and the three provinces with a significant Catholic majority (Leinster, Connacht and Munster) were galvanising around the question of “Home Rule”. Teachers, and teachers’ organisations, were far from exempted from the gathering tension. Internal schisms had already led to the setting up of the short-lived breakaway Northern Union of Irish National Teachers (1886-88). In 1899 the Irish Protestant Teachers' Union was established within INTO; their loyalty to the parent organisation was sorely tested at the 1905 conference in Sligo when the traditional 'loyal toast' was boycotted by a number of delegates including Dr Douglas Hyde (who was later to become the first president of Ireland).

By 1916 INTO had developed an affiliation with the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU) that proved particularly problematic for Protestant teachers in Ulster. ITGWU was closely connected with James Connolly and the Irish Citizen Army that had, in April 1916 (whilst the First World War still raged), seized the General Post Office in Dublin and proclaimed Ireland to be an independent republic – the Easter Rising. The relationship with INTO’s northern, Protestant membership was further strained in 1917 when the Organisation’s Central Committee passed a resolution in support of those who had been imprisoned as a consequence of The Rising.

INTO's backing for the policy of the Irish Labour party (with whom they were affiliated) of standing down candidates to allow Sinn Féin a free-run in the 1918 election and their support for a proposed Irish Trades Union Congress national strike to oppose military conscription in Ireland proved to be the final straws in an already fraught relationship between the union’s Dublin leadership and its Protestant members in the north. Between 1918 and 1919 four branches (Coleraine, Lisburn, Londonderry and Newtownards) severed their connections with INTO and in July 1919 the Ulster Teachers' Union (UTU) was formed (Puirséil, 2017).

Professional teacher organisations for those teaching in grammar schools and colleges grew up alongside the unions – their membership was comprised mainly of those who were uncomfortable with an adversarial approach to relations with their employers. The Association of Teachers and Lecturers (who had a long standing ‘no strike’ policy) for example traced its history in NI through a line that leads back to a minute book of the

Association of Intermediate and University Teachers (AIUT) dating to 5th September 1898.

AIUT was eventually absorbed into the larger, more powerful Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters (Irish Branch). The early incarnation of the union operated from Belfast; this was convenient for the Association's membership which was drawn predominantly from the prestigious grammar schools of Ulster – including Methodist College Belfast, Campbell College, Rainey Endowed, Portora and the Academical Institutions in Belfast and Coleraine. Minutes held in the ATL archive show that, whilst its powerbase resided in Belfast, in 1913 the Association also had branches in Dublin, Cork, Waterford and in other locations throughout Ireland (Baird, 2009). Following a long period of negotiation and speculation, on 1st September 2017 ATL formally merged with the National Union of Teachers (NEU). ATL has retained some degree of autonomy within this new union and is classified as a *Section* within NEU.

At the time of the setting up of educational structures for Northern Ireland in 1923 these three organisations represented the interests of three distinct groups of teachers: primary school teachers in the Controlled sector (UTU), primary school teachers in the Maintained sector (INTO) and teachers in Voluntary grammar schools (the forerunners of ATL). A new sector was created with the creation of *secondary modern* schools in 1947.

At the start of 1961 the National Association of Schoolmasters (NAS)[33] recorded eight members in Northern Ireland - all of whom were returnees from other parts of the UK where they had joined the association (DeGruchy, 2013). These few members must have been skilled in their recruitment; by the end of 1961 membership had grown exponentially to 161. The founding meeting of the NI Local Association declared that it would seek to recruit members irrespective of religion, political affinity or school type. The union gained prominence and enhanced its reputation with teachers through its approach to a long running dispute between a NAS member and the management of a school in Ballymoney, County Antrim. The "Ballymoney Affair" (1964-67) identified the NAS as a union that was willing to adopt a robust approach to negotiations. Recruitment to the

[33] Both the National Union of Women Teachers and the National Association of Schoolmasters broke away from the National Union of Teachers in the 1920s. Relations between these two organisations were initially acrimonious but they found common ground over the succeeding decades and eventually amalgamated as National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers (NAS/UWT) in 1976 – a decision that was to some extent dictated by the requirements of the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act.

union subsequently increased and eventually NASUWT grew to become the largest teaching union by membership numbers in Northern Ireland with a particular stronghold in the post primary and Integrated sectors.

Inevitably teachers and their unions got tangled up on the margins (and occasionally in the middle) of the Troubles. Each union had a different response to the conflict. ATL (or, more accurately, its predecessor the Association of Assistant Masters) recruited from both sides and sought to prioritise their role as a teachers' association; they endeavoured to distance themselves from the overtly political.

The UTU, however, shared many of the same principles as successive Northern Ireland governments, in particular "the prevailing Unionist orthodoxy that labour movements were nationalist in sympathy and existed as a threat to the unionist position" - UTU had the ear of government in Belfast and "made no attempt to cut the sectarian divide within which it was spawned" (Mapstone, 1986, p. 100).

In marked contrast, INTO sought to represent the concerns of their predominantly Catholic membership, whilst NAS's growing reputation for leftism and militancy on behalf of their members had attracted both Catholic and Protestant teachers to its fold. Simmering tensions between the unions were heightened by the onset of sectarian rioting and the arrival of British troops in 1969, and the introduction of internment without trial in 1971.

Whilst UTU and INTO struggled to maintain cordial relations across the sectarian divide, NAS faced internal wrangles to retain unity in their politically/religiously mixed membership, adopting an approach of "neither condone nor condemn" (DeGruchy, 2013). This neutral stance opened them to criticism from INTO who felt that it demonstrated "confused policies or a lack of expertise" and "was a matter of serious embarrassment to many NAS members" (Puirséil 2017, p. 247).

As the Troubles progressed, a number of issues and disputes served to define the divisions between the UTU and INTO, and test the neutrality of ATL, NAS/UWT. These included:

- The internment of several teachers (and union members).[34]
- The occupation of a number of schools in Nationalist areas by the British Army.[35]
- A dispute relating to the Oath of Allegiance to the British monarch that all teachers in publicly funded schools were obliged to take[36] (until its removal in 1979).
- The Queen's Jubilee in 1977 and the visit of the Pope to Ireland in 1979 – a school holiday was granted for the former but not the latter.

The Belfast Agreement in 1998 did not remove the impact of community tensions on teachers and the teaching unions. In 2002, following Loyalist protests outside a Catholic school, the dissident loyalist paramilitary group Red Hand Defenders announced that they considered Catholic teachers to be 'legitimate targets' and the INTO offices in Belfast were attacked (McDonald and Cusack, 2004).

All four of the larger teaching unions are vocal in their opposition to sectarianism and their commitment to promoting diversity and equality. The two Ireland-based teaching unions make very similar claims to neutrality. UTU (2013) states in its constitution that it is "non-sectarian and non-political" whilst INTO (2009) declares itself to be a "non-party, non-sectarian, non-sexist and non-racist Organisation" and although neither publishes a breakdown of membership by school sector both unions are of the opinion that they still reflect a similar membership profile to that identified in 1923.

Political stability in NI and the need for economic pragmatism has created a climate within which a degree of détente has been achieved between unions that had previously been in fundamental opposition to one another – in particular INTO and UTU. These two unions are now working with a common partnership board and are recruiting in the colleges as one body.

The rapid rise of NASUWT made significant inroads into the membership of both INTO and UTU and led both unions to seek allies. In recent years INTO and UTU had both

---

[34] There are records documenting the internment without trial of members of both NAS and INTO between 1969 and 1971 (Puirseil, 2017; DeGruchy, 2013) – there was no information found to identify whether or not members of UTU or ATL had been interned.

[35] Soldiers were billeted in St Peter's PS for six months in 1969 and three schools in west Belfast were occupied by the British Army during Operation Motorman in July 1972 – INTO members took strike action in two schools which were still occupied after the school holidays had passed (Puirséil, 2017, pp. 246-47).

[36] Whilst NAS and INTO opposed the oath that teachers would "render true and faithful allegiance" to the British Crown, UTU stated at the that oath posed their members "no difficulty" (DeGruchy, 2013, p. 334)

associated themselves with the NUT – which, at the time, was the largest teaching union in GB.

In 2017, following protracted negotiations, ATL formally merged with NUT to create the National Education Union (NEU). It would appear that, whilst there is no imminent prospect of a formal merger, NEU, INTO and UTU are moving towards a position where they may form a bloc to challenge the increasing dominance of NASUWT in NI.

In 2015 membership of teaching unions in NI as recorded by the Certification Officer for Trade Unions and Employer Associations significantly exceeded the number of teachers registered with the General Teaching Council of NI (GTCNI)[37].

By acting to protect the interests of teachers against powerful employing organisations the teaching unions undoubtedly foster a sense of unity amongst their members – this internal solidarity may also however at the same time contribute to the construction and retention of barriers between colleagues who are members of other, rival unions. In Northern Ireland, where community division is endemic within education, the relationship between the teaching unions has the potential to either deepen or narrow that divide.

[37] The General Teaching Council NI (GTCNI) Digest of Statistics recorded that in 2014 a total of 19,584 teachers were employed in grant-aided schools in NI. The 2014-15 Annual Report of the NI Trade Union Certification Officer identified membership of the main teaching unions as 29,660.

Table 6. Teacher Unions in NI: an Overview

UNION	BRIEF DESCRIPTION	MEMBERSHIP PROFILE
Association of Teachers and Lecturers (ATL)/National Education Union (NEU)	ATL/NEU has its headquarters in London. It affords Northern Ireland regional status and employs a Director in Belfast to lead their work in NI. It is the fourth largest of the five main unions in NI; the smallest of those representing front-line teachers. ATL's approach in negotiations with employers has been typified by a collegiate or collaborative approach rather than confrontation and radicalism. ATL has consequently seen as being a moderate union – NUT, in stark contrast, has had a reputation for leftist militancy.	ATL/NEU has its stronghold in the post primary sector and is particularly strong in Controlled schools and Grammar schools. The NI Certification Officer recorded in 2015 that ATL had 4,128 members in NI.
Irish National Teachers Organisation (INTO)	INTO operates on both sides of the border and covers both political jurisdictions in Ireland. It is the only RoI-based teaching union to organise in the north. The union is represented in NI by the INTO Northern Committee which is headed by the Northern Secretary. The union in NI is organised into two districts and 23 local branches. It is marked out by its close identification with the Maintained sector and its links throughout the island.	INTO membership are employed predominantly in the Catholic Maintained sector and, particularly, in primary schools. The NI Certification Officer recorded in 2015 that INTO had 6,665 members in NI.

UNION	BRIEF DESCRIPTION	MEMBERSHIP PROFILE
National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT)	Membership of the NAHT is open only to those with school leadership duties. Originally the organisation represented only head teachers, but this has expanded to include deputies and, recently, heads of department – the union has a new section specifically for these middle managers - "Edge". Given that NAHT draws its membership from the smallest pool it is unsurprising that it records the lowest membership figures of any of the five main teaching unions in NI.	NAHT is strong in primary schools and non-Grammar post primary, it attracts members from the Maintained, Controlled and Integrated sectors. The NI Certification Officer recorded in 2015 that NAHT had 887 members in NI.
National Association of Schoolmasters Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT)	NASUWT is both the largest teacher Union by membership in NI and the second largest in the UK. It is one of the very few unions that organises in England, Scotland, Wales and NI. The union is led in NI (as in each of the other two 'devolved nations') by a National Official; there are also nine regions within England of comparable standing. NASUWT's presence in NI has been characterised by its oft-stated commitment to a non-sectarian stance.	Teachers in post primary schools and the Integrated sector are particularly well represented in the membership of NASUWT. The NI Certification Officer recorded in 2015 that NASUWT had 11,994 members in NI.

UNION	BRIEF DESCRIPTION	MEMBERSHIP PROFILE
Ulster Teachers' Union (UTU)	The UTU organises only in NI and traces its origins to a breakaway from INTO in 1919. Despite the historical split between the two unions, their common roots mean that they have been operating over the years to similar constitutions. In 2011 UTU entered into a formal partnership agreement with INTO, NUT and EIS – NUT and EIS operate as conduits into UTU/INTO for beginning teachers in GB colleges who intend to take up employment in NI. Despite the union's history, its membership is not exclusively Protestant and Northern. The UTU also records a small number of registered members in the Republic of Ireland.	UTU membership is predominantly drawn from the Controlled sector with a significant presence in primary and special schools. The NI Certification Officer recorded in 2015 that UTU had 6,036 members in NI.

3.5 The Community Composition of the NI Teachhing Workforce

A total of 24,370 'teaching professionals' were recorded as living in NI in the 2011 census. Of these, 342 (1.4%) identified as having a nationality from beyond the British Isles, 75 (0.3%) of whom came from the EU accession countries (specifically Poland and Lithuania). By comparison, for all other occupations 4.5% of the workforce were non-British/Irish and 2% came from Poland and Lithuania. School staffrooms have been relatively unaffected by the changes in migration patterns and, therefore, lack the diversity and ethnic richness present elsewhere in NI.

Fig. 2. Teaching Professionals by National Identity (NI Census, 2011)

The GTCNI Annual Digest of Statistics documented that, in 2014-15, a total of 19,584 teachers were *employed* in NI. Of these, 14,960 were female and 4,624 male; 6,901 were employed in the Maintained sector, 8,053 in the Controlled sector, 1,383 in Integrated schools and 3,247 in Voluntary Grammar schools (GTCNI, 2015).

As has been mentioned earlier, the NI Fair Employment and Treatment Order 1989 (FETO) includes a specific exception that allowed for the use of religious denomination as a criterion for the recruitment and selection of teachers in schools in NI. One outworking of this exception is that whilst almost all other employing bodies are required by law to record and document the religious composition of their workforce as a means of preventing and identifying any discriminatory practices, those organisations that employ school teachers face no similar obligation.

The profile of the pupil population by school management sector (in the previous chapter) was relatively straightforward to extract from DE figures available in the public domain. The exemption of Teachers from FETO, however, means that equivalent figures for the composition of the teaching workforce by community/religion in each of the separate sectors are neither gathered nor compiled by DE, GTCNI or by any of the employing authorities. They are simply unavailable. There are consequently no reliable statistics on the current composition of the NI teaching workforce by community/ethnic identity for any of the school sectors.

A few initiatives have sought to address this gap in knowledge. Research conducted in 1977 by the Centre for the Study of Conflict at the University of Ulster into the impact of the religiously divided system identified that the 159 schools who engaged with their investigation had a workforce that was, on the whole, ethnically homogenous *and* consistent with the assumed community/religious identity profile of the school and its pupil body. Less than 2% of the teachers in the *de facto* Protestant schools were Catholic and around 1% of the teachers in the Catholic Maintained system were Protestant (Darby et al, 1977).

The 1977 findings were backed up some 27 years later by a 2004 NI Equality Commission report. The Equality Commission surveyed a sample of 10% of schools in NI and determined that only 5% of teachers in the Controlled sector were Catholic and less than 1% of those teaching in the Maintained sector were Protestant; Integrated schools showed a more even distribution of teachers by religion: 48% Protestant, 43% Catholic and 9% neither/other[38].

Both the 1977 and the 2004 research projects relied on statistics that had been provided by participating schools rather than gathering data directly from individual teachers; their accuracy was therefore contingent on both the depth of knowledge of the school representatives that completed the survey and the accuracy of records available to them. Given that schools are not obliged to gather records on the community identity of the teachers that they engage, it is reasonable to assume that some responses may have been based on 'informed guesswork' rather than actual knowledge. Both investigations obviously lack currency; no further research into this area has been conducted since 2004.

[38] Integrated Schools did not yet exist at the time when Darby et al were conducting their research

Engagement with the Administrative Data Research Network (ADRN)[39] in the early days of this research project opened the possibility that reliable data on the community composition the teaching workforces in the various school sectors could be extracted by cross referencing the information held by a number of officially sanctioned organisations. NISRA hold information on respondents to the 2011 Census by: profession, religion and post code. GTCNI and the Salaries branch of DE hold details of teacher's post code and sectoral employment. By cross referencing post-codes it could have been possible to have produced a highly accurate (if slightly out-of-date) profile of the number of teachers who identified as Catholic but were employed in the Controlled Sector and those Protestant teachers who were working in Maintained schools.

The organisation responsible for Census data (NISRA) indicated that, given ARDN's ethical safeguards, they would be willing to facilitate such a sharing of information. GTCNI, who had been experiencing something of an internal crisis, were unfortunately not so forthcoming. DE were also unwilling to provide the required data. The cross-referencing that had been hoped for and offered the possibility for establishing a definitive answer to the question '*How many teachers cross over?'* was not therefore possible. Whilst the ADRN-supported request from GTCNI proved unproductive, the contact forged with NISRA did reap rewards. A request to the Census office for data bespoke to this research project revealed that, in 2011, 24,370 residents aged between 16 and 74 declared themselves to be primary or post primary teaching professionals; this figure was made up of 12,426 Catholics, 11,358 Protestants and 'other Christians', 105 'Other Religion' and 481 with 'No Religion'.

The census required respondents to declare a single nationality (Irish only, British only, Northern Irish only or other). By isolating those census respondents who identified as Catholic from those that identified as Protestant it was possible to extract figures for the general Catholic and Protestant populations. The Census also asked a question on respondent's profession – this question included an option 'primary or secondary school teaching professional'. By identifying responses from those who declared themselves to be teachers and cross-referencing against their religion and their nationality a profile was obtained of both the differences in nationality between Protestant teachers and Catholic teachers *and* the differences in nationality between these teachers and the rest of the

[39] ADRN exists to help "accredited researchers carry out social and economic research using linked, de-identified administrative data". For more information: https://adrn.ac.uk/about/

workforce in their community of origin. These results are illustrated in Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 below.

Fifty-eight percent of those who defined themselves in the 2011 census as being Protestant by faith and teachers by profession identified as having a ‘British only’ nationality – this figure is notably lower than for Protestants generally (65%). Nearly a quarter of Protestant teachers (23%) declared themselves as ‘Other’ – this is considerably more than the general Protestant workforce (17%). Comparable numbers of Protestant teachers and the Protestant workforce identify as being ‘Northern Irish only’ (17% and 16% respectively) and only 2% of both Protestants in the teaching workforce and Protestants generally identify as having an ‘Irish only’ identity.

Slightly fewer Catholic teachers (9%) declared their nationality as ‘Other’ than the general Catholic population (12%); a considerably greater proportion of Protestant teachers (23%) identified as ‘Other’. This may be an indication of those who are uncomfortable with the dominant polarised duality of national identity i.e. rejecting the *either* Irish *or* British construct of identity. A substantially greater proportion of Catholic teachers identified as being ‘Irish Only’ (65%) and fewer as ‘British Only’ (5%) or ‘Northern Irish Only’ (21%) than the general Catholic population (53%, 10% and 25% respectively). A higher proportion of Catholic teachers defined themselves as ‘British Only’ (5%) than Protestant teachers defined themselves as ‘Irish Only’ (2%).

Similar proportions of both Catholic and Protestant teachers identified as being ‘Northern Irish Only’ – with Catholic teachers seemingly slightly more comfortable aligning themselves with this construct of nationality than their Protestant counterparts (21% and 17% respectively).

There is therefore a marked contrast in the national identity profile of Protestant and Catholic teachers. Whilst Catholic teachers fit the Irish-Catholic stereotype *better* than the general Catholic population, Protestant teachers are *less likely* to identify themselves as British-Protestant than the rest of their co-religionists.

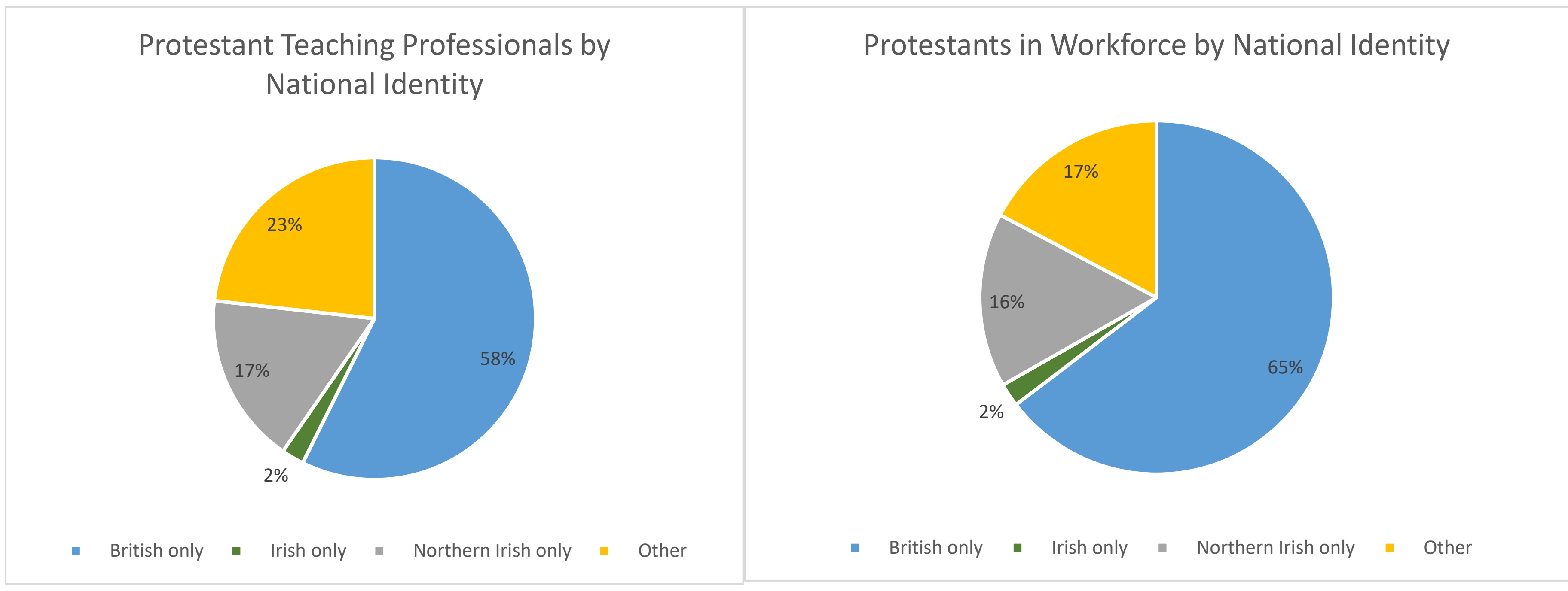


Fig. 3. National Identity: Protestants in the NI Workforce and Protestant Teachers (2011 Census)

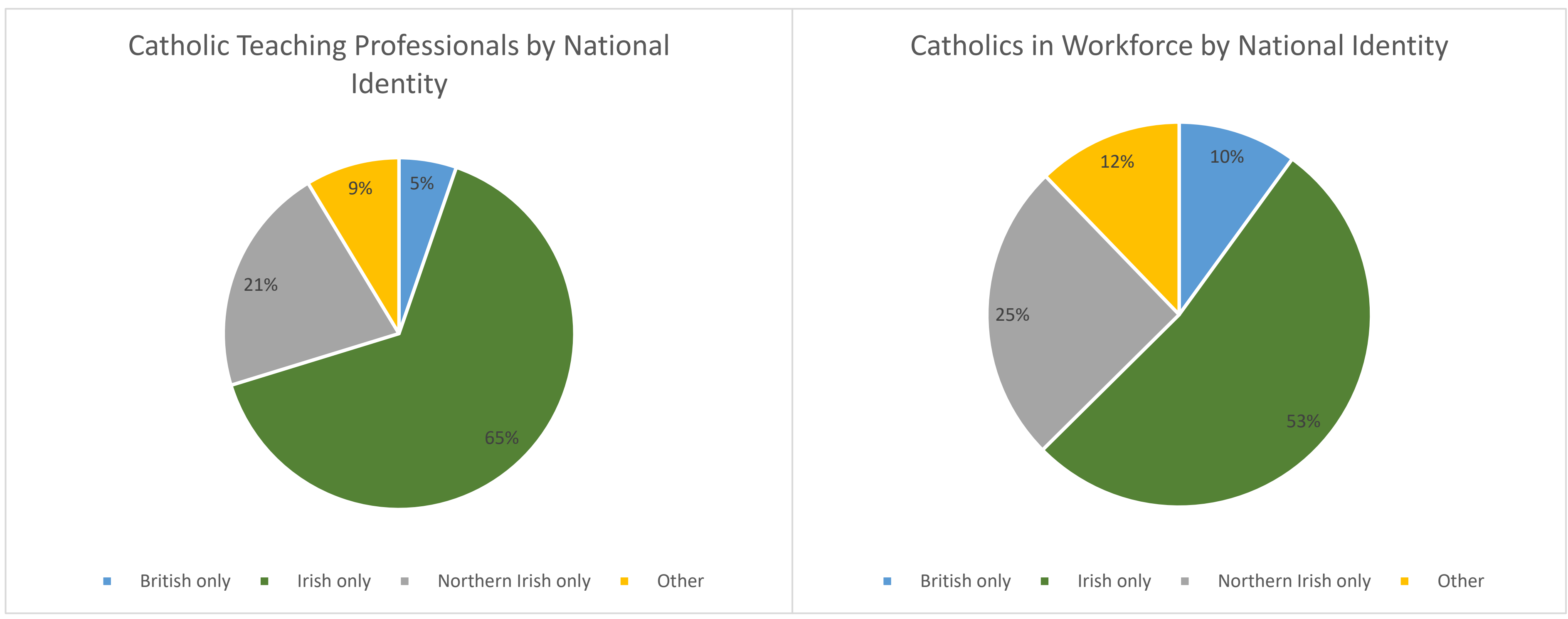


Fig. 4. National Identity: Catholics in the NI Workforce and Catholic Teachers (2011 Census)

Only a small proportion of teachers on both sides have an atypical alignment of nationality and religion. Around one-in-twenty Catholic teachers identifies as being 'British Only' (5%) - this is half the proportion of the general Catholic population which stands at one-in-ten - and fewer than one-in-fifty Protestant teachers identify as being 'Irish Only', this figure is consistent with the proportion of those who are both Protestant and Irish in the workforce generally.

National identity is a central manifestation of the community divide. It has been shown that community consistency is a more prevalent feature of the composition of both the student body in Catholic schools and the Catholic teaching college. Catholic primary school teachers are therefore likely to have passed through an educational environment where the expression of particular dimensions of their identity is unlikely to have been challenged by the presence of 'outsiders'. In contrast, Protestant primary school teachers are likely to have been educated in an institution where a 'minority' of Catholics were present – their expressions of nationality may be have been ameliorated in recognition of this.

Teachers will inevitably present - and consciously or unconsciously promote - a particular perspective of community identity. The teacher who crosses-over may consequently be either a fly in the ointment or the grain of dirt that becomes a pearl.

3.6 The Paradox: Separated Teachers and Peace-building in NI

The Norwegian sociologist, Johan Galtung (1975), drew a distinction between 'peace-making', 'peace-keeping' and 'peace-building' – whilst peace-*making* and peace-*keeping* are responses in a time of conflict, peace-*building* is about the steps taken in the post-conflict environment to create a sustainable peaceful future. It looks beyond the 'negative peace' (the absence of war) towards the cultivation of 'positive peace' by promoting respect, justice and inclusiveness and thereby creating harmony between people (Gill and Niens, 2014). Peace-building is, thus, seen as a transformative process that seeks to establish 'sustainable peace' by addressing the root causes of violent conflict.

For peace-building to be successful it requires a holistic process that involves entire societies and the individuals within them (Lederach and Maiese, 2009). In this process of transformation, teachers can contribute to peace-building by teaching children how to overcome prejudice and to live together in peace (Horner et al, 2015, p. 10).

A series of post conflict education policies in NI have placed an emphasis on schools engaging across the community divide – but, as has been shown, the teachers responsible for facilitating the contact between school pupils may well have been educated in a system that separated them the other community.

It has been proposed that, in order for intergroup contact to be meaningful, participants need to be exposed to '*border crossing narratives'* and '*border pedagogies'* (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1992). John Paul Lederach (1995) suggested that this means that the issues that fuelled the conflict need to be addressed openly and honestly if the meeting and interaction of cultures is to produce change and growth. Teachers engaged in practice aimed at improving Community Relations in NI have, however, reported feeling ill-equipped to engage with issues that they perceive as being sensitive, controversial or contentious in the NI context (McCully, 2006; King, 2009; ETI, 2018). Research conducted by Donnelly (2004) highlighted that many teachers had never had any cause to discuss or explore issues related to the differences between Protestants and Catholics[40] and, in research by Hagan and McGlynn (2004), teachers had expressed relief that they had not had to do so, either because they would feel deeply uncomfortable with such discussion or because they did not see it as part of their job.

> The culturally ubiquitous story that discourages open discussion on the causes and consequences of social division, particularly in the company of people from the other main tradition, is reflected in the approach of teachers (Smith et al, 2006, p. 220).

This paradox may be framed by the question – how can teachers (who may or may not have had much professional contact across the divide) contribute to an ethos that examines and addresses issues of conflict, division, stereotypes and prejudices when "the predilection of teachers in single-religion schools is to construct an ethos, which sustains religious and cultural division" (Donnelly, 2004, p. 6).

3.7 Summary

Those pursuing a teaching career in Northern Ireland enter a system that is separated along the same ethnic schism that defined a protracted (and arguably still unresolved)

---

[40] NB: Caitlin Donnelly challenged her own assertions in an article written with Stephanie Burns and published in Irish Educational Studies in 2017 where they observed that Catholic teachers had encouraged active engagement with contentious, conflict-related debates whilst Protestant teachers avoided any reference to identity and conflict.

conflict. This division is a product of historical events but has been preserved and embedded by policy, practice and parental choice. Religious discrimination in teacher appointments is protected by national and European law. To some extent the provision of Initial Teacher Education reflects the sectoral division and prepares beginning teachers to enter employment on one side or the other. The teaching and practice of religion in school plays a central part in imposing limitations for career development across the divide – particularly for Protestants teachers applying for posts in CCMS primary schools.

Even the membership of those organisations committed to the protection of teachers' professional identities and employee/employer relations and negotiations (i.e. the unions) are reflective of the wider community divisions that are evident throughout education.

If, as Murray (1985, p. 10) suggested, the attitudes of teachers in NI can serve to maintain "in-community solidarity and perpetuate separateness" then classrooms – within which where there is consistency between the community identity of the pupils and the teacher – will serve to incubate future division. This research has exposed that the depth of that division between teachers may, in some respects, be more profound than within the population generally (with regard to questions of national identity).

The separation of the patterns of employment and deployment of teachers appears central to the maintenance of the ethnic division of schools – which may, in effect, be preparing pupils for adult life in a separated, culturally-enclosed society rather than a society that is shared and within which they are exposed to a range of perspectives, traditions and attitudes.

Much research has been conducted into the ways in which the divisions in education have impacted upon pupils in NI but there has been notably less study into the experiences of teachers. A gap in knowledge has been identified with regard to recent information on the numbers of teachers who have been educated on one side but have who have crossed the community divide to take up employment on the other side - How many cross-over? What has enabled this passage? What has restricted it? What have the experiences been of those who teach across the divide? These questions frame this research project.

CHAPTER 4. THE RESEARCH QUESTION AND RESEARCH AIMS

4.1 Review Of Context And Identifying A Gap In Knowledge[41]

Historical events, legislation, educational policy and established practices have combined to create a system of education in NI that is characterised by enduring, seemingly immutable division along religious/political/community/ethnic lines. Twenty years have passed since the signing of the Belfast Agreement, yet the physical separation of the two communities that had been symptomatic of the three decades of the Troubles is as apparent now as it had been prior to Good Friday 1998: so-called Peace Walls are still in place, public housing is predominantly 'single-identity', and, in spite of a commitment included in the Agreement to "facilitate and encourage" Integrated Education, only around 7% of pupils attend schools that have a consciously and deliberately mixed body of students and staff.

It could be argued that the integrationist zeitgeist heralded by the peace process has been replaced by a pragmatic acceptance of the status quo of community division and that the Shared Education Policy is consistent with that mind shift; the enduring community division of schools has, apparently, been accepted by the policy makers[42]. Significantly, whilst Shared Education actively encourages co-operation between schools across the divide, the focus of such initiatives is primarily upon educational improvement, and the efficient use of resources; improvement in community relations is afforded only secondary status in the legislation[43], DE policy and EA funded initiatives[44].

John Paul Lederach's (1995) work implies that, if pupils merely sit alongside one-another in class without ever really engaging in discussion around the difficult issues that still affect inter-community relations, there remains a very real risk that the investment in

---

[41] Elements of this section were also published in The View magazine in January 2018 (p. 25) under the title "Religious Diversity Lacking in Our Schools" https://issuu.com/brianpelanone/docs/education_issue_2017

[42] See for example the submission by Professor Alan Smith to the Northern Ireland Assembly Education Committee Inquiry into Shared and Integrated Education: http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/globalassets/documents/education-2011---2016/inquiries-and-reviews/shared-and-integrated-education/UNESCO Centre---professor-alan-smith.pdf

[43] The Shared Education Act (Northern Ireland) 2016 states that the first two 'purposes' of Shared Education are to deliver *educational benefits* to children and young persons, and to promote the *efficient and effective use of resources* – the fourth and fifth purposes are to promote good relations, and to promote respect for identity, diversity and community cohesion http://www.legislation.gov.uk/nia/2016/20/section/1

[44] The first objective for the EA managed Signature Project is to "improve education outcomes through schools working collaboratively" – "reconciliation outcomes" are third in the list of objectives (EA, 2016, P. 2) this is consistent with the Sharing Works policy (DENI, 2015b)

Shared Education (and for that matter Integrated Education) will produce only very limited peace-building outcomes.

Over the years of EMU, CRED and other community relations policies in education, studies conducted with teachers had consistently indicated that they felt unprepared for engaging in the exploration of contentious issues. As has been shown, the mechanisms that are in place for the preparation and deployment of teachers in NI are ill-suited to equipping teachers (and primary school teachers in particular) with the skills and mindset necessary to support the next generation to understand and engage with ‘the other side’.

The limited research that has taken place to quantify the numbers of teachers who have crossed the community divide suggest that school staffrooms are, on the whole, ethnically homogenous (Darby et al, 1977; ECNI, 2004). Schools lack the diverse workforces that would be expected in other workplaces.

The employment of teachers in community consistent settings is underpinned by a series of policies, practices and perceptions that preserve the community division evident in the deployment of the teaching workforce. All primary schools are required to teach RE – those schools within the auspices of CCMS require that any teacher seeking employment have a Catholic church approved teaching certificate. Whilst this is provided as a matter of course to the almost exclusively Catholic cohort of trainee teachers that attend St Mary’s, it is offered only as an optional-extra at the (still) predominantly Protestant Stranmillis. Northern Ireland has long standing Fair Employment laws, nevertheless schools are one of very few places of work in NI that can still use religion as a legitimate selection criterion for employment and promotion.

This pattern of division is potentially self-sustaining. It is wholly plausible that many teachers follow a wholly community consistent path; that they remain within a homogenous setting from primary school, to post primary, to teaching college, to teaching practice and into employment. It appears probable that school staff rooms in Northern Ireland are as mono-cultural as the classrooms that they serve, but no recent evidence is available to substantiate or refute this proposition.

Teaching is a heavily unionised profession and even the unions that teachers elect to join reflect the patterns of separation. The largest teaching union in NI (NASUWT) attracts membership from both sides but INTO, an all-Ireland union, is strongly represented in

CCMS schools whilst UTU operates only in NI and draws its membership predominantly from the Controlled sector.

Pupils are separated to a significant degree on the basis of religion/community identity; they are also highly unlikely to be taught by a teacher who is a different religion from them. Furthermore, it is probable that, throughout their own schooling, ITE and practice, teachers will have had limited experience of encountering peers from social, religious and cultural backgrounds different to their own (Montgomery and Smith, 2006, p. 52).

Small wonder that research has consistently reported that teachers feel unprepared and unskilled when engaging in cross-community programmes, particularly when those programmes require engagement with issues that could be perceived as being sensitive, contentious or controversial (Donnelly, 2004; Hagan and McGlynn, 2004; McCully, 2006; King, 2009). As Murray (1985, p. 10) illustrated, this is of particular relevance since the attitudes of teachers may serve to maintain "in-community solidarity and perpetuate separateness".

Teachers' community background may therefore, to a large extent, predestine a pathway for ITE, recruitment and progression that feeds a self-replicating cycle of division in education. Research has been conducted into: the labour market for teachers in Northern Ireland (Bennett, 2010), the diversity and distribution of the teaching workforce (Gallagher, 1989), their experiences (Kilpatrick and Leitch, 2004) and their attitudes (Farren et al, 1992; Elwood et al, 2004). However, since 2004, there has been no quantitative research conducted with regard to *cross-over* teachers; it is unknown whether or not the profile of the teaching workforce has changed over the subsequent years.

Qualitative academic research into the experiences of those teachers who have crossed between sectors is notable by its almost complete absence. Research conducted by the UNESCO Centre in Ulster University, concluded that there would be benefits arising from "better understanding of the experiences of teachers teaching across the traditional sectors" (UNESCO Centre, 2015, p. 48).

4.2 The Research Question And Related Aims.

In line with the identified gap in knowledge this research set out to discover:

> What have the experiences been of those teachers who teach across the traditional sectors in Northern Ireland?

In order to be able to answer this question, four related research aims were identified, To:

1. Determine the distribution of teachers in schools in each of the various management types in Northern Ireland by community/ethnic, national and racial identity.

2. Identify the extent of movement of teachers between the ethnically defined sectors.

3. Identify the factors that may serve to moderate teachers' movement between and across these sectors.

4. Explore the identity and agency of those teachers who have crossed between these sectors.

It followed that the fieldwork, in the first instance, needed to determine the current sectoral composition of the education workforce in NI and to quantify as accurately as possible the number of teachers who were teaching across the divide. With this baseline established, the research would be able progress to examining the experiences of those teachers who have stepped across the community divide and are pursuing their career in a school that is not associated with their own community identity and, in doing so, to gain an understanding of elements (policies, practices and perceptions) that have combined to create this situation.

4.3 Methodology

As has been shown, multifarious historical, political and social factors have contributed to the emergence of a system of education in Northern Ireland that is characterised and defined by community division. These same factors have militated against the creation of a common system of education that was acceptable to the religious, political and community leaders on both sides of the divide. Thus, the divisions between the two dominant (and opposing) communities in NI have been reflected, and to a significant extent sustained, through education.

A substantial body of research has been conducted into the impact and effect of these divisions on pupils (Borooah and Knox, 2015; Roulston et al, 2017; Hughes, 2011; and others) but, as has been shown, a significant gap exists in respect of studies into the ways in which the ethnic separation of education in NI has affected the career choices made by teachers. In particular, recent research into the experiences of those teachers whose community origins lie on one side of the divide but who are employed to teach in a school on the other side is conspicuous in its absence. Such research holds potential for casting a new light on their identity, their agency and their capacity to effect change, and to explore the character of potential barriers to the creation of a genuinely shared system of education.

4.3.1 (Anti)Epistemological Foundations

Before outlining the design of the fieldwork methods that were employed to address the research question and aims, it is necessary to examine the world-view that underpins this project. There are, in essence, two historically predominant epistemological perspectives: Postivism and Interpretivism. Each has its roots in opposing ontological concepts. Positivists believe that the world is an ordered and structured place. It operates to universal laws that can be discovered and proved; an 'objective' *truth* exists. It follows therefore that, by adopting a scientific approach, *any* phenomenon can be measured and explained.

In marked contrast, Interpretivists consider that there is no universal, objective truth or reality – knowledge can only ever be a 'subjective' interpretation of specific circumstances at specific times. For the Interpretivist, investigating phenomenon from a human perspective may throw light on the 'meaning' – the 'how' and the 'why'of the world. This knowledge is created, rather than being 'found' or 'discovered'.

Positivists seek *erklären* (explanation) whilst Interpretivists seek *verstehen* (understanding).

It follows that adherents of these two positions will adopt very different research methods. The Positivist is concerned with testing, proving and measuring hypotheses and employs therefore quantitative techniques. In educational research this generally means questionnaires and surveys.

The Interpretivist finds this 'scientific' approach ill-suited to research into the complexity inherent in social phenomena such as education and instead adopts qualitative approaches: typically ethnographic interviews.

A third, more recent, school of thought (Critical Realism) is that both of these schools of conventional research are concerned with merely observing or describing the world. In doing so they leave the phenomenon unchanged. Such research indirectly serves the interests of the powerful in society and, in particular for the Critical Realist, those who shape the prevailing social, political, gender and cultural inequalities. Since our understanding of reality is interpreted through these lenses; the purpose of research should be to challenge and address inequality and the oppression of minority groups. The research methods employed by Critical Realists are similar to those adopted by the Interpretivist but are specifically designed to put the 'voice' of the oppressed in the foreground with the objective of bringing about societal change.

> Die Philosophen haben die Welt nur versschieden interpretiert, es kommt aber darauf an sie zu verändern (Marx, 1888/1975, p. 15)[45].

The often-heated debates between the adherents of these three philosphical perspectives were framed by Gage (1989) as the *Paradigm Wars.*

Sometimes there is reward in considering a difficult problem from a different angle. As the US baseball coach, and master of the apposite aphorism, 'Yogi' Beara advised, "When you come to a fork in the road… Pick it up!" (Beara and Caplan, 2002)

The philosphical school of pragmatism emerged in USA in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and is principally associated with the work of the philospher, Charles Peirce, the psychologist, William James and the educationalist, John Dewey. For the pragmatists, arguments between those who believe in the existence of an objective, external, 'reality' or proponents of a world view that is subjective, internal and 'interpretative' are redundant. They proposed that "the only world we have, the only world that really matters… is our common intersubjective world in which we live and act and for which we have a shared responsibility" (Biesta and Burbules, 2003, p.108).

It follows then that human experience (including education) cannot be studied in isolation – it is a process that only exists because of the *interaction* between natural and social

[45] Also the epithaph on Karl Marx's tomb in Highgate cemetery (in English).

elements. For pragmatists every situation is unique and reality is forever dynamic and changing, furthermore, everything we do affects (and changes) not only our environment but also ourselves.

> The domain of knowledge and the domain of human action are not separate domains, but are intimately connected (Biesta and Burbules, 2003, p. 15).

Thus, since the search for an *absolute truth* will inevitably fail due to the ever-changing nature of the world, educational research should be about finding out both what it is possible to achieve and also to explore if its accomplishment is *desirable*. Adopting the *anti-epistemological* pragmatic approach championed by Dewey as the philosphical foundation for this research, allows for the combination of both the quantitative methods traditionally favoured by Positivists and the qualitative methods of Interpretivism.

4.3.2 A Mixed Methods Approach

> The important thing is to have a reason for doing mixed methods and to be able to provide an epistemological justification for doing them (Greener, 2011, p. 194).

The pragmatic approach sees that, as there is no single way of conducting an investigation that can ensure indisputable knowledge, any technique is acceptable - as long as it works! Consequently, as Denscombe (2010, p. 148) declared, “pragmatism is generally regarded as the philosophical partner of the mixed methods approach”. The research question and associated aims identified earlier in this chapter lend themselves to different methodological approaches.

Quantitative research methods are concerned with assigning a number to the phenomenon under investigation – thus, to determine ‘extent’ and ‘distribution’ (as required in Research Aims 1 and 2), a *broad* quantitative approach is required. In contrast, in order to gain a *deep* understanding of the potential constraints and lived experiences of those teachers that have crossed-over, qualitative methods are appropriate (i.e. Research Aims 3 and 4). Adequately addressing the research question will require both qualitative and quantitative components – the bringing together of both dimensions of the research.

A conventional methodology chapter identifies and justifies the method employed, the analysis approaches used and the ethical implications. The mixed method approach employed in this research however involves *two* discrete elements; quantitative and qualitative. Each has a distinctly different method and approach. Each has markedly different ethical considerations. The conventional one-chapter methodology structure is

therefore ill-suited to the nature of this project. The quantitative and qualitative research elements have consequently been presented as separate components within the whole; each has been framed as a separate *section* within the thesis and each has its own methodology chapter.

Both sections have been constructed in a similar two-chapter format. In the first chapter, the specific methodologies are outlined, alongside the fieldwork techniques that have been applied and a review of the data collection processes. The second chapter reports the findings. The findings from both the quantitative and the qualitative sections are then drawn together, analysed and discussed to ultimately inform the final section of this thesis which draws out the conclusions and recommendations.

Before moving onto these sections, however, Ridley (2012, p. 1) suggests that it is important to “position your own research clearly in the academic map of knowledge creation”. To do that, a literature review is required.

CHAPTER 5. TEACHER IDENTITY AND AGENCY: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Hart (1998, p. 15) identified the purpose of a PhD literature review as being to provide a "summative and formative evaluation of previous work on the problem". Ridley (2012, p. 24) expanded this by identifying six discrete purposes that a literature review might serve: it can provide both a historical context and contemporary issues and debate in the current context, it may help in outlining relevant theories and concepts, it may facilitate the introducing of relevant terminology and definitions, it can identify related research and how the research project extends this or addresses a gap, and finally a literature review can provide supporting evidence that underlines the significance of the work.

To a significant extent, many of the functions identified by Ridley and Hart have already been addressed in the preceding chapters. Relevant literature – drawn from books, journal articles, grey literature and reputable websites – has been synthesised and integrated. Historical events have been examined to tell the story of how the systems of education in NI today have been shaped by ethnic division. Relevant policies have been identified, and related material has been accessed, that reveal the current manifestation of the separation in education. The *recursive* approach adopted of integrating literature into the text will continue throughout this thesis.

It has been shown that series of policies have combined to produce a teaching profession that is structurally divided along the lines of community identity; at the same time a different series of policies explicitly require teachers to actively engage pupils in the building of cross-community understanding.

An understanding of the out-workings of this policy paradox may be gained by looking through the lens of those who have broken out of the community consistent career cycle and are 'teaching across the divide'. However, no quantitative data is available in the public realm that can be used to reliably profile the current patterns of teacher deployment in the divided sectors by virtue of their ethnic/community/religious identity. In addition, work conducted by the UNESCO centre at Ulster University had identified that there was a research lacuna with regard to the experiences of those teachers in Northern Ireland whose careers had departed the community consistent path.

A research question was established, and related aims were drawn up; the underpinning meta-theory that has informed the design of subsequent mixed methods fieldwork has also been outlined. It is expected that an understanding of the experiences of cross-over

teachers will inform debate on how education practice and education policy should respond to ensure that schools can make a meaningful contribution to the restoration and sustaining of relationships between those who share a society and a place that is, to some extent, still contested.

NI is geographically and demographically small; the pool of experts and academics working to gain an understanding the nature of the connections between education and community division is correspondingly compact – everyone knows everyone else (and is generally familiar with their work). Engagement with staff at Ulster University (UNESCO Centre) and Queen's University Belfast (Centre for Shared Education) has ensured that key policies, reports and local research into relevant topics could be identified and obtained using traditional 'manual' methods for gathering literature. For the initial phases of the research these techniques proved perfectly adequate. In order however to gain an insight into the relationship between teacher identity and teacher agency - and the application of related theory to qualitative research into teachers' experiences - a more focused, systematic and comprehensive search of literature was required. The focus of this literature review was directed by one particular research aim:

- To explore the **identity** and **agency** of those **teachers** who have crossed between [the divided] sectors

An initial, exploratory web-based literature search (using the Boolean Operators: Teacher* AND Agency) produced an unmanageable number of hits (Fig.5); limiting the time-period for publication search to 2008-2018, produced no momentous reduction in quantity. A deeper search revealed that agency theory has, in recent years, become an increasingly popular qualitative lens through which to study and analyse the lived experiences of teachers. From an almost negligible presence in academic literature twenty years ago, there has been a steady rise in use of the paradigm for educational research in the last decade (Fig. 6).

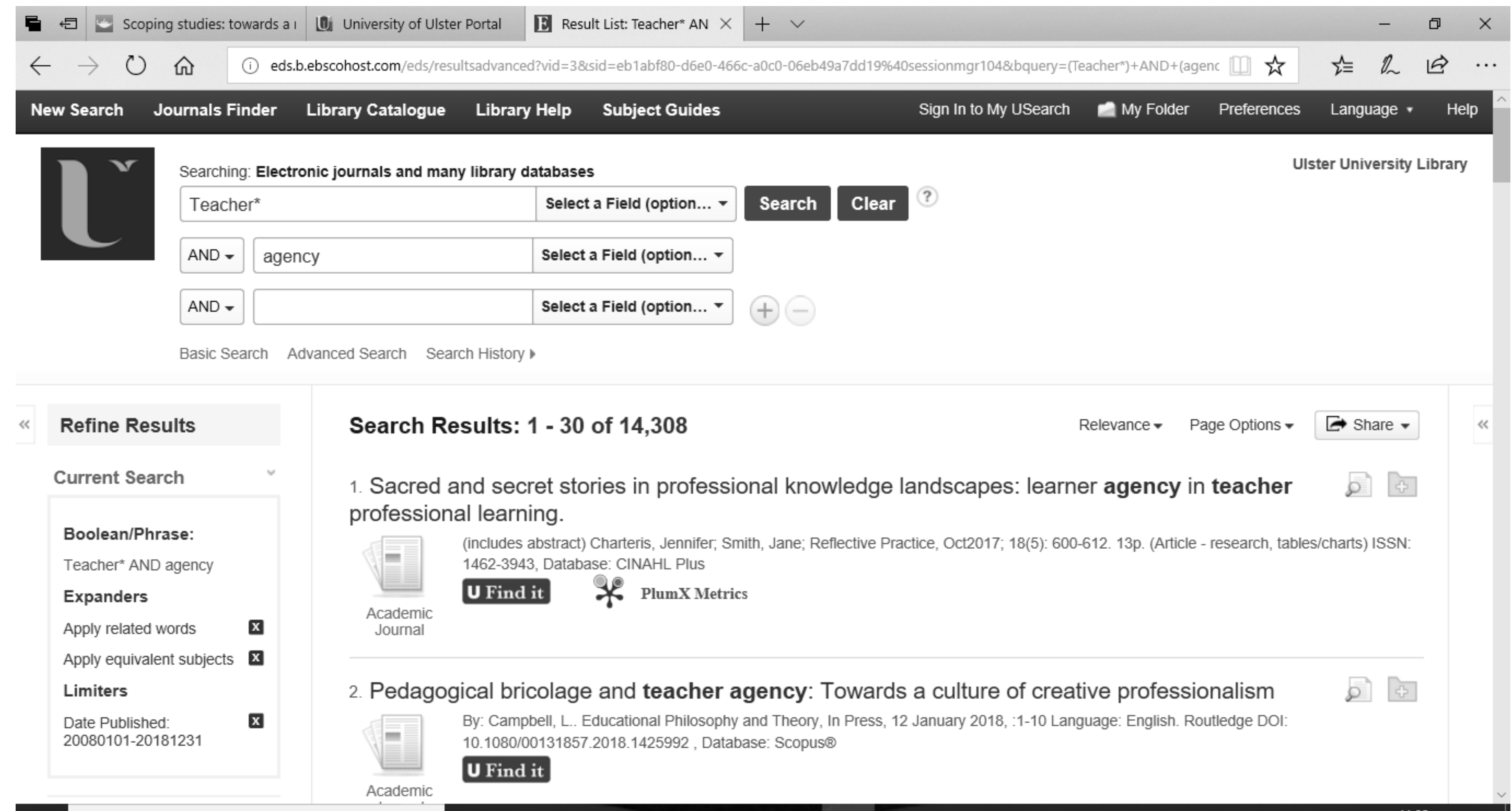


Fig. 5. Screenshot: Search for Teacher* AND Agency

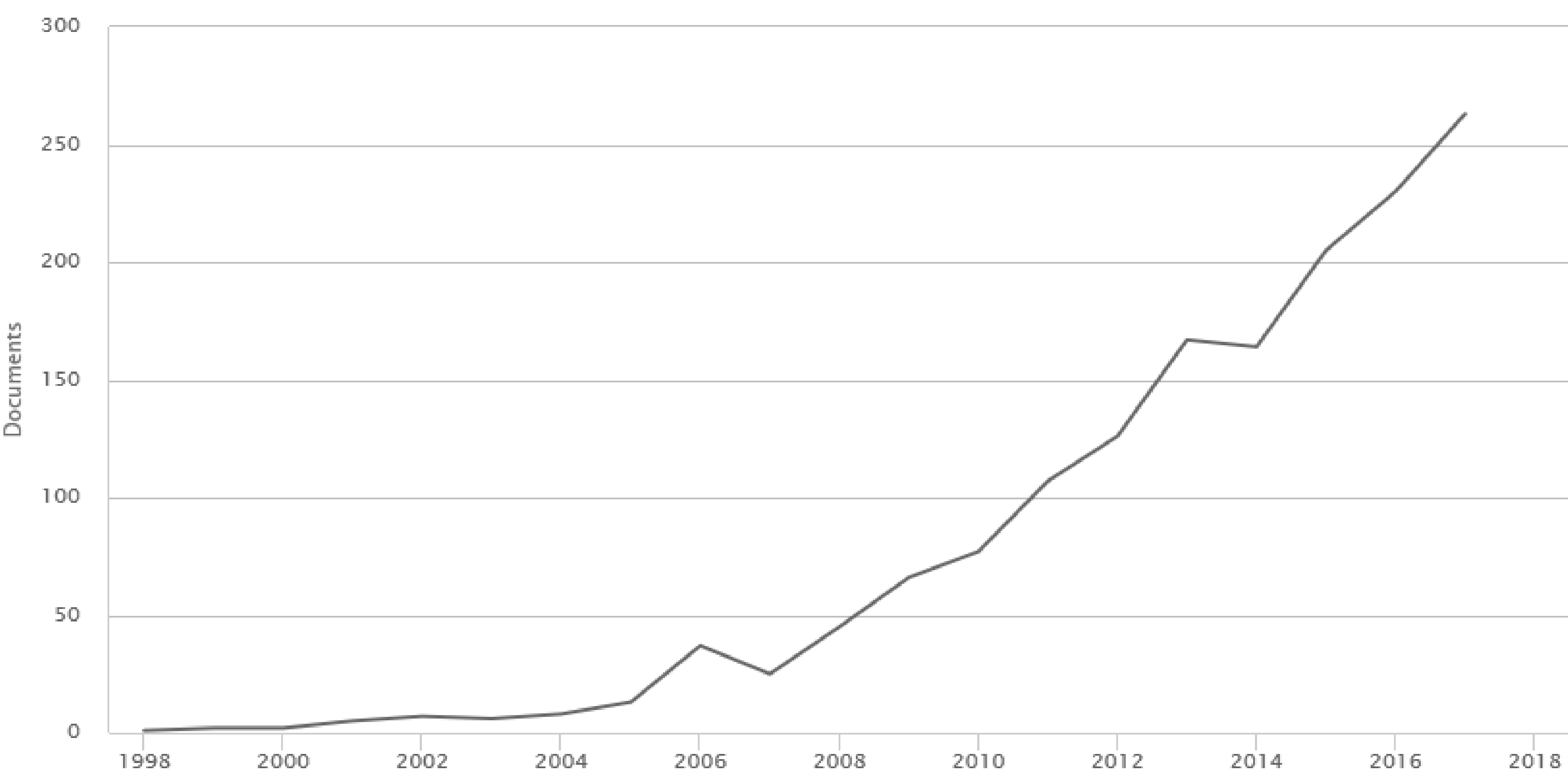


Fig. 6. Material Published on Teacher* AND Agency by year: 1998-2017 (Scopus)

5.1 Literature Scoping

A reliable and valid method was required through which to reduce the range of potentially relevant literature to a manageable size and to ensure the capture of those scripts that were most pertinent to the research aim. Taylor et al (2007; 2015) and Campbell et al (2018) highlighted the value of applying systematic literature searching techniques in academic research. The 'scoping' approach proposed by Arksey and O'Malley (2005), however, offered a better fit with the breadth of the research question and the qualitative focus of the research aim at the heart of this review (Table 7).

Systematic Review	Scoping Review
Focused research question with narrow parameters	Research question(s) often broad
Inclusion/exclusion usually defined at outset	Inclusion/exclusion can be developed Post hoc
Quality filters often applied	Quality not an initial priority
Detailed data extraction	May or may not involve data extraction
Quantitative synthesis often performed	Synthesis more qualitative, and typically not quantitative
Formally assesses the quality of studies and generates conclusions relating to the focused research question	Used to identify parameters in the body of literature

Table 7. Characteristics of scoping and systematic reviews (Brien et al, 2010, p. 2)

Thus, in order to manage the search effectively and rationalise the material discovered Arksey and O'Malley's (2005) four phase literature scoping approach was applied:

#1 Database Searching – searching for relevant documents in subject specific databases.

#2 Initial Screening – reading the abstracts of identified documents; assessing pertinence.

#3 Secondary Screening – reading and reviewing the text of identified documents.

#4 Narrative Synthesis – arranging and presenting the material[46].

[46] A complete breakdown of the application of these phases is to be found in APPENDIX A.

A multitude of databases can be used to access literature in the social sciences - it would be unfeasible to carry out searches in every single one. Given that many of these databases draw their content from the same or similar sources, such a range of searches would in any case be unlikely to significantly enhance the array of material discovered. Three databases – one generic and two that are specific to educational research – were therefore selected: SCOPUS, ERIC and ProQuest (Education Database)[47].

The separation of education in line with the community/ethnic divide in NI – and the associated on-going contested nature of people and place – means that, alongside the concepts of identity and agency, the related themes of conflict and culture were also important in the context of this research. Consequently, to maintain the focus of the enquiry and, at the same time, ensure that no potentially useful material was missed, the searches were *narrowed* by limiting the date of publication to the period 2008-2018 and *deepened* by conducting searches for – Teacher* AND Agency – using an additional Boolean Operator AND for three additional terms: Identity, Conflict and Culture. Three cycles of searching were thus conducted in each of the three databases (Table 8.).

Database	**Search terms**	**Cumulative Hits**
Scopus	Teacher* AND Agency AND Identity	10
	Teacher* AND Agency AND Conflict	11
	Teacher* AND Agency AND Culture	**23**
ProQuest (Education Database)	Teacher* AND Agency AND Identity	11
	Teacher* AND Agency AND Conflict	12
	Teacher* AND Agency AND Culture	**15**
ERIC	Teacher* AND Agency AND Identity	19
	Teacher* AND Agency AND Conflict	25
	Teacher* AND Agency AND Culture	**27**

Table 8. Search Terms and Relevant Hits (screened by title)

[47] NB: ERIC and ProQuest are Education databases, SCOPUS is not subject or discipline specific so can also return search results from subjects outside of Education.

The results of these searches were then checked to identify duplicates; a total of 43 unique documents was achieved. These titles were then organised into a tabular format to facilitate the second phase of the process: Initial Screening[48].

The potential pertinence of these documents was assessed by reading the abstract of each. Fifteen documents with a focus that was not considered to be relevant to the research aim were excluded before the commencement of the third phase: Secondary Screening. During this phase the full texts of the 28 remaining documents were read and reviewed – a further four documents were rejected on the grounds of lacking relevancy.

On a number of occasions, documents were cited in the selected texts that appeared particularly germane but had not been identified through the initial literature searches. At other times academic contacts suggested specific articles or reading. In such instances, access to the items was obtained and the documents reviewed (as in Phase 2) - on occasion this process led, in turn, to additional documents being identified for consideration. This led to the inclusion of a further twelve documents. By the end of these manual and electronic search processes a total of 36 documents had been identified for inclusion in this literature review.

As will be seen, many of the articles reviewed addressed common themes or drew out common issues. The sections that follow have been organised around these themes rather than simply within the general search terms that had been used to identify the source material.

5.2 Agency

> If we do not care enough about making things happen, then we become passive beings to whom things happen (Archer, 2000, p. 3).

The concept of *Human Agency* has its origins in the philosophical discipline of *Action Theory* which, in turn, dates back to the writings of the Greek philosophers. Aristotle reflected upon the ways in which desire and belief act in combination to produce an action. Expressed at its most basic level - if an individual should desire a particular outcome based on a personal belief then they will take action to achieve that outcome. This construct of Agency can be used as a lens through which to examine a simple

[48] For a comprehensive breakdown of the outworkings of all of these phases see APPENDIX A.

sequence of processes: *I am thirsty. I want to drink a glass of water. I believe that the clear fluid in this glass is water. I will act by lifting the glass and drinking.*

The expression of agency requires individuals to have the capacity to act independently and to make their own free choices, based on their will. As choices, and the consequent actions that they necessitate, become more abstract and more people become involved so the individual's ability to make independent choices and act in accordance with their *free will* may become restricted. Not everyone has the capacity to follow through on their desires – they may be limited by their own (dis)abilities or by physical, natural or societal constraints. The extent to which Agency can be exercised is therefore affected by *Structure*: the factors acting singly or in combination that limit or influence individuals' opportunities to exercise their agency - these may include class, religion, gender, ethnicity, sexuality amongst many others. The role of structure in the capacity of cross-over teachers to exercise the agency is therefore particularly germane.

For Marx and Hegel, human capacity to exercise agency existed only within a system of universal class – Hegel saw this ultimately as self-managing and benevolent, Marx, by contrast found it oppressive and benefiting only one section of society[49]. Marx identified a class-division where the *proletariat* sold their labour for a subsistence wage to employers and factory owners: the *bourgeoisie*. The bourgeoisie ultimately exerted their agency to further their own interests and retain and consolidate their power and position whilst at the same time appearing to be furthering the interests of society. This power imbalance ensured that opportunities for the proletariat to exercise their agency were severely restricted[50]. Discussions at a theoretical level around the nature of the interplay between agency and structure have been the focus of much academic discourse within the discipline of Social Action (e.g. Archer, 2000) but will not be entered into in any detail here, other than to accept that:

> Actors always act by means of their environment rather than simply in their environment… the achievement of agency will always result from the interplay of individual efforts, available resources and contextual and structural factors as they come together in particular and, in a sense, always unique situations (Biesta and Tedder, 2007, p. 137).

---

[49] As proposed in "Zur Kritik der Hegelschen RechtsphiloSophie - 2c29 (*Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*)", Karl Marx (1843)

People do not merely react to and repeat that which has gone before, rather, since they can take autonomous social action, they have the capacity to intentionally transform and refine their social and material worlds. Thus, agency can be defined as the ability to initiate purposeful action that implies will, autonomy, freedom and, choice – or, more simply, "the capacity of people to act on behalf of what matters to them" (Alkire 2005, p. 223).

Boyte and Finders (2016) proposed that the development and expression of agency was central to the purposes of education and that the Aristotelian concept of agency underpinned the principles of pragmatism as articulated by John Dewey.

> It is the main business of the family and the school to influence directly the formation and growth of attitudes and dispositions, emotional, intellectual and moral (Dewey, 1937, pp. 221-222).

Furthermore, Biesta and Burbules (2003, p. 22) suggested that, since "questions about 'how' [were] inseparable from questions about 'why' and 'what for'," a pragmatic understanding of agency was crucial to all research in education.

5.3 Teacher Agency

> Agency emerges in the dialectical interaction of person and practice (Edwards, 2015, p. 779).

As has been shown, in recent years there has been a rise in interest on the part of the international research community in respect of viewing teachers' capacity to effect change through the lens of agency. Vähäsantanen (2015) distinguished three complementary perspectives of professional agency: influencing one's own work, making decisions and choices about one's own involvement in educational reform, and negotiating and influencing one's own professional identity.

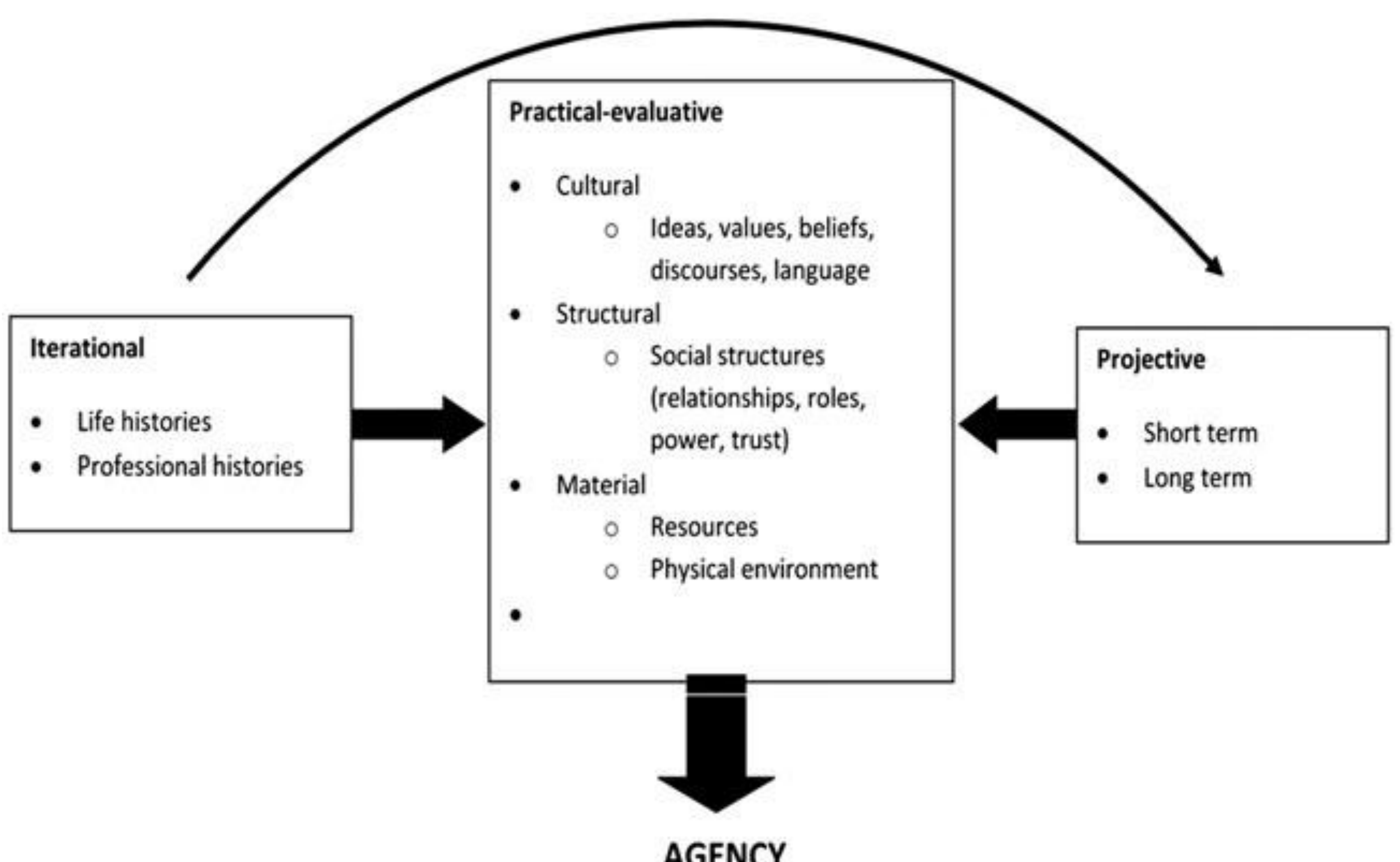
In the UK, an agentic perspective has been particularly championed by Biesta (2003; 2007; 2015) who, working alongside others, observed that decades of policies had effectively de-professionalised teachers by removing their agency and replacing it with prescriptive curricula and oppressive regimes of testing and inspection – current practice tends consequently to both underplay and misconstrue the role of teacher agency in educational change.

Many researchers have remarked on the extreme difficulty of capturing an individual's understanding of their own agency. Emirbayer and Mische (1998) identified a "chordal triad of agency" whereby an individual's conception of their agency is informed by the past (*iterational*), oriented toward the future (*projective*) and acted out and understood in the present (*practical-evaluative*). They considered that the actor requires the capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment and that consequently "all three dimensions resonate as separate but not always harmonious tones" (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998, p. 972).

Teachers exercise their agency when they act upon their beliefs, values and attributes and thereby mobilise in relation to a particular situation (Biesta and Tedder, 2007). Agency may therefore be conceived as something that is *achieved*, rather than *possessed*, through the active engagement of individuals with aspects of their contexts-for-action. Biesta et al (2015) developed a model that captured Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) chordal triad and provided a framework from which the interview schedule for cross-over teachers in this research project was established (Fig. 7).

This analysis resonates with work undertaken by David Selby and Fumiyo Kagawa (2011) who concluded that teacher agency had become circumscribed by technocratic trends in educational policy and practice and that it only survived in '*shadow spaces'*, where educators have room to experiment, imitate, learn, communicate, and reflect on their actions. The importance of reflection in the dynamic construction of agency was emphasised by Giddens (1991, p. 175) who argued that human agents "never passively accept external conditions of action, but more or less continuously reflect upon them and reconstitute them in the light of their particular circumstances".

Teachers' exercise of their agency is highly relational and context-contingent – it is not simply a matter of the application of knowledge. The way teachers act in a particular environment is likely to result from complexly interdependent relations of their personal and professional beliefs and dispositions, degrees of autonomy and power, and interactions with other actors within the social contexts in which they work (Pantić, 2015).



F

Fig. 7. A model for understanding the achievement of agency (Biesta et al, 2015, p. 627)

5.4 Teacher Identity and Teacher Agency

Beijaard et al (2004) stated that there is no clear definition of teacher identity; there is however general acknowledgement of its multi-faceted and dynamic nature. Hoffman-Kipp (2008, p. 153) located it at "the intersection of personal pedagogical, and political participation and reflection within a larger socio-political context" and research by Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) concluded that the school environment, the nature of the learner population, the impact of colleagues and of school administrators can all be influential in shaping teacher identity. A heightened awareness of one's identity is consequently a prerequisite for the achievement of agency.

Identity creation is a dynamic process; as teachers move from one set of circumstances to another, they make active choices between various possible identities (Clarke, 2009). Teachers' identities, like their pedagogical practices, are not predetermined, they are continually negotiated and renegotiated within specific and changing contexts.

> Professional identity is not a stable entity; it cannot be interpreted as fixed or unitary. It is a complex and dynamic equilibrium where professional self-image is balanced with a variety of roles teachers feel that they have to play (Beijaard et al., 2004, p. 113).

Identity is not something fixed or set, it develops throughout the whole of an individual's life. For teachers, it must inevitably contain both personal and professional dimensions.

> A teacher's identity is a social product, drawn from social history, actively internalized and re-authored in response to new circumstances (Oswald and Perold, 2015, p. 1).

Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) conducted an action research project with early career teachers in Finland examining the principles of 'identity-agency' as proposed by Eteläpelto et al (2015). They explored the ways in which these individuals had drawn on their own values, experiences and beliefs when they exercised their professional agency – within the context of socially present expectations, beliefs and demands.

> Teachers, when forming and reforming their professional identities, are constantly facing not only their own expectations, beliefs and demands but new expectations, beliefs and demands present in the environment that also affect their identities. Developing a professional identity can therefore be seen as an extremely social and context-dependent process that cannot be understood without taking into account the context where it takes place and the role of an individual in making sense of this environment (Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate 2016, p. 319).

They identified three types of identity-agency: *Expansive* (taking on new goals, making connections, taking responsibility for self), *Reductive* (loss in confidence, withdrawing) and *Attentive* (recognising current situation, questioning former beliefs).

> The first expansive form was characterised by the participants reforming their identity on the basis of new practices, ideas and conceptualizations that were available to them in their teacher education context. The second reductive form meant, in contrast, at least a partial rejection of what was offered in this context or a decline in confidence. The third attentive form was qualified as preservice teachers actively monitoring their environment and raising potentially important themes for their future development as teachers (Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate 2016, p. 325).

From this, they concluded that whilst identity is often conceptualized as snapshot of the self at a specific point of time, agency is the underlining activity that maintains a constant re-negotiation of the self.

Izadinia (2013) found consistency in the literature that teachers' professional identity is shaped through reflection upon their own values, beliefs, feelings and teaching practices and experiences. By contrast Beijaard et al (2004, p. 113) observed that since "personal identities are negotiated at the intersection of the individual and the social" the professional self is inseparable from a person's narrative or life story – consequently, friction may arise in teachers' professional identity in cases in which the '*personal*' and the '*professional*' are too far removed from each other.

Menter (2010, p. 29) observed that "postmodern social theory has focused attention on the 'multiple identies' that most individuals hold" and identified that, in addition to their professional identity, teachers will have a number of other personal identities. Francis and le Roux (2011) went further; after having interviewed twenty pre-service teachers to determine how their emerging professional identities were connected to notions of critical agency, they attested that a teacher could not and should not claim to have a purely professional identity; their understanding of their identity will inevitably have been mediated by their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, class, language, sexual orientation, physical ability and language. The multifaceted aspects of a teacher's identity therefore affects everything that s/he does, feels, says and thinks.

Teacher identity is personal, pedagogical and political (Hoffman-Kipp, 2008). The school environment, the nature of the learner population, the impact of colleagues and of school

administrators can all be influential in shaping teacher identity (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009). A teacher's identity is therefore a social product that is internalised, it has been drawn from social history but is re-authored in response to new circumstances. It is not fixed but ever changing (Oswald and Perold, 2015). Thus, whilst identity may be conceptualized as snapshot of the self at a specific point of time, agency is the underlining activity that maintains a constant re-negotiation of the self.

The professional self is inseparable from a person's narrative or life story (Beijaard et al, 2004) – consequently, friction may arise in teachers' professional identity in cases in which the 'personal' and the 'professional' are too far removed from each other. Identity affects everything that the teacher does, feels, says and thinks: engagement with identity and the achievement of agency are inextricably linked.

The exercise of agency is mitigated and mediated by the *structure* within which the teacher is engaged. For the teacher whose career has led them to cross between the divided systems of education in Northern Ireland, the challenge of marrying the personal and professional dimensions of their identity is likely to be amplified by a structure within which the ethnic dimensions of personal identity may be contested or sit uneasily.

5.5 'Outsider' Identity and Teacher Agency

The interface between individual agency and subjectivity, and the potential of domination by larger structures led Liggett (2012) to conclude, that the multiple and fluid construction of teachers' identities may also be forged in the context of a struggle. A teacher's place within a particular community of practice may be contested either as a consequence of their current situation or by the way they are positioned (or believe they are positioned) by others.

Perry et al (2009) conducted in-depth interviews with 20 instructors of colour who were involved in the teaching of diversity courses at a predominately white college. They described how the 'peculiar marginality' of these teachers' racial identity had impacted upon their experiences and identified that these were inextricably, and negatively, connected with their outsider status. They documented how attempts to adopt white mores had proved unsuccessful and concluded that teachers in minority or marginalised positions should 'teach what you are' as opposed to 'teaching what you are not' (i.e. from white, heterosexual, middle- or upper-class perspectives).

These narratives from teachers of colour were echoed by Wright (2016) whose autoethnographic study explored his experiences of being a gay man and a teacher. Although Wright recognised the importance of integrating self-identity with professional identity, he had opted not to disclose his gay identity. He identified three factors that prevented him from coming-out in school: professional opposition, a perception that his sexuality would not be accepted and the ease with which he could remain ‘closeted’.

> Each time I was complicit in the assumptions of heterosexuality, I swallowed part of myself—I moved from it, apologized for it, and made it easier for others to silence me. I allowed myself to become an accomplice in the assumptions about me. It is authenticity and connection that will lead us to more meaningful connections with others and, ultimately, deeper understandings and expressions of ourselves—the most fundamental and profound experiences of our humanity (Wright, 2016, p. 201).

In another autoethnographic article exploring the experiences of teachers with a non-straight sexuality, Goodrich et al (2016, p. 219) identified that the expression of agency relies upon “collective action grounded in individual convictions, not in policy mandates”. They observed how the mainstream dominant group can on occasions subvert the advancement of the minority by seeming to adopt their causes but then subtly changing the discourse in a way that maintained the status quo.

Thus, the *outsider teacher* faces two challenges: how to negotiate the different aspects of her identity and, at the same time, how to act as an advocate for others (teachers and pupils) who share her identity (Espinoza, 2015).

Alongside race and sexuality, language may also identify the teacher as being an outsider. Zanazanian (2011) explored the experiences of two teachers from the majority Franco-Québécois that arose from their practice among the minority Anglo-Québécois community. They described the applicability of Rüsen’s (2005) concept of *ethno-agency* which described communities as being either ‘traditional’ (endeavouring to remember their origins and keep traditions, cultural norms, and values alive through the repetition of narratives or symbols that confirm and reaffirm an individual’s connection to his or her peers) or ‘exemplary’ (using the experiences of the past as guidelines for conduct, legitimizing the validity of social roles and values as well as orienting individuals toward either what course of action to take or what to refrain from doing).

The relations between the two communities had historically been strained as the result unequal power relations. Viewed through Rüsen's theoretical lens both the French-Canadian cross-over teachers and their English-Canadian pupils in Quebec could *choose* between two alternative paradigms of acting towards the 'other' – they could either engage with the realities and experiences of the present, thereby acquiring a more complete picture of both the self and the other, or they could engage with the hardships of the past as a way to protect their community from 'unexpected tomorrows'.

Chun Lai et al (2016) interviewed teachers in international schools in Hong Kong. They recognised the rich cultural heritages that staff from outside the territory brought with them and considered that this diversity held the potential to afford indigenous teachers substantial professional learning opportunities. It was seen, however, that social structures mediated local teachers' capacity to exercise their agency and that "the potential of mutual learning in the contexts of international education rests heavily on teachers' individual professional agency to engage in learning cross-culturally from their peers and to exert influence on their peers" (p. 20). The exercise of agency is limited by school structure and the cultural system with its associated power relations, self-imposed roles, and individuals' confidence and competencies. This perspective resonates with the educational environment within which the cross-over teacher in NI may be engaged.

5.6 The Development of Teacher Identity, Teacher Agency and ITE

Lipponen and Kumpulainen (2011) investigated the factors that encouraged the development of teacher identity and agency during teacher education in Finland; they identified that teacher-student relations played a key role, and that benefits occurred when teacher educators broke away from the traditional, *taken-for-granted*, patterns of activities. They observed that agentic teachers were distinguishable through their capacity to transform and refine their social and material worlds. From their research they proposed that if beginning teachers are to develop this professional agency, then they need to move beyond reacting to, and repeating, previous practice.

Finland has been a fertile ground for research into teacher agency. Moate and Ruohotie-Lyhty (2014) conducted an action research project through which they reflected on practice within the Finnish and the British systems of ITE. They found that teaching practice can easily become periods of 'apprenticeship' – an uncritical transition into the existing culture of the school. This perspective would imply that the teacher in NI who passes through ITE in a community-specific college and undertakes teaching practice in

schools that share their community identity is unlikely to develop the capacity to challenge the status quo of educational division.

Moate and Ruohotie-Lyhty (2014) proposed a model of practice that could support students to engage their agency and thereby critically reflect and develop their theoretical understanding (Fig. 8). The model drew on Dewey's concept of 'intelligent thinking' within a school-community environment that supported the building of multiple bridges with and between individuals, different educational communities, *and* educational theory and practice within the present and for the future.

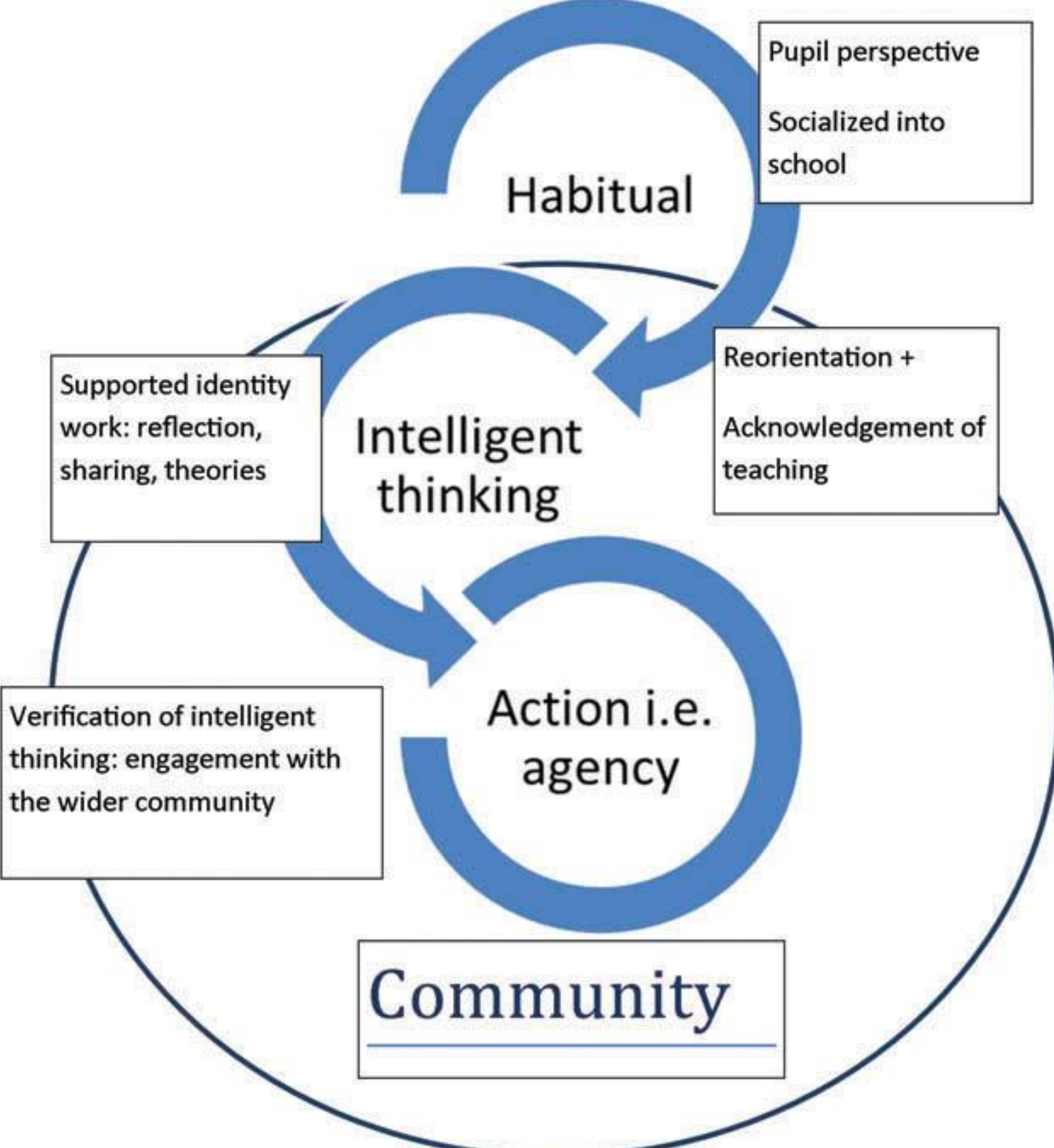


Fig. 8. A teacher education model based on Dewey's theory of education (Moate and Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2014, p. 255)

5.7 Teacher Agency and Change

Agents are embedded in their contextual conditions, nevertheless they have the capacity to transform these conditions (Edwards, 2015; Eteläpelto et al, 2014). Van der Heijden et al (2015) conducted a series of interviews with twenty teachers in the Netherlands that had achieved successful change in the classroom. Through analysis of these interviews they identified four key characteristics attributed to teachers as change agents: lifelong learning (being eager to learn and reflective), mastery (giving guidance, being accessible, positive, committed, trustful, and self-assured), entrepreneurship (being innovative and feeling responsible) and collaboration (being collegial).

Fullan, (1993) had already identified that, if teachers are to act as successful change agents, then they need build a bridge between their own work and learning and the work and learning of their colleagues.

By looking at the perspectives of both officials and teachers as they introduced a new curriculum to schools in Cyprus, Hajisoteriou et al (2015) were able to review the process and identify the centrality of agency within it.

> Curriculum needs to be understood as a cultural and a social construction and as such it does not exist separately from human interaction… [it is] an emergent, dynamic process, something that unfolds through human agency (Hajisoteriou et al, 2015, p. 129).

The achievement of teacher agency cannot be considered as a goal; it is instead a pre-existing, predestined and unavoidable condition that needs to be managed. Nevertheless, Hajisoteriou et al concluded that “teachers, despite being recognised as key stakeholders, are actually considered as pawns in a process of fulfilling the declared/official policy” (p. 131).

Lopez (2011) focused on the experiences of one teacher as she implemented the roll out of a new initiative in Canada: *Culturally Relevant Pedagogy*. She too identified the need for teachers to be agentic if they are to adjust the curriculum and yet remain within Ministry guidelines and polices.

Klehr’s (2015) ethnographic study identified three possible agentic responses to the introduction of new initiatives: staying firmly within one’s comfort zone, taking cautious and careful steps, and wholeheartedly embracing it. She drew special attention to the potential that external controversy and conflict may have to create opportunities for

teachers to engage their agency, but concluded that, if such opportunities are to be effectively embraced, then risk-taking by teachers needs to be accommodated.

5.8 Teacher Agency and Peace-building

> The perspective of teachers as agents of change is significant in conflict-affected settings where both teachers and students may bring the legacies of hurt, trauma and prejudice existing in the wider community (Halai and Durrani, 2017, p. 1).

Novelli et al (2015) noted that teachers are required to meet distinctive needs in conflict-affected societies. As a result, new thinking is required to conceptualise what conflict-sensitive peace-building education might look like. They recognised that a context-sensitive approach was required. If education is to support broader peace-building goals, then it needs to be built on the specific political economy and conflict dynamics of each country.

Lopes-Cordozo and Hoeks (2014) applied agency theory in their research into teachers' capacity to assist with the process of peace-building in post conflict Sri Lanka. They observed that teachers do not act in isolation from their environment but are strategic actors in an often highly-politicised context. It follows, by implication, that teachers' actions (or inaction) cannot be disconnected from the potential positive or negative facets of education. If we wish to understand how teachers use their identity and agency it is not enough to look at teachers in isolation; it is also vital to consider the politics of education, the education policies and the educational practice.

They concluded that the status quo cannot be changed by avoiding the issues: an approach which avoids reconciliation and conflict resolution will only ever reproduce structures of inequality and (in)direct violence. Educators who are striving to create structural and positive forms of peace cannot succeed without a favourable and supportive environment.

Post-conflict Sri Lanka was also the setting for research by Ross and Lopes-Cardozo (2017). They documented how the secondary school education system (which was established during British colonialism) had been segregated in a manner that reflected the ethnic division and how, in spite of policy efforts introduced since 1991 (peace education, language teaching, Human Rights education), the separation of communities in schools continues to play a part in exacerbating conflict between groups.

Almost half of the teachers interviewed in this study had explicitly defended the segregated structures and expressed a desire that the separation should be maintained – echoing Rüsen's (2005) model of a 'traditional community', they justified current arrangements as preserving culture and religious identity that was perceived as being under threat.

A minority of those teachers interviewed had asserted that they actively pursued a personal strategy to deviate from the curriculum with which they disagreed, and instead teach (with input from their own beliefs, culture and history) in such a way as to challenge barriers of identity and prejudice between Muslims and Tamils; using their agency to challenge exclusionary nationalist subjectivities and pre-conceived notions of identity and difference through an open dialogue.

Race is still an organising principle of social relationships in post-apartheid South Africa. According to research conducted by le Roux (2014), teachers have tended to avoid engaging in racial dialogue for fear of generating classroom conflict. He unpacked the rationalisations used by four white pre-service teachers to make sense of their own racial identities and found that, in the absence of dialogue, white teachers had been deprived of the opportunity to re-articulate their racial identities and were consequently not in a position to engage with issues of racial oppression.

Halai and Durrani (2017) examined teachers' role in peace-building in the conflict-affected context of Pakistan. They analysed data that they had gathered from interviews, focus groups and a quantitative survey in order to consider the 4Rs framework of redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation as developed by Novelli et al (2015). They found that the role of teachers in the classrooms was largely perceived as being limited to implementing the curriculum - teaching was primarily seen as being about the transmission of knowledge to passive student recipients. Dealing with inequities and divisions in society was perceived by those teachers who took part in the research as being peripheral to the core curriculum; it was either dismissed as being 'off- topic' or was only to be dealt with if a specific opportunity arose.

> Issues of social cohesion, lack of mutual trust and respect for diversity are often found in the socio-political context within which education enterprise takes place but are not an explicit focus of change through teacher agency (Halai and Durrani, 2017, p. 7).

They concluded that, without recognition of and respect for internal diversity, social cohesion remains fragile. Since the purely academic elements of the curriculum remained at the core for teachers, issues such as peace-building and social cohesion remained peripheral. Teachers did not feel empowered to see their role in the broader social context; they limited themselves to issues of an academic nature.

5.9 Identity, Agency, Storytelling and The Place of Critical Incidents

Narrative had been identified by Beijaard et al (2004) as a crucial tool through which agency could be explored and analysed and Bates (2004, p. 27) noted that "storytelling… can be particularly useful where the researcher needs to gain an insight into the everyday experiences of the study participants and how they make sense of their experiences and their wider environment."

> Narrative inquiry approaches to human experience and the construction and reconstruction of personal stories blend in such a way that they are highlighting issues of complexity and human centeredness… these are recalled in the form of critical events that are instrumental in changing or influencing understanding. (Webster and Mertova, 2007, p. 71).

Sisson (2016) conducted a narrative inquiry that foregrounded the significance of personal histories in the understanding of professional identities. He highlighted the importance of 'critical incidents' in the development of a sense of identity and agency.

> Personal life history accounts provide a space for understanding how individuals make sense of who they are and their relation to others in social contexts as informed by their past experiences… An individual's biography includes significant personal experiences as well as social cultural experiences of the time and space in which they have inhabited (Sisson, 2016, p. 671).

This idea of narrative can be expanded to include not only the person telling the story, but also those who are told the story and those who in turn tell the story, drawing these others into the shaping of the teller's identity; in other words, 'collective storytelling' produces identity.

There is potential for tensions to ensue, for example, when individuals must engage in multiple-figured worlds especially those where cultural values and beliefs are in conflict. Unsurprisingly not all individuals will choose to enact their agency and "human agency is frail, particularly for those with little power" (Sisson, 2016, p. 681).

5.10 Conclusions

From the review of literature, it is evident that teachers require agency if they are to affect any kind of structural change or chance in practice within the school. Their capacity to apply that agency will be mitigated by circumstances and, particularly, the prevailing hegemony.

Agency is not something that a teacher has – it is something that they must attain or achieve. In order to acquire agency, the teacher needs to be able to critically reflect and engage both the professional and the personal components of their identity; it is impossible to separate these and any attempt to do so is to the detriment of the exercise of agency. The process of agency development commences during ITE where it may either be promoted and encouraged at this early stage of their teaching career or actively obstructed by accepted and unchallenged practices.

Identity is ever-changing. It is constructed principally from the teacher's understanding, interpretation and presentation of their past, their present and their projected future, but will also be tempered through their judgements as to how it may be perceived by others.

The achievement of agency is particularly pertinent for those teachers working in divided, contested and/or post-conflict settings or if their identity is somehow outside of the accepted norm: race, religion, language, ethnicity, sexuality.

Since agency requires reflection on identity on a number of temporal dimensions and in a range of contexts, a narrative approach – and particularly the telling stories that identify 'critical incidents' – has the potential to be a particularly apposite research method through which to explore their development and expression.

It is apparent from this review of literature that if teachers in NI are to have the capacity to exercise agency with regard to the on-going process of peace-building they need both the internal capacity and external environment that will allow them to engage with the issues of division in society and education. They need an understanding of policy and politics. They need to engage with colleagues – and bring them with them. They need to be innovative and may need to seek out the *shadow spaces* where the necessary learning can take place rather than in formal curriculum-orientated, exam-driven lessons. They need to be reflective and promote reflection.

For cross-over teachers in NI these tasks are complicated – but, by engaging both their professional and their personal identities they may also possess the agency to bring about change – this may be facilitated, permitted, encouraged or blocked by the power structures that they encounter.

The theories of agency explored provide a framework within which professional and personal identity occupy a central position. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, whilst agency remains a constant theme throughout the research, identity is the dominant feature in analysis of the qualitative data. The qualitative fieldwork methodologies employed provide a snapshot in time. In line with observations by Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) these techniques are ideal for capturing an insight into issues of identity for the cross-over teacher, but less suited to the development of an in-depth understanding of teacher agency. For this, a longer-term study would have been required.

QUANTITATIVE INVESTIGATION

CHAPTER 6. QUANTIFYING THE DIVIDE: METHOD

> Peace tends to be very fragile in segregated societies. As long as groups are separated, long term peace is at risk (Johnson and Johnson, 2005, p. 284).

The most recent relevant statistical information relating to the sectoral composition of the NI teaching workforce by community identity dates to 2004 (see Chapter 3) and, although the Equality Commission who carried out the investigation are required to keep the teacher exemption from FETO under review, they have, to date, instigated no subsequent significant research into this issue.

As has been documented earlier, efforts conducted within this project to link public realm data had proved unsuccessful in spite of support from ADRN/ADRC – this failure dictated that an alternative approach was required in order to address two of the stated research aims:

- To determine the distribution of teachers in schools in each of the various management types in Northern Ireland by community/ethnic, national and racial identity.

- To identify the extent of movement of teachers between the ethnically defined sectors.

Denscombe (2010) proposed five criteria that described the conditions under which the use of a survey or questionnaire was appropriate. Firstly, when surveying involves large numbers spread over many locations. Secondly, when straightforward information is required - quantitative rather than qualitative. Third, when there is a need for standardised data but the resources (time, money) are not available to facilitate face-to-face interaction. Fourth, it is also necessary that the respondents can reasonably be expected to have the ability to read and understand the questions. Finally, the social climate needs to be open – the respondent has trust in the researcher (and their motives) and the questions being asked are not controversial or exposing.

Denscombe's criteria framed the task in hand almost perfectly. Teachers are distributed throughout the whole of NI. The data required (for this phase of the research) was predominantly quantitative and the available resources were limited (particularly time and finance). It was also wholly reasonable to expect that those who were to be surveyed (i.e. qualified and employed teachers) would have the necessary skills to read and respond

to a series of written questions. The research aims were, for this element of the research at least, non-controversial – deeper questioning on motivation and experiences would be reserved for a subsequent qualitative element of the research: narrative interviews.

Greener (2011) noted that questionnaires are relatively simple to put together, cheap, because they do not require researchers to spend large amounts of time gathering data, and versatile enough to be adaptable to many different situations and disciplines. Online surveys, in particular, offer the researcher an efficient and flexible way of collecting data for educational research. Fleming and Bowden (2009), documented the advantages of web-based surveys over traditional mail methods. They identified that large numbers of respondents could be surveyed at comparatively low cost and that a large sample size would allow for analysis of sub-groups - the data can also be collected continuously and across a wide area. The process of data collection with web-based surveys was identified as being quick and accurate; such surveys can be up and running in a matter of days and their results can be accessed almost immediately. The potential for human error in data entry and coding is effectively removed since responses from an online questionnaire can be automatically inserted into spreadsheets, databases or statistical packages - saving both time and money.

Fleming and Bowden (2009) also noted that the online user-experience could be enhanced in ways that would be impossible with a traditional ‘paper’ survey. They noted that, by using ‘prompts’ to alert respondents if they have skipped or incorrectly answered questions, online surveys have capability to encourage participants to provide a more complete set of answers and thereby increase overall accuracy. In addition, navigation may be eased for respondents through programmed ‘skip patterns’ – whereby irrelevant questions and/or options can be screened-out according to previous responses. Web-based survey programmes may also allow for questions to be formatted in a variety of ways and allow the respondents opportunities to provide additional information through pop-up windows.

The combination of these benefits made an internet-based online survey the obvious choice for this research. Fleming and Bowden (2009) however, also recognised that web-based surveys have potentially two significant disadvantages. Firstly, not everyone in every population can be expected to have both access to the internet or the skills required to be able to answer questions online; those who fail to respond to an online survey may

not actually have the capacity to respond. Thus, use of an online survey could induce a bias by effectively excluding individuals from the sample frame on a non-random basis. There is also the challenge of ensuring that every response received is unique and has been generated by only one respondent. It is possible that several respondents may be using the same internet account, and/or email address. Alternatively, one respondent with several email addresses may be in a position to complete the survey multiple times.

Fortunately, through the Classroom 2000 (C2K) initiative, every school in NI is provided with internet access and every teacher has an individual, unique, school-specific email address. Through C2K, all teachers have been able to avail of training in the rudimentary use of ICT. It was consequently possible to be confident that the population being surveyed had neither difficulty accessing the internet, nor did they lack the necessary competence to complete an online survey. Teachers in NI were therefore not considered in any meaningful way to be subject to the type of potential sample bias identified above.

6.1 Establishing A Target Sample Size: Ensuring Reliability

In 2016-17 there were 18,571 full-time teaching posts in NI schools, a number of these posts being job-shared – this meant that a total of 19,835 individual teachers were employed in NI in the school year during which this element of the fieldwork took place (DENI, 2017).

The Education (Northern Ireland) Act of 1947 placed a responsibility upon local education authorities to make special provision for those pupils with physical and/or intellectual disabilities – either within existing schools or by establishing special schools. Under the terms of the 1947 Act, if a child was considered to be 'ineducable' (by virtue of the severity of their learning difficulty), then s/he became the responsibility of the Department of Health. The provision established by the health authorities for the schooling of those young people that had very severely learning impairment was eventually transferred to local education authorities. Consequently, all but one of the Special Schools in NI is designated as being Controlled. However, all special schools are significantly religiously diverse; disability takes no regard of community affiliation!

> Disabled kids… weren't even entitled to segregated education (Kenny, 2018, p. 22).

The issue of community diversity and Special Education is undoubtedly worthy of investigation but, in this instance, the character and composition of Special Schools in NI

was considered to be so significantly different to mainstream education that those teaching in Special Schools have been excepted from this research.

Pre-school/Early Years education is provided by a range of private and statutory providers: nursery schools, reception classes within schools, early years provision unattached to a school but nevertheless in receipt of government funding, and wholly commercial private day nurseries. Since preparation for the sacraments commences in primary school, the Catholic church has limited direct involvement in early years education. In some areas, the Controlled nursery may be the only nursery and, is consequently attended by children from both communities. For the sake of practicality therefore these have also been excluded from this investigation.

According to DE Statistics, 19,835 teachers were employed in NI in 2016-17. Nursery schools employed 212 teachers and Special Schools 848 - by disregarding these the total population of teachers eligible to complete the survey was established as being 18,775.

Whilst it was of course desired that as many teachers as possible would engage with the research, it was also recognised that it would be wholly impractical to expect a 100% return. Such is the current ubiquity of online surveys that so-called ‘survey fatigue’ has resulted in return rates well below 10%; a benchmark of a 5% return has been suggested as a more realistic expectation within an enclosed population (Adams and Umbach, 2012) – 5% of 18,775 equates to 989 unique responses.

In order to ensure that the research could stand up to empirical scrutiny, a statistical binomial calculation (Fig. 9) was applied to determine an optimal sample size i.e. that which would allow for the highest possible confidence in the survey’s findings within the recognised practical and logistical limitations. The most widely applied confidence level in social science (and many other disciplines) is 95% with a 3% margin for error (Field, 2005; Connolly, 2007) - in essence, this means that the researcher can assert that the result provided by the sample can be regarded as being statistically correct 19 times out of 20 (give or take three percentage points either side).

$$1 - C = \sum_{i=0}^{f} \binom{n}{i} (1 - R)^{i} R^{n-i}$$

Fig. 9. Binomial Sample Size Confidence Level Calculation

- C = test confidence level (i.e. the accuracy of that which is reported)
- R = reliability to be demonstrated (i.e. the margin of error that is allowed for)
- n = test sample size

It was thus calculated that, in order to claim 95% confidence in the survey results with a 3% margin for error, 1,010 responses would need to be gathered; this represented 5.4% of the total population under investigation - a figure that was broadly in line with Adams and Umbach’s (2012) anticipated rate of online survey return.

Ideally, all responses would be collected at *exactly* the same time – thereby providing a synchronous snapshot. This too was recognised as an unrealistic expectation – instead, a time frame of four consecutive months (within the same academic year) was set for survey completion by a target of 1,010 individual teachers.

Thus, with a sample of this size, the research could claim to be statistically Reliable – that it could reasonably be assumed (with 95% confidence) that, were the survey to have been conducted with a similarly-sized random sample of teachers in NI, then similar results would be produced (within +/- 3%).

6.2 Survey Design

There has been limited research into the effect of incentives on online and web-based surveys, and the research that has been conducted has not always come up with a consistent set of answers (Singer and Ye, 2013). Bosnjak (2003) was unable to identify any significant correlation between the offering of rewards and an increase in levels of completion of surveys. In marked contrast Göritz (2010) found that the offer of financial rewards for participation could increase both the numbers starting a survey and the completion rates. Roberts and Allen (2015) noted however that an offer of incentives may skew the response rate and that the practice of enticing participants by means of a randomly assigned ‘prize’ would require the compromising of anonymity thereby raising additional ethical considerations. A less ethically challenging (and certainly less expensive) motivation to participation was identified by Singer and Ye (2013) who

observed that encouraging altruism by informing prospective participants in advance about the potential value of the research did have a positive impact on both participation and completion levels.

Archer (2007; 2008) identified several design features which may negatively affect the levels of completion of web-based surveys by potential respondents. These included: questions arranged in tables, graphically complex designs, pull-down menus, unclear instructions and the absence of navigation aids. Lauer et al (2013) proposed that low response rates may, in part, be a direct consequence of poor survey design and that, were researchers to adopt a *Janus-faced approach* – looking at the survey from both the participants' viewpoint and their own – they would attain better rates of response. Drawing from their review of research into the potential barriers to survey completion, they made a number of recommendations with regard to how a survey can be designed to engage users most effectively.

- The interface must encourage potential respondents to take the survey and, once they have commenced it, to complete it:
    - Both words and visuals are important.
    - The sequence, structure and arrangement of questions is also important.
- The shorter the survey the more likely it is that it will be completed
    - Respondents want to know how long it will take.
    - Survey completion should take no longer than 20 minutes; a shorter timeframe is even better.
    - 5 minutes is the optimal length for a survey; at a completion rate of 3-4 questions per minute this equates to 15-20 questions in total.
- Questions should be grouped into clearly defined sections – so that respondents understand what they are being asked and why it is important.
    - Each section should be accompanied by a brief description.
    - All of the questions in any one section should be on one single page and not require the respondent to flick through a number of pages with one question on each.
- The survey should be 'smart'; customised to the respondent.
    - Only questions relevant to the respondent should be asked – non-relevant sections should be 'skipped' without any requirement on the user to do anything.

  - The respondent should be guided seamlessly through the survey.
- It is important to respondents to know how far they have progressed through the survey – how close they are to its completion.
  - A 'status bar' should be included showing the user the section that they were currently completing; to avoid user "*are we nearly there yet*?" frustration-fatigue (and associated drop-off)
  - Respondents need to know how many sections of the survey have been completed, and how much further they have to go.

6.3 Survey Package Selection

In order to ensure the best chance of success, the selection of the survey software package was a crucial decision. The package chosen needed to be able to meet the practical requirements of the investigation and, at the same time, be as lucid and user-friendly as possible for those being asked to complete it. Thus, a list of practical research requirements was identified that the survey software would need to fulfil: it needed to be able to be sent out to at least 1,100 email addresses[51] (i.e. the number of grant-aided schools in NI) and to accept up to 18,775 responses[52] (i.e. the number of full-time and part-time teachers employed in grant-aided schools in NI). In addition, it needed to able to remain open for at least a four-month period and be compatible with data analytical software – specifically SPSS.

In line with the advice gleaned from the literature, the survey needed also to meet design requirements for the interface with the respondent:

- To be attractive – not have distracting features.
- To be intuitive to complete and have clear and simple instructions.
- Have the capacity for page breaks rather than having a huge scrolling survey.
- Have the capacity to have more than one question per page/section.
- Have the capacity for 'Page Skip Logic' so that the survey could be customised to each respondent; avoiding respondent frustration with "If you answered No to Q1 then go to Answer Q4" type commands.
- Have a progress bar.

---

[51] DE School Enrolments in Northern Ireland: 2015-16 Key Statistics https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/de/school-enrolments-2015-16.pdf

[52] DE Statistical Bulletin 6/2016: Teacher workforce statistics in grant-aided schools in Northern Ireland, 2015/16 https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/education/teacher-workforce-statistic-in-grant-aided-schools-in-northern-ireland.pdf

- Be ‘responsive’ i.e. have a format that is adaptable so that it can be completed on a variety of devices: PC, laptop, tablet, Mac, iPad, smartphone etc.

There are many web-based survey packages available. Inevitably these vary in cost and capabilities. To reduce the range under review to a manageable limit, internet reviews were accessed as a means by which to identify those packages that had been most positively evaluated for general and academic research by independent commentators[53,54 and 55]. Four packages (SurveyMonkey, Surveygizmo, Qualtrics and Zoho) stood out as having been well-reviewed and, potentially, meeting all of the identified criteria.

Each of these providers was emailed and asked to confirm that their product could meet all of the design requirements outlined above and at what cost. Three of the four provided assurance that they would be able to meet all of the requirements – SurveyMonkey, SurveyGizmo and Qualtrics. Zoho was not compatible with data interpretation software (SPSS). All three of the remaining providers had cost implications.

SurveyMonkey is acknowledged as being an effective tool for mass audience research, however, it is considered by academics to be a “pretty crude” instrument when compared with Qualtrics (Carr, 2013). It was identified that the School of Social Sciences in Ulster already had a license for Qualtrics. Furthermore, the technical staff had experience in supporting students to use the package and associated software. Qualtrics was the obvious choice.

6.4 Survey Construction and Development: Ensuring Validity

Greener (2011, p. 39) warned that surveys are “just about impossible to get perfect” and pointed out that, since the researcher gets only one chance to ask the questions, it is vital that any survey is thoroughly tested before the main study begins. Testing is essential to ensure validity.

Cohen et al (2011) conducted a comprehensive review of relevant research and determined that the piloting of surveys is required in order to address both technical matters (clarity, layout and appearance, timing, length, ease/difficulty, intrusiveness) and

---

[53] PC Mag “Best Online Survey Tools of 2016” http://uk.pcmag.com/cloud-services/73249/guide/the-best-online-survey-tools-of-2016

[54] Top Ten Reviews “The Best Survey Software of 2016” http://www.toptenreviews.com/business/software/best-survey-software/

[55] Captera “Best Survey Software 2016” http://www.capterra.com/survey-software/

the questions themselves (validity, elimination of ambiguities, identifying redundancies, types of questions e.g. multiple choice, open-ended, closed, response categories). Sudman (1983) and Sheatsley (1983) - amongst others - stated that any major difficulties and weaknesses in questionnaire design could be ascertained simply through the conducting of a small number of pilots (for Sudman that figure was 12-25; for Sheatsley, 20-50). Were a 'sensitive fieldworker' to be present at the pilot then further problems could be detected (Sudman and Bradburn, 1982).

Presser et al (2004) contended that such faith in a simple pilot was misplaced, and that scientific evidence was lacking. They felt that certain kinds of problems would not become apparent simply by observing respondent behaviour, and respondents themselves may not actually be aware of the problems. Pre-testing therefore is not merely about *identifying* and *fixing* overt problems; it needs also to focus on *improving* data quality so that it can better meet the aims of the survey. It follows from the literature that a combination of pretesting methods is required so that potential problems that might arise when the survey is completed in earnest can be predicted and addressed.

Vanette (2015), writing in a blog for Qualtrics, identified six effective strategies for testing surveys prior to the commencement of data collection:

- Respondent debriefing – the inclusion of evaluation questions
- Cognitive interviewing – face-to-face discussions with respondents as they complete the survey
- Expert evaluation – feedback from subject experts and survey methodologists
- Focus groups – semi-structured discussion
- Experiments – testing variations of the survey to determine which works best
- Pilot studies – a 'dry run' with a small sample of target population

He emphasised that it is neither practical nor necessary to employ all of these strategies but, as will be illustrated, one-way-or-another the piloting process for this project did include elements of five of these six.

The process of survey design commenced with the consideration of a number of surveys of teachers that had had proven to be successful – including one that had been conducted (predominantly) online as part of a PhD in Ulster University.

A series of key issues relating directly to the research question and stated aims had been identified through the context chapters and literature review: teacher identity

development, experience, practice and future expectations. This list was refined to produce a series of questions concerning aspects of teachers' religious and national identities, and their paths through education (from their own formal schooling through to their initial teacher education) their careers, employment history and union membership.

These informed the compiling of a 'paper' draft which was then shared with subject experts who provided critique. This first draft questionnaire was amended in line with feedback and submitted to the university for ethical approval; this was duly granted in June 2016 (APPENDIX B). The Research Governance panel noted that the questions proposed contained nothing of a contentious nature, that those being surveyed could not be identified from the answers that they provided, that they could not be considered as being 'vulnerable' and that all those involved in the research could reasonably be expected to have provided consent for the material they provide to be used in the research – either explicitly by the signing of a consent form or implicitly by completing and submitting their responses to a questionnaire (the purpose of which was to be clearly stated).

Access to the Qualtrics survey software was negotiated in October 2016 and the paper questionnaire that had been approved by the University's ethics panel was converted into an online pilot survey. This was circulated to the same subject experts that had provided feedback on the initial draft before being forwarded to two groups of prospective teachers for testing (twelve PGCE History students aged 22-30 and eleven PGCE Geography students aged 22-29). These post-graduate teaching students offered a particularly good match with the target audience for the survey since it could be presumed that although they would have the necessary professional understanding of the issues under investigation, they were discrete from the population that would be asked to complete the actual survey.

A link to the survey was circulated to these two focus groups of students an hour before the scheduled piloting focus group workshop. One member of each class had completed the survey prior to the commencement of the workshop. All others completed it in the presence of the lead researcher, thereby enabling the conducting of 'Cognitive Interviews' as the students were filling out the pilot survey. The students were asked to identify anything that they were unsure about or any trouble they had in understanding what was

being asked at any point. They were also asked to raise any matter that they felt was important but had not been covered in the questions or their answers.

Several students praised the survey for its brevity – this is consistent with research that showed that shorter surveys provided better survey experiences for respondents and yielded greater completion rates and richer data quality for the researcher (Warren et al, 2014) – it was also observed that the students had found the survey ‘self-explanatory’ and ‘intuitive’.

Comments also included helpful critiques relating to the structure of several questions – in particular with regard to one instance where a tabular format had been used. A number of students had found this to be a little confusing; this question was therefore restructured for the actual survey. This discomfort with tables of questions was consistent with the findings of Archer (2007).

Those who completed the survey in the focus group did so on different types of devices (including iPads, iPhones, Android and Windows smart phones, PCs and Laptops) using standard software/operating systems. Everyone involved found that the Qualtrics software was adaptable to their device with the exception of one particular question that did not fully align on a small-screen iPhone 6. This was noted and Qualtrics were advised of the failing. The issue was however confined to the alignment of the tabular question – a formatting issue that had already been identified as requiring attention. The survey was amended in line with these observations.

Through this process of testing, the survey had been found to have been readable, clear, well laid out and obviously addressed all relevant issues – *face validity* was ensured.

This final draft of the survey contained ‘*closed*’ questions which, “asked respondents to give their answers according to possibilities that the researcher has predefined” (Greener, 2011, p. 42). Closed questions have the virtue of being both able to be answered quickly by the respondent, and being relatively easy for the researcher to interpret. They are considered to be particularly suitable for research that aims to “estimate the attributes of a population from a sample” (Greener, 2011, p. 41).

Survey completion rates were seen to have been higher where they start with more straightforward questions and more personal or contentious issues are kept to the later

section (Denscombe, 2010). Merit has also been noted in grouping those questions that relate to similar issues (Mercer et al, 2001).

The '*Teaching Across the Divide'* survey observed these conventions within two blocks of questions. The first block required teachers to provide *demographic information* and progressed from an initial uncontroversial line of questioning (age, gender) before progressing onto the more contentious issue of national identity. The second block of questions focussed on *background and career information*; respondents were asked to indicate the type of primary and post primary school that they had attended, the nature of the school in which they were currently employed and where they had undertaken their ITE, alongside questions on union membership and previous employment. At no stage were respondents asked to provide the name of the school. The survey concluded a statement of thanks and an opportunity for the teachers completing it to add any additional comments – this was the only open question in the survey. Respondents were also asked to provide contact details if they met the criteria of being a cross-over teacher and were willing to assist further with the research (APPENDIX C).

Both pilot groups had commented positively on the purpose of the research and the online survey design. It was however observed in subsequent discussions that, notwithstanding the students' recognition of the value of the research, had they not been sitting in a class and been requested face-to-face to complete the survey they probably would not have done so. It was clear that ensuring that the survey would be completed by a statistically significant sample of teachers was going to take more than just sending out an email link and sitting back to watch the completed surveys rolling in!

It is acknowledged that no survey can ever be perfect. However, through the application of the comprehensive pre-testing strategy as described, steps were taken to ensure that this survey was of 'Valid'. Content Validity was ensured by constructing and testing the questions contained in the survey in a systematic manner (informed by relevant literature) and were amended in accordance with the outcomes of that testing. The proposed survey was deemed to have met the required ethical standards. The next challenge was to ensure both the widest possible circulation to teachers in mainstream primary and post primary schools in NI *and* survey-completion by the largest possible section of that population.

6.5 Distribution and promotion of the survey

Teachers' concerns about data protection and the possibility of online abuse ('trolling' or 'flaming') by pupils and/or their parents, mean that although all teachers had been issued with C2K email addresses these were used chiefly for internal communication; they were not readily available to those outside the internal networks of individual schools. Databases of generic 'info@...' email addresses for all schools in NI were available through the Department for Education – nevertheless, the absence of a database for all teachers in NI created an obvious practical challenge.

Timing is important. Teachers' workloads vary in intensity over the course of the academic year – to add to this complexity, different teachers teaching at different Key Stages have different cycles. It was important therefore to target a period when the maximum number of teachers faced the fewest possible professional 'distractions' for the circulation and promotion of the survey i.e. neither during the Post-summer settling-back-in period nor during the late spring/summer run up to examinations. A launch date was set for immediately after the autumn half-term break of the 2016-17 school year and a scheme of pre-circulation publicity was developed prior to the launch of the survey – articles on the research project were included in newssheets and social media circulars from all of the four major teaching unions[56].

On 15th November 2016, every school in NI was emailed a brief introduction to the research. The email contained a web-link to the online survey and a request that the administrator circulate the email amongst the staff teams and actively encourage its completion. It was recognised that, in order for the email to even reach the teachers, three potential hurdles would have to be overcome:

- The recipient of the initial email (to an info@... email address) was likely in the first instance to be the school secretary who might 'selectively' forward relevant correspondence for the attention of the Principal.
- The school Principal could be expected to receive a great many emails in any one day – many of which would be quickly discarded as irrelevant.
- For a busy teacher, the completion of an online questionnaire is likely to have a low priority in a busy day.

[56] A press-release was circulated to the Unions in July 2016 for inclusion in their autumn newssheets.

An iterative Promotion and Encouragement strategy was therefore developed (Table 9) to maximise (and ensure balanced) response rates. Promotion was both 'direct' – through, for example, the email to the school – and 'indirect' – through communication from a third party e.g. teacher unions. The strategy had both 'passive' (e.g. waiting for responses to an email request) and 'active' elements (e.g. engaging directly with teachers at events).

The teaching workforce in NI is clearly not a homogenous body – indeed, this variety and the nature of the divisions between the sectors in which they are employed lies at the very heart of this research. Completion rates were monitored against key variables (gender, age, regional location, primary school attended, sector currently teaching in) to identify the emergence of any potential bias and to enable action to be taken to address this. Following the initial phases of data collection (i.e. the direct circulation of the link to the survey to schools) potential respondents were specifically targeted in those categories where survey completion rates had been identified as being disproportionately low – e.g. active engagement with teachers at events in specific geographic locations or where teachers with a particular employment profile might reasonably be expected to be present (union events).

Primary Promotion	Timescale	Actions	Completion Target
Direct Circulation #1	15th – 27th Nov 2016	An email containing a link to the online survey and providing information on the research was circulated to the info@… address for every mainstream Primary and Post Primary school in NI. The email asked principals to circulate the link to their teaching team.	250 surveys
Direct Circulation #2	28th Nov – 10th Dec 2016	Two weeks after the initial contact had been made a reminder email (also containing a link to the online survey) was sent to all of these schools.	500 surveys
Direct Circulation #3	11th – 23rd Dec 2016	A further twelve days later a third ‘final opportunity’ invitational email was sent.	750 surveys
Targeted Circulation	Jan – Feb 2017	Throughout the above phases completion rates were monitored to identify the emergence of any potential bias or gaps in uptake against five key variables - gender, age, regional location, Primary school attended, sector currently teaching in. On the basis of this schools in ‘missing’ categories were identified and teachers within them were specifically targeted.	1,010 surveys

Secondary Promotion	Timescale	Actions
Promotion through External Organisations	Nov 2016 – Feb 2017	Contact was made with senior officers in each of the four main teaching unions (NASUWT, INTO, UTU and ATL) All four unions promoted the survey with their members through their own channels including: newssheets, websites and social media. Contact was also made with officers in EA, CCMS and NICIE and similar support was requested. Information on the research and a weblink to the survey was also circulated to every teacher in NI through an email circulation from C2K.
Additional Activities	Dec 2016 – Feb 2017	The survey was promoted on social media through Twitter and Facebook. Progress reports were Posted on a personal website Presentations on the research were made at EA Shared Education events in North Eastern, Belfast and South-Eastern regions. Presentations were also made during this period at the Association of Principal Teachers in Integrated Schools (APTIS), UTU and INTO conferences. The Shared Education Learning Forum (SELF) conference, which was attended by over 200 teachers in January 2017, also provided an opportunity to promote the research and directly encourage survey completion.

Table 9. Survey Promotion and Encouragement Strategy

6.6 Data Collection: Review

By Tuesday 7th March 2017 the target of 1,010 completed surveys had been reached (and slightly exceeded). The survey was closed to further submission and any responses which had not been at least 95% completed were deleted. By this stage the survey had been *live* for a total of 16 weeks, including three weeks within school holiday periods; Christmas and February half-term.

The four main teaching unions (that had been so helpful in promoting the research) were engaged in industrial action 'short of strike action' throughout the whole of this period. A number of principals reported that, as a result, they were reluctant to ask teachers to do anything outside of their essential core duties. Several teachers also spoke of being inundated with requests to assist with research on top of an already heavy workload. A number specifically mentioned the term 'survey fatigue'.

The complete record of all 1,015 responses was automatically collated for analysis within the Qualtrics software (APPENDIX E).

Prior to the survey, the proportions of Protestant and Catholic teachers employed in each sector was simply unknown. The 2011 Census had however recorded that 47% of those who identified themselves as being 'teaching professionals' were of a Protestant denomination, 51% were Catholic and 3% were associated with neither faith. Of those teachers who completed the survey: 48% had attended Maintained primary schools, 43% had received their primary schooling in the Controlled sector or grammar school preps and 9% of respondents reported that they had received their primary education either in a school outside NI or in the Integrated sector – as such they could not be categorised as being affiliated with either of the two dominant communities[57].

The teaching workforce in NI is predominantly female: DE (2016b) figures showed that 76.8% of all teachers were female and 23.2% were male. GTCNI (2014) statistics indicated that male teachers were better represented in more prestigious schools and

[57] It is recognised that, for a variety of reasons, in a small number of cases an individual's primary school choice is not always 100% consistent with their community/ethnic identity; 'primary school attended' is however the generic determinant used to determine and monitor the community/ethnic identity profile of those employed in a FETO-affected workplace (i.e. not a teacher in a school!). Thus, to ensure consistency, respondents' answers to survey question 8 (*In which type of school did you predominantly receive your own PRIMARY education?*) were used to assign them to a specific ethnic identity.

higher-level posts - 34% of teachers in Grammar schools were men, males also accounted for 43% of principals in all types of school (this figure rose to 72% for Grammar school principals).

The proportions by gender of those teachers who completed the Teaching Across The Divide survey was 30:70 – Male:Female. The completion rates by male teachers is therefore slightly higher than might have been expected in a perfectly balanced sample – but is also perhaps unsurprising. The tactic employed of circulating the survey through info@... email addresses meant that, in all likelihood, the first person in any given school who would have gained sight of it would have been the Principal (who is disproportionately likely to be male). This figure may therefore be indicative an underlying bias in completion rates by senior teachers. It is however not possible to verify or refute this suspicion as respondents were not asked to provide details of the level of the post in which they were employed.

Between 1973 and 2015 education in NI was administered through five geographically defined Education and Library Boards (ELBs). These were officially merged into one body, the Education Authority (EA) on 1st April 2015. Structural change did not happen immediately, and, at the time during which the survey was *live*, the local management and administration of education still largely reflected the ELB boundaries. There had traditionally been an approximate equivalency in the numbers of teachers deployed in each. GTCNI (2014) records showed that the number of teachers employed in the five regions varied from 3,344 in the West to 4,460 in the South, whilst Belfast had 3,647 on their books, South East 3,782 and North East 4,352. Survey respondents were drawn from across NI but, notwithstanding actions taken to redress an imbalance that had been identified early on in the data collect process, the Southern and Western Regions remained slightly under-represented in the final figures - 17% and 14% of responses came from teachers in these two regions respectively as opposed to the figures of 23% and 17% that would have been expected from a wholly proportionate sample. On the other-hand 27% of respondents came from schools in the South East where a figure of 19% of the total would have more accurately reflected the proportion of the total number of teachers in NI that would have been employed in that region.

DE (2016b) records that around 8,000 teachers are working in primary schools and that there are just over 9,000 employed in post primary schools – a ratio of 47:53. the balance

between teachers in primary and post primary schools who completed the survey reflects these proportions with only a very slight variance – 47.5:52.5.

The DE school census showed that approximately 16% of teachers were employed in Voluntary Grammar schools, a further 39% in Controlled schools, 36% in Maintained schools and 7% in the Integrated sector (DE 2016b). Of those who completed the survey, 16% were working in Voluntary Grammar schools, 31% were in Controlled schools, 32% in Maintained schools and 21% in Integrated. Whilst the proportion of Grammar school teachers was exactly in line with expectations, the proportions of those from the Maintained and Controlled Sectors were slightly below the profile of a wholly random sample.

The uptake of the survey by teachers in the Integrated sector (21%) substantially exceeded the relative size of this cohort in the NI teaching workforce (7%). Again, this anomaly was recognised early in the fieldwork and whilst action was taken to mitigate its impact it proved impossible to fully rectify. As shown below (Table 10), the profile of respondents does not fully match the profile that might have been expected for a genuinely random sample.

It is worthy of note that completion of the survey was wholly voluntary. There was no reward offered for completion. Personal interest (or disinterest) in the area being researched may be assumed to have affected survey uptake and completion.

In respect of their relative presence in the NI teaching workforce, it would appear that teachers in the Integrated sector, male teachers (possibly teachers in more senior posts) and teachers in the South-Eastern Region were proportionally most inclined to complete the survey. Ensuring a proportional response from female teachers and those in the Southern and Western regions proved more difficult.

Acknowledging that these biases exist neither discredits or negates the results – on the contrary, it provides insight into the existence of potential biases that must be considered when viewing and interpreting the figures in the chapter that follows.

VARIABLE	EXPECTED PROFILE	ACTUAL PROFILE
Community Identity Catholic:Protestant:Other	51%:47%:3%	48%:43%:9%
Gender Male:Female:Other[58]	25%:75%:0%	29.5%:70.3%:0.2%
EA Region Belfast:SouthEast:NorthEast:West:South	19%:19%:22%:17%:23%	22%:27%:20%:14%:17%
School Type Primary:Post-Primary	47%:53%	47.5%:52.5%
School Sector Maintained:Controlled:Vol-Grammar:Integrated	36%:39%:16%:7%	32%:31%:16%:21%

Table 10. Identification of potential bias - profile of survey respondents

[58] Neither GTCNI nor DE record gender identity other than the binary: male or female

CHAPTER 7. QUANTIFYING THE DIVIDE: SURVEY FINDINGS

A sceptical mindset is essential in educational research (Denscombe, 2010). Rather than proceeding with a predetermined outcome, the researcher must start from the premise that no real relationship or pattern exists in the data - unless and until it can be proven otherwise by overwhelming statistical evidence. This cautious approach commenced with the drafting of a 'null hypothesis'.

> **Community identity does not play a significant role in the patterns of teacher deployment in the Northern Ireland education system.**

In order to be able to reject the null hypothesis and assert that community identity does indeed affect the patterns of teacher deployment in NI it needed to be proven that any patterns observed in the data could not reasonably be considered as having arisen purely by chance; only then can an alternative hypothesis be considered. A number of questions were framed to test the null hypothesis. First, is there a correlation between the sector of the Primary school that teachers attended (Catholic, *de facto* Protestant and Other/Integrated) and the sector in which they are employed? If so, how strong is this correlation? Second, is there a correlation between where teachers undertake Initial Teacher Education (*de facto* Catholic [St Mary's], *de facto* Protestant [Stranmillis], QUB, Ulster, Other) and the sector in which they are employed? If so, how strong is this correlation? Finally, is there a correlation between Union membership (*de facto* Catholic [INTO], *de facto* Protestant [UTU] and ethnically unaligned [NASUWT and ATL]) and the sector in which they are employed? If so, how strong is this correlation? If, following analysis of these three questions, no mathematically significant correlation can be found then the null hypothesis must be accepted.

7.1 Testing the Null Hypothesis

The statistical analysis of the data commenced with the identification of the appropriate tests to be conducted. Each of the questions involves testing of the strength of association between two elements that have no meaningful ordering or rank – these can therefore be classified as categorical, ordinal variables. The formula that is used to mathematically determine the significance of relationships in such instances is the Chi-square test (χ^2). In addition, since the strengths of the association are being measured between variables where two or more categories are concerned (e.g. CCMS primary, Controlled primary and Integrated primary) *and* there are more than two possible outcomes (e.g. St Mary's,

Stranmillis, Ulster or QUB), Cramér's V statistic needs to be applied (Field, 2005; Connolly, 2007)[59]. These tests were applied separately to the data for teachers employed in primary schools and those working in the post primary and grammar sectors. Through combining these tests, it was possible to determine if the association observed was so unlikely to have occurred randomly (less than 5%) that the null hypothesis could be rejected: if the alpha - α - level of significance ($\alpha = 0.05$) was greater than the probability of obtaining a result that could be explained by sampling error; the p-value (p).

The association between '*primary sector currently teaching in*' and '*primary education'* was established by conducting a chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 593.692$) – the probability for this was p=0.000; less than the alpha level of significance. This indicates that, for Primary school teachers, differences in '*primary sector currently teaching in*' are statistically related to differences in '*primary school attended'*. Cramér's V score of 0.555 indicates that the association between these variables is *moderately strong*. The research hypothesis that, for primary school teachers, differences in '*sector currently teaching in*' are related to differences in '*primary school attended*' is supported by this analysis. ''

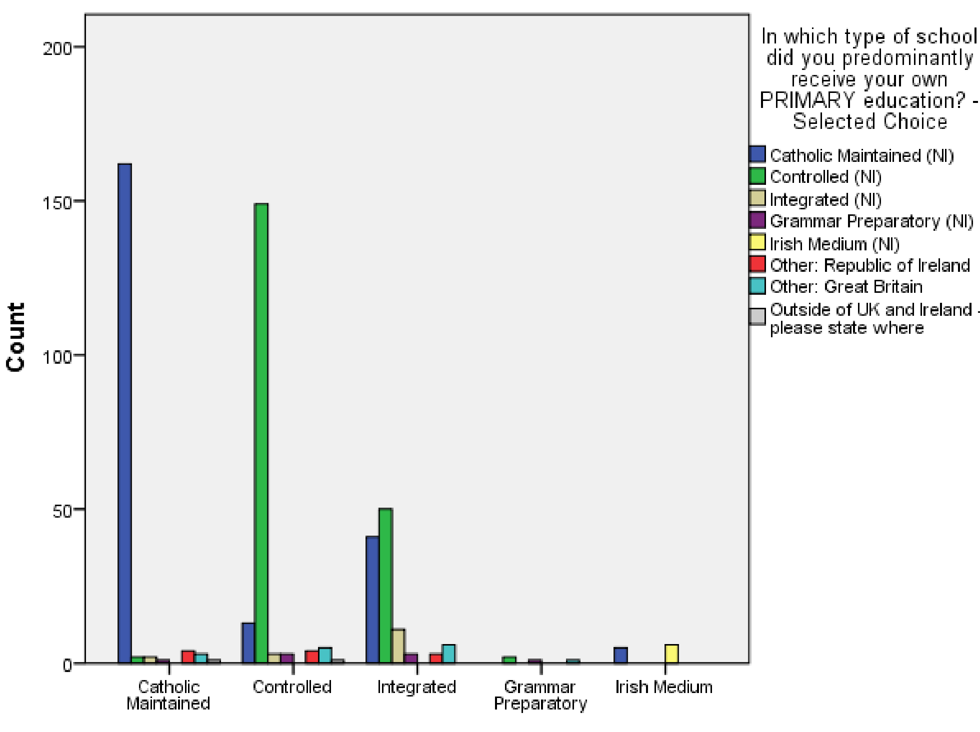


Fig. 10 "Primary Sector Currently Teaching In" and "Primary School Attended

[59] Survey data was exported from Qualtrics into a statistical analysis software package: SPSS.

A correlation was also identified between '*sector currently teaching in'* and '*ITE institution attended'*; chi-square=593.692 and probability of p=0.000 i.e. <0.05. There is *a moderate association* between these variables (Cramér's V = 0.397).

The research hypothesis that, for Primary school teachers, differences in '*sector currently teaching in*' are related to differences in '*ITE institution attended'* is supported by this analysis. From the visuals above (Fig. 11) it is clear that, in CCMS primary schools, the majority of teachers have attended St Mary's with only a very small number having attended Stranmillis – the reverse is the case for those teaching in Controlled primary schools[60].

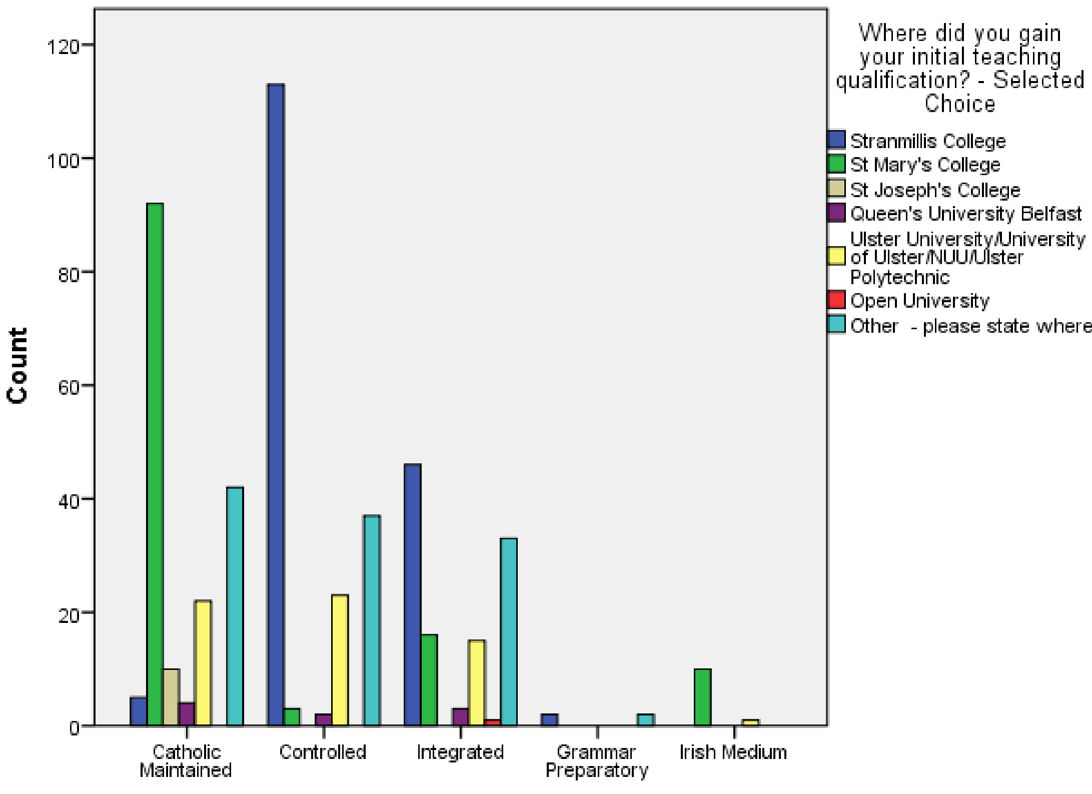


Fig. 11 "Primary Sector Currently Teaching In" and "ITE Institution Attended"

As with the previous two calculations a correlation was identified between '*sector currently teaching in*' and '*union membership*' (chi-square=351.221 and probability of p=0.000). The Cramér's V score of 0.427 indicates that the association is *moderate*. (Fig. 12).

[60] NB QUB has never offered a PGCE for primary teachers – this is provided through their affiliated teaching colleges, Stramillis and St Mary's

It has been shown that there is a *moderate* to *strong* association between the ethnically defined sector in which Primary school teachers are employed and the Primary school they attended, where they undertook ITE and the Union to which they belong. In respect of those teachers in NI currently working in primary schools the null hypothesis must be rejected.

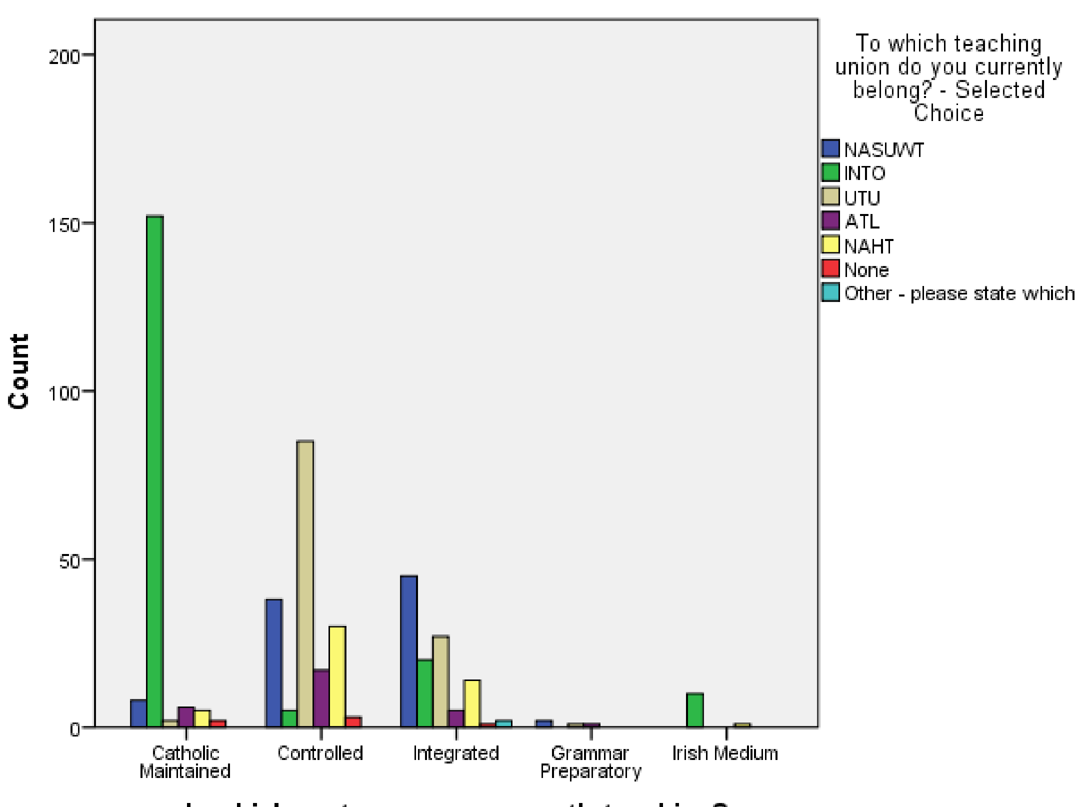


Fig. 12 "Primary Sector Currently Teaching In" and "Union Membership"

Similar tests were conducted for data relating to teachers employed in post primary schools (non-selective and Grammar). The existence of a correlation between '*post primary sector currently teaching in'* and *'primary education'* was again established from the results of chi-square test (chi-square=410.602) – the probability for this was p=0.000, i.e. $< \alpha = 0.05$.

The research hypothesis that, for post primary school teachers, differences in '*sector currently teaching in*' are related to differences in '*primary school attended*' is supported by this analysis. The Cramér's V score of 0.393 indicates that there is a *moderate association* between the variables.

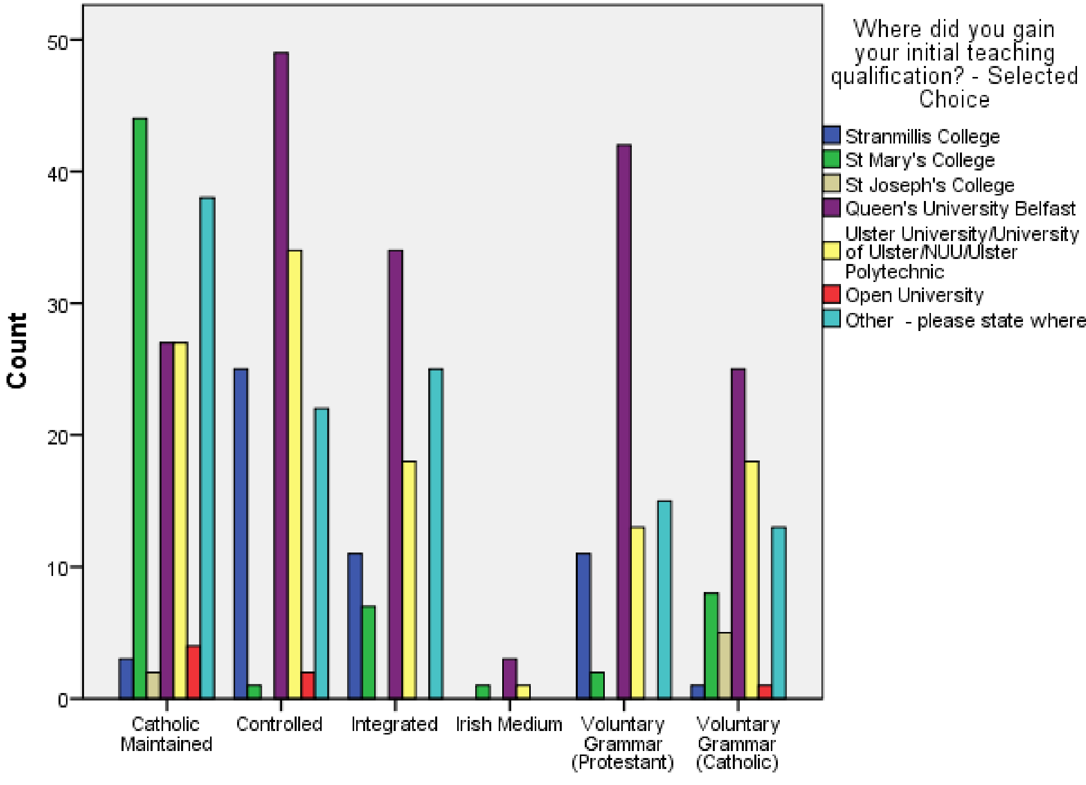


Fig. 13 "Post Primary Sector Currently Teaching In" and "ITE Institution Attended"

A correlation was also identified for post primary teachers between *'sector currently teaching in'* and '*ITE institution attended*' (Fig. 13); chi-square=145.761 and probability of p=0.000 i.e. <0.05. There is an *association* between these variables (Cramér's V = 0.234), but that association is *weak*.

The research hypothesis that, for teachers in post primary school schools, differences in *'sector currently teaching in'* are associated with differences in '*ITE institution attended*' is not supported by this analysis.

A correlation was also identified between '*sector currently teaching in*' and '*union membership*' (Fig. 14); chi-square = 221.316 and probability of *p*=0.000. The Cramér's V score of 0.289 indicates however that the association is *weak*. From the graph below it is evident that the majority of teachers in post primary schools are members of the ethnically unaligned NASUWT.

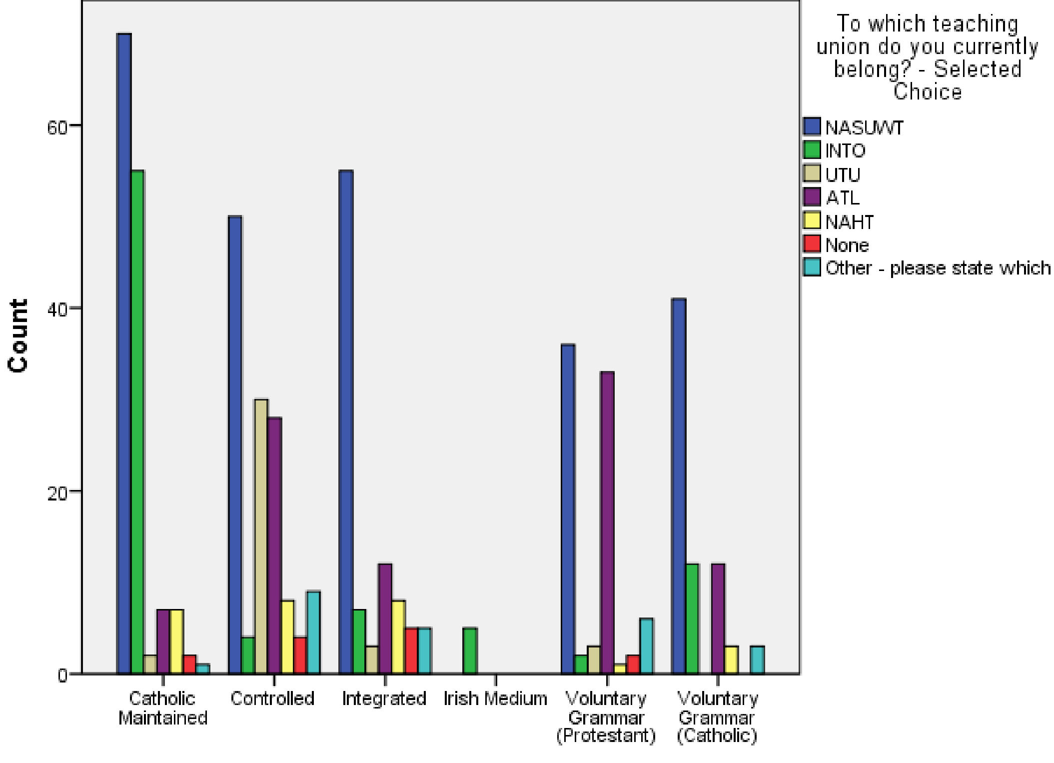


Fig. 14 "Post Primary Sector Currently Teaching In" and "Union"

Through a rigorous process of analysis, it has been shown that the deployment of primary school staff is significantly reflective of the ethnic divide in respect of the type of primary school that they had attended, the college in which they undertook ITE and the union that they belong to. For teachers in the post primary (non-selective and grammar) sectors, the profile of the primary schools that they attended has been statistically shown as being consistent with the community divide (although this association is weaker than in the Primary sector). Union membership and ITE institution attended is notably less reflective of ethnicity.

The null hypothesis can consequently be rejected, and an alternative hypothesis accepted:

> **Ethnic-community identity plays a significant role in the patterns of teacher deployment in the Northern Ireland education system.**

The statistics presented in the pages that follow provide a hitherto unknown insight into the ethnic profile of the NI teaching workforce. In light of the sample size (and the binomial calculation in the previous chapter) the responses documented below must always be considered as being 95% reliable within a +/- 3% margin for error.

7.2 Racial and Non-British/Irish National Diversity in the Teaching Workforce.

Northern Ireland has never attracted the levels of immigration that characterise the demographic configuration and ethnic diversity present in Great Britain. On the contrary, the region has traditionally exported a proportion of its youth who sought employment and advancement *across-the-water* in GB, and further afield. The commencement of the Troubles in 1969 did little to promote Northern Ireland as a place of opportunity to those from beyond its shores; during the period of the conflict the region experienced a consistently large net population loss due to out-migration (NI Assembly, 2011).

With the cease-fires of the late 1990s and, eventually, the Belfast peace agreement, Northern Ireland's economy saw something of an upturn (Saul, 2008) – the so-called Peace Dividend. The combination of the European Union's fundamental principle of free movement of people across its national borders[61] and its expansion to the east in 2004 and again in 2007 meant that the newly stable and relatively prosperous NI became a viable option for some who wished to relocate and build a new life; particularly for those young and skilled individuals who had grown up in countries that had recently acceded to the EU after having been behind the 'iron curtain' until the end of the Cold War in 1990-91.

Oxford University's Migration Observatory (Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2014) reported that, in 2001, 2% of the NI population had been born outside of the UK or the Republic of Ireland. By 2011 this figure had risen to 4.5% of Northern Ireland's 1.8 million 'usual residents'. The largest proportion of these, just under one-quarter (24%), had come from Poland, followed by Lithuania (9%) and India (6%). Whilst most of the migrants that arrived between 2001-2011 were of working age (81.5% were aged 16-64 - as compared to a figure of 63.7% for those residents born in the UK and RoI), a proportion of these new arrivals were of school age. The 2012-13 DE School census documented that 3% of pupils (n=9,656) were 'newcomers' and that, although newcomer pupils were present at every stage of schooling, over 67% were being educated in primary schools.

Prior to the commencement of this project, the extent to which this changed pattern of migration was reflected in the profile of the teaching profession was unknown. Very little research had been garnered and/or made available that could help to determine the extent to which this general increase in national and ethnic diversity had affected the composition of the NI teaching workforce.

---

[61] Article 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

In keeping with the teaching exception from FETO, DE does not collect information on teachers' ethnic or national identities. Enquiries with GTCNI (the body with which all qualified teachers are required to be registered if they wish to gain employment as a school teacher in NI) were unproductive. The teacher registration form for GTCNI does include questions on ethnicity and nationality but these figures have never been made available in the public realm. A request that they be released for the purposes of this research was turned down by GTCNI on the basis of data protection.

Of those teachers who completed the survey, 0.4% (n=4) identified as having an ethnic identity other than 'White' and 0.9% (n=9) recorded a National identity 'other' than British or Irish[62]. These nationalities included Commonwealth nations (Canada and Australia) and western European countries (Italy, Spain, France and Germany). The survey was unable to identify *any* teachers at all from the Eastern European EU accession states. Only six teachers came from countries where English was not the official national language – all of these were within western Europe (Fig. 15).

Unlike health professions, where the shortage of suitably qualified staff has obliged the authorities to actively look further afield to fill vacant posts, NI has a surplus of would-be teachers. In relation to the numbers present in the general population of NI, teachers with a non-white racial identity and a nationality from outside UK and Ireland are under-represented in the workforce. Given the 3% error margin in the reliability of the results it is possible that the proportion of non-British/Irish teachers may be more significant than that which has been identified here – nevertheless it seems probable that the pupils in any given classroom, in any given school in Northern Ireland are likely to present with greater racial and national diversity than the teachers in the staffroom.

[62] Six respondents had indicated that they considered themselves to British and Irish in equal measure.

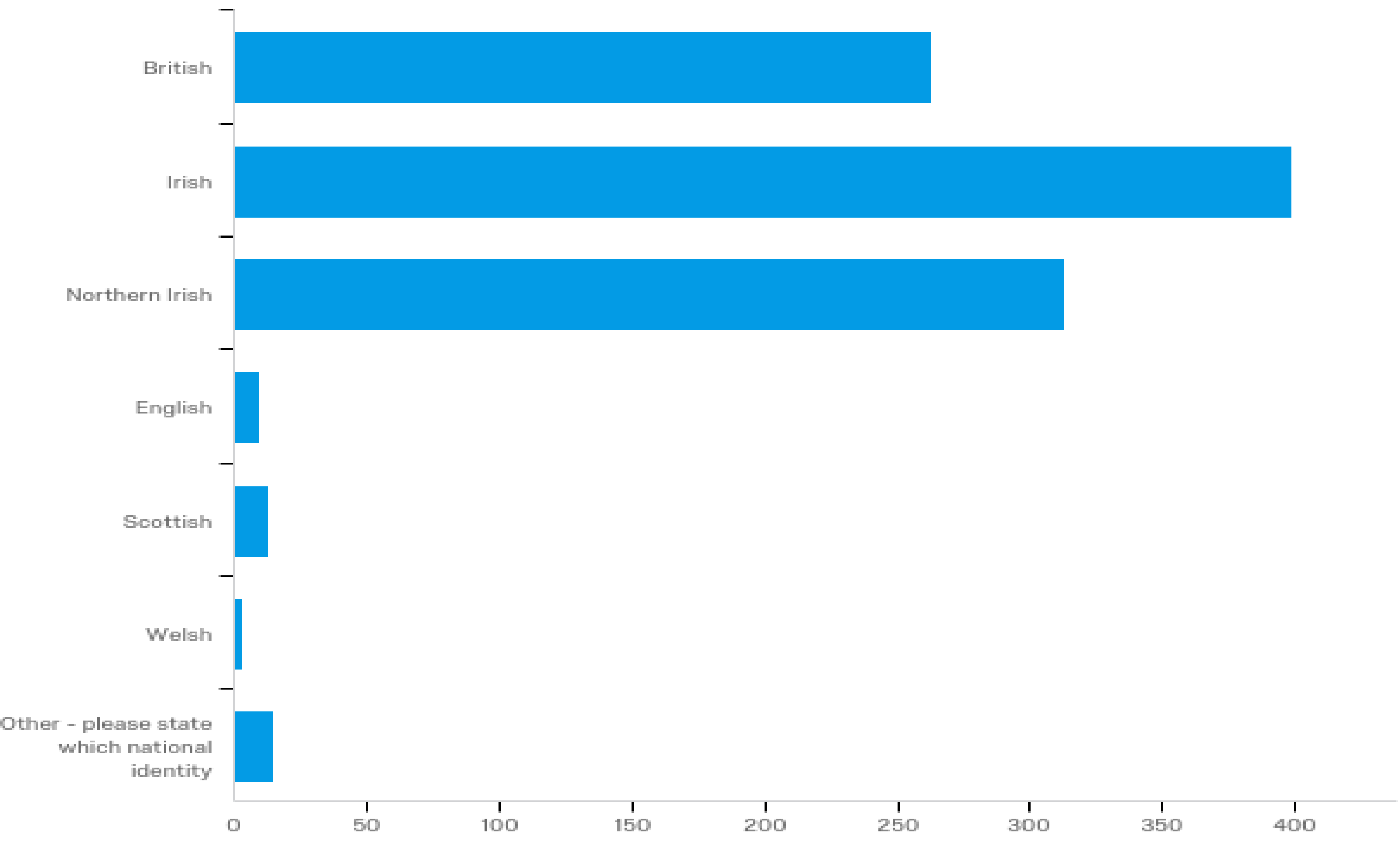


Fig. 15. Survey responses: Teaching Professionals by National Identity

7.3 Teachers, Community/Ethnic Identity and Sectoral Separation

Education in NI takes place within a complex pattern of school management sectors. The church authorities still play a significant part in the management of education[63]. DE figures have shown that those mainstream schools outside of the Integrated sector show significant sectoral homogeneity with regard to their community/ethnic identity.

In order to determine the extent to which this homogeneity was reflected in the profile of the teaching workforce in each sector, data obtained through the survey was filtered and aggregated to examine those dimensions of teacher identity considered to be of particular relevance to this project; to determine the extent to which the community division was present in the composition of the teaching body employed in each sector.

Responses relating to those teaching in *de facto* Protestant schools (i.e. those in the Controlled and non-Catholic voluntary grammar sectors) and *de facto* Catholic schools (i.e. those in the Catholic Maintained, Irish language and Catholic voluntary grammar sectors), were filtered against community-identity specific and community-identity non-specific variables. By using a series of filters, it was possible to extract data on the profile of those respondents who were teaching in each of the various school management types: those that are most closely aligned with the two dominant communities (as defined by the school pupil profiles above) and the community-unaligned Integrated sector.

By way of example, as illustrated in Fig. 16, filters were applied to extract all data relating those teachers working in any type of *de facto* Catholic school: primary, post primary and grammar sectors.

---

[63] Places are reserved on the BoGs of Controlled schools for church representatives; so-called *transferors*

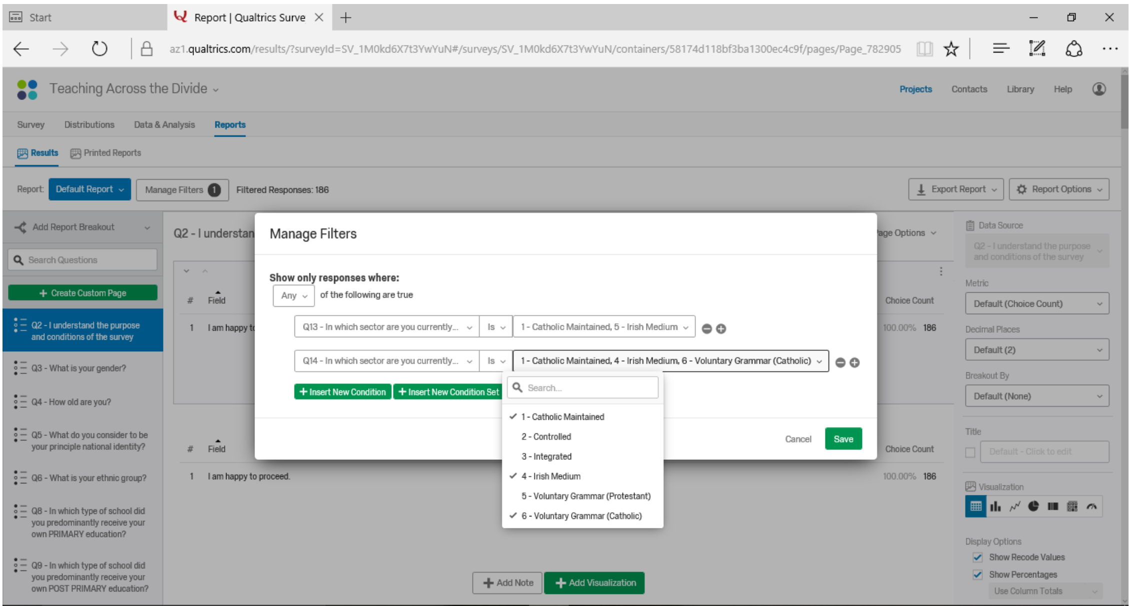


Fig. 16. Filters applied: All teachers employed in *de facto* Catholic Schools

This process was repeated with the augmentation of a further filter to obtain data relating only to those teachers that were 'community consistent' i.e. that had attended a *de facto* Catholic school and were currently employed in a *de facto* Catholic school (Fig. 17).

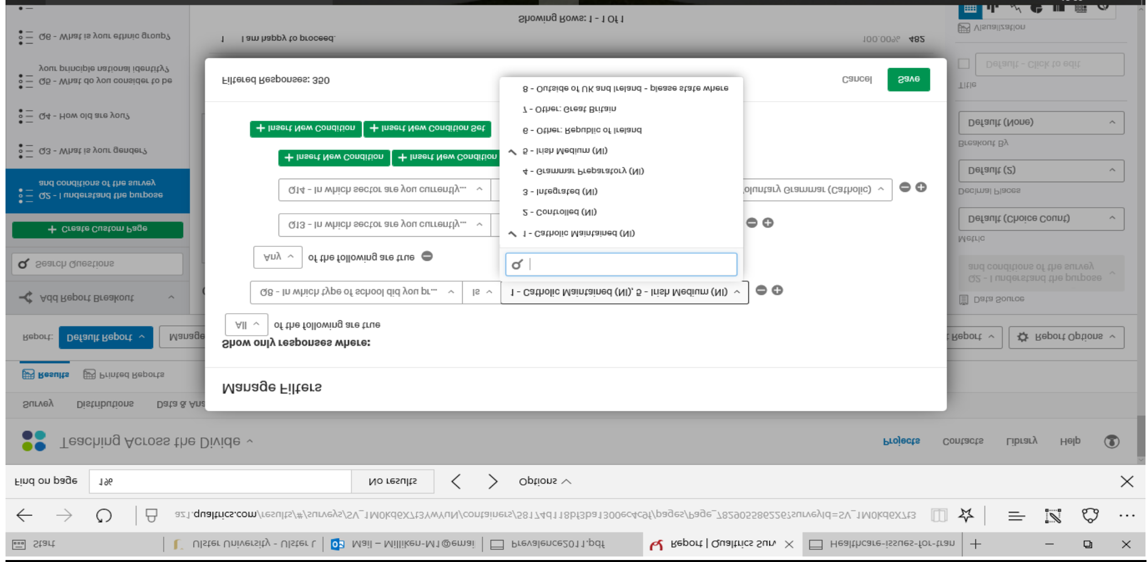


Fig. 17. Filters applied: Catholic teachers employed in *de facto* Catholic Schools

By repeating this process and filtering results for teachers with different ethnic/community identities, employed in different sectors and management types it was possible to develop a profile of the deployment patterns of those teaching in schools on the two sides of the divide and in Integrated schools. For the first time ever, it was possible to get an accurate picture (within the identified statistical limits) of the community composition of the teaching workforces in each sector (Tables 11-13).

	Number of responses	Gender			Average Age[64]
		Male	Female	Other	
***de facto* Protestant**	**n=398**	**113 (28.4%)**	**284 (71.3%)**	**1 (0.25%)**	**41.5**
Controlled Primary	178	45 (25%)	133 (75%)	Nil	39.9
Grammar Prep	4	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	Nil	42.5
Controlled Post Primary	133	46 (35%)	86 (65)	1 (0.75%)	42.3
Non-cath Vol Grammar	83	22 (27%)	61 (73%)	Nil	43.6
***de facto* Catholic**	**n=407**	**130 (31.9%)**	**276 (67.8%)**	**1 (0.25%)**	**42.6**
CCMS Primary	186	50 (27%)	136 (73%)	0	43.3
Irish Medium Primary	11	2 (18%)	9 (82%)	0	34.0
CCMS Post Primary	145	42 (29%)	103 (71%)	0	41.7
Irish Medium Post Primary	5	5 (100%)	Nil	Nil	33
Catholic Vol. Grammar	71	33 (47%)	47 (52%)	1 (1%)	43.1
Integrated	**n=209**	**56 (26.8%)**	**153 (73.2%)**	**Nil (0%)**	**41.4**
Integrated Primary	114	26 (23%)	88 (77%)	Nil	40.8
Integrated Post Primary	95	30 (32%)	65 (68%)	Nil	42.2
TOTAL	**n=1,014**	**299 (30%)**	**713 (70%)**	**2 (0.2%)**	**41.9**

Table 11. Composition of Teaching Workforce by Age and Gender

[64] Although information on age was only requested in age bands (each with a scope of 10 years), an estimation of a mean age was attained by taking the median of each age-band, multiplying that by the number of teachers in that age-band adding together the totals obtained across all age-bands and dividing by the total number of respondents

	Primary school attended (%)				Union Membership (%)						ITE Attended (%)					Nationality (%)				
	df Prot	*df* Cath	Int	Oth	NAS	INTO	UTU	ATL	NAHT	Noneand Oth	Stran	St M[65]	QUB	UU[66]	Oth	British	Irish	N Irish	Other	2nd Nation
de facto Protestant	77	14	1	8	32	3	30	20	10	6	38	2	23	18	20	48	12	36	4	46
de facto Catholic	6	86	1	6	29	58	1	6	4	2	2	42	15	17	24	5	73	19	3	39
Integrated	45	37	9	9	48	13	14	8	11	6	27	11	18	16	28	25	26	43	6	40

Table 12. Composition of Teaching Workforce by School Type (Community/Ethnic Identity specific)

[65] St M: Indicates St Mary's and also St Joseph's teacher training colleges

[66] UU: Indicates Ulster University in Coleraine, Magee, Belfast and Jordanstown and all of its previous incarnations (UUJ, UUC, NUU, Ulster Polytechic)

	Primary school attended				Union Membership						ITE Attended					Nationality				
	df Prot	*df* Cath	Int	Oth	NAS	INTO	UTU	ATL	NAHT	Oth and None	Stran	St M	QUB	UU	Oth	British	Irish	N Irish	Other	2nd Nation
CCMS Primary	2%	93%	1%	4%	4%	87%	1%	3%	3%	1%	4%	60%	2%	12%	23%	2%	78%	18%	2%	26%
IM Primary	Nil	100%	Nil	Nil	Nil	91%	Nil	Nil	9%	Nil	Nil	91%	9%	Nil	Nil	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
CCMS Post Primary	8%	83%	1%	8%	49%	38%	1%	5%	5%	2%	2%	33%	19%	19%	29%	6%	70%	20%	4%	32%
IM Post Primary	Nil	100%	Nil	Nil	Nil	100%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	100%	Nil	Nil	Nil	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Cath Vol. Grammar	17%	72%	3%	8%	58%	17%	0%	17%	4%	4%	1%	18%	35%	25%	20%	11%	63%	23%	3%	30%
Controlled Primary	85%	7%	2%	6%	21%	3%	48%	10%	17%	2%	63%	2%	1%	13%	21%	48%	10%	40%	2%	40%
Grammar Prep	75%	Nil	Nil	25%	50%	Nil	25%	25%	Nil	Nil	50%	Nil	Nil	Nil	50%	100%	Nil	Nil	Nil	0%
Controlled Post Prim.	73%	17%	0%	10%	38%	3%	23%	21%	6%	10%[67]	19%	1%	37%	26%	18%[68]	51%	14%	32%	4%	52%
Prot. Vol. Grammar	65%	23%	1%	11%	43%	2%	4%	40%	1%	10%	13%	2%	51%	16%	18%[69]	41%	13%	39%	7%	53%
Integrated Primary	46%	36%	10%	8%	39%	18%	24%	4%	12%	3%	40%	14%	3%	13%	30%[70]	24%	24%	47%	5%	37%
Integrated Post Prim	43%	38%	7%	11%	58%	7%	3%	13%	8%	11%	12%	7%	36%	19%	26%[71]	26%	28%	37%	8%	42%

Table 13. Composition Of Teaching Workforce in Each Management Sector and School Type by Key Indicators of Community Division

[67]Over 2/3 of these are members of ASCL
[68] All different – no two non-NI colleges the same
[69] Fourteen different colleges named – only one (Oxford) appeared twice.
[70] Over 1 in 5 of these (7) had attended St Mary's Twickenham and four had attended Liverpool Hope – more than had attended QUB (3)
[71] Twenty-two different colleges named – only one (St Mary's Twickenham) appeared twice.

7.4 Sectoral Composition by Community Identity

There is evidence of significant sectoral loyalty in the tables above. The workforce of *de facto* Protestant schools is dominated by teachers who had attended *de facto* Protestant primary schools – 77% of those teachers that are employed in *de facto* Protestant schools are 'community consistent' and only 14% of teachers in these schools had been educated in *de facto* Catholic schools.

Catholic schools are characterised by a teaching cohort that is 86% community consistent – only 6% of teachers in these schools were educated in *de facto* Protestant schools. Of the various school types and sectors, CCMS primary schools show the greatest level of community consistency – 93% of the staff employed in CCMS primary schools had attended Catholic primary schools, only 2% had been educated in Controlled schools or preparatory departments.

School Management Sector	**Primary school attended**			
	de facto Protestant	*de facto* Catholic	Integrated	Other
CCMS Primary	2%	93%	1%	4%
Irish Medium Primary	Nil	100%	Nil	Nil
CCMS Post Primary	8%	83%	1%	8%
Irish Medium Post Primary	Nil	100%	Nil	Nil
Catholic Voluntary Grammar	17%	72%	3%	8%
Controlled Primary	85%	7%	2%	6%
Grammar Preparatory	75%	Nil	Nil	25%
Controlled Post Primary	73%	17%	0%	10%
Non-Catholic Voluntary Grammar	65%	23%	1%	11%
Integrated Primary	46%	36%	10%	8%
Integrated Post Prim	43%	38%	7%	11%

Table 14. Sectoral Composition of Teachers by Primary School Attended

This pattern is still evident but less pronounced in *de facto* Catholic post primary schools; 83% of teachers employed in CCMS post primary and 72% of those in Catholic voluntary grammar schools had received their primary education in CCMS schools. Catholic voluntary grammar schools account for the largest proportion of teachers educated outside of *de facto* Catholic schools (17%).

Community consistency is also evident in *de facto* Protestant schools albeit to a lesser degree. *De facto* Protestant primary schools employ 85% community consistent teachers and only 7% who had been educated in *de facto* Catholic primary schools.

The figures for Controlled post primary schools are 73% and 17% respectively, whilst non-Catholic Grammar schools show the greatest diversity of any sector – nearly a quarter (23%) of all teachers in this sector who had completed the survey had been educated in a *de facto* Catholic primary school, only 65% were community consistent.

In marked contrast, the workforce of the smaller Integrated sector includes similar numbers of teachers with a history of being educated in community specific schools (37% Catholic and 45% Protestant). Only 1% of those teachers working in predominantly Protestant and predominantly Catholic schools had been educated in Integrated primary schools. Integrated schools employ a larger proportion of teachers who had themselves attended primary schools in the Integrated sector (9%).

Given that Integrated schools are relatively recent arrivals on the scene – the first post primary school having opened in 1981 and the first primary school in 1985 – and the fact that the Integrated sector has grown relatively slowly, it is reasonable to assume that, to date, only a relatively small proportion of pupils will have passed through the three tiers of education and gone on to become teachers. In accepting this, it is notable that the sectoral loyalty observed in the non-Integrated schools seems also to be evident in the Integrated sectors – the data shows that 69% of those pupils from Integrated primaries who went on to pursue a career in teaching have returned to practice in Integrated schools.

Teachers in NI appear to most frequently gain employment in schools with the same community affiliation as that in which they themselves were educated. However, a not insignificant proportion of teachers employed in NI received their Primary education outside of the region: such teachers account for 8% of those employed in Protestant schools, 6% in Catholic schools and 9% in schools in the Integrated sector.

7.5 Sectoral Composition by Trades Union Membership

Teaching is a heavily unionised profession. The survey data record that more than 98% of teachers who responded were members of teaching unions. Of those teachers who completed the survey, 37% were currently members of NASUWT, 27% INTO, 15% UTU, 12% ATL and 8% NAHT. Less than 2% of respondents were not members of any union and under 3% were members of unions other than these 'big five'[72] (Fig. 18).

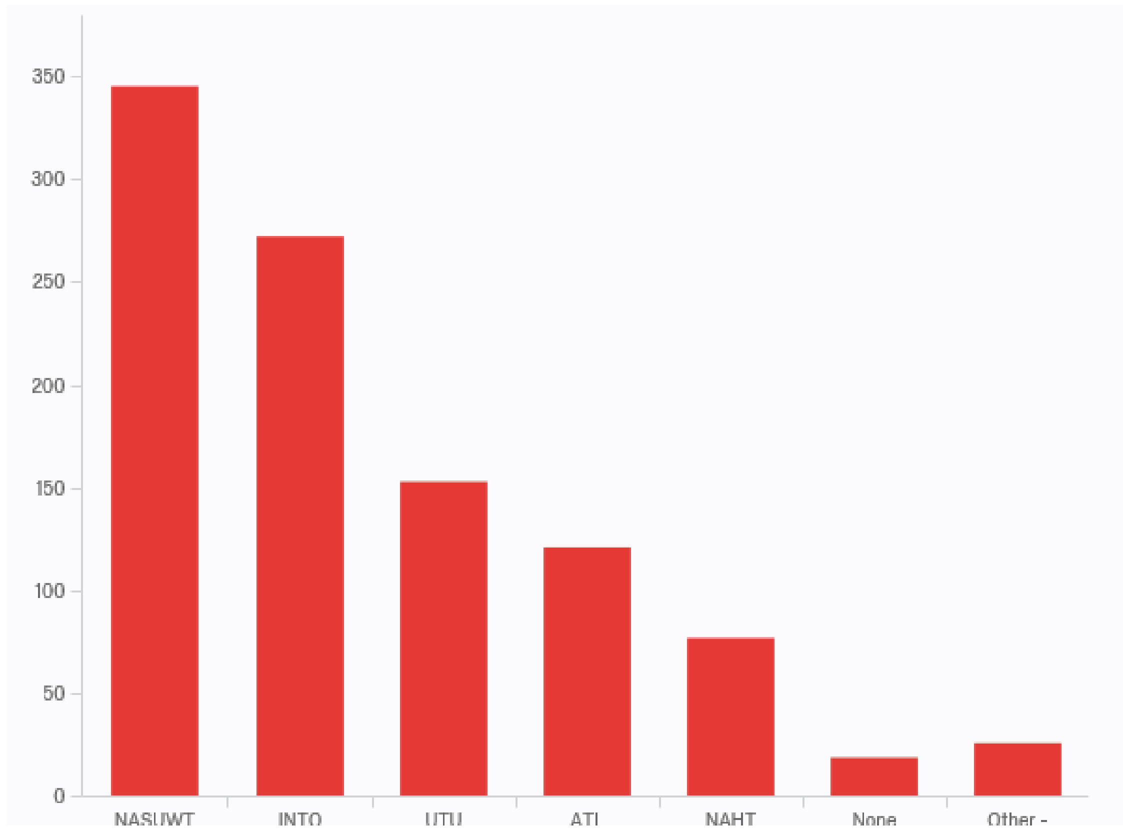


Fig. 18. Membership of Teacher Unions

The emergence and development of the trades union movement (including those unions that represent teachers) on the Island of Ireland was historically linked with issues of national identity and the struggle for Irish self-determination (see Chapter 3). The data gathered in this research show that a strong correlation remains between teachers' professional and community identities and the union that they choose to join (Table 15).

[72] It should be noted that these figures may not be reflective of the actual membership of each of these Unions e.g. UTU are known to be particularly strong in Nursery and Special schools – teachers employed in both these types of schools had been deliberately excluded from the survey.

	Union Membership					
	NAS	INTO	UTU	ATL	NAHT	Other and None
CCMS Primary	4%	87%	1%	3%	3%	1%
Irish Medium Primary	Nil	91%	Nil	Nil	9%	Nil
CCMS Post Primary	49%	38%	1%	5%	5%	2%
Irish Medium Post Primary	Nil	100%	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Catholic Voluntary Grammar	58%	17%	0%	17%	4%	4%
Controlled Primary	21%	3%	48%	10%	17%	2%
Grammar Preparatory	50%	Nil	25%	25%	Nil	Nil
Controlled Post Primary	38%	3%	23%	21%	6%	10%[73]
Non-Catholic Voluntary Grammar	43%	2%	4%	40%	1%	10%
Integrated Primary	39%	18%	24%	4%	12%	3%
Integrated Post Prim	58%	7%	3%	13%	8%	11%

Table 15. Composition of Teaching Workforce by Sector and Union

The majority of teachers in *de facto* Catholic schools are members of the all-Ireland INTO (58%) – INTO is particularly strong in CCMS Primary schools (87%) and had blanket coverage of the small number of teachers in IM schools who completed the survey. In CCMS Post Primary schools, INTO slips to second place with 38% coverage as compared with NASUWT's 49%. NASUWT are also the dominant union in Catholic voluntary grammar schools, with 58%. ATL account for 17% of teachers in Catholic grammar schools but only 3% in CCMS primary and 5% in CCMS post primary. UTU membership accounts for only 1% of teachers in CCMS primary and 1% in CCMS post primary.

UTU dominates the Controlled primary sector (48% of teachers) but their membership relative to NASUWT and ATL falls off at post primary level – 23% of teachers in Controlled post primary schools are UTU members but in non-Catholic voluntary grammars this drops to only 4%. Union membership in Controlled post primary schools and non-Catholic voluntary grammars is dominated by NASUWT (38% and 43%

[73]Over 2/3 of these are members of ASCL.

respectively) where ATL also has a substantial presence (21% and 40% respectively). Across the board, less than 3% of those teaching in *de facto* Protestant schools are INTO members.

NASUWT is the second largest union in Controlled primary schools (21%) but represent only a 4% share of CMMS primary teachers. The union is the strongest union by membership numbers in the Integrated primary sector with 39% of teachers - UTU (24%) and INTO (18%) vie for second place in these schools. NASUWT can also claim 58% of those teaching in Integrated post primary schools where ATL have 13%, INTO 7% and UTU 3%.

The NAHT (the self-styled 'union for school leaders') is relatively well represented in Integrated (11%) and *de facto* Protestant schools (10%) but are less present in *de facto* Catholic schools (4%). Amongst the 'Other' unions cited by respondents is the Association of School and College Leaders (ASCL) – this union is most closely associated with senior teachers in the Grammar sectors[74]. It also appears that a small number of teachers who have moved from GB or RoI have retained membership of a union that is not technically active in NI (e.g. EIS – a union based in Scotland which is linked with the NUT but is not organised in NI[75]).

Responses from the much smaller Irish Medium and Grammar Preparatory sectors were not numerous enough to be able to draw any firm conclusions although they do appear to potentially align with the general profile of schools associated with a Catholic and Protestant community identity respectively.

The data has shown that all of the major unions have *some* level of presence across all of the school sectors. The membership of INTO and UTU are strongly reflective of the community divide and this separation is most pronounced in primary schools. ATL's members are most frequently employed in grammar schools, particularly, but by no means exclusively, in the non-Catholic sector. Of the four main unions, the membership of NASUWT has the most evident cross-community profile; NASUWT is notably strong with teachers in post primary schools and those employed in the Integrated sector.

7.6 Sectoral Composition by Initial Teaching Education (ITE) Institution attended

---

[74] These figures have been influenced in line with an acknowledged bias within the sample - only those at higher levels with schools are likely to be NAHT members

[75] NUT is represented in NI by way of a joint partnership arrangement with both INTO and UTU

The sectoral profile of teachers in relation to the institutions that they attended to attain their initial teaching certificate is also strongly indicative of a link between community identity and sectoral allegiance: 89% (n=194) of the 217 teachers who had gained their teaching qualification at Stranmillis had also attended a *de facto* Protestant primary school in NI and less than 5% (n=10) had attended a *de facto* Catholic primary school - 96% (n=176) of the 184 teachers who had gained their teaching qualification at St Mary's or St Joseph's had also attended a *de facto* Catholic primary school in NI and 0% (n=0) had attended a *de facto* Protestant primary school in NI.

All three sectors have a significant proportion of teachers who qualified from universities and colleges outside NI including: 20% of teachers in *de facto* Protestant schools, 24% of teachers in *de facto* Catholic schools and 28% of teachers in Integrated schools. Given that less than 8% of teachers who responded to the survey stated that they had been educated in a Primary school outside NI it is safe to assume that a significant proportion of those teachers currently employed in the region left in order to pursue their studies only to 'return home' to take up posts locally.

The pattern of ITE colleges attended outside NI shows marked differences – these also align with the community division. The 85 teachers in the *de facto* Catholic schools who had trained outside NI had, for the most part, attended institutions recognised by CCMS as providing an approved RE certificate. The most popular colleges were Liverpool Hope - which accounted for 14% (n=13) of those who had gained teaching qualifications outside NI - and St Mary's Twickenham (10%; n=9). When added together with other notable clusters in Manchester Metropolitan College (8%; n=7), John Moore's Liverpool (7%; n=6), St Andrew's Glasgow (7%; n=6) these five teacher colleges accounted for over half of all of those teachers in *de facto* Catholic schools who had trained outside NI. A further 11% (n=10) had undertaken their ITE in colleges in the Republic of Ireland.

The pattern of teacher education colleges attended by those employed in *de facto* Protestant schools shows greater diversity – whilst colleges in the North-West of England were also popular with these teachers (16% had attended colleges in Liverpool and Manchester), the five colleges listed above as being most patronised by those teaching in *de facto* Catholic schools account for only 10% of those that were attended by those teaching in *de facto* Protestant schools. No other single institution accounted for more than 3% of those who had obtained their ITE outside NI. Only one respondent that was teaching in a *de facto* Protestant school had gained their teaching qualification in RoI.

The pattern of colleges outside NI attended by those teaching in Integrated schools shows elements of both these patterns. As with the *de facto* Catholic schools St Mary's Twickenham was popular, accounting for 14% of those teaching in Integrated schools who had trained in GB - Liverpool Hope accounted for a further 9%. However, in line with the pattern observed in the *de facto* Protestant schools, the remainder were distributed widely across a range of colleges.

School Management Sector	**ITE Attended**				
	Stranmillis	St Mary's St Joseph's	QUB	Ulster University	Other
CCMS Primary	4%	60%	2%	12%	23%
Irish Medium Primary	Nil	91%	9%	Nil	Nil
CCMS Post Primary	2%	33%	19%	19%	29%
Irish Medium Post Primary	Nil	100%	Nil	Nil	Nil
Catholic Voluntary Grammar	1%	18%	35%	25%	20%
Controlled Primary	63%	2%	1%	13%	21%
Grammar Preparatory	50%	Nil	Nil	Nil	50%
Controlled Post Primary	19%	1%	37%	26%	18% [76]
Non-Catholic Voluntary Grammar	13%	2%	51%	16%	18% [77]
Integrated Primary	40%	14%	3%	13%	30% [78]
Integrated Post Primary	12%	7%	36%	19%	26% [79]

Table 16. Teaching workforce by management sector and ITE Attended

[76] All different – no two non-NI colleges the same
[77] Fourteen different colleges named – only one (Oxford) appeared twice
[78] Over 1 in 5 of these (7) had attended St Mary's Twickenham and four had attended Liverpool Hope – more than had attended QUB (3)
[79] Twenty-two different colleges named – only one (St Mary's Twickenham) appeared twice.

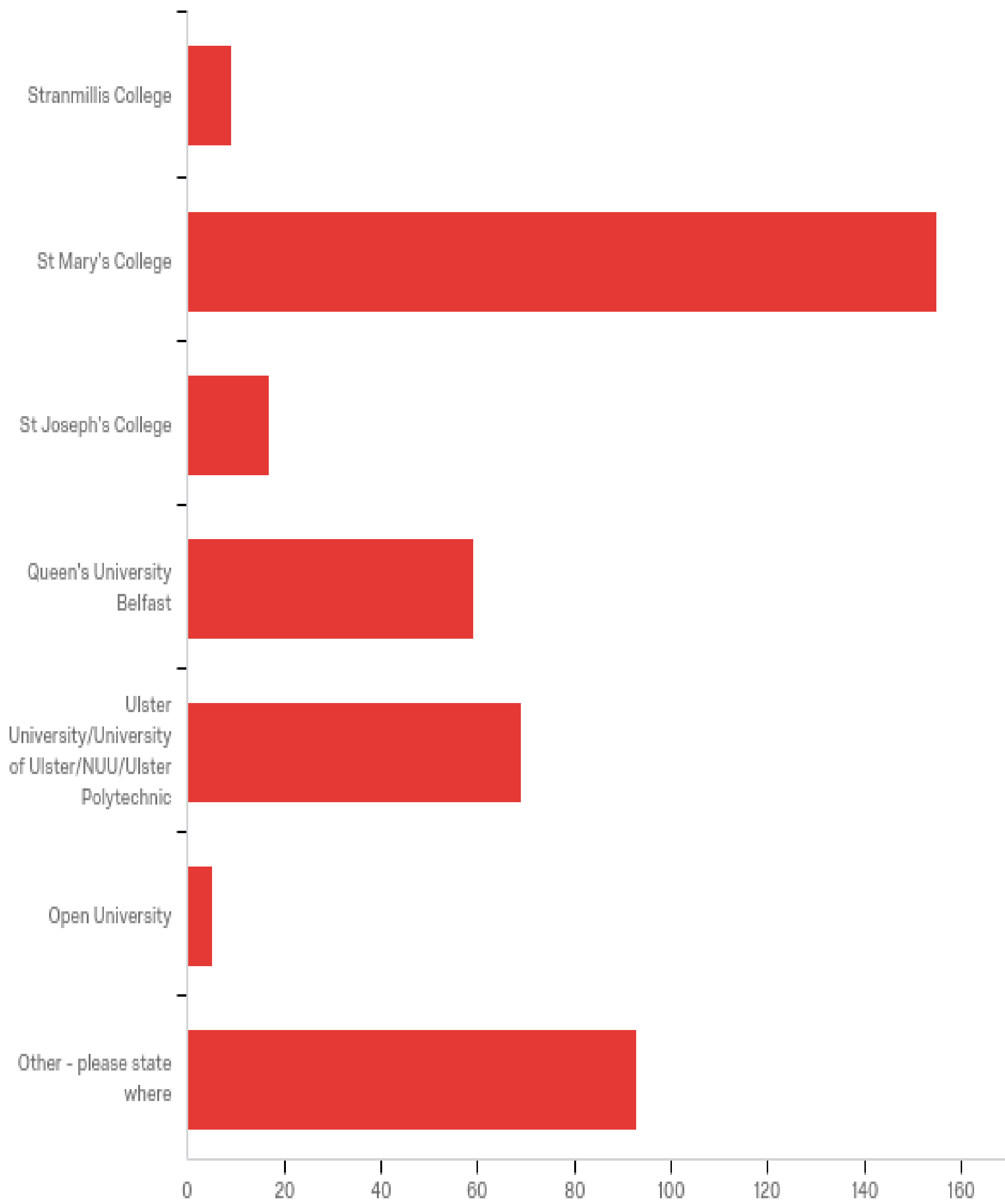


Fig. 19 ITE institution attended: teachers in *de facto* Catholic schools

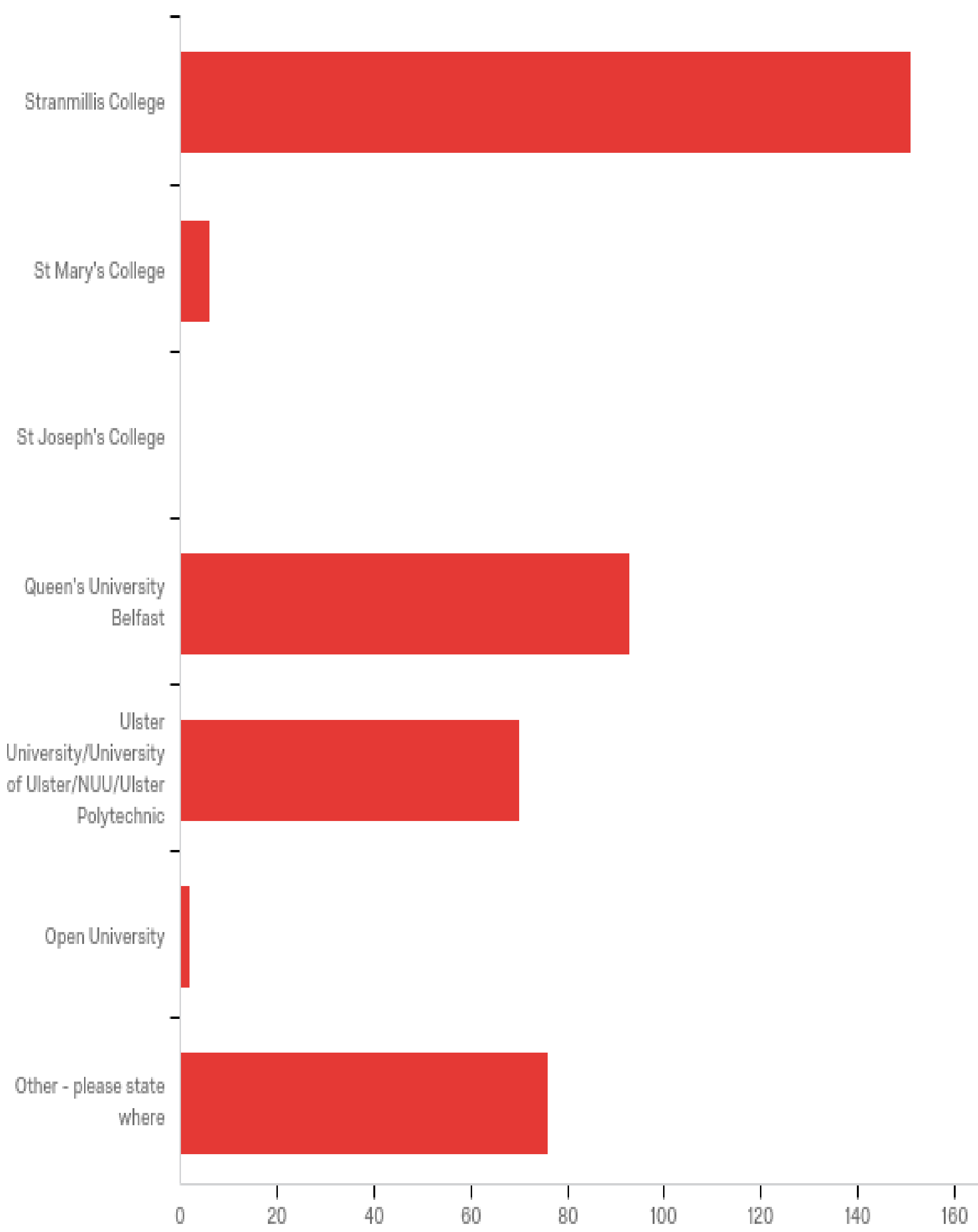


Fig. 20 ITE institution attended: teachers in *de facto* Protestant schools

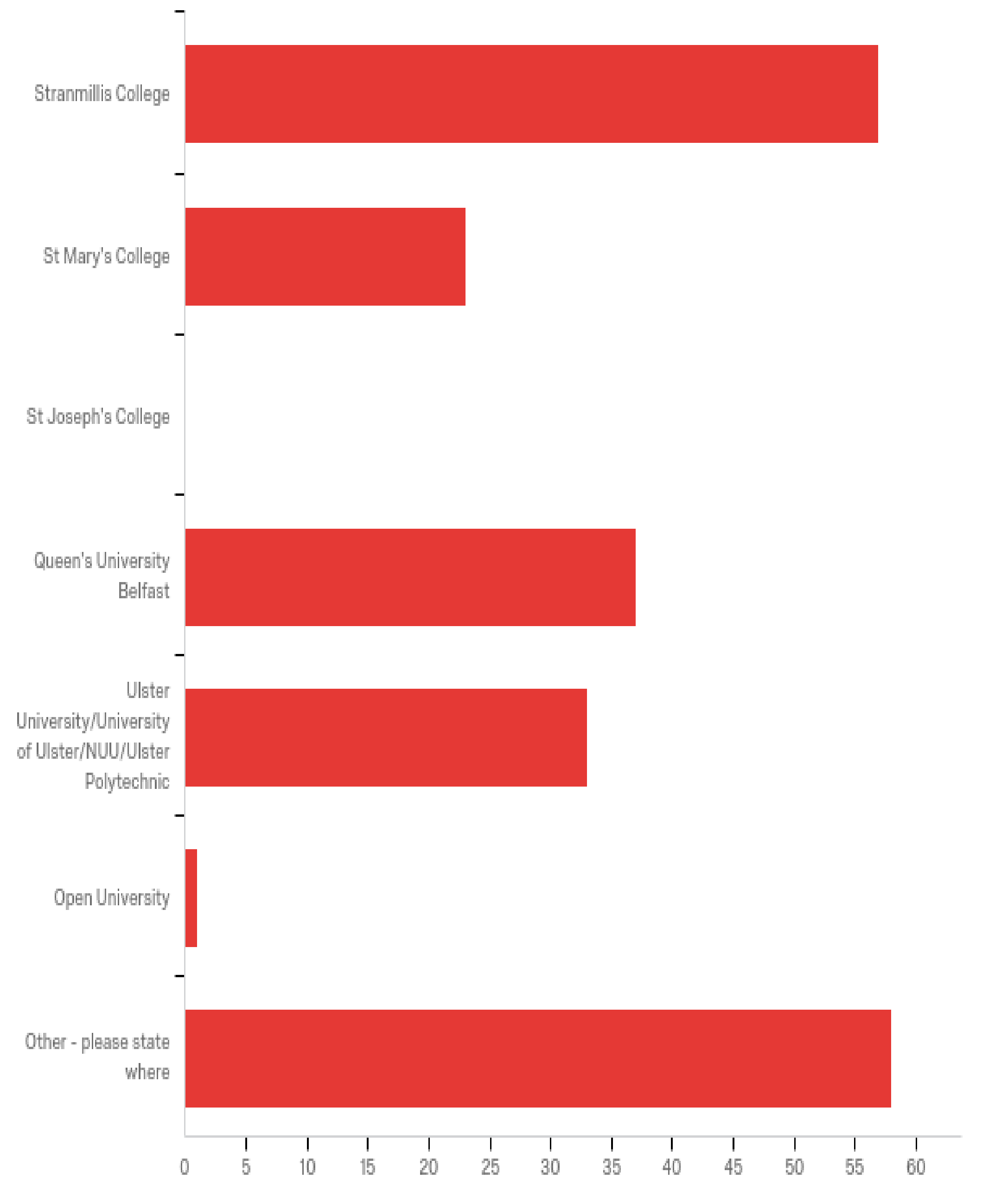


Fig. 21. ITE institution attended: teachers in Integrated schools

7.7 Sectoral Composition by National Identity

Teachers' national identities vary greatly across the three community-defined school types. Those teaching in *de facto* Protestant schools were most likely to define themselves as British (48%) and least likely to have an Irish nationality (12%) – 36% consider themselves Northern Irish and 46% consider that they have an additional nationality. Only 5% of teachers in *de facto* Catholic schools on the other hand call themselves British, as compared with 73% who have an Irish identity and 19% Northern Irish – 39% of these teachers recognise a dual nationality.

The pattern of teachers' national identity varies in line with increased community diversity – the largely homogenous CCMS primary sector has 78% Irish and only 2% British, a further 18% classify themselves as Northern Irish whilst 26% consider that they have more than one possible nationality. By comparison, the *de facto* Catholic schools with the most 'mixed' cohort of teachers (i.e. Catholic voluntary grammar) have 63% Irish and 11% British, 23% Northern Irish and 30% have a second nationality.

Of the *de facto* Protestant schools, Controlled primaries have the smallest proportion of cross-over teachers (7%) – they also have the smallest proportion of teachers that identify as being Irish (10%), they have a large proportion that consider themselves to be British (48%) or Northern Irish (40%) and a similar number that think of themselves as having a dual national identity (40%). In *de facto* Protestant post primary schools (that have a more 'mixed' staff profile) over half of teachers (53%) entertain the concept that they possess more than one national identity.

Teachers in Integrated schools show comparatively the most balanced profile across the three main nationality options – 25% British, 26% Irish and 43% Northern Irish. They are the group that is most likely to consider themselves to be Northern Irish[80]. Fewer Integrated teachers relate to a second nationality than in *de facto* Protestant schools - 40% as opposed to 48% - this figure is more in line with that for teachers in *de facto* Catholic schools (39%).

[80] A Northern Irish nationality was included as an identity option for the first time in the Census in 2011 – the issue of a NI national identity is discussed in some detail by McNicholl (2017)

School Management Sector	Nationality				
	British	Irish	Northern Irish	Other	Identify with a 2nd Nationality
CCMS Primary	2%	78%	18%	2%	26%
Irish Medium Primary	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
CCMS Post Primary	6%	70%	20%	4%	32%
Irish Medium Post Primary	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
Catholic Voluntary Grammar	11%	63%	23%	3%	30%
Controlled Primary	48%	10%	40%	2%	40%
Grammar Preparatory	100%	Nil	Nil	Nil	0%
Controlled Post Primary	51%	14%	32%	4%	52%
Non-Catholic Voluntary Grammar	41%	13%	39%	7%	53%
Integrated Primary	24%	24%	47%	5%	37%
Integrated Post Primary	26%	28%	37%	8%	42%

Table 17. Composition of Teaching Workforce by Sector and Nationality

The bespoke data provided to this research by NISRA from the 2011 NI Census had already indicated a similar pattern of connection between teachers' community identities and their nationalities - albeit in an answer to a question that was constructed slightly differently (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4). The survey data and the census data are constructed differently and, as a result, provide slightly different perspectives. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a significant ethnic alignment of faith and nationality in NI generally and that this is reflected in the profiles of teachers in the various sectors. It is also notable that the way in which faith and nationality are aligned in the teaching profession is different to the population at large, in both communities.

National identity is thus associated with the choices of those who teach within their own community and potentially also those who teach across the divide – this data has identified a link but cannot be used to identify whether teachers' concepts of their nationality act as a contributory factor in their choice of sectors or come about as a consequence of the context in which they train and work. It is indisputable that there is some sort of connection.

7.8 Cultural Encapsulation

The deployment of teachers in Northern Ireland's ethnically divided mainstream schools has been shown to be highly community consistent across a number of measures. In his writings on multi-cultural teaching, Banks (1994) appropriated the term '*Cultural Encapsulation*' from the disciplines of psychology and counselling to describe those individuals who had had limited engagement with other ethnic groupings. Howard (1999) looked at the practice of a number of white teachers working in multi-racial schools in USA. He documented the ways in which, in the absence of significant and sustained experiences shared with people of colour, white teachers had developed patterns of thinking, feeling and acting that militate against real transformation. He adopted the term 'Cultural Encapsulation' from Banks (1994) to describe this phenomenon.

Where this encapsulation had occurred, teachers displayed both a lack of understanding of those who did not share their identity and an absence of awareness with regard to how their own identity may be perceived by others. This goes beyond simple 'community consistency' and provides an apposite construct to frame the educational and career paths taken by those teachers in NI who have remained on a community consistent path throughout all of their educational journey and throughout their career. It is important to recognise that those teachers who have followed a 'culturally encapsulated' path may nevertheless have capacity to foster educational change and promote mutual understanding and engagement with the other. Their cultural encapsulation is, after all, largely the product of systemic structures and policies. Similarly, it cannot be presupposed that the teacher who crosses over will, by virtue of their path necessarily engage their identity and act as an agent of change.

By once again applying a series of filters to the data gathered in the online survey it was possible to quantify the degree of teacher cultural encapsulation within the ethnically divided sectors. Filters were applied sequentially to the data against five defining criteria; it was thus possible to identify the incremental pattern of community consistent choices that contributed to the formation of the culturally encapsulated teacher: Teachers who were teaching in a community consistent school (as defined by the primary school that they had attended) that had *also…* attended a community consistent post primary school *and had…* attended a community consistent ITE college in NI *and had…* undertaken teaching practice only in community consistent schools *and had…* only ever been employed in community consistent schools. By way of illustrating this process a screenshot of the filters applied to identify the Cultural Encapsulation of Protestant

teachers is illustrated in Fig. 22 below. A similar range of filters (with the appropriate changes) was used to record the Cultural Encapsulation of Catholic teachers.

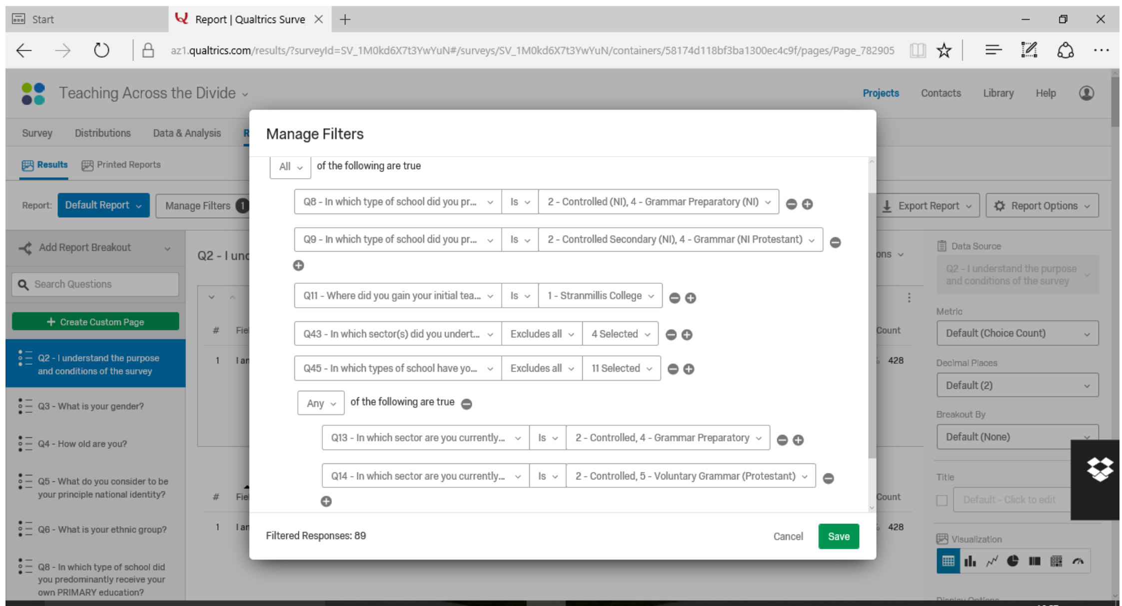


Fig. 22 Sequential application of filters to determine the Cultural Encapsulation of Protestant Teachers

Through application of these filters it was possible to determine the following in respect of the 398 teachers who completed the survey and were working in *de facto* Protestant schools:

- 77% (n = 308) of these had been educated in *de facto* Protestant Primary schools
- 75% (n = 300) of these had also attended a Controlled Post Primary school or Non-Catholic Voluntary Grammar school
- 34% (n = 135) of these had also attended Stranmillis
- 28% (n = 110) of these had also undertaken teaching practice only in *de facto* Protestant schools
- 22% (n = 89) had also only ever taught in de facto Protestant schools
    - 79% (n = 70) of these were teaching in *de facto* Protestant Primary schools
    - 21% (n = 19) of these were teaching in *de facto* Protestant Post Primary schools

By applying these sequential filters, it was determined that 22% of teachers in *de facto* Protestant schools (including **38%** of teachers in primary schools and **9%** of teachers in post primary schools) could be considered to be Culturally Encapsulated (Fig. 23).

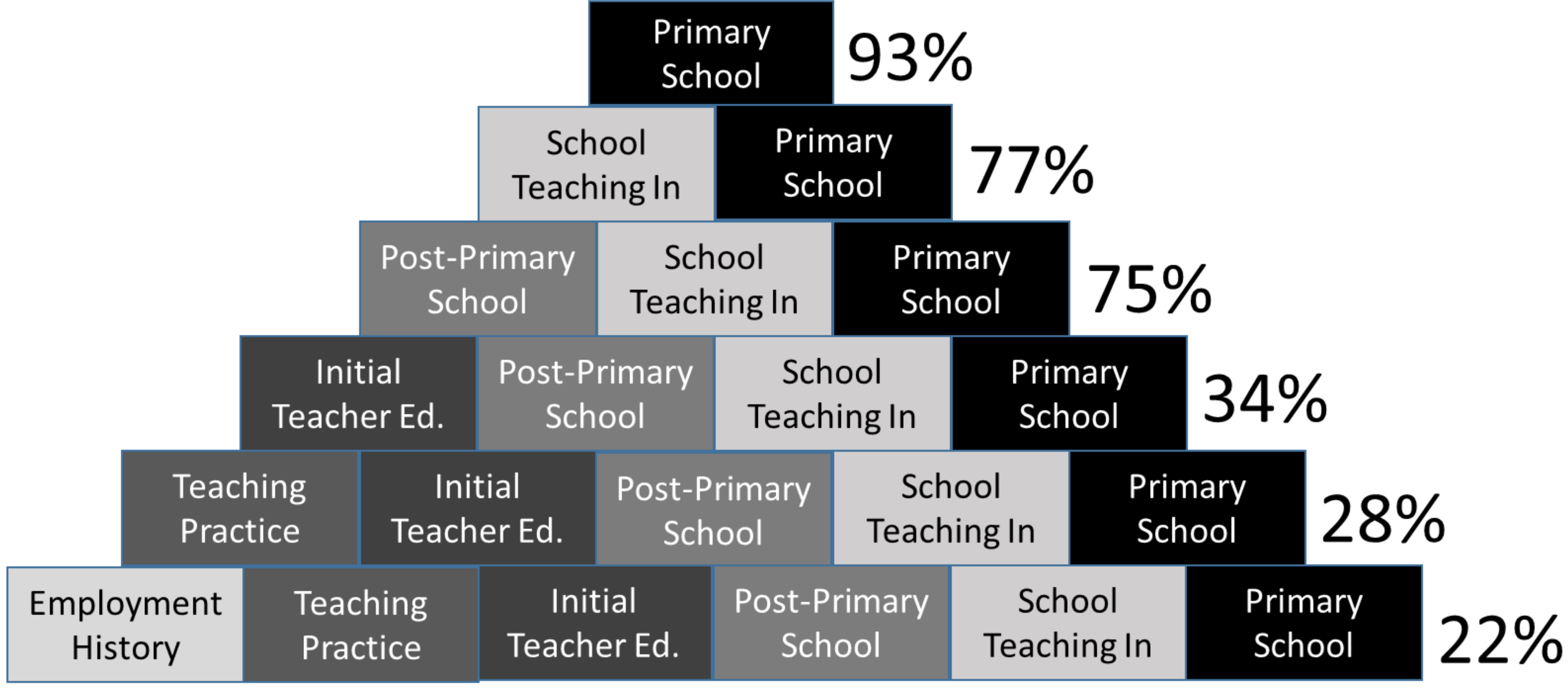


Fig. 23. Cultural Encapsulation of Protestant Teachers

A further 407 teachers who completed the online survey were working in *de facto* Catholic schools – a similar incremental range of filters was applied but with specifications aligned to *de facto* Catholic teachers and schools.

- 85% (n = 345) of those teaching in *de facto* Catholic schools had been educated in *de facto* Catholic Primary schools
- 82% (n = 335) had also attended CCMS Post Primary, Irish Medium Post Primary or Catholic Voluntary Grammar schools
- 40% (n = 162) had also attended St Mary's or St Joseph's ITE colleges
- 39% (n = 158) had also undertaken teaching practice only in *de facto* Catholic schools
- 33% (n = 133) had also only ever taught in *de facto* Catholic schools
    - 67% (n = 90) of these were teaching in Primary schools
    - 33% (n = 43) were teaching in Post Primary schools

By applying these sequential filters, it was determined that 33% of teachers in *de facto* Catholic schools (**48%** of teachers in primary schools and **19%** of teachers in post primary schools) could be considered to be Culturally Encapsulated (Fig. 24).

These figures indicate that a greater proportion of Catholic teachers are Culturally Encapsulated than had been observed for their Protestant counterparts. Paradoxically, Catholic teachers also have been shown to have had greater success in gaining employment in *de facto* Protestant schools than Protestant teachers have in being appointed to *de facto* Catholic schools. This is particularly observable in primary schools where those Protestant teachers who have not obtained a RE certificate recognised by the Catholic church are unable to gain employment. This is a uni-directional employment barrier. Catholic teachers are as a result more frequently employed in *de facto* Protestant schools than Protestant teachers are in *de facto* Catholic schools.

The net result of the combination of these twin factors is that the profile of the staffroom in *de facto* Catholic schools is more ethnically homogeneous than is the case in *de facto* Protestant schools.

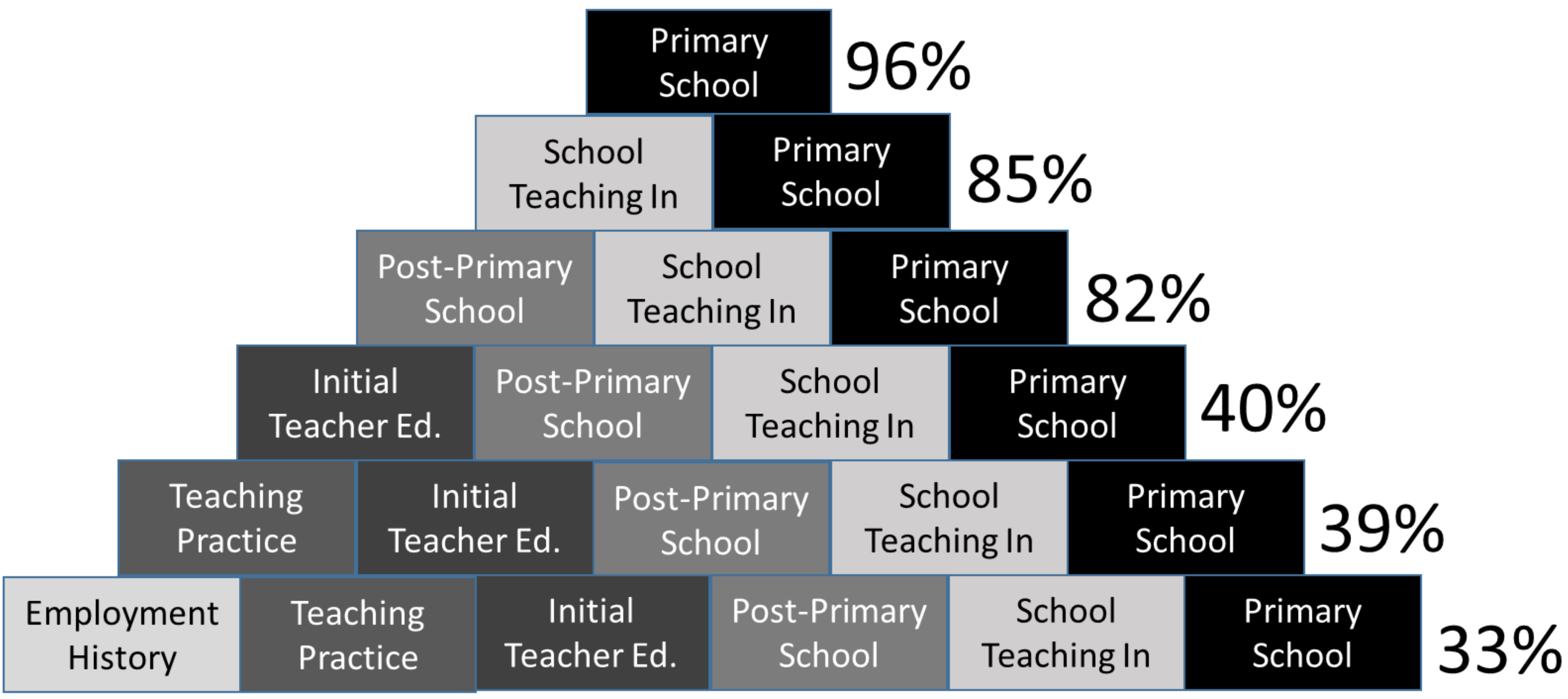


Fig. 24 Cultural Encapsulation of Catholic Teachers

7.9 Teachers who cross the divide

A proportion of teachers have elected to step outside of their community of origin and the perceived relative comfort afforded by a culturally encapsulated career in order to work in a school that has a religious/cultural identity that is different to the one in which they received their own education: Catholic teachers in *de facto* Protestant schools, Protestant teachers in *de facto* Catholic schools and teachers from both traditions in the Integrated sector. Their experiences can provide insight into how identity affects their experiences and the agency that cross-over teachers can bring (or are unable to bring) to the processes of peace-building and transformation. The first challenge, however, was to gain some concept of how many teachers in NI are 'Teaching Across the Divide'. By drilling into the data obtained in the online survey, it was possible to extract information on some of the factors that serve to differentiate cross-over teachers from both those around them in their place of employment and from those who opted for employment in a school within their own community.

7.9.1 How many teachers cross-over?

It must be recognised that the number of *cross-over* teachers who completed the survey may have been proportionately greater than their presence in the teaching population generally. The title of the survey, 'Teaching Across The Divide', may have led to those who were most positively disposed to the concept – namely those that were already in some way employed in schools that were not consistent with their ethnic identity – being more willing to give five minutes of their time to assist an anonymous researcher by completing an online survey. Alternatively, it may also be possible that those teachers who have crossed-over may not wish to draw attention to their 'differentness' and, being aware of the themes under investigation, specifically elected not to complete the survey. It is to be hoped that these two perspectives will have cancelled each other out and that the responses obtained do indeed provide as accurate a picture as possible. The figures that follow should be considered with these caveats.

Respondents were asked in the online survey to identify whether or not they considered themselves to be 'teaching across the divide' – 30% (n = 303) of those that completed the survey) responded that they were; this figure included 80% (n = 168) of the 209 teachers employed in Integrated schools who had completed the survey.

Fourteen percent (n = 135) respondents had self-identified as having crossed the Rubicon that separates the education of the two dominant communities (Table 18).

On closer examination of this data it became clear that not all of those who had crossed between communities had actually self-identified. In addition, for some of those who had self-identified, the nature of their cross-over was between sectors within the same ethnic community (e.g. CCMS to Irish Medium).

Filters were therefore applied to extract more precise numbers – these filters also allowed for a deeper interrogation of the data. The figure of cross-over teachers was further revised to 17% of the total (n = 169). This is a slightly smaller figure than that which had been obtained for the number of Culturally Encapsulated teachers (20% of the total, n=203).

This data was then reviewed in line with nature of the cross-over to obtain profiles for four specific groups:

- Protestant teachers in *de facto* Catholic school
- Protestant teachers in Integrated school
- Catholic teachers in *de facto* Protestant school
- Catholic teachers in Integrated school

The resulting data was then further interrogated to identify variances between those cross-over teachers employed in primary schools, post primary (non-grammar) schools and grammar schools.

	Number of responses				Gender			Average Age
	Total	Primary	Post Primary (Non-Grammar)	Grammar	Male	Female	Other	
Catholic teachers in Protestant schools	54	13	22	19	18 (33%)	36 (67%)	nil	42.4
Catholic teachers in Integrated schools	77	41	36	N/A	22 (29%)	55 (71%)	nil	42.9
Protestant teachers in Catholic schools	26	3	11	12	8 (31%)	18 (69%)	nil	38.9
Protestant teachers in Integrated schools	94	53	41	N/A	23 (24%)	71 (76%)	nil	40.2

Table 18: Cross-over teachers

			Post Primary Attended						Union Membership						ITE Attended					Nationality				
			CCMS	Cont	CVG	PVG	Int	Other	NAS	INTO	UTU	ATL	NAHT	Oth+ None	Stran	St M	QUB	UU	Oth	British	Irish	NI	Other	2nd Nation
Catholic to Protestant	All	54	41%	4%	39%	9%	6%	2%	44%	15%	9%	17%	9%	6%	7%	9%	33%	24%	26%	6%	59%	35%	3%	54%
	Primary	13	23%	8%	38%	15%	8%	8%	8%	23%	15%	15%	38%	nil	23%	15%	nil	31%	31%	nil	77%	23%	nil	46%
	Post Primary	22	45%	Nil	36%	9%	9%	Nil	45%	14%	14%	18%	nil	9%[81]	5%	5%	32%	27%	32%	9%	55%	36%	nil	59%
	Grammar	19	47%	5%	42%	5%	nil	Nil	48%	11%	Nil	16%	nil	5%[82]	Nil	11%	58%	16%	16%	5%	53%	42%	nil	53%
Catholic to Integrated	All	77	48%	Nil	47%	4%	1%	Nil	43%	26%	6%	8%	10%	6%	3%	27%	21%	22%	27%	6%	51%	42%	1%	34%
	Primary	41	54%	Nil	39%	5%	2%	Nil	34%	37%	12%	5%	7%	5%	5%	34%	5%	24%	32%	5%	46%	49%	nil	29%
	Post Primary	36	42%	Nil	56%	3%	nil	Nil	53%	14%	Nil	11%	14%	nil	Nil	19%	39%	19%	22%	8%	56%	33%	3%	40%
Protestant to Catholic	All	26	12%	23%	4%	58%	nil	4%	46%	12%	8%	31%	nil	4%	15%	nil	50%	27%	8%	42%	23%	35%	nil	46%
	Primary	3	33%	Nil	Nil	67%	nil	Nil	nil	67%	Nil	33%	nil	nil	67%	nil	nil	33%	nil	67%	nil	33%	nil	33%
	Post Primary	11	nil	45%	Nil	55%	nil	Nil	55%	9%	18%	18%	nil	nil	18%	nil	45%	18%	18%	45%	18%	36%	nil	36%
	Grammar	12	17%	8%	8%	58%	nil	8%	50%	Nil	Nil	42%	nil	8%[83]	Nil	nil	67%	33%	nil	33%	33%	33%	nil	58%
Protestant to Integrated	All	94	nil	29%	Nil	70%	nil	1%	49%	4%	21%	9%	14%	3%	53%	nil	19%	12%	16%	41%	1%	53%	4%	42%
	Primary	53	nil	32%	Nil	68%	nil	Nil	42%	4%	32%	4%	19%	nil	77%	nil	2%	6%	15%	40%	nil	57%	4%	37%
	Post Primary	41	nil	24%	Nil	73%	nil	2%	59%	5%	7%	15%	7%	7%	22%	nil	41%	20%	17%	44%	2%	49%	5%	47%

Table 19. Cross-over Teachers by School Type and Other Key Indicators

[81] All members of ASCL – a union for school leaders
[82] Also members of ASCL
[83] ASCL

7.9.2 Protestant to Catholic Cross-over

Six percent (n=26) of the 428 teachers who had been educated in de facto Protestant primary schools were recorded as working in *de facto* Catholic schools. Four of these were working in CCMS primary schools, 11 in the CCMS post primary sector and 11 in Catholic voluntary grammars. The survey did not identify any teacher working in an Irish Medium school that had attended a *de facto* Protestant primary school[84]. Of these twenty-six teachers, four (including one of those working in the primary sector) had gone on to attend a *de facto* Catholic school following their transfer from primary education.

Given the exceptionally low numbers of Protestant pupils recorded in CCMS post primary and Catholic voluntary grammar schools (see Tables 3 and 5) and the relatively high number of Catholic pupils in a small number of Controlled primary schools (Table 4) it is possible, and perhaps even likely, that these future-teachers were returning to a school in their community of origin following a primary school sojourn on the Controlled side. This may indicate a potential weakness in methodology – the default assumption that *any* teacher who had attended a Controlled school could be assigned a Protestant identity may, in a limited number of instances, be erroneous.

There is a marked difference between the national identity reported by cross-over, community consistent and culturally encapsulated teachers – 23% of the Protestant-to-Catholic cross-over teachers consider themselves in the first instance to be Irish as compared with 3% for the culturally encapsulated Protestant teachers. This figure is still some way off the 70% of the general population of those teaching in *de facto* Catholic schools who designate their nationality as being Irish. The proportion of these cross-over teachers who identify with a British nationality (42%) is lower than that for the culturally encapsulated Protestant teachers (58%) but is still much higher than their community consistent Catholic colleagues in their place of work (6%).

Whilst 100% of the culturally encapsulated Protestant teachers had attended Stranmillis, this was true for only 15% of the cross-over teachers - this figure is reflective of the low proportion of Protestant-to-Catholic cross-over teachers in the primary sector.

[84] Whilst Irish is a core subject on the curriculum of CCMS and Catholic Voluntary Grammar schools and some Integrated schools it is not taught to exam level at any Controlled or non-Catholic Voluntary Grammar in NI – although it had been offered through the Líofa initiative as a short 'general studies' course for sixth form students in a small number of Grammar schools.

The percentage of Protestant-to-Catholic teachers who are members of INTO is 12%; although this above the figure for *de facto* Protestant schools (2%) is still substantially below that for *de facto* Catholic schools (62%). By way of contrast, 8% of these cross-over teachers are members of UTU, a union that has an otherwise negligible presence (<1%) in *de facto* Catholic schools. A large majority of those Protestant-to-Catholic teachers who completed the survey have opted to join the two unions that are not as obviously aligned with one or other community: NASUWT (46%) and ATL (31%).

Post Primary School Attended	**Sector Currently Employed In**			
	Primary	Post Primary	Grammar	**Total**
Maintained	1	Nil	2	**3**
Catholic Grammar	Nil	Nil	1	**1**
Controlled	Nil	5	1	**6**
Non-Catholic Grammar	2	6	7	**15**
Integrated	Nil	Nil	Nil	**Nil**
Other (Outside NI)	1	Nil	Nil	**Nil**
TOTAL	**4**	**11**	**11**	**26**

Table 20. Protestant to Catholic Cross-over Teachers by Post Primary school

			Nationality		
			British	Irish	Northern Irish
Sector Teaching In	All	26	42%	23%	35%
	Primary	4	50%	25%	33%
	Post Primary	11	45%	18%	36%
	Grammar	11	33%	33%	33%

Table 21. Protestant to Catholic Cross-over Teachers by Nationality

			ITE Institution Attended				
			Stran.	St Mary's	QUB	Ulster	Other
Protestant to Catholic	All	26	15%	nil	50%	27%	8%
	Primary	4	50%	nil	Nil	25%	25%
	Post Primary	11	18%	nil	45%	18%	18%
	Grammar	11	nil	nil	55%	45%	Nil

Table 22. Protestant to Catholic Cross-over teachers by ITE Institution Attended

			Union Membership					
			NASUWT	INTO	UTU	ATL	NAHT	Other
Protestant to Catholic	All	26	46%	12%	8%	31%	nil	4%
	Primary	4	Nil	50%	Nil	50%	nil	Nil
	Post Prim	11	55%	9%	18%	18%	nil	Nil
	Grammar	12	50%	nil	Nil	42%	nil	8%[85]

Table 23. Protestant to Catholic Cross-over Teachers by Union Membership

[85] ASCL

7.9.3 Catholic to Protestant Cross Over

In the responses received to the online survey, 11% (n=54) of those 482 teachers who had been educated in *de facto* Catholic primary schools identified that they were working in *de facto* Protestant schools. Thirteen of these were employed in Controlled primary schools. A further 8% (n=41) of the total number of Catholic teachers who completed the survey) were employed in *de facto* Protestant post primary schools – 22 in the Controlled sector and 19 in non-Catholic voluntary grammar schools. No teachers who had attended CCMS primary schools were recorded as teaching in prep departments – although it must be noted that only four prep teachers completed the survey. As had been observed with the Protestant-to-Catholic cross-over teachers, not all of the Catholic-to-Protestant teachers had travelled a community consistent path through their own education – two of the Catholic-to-Protestant cross-over teachers (4%) had transferred from a *de facto* Catholic Primary school to a Controlled Post Primary school, 9% to a non-Catholic Voluntary Grammar and 6% to a Post Primary in the Integrated sector.

Fewer Catholic-to-Protestant teachers considered their principle nationality to be Irish (59%) than those who remained within *de facto* Catholic schools (72%) – this figure rose to 81% for Catholic culturally encapsulated teachers – and 35% felt themselves to be Northern Irish, a nationality option chosen by 20% of community consistent Catholic teachers and 17% of those Catholic teachers who were culturally encapsulated.

Only 9% of this group of teachers had attended a Catholic teacher education college in NI – 7% of the total and 23% of those teaching in *de facto* Protestant primary schools had attended Stranmillis. This shows a marked difference to the profile of both those teachers in the *de facto* Catholic system (40% St Mary's/St Joseph's and 2% Stranmillis) and those teaching in *de facto* Protestant schools (2% and 38% respectively).

As had been observed with the Protestant-to-Catholic teachers there would appear to be a tendency for the Catholic-to-Protestant teachers to affiliate themselves with unions that may be perceived as non-aligned in the NI political context – 44% are members of NASUWT and 17% ATL. A proportion of Catholic-to-Protestant teachers indicated that they were members of Unions associated with school leaders – 38% of cross-over teachers in Controlled Primary schools were members of NAHT and a further three teachers employed in Post Primary schools were in ASCL. For these teachers their community of origin may not have had a negative impact upon their opportunities to progress in their careers on 'the other side'.

			Post Primary Attended					
			CCMS	Cont	CVG	PVG	Int	Other
Catholic to Protestant	All	54	41%	4%	39%	9%	6%	2%
	Primary	13	23%	8%	38%	15%	8%	8%
	Post Primary	22	45%	Nil	36%	9%	9%	Nil
	Grammar	19	47%	5%	42%	5%	nil	Nil

Table 24. Catholic to Protestant Cross-over teachers by Post Primary School

			Nationality				
			British	Irish	N Irish	Other	2nd Nation
Catholic to Protestant	All	54	6%	59%	35%	3%	54%
	Primary	13	nil	77%	23%	nil	46%
	Post Primary	22	9%	55%	36%	nil	59%
	Grammar	19	5%	53%	42%	nil	53%

Table 25. Catholic to Protestant Cross-over teachers by Nationality

			ITE Institution Attended				
			Stran	St M	QUB	Ulster	Oth
Catholic to Protestant	All	54	7%	9%	33%	24%	26%
	Primary	13	23%	15%	nil	31%	31%
	Post Primary	22	5%	5%	32%	27%	32%
	Grammar	19	nil	11%	58%	16%	16%

Table 26. Catholic to Protestant Cross-over teachers by ITE Institution Attended

			Union Membership					
			NASUWT	INTO	UTU	ATL	NAHT	Other and None
Catholic to Protestant	All	54	44%	15%	9%	17%	9%	6%
	Primary	13	8%	23%	15%	15%	38%	Nil
	Post Primary	22	45%	14%	14%	18%	nil	9%[86]
	Grammar	19	48%	11%	Nil	16%	nil	5%[87]

Table 27. Catholic to Protestant Cross-over teachers by Union Membership

[86] All members of ASCL – a union for school leaders
[87] Also members of ASCL

7.9.4 Protestant to Integrated Cross-Over

The numbers of teachers who recorded a transfer to the Integrated sector from both *de facto* Protestant and *de facto* Catholic schools is more substantial than for those who have crossed the divide between the two dominant communities – survey respondents included 94 Protestant-to-Integrated teachers but only 26 Protestant-to-Catholic. All but one of these 94 had had a community consistent path through their own compulsory education – transferring from a *de facto* Protestant primary to a *de facto* Protestant post primary.

This cohort of teachers included the highest percentage of any group that considered themselves to be Northern Irish (57%) and a lower figure for those identifying with an Irish national identity (1%) than even the culturally encapsulated Protestant teachers (3%).

More than half of the Protestant-to-Integrated teachers (53%) had gained their teaching qualification locally in Stranmillis, none had attended St Mary's or St Joseph's. A comparatively low 16% had attended a teaching college outside NI as opposed to 22% for all of those who had completed the survey, and 27% for those teaching in Integrated schools who had a history of having been educated in *de facto* Catholic schools.

As had been observed with Protestant-to-Catholic teachers, relatively few of those who had crossed-over Protestant-to-Integrated had decided to join the INTO union (4%). There was an enduring loyalty to the community consistent UTU evident – UTU accounts for 32% of those Protestant teachers employed in Integrated primaries.

			Post Primary Attended					
			CCMS	Cont	CVG	N-CVG	Int	Other
Protestant to Integrated	All	94	nil	29%	nil	70%	Nil	1%
	Primary	53	nil	32%	nil	68%	Nil	Nil
	Post Primary[88]	41	nil	24%	nil	73%	Nil	2%

Table 28. Protestant to Integrated Cross-over teachers by Post Primary School

			Nationality				
			British	Irish	N Irish	Other	2nd Nation
Protestant to Integrated	All	94	41%	1%	53%	4%	42%
	Primary	53	40%	nil	57%	4%	37%
	Post Primary	41	44%	2%	49%	5%	47%

Table 29. Protestant to Integrated Cross-over teachers by Nationality

			ITE Institution Attended				
			Stranmillis	St Mary's	QUB	Ulster	Other
Protestant to Integrated	All	94	53%	Nil	19%	12%	16%
	Primary	53	77%	Nil	2%	6%	15%
	Post Primary	41	22%	Nil	41%	20%	17%

Table 30. Protestant to Integrated Cross-over teachers by ITE Institution Attended

			Union Membership					
			NASUWT	INTO	UTU	ATL	NAHT	Other and None
Protestant to Integrated	All	94	49%	4%	21%	9%	14%	3%
	Primary	53	42%	4%	32%	4%	19%	Nil
	Post Primary	41	59%	5%	7%	15%	7%	7%

Table 31. Protestant to Integrated Cross-over teachers by Union Membership

[88] Integrated Post-Primary schools consider themselves to be comprehensives – there are no Integrated Grammar schools

7.9.5 Catholic to Integrated Cross-Over

Seventy-seven teachers who had received their formative education in *de facto* Catholic primary schools were recorded as being employed in Integrated schools – seventy-three of these (95%) had taken a community consistent path upon transfer to Post Primary school. Three had attended a non-Catholic Voluntary Grammar and one had transferred to an Integrated secondary.

The proportion of Catholic-to-Integrated teachers who described themselves as Northern Irish (42%) was higher than the respective figure for Catholic-to-Protestant teachers (35%) and Catholic teachers generally (25%). The number with an Irish national identity, 51%, is well below the 72% figure recorded for Catholic teachers across the board – 81% of culturally encapsulated Catholic teachers identified as being Irish.

The distribution of the range of providers of ITE attended by Catholic-to-Integrated teachers shows a relatively flat distribution: 27% attended a Catholic college in Belfast, 21% attended QUB, 22% UU and its predecessors and 27% gained their teaching qualification outside NI. Only 3% had attended Stranmillis.

The community consistency of union membership was evident with this group of teachers. Across both primary and post primary Integrated schools only 6% of Catholic teachers were members of the UTU, 26% were members of INTO – this figure rose to 37% in Integrated primaries. Whilst this membership figure is still lower than for the Catholic teaching workforce generally (51%) it does suggest that there may be a potential lack of coordinated action between those Catholic and Protestant teachers employed in Integrated schools, given the number of Protestant teachers in Integrated schools who are UTU members, particularly in the primary sector.

			Post Primary Attended					
			CCMS	Cont	CVG	PVG	Int	Other
Catholic to Integrated	All	77	48%	nil	47%	4%	1%	Nil
	Primary	41	54%	nil	39%	5%	2%	Nil
	Post Primary	36	42%	nil	56%	3%	nil	Nil

Table 32: Catholic to Integrated Cross-over Teachers by Post Primary school

			Nationality				
			British	Irish	N Irish	Other	2nd Nation
Catholic to Integrated	All	77	6%	51%	42%	1%	34%
	Primary	41	5%	46%	49%	nil	29%
	Post Primary	36	8%	56%	33%	3%	40%

Table 33: Catholic to Integrated Cross-over Teachers by Nationality

			ITE Institution Attended				
			Stran.	St Mary's	QUB	Ulster	Other
Catholic to Integrated	All	77	3%	27%	21%	22%	27%
	Primary	41	5%	34%	5%	24%	32%
	Post Primary	36	Nil	19%	39%	19%	22%

Table 34. Catholic to Integrated Cross-over Teachers by ITE Institution Attended

			Union Membership					
			NASUWT	INTO	UTU	ATL	NAHT	Other and None
Catholic to Integrated	All	77	43%	26%	6%	8%	10%	6%
	Primary	41	34%	37%	12%	5%	7%	5%
	Post Primary	36	53%	14%	nil	11%	14%	Nil

Table 35. Catholic to Integrated Cross-over Teachers by Union Membership

7.10 Summary of Quantitative Findings

The data gathered in the online survey illustrate that the teaching workforce in NI is characterised by high levels of sectoral homogeneity. Teachers in NI are overwhelmingly British-Irish, white and gender binary – they do not reflect the emerging linguistic, ethnic and cultural diversity present in the region.

The null hypothesis proposed at the outset of this chapter has been rejected. Statistical analysis of the data produced from the online survey has shown that the traditional divide between the two dominant communities is mirrored in the composition of the teaching workforces of *de facto* Catholic and *de facto* Protestant schools. The majority of teachers present a personal history of being educated and educating in schools of the same community alignment – those with a Protestant identity who have gone on to become teachers have, in the main, been educated in Protestant schools and have gone on to teach in Protestant schools. Catholic would-be teachers are, on the whole, educated in Catholic schools and go on to teach in Catholic schools. Teachers' career loyalty to schools that are consistent with sector within which they received their own education is striking:

- 86% of those teachers who were educated in *de facto* Catholic Primary schools are currently working in *de facto* Catholic schools.
- 77% of those teachers who were educated in *de facto* Protestant Primary schools are currently working in *de facto* Protestant schools.
- 69% of those teachers who were educated in Integrated Primary schools are currently working in Integrated schools.

A substantial number of teachers on either side of the community divide were shown to be 'Culturally Encapsulated' - having had no professional experience in the other side at any stage of their education or teaching career. They have followed a community consistent path from primary to post primary, to teaching college, to teaching practice, to employment. The data found that this path had been followed by approximately 1/3 of those teachers who were educated in a *de facto* Catholic Primary school and just under ¼ of those teachers educated in *de facto* Protestant Primary schools. This tendency towards the Cultural Encapsulation of teachers is particularly pronounced in primary schools.

There are however a small number of teachers who are 'bucking the trend'; the number of those who are Teaching Across the Divide has been shown to have risen since research into the issue was last conducted (i.e. ECNI, 2004).

- 11% of the teachers who had been educated in *de facto* Catholic Primary schools identified that they were working in *de facto* Protestant schools
- 6% of the teachers who had been educated in *de facto* Protestant Primary schools were recorded as working in *de facto* Catholic schools.

The data suggest that a greater proportion of Catholic teachers have crossed the divide than Protestant teachers and that the barrier is most penetrable at post primary level, and particularly in the grammar sector. The barrier remains far from porous. At primary level cross-over teachers remain something of a rarity – particularly those who have been identified as crossing from Protestant-to-Catholic.

The contested issue of nationality (which lies at the core of the unresolved conflict in NI) is a notable feature of the composition of the identity of teachers from both communities. Catholic teachers are more likely to identify with an Irish nationality; their Protestants counterparts are more likely to identify with a British nationality. Protestant teachers are more likely to entertain the concept of dual or multiple nationality than Catholic teachers. This division is less evident in the Integrated sector and amongst those teachers who have crossed-over in order to Teach Across the Divide. The 'nationality gap' was observed to have been at its most visible with culturally encapsulated teachers.

Union membership is also reflective of the community and sectoral divisions in education – two unions in particular, UTU and INTO, are closely aligned with the two dominant communities. This community-specific union allegiance seems to survive to some extent even when teachers cross-over.

The analysis of data collected through the online survey has commenced the process of identifying potential lines of questioning within the qualitative component of the research. In particular questions will need to be asked that draw out:

- The personal and professional biographical experiences that have contributed to these teachers' willingness to embark on the path less travelled.
- Classroom and staffroom experiences.
- Openness about community identity and the way in which they use (or disguise) their 'other-ness'.
- Their plans for the future.
- The extent to which they feel able to engage the otherness of their identity and thereby *achieve* agency.

QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION

CHAPTER 8. METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

In the previous section, a contemporary quantitative base-line of the sectoral community composition of the NI teaching workforce was established by means of an online survey. A high degree of 'community consistency' was identified in the career choices made by those teaching across all school sectors in NI although this was not at the level that earlier investigations in 1977 and 2003 had indicated – in particular, cross-over teachers in the post primary sectors were far from being a rarity. Furthermore, it was observed that a significant minority of teachers had followed a 'culturally encapsulated' path through education and employment; that, at no stage on their journey into and through the teaching profession had they had any significant experience of practising in an educational institution outside of the parameters of their own ethnically defined community. This was most pronounced amongst the teaching workforce in CCMS primary schools and least evident (although still present) in the non-Catholic voluntary grammar sector.

The results of the survey also identified that a proportion of teachers had left the ethnically defined path through education and into a career in teaching and were working in a school of a community profile other than that in which they had received their own education. Cross-over teachers were uncommon in primary schools – in both the Controlled sector and, particularly, in CCMS primaries. Those teachers who had been educated in Integrated schools were more likely than not to have returned to that sector. The pattern was more mixed in post primary schools and most mixed in grammar schools where approximately one-in-five teachers had crossed-over.

Statistics, however revealing, can provide only a partial insight into complex social phenomena. To gain a deeper understanding of the factors that maintain and sustain this sectoral self-replication in the NI systems of education, it is necessary to delve into the experiences of teachers themselves. As has been shown, there is a fundamental gap in knowledge about the experiences of those teachers who have crossed between the traditional sectors of education in NI –this project addresses this omission. In line with the stated aims, the quantitative research documented in the previous chapter has revealed the current composition of the teaching workforce by community identity in the various sectors of mainstream education in NI and identified the patterns of movement of teachers within and across the community divide.

The qualitative element of this mixed-methods research has been built on this foundation and addresses two related research aims; specifically:

- To identify the factors that may serve to moderate teachers' movement between and across [the divided] sectors.
- To explore the identity and agency of those teachers who have crossed between these sectors.

8.1 Aligning Method And Methodology

> Narrative knowledge helps make sense of the ambiguity of human lives (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013, p. 228).

Humans are naturally storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, understand their lives through the telling of stories (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000; Stivers, 1993). It follows that the researcher who employs a narrative approach "illuminates the intersection of biography, history and society" (Riessman, 2002, p. 697). The 'storied' nature of the model of agency resonates with the fundamental place of the chronological sequencing of meaningful social events that defines narrative inquiry (Freeman, 2009; Elliot, 2005; Biesta et al, 2015).

Narrative Inquiry has been identified as a methodology that is particularly suited to the exploring of under-researched social phenomena (Squire et al, 2014). Elbaz (1990) identified that storytelling is a particularly apposite method for conducting research with teachers; it is well suited to their capacity to communicate effectively as well as to their professional mindset - teachers are particularly comfortable with engaging in dialogue with an audience.

There is no single way of carrying out narrative research as Riessman (2008, p. 155) asserted, "ours is a field characterized by extreme diversity and complexity." Whilst acknowledging that the types of data collected in narrative research are diverse in nature, Andrews et al (2008) noted that they are, most commonly, first person oral accounts of experience.

It is necessary to acknowledge from the very outset that the stories told in a narrative research setting should not be considered to be presentations of an objective 'truth'.

> Descriptive details chosen by a storyteller are usually consciously or unconsciously selective… although description often is meant to convey believability and portray images, it also is designed to persuade, convince, or arouse passions (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 18).

Goffman (1981), in addition, argues, that narratives are a co-constructed ordering of events within a specific context *and* to a specific audience. This process of co-construction is a shared labour between the interviewee and the interviewer:

> When we perform our stories to an audience we do not simply express the self and experience but constitute them by that performance (Squire et al, 2014, p. 29).

Thus, the story told is a distillation of happenings that the interviewee considers to be most pertinent to the researcher. It is generally constructed as a series of *critical events* which contain "the right mix of ingredients at the right time and in the right context" (Woods, 1993, p. 102). As such, narratives can only be *a version of reality*.

8.2 Interview Structure and Design

In-depth interviews are a key data gathering tool in narrative inquiry (Squire et al, 2014; Webster and Mertova, 2007) particularly when "they move beyond surface talk to a rich discussion of thoughts and feelings" (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, p 80). It was noted by Mertova and Webster (2014) that methods that encourage informants to identify and explore critical events are particularly well-suited to narrative research into complex, human-centered, and culture-specific environments.

Turner (2010) described three different types of qualitative interview; Informal Conversation (unstructured), General Interview Guide (semi-structured), and Standardised Open-Ended (structured). Clearly an informal conversation is unlikely to draw out the necessary information in any consistent manner over a limited number of interviews. On the other hand, a heavily structured interview is likely limit interviewees' ability to develop a flowing personal narrative. Thus, a semi-structured interview occupies the 'Goldilocks zone' – enough form to ensure continuity in the data presented by various informants yet enough flexibility to allow for interviewees to take tangents to illustrate life incidents that affected their career path and/or their personal perspective – critical events. Silverman (2013) proposed that, in order to conduct semi-structured interviews, the interviewer requires a prepared set of questions – a schedule – but advised that these should only be used as a guide, that departures are to be encouraged rather than being seen as a problem,

An interview schedule was drafted that drew directly from the literature review (Chapter 5), Questions were designed to draw out critical events relating to personal and professional identity formation and the (potential) achievement of agency. They were

sequenced to allow for a chronological flow of narrative around the temporal framework of the *chordal triad* of the achievement of agency (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998; Biesta et al, 2015): asking questions about the past – Iterational – the interviewees present work situation - Practical-Evaluative - and their future plans - Projective.

This draft schedule was constructed in line Shulman's (1979) guidance on *Grand Tour* questions. This was then tested by conducting interviews with two volunteers – retired teachers who met the criteria to be classified as cross-over. These interviews were transcribed, and the interview schedule further revised. Ultimately, a semi-structured Interview Schedule was developed (APPENDIX D). These practice sessions also highlighted weaknesses in interviewing technique (e.g. a tendency to engage in conversation) that could be addressed in the 'real' interviews.

The reliability of qualitative data is inevitably problematic. Webster and Mertova (2007, p. 99) highlight the need to ensure the truthfulness or *'verisimilitude'* of any narrative inquiry. They identified three dimensions of verisimilitude. Firstly, the critical incidents cited should resonate with the researcher's own experience, secondly, that the reporting should appear truthful and thirdly, that the truthfulness of accounts should be discernible from their similarity with other events described by the interviewee.

The relationship between the researcher and the informant is critical. It needs to be carefully negotiated – all-the-more-so when the research requires the informant to engage with potentially sensitive issues. Bruner (1991) identified that, for successful narrative communication, both the storyteller and the listener must have an understanding of the background knowledge of the other. Bryson and McConville (2014, p. 20) advised that "it is important to strike the right balance between giving an open account of yourself and maintaining a degree of professional detachment". Accordingly, before each interview commenced, the interviewee was provided with an informal, verbal précis of the principle researcher's own path and his previous involvement in educational programmes, educational management and the administration of education.

Participants need to be encouraged and supported to share their stories and the researcher must be unambiguous about his/her preparedness to listen. Egan's (2010) SOLER communication skills - sitting squarely, open body language, leaning forward, maintaining eye contact, staying relaxed) - and the Ten Active Listening Skills prescribed by Nelson-Jones (2013) were consciously employed in all of the interviews.

8.3 Interviewee Selection

Just under 9% (n = 91) of the 1,015 respondents to the online survey had indicated in their responses that they would be willing to assist further with the research. By cross-referencing these with their responses elsewhere in the survey it was possible to identify those teachers who could be classified within the parameters of the research as Teaching Across the Divide. With this filter applied, it was identified that 74 of those who had indicated a willingness to contribute further to the research could be designated as 'Cross-Over' (Table 36).

Primary School Sector Attended	Sector of School Currently Teaching in	Number of Volunteers willing to be interviewed
Educated in Maintained PS	Controlled PS	3
	Integrated PS	14
	Controlled Post PS	11
	Integrated Post PS	11
	Non-Catholic Grammar	7
Educated in Controlled PS	Maintained PS	3
	Integrated PS	12
	Maintained Post PS	6
	Integrated Post PS	4
	Non-Catholic Grammar	3

Table 36. Cross-Over Teachers Volunteering to Assist Research

8.4 Data Saturation and Sufficiency

Qualitative research has traditionally sought to achieve data saturation; the stage at which "no new properties, dimensions, conditions, actions/interactions, or consequences are seen in the data" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 136) – in essence, the point at which further data collection brings no new information. Saturation is however affected not just by the quantity of material; the quality of the data, the skill of the researcher, the ambition and scope of the enquiry and its design will also impact upon the stage at which saturation occurs (Charmaz, 2006; Ritchie et al, 2003; Morse, 2000).

> In qualitative inquiry, the aim is not to acquire a fixed number of participants rather it aims to gather sufficient depth of information as a way of fully describing the phenomenon being studied (O'Reilly and Parker, 2012, p. 195).

It is argued that it is both ill-advised and arguably impossible to be too prescriptive about the number of interviews to be conducted.

> The point of saturation is… a rather difficult point to identify and of course a rather elastic notion. New data (especially if theoretically sampled) will always add something new, but there are diminishing returns, and the cut off between adding to emerging findings and not adding, might be considered inevitably arbitrary (Mason, 2010, Para. 60).

Malterud et al (2015) proposed that the number of sources required to achieve saturation would be dependent upon the subjects' 'Information Power' – fundamentally, the more relevant information the sample holds, the smaller the number informants that will be required. Guest et al (2006), for example, found that saturation could occur within the first twelve interviews, and that basic elements for meta-themes might be present after only six interviews. Brannen (2014) went so far as to suggest that, in some instances, a single case may be sufficient.

> If a decision is made to focus on one case, then so be it. It may be that this is sufficient as the case is unique and it is not comparable with other cases. A complex case may indeed take all the resources available (Brannen, 2014, p. 17).

There is also however, a pragmatic requirement to ensure that the task of data collection is manageable within the constraints of time and other limited resources. Accordingly, to allow for planning, an approximation of sample size is necessary – the adequacy of the final sample size must nevertheless be continuously evaluated during the research process. Establishing data sufficiency within a narrative inquiry is particularly problematic given the thick, rich descriptions that can be provided by participants. Traditionally data sufficiency was noted when there was repetition of recurring themes and when no new themes emerged. The development of a Purposive Sample is an accepted means of creating a practical solution to the challenge of ensuring data sufficiency within a small-scale research project.

8.5 Establishing a Purposive Sample

> The recurring answer to the question 'how many' is 'it depends' (Baker and Edwards, 2014, p. 42).

Etikan et al (2016, p. 2) define the purposive sampling technique as "the deliberate choice of a participant due to the qualities the participant possesses". The simple idea behind purposive sampling is that the researcher should concentrate on those people with particular characteristics that are relevant to the research – specifically those that possess Information Power. For Miles and Huberman (1994) the primary emphasis of purposive sampling methods is to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under

investigation by continuing to sample until data saturation is achieved; until no new substantive information is acquired. It is therefore a non-random technique; the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people who are able (and are willing) to provide the information by virtue of their knowledge or experience.

For this study, teachers needed to be selected that were ‘deviant’ from the norm (i.e. the community consistent teacher) by virtue of their ethnically atypical career-path. The sample needed to have a degree of balance between the range of possible classifications of cross-over and, in particular, to ensure that the stories of those cross-over teachers are captured, who are most anomalous in the school sector within which they are employed. This process of selecting candidates from across a broad spectrum relating to the topic of study is known as *Heterogeneous* or *Maximum Variation Sampling*. A matrix was devised to ensure a balanced representation from cross-over teachers in all of the school sectors that were considered to be relevant in the context of the research (Table 37).

PRIMARY	Teaching in Maintained PS	Teaching in Controlled PS	Teaching in Integrated PS
Attended Maintained PS	N/A	3	3
Attended Controlled PS	3	N/A	3
SECONDARY	Teaching in Maintained PPS	Teaching in Controlled PPS	Teaching in Integrated PPS
Attended Maintained PS	N/A	3	3
Attended Controlled PS	3	N/A	3
GRAMMAR	Teaching in Catholic GS		Teaching in Non-Catholic GS
Attended Maintained PS	N/A		3
Attended Controlled PS	3		N/A

Table 37. Purposive Sample Matrix

This matrix was populated by a randomly selecting three teachers from within each of the identified ten categories of cross-over. Three of these categories – Attended Controlled PS teaching in Maintained PS, Attended Controlled PS teaching in Catholic Grammar School and Attended Maintained PS teaching in Controlled PS – contained only three potential informants; the selection of these volunteers was consequently a zugzwang.

8.6 Ethical Considerations, Protocols and Logistical Arrangements

The ethical protocols required by the university were adhered to throughout the data collection process. An interview schedule had been drafted and submitted to the relevant Ulster ethics committee in June 2016 – this schedule was amended in light of comments made by the committee and revised following further reading and reflection. The original draft interview schedule was further amended in the light of testing (see above). The ethical implications of these modifications were considered again and the university authorities issued the necessary approval for the fieldwork to progress (APPENDIX B).

With ethical approval in place and the interview schedule tested, all those potential interviewees who had been selected as meeting the criteria to fit the requirements of the various components of the purposive sample were then contacted by email; thanked for their offer to assist further with the research and offered the opportunity to withdraw should they no longer be interested/willing to participate. Information on the nature and purpose of the research was provided as an attachment to that email (APPENDIX E).

Some weeks later, potential interviewees were contacted again to request a proposed time, date and location for the interview. Inevitably, those who were most forthcoming were interviewed first. Some potential interviewees did not respond to these initial requests. Despite the relative anonymity associated with the C2K email addresses, it proved possible, to identify the schools in which some of these willing, but unhurried, respondents were employed. These schools were contacted by telephone, and the relevant teacher was asked for by surname (which was discernible from the email address) – most schools also had websites which included a staff list through which the title of the teacher could be obtained i.e. Miss, Ms, Mrs or Mr.

Using these techniques, it proved possible to arrange appointments to interview 28 of the 30 teachers that had volunteered and been originally identified. One teacher proved impossible to identify and locate – she was removed from the list and replaced with another, randomly chosen, teacher who fitted the same cross-over criteria. Another teacher with whom an interview had been scheduled had asked for our meeting to be re-scheduled on several occasions; he ultimately chose to withdraw from the research and this place was filled in the same manner.

Elliot (2005) identified two primary ethical considerations for any narrative inquiry: Informed Consent and Confidentiality. Consent forms were submitted to the ethics

committee for their consideration and approval was granted in May 2016 – every respondent received and completed a consent form ahead of the interview commencing (APPENDIX F). Recording only started after the consent form had been signed. Interviewees were provided with a copy of this form for their own records. Prior to the commencement of the interview, contributing teachers were informed that if, on reflection, they decided that they wished to withdraw any or all of their interview, that this would only be possible before the thesis had been submitted. In the event, one interviewee did ask during her interview that a specific section be withdrawn – following subsequent discussion, reassurance and clarification she reconsidered and agreed that this could be retained. A second interviewee made contact after her interview had taken place and asked for a short section to be removed due to family sensitivities – this was agreed; she subsequently emailed a paragraph to replace the sentences which she had asked to have omitted.

To ensure confidentiality, each interviewee was assigned a unique, alphanumerical code to assist in classification and organisation and to enable the reader to identify at a glance the type and sector of the school at which the interviewee was teaching. The interviews were recorded digitally and this code was used in the labelling of the digital file, the interview transcript and related field-notes. In line with Ulster ethical protocols these files were saved in a password-protected OneDrive folder. The following codes were applied:

1 = Primary	a = Controlled
2 = Post Primary	b = Maintained
	c = Integrated
3 = Grammar	d = Catholic Voluntary Grammar
	e = Non-Catholic Voluntary Grammar

Once a date, time and location for the interview had been agreed, each individual respondent was assigned a simple sequential number: in the range 01 to 30.

These three components were organised in the following sequence: School type (i.e. numerical – 1, 2 and 3), School sector (i.e. letter – a, b, c, d and e), Individual interviewee number (i.e. numerical 01-30). Thus, interview material listed as 1b07 could be identified as a primary school teacher (1), who had crossed the divide *into* the Maintained sector (b) and who was chronologically the seventh teacher to have agreed to be interviewed as part

of this research (07). These codes were then used to organise all material relating to each interview.

In recognition of the potential for sensitivities around the research, a critical component of the ethical requirements was that the identity of those teachers who assisted by providing interviews would remain anonymous. The two dominant communities in NI lack the racial and linguistic identifiers associated with many ethnic conflicts – both communities are overwhelmingly white and, on the whole, English speaking. Names, however, are central to the process of 'telling' community identity. Historical patterns of migration and other population movements between Great Britain and Ireland in combination with generations of limited cross-community social opportunities and the in-community censure attracted by mixed marriages (particularly, although not exclusively, on the Protestant side) have contributed to a situation where surnames with a family root on the island of Ireland are generally considered as being Catholic whilst surnames of an Anglo-scots origin are more commonly associated with the Protestant community. Likewise, the names of saints and those forenames drawn from Irish heritage, language and folklore are generally perceived as being Catholic; by way of contrast, the Protestant communities have traditionally assigned their offspring names drawn from the Old Testament or British royalty (Trew, 2004).

To a greater or lesser extent, these 'rules' affect interactions when individuals from the two dominant communities come into conversation. The direct question 'are you Catholic or Protestant?' is rarely asked; instead the combination of forename and surname is understood to be a strong indication of the bearer's likely community identity (see Burton, 1978).

A small number of those teachers defined as Protestant who were interviewed for the research bore forenames that might be more readily associated with the Catholic community whilst a few of the Catholic teachers had 'Protestant-sounding' names. For the sake of clarity and ease of identification the convention adopted for the anonymization of interviewees' names has followed the rubrics identified above; the anonymised names assigned to each of the interviewees are in line with those names that might be expected given their community identity. Each interviewee has been assigned only an anonymised forename. Surnames are not used at any stage in the script.

Northern Ireland is a remarkably small place and those employed as teachers make up a small proportion of those living within it. As has been shown, cross-over teachers are something of an anomaly. Consequently, school names and geographical location may also serve as identifiers with the potential to deprive an informant of their anonymity; accordingly, they do not appear anywhere in this document. In order to ensure clarity and context, however, where necessary the school sector has been identified as has the character of the school's location i.e. rural, suburban or urban.

In line with the above, Table 38 (below) was constructed. This details interviewees' aliases, their code numbers, the school sector in which they are employed, the 'location' of that school and the nature of their cross-over.

	Controlled PS			Maintained PS			Integrated PS		
School Type	Number	Location	Name	Number	Location	Name	Number	Location	Name
Attended Controlled PS				1b13	Urban	Heather	1c30	Urban	Elizabeth
				1b01	Rural	Leah	1c15	Urban	Andrew
				1b12	Urban	Rebecca	1c28	Semi-urban	Jane
Attended Maintained PS	1a09	Rural	Clodagh				1c10	Urban	Eimear
	1a18	Semi-urban	Katrina				1c19	Semi-urban	Grainne
	1a11	Urban	Sean				1c27	Semi-urban	Ashleen
School Type	Controlled PPS			Maintained PPS			Integrated PPS		
	Number	Location	Name	Number	Location	Name	Number	Location	Name
Attended Controlled PS				2b03	Rural	Paula	2c29	Rural	Sophie
				2b16	Rural	Alison	2c22	Semi-urban	Cathy
				2b07	Rural	Norma	2c17	Urban	Lindsay
Attended Maintained PS	2a02	Urban	Mairead				2c06	Urban	Niamh
	2a20	Rural	Thomas				2c25	Semi-urban	Dervla
	2a23	Urban	Maeve				2c26	Semi-urban	Ailish

School Type	Non-Catholic GS			Catholic Voluntary GS		
	Number	Location	Name	Number	Location	Name
Attended Controlled PS				3d04	Urban	Anna
				3d05	Urban	Hannah
				3d24	Urban	Craig
Attended Maintained PS	3e08	Semi-urban	Orla			
	3e14	Urban	Gerrard			
	3e21	Urban	Paddy			

Table 38. Teacher Aliases, Sectors and Cross-over Descriptors

8.7 Transcription

> No matter how faithful the transcript, it is at best a translation of what transpired in the course of the interview (Bryson and McConville, 2014, p. 37).

Since narratives are shaped or co-constructed between teller and listener, analysis requires attention to be paid both to this interaction and to the wider social and cultural conditions within which the interview takes place (Phoenix, 2008).

Transcripts of the interviews were produced that were verbatim records of that which was said by both the interviewee and interviewer. Where practicable, standard English Grammar and punctuation was used throughout – there were however some exceptions to this principle. Interviewees did not always apply proper grammar, syntax or sentence formation when telling their stories. Obviously, none of the spoken narratives featured formal punctuation. On occasion, minor corrections were made to ensure that confusing or incomplete sentences did not obscure the intended meaning. Where such modifications were considered necessary, this was indicated in the transcript by the use of square parentheses (i.e. [ ]). Where a series of phrases or clauses were linked, a dash was employed (i.e. –) to indicate their connection and, at the same time, to maintain the flow of the dialogue.

'Um', 'Ah', 'like', 'you know' and other similar fillers were included in the transcripts where they either added to the context or their inclusion was necessary to maintain the fluency of the narrative. Some interviewees had a style of speech which involved repetition of the same statement (or sections of the same statement) several times in rapid succession. Where it was considered that such repetition did very little to develop the interviewee's story, this too was omitted from the transcript.

At times, external events interrupted the flow of the interview – the arrival of a colleague into the room, a mobile phone going off – these were noted in the transcript but any conversation that took place as a direct consequence of the interruption was not transcribed. Over the course of the interview, a number of the interviewees deviated onto tangents that took them into areas unrelated to the interview schedule. These digressions were also generally omitted – where such an omission occurs, this has been indicated by use of ellipses (i.e. …).

It is impossible to fully represent the expression of emotion or the change in timbre of an individual's voice in a verbatim transcription – such linguistic devices do however

provide additional information/context and may significantly change the meaning of what was being said. In such instances, clarifications were included within the body of the text – these explanations were identified through the use of braces (i.e. { }).

Digital recordings were retained as a back-up to the transcribed text; these were listened to again as required during the process of analysing the narrative. All records, transcript and recordings were anonymised and stored in accordance with ethical protocols.

8.8 Qualitative Data Collection: Process Review

Interviews were conducted with 30 teachers in line with the purposive sample matrix (Table 37) and took place between 19th July and 23rd November 2017. The bulk of these (n=24) took place during October and November 2017. The average duration of the interviews was just under one hour ($\bar{x}$ = 57 minutes), with the shortest interview lasting just over 30 minutes and the longest taking more than 1 hour 40 minutes.

Twenty interviews were transcribed in full by the principal researcher in line the protocols described above; the transcription of the remaining ten interviews was assigned to a professional typist – an agreed 'soft-touch' confidentiality contract (approved by Ulster ethics) was put in place ahead of the exchange of data. All of those interviewed were employed as teachers in mainstream primary and post primary schools in NI at the time of interview – not all held permanent posts, not all worked full-time. Four interviewees were not actually working in a school at the time that they were interviewed – although they all had been when they had completed the online survey during the previous school year. One had taken a career break, another was on protracted sick-leave (precipitated by a series of events relevant to the research theme) and two were on maternity leave. In addition, one interviewee had been reassigned to another teaching post - a consequence of on-going, work-based issues related to the research theme.

At the time at which the interviews took place, twenty-eight of the interviewees were still contracted to work in the school at which they had been employed when they completed the survey: one (Catholic) teacher had completed the survey whilst employed in a temporary post in a Controlled post primary school but had subsequently gained employment in a non-Catholic grammar school and one (Protestant) teacher had completed the survey whilst on a contract at a CCMS primary school. When this contract had come to an end she had reverted to providing short-term substitute cover in a number of schools in various sectors.

Six male and 24 female teachers were interviewed (i.e. 20% Male and 80% Female); this is broadly reflective of the composition of teaching workforce by gender as recorded by DE (2017) (i.e. 23% Male and 77% Female). The respondents were distributed across all career stages – from those approaching retirement to teachers who had recently completed ITE. The informants also represented a range with regard to their career progression and the degrees of management responsibility. The sample included teachers, senior teachers, heads of department, vice-principals and principals.

The teachers interviewed were employed in 27 different schools – three schools were represented twice; one Integrated primary school, one Integrated post primary and one Maintained post primary. The 18 post primary teachers that were interviewed taught a range of subjects including: Religious Education, Physical Education, Learning for Life and Work, Home Economics, Key Skills, English, Art, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, General Science, Local and Global Citizenship, and History.

The schools in which the teacher-interviewees were employed were drawn from across NI (Fig. 25.)

Fig. 25 Distribution of Interviewees by School Location

All five areas of EA were present in the cohort - Western (n = 6), Southern (n = 3), South Eastern (n = 5), North Eastern (n = 5) and Belfast (n = 11). This distribution is reflective of the regional uptake of the survey generally. It was notable that half of the interviewees (n = 15) were employed in schools in the Belfast Lough-Belfast City-Lagan Valley Corridor; this is in-line with the distribution of population and corresponding school density in NI.

8.9 Analysing Qualitative Data

Subjectivity is inherent within the social sciences (and may, as Drapeau (2002) suggests, be one of its strengths). Qualitative research is, perhaps inevitably, always open to criticisms of partiality and of reflecting the researcher's personal biases. It is recognised that the dialogical nature of narrative inquiry means that the stories that emerge will, to some extent, have been 'co-constructed' between the interviewee and the interviewer (Squire et al, 2014). It is vital therefore to be able to assert that appropriate steps have been taken to ensure that the conclusions are robust; that they have been drawn following a rigorous and transparent processes of analysing the available data.

Narrative research generates huge quantities of very rich material from the lives and experiences of those individuals who engaged in the research process. The collation and verbatim transcription of in-depth interviews with a purposive sample of 30 cross-over teachers (as described in the previous chapter) produced a huge quantity of very rich data; amounting to approximately a quarter of a million words. In order to extract an understanding from an otherwise unwieldy quantity of words, this data needed to be structured in a coherent and consistent manner.

> A common problem faced by researchers… is that they are flooded with personal experiences. They know too much in a genuine sense about the areas and events they wish to study. What to do with all that experiential data? (Strauss,1987, pp 160-161).

The systematic organisation of this data is essential if it is to be analysed – if patterns are to be identified, connections recognised, and conclusions drawn.

> In order to arrive at explanations of social situations or processes, we need to systematically reduce the complexity of the information we generated in the qualitative data collection. While it is absolutely central to qualitative research to create this complexity in the first place, it is nevertheless essential to reduce it in order to arrive at generalized explanations (Gläser and Laudel, 2013, p. 20).

The origins of *coding* as it is currently applied as an analytical tool in the social sciences lie in the seminal work of Glaser and Strauss (1967) and, in particular, their 'Constant Comparative' method. Each of the various research traditions in the social sciences has subsequently developed its own coding models and language – these are inevitably contested and debated by their various advocates (see Saldaña, 2016). Notwithstanding the epistemological and ontological nuances and subtleties, the ultimate purpose of all coding is to aid the emergence of the researcher's understanding of the complex social phenomena under investigation. A clear coding protocol allows the researcher to illustrate the rigour of their process of analysis and provide substantiation for the conclusions drawn. Research data that has been systematically coded is more likely to produce conclusions that are difficult for critics to dismiss or refute.

The range of coding methods used across the social sciences was reviewed by Lyn Richards (Richards and Morse, 2007; Richards, 2009). She identified that, essentially, the different models have a great deal in common with one another, particularly with regard to the way in which each seeks to review data by using a series of different coding processes to extract the maximum understanding from the material at the researcher's disposal. This significant commonality across all techniques led Richards to propose a generic three-step coding approach – Descriptive, Topic and Analytic.

Descriptive Coding involves the storing of variables against values defined as being appropriate within the frame of the research - it requires no text selection process and little interpretation (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 57). Topic Coding is more complex and challenging and entails creating a category (or recognising one from earlier) and reflecting on its place in the emerging understanding of the research questions being asked (Richards, 2009, p. 139). Topic Coding is necessarily an iterative process; as it progresses more and more categories will emerge, and the process of coding becomes increasingly analytic.

Analytical Coding is the type of coding that attracts most debate - the exact processes differ with the methodological focus. Essentially, however, repeated analytical coding allows the researcher to be alerted to new themes, to explore and develop new concepts, and to pursue comparisons within the data (Gläser and Laudel, 2013). Raw data, collected and transcribed in line with the theoretical framework being used, is organised and brought together to detect patterns – by examining and re-examining these patterns the data can then be brought back together in an integrated manner so that answers to the

research question may be unearthed and theory developed to explain the phenomenon under investigation. The benefits of keeping analytic memos (the recording of thoughts and reflections as coding progresses) alongside this process has been recognised since the 'discovery' of Grounded Theory and memos are now widely used across all qualitative research methods (Chapman and Francis, 2008).

Coding inevitably requires and creates a great deal of physical material – many, many sheets of data. Managing such large quantities of qualitative data poses many challenges and traditional, manual methods can be cumbersome and resource-intensive. Computer Aided Qualitive Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS or QDAS) has proven benefits including: time-saving, flexibility, ensuring heightened levels of validity and auditability, and freeing the researcher from clerical tasks. It is vital however to recognise that "computers do not and cannot analyse qualitative data" (Roberts and Wilson, 2002, p. 21) and that the computer software is a research tool that should not "take control" of the research process (García-Horta and Guerra-Ramos, 2009).

The QDAS package developed by QRS International (NVivo) is a proven and effective instrument for managing the aggregation of large amounts of data for comparison and analysis (Bazeley and Jackson 2013). King (2004, p. 263) argued that NVivo is an invaluable data management tool that allows the researcher to index segments of text to particular themes, to link research notes to coding, to carry out complex search and retrieve operations, and thereby aids the researcher in examining possible relationships between the themes. NVivo facilitates the management of large sets of qualitative data – in almost any format. Its usage consequently offers benefits in respect of both time and efficiency. NVivo 11 was used as a data management tool during the process of coding and analysis.

8.10 Analysing Narrative Data

Coding is an essential qualitative research process. It allows the researcher to organise, analyse, understand and interpret large and complex amounts of data. As coding progresses the data passes through a number of cycles. The process needs to be reflected upon, and informed, by the making of memos.

Riessman (2002) proposes that the purpose of data analysis in a narrative inquiry is to discover the ways in which participants impose order on the flow of experience and thereby make sense of actions and events in their lives – and that, in order to reach this

understanding, the narrative researcher may apply four main types of analysis: thematic, structural, interactional and performative.

In narrative thematic analysis the emphasis is on the content of "what" it is that is said, rather than "how" it is said – the "told" rather than the "telling". Structural analysis by comparison places the emphasis on examining the *way* in which a story is told - thematic content remains present but the focus of analysis shifts to look at the ways in which the informant makes her story persuasive. As has already been illustrated, any story that emerges in a narrative interview will, to some extent, have been co-produced between teller and listener - Interactional analysis focuses on this collaboration. Finally, in Performative analysis, interest goes beyond the spoken word to examine how the informant engages with the audience in the way that they use language and gesture.

Using the acronym RITES, Leggo (2008) devised a five-step heuristic method for the analysis of narrative data:

- Step One Read – the collected data
- Step Two Interrogate – the material
- Step Three Thematise – identify commonalities
- Step Four Expand – review the themes identified
- Step Five Summarise (Leggo, 2008, pp 6-7)

For Riessman, one of the merits of narrative analysis is the fact that it seeks to preserve the "wealth of detail" (Riessman, 2008, pp.74), however, in so doing, it has also been open to the criticism that it a method that unduly stresses the importance of the individual over the social context (e.g. Clandinin and Connelly, 2000). Since the focus of this research is the is the intersection between the individual, their identity and their role in a specific social situation (i.e. a school), standard narrative analysis offers a poor methodological fit - an alternative method is required.

Polkinghorne (1995) draws a distinction between *narrative-type* narrative inquiry (which uses events and happenings as its data and applies narrative analytic procedures to produce explanatory stories) and *paradigmatic-type* narrative inquiry (which gathers stories but uses paradigmatic analytic procedures to produce taxonomies and categories out of the common elements across all of the data). He illustrates how, by providing a familiar and decontextualized knowledge of the world, the *paradigmatic-type* of narrative

research "allow[s] us to manage the uniqueness and diversity of each experience" within a "conceptually identified situation" (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 11).

In the light of this, in order to develop some generalisable understanding of the data that can answer the research question a *hybrid* approach is required. The data was necessarily collected using applied narrative techniques – the analysis of these interviews however requires that this data is broken down into groups of similar items that can then be inspected to identify the common, defining attributes[89]. The analytical method must be focused and detailed; to allow the narrative to be broken down without losing sight of the *whole story*. Both diachronic data (accounts of the sequence of personal events in historical context) and synchronic data (information about the current situation) need to be accommodated. Whilst some focus is needed on the ways in which the story has been told – sequencing, specific language, pauses and emotion (particularly laughter) – the focus in this project is primarily on content and themes rather than a detailed discourse analysis.

Shukla et al (2014) illustrated how, by combining the distinct but complementary methods of narrative inquiry and thematic analysis, qualitative researchers were able gain insight into young people's construction of identity and agency. The primary task in this research project is to gain an understanding of the experiences of the cross-over teacher, how these have affected their identity and how that identity affects their professional persona and agency.

Thematic analysis allows for the organisation and description of data in great detail. The analyst is required to visit and revist the material; coding, recoding, naming, renaming and relocating data as issues of research interest emerge. Braun and Clarke (2006) identified six steps within this recursive process: familiarisation with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the final report. They advocated that, through these cycles, the data should be reviewed at two interpretative levels: Descriptive Analysis (a literal description of events) and Conceptual Analysis (reflection and the identification of deeper meaning). Ultimately, the aim of these processes is to develop clusters of meaning or 'Themes' (Braun and Clarke, 2013). The rich description of the data-set that is facilitated through

[89] In many instances the dissection of rich personal narratives proved particularly difficult – there is considerable capacity for a focussed review of these using conventional narrative analysis methodology.

thematic analysis means that the method is well suited to the analysis of data generated in a narrative inquiry (e.g. Hajisoteriou, et al, 2015).

Javadi and Zarea (2016) point out that, just like other qualitative methods, thematic analysis has a number of potential pitfalls that may result in weak analysis. They warn that, by adopting a simplistic perspective, the researcher can destroy the value and validity of the work and produce desired results rather than rigorously deducted findings. Analysis must produce more than just a series of similar data that simply paraphrases the data content and has been organised with a little a low-level analysis. Whilst some idiosyncratic stories may be interesting or revealing in themselves, the researcher must be wary of anecdotalism, and not depict them as overarching theme. The researcher needs to reach beyond specific content in order to tell the reader what the data means or *may* mean.

They also stress that the researcher needs to refrain from personal inferences and specific prejudgments in order to ensure that any claims made are proportional with the available data. If the analysis is weak or unconvincing, then the themes may have high levels of overlap or lack internal coherence and consistency.

> Material analysis (analysis of a subject) is an assessed, self-conscious and artistic creation that is made coherent by the researcher for convincing the reader in presenting a discussion as justifiable (Javadi and Zarea, 2016, p. 39).

In recognition of these potential pitfalls analysis of the narrative data commenced using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-steps model.

8.11 Six Step Thematic Analysis

Step 1: "Familiarisation with the data"

> The fewer the steps between a computer and the raw data the better off you will be (Looney 2016, p. 15).

As has been documented, the interviews were all conducted in a relatively short time period and two-thirds of these had been transcribed by the principal researcher; those that had been externally transcribed were intensely re-read whilst listening to the digital recording of the interview. Each script was accompanied by field notes made concurrently with (or shortly after) each interview – the process of making these allowed for a 'brain dump' and an *internal monologue* about the data (Saldaña, 2016, p. 44). The data was consequently 'very familiar'.

The transcription of the remaining ten interviews was assigned to a remote secretarial service[90] – as these were returned, they were comprehensively re-read to ensure accuracy and to correct any errors (e.g. the spelling of unfamiliar place-names). These were then uploaded (along with the accompanying field-notes) into QRS International QDAS: NVivo 11. The process of coding commenced in earnest with the reading and re-reading of all thirty transcripts and accompanying notes.

Step 2: "Generating Initial Codes"
'Case classifications' (by: Gender, School Type, Community of Origin and Union Membership) were established in respect of each respondent once all of the data had been filed within NVivo 11. Ryan and Bernard (2003) drew attention to the value of identifying the repetition of words in developing codes and themes. The process of moving towards the drawing up Initial Codes was therefore assisted by the creation a word map (Fig. 26) through which the most commonly occurring 100 words were identified.

Initial codes were then generated by looking for patterns from the data (Guest et al, 2012). The data was 'collapsed' into labels in order to create categories for more efficient analysis – "data reduction" – and, at the same time, inferences were drawn as to what each of the codes meant – "data complication".

Data was coded primarily in a semantic manner (i.e. what was actually said by the interviewee - looking at the explicit and surface meaning of the data) and, only to a lesser extent, latently (i.e. interpreting the underlying nature of what was being said). It is recognised that by adopting this approach much of the depth and complexity of individual narratives will have been lost but it does have the benefit of allowing for a rich description of the entire data set.

All material was then thoroughly re-read and key statements/sections of narrative were identified that had relevance to the research question. Data was extracted and systematically organised into codes by the identification of patterns of repetition and recognition of similarities and differences (i.e. constant comparison). This second phase of TA produced 110 separate codes (APPENDIX G).

[90] Ethical approval was obtained from the University Authorities in respect of this.

Fig. 26 Step 2 "Initial Coding" – Word Map

Step 3: "Developing Categories"

Had a Grounded Theory methodology been adopted for this project, then themes could only have legitimately emerged from the data – through analysis; the data would have directly informed the development of entirely *new* theory. In marked contrast, the pragmatic epistemology at the core of this project, allows for analysis of the data gathered through the lens of a pre-existing theory. The *chordal triad* of the 'Agency-as-Achievement' model had guided the qualitative data-collection process and, specifically, the structure and design of the interview questions.

> The achievement of agency is always informed by past experience, including personal and professional biographies; it is orientated towards the future, both with regard to more short-term and more long-term perspectives; and that it is enacted in the here-and-now, where such enactment is influenced by what we refer to as cultural, material and structural resources (Biesta et al 2015, p. 627).

Thus, even before the processes of data coding and thematic analysis had commenced, an *über-theme* – 'Agency-as-Achievement' – had already been identified i.e. a conceptually comprised meta-theme, constructed from two or more data-driven themes that correspond to content codes (Guest et al, 2012). This über-theme could not have been directly detected from the data and was self-evidently at a higher level of abstraction. Agency-as-Achievement was further broken down into three component themes: Iterative, Practical-Evaluative and Projective. Two additional über-themes were also created ahead of the process of 'Developing Categories': Reflection on Factors that Maintain Separation and Exercising Agency - these had also both been explicitly informed by the literature. Themes were then identified from the codes that had been generated in Step 2. These were in turn provisionally organised within the über-themes.

In order to test the 'fit' of the quantity of data coded (and thereby to enhance reliability) the frequency distribution of data assigned within each of the evolving Themes was analysed. This indicated a preponderance of, largely descriptive, material relating to the practical-evaluative theme. A significant amount of comments had also been gathered around the Iterative theme as respondents recalled seminal events in their childhood and formative years. The Projective and Reflective themes contained less coded data, but their content was never-the-less crucial to the telling of the whole story within the structure provided by the theory. Projective comments were, in particular, notably curt but informative and vital to the process of analysis.

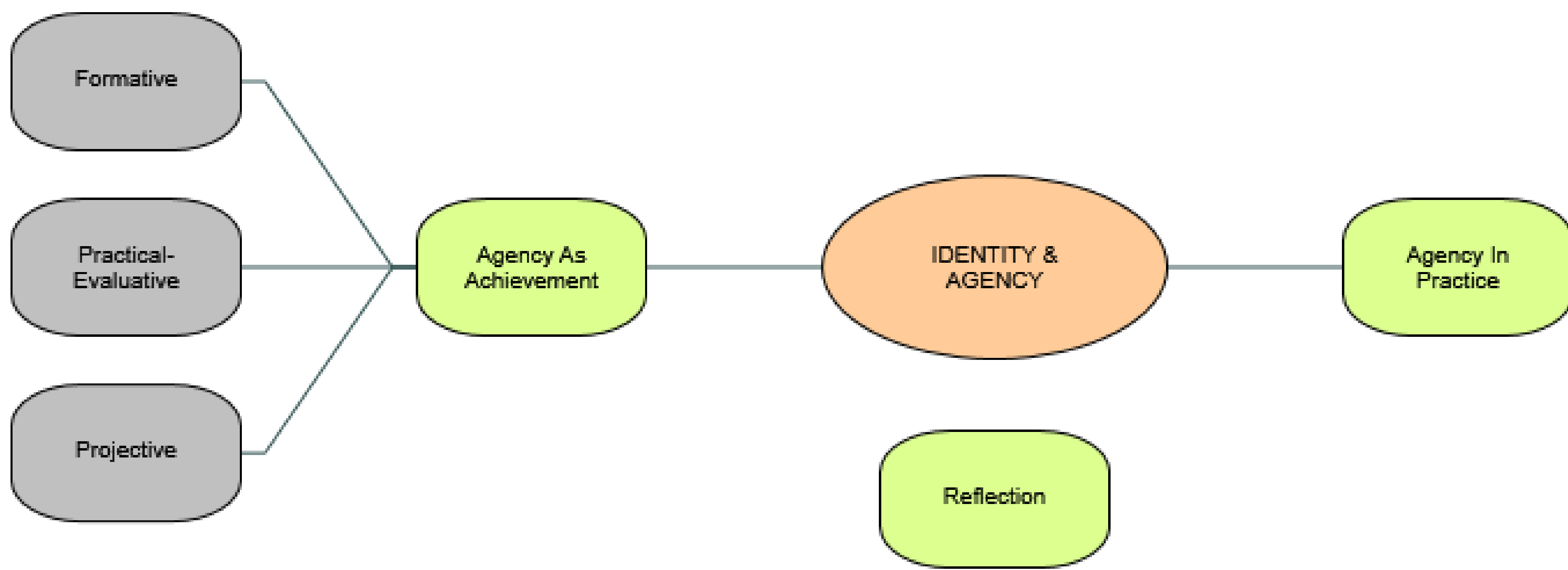


Fig. 27. The Central Organising Principle and Über-Themes

Practical Evaluative
Catholic Schools
Catholic Schools - ...
Catholic...
Catholic Schools - ...
Religion-Culture
Religion-Cul...
Religi...
Religion-Cul...
Rel...
Reli...
Controlled...
Controlle...
Staff R...
Integrated Schools
Integrated ...
Integra...
Inte...
Integrat...
Integrated ...
Integrat...
Motivation
Motivation for ...
Motivation - ...
Non-Cat...
Union ...
Fai...
Vol Gra...
Violence ...
Reflective
Crossing O...
RE cert
Secta...
Board...
Cros...
University L...
Usin...
Sectariani...
Application of agency
Community Ide...
Tea...
Community Id...
Self ...
Iterational
ITE
ITE - Stran...
ITE -...
ITE - St Ma...
Growing Up - Contact with ...
Family - Attitude to ...
The Troubles
Work - Not As Tea...
EMU
Formati...
Faith - personal ...
Mixed Marriage
Transfe...
Family...
Teach...
Family ...
Projective
Promotion - Gla...

Fig. 28. Step 3 "Developing Categories" - Prevalence of Data

Step 4: "Developing Themes"

> Codes are the building blocks for themes, (larger) patterns of meaning, underpinned by a central organizing concept - a shared core idea. Themes provide a framework for organizing and reporting the researcher's analytic observations (Clarke and Braun, 2017, p. 279).

The fourth phase involved the re-visiting the codes developed in Step 2 to ensure that they were accurately aligned into relevant themes within the three über-themes and that the data had been organised in a manner that addressed the research question. The codes within each theme were then revisited, restructured, re-organised and re-titled as required.

Step 5: "Defining and Naming Themes"

In line with Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step approach the penultimate, pre-report writing, phase involved further analysis of data that had been collated and organised. In this phase the coded-content of each theme was revisited and refined to ensure that each theme represented a discrete concept, that it that had been assigned a precise definition and that it had been accurately named. Necessary changes were made.

The individual units of coded data within each theme were subsequently re-examined to ensure that the theme that each had been assigned to was appropriate; data was reassigned as required. The (now clearly-named) themes that had emerged over the previous coding phases were reviewed again in light of their location within the central organising concept of Teacher Agency and the three über-themes. It is important to recognise that, whilst the über-themes had been defined and named in line with the theory, the fifteen Themes (and the 30 Codes that underpinned them) had emerged wholly through analysis of the research data. Definitions were developed for each of these. As with each previous phase, this process was conducted using the medium of NVivo 11 software and the results saved.

Step 6: "Producing the Report"

This iterative, multi-phase approach had ensured a high level of confidence that all relevant data had been extracted from the original transcripts and field notes and that this had been assigned correctly. The process had ensured that a story was beginning to emerge from a mass of qualitative data which had previously seemed to be overwhelming. The production of the final report was also an iterative process through which a small amount of previously coded data was re-assigned.

8.12 Ensuring quality

Qualitative studies are open to accusations of being impressionistic and imprecise – or worse still, idiosyncratic and biased. Greener (2011, pp. 105-107) stressed that, since any piece of qualitative research is likely to produce "contested and differing interpretations of events", it is particularly important to detail findings in as transparent a manner as possible; reporting should be "rich and multi-vocal". Rigour is required both in the recording of the engagement with research subjects and the analysis of the resulting data.

Four, generic, quality issues need to be addressed in any qualitative inquiry in order for the researcher to be able to address accusations of subjectivity: Credibility/Truth Value, Transferability/Applicability, Dependability/Consistency and Confirmability/Neutrality (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Guba and Lincoln, 1989).

Credibility in qualitative research may be aligned with the concept of validity in positivistic inquiries. It is an intrinsic reality that qualitative researchers can never prove beyond all reasonable doubt that they have 'got it right'; steps can however be taken to show that there is a reasonable chance that the data is accurate and appropriate. The research was extensively *grounded in fieldwork*, the researcher was immersed in the data which was then scrutinised in a systematic and consistent manner by applying six-step thematic analysis (APPENDIX G). The qualitative component was, to some extent, *triangulated* with the quantitative research and peer-reviewed academic writings. that has been documented in previous chapters

Transferability/Applicability relates to the generalisability of the findings: can it only be observed in one place or could it be transferred to other settings? As has been shown, in this project, the informants/interviewees were selected in a manner that ensured confidence that they accurately represented the phenomenon under investigation; a purposive sample was developed to allow the phenomenon of teacher cross-over to be explored from across a range of settings and from all perspectives that had been identified as being relevant. The findings are specific to the context of educational division in NI as it was manifest at the time at which the fieldwork took place, however, the precision of the targeting of a range of interviewees with *information power* allows a high degree of confidence that the findings might apply to other teachers in similar circumstances.

In order to be able to make the claim that the research has Dependability/Consistency the question needs to be asked: would the same results have been obtained if a different researcher had used exactly the same techniques? Since, as documented earlier, it is recognised that the interviewer is an integrated element in the data gathering process, such a question is obviously hypothetical. However, by providing evidence (an *audit trail*) showing that reputable procedures were used, and that reasoned decisions were made, the researcher can allow the reader to be confident that a *reliable* method was used throughout *and* that the methodology and analysis were consistent with an underlying epistemology.

"No research is ever free from the influence of those that conduct it" (Denscombe, 2010, p. 301). Given that the influence of the researcher is an inescapable dimension of the qualitative research process, reflexivity is of paramount importance to ensure Confirmability/Neutrality. As has been documented, each interview commenced with the researcher providing the informant with a precis of his own professional background. This thesis opened with biographical story that (to a significant degree) locates the researcher's age and community/ethnic background. In accepting and freely exposing his identity in this manner the researcher also acknowledges that, whilst he has endeavoured to retain an open mind throughout this project, absolute neutrality is an unattainable goal. He has provided the reader with a filter or lens through which to understand his contribution to the research process[91].

8.13 Summary

Teachers' livelihoods depend on their ability to talk. Unsurprisingly, each of the interviewees spoke fluently and at length. The thirty interviews produced a huge amount of very rich data. Organising these into a coherent body of research required significant structuring and organisation. The management and organisation of the data and the coding processes was simplified by use of NVivo 11 QDA software.

Narrative inquiry has been identified as a method well suited to exploration of under-researched social phenomenon (Squire et al, 2014). It involves the exploration of critical incidents and the building of human meanings within a social context and therefore allows the researcher to gain insight into the intertwined issues of identity and human agency (Sisson, 2016).

---

[91] For further information on biography, professional history and values see Milliken (2007)

An interview schedule was developed in line with the principles of narrative inquiry. It was built around a core set of questions that were informed by policy and relevant academic work; in particular the Agency as Achievement model (Biesta et al, 2015).

Rigorous and transparent analysis of the emerging data is vital to counter the possibility of researcher bias and thematic coding was recognised as offering a good methodological 'fit' for the analysis of data arising from an investigation into teacher identity and agency. A hybrid methodology was therefore adopted - combining the data collection techniques favoured in narrative inquiry and Braun and Clarke's 6 steps of thematic analysis.

Steps were taken to ensure that the four dimensions of research quality outlined by Guba and Lincoln (1985; 1989) were assured in the processes of data gathering and analysis.

The findings arising from the analysis of the data collected will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 9. Qualitative Data: Findings

Prior to the commencement of this research no qualitative research had ever been conducted through which an insight could be attained into those teachers who had deviated from a community consistent career path in the ethnically separated systems of education that endure in NI. As has been shown in the previous chapter, a range of measures were put in place to assure best practice in data collection and analysis, and to ensure that the quality of this original research met recognised academic standards.

The findings in this chapter have been presented in three units, each of which aligns with one of the three über-themes outlined in Fig. 27. In the first section data is analysed that has been identified as relating to cross-over teachers' reflections on the factors that serve to maintain sectoral homogeneity and the professional separation of teachers from the two communities. In the second section, interviewees' perspectives on the three constituent themes that contribute to the Achievement of Agency are presented. The information in the final section has been constructed from data coded to themes relating to the manner in which cross-over teachers have been able to apply their agency as an 'outsider' within their school.

9.1 Reflective: What maintains ethnic homogeneity in the NI teaching workforce?

Through analysis of the coded narratives relating to interviewees' reflections on the factors that may affect teachers' agency to depart from a community consistent career path, four inter-related, intrinsic themes were identified: firstly, the perceptions held by teachers; secondly, the presence of informal recruitment methods and nepotism in the appointing of staff; thirdly, the experiences of initial teacher education and university; fourthly, the attitudes and influence of the Catholic authorities (Fig. 29).

As has already been shown, policy directives (FETO exception, RE requirement in Primary schools, CRE certificate, separation of ITE) have undoubtedly contributed to the observed pattern of community consistent pattern of teacher deployment. Many of the teachers interviewed as part of this research felt however that teachers' attitudes towards (and their perceptions of) the 'other side' may also act to limit their willingness to entertain the possibility of crossing-over; such attitudes contribute to maintaining the employment patterns detailed in Chapter 7.

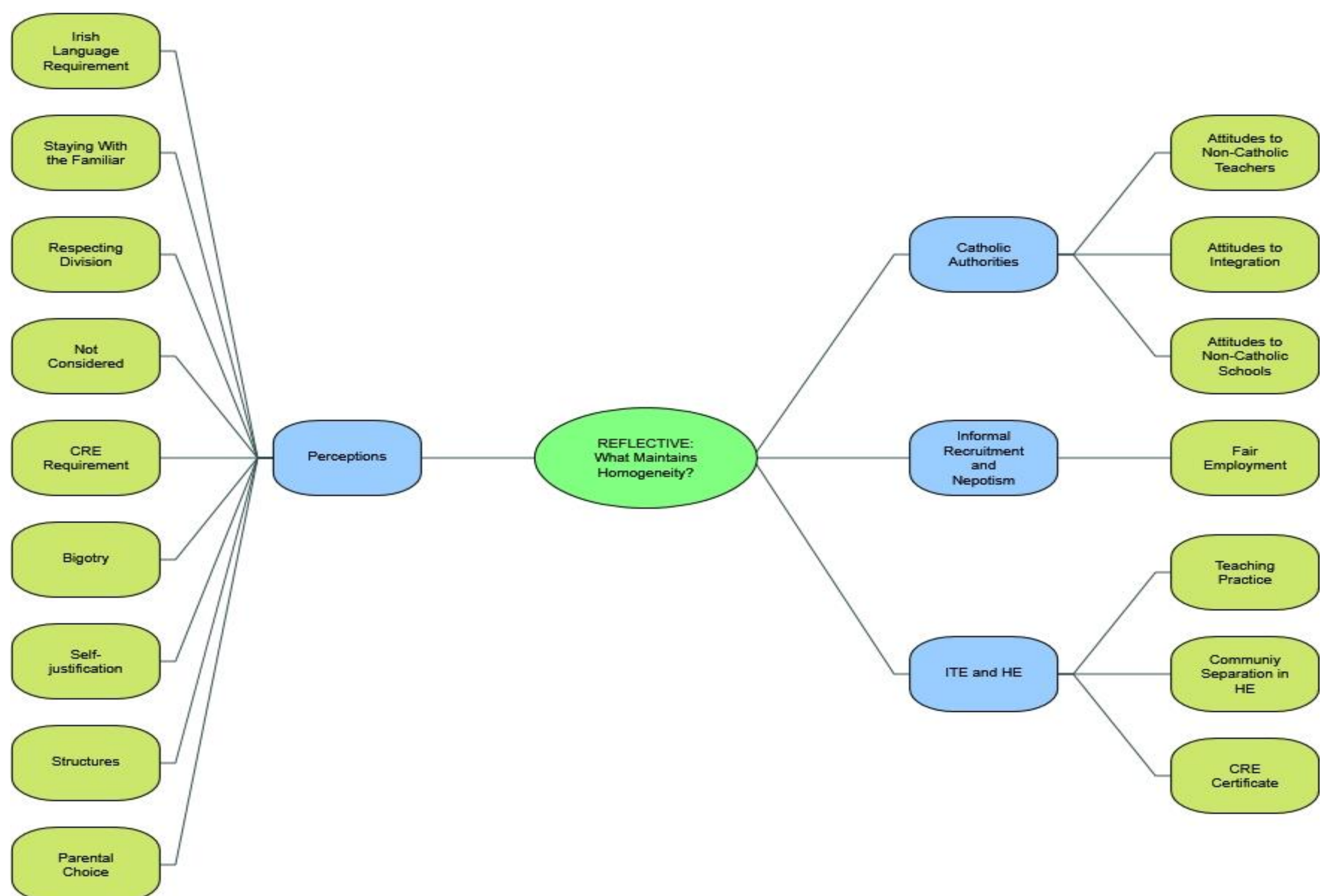


Fig. 29 Themes and Codes: Reflective

9.1.1 Perceptions

As can be seen in Fig. 29, the theme – Perceptions – was built upon the data contained in nine codes. The first of these relates to perceptions around the presence of Irish language proficiency as an occupational requirement for employment in *de facto* Catholic schools in NI. In the Republic of Ireland all primary school teachers are obliged to have the ability to not only teach the Irish language but also to be able provide instruction in Irish for all primary school subjects; post primary teachers are only required to have competency in Irish if they are employed by a school in an area designated as *Gaeltacht* or a school where Irish is the medium of instruction.

> I have a friend… teaching in the south and he's only just been able to get into a job that didn't require him to have Irish. Although he grew up in the North and was a Catholic he didn't have the Irish – he married a girl from the South, moved there. Now he's realising that there is a segregation element there (Lindsay - 2c17).

It would appear, however, that some Protestant teachers may be under the misapprehension that this is also the case in Catholic schools in Northern Ireland – and that this misunderstanding may be difficult to correct.

> I heard a friend of mine saying there was no point in her applying to Catholic schools 'cos you need to have RE and you need to have Irish. I said, "You don't". She said, "You do!" And we had a whole big argument with me about it. But you don't {EXASPERATED}, you don't need it. I didn't know what she was talking about. I've taught in Catholic school and I don't have Irish – you might need RE – I don't know where she was getting that from (Orla - 3e08).

One example was provided where this perspective had even pervaded the perspectives of someone in a senior position in Teacher Education.

> So, I went up to the Head of Faculty and I said "I'm a Protestant. I just applied for [a Catholic Grammar school]. Can I?" And he said "If I hear that once more! I am on the Board of Governors actually at that school so I can't say much more to you, but what I want to tell you this is there's a myth out there about Protestants not being apply to Catholic schools, Catholics not being able to apply to Protestant schools, it's doing my head in, of course you can! There's a thing about primary schools where you need an Irish certificate, and a certificate in religious studies[92] but in secondary schools it's a free for all. Go for it!" (Craig - 3d24).

[92] He is of course correct in asserting that an additional RE certificate is required to teach in a CCMS primary school.

Half of the teachers interviewed in the purposive sample (n=15) considered that many of their community consistent colleagues had actively sought out posts to ensure that they remained within a familiar setting – even down to a familiar geographical area or a specific school.

> A lot of teachers not only find themselves in the same sector that they have been in before but potentially even the same school… I don't even think it is a matter of being stuck in the pattern of being in the same sector. I think a lot of people actually return to the same school which is really strange, really, I think it's really insular (Sophie - 2c29).

This sense of teachers finding and *seeking comfort in the familiar* was seen as being the product of the community separation that, it was presumed, had been a feature of most teachers' own educational experience.

> Most children grow up in their own [side] Catholic children will go to Catholic primary schools – Protestant children will rarely go to Catholic primary school – they will go to the local Controlled school. Teacher training is the next problem that most Catholic teachers would go to St Mary's most Protestants would go to Stranmillis (Heather - 1b13).

It was also suggested that the relative comfort of the community consistency may also serve to inculcate a fear of the unfamiliar and, potentially, an *institutionalisation*.

> I suppose the other big thing is because our education system is segregated you will probably - unless you went to an Integrated school - you will have grown up in a state school so the whole idea of what happens within a Catholic school and what it is like might seem quite scary and different (Anna - 3d04).
>
> If you have gone through the Catholic system you know how it works. You know the local Priest, all of that and you know how it works and it's comforting (Dervla - 2c25).

The concept of *conservativism* was contrasted by one interviewee with regard to her understanding of her own personal incentive to cross-over.

> Some of the things that I find exciting and interesting are things that other people might find are strange. Intimidating. Off-putting. I can understand that being the case (Anna - 3d04).

An alternative understanding of the motivation to remain within the familiar was that, since teaching is a predominantly female profession – particularly in primary schools – and women remain (on the whole) the main carers for their children, a career in teaching can facilitate a mother both fulfilling her caring commitments *and* leading a professional life. Staying within the local and familiar may be the best way of marrying the two.

> A lot of teachers tend to stay within the same school and I think part of the reason is that a lot of teachers are also mothers. In the years when my children were very busy and going to things, the idea of moving school - I couldn't think of doing that on top of juggling full-time work and family and I think that has a big part to do with why teachers don't move as much as with changing sectors. I listen to staff here with younger children and that is a big, big factor – and you build a routine – and if you change schools you are going to have to change your routine and that is going to cause all sorts of problems if you have young children (Grainne - 1c19).

Statements were made that suggested that some teachers may have chosen not to pursue a career 'on the other side' out of respect for the status quo of ethnic separation, or that they were reluctant to take a post that might have gone to a community consistent applicant for fear of causing upset.

> I think they just think, "No but I wouldn't want to take that person's job who would fit that box or that role better." And, you know, because I think at the end of the day we are quite respectful, we just don't realise it, and, you know, if someone else fits that post better and they are of that mould then that's okay (Jane - 1c28).

As with the process of appointing teachers, so too may internal promotion within schools be an aspect that maintains the separation of teachers – both are exempted from FETO. Again, there were comments made which indicated discomfort at the idea of promoting a candidate out-with the community associated with a particular school.

> I would never put myself forward for a leadership role in a Catholic school – I wouldn't feel right – I would think that was hypocritical (Rebecca - 1b12).

Some teachers may have simply made the assumption that they would not be appointed to a school 'on the other side'. The division could thus take on the character of becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy. From the data collected in the qualitative element of this study, this had a greater tendency to be a Protestant perspective on employment prospects schools in the Catholic sector.

> I was sitting in my husband's – now in-laws – we were going out and I remember going through the paper, the Irish News I think, and [my husband] saying, "That'd be really handy. Apply for that." And me going, "That's St [-]! How could I apply for that? A Catholic school." He went, "Why not?"… I would not have even thought about it – that fear of: you have to be a Catholic to teach in a Catholic school (Norma - 2b07).

In the past, teachers would have been made aware of potential posts through newspaper advertisements. As with many aspects of life in NI, different newspapers are associated with one or other side of the community. The newspaper in which a particular post may have been advertised is likely to have pre-determined the community profile of prospective candidates. This may now be a thing of the past.

> I used to scan the paper but would never have looked at the Catholic schools. I would never have bought the Irish News… Now most school jobs are advertised through EA and that might actually help – people are seeing *all* the jobs (Hannah - 3d05).

As with the mistaken belief that evidence of competency in the Irish language is a pre-requisite for employment in any post in the Catholic sector, so too may non-Catholic applicants feel that they cannot apply for *any* teaching post in a Catholic school without the CRE. The CRE is however a stipulated requirement *only* for posts in CCMS primary schools – or post primary roles that specifically include the teaching of Religion.

> One of the big ones – people genuinely still believe that you need this RE certificate to teach in a Catholic school. And I say to people, "It's not included in the shortlisting criteria. It's not included in the interview. There's nothing different. We interview by the book. Set questions. Set criteria." There might be one [question] that mentions the Catholic ethos but all they are looking for is specific answers (Hannah - 3d05).

The CRE is however an actual rather than a perceived obstacle for non-Catholic teachers seeking employment in CCMS Primary schools. Some of the non-Catholic teachers who had gained employment in CCMS Primary schools questioned the legitimacy of the content of the CRE as an aid to teaching religion within a Catholic school. It was seen as a barrier without educational merit or practical justification.

> The certificate does not teach you anything that will help you teach in school – it will not give me more information to teach Catholic education than I already have. I know what I need to know – it's just a piece of paper that prevents me from teaching in that school… having worked 70% of my time in Catholic schools over the last 12 years I can't see how having that certificate is going to make me a better teacher to those pupils (Leah - 1b01).

Two interviewees made comments relating to the perceived existence of bigotry in respect of the employment practices on 'the other side'; both cited Protestant perceptions of Catholic schools.

> I also think some people are still very bigoted and I think some people just wouldn't teach in a Catholic school (Hannah - 3d05).

> She thought she wouldn't get the job unless she was able to hide the fact that she wasn't Catholic. I think people think that the other side are bigots (Orla - 3e08).

There is an inference within these statements that perhaps the portrayal of 'the other side' as being bigoted may actually be an incidence of transference that allows the individual to rationalise their dislike of the 'other'; thereby providing them with a justification for not seeking employment across the divide.

Some teachers may choose only to look for employment opportunities within certain, familiar community parameters – that they are unconsciously (but selectively) blind when it comes to thinking about possible jobs on 'the other side'. Teachers may justify these blinkers to themselves by simply presupposing that they are unable/ineligible to apply for posts in certain types of school – or, that if they could apply, that they would have no chance of being appointed.

> I think there are myths about the other schools: "Don't apply." "You won't get the job." "There's no point!" (Orla - 3e08).

Only one interviewee made specific reference to the role that parental choice plays in the on-going separation of teachers between the two communities.

> It would be very difficult for a non-Catholic to teach primary school, they have to teach them all that stuff, they need to know, as they are going through first communion and all that sort of stuff. And I don't know if the parents would be that keen. That's the thing, it's the parents. They perceive that they need a Catholic teaching their child in certain situations (Alison - 2b16).

Whilst Alison was unique in identifying this perspective, her perception is worthy of note – not least since the current Shared Education policy is underpinned by the principle of respecting parental choice.

The stability of the structures that support the enduring separation of the two communities through education was remarked upon in several interviews. The cycles of community self-replication through education (documented earlier) were perceived as being sustained primarily through two institutions – the British state and the Catholic church.

> Everyone around me calls them 'state schools' – and I'm a bit more open-minded in the sense that a state school is a government run school and anybody and everybody has a right to go to that… The Catholic church set up the Catholic schools - so very much it is for the Catholic population (Norma - 2b07).

The separation was seen as having been deepened through politics and upbringing within a largely mono-cultural community. It was perceived to be easier to remain within the familiar. Breaking out from these structures may prove difficult; it may be actively discouraged, and the *deserter* may be perceived as being disloyal.

> I notice that a lot of the people I did my PGCE with, because of their own background, they stayed in the Catholic sector and I think a lot of the choices they made – the structures in NI made that a whole lot easier for them – kept them hemmed in (Paddy - 3e21).

9.1.2 Informal Recruitment and Nepotism

Alongside these perceived barriers to teachers crossing-over a number of more tangible structural barriers were identified through analysis of the thirty interviews. More than half of those teachers interviewed (n = 16) made comments in respect of the ways in which they felt that informal methods of recruitment and nepotism had impacted upon staff appointments. The role of the Board of Governors (BoG) in appointing staff was viewed by some as having the potential to underpin this.

> Some of the appointments in the past – prior to me being here – {SIGHS} I don't know how the people got the jobs. Somebody knew somebody whose grandfather was on the Board of Governors – all schools have teachers like that. But we are left with it (Hannah - 3d05).

There were indications that this nepotism could potentially take on a sectarian element given that Boards of Governors are likely to be comprised, predominantly, of community consistent members.

> A Catholic school will have nine Catholics on the Board of Governors – a Protestant school will have nine Prods and, if there is any sectarianism, they aren't going to appoint somebody from the other side (Sean - 1a11).

Family ties with the local Parish Priest were also seen as being potentially, particularly beneficial for applicants to posts Catholic schools.

> They are still trying to downsize the teaching force here, they won't give any full-time jobs, very rarely unless you are the nephew of a Father such-and-such, which is another story… Frankly, I've taught on both sides that the nepotism's really, really bad on the Maintained side of things (Alison - 2b16).

Sporting affiliations may also have helped to open employment possibilities for teachers on both sides of the community divide.

> I know a lot of teachers in Tyrone who like to work in their local area to suit their Gaelic football interests. Some of the [county] GAA teams, they manage to get a cushy job in a local Catholic primary – it's a 'jobs for the boys' sort of thing (Thomas - 2a20).
>
> My first job… was given to me in understanding that I would play rugby for [the local club] (Sean - 1a11).

Family or friendship connections with members of the school staff team were also seen as being valuable assets for those seeking employment as a school teacher – particularly if that connection was with an individual in a senior management post.

> So, there were two jobs came up and to be honest I had no notion of applying for them because I thought, "There's not a hope of me getting one of these jobs." But one of the guys – who was VP – said "[Paula]! Get you one of those forms filled in!" (Paula - 2b03).

In an era where year-on-year the number of beginning teachers entering the marketplace in NI far exceeds the number of jobs available, the informal recruitment of sub-teachers may further support separation – and build resentment.

> I know a girl who works in St [-]'s she's never had to interview for a post – she walked into that job because it's the school she used to go to. She's been in her post four years and so she can apply for permanency without having ever to interview for a job (Leah - 1b01).

As demonstrated in Leah's example, getting a *foot in the door* is seen as being crucial; once he or she is in post, the incumbent teacher may be hard to dislodge should the job eventually be advertised as permanent.

> They rang me – I was two weeks into this other post – they offered me a post for a year. The school I was in were very nice about it. So, I started there in the middle of October in 2012 – the job was then advertised as a permanent post and I got it and I've been there now five years (Paddy).

There was evidence that some student teachers may have been made aware of the teacher exception to FETO during their initial teacher education:

> In teacher training you were told that schools had the right to employ their staff to reflect their student body. So, you were told that, if it's a 100% Catholic school they have the right to – or they can fight to – have 100% Catholic teachers. I

> know in those days it was simply – well you don't have much hope of getting in there (Paula - 2b03).

This perspective from a Protestant teacher on how Catholic school authorities may use the teacher exception from FETO to maintain the community consistent profile of their staff team neatly side-steps the reality that the exception was brought into being as an appeasement to those in the Controlled sector who feared that whilst the CRE requirement meant that their employment opportunities were curtailed in CCMS schools, Catholic teachers were free to apply for posts in *de facto* Protestant schools.

Other interviewees demonstrated a lack of awareness of the teacher exception – they appeared to believe that they were working within a profession that is subject to the requirements of Fair Employment legislation.

> With equal opportunities you can't be discriminating at all. It would just seem to be that most schools are tailored in terms of their staff make-up to the student body. But it's up to the individual teacher – if you want to work in a particular school you apply to it… those barriers no longer exist – as far as I can see. With legislation about fair employment. I don't even think subconsciously – perhaps if it was a Protestant working within a super-Catholic school – but not even then. I think it's on merit and then how you conduct yourself (Thomas - 2a20).

One interviewee with significant experience of working in industry was taken-aback when she observed the recruitment practices in NI schools.

> I've had 20 years - or more than 20 years - working in engineering and companies where you have an Equal Opportunities policy that's applied. Now, I'm not saying they are sectarian-free or discrimination-free but there's procedures when somebody does something to you, and I'm sure that there is in education, but then there's the red circle that can go around your name for making complaints or whatever (Alison - 2b16).

In practice, however, the combination of all of the above factors means that the FETO exception does not seem to be explicitly called upon to justify an appointment. Indeed, there was some evidence that some schools (particularly in the grammar sector) may consider a candidate's community identity to be irrelevant for many posts.

> I think the great thing about the Principal is she picks best person for the job you know. The Principal who hired me I think on the day she just went with the risk, "Let's go for it, it's a new thing!" (Craig - 3d24).

There is an intimation however in this remark that, even in those separated schools that display more inclusive employment practices, the cross-over teacher is still seen as the exception, a novelty, an anomaly. As with Craig, above, the employment of a community outsider may be judged as carrying with it an element of potential 'risk'.

9.1.3 Initial Teacher Education and Higher Education

Just as the path of the prospective teacher through school will have in some way affected their opportunities (and potentially their capacity) to engage with those of a different community background, so too will their experiences as students in university, Higher Education and/or Initial Teacher Education. The cycle of separation was most apparent in the two teaching colleges: St Mary's and Stranmillis.

> A lot of teachers I know from my own faith went to a CCMS primary, went to a CCMS post-primary, went to university (usually in Belfast) and they became a teacher – particularly if they became a primary school teacher – went to St Mary's. Well, I don't know a lot of Protestant primary school teachers, but they probably would have gone to Stranmillis… if you go to St Mary's you are being trained to teach in a Maintained primary school whereas in Stranmillis you are being prepared to teach in a Controlled primary (Paddy - 3e21).

It was evident that both Stranmillis and St Mary's were seen as having strong and separate identities; a sense of community, culture and ethos that pervaded each institution.

> There is a kudos thing about St Mary's. It's built up to be this really eminent place and you need three A levels to get into it. I think that is probably part of it. There would be families in my community and places like that they want the most elite place for their children and they would see St Mary's as being that (Clodagh - 1a09).
>
> You know Stranmillis anyway? It's very churchy-based there's a big contingent of Church-based people. You know it's Protestants who had gone to church and youth club and religious groups and scripture union – so you are still repeating the same people – your group. And they had come to be 20 years old and had never met anybody from a different faith or background (Elizabeth - 1c30).

The separation of the communities in university life was keenly felt by some of those who crossed-over to undertake their ITE in Stranmillis and St Mary's:

> She [a Protestant student] has started St Mary's now. She's done fresher week and she was a wee bit put off – frightened – by the statues. She asked, "Am I going to be at a disadvantage because I am not a Catholic? I don't know the religious part." This is a wee girl who has been brought up in the church and she knows all her bible stories (Hannah - 3d05).

> In Stranmillis I can only remember one instance of someone saying about Catholics being there taking up places. A girl. Drunk. A Friday night. Very aggressive (Sean - 1a11).

Through EMU, then CRED and now Shared Education, generations of teachers have been required to engage their pupils in cross-community programmes – similar programmes between these two colleges would appear to have been limited.

> Stranmillis and St Mary's; the fact that they are apart - and doggedly so - doesn't give the students any opportunity to mix (Andrew - 1c15).

Notwithstanding the fact that Stranmillis has a more mixed student profile than St Mary's, the college remains very firmly associated with preparing teachers for working in the Controlled sector.

> Stranmillis is still that Protestant sector. That is part of the problem. We are training teachers separately and feeding them back into the system. The difference you will find with a little bit more cross-over at post primary level – if you are coming out of Queens or Ulster with a PGCE (Lindsay - 2c17).

Whilst Lindsay assumed that there was a '*little bit* more cross-over' amongst those who undertook a PGCE in QUB or Ulster – she was plainly not over-optimistic about the extent of this. Other interviewees identified separation at university within and between academic disciplines:

> I'm not sure it's the case now at Queen's but when I was there, there was a very distinct separation almost between Philosophy and Scholastic Philosophy. Protestants did Philosophy, Catholics did Scholastic Philosophy… Philosophy had the philosophy of religion, scholastic philosophy had philosophical theology. It's the same thing but they called it different things and one was from a Catholic perspective (Andrew - 1c15).

There were strong indications that those who have chosen to study in QUB may historically have led largely separated social lives with regard to where they socialised:

> I wouldn't have gone to the Students Union in Queen's. You know, you were told not to go there. That wasn't considered a safe environment (Cathy - 2c22).

This social separation of students may also have territorial components, given the comments made by one senior teacher whose daughter is currently studying at Queens:

> The Gaelic playing students go to 'the[93] Hatfield', 'the Fly' – anywhere with a 'the' in front of it. They run about with Gaelic jerseys on. They show their identity and only mix with their own side. The Protestant side stay out of the Union more because clever Catholic kids take over the union – the QUB is dominated by people who would be future first minister and do a bloody good job of it too. The Unionist side tend to stay out of it – the boys may play rugby, but they socialise away from the area they go to 'Ollies' and that sort of thing – no 'the'! There's never a great mix – there is that separation (Sean - 1a11).

It seems that the student-body that reside in Belfast also maintain a physical and geographical separation.

> I found University quite polarised too – who you associated with, what you did. Particularly where you lived. For example, the Holy Lands area where I lived for 3 years – Catholic students to be honest. It was very rare that you found a Protestant student living or even hanging around that area (Paddy - 3e21).

Consequently, a social and spatial division is maintained between students during the week – at the weekend, many of those students whose families live outside the city, elect to return to their home community.

> Then, at the weekend – as they did during the Troubles - the country folk go back home and come back on Sunday night. So, there's never a great mix. And in education it's worse (Sean - 1a11).

Whilst NI has an over-supply of teachers and there is an over-demand for places in teaching colleges, there is a dearth of would-be teachers in England. Places at ITE colleges in GB may be more easily attained and/or students may actively seek an educational opportunity away from the shores of NI. As has been indicated in the qualitative element of this research, those students who decide to leave NI in order to undertake their ITE may nevertheless be drawn to faith-consistent colleges in Britain:

> I ended up doing School Centred Initial Teacher Training – S.C.I.T.T. – through the […] University... Again, it was a Catholic teaching college (Ailish - 2c26).

Some of those interviewees who had undertaken their teacher education in NI noted the benefits with regard to opportunities for developing cross-community contact that arose from having taken the PGCE route into teaching.

[93] Emphasis in original.

> Well if I had gone to Stranmillis I would never have had the Catholic friends that I have because when I went to Coleraine I met people whose names I couldn't pronounce if I saw them written (Jane - 1c28).

One teacher (who came originally from a Protestant community and was teaching in an Integrated primary school) expressed opinions on the cumulative effect of both the community separation of ITE and the general principle of the teaching colleges taking students immediately after they finish school at age 18. He had undertaken a PGCE in England having already obtained a degree from QUB.

> I even would feel that often with the segregation of teacher training and the schooling before that probably, that there may well be remnants of those myths knocking about in the dark recesses of their heads… I would suggest people should go to university and then do a PGCE. They should mix - rather than going straight through state Protestant schools to Stranmillis, you know, or St Mary's and where they can be 21 before they have come to a school with people of different religions or faiths on the whole (Andrew - 1c15).

As has been noted, the Catholic RE certificate is incorporated into the programme of studies undertaken by all students attending St Mary's. The current advice on the matter offered by Stranmillis to potential students is that if they, "have aspirations to teach in the Maintained sector in Northern Ireland, they should obtain details about courses leading to the Catholic Certificate in Religious Education from the Council for Catholic Maintained Schools," and that, "The Department of Education has agreed to provide funding to cover the fees for the Catholic Certificate in Religious Education"[94].

> My mum's a nurse – and she doesn't need a different certificate to work with Catholics. In no other job do you need a certificate that says – I'm a Catholic or I'm a Protestant and I can work for you because… the only place is teaching (Leah - 1b01).

From comments made by interviewees it seems that this option had not been widely promoted or encouraged within the college in the past. One Protestant teacher who had taken-up the CRE option at Stranmillis recalled that, whilst a number of Catholic students saw it as beneficial, few of her co-religionists had availed of the option.

> Most Protestant – if you have been to Stranmillis – people would not have bothered to do the Catholic certificate. I was the only one in my year, although there were a few Catholic ones who did it. 'Cos they knew that they would have to have it if they were going to get work (Heather - 1b13).

---

[94] http://www.stran.ac.uk/media/media,516105,en.pdf

The CRE requirement for teachers seeking employment in CCMS Primary schools in NI only applies to those who apply for permanent posts, as illustrated by this exchange.

> [The principal's] words were, "We have a post coming up. Do you have your Catholic cert?" I had to be honest. "I don't have it – if you ask me for it I can't lie…" I said, "I don't have it. I went to Stranmillis". So, he said, "You're not Catholic then?" I said, "I married a Catholic but I'm not Catholic myself". He said "If we were to have you as a sub or for maternity cover it wouldn't matter but if you were applying for a permanent job you would need it… we whittle down the criteria. If you write down in your application that you don't have a certificate you wouldn't even get through the door!" (Leah - 1b01).

As a consequence, although Leah had been able to gain employment as a teacher in a series of short-term and temporary jobs in CCMS schools, whenever these posts were later advertised as permanent, she had been unable to meet the qualification requirements.

The Catholic churches in Scotland and England also have a requirement for those teachers who wish to teach in their schools to be in possession of specific, certified RE training. The option to take the *Catholic Pathway* in GB ITE institutions was not seen as the exclusive prerogative of those with a Catholic background – instead it would seem to be have been considered as a pragmatic choice by teachers of different faiths as a means by which to broaden their employment possibilities.

> I had friends doing it who are Protestant… even there were ones on the course who were Sikhs did it (Andrew - 1c15).

The RE courses provided through Catholic teaching colleges in GB are recognised by the Catholic church as having equivalence with the CRE in NI[95]. There was evidence that the requirement for teachers in Catholic Primary schools to have undertaken recognised RE training may have been viewed less rigidly in Scotland.

> Over in Scotland the wee-ones make their first communion and confirmation in P4. There was all of that preparation that I was responsible for. The guy who taught the P5-7 class was not Catholic so the head teacher would have covered his RE and because I had P1-4 I had a Catholic classroom assistant who would have done the P1-2 RE so that I could focus on the P3-4 and the preparation for the sacraments.
>
> M. *But at this stage you didn't have an RE cert.*

[95] CCMS provide a list of 42 institutions that provide an approved certificate – including colleges in England, Scotland, Wales, Australia and Canada.

> I didn't. What I had to do was to provide proof that I was a practising Catholic so I got that from Termonbacca[96] - and they were happy with that (Katrina - 1a18).

The RE option provided to prospective teachers undertaking the PGCE in Ulster University is recognised as meeting the requirements to be classified by CCMS as CRE. Again, however, as had been illustrated in Stranmillis, the option of availing of the CRE in Ulster may have greater attraction for Catholic students.

> I found lot of the Catholic students like me would have done the sub-sid in RE as a means of teaching in a Catholic school… I got the impression that it was mainly there for the Catholic students because they needed that in a Catholic school and it gave them another string to their bow (Paddy - 3e21).

In one instance, a Catholic teacher who had attended an Integrated post-primary school felt obliged to obtain a master's degree from St Mary's – in spite of the fact that she had completed her CRE whilst studying for a PGCE at QUB!

> On paper I don't look like a Catholic educationally-wise. So, when I was applying for jobs after my PGCE, I was just getting knock-back, knock-back, knock-back… I got advice from a teacher where I'd been subbing and he said, "You need to get evidence of a Catholic education" – so off I went to St Mary's to do a Master's in Religious Education. Obviously, I had my Catholic Certificate that the Maintained sector like to see, which I did in Queens during my PGCE – that was it on paper. They don't ask for your primary school – they only ask for your secondary school and on paper I'd been to Lagan College, then QUB so any jobs going in the Maintained sector I couldn't get (Mairead - 2a02).

The comments from Mairead, suggest that possession of the CRE may not in-and-of itself be enough to remove the barrier to those outside the Catholic system gaining employment in CCMS Primary schools – this was backed up by Leah.

> I know a couple of [Protestant teachers] who have done it and still can't get jobs - and the reason is that although they have the certificate they don't have the experience of teaching in Catholic schools (Leah - 1b01).

Many would-be teachers in Northern Ireland either enter ethnically separated ITE colleges or commence higher education in an ethnically mixed university – only to pursue social lives that reflect their ethnicity. As has already been illustrated, they may also choose to live in an area of the city where they are surrounded by neighbours who share a similar community identity.

[96] NB: Termonbacca (AKA Iona Carmelite Retreat Centre) also provide a 'home learning' CRE option that is recognised by CCMS.

The data gathered in the interviews showed that this community consistent pattern may also feature in the allocation of placements during ITE; few teachers, it would appear, actively seek, are offered or avail of opportunities to venture from the community consistent path during periods of teaching practice. This was as much a feature of those from a Catholic background:

> Any lasting friendships are with people who went to my own school. So, then I went from there to St Mary's in Belfast and I did all my teaching practice in Catholic schools (Grainne – 1c19).

As for those with a Protestant family/community identity:

> I did my teaching practice – secondary school was [Controlled post primary] and then [non-Catholic voluntary] for the Grammar (Norma - 2b07).

Paradoxically whilst placements in Integrated schools were seen as having been particularly difficult to obtain, those in the Integrated sector expressed frustration at the difficulty in attracting students – specifically students from St Mary's.

> I am responsible for students when they come in to the school, I place them in school, I support them and tutor, teacher-tutor-mentor type of thing and we have tried and tried and tried to get St Mary's to send, you know they won't put teachers in the Integrated sector (Andrew - 1c15).

It would appear that some of those students who undertook the PGCE in QUB and Ulster may have actively been encouraged to use their teaching practice as an opportunity to reach outside the familiar – to experience the practice and culture of a school beyond their own community.

> Teaching practice, the first one was [CCMS post primary]. I suppose it would have been along kind of what my school experience was like. Amazing school. The girls in there adore History as you can imagine, given where they live. And then I went to [non-Catholic voluntary grammar] for my second placement, a very different environment than [the CCMS post primary] (Gerrard - 3e14).

One of those student teachers who did cross-over during teaching practice recalled having received particular attention from his pupils.

> I went on my second placement to a local high school – I wasn't able to go to my own – so I went to a local Protestant Controlled high school… on the border with the Republic. It was a fairly good place – the behaviour was rough enough – but I don't think it was anything to do with religion – it was just high school – they challenge you. The whole religious background wasn't an issue – although I

> remember – I think they were able to suss out whether I was Catholic or not by my daily conversations or colloquialisms (Thomas - 2a20).

9.1.4 Catholic Authorities

As has been documented in Chapters two and three, the churches on both sides of the community divide have historically been keen to retain an influence within the administration and delivery of education – this has been heightened when they have perceived their position of influence to have been threatened by political moves to introduce non-denominational models of education in schools (e.g. Stanley letter in 1831 and Lynn Committee in 1921).

Arguably, since 1922 the political and cultural dominance of the British-Protestant community in NI, has contributed to the Catholic authorities being even more tenacious in their commitment to retaining their influence. Furthermore, in recent years, church attendance in Northern Ireland has been shown to have fallen dramatically and the numbers of those declaring themselves in the census to have 'no-religion' is increasing (Gregory et al, 2013; McCartney and Glass, 2015). Concerns have been expressed by theologians that the churches in NI may no longer be *efficiently* passing the Christian message to future generations (Veale, 2014).

The Catholic Church (and Catholic education) in NI had acted as something of a bastion for Irish cultural identity and a bulwark against the Protestant-British hegemony. The place of the church is now threatened by increasing secularism. Many interviewees identified that Catholic authorities had played (and continued to play) a significant role in the maintenance of in-community homogeneity within Catholic schools and the discouraging of teachers to cross-out of their sector. This was observed through evidence of attitudes towards Integrated education, attitudes to non-Catholic schools and attitudes to non-Catholic teachers. Many of those interviewed considered that opposition to the concept of Integrated schools from the Catholic authorities was grounded in concerns for the church's long-term self-preservation.

> It's a worry that their faith would be eroded if they go into an Integrated school and their numbers will be eroded and the collapse of the Catholic establishment and churches around the whole world (Andrew - 1c15).

Consequently, Catholic parishioners may have been actively discouraged from sending their children to Integrated schools by clerics.

> At the beginning, we probably got a harder time from the Catholic church. Because we were denounced from the altar and people were told not to dare to send their children to a place like that. There were enough good Catholic schools in the town (Grainne - 1c19).

Support from the local parish to Integrated primary schools in preparing their pupils for Catholic sacraments had also been less than fulsome.

> It's still difficult to be accepted and included by the Catholic church and when we first started we weren't allowed to have a role in preparation for first communion and confirmation and now we have a really good number do it every year – but that is still something we need to be aware of and keep working on… And in mass the priest might say, "And we pray for the teachers in the Catholic schools" but we never get a mention (Elizabeth - 1c30).

It seems that this 'cold house' for Integrated schools may have been uncomfortable for some within the wider auspices of the parish.

> The principal of [a local Maintained school] donated a load of tables and chairs [to a new Integrated school] and said, "Don't tell the Priest but we are not using any of these and you can have them!" (Ashleen - 1c27).

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Catholic resistance to Integrated education has been the perception that those teachers who had been educated within the Catholic sector and opted to accept posts in the Integrated sector would be ostracised when it came to future appointments.

> I do remember hearing at some point comments that if anybody got a job in an Integrated school, they would never get back out of that system again (Clodagh - 1a09).

Examples were provided about unsuccessful bids for promotion to posts in Maintained schools by capable Catholic candidates from the Integrated sector. Whilst this evidence was acknowledged by the interviewees as being anecdotal, such stories were widespread and will have fuelled perceptions and perhaps, therefore, effectively discouraged potential Catholic applicants from seeking employment in Integrated schools.

> I have a former colleague who, Catholic, good Catholic Mass twice a week… worked in my school for five or six years and applied for VP ships every time they came up in the local vicinity - it was just wanting progression - and applied to six Catholic schools and didn't even get short-listed, applied to an Integrated school, when it came up and got the job! And you just wonder. I know there are lots of reasons why that might have happened – but, you know, it's difficult (Andrew - 1c15).

One Catholic teacher, who had indicated her intention to accept a full-time post in an Integrated school whilst still temporarily employed in a CCMS primary, commented on the frosty reception that her decision had precipitated.

> I brought my children to the chapel for the sacrament of reconciliation and we did everything we had the ceremony and the PP thanked *everybody* {EMPHASISED} for *everything* – except [Eimear] who was never mentioned at all. I sat at the back of the chapel and smiled, and the parents came up to me and thanked me and he walked straight past me and never said a word (Eimear - 1c10).

Comments were made that indicated some thawing of the frostiness that had been seen previously from Catholic parishes in respect of providing support to Integrated primary schools with the Sacraments in recent years. Some believed that the suspicions that the church might have actively sought to dissuade Catholic teachers from taking up posts in the Integrated sector may no longer be credible.

> People have said that there was always this fear that when you went into the Integrated sector you couldn't go back. But we have had teachers who have gone from us back into the Protestant voluntary and into the Catholic sector as well. I cannot deny that that might have been the truth in the past, but I think that it has changed, and we have seen examples of how it has changed (Lindsay - 2c17).

Reluctance on the part of the Catholic church to engage with non-Catholic education is not a recent phenomenon.

> This school was set up in eighteen-something-or-another for Catholics and Protestants, and there were two places kept [on the BoG] for local priests who always refused to take up their places. I suppose that they felt they had to fight for Catholic education – I can understand it. However, I think it should have changed by now. The local priest should be sitting on our BoG. The local Catholic school shouldn't feel threatened by our presence here (Orla - 3e08).

In one village which, for historic reasons, had had only one primary school – mixed and, now, within the Controlled sector – there were indications of an enduring clerical dissatisfaction with non-Catholic educational provision.

> The mill owners built the school for the children of the mill workers so traditionally the children of everybody who worked in the mill attended the school… The local PP who has just retired said, "[The mill] gave them employment but it took their souls" (Clodagh - 1a09).

This sense of church antagonism towards non-Catholic schools has not always been passive. Two Protestant teachers employed in the same CCMS post primary school had heard a more direct message – much to their discomfort.

> I think it was 2 years ago, we had a mass to start off the school year and a priest was invited. I don't know where they got him from. He got up and said the mass – I have no problems with mass, I'm Church of Ireland and it's practically ditto, right? So that was OK and he got up to preach his – let's call it a sermon, I don't know what they call it – and he totally ridiculised (*sic.*) and bashed Protestant schools and all the rest of it (Paula - 2b03).

Just as some Catholic teachers had felt themselves to have been actively discouraged from moving into the Integrated sector so there was evidence that Catholic pupils had been put off considering attending non-Catholic schools.

> The principal of [Catholic voluntary grammar school] came down with the parish priest they sent from [the local town] and told the other family that they would be excommunicated if they sent their son to [non-Catholic voluntary grammar school] (Sean - 1a11).

Other less extreme, but no less direct, messages were reported as having been delivered by the parish priest during Sunday mass.

> It wasn't until a few years later and my mum said, "Do you not remember the sermon at mass one Sunday? [The priest] stood up and said, "Anybody who has sent their children to [the non-Catholic grammar school] you should look at yourselves – they should be going to Catholic school." And a parent actually stood up and walked out!" (Katrina - 1a18).

As has been documented with the Integrated sector, those teachers who crossed from Maintained into Controlled were also seen to have little chance of re-entering that sector.

> I had a teacher in [Controlled PS] – St Mary's trained – and she came to me and said "If you don't make me permanent I'm going to St. [Maintained PS] I got an 'A' in teaching practice. I can apply for any job." I said "Feel free to apply. I can't make you permanent. But you won't get an interview." She said, "With that practice grade I'm bound to." But she didn't! Because once you cross over there is no coming back. She was shocked - but I was right (Sean - 1a11).

As has been documented earlier, the teacher exception to FETO largely came about as an appeasement to Protestant teachers in the Controlled sector. They were concerned that, without some form of redress, the (perfectly legal) CRE requirement for those seeking appointment to Maintained schools effectively ensured that teachers trained through the

Catholic system had double the employment opportunities. They could apply to both Controlled and Maintained Posts whilst non-Catholic teachers were limited to only Controlled schools. Some of the interviewees suggested that the CRE requirement may actually be concealing an ulterior motive.

> When you are in a Catholic school and you are advertising for a teacher you have to put that thing in about the Catholic certificate so it's highly unlikely you will get any non-Catholics applying for the job. There is a hidden agenda there (Clodagh - 1a09).

As has been alluded to above, the CRE alone may not adequately prepare a non-Catholic teacher for following Catholic religious practices and rituals. Appointments to posts for certain year groups may be open only to practising Catholics:

> Obviously, I knew when I came in here that I would never teach a class for sacraments. I did find assembly – doing assembly as a class – a challenge because there are things that occur in the course of the Catholic calendar that you would do your assembly on that I didn't know. They seem silly things, but they are things that you had to check out (Rebecca - 1b12).

Alternatively, the view was expressed that as long as the teacher was in possession of adequate curriculum material they could deliver any class – irrespective of their personal faith.

> You don't have to be Catholic to teach in a Catholic school – that's my view. I'll get handed the curriculum book and I'll read it – because I'm not staunchly any religion I don't find offence – I don't find a problem with it (Leah - 1b01).

It was also suggested, by one Protestant teacher who had completed the CRE during ITE, that it was not really fit-for-purpose

> The Catholic certificate of religion was absolutely, hopelessly, useless to teach RE – it was completely useless. It presupposed that you knew all those prayers, so I had to quickly learn some of them (Heather - 1b13).

Whilst the CRE is largely only an issue with regard to primary school appointments, one story was told of a Protestant teacher applying to a CCMS post primary who felt the need to hide her religion. In the event, her disguise was both inadequate and unnecessary!

> A girl from here recently got a job in [CCMS post primary] and we had a funny conversation about it. She said, "They won't know that I'm not a Catholic."
>
> We were talking about her interview afterwards – she *did* get the job – but she said, "I'm not Catholic - maybe when they find out they won't want me." I said, "Don't be silly [that school] is well known for its cross-community ethos – how would they even know?" And she said, "They wouldn't know; but they did ask about the Catholic ethos." I said, "And what did you say to that?". "Well I started by saying that, as Christian – " "Oh they'll know!"
>
> I was sitting with everybody else in the lunch-hall and they asked, "How would you know from that?" and I said that Catholics don't refer to themselves as 'Christians', they're 'Catholics'. They'd never heard that before – saying "I'm a Christian" is a synonym for being Protestant.
>
> Isn't it funny how words like that – right away they would have known because it's just not the way that a Catholic would answer that question. She thought she wouldn't get the job unless she was able to hide the fact that she wasn't Catholic (Orla - 3e08).

In respect of appointments to CCMS primary schools it is the parish priest who generally chairs the BoG. He has the final say – as in this case for a teacher redundancy transfer to a Maintained primary school from a post in a Controlled primary.

> [The Principal] had to get the permission of the PP as the head of the Board. Explained the situation. I was very lucky who the priest was at that point that he was open to it as well. I rang him to speak with him and I was very nervous – I hadn't ever spoken face-to-face with a priest on my own before! (Rebecca - 1b12).

As PP, and chair of the BoG, it appears that his expressed attitudes might go unchallenged; even perhaps those that may have been deemed unacceptable if expressed by someone else in another location.

On one occasion the PP's antagonism towards non-Catholic students at a CCMS post primary school had created significant discomfort for a Protestant member of the staff team.

> I sat on the BoG for a number of years and it was actually from the priest and he started on about non-Catholics and how they weren't welcome and he went off on one to the point where – and this was only a couple of years ago – I felt so uncomfortable that I had to go to the principal and say that I felt really uncomfortable… But it was all fine, but it was just "OK. Remind me never to open my mouth in front of the priest about where I'm from or what I do!" (Norma - 2b07).

An example was also very cautiously cited of restrictions being placed on the provision of extra-curricular activities aimed at non-Catholic students in a Catholic school known for a level of diversity that was untypical of the sector in general:

> I do have a friend who teaches at [Catholic voluntary grammar] and they do have Protestant staff members there and he told me that one of the Protestant members tried to set up a Scripture Union for the Protestant pupils and wasn't allowed.
>
> I don't know and I'm not suggesting – because I wouldn't dare, I wouldn't dream of doing it, that that approach wouldn't happen on the reverse. If it was a Protestant state school and there was a Catholic teacher, would they be allowed to set up some sort of [group/project]? I just don't know. I've no experience of that happening or attempting to happen to compare. I'm just relating that to you (Andrew - 1c15).

A teacher in another school felt that, in the staffroom at least, her Protestant identity may have protected her from potential bullying.

> I think in some respects my religion helped me. Simply because a girl that I started at the same time as – a very hard-working girl and everything else. There were two members of staff who gave her quite a hard time. And I always thought that maybe it was my religion that stopped me getting that. They were quite protective of their position within the staff and they didn't like it challenged or whatever. She would have had a very hard time with them… I think sometimes I got off a wee bit easier because of it - just for the discrimination thing (Paula - 2b03).

Certainly, at least one of those who crossed into the Catholic grammar sector, had had a very positive experience:

> I certainly have never felt that I was being discriminated against as a professional – far from it and I haven't felt that it has negatively affected my relationships with either pupils or parents or the school community…
>
> Another wee thing that I've just thought of that meant a lot to me; the principal who was there at the time decided that the school needed a motto and people were given the chance to come up with something… [*she recites a line from a Psalm relating directly to the name of the school*].

> So, I sent off an email to him suggesting this, and that became the school motto. They picked that. But that meant a huge deal to me as well that I had suggested it and every student has it on their badge – I don't think about it all the time but again it's a nice wee part of it so I do feel {PAUSE} I suppose I probably feel more special because I'm different and because I can bring something different to the school. (Anna - 3d04)

As has been shown in the quantitative component of this project, there is a high degree of community consistency in the deployment patterns of teachers within the ethnically divided education system; as Anna asserts, the cross-over teacher *is* different and *can* bring something different. The evidence here strongly indicates that, for those in the teaching profession, the divide is maintained by more than just policy. Deeply rooted perceptions (and misconceptions) in combination with enduring practices (in ITE and higher education, in recruitment, and from the Catholic Authorities) effectively act to limit teachers' opportunities and their willingness to actively consider departing from the community consistent path.

9.2. Agency as Achievement

The Agency as Achievement über theme has been developed from pre-existing theory and is comprised of three constituent themes – Iterational, Practical Evaluative and Projective (Fig. 30). These align chronologically with the past, present and future. The codes that are contained within these themes are, therefore, aligned within those temporal components that contribute to teachers' construction of identity and are critical to their capacity to achieve professional agency.

9.2.1 Iterational

The iterational dimension of agency achievement was described by Emirbayer and Mische (1998, p. 971) as being concerned with "the selective reactivation by actors of past patterns of thought and action, routinely incorporated in practical activity, thereby giving stability and order to social universes and helping to sustain identities, interactions, and institutions over time". An understanding of this *selective reactivation* was accessed for the purposes of this research by questions that encouraged interviewees to reflect on their personal histories.

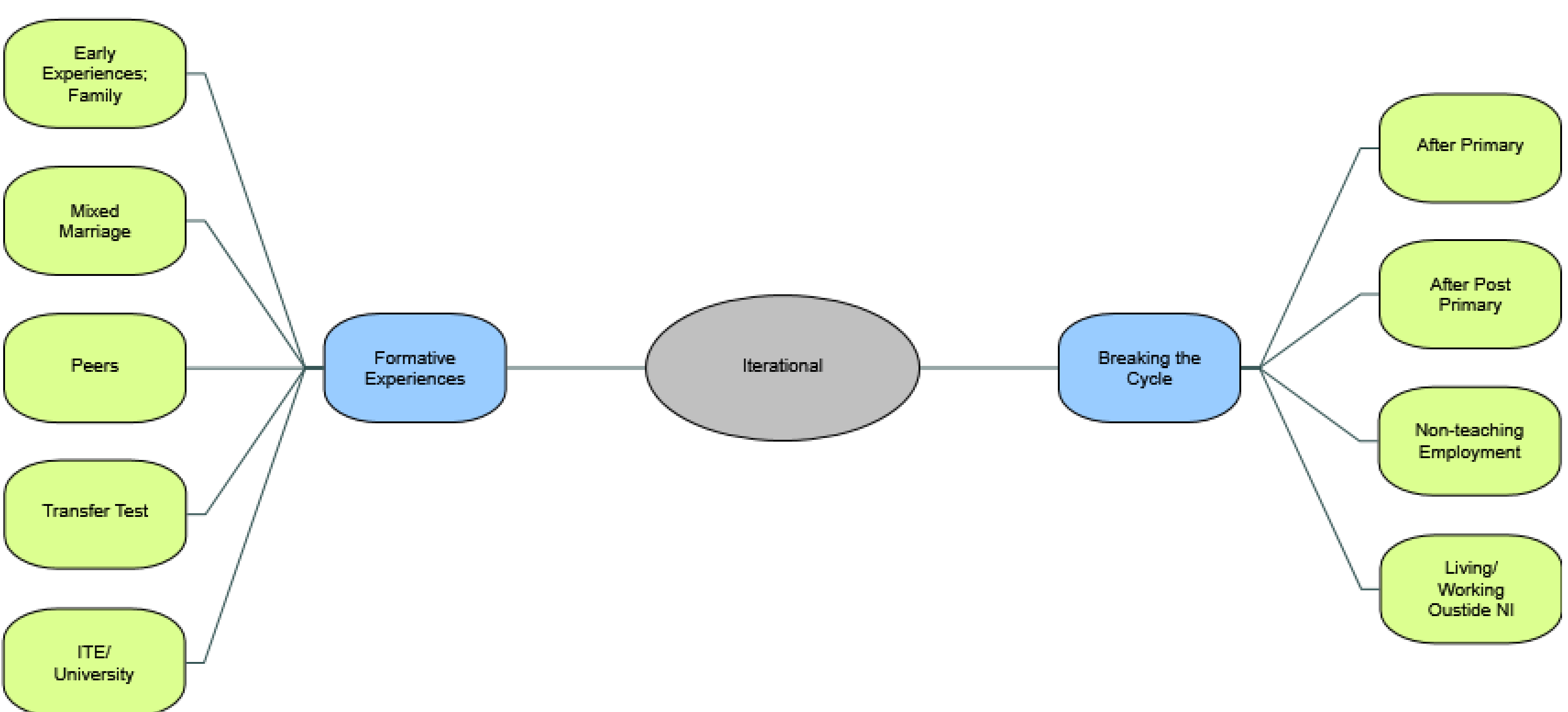


Fig. 30 Agency-As-Achievement: Iterational - Themes and Codes

The data that had been drawn together into related codes was collated within two sub-themes entitled '*Formative*' (respondents memories of childhood and growing-up that they had connected to their consequent career paths) and '*Breaking the Cycle*' (seminal instances identified by the interviewees where they had opportunities to depart from the community consistent route from Primary school to professional teacher). The data assigned to the Formative theme related to events in the interviewee's childhood and/or youth that they had identified as potentially having influenced their decision to step off the community consistent career path. This theme was constructed from five codes - Early Attitudes, Experience and Family; Mixed Marriage; Relationships with Peers; Transfer test; Initial Teacher Education.

The respondents spoke freely and openly about their experiences growing up in a divided society – many had had experiences directly linked to violent incidents associated with the Troubles. Almost all respondents were at pains to emphasise the lack of sectarianism or bigotry in their upbringing.

> I am very grateful for the upbringing I had because it has made me the open-minded person I am now. Whilst still having a strong identity and faith – I can be very open and integrated. It's a natural thing. But that isn't everybody's background – and that was the shocker; that not everybody had that growing up. So, what my parents gave me was not like everybody else (Elizabeth - 1c30).

This distancing from the Troubles was documented by Carlo Gébler in his border diary, *The Glass Curtain*.

> If you believed what you read in the papers", she said. "you'd think civil war was raging everywhere in Northern Ireland. But if you live here, and you think of trouble, you think of it as happening in certain towns. And if you live in those certain towns, you think of it as happening in certain districts. And if you live in those certain districts, you think of it as happening on certain housing estates. And if you live on those certain housing estates, you think of it as happening in certain streets. And if you live in those certain streets, you know that the trouble is being caused by the man at the end of the road in the house with the blue door (Gébler, 1991, p. 73).

Many assertions of the absence of sectarianism or bigotry in the home were accompanied by more equivocal, ambivalent or even contradictory statements – perhaps indicative of what might be referred to as the *"I'm not a bigot but…" syndrome*:

> My parents were very open. I think in a small town like [-] – my parents would have been very into their faith; wanted their children to go to Catholic schools. But very open (Paddy - 3e21).

> There was no bigotry in the family but still there's that – people would say "is she a c-a-t-h-o-l-i-c? {SILENTLY}" you know they mouth it (Hannah - 3d05).

Other interviewees spoke of having been unaware of community division and/or having had limited social opportunities to engage across the divide.

> In fact, at that age, I wouldn't have known that there would have been another school anywhere else that Protestants would have went to. We were all Catholic. That was a Catholic school. That is where we all went (Ailish - 2c26).

> I wasn't aware that there were Protestant schools and Catholic schools at that age so school was school to me (Sophie - 2c29).

Several teachers noted the points of cross-community contact that existed specifically in their fathers' working lives – this was particularly a feature of those who grew up in rural communities.

> My father was a farmer and, in those days, the farming community came together at particular times of the year, for example when the weather was good and hay was being made. Farmers regardless of denomination came together to help each other out – except for the 12th of July when some went off and they marched and then they came back on 13th (Eimear - 1c10).

For many of the interviewees the Troubles had been a feature of the environment within which they had grown up. Some noted that their parents had gone to some lengths to shelter them from an awareness of the conflict and the nature of the divisions that underpinned it.

> I wasn't *allowed* to watch the news until I went - until I was at the start of third year in big school… That's sheltered! (Cathy - 2c22).

Others had grown up unable to avoid the violence and the British military presence. Examples were cited of members of Catholic families reaching out to soldiers – at some potential personal risk.

> The bomb went off and suddenly - we were in a cul-de-sac - suddenly the cul-de-sac was flooded with soldiers, police vans and we were told to get out of the house, they were going to do this controlled explosion on what remained of the device. I can just remember my mummy coming home… and these big guys running about the garden and my mummy opening the back door and saying like you know, "Do you want a glass of water?"

> Just these soldiers who were kids, children themselves, you know, not really understanding the depth of it, but my mum and dad never making a difference (Maeve - 2a23).

Most frequently, however, interviewees cited memories of family efforts to avoid engagement with divisive or contentious activities related to community division. No one associated any close family members with any expression of bigotry or sectarianism; quite the reverse! Those who did allude to such issues were at pains to stress family neutrality.

> Father… he was an Orangeman and he was in the Black Preceptory but we never, ever had any bigotry expressed in the house (Andrew - 1c15).

Thirteen of the interviewees identified the existence of 'mixed marriages' in their close family circle during their formative years – whilst Protestant families generally viewed this as something of a scandal, there were indications that Catholic families would appear to have been more open to the prospect.

> A mixed marriage in the 60s – didn't go down well. My dad's family were Orange Order; didn't even go to the wedding… mum's sister also married a Protestant. All my cousins have nearly ended up marrying Protestants. I think it was seen as a step-up – we've discussed it – and it was seen as a step up to marry a Protestant guy. It didn't matter how rich or poor he was! (Orla - 3e08).

Some of those teachers whose parents had been a mixed marriage had grown up learning to selectively conceal or reveal one or other side of their identity.

> I had a split identity – it really, really did feel like that – it didn't feel like that at the start but as you grew older you learned that you didn't talk about school, you didn't talk about mass, in fact I hardly would even mention my mum's family. When you went there, you were their image of what they wanted you to be. When you were with your granny's side, your mum's side, you pretended that you were the same as them. So, you just switched in your head (which was very confusing) but I'm sure a lot of people have had that experience growing up in Northern Ireland (Orla - 3e08).

All the interviewees had attended a primary school that was consistent with their community-ethnic identity (NB: those who had been the offspring of a mixed marriage had followed a Catholic path[97]). For many of those living in rural areas the school bus

---

[97] The Catholic church's *ne temere* decree of 1908 required that a special dispensation was needed for a Catholic who wished to enter into a mixed marriage – this included an agreement from both parties that

was a significant space of unstructured contact with the other side. For Elizabeth, as a young Protestant attending a Controlled school but growing up in a predominantly Catholic town, the bus signified separation from her friends during the school day.

> You went to school on the bus together. Then you went separate for the whole day. You came home on the bus together with your friends and you played together all evening (Elizabeth - 1c30).

For many others in rural communities the school bus was their first and only point of contact with the other side - usually aligned with the transfer to 'big school' in the larger town. This frequently precipitated territorialism.

> This was a big shock at age 11 getting on to the big Ulsterbus and the Protestant students would have all taken seats nearer the front of the bus and I don't know if it was a swagger thing or if there was a majority of Catholic students but they had the back seat. The fun part. The back corners of the bus – with the rowdiness and the ruckus (Ailish - 2c26).

The contact on the shared space of the bus also allowed for the emergence of friendships and banter – although this too was likely to contain elements of antagonism and sectarian attitudes.

> That bus was shared with a lot of Protestant school children. And I would have been really good buddies with these ones. I remember this one time… saying to this wee Protestant boy on the bus, "What's your favourite army, what's your favourite army?" And he said "SAS! SAS!" and I said, "No. IRA! IRA!" {LAUGHS} It's just a funny memory of slagging at a young age (Thomas - 2a20).

Uniforms readily identify the school that a child attends and consequently also his/her ethnic identity. Many interviewees illustrated how this had left them open to verbal abuse and physical attack. Such incidents of intimidation led some to try to disguise their identity.

> After school if we were going to [the shopping centre] we always would have taken off our school ties because you didn't want anyone to see them when you went in (Ashleen - 1c27).

---

any children arising from the marriage would be raised as Catholic. this was further reinforced in 1970 by pope Paul VI's apostolic letter: ***matrimonia mixta*** (on mixed marriages).

Few of the interviewees had had any cross-community experiences facilitated through school – these were frequently one-off or of limited duration and no-one saw that they had had any impact.

> In terms of school we never really had much to do with other schools - cross-community. I suppose you'd call it Shared Education now, where a Catholic school might hook up with a Protestant school. There would have been a couple of things but they would have seemed quite symbolic just like ticking a box – we would go to a place outside [rural town] - you have a Prod school and a Catholic school together. But it always felt tokenistic (Thomas - 2a20).

Where cross-community projects between schools did happen, overcoming the gender separation that is also endemic in the NI school system may have been a more pertinent motivation for the pupils!

> I don't remember much impact beyond the fact that I was in an all-girls school; so, we got to mix with boys which was the exciting part of it (Grainne - 1c19).

In both rural and urban settings – with a small number of exceptions – outside of school the interviewees had inhabited separated social worlds whose parameters were defined by ethnic divisions. They played different sports and belonged to different youth associations.

> Even like with guides and stuff there was Catholic guides and Protestant guides. So, never the twain really did meet (Niamh - 2c06).

Consequently, for many, during neither their passage through a system of community consistent schools nor through the social and community opportunities that they had availed of outside of formal education, had they been afforded any opportunity to engage with the other side at any meaningful level.

> Well I would say up until I was nearly 16, not knowingly I have to say, not knowingly. Obviously, I had met a Catholic - but I wouldn't have been aware of it (Craig - 3d24).

Whether or not they actually sat the '11+', whether or not they passed it, the transfer test was cited by almost all interviewees as a watershed in their education and the formation of their identity. For some, failure was a traumatic experience.

> I failed the 11+ and so went to the local high school… I'm the youngest in the family, and a lot of pressure put on me because of the success of [my elder brother and sister]… The fear of failure was a big issue for me (Andrew - 1c15).

For four of the interviewees - all of whom came from a Catholic background - this was the point at which they left the community consistent path through education; two had gone on to attend an Integrated post primary and a further two had opted for a non-Catholic grammar. Two interviewees – both from Protestant families – had left NI to live in GB during the period of their post-primary education. Of the remaining teachers (n=24), seventeen had attended grammar schools and seven had attended Controlled or Maintained non-grammar post primary schools. None of the Protestant interviewees had transferred to either a Catholic grammar or an Integrated post primary school. Whilst cross-over at this age may have opened-up contact with the other side it also closed-down friendships within their own community.

> There were 30 in the class and only three passed the 11+ and two of the boys ended up in [non-Catholic grammar] … once I started [there] I would have had very few Catholic friends (Sean - 1a11).

All of those who had transferred to a Controlled or Maintained post primary school had taken a community consistent path. Ailish, who had passed the transfer test and initially been attracted to a newly opened Integrated college, was dissuaded from attending due to the prestige associated with the grammar sector.

> That year was the second year of the [Integrated College] opening. Because it was only two years old it was attractive to me and some of my classmates – and they put on a tremendous show – 'We're new! We're Integrated! Let's go there.' I was very interested in it but because I had done well in my 11+ and because of my cousins and my family members said, "She's clearly… grammar school standard she should go there!" (Ailish - 2c26).

As with Andrew (above), family tradition was cited as both setting an expectation for a positive result in the transfer test and pre-determining the selection of post primary school.

> I completed the transfer test and followed on my two older brothers, they attended that school as well, my dad had attended there too so there's a bit of a family legacy there (Sophie - 2c29).

No-one who had attended a non-grammar post primary school mentioned any cross-community contact with peers from the other side during their secondary education. One of the two interviewees who had attended an Integrated college illustrated how it had opened his outlook.

> I wanted to go on to [CCMS post primary] but my mum encouraged me then to go to [-] Integrated in [the nearest large town] and that would have been my first real experience of like the other side at school. I'm really glad I went to [Integrated] College in the end. The people I met there and whatever really, really developed me (Gerrard - 3e14).

Six of the sample (i.e. 20%) had attended Colleges of Further Education (AKA technical college or tech) after having left school. The cross-community composition of these colleges was recognised as creating an opportunity for engagement across the divide – sometimes for the first time!

> I went down to… tech to repeat 'A' levels and that was the first time that I know I met a Protestant person. So that was a real eye-opener, the first time out of the community that I knowingly knew who this person was from a different school or a different area but a positive experience (Maeve - 2a23).

A further three interviewees had demonstrated a willingness to step off the traditional path at a relatively early stage by taking 'time out' after A levels and spending a period travelling and working outside the UK and Ireland prior to commencing higher education.

> For me the profession has come about via the scenic route, but I think it is a very interesting route and I think makes for a better teacher (Eimear – 1c10).

For just under half of those in the purposive sample (n = 14), higher education was identified as having provided them with their first experience of any meaningful cross-community contact.

> And then I went to university, and it was my first experience of studying alongside people of all backgrounds and that was an eye-opener. I socialised. My closest friends were a mixture – it was geographically who got the black taxi into town with you. Who's group you were in as a study group. I realised during that time how naïve I was (Lindsay - 2c17).

Many spoke of lacking basic knowledge about the other side's cultural sphere, or of clumsy social behaviour in ethnically mixed company.

> I was cringing thinking about the PGCE. At that stage of life, I thought I knew everything and we were introducing ourselves at the PGCE and you have a variety of people from different backgrounds across the north – and you had to stand up and introduce yourself. I was feeling a bit of a poking fun mood – and there was a Quaker – I was 23-24 and I had never heard of a Quaker and I made some comment about a Quaker being a cereal brand. I got a couple of chortles but in hindsight I'd just showed my ignorance (Thomas - 2a20).

The polite code of avoidance – referred to by Gallagher (2004) as 'cultural grammar' – meant that even (or perhaps *particularly*) in mixed settings the issues of division and difference may not have been openly discussed, even between ostensibly 'good friends'.

> A good friend of mine in my P.E group and she came from Dublin and was a champion Camogie player so I presume that's exactly - you know, she *must* have been Catholic, I presume, but again even at that stage it wasn't really talked about (Cathy - 2c22).

Through the interview process informants readily identified critical incidents and events in their lives that had marked their divergence from community consistency – family attitudes, cross community encounters, external events. Interviewees generally described their home environment as having been "open" or free of sectarianism; it is difficult to determine the authenticity and accuracy of such assertions. Who would willing portray their loved-ones as bigots to a stranger – particularly when that stranger is a researcher who is promoting a conversation on themes of reconciliation?

Whilst it is difficult to detect any consistent pattern in the data, there are indications that, for many of those interviewed, their departure from the community consistent path occurred *before* they entered the teaching profession – at school, through Further Education and/or non-teaching employment. The life stories of a number had indicated early evidence of an adventurous spirit – willingness to travel – or of having taken an indirect route into teaching. Such experiences may have potentially allowed for the development of an identity that has been informed by a more nuanced world view and a broader, less parochial, outlook. Without further research it is impossible to determine whether teachers who have followed a community consistent path have availed of similar life opportunities but with different outcomes.

The data cannot provide a definitive answer to the question – why do some teachers choose cross-over? It is nevertheless revealing in respect of why *these* teachers were prepared to cross over and how they understand how experiences that they have had may have predisposed them to considering an unconventional career path.

9.2.2 Practical-Evaluative

The practical–evaluative theme has been defined as "the capacity of actors to make practical and normative judgements among alternative possible trajectories of action, in response to the emerging demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities of presently evolving situations" (Emirbayer and Mische 1998, p. 974) – in the Biesta et al (2015) model it is

explicitly connected to cultural ideas, values and beliefs, social structures (relationships, roles, power and trust) and material resources and the physical environment. This theme was constructed from codes that had been developed from the interview data including: Motivation, the Components of Educational Separation and the cross-over teacher's lived Experience of Separateness (Fig. 31).

For most the motivation for crossing-over was presented as having been a pragmatic decision, driven by the need to simply get a job either after college or upon return to NI after a period elsewhere, to obtain career progression or promotion and family circumstances (the arrival of children or a partner's ill-health) to ensure a work-life balance.

As has previously been identified, the current job market for teachers is flooded in NI – opportunities are very limited. Many of those who have crossed over have shown willingness to take any post, anywhere.

> I threw my CV into every school. Maintained, Controlled, Voluntary, Comprehensive, Grammar – every school with a 65-mile radius of my house… If I had taken the point of view that it was only going to be Catholic voluntary or Maintained schools, then I don't know where I would be. I could still be going from a year here to a maternity there. I could be teaching in a very well respected voluntary Catholic grammar. You don't know (Paddy - 3e21).

Many of the interviewees had trained or taught outside the confines of NI before returning home. Here they encountered greater diversity and a broader range of attitudes and beliefs than might have been the case had they remained within the local, parochial and largely introspective context. Looking from outside and fuelled with a desire to return home they saw an education system in NI that appeared to be ready to embrace the cross-over teacher.

> I was desperate to get home. To get a permanent job so I got very lucky and got a job in [Controlled] high School and that was three years ago. I had applied for lots and lots of jobs… I was really looking forward to it but I still had my naivety glasses on thinking Northern Ireland is a changed place; it has to be or I wouldn't have got that job (Mairead - 2a02).

For two interviewees, barriers to career progression in their previous school had led to them seeking promotion further afield and, ultimately, to depart the community consistent path.

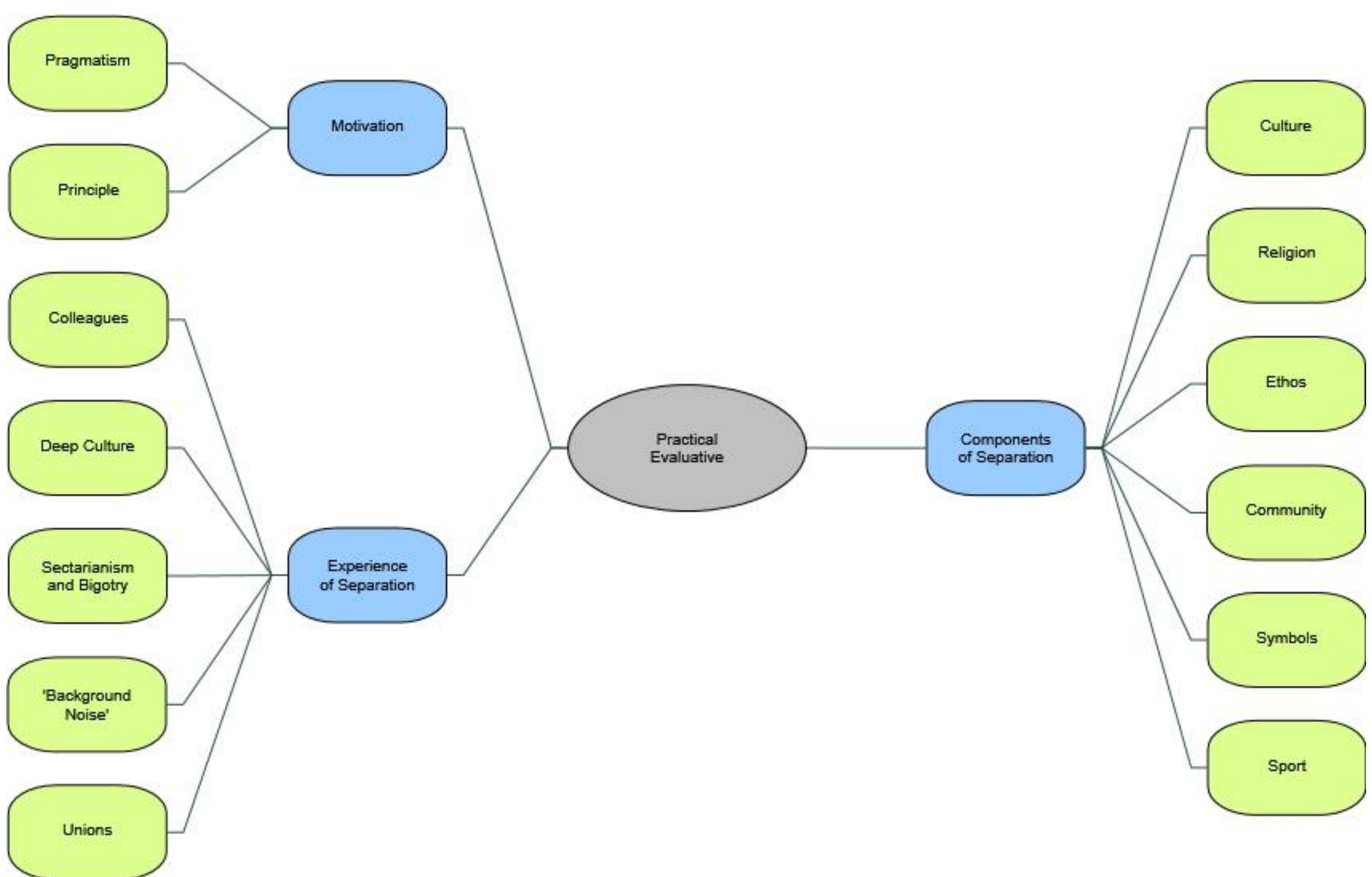


Fig. 31. Agency-As-Achievement: Practical-Evaluative - Themes and Codes

> Then in 2011 the VP job came up and I felt that I was in the best position to apply from the inside. And I didn't get it… I recognised that my career path, if I want to develop to the next level, it had to be outside… I had just done my PQH and I texted a chum who worked here and said, "Are you going to apply for the job [at a Catholic voluntary grammar]?" and he said he hadn't seen it but, "Are you going to apply for our job? It's in the paper." So? What's your reaction to that? "Which paper?" So, I went on the school website and I downloaded the form and I thought "You know what? I'm going to go for this." It was better money - being really ruthless – it was a higher point on the scale (Hannah - 3d05).

A small number of the cross-over teachers that took part in the interview process identified that they had moved into their current post as the consequence of an active, principled decision. They supported the ethos of the school and the sector within which it was managed. This was the case for one Catholic teacher who had returned to teaching following a period working for her local ELB.

> When I got out of the Catholic trajectory or tunnel or whatever you want to call it I realised that the Controlled schools were what other places called public schools and that was where everybody should be going apart from those who {EMPHASIS} *choose* to go to faith schools. That opened me up to that. You are channelled into that tunnel and you don't even know it whereas we should be making that choice. I came here and to me it is a public school that belongs to everybody and others can choose if they so wish. … I love the ethos of this school – from I have come here and experienced it. I always had a *grá*[98] - to use an Irish word - for Integrated (Clodagh - 1a09).

Another teacher, who had also chosen to return to NI, was only willing to consider posts in Integrated schools; as a gay man he felt that the sector would be most sympathetic to his sexuality.

> I came back here, not, with no job, finished the term in July as it does over there, came back, enjoyed the summer, took a wee holiday in September and when I came back sent out my CV to schools in the local vicinity… And I made the choice of sending in <u>only</u> to Integrated schools… So, whether it was religion, whether it was culture or sexuality, on paper, this was going to be a sector that should be more open to me working with them (Andrew - 1c15).

Many others, although they recognised that their decision to enter the Integrated sector may have initially been driven by the necessity to gain employment, had become fervent converts to the ethos that they found there. Their pragmatic choice had become a conviction.

---

[98] Translates as a 'yearning' or 'desire'.

> Having been in here and worked here I would never now choose to work outside the Integrated sector. I would never go back (Ashleen - 1c27).

There was an intimation however that, as has been seen in the dominant Catholic and Protestant sectors, the Integrated sector may possibly also be becoming a self-replicating sector in its own right.

> A huge number of people who come into the Integrated sector just move to other Integrated schools (Lindsay - 2c17).

Data from six codes – community, culture, sport, religion, ethos and symbolism – were subsumed into the theme entitled 'Components of Educational Separation' in which the differences identified between the sectors were analysed through the lens of the cross-over teacher; how do cross-over teachers experience these differences?

During the interviews, the teachers frequently used terms such as 'home' and 'family' when referring to a school within which they felt comfortable. The concept of *school as community* was usually represented as a positive element by the in-coming 'outsider'; as illustrated by this Protestant teacher employed in a Catholic post primary.

> It's very much a community and people have been very, very good to me since I worked there and I lost my father a couple of years ago… they were very, very, just sympathetic and you know people that I hardly knew that well made a big effort to be, they do tend to try and look after – whenever anything happens to anybody, everybody rallies round (Alison - 2b16).

This sense of family and community may also have a negative side – the school can be controlling and stifling for the insider and, for the outsider, extremely difficult to break-in to.

> I always felt like an outsider in CCMS small country schools – they can be very uncomfortable to work in. They want to know everything about you. Who you are. Where you come from. When you don't buy into it – it's a small-town mentality. I don't like that. Again, it's about control (Eimear - 1c10).

As a consequence, for the cross-over teacher, escape from their home community into an environment where they are unknown and carry no baggage could be seen as a potential positive.

> I had *lived* in the other school. Everybody knew all about me – when I came in here that'd gone. Disappeared. There was no connection between my work life and my family life. Where in my old school everybody knew everything about me. So, it was good personally for me (Hannah - 3d05).

The outsider/cross-over teacher will perhaps inevitably have a specific perspective on the cultural practices of the wider community within which the school is located. They are likely to conscious of behaviours and iconography that may attract little or no consideration from the community consistent teacher. This contrast is most evident with regard to expressions of Catholic-Irish and British-Loyalist culture.

> When you are approaching the Maintained sector, you know that there is a religious emphasis because it is Maintained by the Catholic church and that is part of their ethos. In a Maintained school there will be religious statues – there'll be a prayer and things like that… A school is a school. We're here to educate kids but these particular children had union jack pens, union jack pencil cases, they were singing 'the Sash'[99], whistling 'the Sash', drumming 'the Sash'… from about Eastertime until the end of term they mind the bonfire [at lunchtime] – can't do homework 'cos they're out collecting wood, they are like little birds collecting, building their nest. And that's what they do (Mairead - 2a02).

Alison offers an alternative perspective on similar behaviour that she had observed in a Controlled school.

> There was this teacher and she was from Dundalk, she was a student and she said, "They were whistling some song and I don't know what it is, and I sort of, them boys were all drumming." I knew it was 'the Sash'. I said, "It's just a song - don't worry about it." … They just do it every day because they are in the band and they just play in the band all the time, like but she might have taken it that they were trying to, you know intimidate her (Alison - 2b16).

Such behaviour was not present in all schools on the Protestant side – one Catholic teacher in a non-Catholic voluntary grammar noted that the overt displays of Loyalism that had been witnessed in non-selective, Controlled schools were largely absent amongst the more affluent pupils that attended his school.

> Certain aspects of the culture which a Catholic might fear or be wary of in relation to Protestants – middle class Protestants don't actually engage in that culture themselves. The Twelfth of July, the bonfires, the parades – Catholics have a very

[99] 'The Sash (My Father Wore)' is a ballad that commemorates the victory of the forces of the Protestant King William III over the Catholic King James II in the Williamite wars of 1689-1691 that assured Protestant ascendancy to the British throne. It is probably the most frequently heard air played by flute bands on the annual Twelfth of July demonstrations.

> narrow view of that. The Eleventh of July is a nightmare for the Catholic community because of bonfires, because a heightened police presence – of the drinking associated with the Twelfth – the riots and the behaviour which might follow on (Paddy - 3e21).

Many of those employed in the Integrated sector spoke of the ways in which their school actively embraced some of the potentially contentious traditions and culture associated with both sides.

> Last year and the year before, we took part in competitions based up [in an urban Catholic area] where you go and speak Irish - and we had people winning in our school, doing better than children who had gone to Irish speaking schools there… the Queen's Jubilee in 2012, we had a huge street party, well in the school, in the playground; a huge thing, fancy dress, disco, the weather was fantastic. Parents were asked to send in cakes and buns and crisps. We had a mountain of food that we delivered around houses afterwards. Union Jacks everywhere… and not a word from the Catholic sector of parents. Not a complaint, not a criticism, nothing (Andrew - 1c15).

There was, however, some indication that this level of exposure may not exactly be what parents had expected when they made the decision to send their children to an Integrated school. They may have been hoping that their off-spring would be insulated from the division rather than exposed to it, in all its variety.

> [Some] parents send their children here because, you know, in a way… they are trying to keep them bland and not take one side or the other (Dervla - 2c25).

Sport has often a very prominent place within the culture of a school. The annual schools' cups in rugby and Gaelic football are broadcast live on local TV and are a matter of considerable prestige. They are also seemingly inextricably connected with the community divide. The rugby cup is the domain of non-Catholic grammar schools whilst the schools that compete for the equivalent GAA trophy lie exclusively within the Catholic sector[100].

> I had a year [in a] very GAA orientated school, they had like a speaker in each classroom all the way through class, suddenly there would be an announcement, "We wish the lads for such-and-such a team all the -" – you never got teaching for 5 minutes until somebody came on with, then, "The lads from such-and-such

[100] There has been some recent progress with regard to introducing rugby in Catholic grammar schools and non-grammar Controlled schools in NI – with the exception of the occasional short-lived project, GAA has been unable to gain similar leverage outside of Catholic education sectors.

> team will be playing at such-and-such." And you had to sssh them all and listen and I had a really crackly one, you know, it was like Hi-de-Hi! (Alison - 2b16).

Such is the pre-eminence of the GAA within Catholic communities that one interviewee remarked.

> The GAA has replaced the Catholic church as the focus of community (Clodagh - 1a09).

For some, the merits of the sport remain clear in spite of its potentially divisive character in the NI context.

> It grates when people say it's a sectarian institution. It's not from our perspective. Sport is a discipline. It's good for you – team building and keeping boys on the straight and narrow… I have never heard any sectarian remark being made either going to Gaelic matches (and I've been to many) – on the side-lines or Post-match dissection. We never really got into it being a political thing. It was a sporting thing through and through. I find it very upsetting if I hear that because I think my family put so much into it for good not for it to be used as something to wave at people and make it a one-sided thing when it shouldn't be (Eimear - 1c10).

There were suggestions that those who chose not to play gaelic football may, to some extent, have been ostracised within their own community.

> I had played at quite a good level of GAA in my youth, but I sort of got side-tracked. I got a passion for rock music. Heavy metal music. And left gaelic football to one side. That caused a bit of uproar in the local community and amongst our friends. It was a bit of a tricky situation. If you are seen to move away from the GAA it was a bit strange you were a bit uppity (Thomas - 2a20).

The dominance of the sport caused a degree of discomfort for one Protestant teacher employed in the PE department of a CCMS post primary.

> You are in the centre of the GAA area here – it's Gaelic through-and-through. If you can't talk Gaelic talk you are going to stand out like a sore thumb (Norma - 2b07).

Rugby does not possess the same deep, community roots that the GAA does – although many rugby clubs can trace their origins back to old-boys' teams that grew out of local grammar schools. In NI the sport is still predominantly the preserve of the Protestant middle class.

> Rugby is not my sport. I never played it. I would have a passing interest. I like to watch Ireland – in the 6 Nations and the World cup. I like to see them do well but to use very narrow language it's not my sport… I quite like the emphasis on sport

> [in this school] – I appreciate it and the emphasis on doing one sport well – rugby – reminds me of my old [GAA-playing] school. It equips the boys with a lot of skills (Paddy - 3e21).

As Paddy went on to illustrate, the potential for shared sporting interests and joint activity between colleagues is not one that has been exploited.

> Culturally what I enjoy – socially to an extent what I enjoy would be Catholic orientated in terms of going to GAA games. There's stuff I do on a personal social level where I can understand why teachers who work with me might feel uncomfortable – for example going to a GAA game in Croke park [the GAA national stadium in Dublin].
>
> M. *Have you ever brought any of your colleagues to Croke?*
>
> No. I've offered but no one has come yet. You know you go down to Croke and you go for a few pints before the match and all the pubs are packed – some of them would be quite used to that from going to Ravenhill [the ground of Ulster Rugby, in Belfast]. I could imagine that some of them might be uncomfortable with that context. That it's the GAA - and there is a perception about the GAA from maybe the Protestant side. Going into the match and the national anthem being played it might sit uncomfortably with them (Paddy - 3e21).

Whilst sport can function as a cultural determinate that maintains the division, there was evidence that, in some of the schools in the Integrated sector, the frequently divisive, archetypical 'football shirt' has also been deployed as a vehicle through which diversity can be acknowledged, explored and respected.

> Sport is amazing for bringing together different communities, different beliefs, different traditions – sport is great! Most other schools ban football kits. You're not allowed to bring your football kit into school – you do not show which team you support. We don't do that. So, you are allowed to wear whatever kit you want – people tend to choose not to wear Rangers or Celtic tops… So, you wear your football top for PE or whatever and then you use that to share your experiences and your identity (Elizabeth - 1c30).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, a huge amount of data was offered by interviewees on the subject of religion in schools. This coded information showed remarkable consistency. The Catholicism present within Catholic sector schools is filtered into almost every lesson. Catholic liturgy remains generally prominent in the school and is shown significant respect by pupils. There does, however, also seem to be a decline in the religiosity of the home and an increase of a more '*secular Catholicism*' – parents appear keen that their

children should receive a Catholic education but show less commitment to regular attendance at mass.

> There's a lot of them who would be not practising. Where mummies and daddies have sent them just through tradition and we see it whenever it comes to masses and things and they are coming out in their rows and they are climbing over these few who are making a stand and not getting up. In fact, there's always a lot of dental appointments, eye appointments, doctors' appointments whenever there are school masses (Paula - 2b03).

There was a suggestion that this decline may reinforce the church authorities' commitment to ensuring that Catholicism is fostered in school.

> Promotion of faith is very important in the school. More so now that family faith is less prevalent. The Catholic church recognises that the way to promote the faith and keep boys in church is to do it through the schools (Hannah - 3d05).

All three Protestant teachers who had been employed in CCMS primary schools commented on the dilemma of how to conduct oneself as a non-Catholic during religious sacraments and rituals in school and the unfamiliarity and (potential) discomfort with certain prayers – all had found ways of making suitable accommodation – for example:

> The priest who was there - when it was time for first communion - and there would have been children that I had been teaching; he just very kindly said "Let your conscience tell you what to do." He didn't say that he wouldn't serve me communion and he didn't say yes you should go up – he left it up to me… I can see a lot of other Protestant people – church people might have difficulty saying, "Hail Mary" or something like that but the prayers were just part of the daily routine of the morning prayer (Heather - 1b13).

One Protestant teacher who took up a post in a Catholic grammar had *over*-estimated the religious presence that he would encounter on entering the sector.

> I remember speaking to some of the older staff and it was the first fortnight here, "what do you think of school?" and I really wanted to find out about. And I said, "See, to be honest with you," - I was naïve and straight - said to them, "My expectations were maybe like in the movies, you know, swinging incense burners, the sound of nuns on the background you know and hushed corridors and all this." And one of the teachers said, "Oh my God! We must be slipping!" {LAUGHTER} (Craig - 3d24).

Another teacher who had spoken about her very deep, personal, non-Catholic faith found the respect for the Church and the centrality of religion that she encountered in her cross-over post very compatible with her own spirituality.

> The faith thing is different – but that impresses me. When it came to parent-teacher meetings – among all the usual things the importance of home-work and routine but also in there was the importance of faith. How your relationship with God is important. For me being a Christian I'm going, "Wow! Imagine state schools being able to do that!" They're not *Protestant* schools. They're *state* schools (Hannah - 3d05).

The Integrated sector has its own perspective on religion - the NI Council for Integrated Education statement of principles highlights they are required to be "essentially Christian in character" (Wardlow, 2013). The teaching of religion in such schools requires more careful consideration of the differences between faiths than might be required in a school with a specific denominational ethos or where the bulk of the pupils share a common cultural-religious identity.

> I teach RE in an Integrated school – which is different to teaching RE in a Protestant school or a Catholic school… I think in an Integrated school it becomes more obvious because you have to have a sense of ownership for any spirituality because it's not necessarily – it is part of our Christian ethos – but I think it is more obviously found in a purely Protestant or Catholic school because it's just looking at '*you*' whereas we are dealing with '*everybody*' (Lindsay - 2c17).

This inclusivity in the Integrated sector was also poetically described by Andrew as "that hidden kind of normal". It may also create problems and confusion.

> A lot of the parents [at the Integrated school] were mixed marriages or some had had family tragedy in the Troubles and didn't want that sort of experience for the kids and they had decided no religion for their kids. A great many of them had no faith. Some had circumstances that to me are unusual in that they had made choices that the girls would be Catholic and the boys would be Protestant.
>
> To me that is the most bizarre. How can you split your family like that? How could that bring unity in your family instead of making one choice. I found my experience was that the children were quite confused (Rebecca - 1b12).

Whilst schools in CCMS and Catholic voluntary grammars are clearly closely affiliated with one particular denomination, and Integrated schools seek to respect all faiths and none, the Controlled and non-Catholic grammars lack the dominant religious character that is provided by the exclusive presence of one perspective on faith. They are nevertheless surrounded by the trappings of religion – not least in the presence of clergy on their Boards of Governors.

> Each of the main churches that were represented in the school had a minster on the Board of Governors… Ministers came in and took assemblies in [a Controlled PS] in rotation so that they would all be represented. As far as I can recall that was Presbyterian, Methodist and maybe Baptist or Elim (Rebecca - 1b12).

Notwithstanding the role of the Protestant churches in the management of non-Catholic schools, the lack of overt religious iconography in *de facto* Protestant schools was noted and commented on by cross-over teachers. The relative absence of ritual in a non-Catholic school assembly was unfamiliar – and, to an extent, uncomfortable.

> Maybe you might have a morning prayer in assembly, "We'll bow our heads and say a prayer" and then nobody blesses themselves and I found that strange. And when they say the Our Father they add that wee bit on at the end. That cracked me up – it was so strange... Their worship was more diluted, and I didn't really like that (Thomas - 2a20).

In marked contrast to the spiritual Hannah's engagement with faith in a Catholic school (above), a Catholic teacher with a secular outlook on education found the relative absence of religion in the Controlled sector to be a virtue.

> In the Controlled sector… I was only spending one half hour lesson a week teaching a bible story; we spoke about it first then did a worksheet and that was it done and dusted. We had our hymn singing – I love singing – for half an hour on a Monday afternoon. We had a lovely assembly once a week and would build a bible story into that. Job done! (Eimear - 1c10).

Donnelly (2000, p. 134) described ethos as "a fashionable but nebulous term" – she went on to describe it from a positivist, top-down, perspective as "the expressed wishes of those who command authority within an organisation and it is the means by which individuals within the organisation are committed to what is deemed natural, proper and right" (Donnelly, 2000, p. 136). From an interpretivist, bottom-up, perspective (such as that articulated by Allder, 1993, p. 69), ethos is the "unique pervasive atmosphere or mood of the organisation which is brought about by activities or behaviour primarily in the realms of social interaction and to a lesser extent in matters to do with the environment, of members of the school and recognised initially on an experiential rather than a cognitive level."

Whether or not these philosophical and semantic nuances are fully understood by all of those who speak of 'ethos' is a moot point. The term is used widely in education, and in NI particularly with reference to the Catholic sector schools.

> When you walk into any Catholic Primary – you feel the Catholic ethos – which is a really strong and good thing. A feeling that the school is there to do the best for the children. From the staff there is a feeling that they want to do their best – whether that is St Bride's on the Malone Rd or St Kevin's at the bottom of the Falls. You don't get that as strongly in all Controlled primary schools… You get the feeling that they will stick together – they won't criticise the Principal in front of people – they may call him a bastard in the school – but never outside. Circle of trust. You don't break that. A very strong feeling of togetherness. That is where so many Catholic primaries are better than Controlled – there's no doubt about it (Sean - 1a11).

Other interviewees spoke of a child-centred approach and of "educating the man from the boy"; of both the academic and spiritual. It was seen as relating to the manner in which the religious dimension permeated all elements of school life – simultaneously educating pupils and enfolding them into the body of the church.

> In any situation during the day it's always the Catholic ethos – God is love – Service for others – Charity. And all the elements that make up the pervasive ethos. It pervades everything rather than just being a religion lesson (Rebecca - 1b12).

The ritual of prayer and the place of religion was observed to be embedded into the daily life of schools in the Catholic sector. Religion, and routine went hand in hand as a medium through which discipline could be maintained and an effective teaching environment established.

> I remember when I went to my placement, actually, in [Catholic voluntary grammar school], being very surprised that every lesson starts with a prayer and although I came, I suppose, from that background it was something that didn't quite - it didn't sit comfortably with me, I'm not, you know, heavily religious and it was just something, I felt kind of like I was doing the pupils a disservice by starting the lesson with a bit of prayer that I wasn't buying into. But then I learned actually very quickly (a few of the teachers told me) that the reason they have to say the prayers is it is a great way to get the discipline. So now we are sitting down and doing work. So, I started using the prayer then at the start of the lesson as a tool of being able to keep them under control (Gerrard - 3e14).

An alternative, less favourable, perspective was provided by another teacher.

> You didn't question. And that's it, you know the other thing about a Catholic system is authority and obeying rules and doing what you are told. And what I found frustrating is you weren't taught to think for yourself. You were taught to follow the rules and do exactly what you were told; unquestioningly! (Dervla - 2c25).

One cleric's expression of pride at the way in which the Catholic ethos was embedded in one particular CCMS school, and the perceived absence of ethos in non-Catholic schools, however caused considerable discomfort for at least one cross-over teacher.

> This young Priest come out to talk about ethos… he was very, very, you know young and all guns blazing and started talking about ethos, the Catholic ethos of schools and we are all sitting there listening to him and then he started, just out of the blue, just "Protestant schools don't have an ethos. Don't have an ethos!"… and then it got worse, he said more stuff and I think, "I should be speaking out about it here; but I can't because I need this job" (Alison - 2b16).

None of the interviewees made direct reference to the existence, or otherwise, of an ethos in Controlled schools, however, the all-embracing concept of ethos was considered by some to be present in the Integrated sector.

> It's the acknowledgement and facing up of there are other people out there that differ to me and that's okay and I think what we try to teach our children that it's not about tolerance of each other, it's about respect. It's teaching that other people are entitled to their own opinion and that that's okay but it's not going to change and it's not going to affect your opinion, they are not going to change you, in fact it's probably going to enhance you… I don't like that whole, you know, 'tolerance' - because to me if you 'tolerate' something you are putting up with it, but respect is different (Jane - 1c28).

The Integrated model was presented as being underpinned by an 'inclusive' ethos which went beyond words and reached outside the traditional ethnic divide – this has also been recognised in academic research (e.g. Blaylock et al, 2018).

> The fact that we have past pupils with Down's Syndrome and in a wheelchair working in the school as classroom assistants – that is our ethos. We don't just say it – we do it… What started out about Catholic and Protestant – integration is now a multicultural approach (Elizabeth - 1c30).

The division in the education system is not symmetrically religion-to-religion – Protestant-to-Catholic – rather schools are either defined by their association with the Catholic church (within which an environment is nurtured where the broader cultural, linguistic and arguably political components associated with that identity can flourish) or with the state of Northern Ireland (with an environment which promotes a British identity within a generally Protestant religious dimension). These are asymmetric ethnic poles.

Schools are therefore more accurately described as being divided primarily into State and Catholic (rather than Protestant and Catholic). The symbolism and iconography present

in these two types of school are primarily either connected with the British state (flags, war memorials) or the Catholic religion and Irish cultural identity (prominent use of the Irish language, place of the GAA). The differences were summarised by Ailish – a Catholic working in a post primary Integrated school.

> I also do some work for CCEA – and even going into schools of different communities the shock of never having walked into that before. I go "Oh my gosh!" – the plaques and the flags and the "opened by the duchess-of-whatever". And I'm thinking, "OK. That's great." {SOUNDING VERY UNCOMFORTABLE} Whereas in my school it would have been "We love St Michael Archangel!" and there would be a huge painted statue and flowers and rosary beads and whatnot (Ailish - 2c26).

In the context of NI neither can be considered as being neutral – symbolism that one person may perceive as an innocuous representation of their identity may be viewed by another as reflecting an unacceptable bias. The two symbols most frequently identified as being contentious and/or causing discomfort for the cross-over teacher were the Poppy (worn in and around Remembrance Day) and the distribution of ashes (conferred by the priest on Ash Wednesday). Both of these are visible, personal identifiers of 'otherness' for the teacher who crosses over.

From one perspective, the Poppy represented respect for British forces who had fallen in conflict; from another it was an unacceptable reminder of British imperialism.

> I can see the one thing that saddened me would be for instance, without thinking, I would wear a Poppy on Remembrance Day – I would only wear it on armistice day – I wouldn't wear it for weeks and weeks but if the 11th November happened to be a school day I would have it on my coat (Heather - 1b13).

> I haven't been at the school yet during Poppy day, but I would hope that the school forbids the wearing of it as I see it as a political symbol – in the school in Derry there would have been poppies being worn, but I didn't feel obliged to wear one. I felt a little uncomfortable with everyone wearing them, but it was something you just got on with (Thomas - 2a20).

One Catholic cross-over teacher who had taught for several years in GB expressed great discomfort with the British iconography present in her school – particularly the elements that related to remembrance and the British armed forces.

> In the Controlled sector there's no religious symbols of any description – there are the flags and emblems there are plaques – in the school that I'm very familiar with there are plaques relating to the RUC, Poppy Appeal, the RAF, the British Army… they are very, very British emblems if that is the word.

> M. *They'd have done the Poppy Appeal in the school where you taught in England?*
>
> But then England is England – but here those kind of things are very divisive in Northern Ireland. For me education is education. It doesn't need to be tainted by one side or the other side. With the flags and the emblems – that for me was shocking (Mairead - 2a02).

The images in Catholic schools in contrast were seen almost exclusively as being religious in nature.

> On the door there is a sign – I can't remember the exact words but something like "we are proud to be a Catholic school". In the last year we were all given, not even a picture, but one of those pull-up poster things of the Pope. There would have been various little pictures on the wall or crosses that would have indicated that you wouldn't have needed to guess that it was a Catholic school. In [my department]… we had a little St Brigit's cross but the Pope was at the other side of the door as you went in adjoining the dining room (Heather - 1b13).

The conferring of ashes on pupils and staff in Catholic schools on Ash Wednesday – and their consequent absence on the foreheads of non-Catholic teachers – left little room for doubt as to the community identity of the cross-over teacher. None of those Protestant teachers who were employed in Catholic schools had received ashes; their 'otherness' was consequently exposed. For the Catholic teacher in the Protestant school, the conferring of ashes could be delayed until after classes had finished for the day. In the Integrated school it would appear that the fear of exposing identity apparent amongst many cross-over teachers in *de facto* Catholic and *de facto* Protestant schools was replaced by an opportunity to engage students in conversations about identity and difference.

> So, on Ash Wednesday I went and got my ashes you know. When I came back to the classroom the kids went, "So, are you a Catholic then Mrs [-]?" and I said "Yes" and one of them said, "Mrs [-]'s not. She's Presbyterian." You know, it's the kind of thing you would naturally go "Gasp!" when somebody asks you - are you a Catholic? - but it's just genuine curiosity, and it was nice for them to see that I go and get the ashes on my head and this is why I do it, and they were sort of like, "Are you going to keep those on all day?" You know, but it's good for them to experience that (Ashleen - 1c27).

The playing of national anthems – God Save the Queen and Amhrán na bhFiann – was also identified as a potentially unsettling representation of a school's affiliation.

> They would have the national anthem – God Save the King (*sic*.) – at the end of the prize day – which for a Catholic teacher can be quite {DRAWS IN BREATH}. In the school I went to, there would never have been Amhrán na bhFiann – the

> only time you would have hear it would have been if my school had been in the McCrory cup final – that is standard at GAA games (Paddy - 3e21).

If State-to-Catholic and Catholic-to-State cross-over teachers are to be able to find their 'comfort' within this they require the capacity to introduce elements of their identity into the school (Perry et al, 2009; Wright, 2016; Beijaard et al, 2004). In the face of long established symbolism, such cross-over teachers may have limited agency to 'dilute' the intensity of the monochromatic message. In marked contrast, there was evidence to suggest that Integrated schools were endeavouring to cover all of the national, religious and cultural bases – equally.

The final theme related to coded data that illustrated how the different sectors 'feel' for the teacher who crosses over was entitled the experiences of separateness. As demonstrated in the above reflections on the wearing of Poppies and ashes, many cross-over teachers spoke of their wariness in expressing their 'differentness'; or of having their 'otherness' within the school exposed. Equally there was discomfort expressed at overt displays within the school setting of Catholicism or British national identity.

Several of the teachers who had crossed-over had encountered concern or even opposition and resistance from their own family and community as a consequence of their move.

> My mum and dad coped when I went to [Catholic school] – 'cos I was only there for three weeks. And then I got a job in a good Protestant school and they were happy with that. Then I got the job here. That caused problems. Caused problems! For a long time, they referred to it as 'That place!' – "It's not called 'That Place' mummy. It has a name!" (Lindsay - 2c17).

For others, the cross-over was perceived as potentially creating opportunities for proselytising.

> I belong to a Presbyterian church in [-] and I never got the feeling that anybody was opposed to it but maybe there were a few raised eyebrows and, if I'm honest I might have encountered some people who felt that it was great that I was going there because I was going to preach the gospel {LAUGHTER} which is not really the way that I see it (Anna - 3d04).

There were indications that the cross-over teachers might not always be welcomed by local, ethnically similar colleagues who had remained community consistent.

> My experience of Shared Education is a very strange reaction because I'm [a Protestant in the Catholic school]. So as far as the ones across the road are

> concerned, there's like a very, very frosty atmosphere… the teachers that have been a long time at the [Controlled] School are very, very unfriendly, like when we go to the same shop for lunch and they'll be in the queue in front of us and the pupils from school are saying, "Hello Miss!" And, "Hello Miss!" And they'll just turn their back on us (Alison - 2b16).

Sometimes remarks from peers were gently critical of the move.

> I do get the odd "Oh you're now a Liberal. You have been in that [Catholic area] too long!" You hear a lot of that (Craig - 3d24).

Others were indicative of the historical lack of trust of the 'other-side'.

> There would have been a perception among some – the remnants of the past too – but there was a very narrow perception that you shouldn't trust the other side – you should be wary of them (Paddy - 3e21).

Some of those teachers who had taken employment in a school of the other community had encountered attitudes and behaviours that they perceived as having a sectarian motive. These incidents were identified variously as having been instigated/perpetrated by pupils, parents, other staff members, members of the BoG and external officials

> We decided to publish in our newsletter that there were confirmation classes being provided at the local Catholic school. Nobody said anything directly to me – again I'm a big guy – I always made myself very available. There *were* comments made to the secretaries and staff about that. It became an issue for the Governors but there were underlying currents (Sean - 1a11).

Sectarian attitudes had been expressed by some pupils – who may or may not have been conscious of their teacher's 'otherness'.

> I think that there are occasions where - not so much at A level but at GCSE - where I have picked up on students - probably not knowing my background - and expressing quite strong political views that bordered on sectarian (Anna - 3d04).

Such incidents were not the unique preserve of those teaching in ethnically divided schools – issues were also cited in Integrated schools

> There's a couple of girls – I'm thinking of one in particular who calls herself the Queen of [Loyalist estate]. She has raised issues with one of the teachers – a new teacher who is from Derry-slash-Londonderry. She's from there and when she was referring to it – what was the story about the footballer last year? I can't remember – but anyway [the teacher] was referring to it and she said "Derry" and [the pupil] came back to her with "Londonderry". She explained, "My tradition is such that I chose to say this" and [the pupil] couldn't accept this; [the pupil] was

> hell-bent on getting her say – whether it was under her breath – she was just trying to assert her authority in the matter (Niamh - 2c06).

One Protestant teacher recounted an incident during a temporary post in a Controlled PS – she was perceived by parents (and others in the community) as having focussed too little on the significance of the Poppy in the run up to Remembrance Day.

> [the P1 teacher] said "Are you on Facebook at all?" A couple of parents were on Facebook saying, "Who is this fenian teacher coming in teaching our children?"… "Not teaching our children the traditions of our community – the war, the importance of the poppy"… they were really going at it calling you "fenian this" and "fenian that"." They were – "This teacher coming in, not teaching our tradition because she's not of our tradition". I thought this was so funny because technically I would be a Protestant but they assumed that I was Catholic with a name like [mine]. So, they were up in arms they didn't like me at all and I was like, "I am literally going to get lynched" (Leah - 1b01).

Teachers had also expressed potentially, sectarian attitudes.

> I remember being shown round [rural Protestant town] when I first arrived and the teacher pointing out a Controlled school that had transformed[101] and she said, "That means that the Catholics can go to two schools – this one that used to be ours – and their own! That's not fair!" And it was like, "These were *our* schools and we've allowed *them* in!" {BANGS FIST ON TABLE} (Rebecca - 1b12).

One teacher described a particularly toxic situation where she perceived that the entire school – from the pupils to the BoG – were turning a blind eye to behaviour that she understood to be sectarian in its motivation.

> There was an initial cautiousness from staff… but from the first day I was in, children wanted to know if I was a *fenian* or not.
>
> "Could you just tell us – are you a fenian?" As direct as that. "Just tell us. Are you a fenian?"
>
> I was starting to notice the singing of The Sash, by the pupils, and I was raising these issues. As with any school there's a protocol to be gone through – speak to the pupil about their behaviour – so "Excuse me, you can't be singing things like that." - "What do you mean?" – "It's not appropriate in school" – "But that's just what we do."
>
> Then I would speak to the head of year: "Are you aware of the singing of these songs? It's not appropriate." – "Nah, this is [Loyalist town]. What do you expect? This is just what they do!" (Mairead - 2a02).

---

[101] A 'Transformed' school is an Integrated school that had formerly been in either the Maintained or Controlled sector – transformation is often perceived as an insincere move by a school with falling numbers; an attempt to survive by attracting pupils from a wider pool i.e. both sides of the community

Similar behaviour was observed by another Catholic teacher in a post primary school located in a staunchly loyalist urban area. Her reaction was noticeably different.

> Yeah when I first started, brand new, drumming - but that is just second nature. That's not even to cause offence. That is, I'm starting here and I have a couple of minutes to kill outside class before she lets me in and I want to practice what I know. There's no offence to be taken that as far as I'm concerned (Maeve - 2a23).

For Mairead, however, the behaviour escalated.

> Whistling, chanting, singing the Sash, Union Jack pencil cases – just not engaging with me at all no matter what I would do – and obviously there were their parents there behind them. "You don't need to listen to her. What does she know? She's only a Catholic!" (Mairead - 2a02).

Finding her authority as a teacher increasingly compromised and feeling unsupported by the school leadership and management, Mairead eventually stepped back from her post and subsequently, with backing from her union, took a case against the school. The ambivalence demonstrated by some teachers towards the 'outsider' in the staffroom was also noted by other interviewees.

> Among the staff there were a number who were very supportive and who were making sure that I wasn't getting any sectarian trouble. There were others who didn't take me under their notice (Grainne - 1c19).

Even in less problematic circumstances, the manner in which colleagues from the two communities communicate with one another in the different sectors were seen as potentially belying cultural differences.

> In the Catholic schools I've worked in most of the staff would Eff and Blind and C-U-N-T in their casual conversations with each other. Not in front of the pupils but they would talk away 'til the cows come home, and the language would be blue (Thomas - 2a20).

Such use of 'colourful' language was remarked also upon from the perspective of a Protestant teacher employed in a Catholic school – she did however indicate that such language may be mitigated where it had the potential to cause offence.

> Some of my colleagues, if they are saying "Oh God!" or, "Jesus Christ!" occasionally apologise to me for saying it. I think they know that I have a strong Christian faith, but I think they also feel that that is something that Catholics do more than Protestants that there is a cultural thing there (Anna - 3d04).

As in many places of work, staff socialise with one another outside of school hours. Here too, observed cultural differences were remarked upon.

> There was more of a drinking culture amongst the [Catholic] teachers; you'd all go out and have a good laugh. You can't really talk about that here… You have to be very guarded about how you talk about your personal life - your social life (Orla - 3e08).

> The Christmas party at the end of the night it's usually the Catholics who are still at the bar (Ashleen - 1c27).

For many younger teachers – who may arguably lead a more active social life – the age of the colleagues with whom they associate outside work is potentially a more important determinant than their denomination, community background or politics. It would however appear that there is separation in respect of certain community consistent social activities; most specifically, sports.

> I haven't gone with the boys up to Ravenhill. One of the questions I was asked two weeks into the school by one of the boys was "Do you like rugby sir?" Truthfully no. I don't really like rugby – I suppose I would have had the attitude {AFFECTS UPPER CLASS ACCENT} Oh Rugby it's so very nicey, nicey, nicey. But I would like to go to Ravenhill just to see what it's all about. That's a small step I have to take. I just think it would be kinda shite. I am sure I would have {AFFECTS UPPER CLASS ACCENT} a very jolly good time if I did go (Thomas - 2a20).

For many teachers in cross-over settings, *banter* between colleagues in the staffroom appears to be commonplace. All those who spoke of banter cited it as a positive feature of life as a cross-over teacher. It was widely implied that acknowledging difference and otherness through casual (sometimes clumsy) attempts at humour diffused potential discomfort and allowed the teacher to engage their identity in their relations with their peers in the school. In the section below, it is clear that, in this context at least, the use of the term *fenian* has very different connotations to the pejorative manner in which it was used towards Mairead by her pupils. There was however also an intimation that such humour might also hide deeper fears.

> I walk into the common room like, one of my colleagues would say, "Alright you big dirty Fenian?" when I'm sitting down with my lunch and I'd be like "Aye, you big Prod" and you know we would sit, so it is very much known, and like even the History Department it is, we do joke about our differences. Although like I'm not by far not the only, you know, Catholic - person from a Catholic background - that works here, you know the Protestant staff will joke that they are being overrun (Gerrard - 3e14).

Through banter it does seem possible that the use of humour may allow for conversations and insights into potentially contentious issues such as nationality and faith in the examples below.

> There's great craic in the staff team. A teacher walked in and had to give someone her passport for photocopying for a school trip and the passport happened to be Irish. One teacher from the north coast said, "Oh, get that away! Get that Irish passport away!" And she took it and went, "Oo-oo-oo!" {VERY JOKINGLY DISTRESSED} and tapped him on the shoulder with it and he went {SNEEZES TWICE} "I'm coming out in a rash!" I started laughing it was wild craic. It was good, friendly, innocent fun (Thomas - 2a20).

> I know from recent experience going on a ski trip with the kids – we went with [another CCMS school] – and on the very first evening we thought we'll take them to mass. We're really good Catholic schools so we'll take them to mass! My Protestant colleague also went {LAUGHS} the two of us! I know that you can go up and get a blessing – I knew that and said I was going up and he went, "Can you do that?" "Yeah. Come on!" So, we both went. The joke was that after this I actually fell the next day and ruptured my ACL – [another member of staff – a friend] said "Well that's what you get for doing that! {LAUGHTER} May your feet burn!" {RISING LAUGHTER} (Norma - 2b07).

Clearly such teasing is not appropriate in every situation and with every colleague. There is an unspoken understanding that relationships need to be carefully negotiated and teachers must proceed with caution. Reckless use of humour is ill-advised.

> I suppose we are careful with our banter until we know we are allowed to banter. I think you are allowed to banter when you know the person and you have respect and trust so that you can recognise banter within friendship. I think that is true in any situation. And in NI we use humour so much, but we are so aware that you can't just be flippant (Lindsay - 2c17).

Inevitably, school staffrooms are not always a place of harmony and mutual respect. Where strongly held views are put forward humour may not be the best response. The resulting atmosphere needs to be handled appropriately - as in the example of an Integrated school below.

> We have a member of staff who is a member of the Ulster Unionist Party. So, with things going on, obviously sort of sitting at lunch-time politics does creep into discussions. She is very vocal in what she believes and what she thinks but it doesn't cause any sort of rows or arguments or ill-feeling, things are sort of discussed and, when it gets maybe a little sort of tense, you just divert the conversation and move it on a bit (Sophie - 2c29).

Two Protestant teachers employed in the Catholic voluntary grammar sector shared stories that illustrated how their own strong Christian faith had contributed to the building of relationships with other staff members. In one particular example, an act of shared Christian observance was noted as having allowed for a particular bonding between colleagues of different faiths.

> [The principal] said, "I just want you to come into the chapel with me." So, basically, he said that he felt there was a very unsettled atmosphere and he wanted us to pray together. We knelt down side by side in the back row of the chapel. I said a prayer. He said a prayer. We got up and went off. And that was it. But I really got the feeling that he had specifically sought me out because he thought that I was the sort of person who wouldn't be intimidated by praying out loud and it was a sign of that spiritual connection (Anna - 3d04).

As has been identified in earlier chapters, the membership of teaching unions in NI is to a large extent reflective of the separation of teachers in the divided school system. During interview a number of cross-over teachers reflected upon their own involvement with teaching unions and their motivations for joining, remaining in or transferring between unions. Most teachers join a union (and sometimes more than one!) whilst undertaking ITE – motivated primarily by the need for legal protection whilst on placement but also attracted by free membership packages and a variety of perks, freebies and other incentives. Each union is understood to have a different character and, in some schools, the teaching body is represented by a variety of unions – this may also create an element of friction between them. Once beginning teachers have found employment union membership becomes an important medium for remaining within 'the loop' for professional communication.

> I sometimes feel when I'm around the Catholic teachers - a lot of them are in the INTO – they are in the know about certain things that are going on and those that don't are excluded (Clodagh - 1a09).

Inevitably, the 'loop' of one union will exclude those who are members of other unions and may involve taking a stance contrary to the direction taken by the school leadership.

> A few principals would be INTO but more NAHT – because of the militancy of the staff. Same with UTU. When push comes to shove – quite rightly – they will back the teacher (Sean - 1a11).

Whilst there was some evidence that many teachers had changed their union affiliation in response to their promotion to senior posts, it would appear that few teachers from the

Protestant community had chosen to join INTO and few teachers in the Catholic sectors elect to join UTU. There was one notable – not altogether comfortable – exception to this pattern.

> NASUWT was becoming too negative. I was trying to get on with my job and be happy and it was becoming too negative. I thought enough is enough – I'm just going to go with INTO. Some of my closest friends are now the INTO members, but in saying that – that is all within this school… in the INTO conference I was thinking "OK. I must be the only Protestant sitting in this room and they are speaking Irish – I'm out of my comfort zone." {LAUGHTER} To the point where I felt – maybe I need to rethink being in the INTO because if they found out! (Norma - 2b07).

The previous section drew-out the way in which cross-over teachers had identified the experiences that they understood to have contributed their willingness or predisposition to veer off the community consistent path. It was evident from the material in this section that for those who crossed between communities that *de facto* Protestant and *de facto* Catholic schools have markedly different cultures – both in respect of that which is obviously observable (iconography) and that which is underlying (faith). Many dimensions of this may escape the attention of the unquestioning, or community consistent, teacher. The ethos of Catholic schools is to some extent prescribed by the church and tradition, but consciously or unconsciously it has Irish cultural and political components that may make the 'outsider' uncomfortable – in *de facto* Protestant schools these elements reflect a broad concept of British identity.

In some instances, the community identity of the teacher was simply assumed to be consistent with that of the pupils and staff team. In other cases, where students had suspicions that their teacher may be from the 'other' community, active efforts were made to expose that aspect of their identity. Sectarianism was evident in a number of cases – this had been most clearly displayed towards Catholic teachers (or in one case a teacher who was *perceived* as being Catholic) employed in *de facto* Protestant schools. Sectarianism in *de facto* Catholic schools was less blatant but nevertheless still present. Teachers who had crossed from Catholic to Protestant and from Protestant to Catholic were consequently generally uncomfortable exposing their identities – although there was evidence of teachers selectively engaging the 'otherness' of their identity with trusted classes as an aid to their teaching.

The climate described in the Integrated sector was markedly different. Identity – and displays of identity – were identified as being integral to the ethos of such schools. For many of those teaching in Integrated schools their community identity was not something to be hidden, rather it was a dimension of professional identity which they freely engaged in their dealings with pupils.

Obviously different teachers indicated different levels of comfort and discomfort with their 'outsider' identity – how this impacts on their plans for the future is the third of the themes discussed here.

9.2.3 Projective

According to Emirbayer and Mische (1998, p. 971) the Projective dimension of the Agency-as-Achievement über-theme encompasses "the imaginative generation by actors of possible future trajectories of action, in which received structures of thought and action may be creatively reconfigured in relation to actors' hopes, fears, and desires for the future" – in essence, teachers' intentions for the future. Four specific themes were identified from the coded data as being directly applicable: the consideration of employment and promotion opportunities within and outside the teacher's current sector, stated intentions with regard to the sector in which their own children would be educated and thoughts in respect of retirement (Fig. 32).

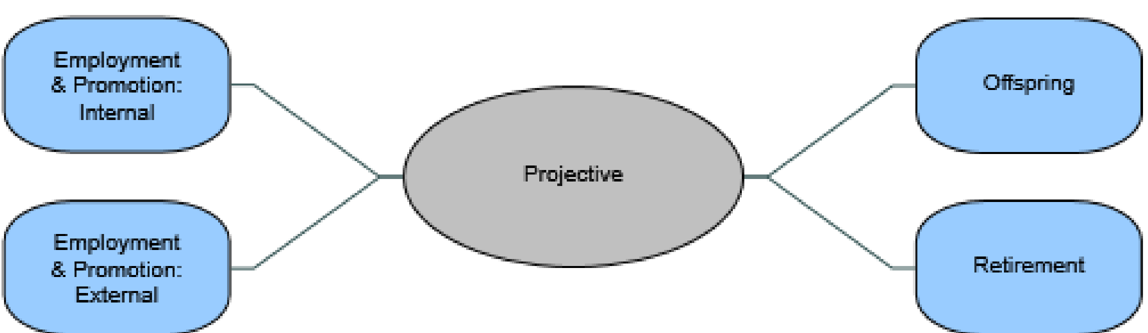


Fig. 32. Agency-As-Achievement: Projective – Themes

Following her appointment to a Controlled primary school, Katrina had endured a protracted and difficult period of bullying by another teacher (which she felt also had a sectarian component) she had had enough of being a cross-over teacher.

> The Acting Chair had approached a member of the DUP to join the Board of Governors… she said did that to make a "Protestant school for a Protestant community"…

> I have made the decision, I want out of the Controlled sector – I want into the Maintained sector so I have started doing the Catholic certificate… I don't think people will cross that boundary because discrimination still happens. As sad as it is. I never thought I would say that. I don't believe in segregation. While now, if you told me there was a job in a Catholic school, I'd be there tomorrow (Katrina - 1a18).

The source of Mairead's sectarian bullying lay in the pupil body but her discontent was intensified by the manner in which her experience was dealt with by the school management and EA. She saw no future for herself in the Controlled sector and expressed a strong desire to move to a post in a community consistent school.

> In two years I'd like to see myself settled in the Maintained sector – establishing myself getting on with what I want to do; which is teach. And do the job that I've trained so hard to do (Mairead - 2a02).

In marked contrast Rebecca, a Protestant, is settled and ostensibly comfortable in a CCMS PS – nevertheless, should she choose to seek a more senior post, she cannot conceive of applying to a *de facto* Catholic primary.

> Certainly, as a non-Catholic, I don't think that you can fully understand or deliver the ethos. Don't get me wrong I feel I can be a good person and can be a good role model as a Christian person – but there are elements to it that I don't think that I could model fully. It is not just saying prayers it is that – holistic drawing together of it that I fully get. This may only be my understanding – but if I ever felt that I wanted to go down that route [promotion] – and I don't think I ever will – but if I did I would go back to the Controlled or Integrated sector (Rebecca - 1b12).

Another, professionally contented, Protestant teaching in a Catholic grammar school, Craig, was of the impression that he has now been on that side so long that his experience may not be considered as being relevant to schools on the Controlled or non-Catholic grammar side. He also alluded to the possibility that his community background may exclude him from consideration for higher posts in Catholic schools!

> If people ask me I say, "No. I'm grand here. I'm grand here." But I'm getting to a stage where I'm going, "Maybe I have a wee bit more to give - but maybe not. I don't know." So, the next 10 years who knows, it really depends. This is probably, these next two years are probably quite crucial for me. I may be hindered both ways in the sense that I have done, looked after my career, totally in the Voluntary Catholic sector, that could because I'm from a Protestant background mean that I may be excluded, going further up. It's just a feeling. I have no evidence of this okay. But there's evidence of Protestant people getting Catholic schools so there's no reason why not, I suppose.

> And there's, possibly because I have worked so long in a Catholic school that trying to get into the Controlled sector, that could work against me too so I'm conscious of that but I'll be honest, my instinct is probably won't be a deal breaker, you know it will be in there but it won't be a deal breaker. So, if I impress {SHRUGS SHOULDERS} but again I'm not really at that stage of thinking… if I went to the Protestant sector I could be held back, if I stay in the Catholic sector I'll be held back. But it's not of a massive concern because I'm not pushing it at the moment (Craig - 3d24).

For another grammar school teacher, a promotion that entailed stepping back into the familiarity of a community consistent school would be marginally preferred to a promotion in a cross-over setting.

> If you gave me a choice now between a reputable Catholic voluntary grammar school and a reputable Protestant voluntary grammar – or that are perceived as Catholic and Protestant. It very much depends but I would probably maybe choose the Catholic one because that is what I'm familiar with (Paddy - 3e21).

He saw no prospect of any sectarian impediment to his progression should he remain within his current school.

> To be honest any of the people I have come across who would be responsible for interview panels and making those decisions I've found them open and good people who appoint on the basis of merit and what you have done. I don't think – it has never crossed my mind that I wouldn't get a job on the basis of my faith (Paddy - 3e21).

The number of teachers expressing a wish to move out of their current sector (however tentatively) was substantially fewer than those who expressed a wish to remain within their current sector. Several of these were viewing their prospects with regard to promotion within the same sector.

> A lot of people would be encouraging me to go for senior management at least. I have four young children at home – this school is very convenient for me. It's far enough away from home that I'm not in the community but its handy to get to (Norma - 2b07).

Norma felt that whilst a VP post may be within the reach of a non-Catholic – "it has more to do with the individual and what they have given to the school" – the principalship would be beyond her since it required the incumbent to be "the lead practising Catholic in the school". Hannah – a VP in a Catholic voluntary grammar – identified a similar, potential 'glass ceiling' for non-Catholics.

> I think there's an aspect of the Principal's role in this school that I might find difficult. A lack of knowing – we are a diocesan college… There are a lot of

> meetings with the Bishop – the Chairs of the BoGs and the Principals were all meeting here and then going up to see the Bishop (Hannah - 3d05).

A similar barrier was perceived as existing to the promotion of a Catholic to the principalship of a non-Catholic Voluntary Grammar.

> I think I fit in very well here - I made sure that I fit in. At the same time, I don't pretend that I'm anything other than what I am. I might have tried that at the start but it didn't last. I don't think that would hold me back. We have a Catholic teacher that is in senior management. We have had a Catholic VP… I can't see them ever having a Catholic principal (Orla - 3e08).

Those teachers employed in Integrated schools seemed, on the whole, to be contented in their chosen sector. One teacher who had been educated in Catholic schools was particularly reluctant to return to that sector.

> I certainly couldn't work in a CCMS school – I couldn't do that. If I lost my job in the morning I would probably deviate back towards the Controlled sector. I very much value my position in the Integrated sector (Eimear - 1c10).

By comparison, several of those teachers employed in grammar schools showed a greater openness with regard to the ethnic identity of the school in which they taught. They placed a high value on the good behaviour of pupils and the status that working in the grammar sector conferred.

> I almost feel like a snob for saying it but I would like to stay in the grammar sector now, I've got a taste for it… I would like to stay in the grammar sector. It doesn't really bother me if its all-boys/all-girls, or mixed. I still do have a passion for Integrated education but I think my life would be easier if I wasn't teaching in it and I do think Integrated teachers are put under more stress than the rest of us and I don't know if I quite fancy that (Gerrard - 3e14).

Whilst a number of early and mid-career teachers had spoken of their aspirations for promotion and career development, those approaching the end of their service showed a (perhaps understandable) disinclination to 'jump ship'. Heather, for example, insisted that her focus was on working with the pupils and that she would not be seeking further leadership duties or, significantly, the paperwork that goes with them!

Three teachers were within a few years of stepping down to receive their pension; two more had already embarked on a programme of reduced hours as a precursor to retirement – citing work-related stress as a key reason behind their decision.

> I had had enough - workload, stress, everything! I reached the point where it was either cut down or have a breakdown basically and so I asked to go part-time and I gave up Head of Department (Dervla - 2c25).

At the other end of the scale one of the interviewees had recently given birth and brought her baby along to the research interview; two others were expecting. All three were employed in Integrated schools. All three spoke of their intention to have their offspring educated in that sector. Sophie, who had herself followed several generations of family tradition by attending the local non-Catholic grammar school (and also the school's preparatory department), was adamant that her unborn child would not take that same path.

> I would want my child to experience Integrated education… I think that unless something changes from a very early age that our country is just going to keep doing the same thing again and again and again. It needs to come. The change needs to be made with children. It needs to be in education (Sophie - 2c29).

The trauma of her experiences as a cross-over teacher in a Controlled school led Katrina to reject any prospect of sending her children to a school in that sector – she spoke of her admiration for the strength of ethos in Catholic schools.

> If I had children – I wouldn't send them to a Controlled school – I would send them to a Catholic school. Just because it has a better ethos and a better standard of teaching and I think the staff care more (Katrina - 1a18).

The spectre of sectarianism had haunted the experiences of a number of those teachers who had crossed-over – they reported that were now actively seeking a path back to a community consistent setting. Others had flourished and been able to engage their identity in a manner that might not have been possible had they remained professionally within their own community of origin – they considered that 'moving back' might not be an option open to them.

In contrast, several teachers who had taken up employment in Integrated schools on the basis of a pragmatic 'any job will do' attitude spoke of having been 'converted' and there was evidence that they had become advocates of a school system where the recognition and accommodation of a spectrum of identities was the "hidden kind of normal" within their educational culture.

9.3 Agency in Practice

> I have my professional life and my personal life. I go in and do my job in an objective way and my personal life is separate (Paddy - 3e21).

Contrary to Paddy's perspective, it has been argued that a teacher's capacity for agentic practice is affected by their capacity to engage with all aspects of their identity (Wright, 2016). Beijaard et al (2004) emphasised the requirement for the effective teacher to be able to marry the 'personal' and the 'professional' dimensions of their identity and Francis and le Roux (2011) came to the conclusion that teachers need to come to terms with the fact that their identity will have been mediated by their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, class, language, sexual orientation, physical ability and language. The dominant cultural grammar in NI dictates that, within certain social settings, any political/cultural/religious issue that could be regarded as contentious should be circumvented. Many teachers in NI may consequently have learnt to assiduously avoid exposing any aspect of their ethnic identity.

The über-theme of Agency in Practice was constructed from three themes developed from the coded data relating to: teachers hiding or exposing their 'otherness' in a professional setting, examples of educational processes in which the teacher actively and consciously used their identity and the resistance that some teachers encountered when they did so. (Fig. 33)

Fig. 33 Agency in Practice: Themes

A general, and widely understood, rule-of-thumb is that Catholics will have Irish names whilst Protestants will have British names (Trew, 2004). Whilst generations of inter-marriage and other historical factors mean that this is not a wholly accurate determinate when only a surname is known (as is frequently the case in the relationship between teachers and pupils), its accuracy increases when both first and surnames are available.

> I have an Irish first name. My surname wouldn't give anything away, but my Christian name would (Paddy - 3e21).

Since teachers are generally only known by their students as Mr. X or Miss/Mrs/Ms. Y it may be possible for some teachers with 'ambiguous' surnames to hide in plain sight (should they wish to do so). For others their surname alone raised questions relating to their identity.

> There were a couple of other Catholic teachers in the school however their surnames were not as Irish-sounding as mine. I did not think that my name would be such an issue and 'out' me. There was an initial cautiousness from staff… but from the first day I was in, children wanted to know if I was a fenian or not (Mairead - 2a02).

With the advent of the digitally connected classroom and the use of ICT for teaching, the prospect of a teacher being able to hide or obscure their ethnic identity has receded.

> I hadn't consciously thought I am going to hide things about me but we started using Google Classroom and on Google Classroom your first and last name appears, you can't do anything about it… I did worry for a moment that my first name was being displayed because its Irish. I think because of that I have just been completely open with where I came from (Gerrard - 3e14).

In one reported instance, the 'other-ness' of a cross-over colleague's ethnic identity came as something of an uncomfortable surprise to a community consistent teacher.

> I had a season ticket for [a soccer team with a fan based strongly associated with Loyalism]. I will never forget the day it dropped out in the staffroom one of the older member gentlemen of the staff went, he went "Oh! Oh!" {DISTRESS AND DISGUST}, it may as well have been my Nazi card, you know, he panicked, "And you go to…?" {HORROR} – and so I had to explain to him and he calmed himself down, he was nearly in the roof you know. But that's just the experiences you get as time goes on. He had never seen anything like that! (Craig - 3d24).

In light of the subtle complexities of ethnic identification, some teachers had been incorrectly assumed by their pupils to have had the same identity as themselves.

> I remember that one of them said to me at one time – because [Kelly] was my maiden name – "Miss, are you anything to Mick [Kelly] who has the car place up there?" Mick [Kelly] has a wee car showroom. And I said "No" and one said "Wise up! Mick [Kelly] is a Protestant, he wouldn't be any relation of hers!" (Paula - 2b03).

> They were 13-14-15 year olds and, hearing them talk, the worst crime that their peers could commit was to *go out with a taig* – I wondered how many of them realised that I was a *taig* (Grainne - 1c19).

In some instances, cross-over teachers had actively sought to ensure that their community identity remained opaque.

> There are some silly we things – you don't say 'aitch' [unaspirated 'H'] – but they wouldn't know beyond that – the senior boys would probably know. I don't have my grandfather's sash on the wall (Hannah - 3d05).

In spite of Hannah's confidence that *only* the senior boys were aware of her ethnicity – secrets are hard to keep in a large and dynamic institution such as a school; it seems highly probable that messages will have been passed down between the boys. Leah relied on her very young pupils' naïvety to keep her identity secret.

> P1 and P2 they do notice subtle little things and they'll query the little things – but because they're so young and because you're not really doing a lot [preparing for communion/confirmation]… They'll notice the ashes. They'll notice if you don't kneel in the mass (Leah - 1b01).

For some teachers there did seem to be a progressive, incremental opening up of identity. The process of having their 'otherness' exposed was a slow process – which for some was still only partially complete.

> I was very wary from teachers and staff – it's taken me a good 10 years to relax and go, 'It doesn't matter'. When I was first appointed full-time [the Principal] actually brought me in and asked me outright, "Are you Catholic or are you Protestant?" and me thinking, "You can't really ask me that!" but she did. I had no problem saying to her, but it did make me feel uneasy – she did say to me at that time, "You have one other member of staff that is Protestant." I childishly went to him and went, "You – eh – me -eh-yeah-eh". But we played it cool…
>
> I got closer to some members of staff and *they* know and there's no issue. There are others are quite staunch and even the union they were in [INTO] – and I thought they would kick up a fuss if they knew. (Norma - 2b07)

Once their 'other' identity is known some teachers tread a very cautious line with colleagues.

> I'm very guarded in any kind of political conversation. I think now that people know that I probably don't feel the same politically as they might think. 'Cos they feel very safe to say things and I'm sitting thinking, "I disagree with that but I

> don't want them to think that I'm rocking the boat or that I'm always trying to pick a fight" so I just keep tight lipped (Orla - 3e08).

Revealing ethnic identity was seen as a less problematic issue in Integrated schools where the composition of the staff room was more mixed – or as in the case below reported in one, historically mixed, Controlled primary.

> One of the staff and her husband are big into the Orange – she talks about the 12th and parading and whatever they get up to there. I have another member who is GAA-mad and she is all about her football and whatever is going on… there's no sense of whispering behind the hand (Clodagh - 1a09).

Schools can be very traditional and conservative institutions – with long histories and a unique place within a community. The culture and practices of a school may be very resilient and resistant to change. There were suspicions that it would be counterproductive were the outsider-teacher to attempt to change too much too soon.

> You bide your time. You don't go in and change it right away. You need to find out why they do things in the way that they do (Lindsay - 2c17).

Craig spoke of something of a damascene moment when he reached a realisation that he needed to reveal and use his ethnic identity in his teaching.

> I remember one wee incident was one of the students who mustn't have known my background, I remember they got some coaching in for them and the guy had an Ulster [rugby] thing on, and she was, "What are they coming over here for doing our…" – and it was early days and I remember thinking it's quite sort of narrow-minded. That was like not so long ago, you know. It is just these kids. So that actually accelerated my decision to be quite overt in class at the start of the year, just let things go a bit. And I think it's only fair to them. You are teaching Politics. You are dealing with political issues. You are teaching History. You are dealing with political issues all the time, I was teaching Citizenship exactly the same (Craig - 3d24).

He went on to explain how he actively used the 'otherness' of his identity as a British-Protestant to act as a *devil's advocate* in a Catholic school located in an urban area renowned for its association with Irish republicanism.

> There are times, especially over the Irish language at the moment, where I deliberately banter and I say, "Seriously? There's old women you know over in Health Service and they are not able to get a bed, they are sitting on a chair for days on end and you are saying you want an Irish language?" Just getting the thing going. But I understand where it's coming from, it's clearly something that

> is very, very sort of about respect and equality. It's not even the Irish language itself, it's the concept of it, you know. You can go into it and I'm not saying I'm Protestant and I am saying this to you now, your teacher, but I'm provoking thought, I'm trying to get higher thinking, trying to get you outside maybe some of the views that you have and you think you are quite wide with your views but the more I put in, gets you just to think wider (Craig - 3d24).

Interestingly, prior to the Irish language act controversy that contributed to the collapse of the Stormont executive in January 2017, a Catholic teacher in a non-Catholic Grammar had used the services of Líofa to offer her students an in-sight into the language[102].

> I got an Irish speaking guy in to do a workshop in our English department but then the funding got pulled – it was free. He was brilliant, but we would have to pay for that now and there is no money (Orla - 3e08).

In spite of very consciously engaging with his identity in his teaching, Craig, had found himself on one occasion unconsciously using a term that reflected the political opinions of his community of origin. He did however acknowledge this slip – to himself – and potentially approached similar material with greater reflection.

> I remember one of my first lessons where I just off the top said, "If you think about IRA *terrorists*" and that just came out… I just said it because obviously it was just something that was there. One of the girls pulled me up so I presented it as a deliberate mistake, so it was okay. But it was a real learning, you know (Craig - 3d24).

Politics was not the only subject where cross-over teachers had sought to use their identity and engage their agency. Unsurprisingly, given the close connections between ethnicity, cultural division and sport, GAA, rugby and hockey also provided opportunities for cross-over teachers to use their otherness as a tool for teaching.

> I teach about the GAA and I show how the GAA has grown as an organisation to the modern day and I would show them a GAA match on YouTube – just to show them how the organisation has grown. They wouldn't have seen that and probably and wouldn't expect that of another history teacher in the school – they probably wouldn't have seen that or experienced that (Paddy - 3e21).

[102] Líofa is an initiative for the promotion of the Irish language in NI. It was created in 2011 and is currently funded through the Department for Communities - its funding was withdrawn by the DUP minister responsible for the Department in December 2016 and re-instated in January 2017

One PE teacher had introduced sports aligned with British identity to a CCMS post primary school. Her engagement even went so far as to coach Gaelic football to pupils at the local Controlled school as part of a Shared Education programme.

> I remember suggesting rugby for the first time. And, in fact, hockey. The option came about through [the local rugby club] {WHISPERS} "Jesus no! You can't bring that in here!" {LOUD AND ASSERTIVE} "Why not?" Even me going, "Why not?" – "But that's not a Gaelic sport that's why not!" And now it's great and we have boys that play at [the local club] and girls have been selected…
>
> And then hockey. I argued the case – I would be a hockey player – and the kids go, "But hockey is a Protestant sport." "Hockey isn't a Protestant sport – if you look there are as many schools in the Republic that play." And they just accept that. But when I brought hockey into the school it was, "No. Why should we play hockey?" And I said, "Well really you should be introducing sports from other cultural backgrounds and we could join up with [neighbouring school] and play hockey and we could teach them Gaelic."
>
> And we've done that. The irony of the Protestant teacher in the Catholic school teaching the pupils in the Protestant school how to play Gaelic! {LAUGHTER} Twisted! How twisted is that? (Norma - 2b07).

Norma also introduced the Duke of Edinburgh's award to the school – with not some little internal opposition.

> I went with Duke of Edinburgh and was told – "Certainly not! Not with that name in this school!" So, I said, "OK; the President's award[103]." I went off to investigate that and they said, "OK. That's no problem." But speaking to [the organisers] they said, "It's OK – if a child wants to call it Duke of Edinburgh or President's award. It makes no difference – they're the same. It's only the name on the book that is different." So, I went to the kids and said, "Which one have you heard of?" and they said, "Duke of Edinburgh." I said "Right. We'll go through the process – call it President's award – but if you want the bit of paper that says Duke of Edinburgh you can get it!" (Norma - 2b07).

History was also identified by cross-over teachers as a subject well-suited to the agency afforded by virtue of their 'other' identity to explore contentious issues.

> We did very little Irish history and one of the things I did was… in each year there is a component where we are looking at a theme in Irish history and so bringing that in and also when I came for GCSE we didn't do Northern Ireland I brought

[103] The President's award in RoI was created in 1985 along the lines of the Duke of Edinburgh's award in UK – in 1988 it was affiliated as a member of the the International Duke of Edinburgh's Award Association. Both awards work to exactly the same criteria.

> that in because I felt that – and also a lot of schools with the Northern Ireland the CCEA exam board, you can do an early Northern Ireland or you can do inter-war Northern Ireland or you can do Troubles Northern Ireland GCSE (Gerrard - 3e14).

One older history teacher spoke of her capacity to teach students about the Troubles from her own, personal perspective.

> A lot of schools do the inter-war period because they don't want to have to deal with it, so they are looking at Northern Ireland in the 1930's which is monumentally boring and I said no, we are an Integrated school, we have got to be looking at The Troubles… and I would talk about my experiences growing up. I would have say now, what surprised me when I moved back from England I was teaching here and doing GCSE and looking at things like The Troubles was I think we get a lot of pupils here who actually have very little understanding of Northern Ireland. I mean at a very simplistic level, when you are starting off looking at The Troubles you really have to start off saying what is a Nationalist? What is a Unionist? When you have got A level students who think that Sinn Féin is a person, and don't watch the news, you know, and so I would say a lot of the pupils don't know enough about religion to actually have sectarian attitudes (Dervla - 2c25).

English was also identified as a subject that could be applied in a manner that allowed the cross-over teacher to engage with issues of their own and their pupils' identities either on a relatively superficial level.

> If a poem has a religious connotation or there's something about a church which a lot of poetry does – I would maybe throw out 'Think about it yourself – when you're going to Mass on a Sunday or you're going to church' – just a throw away comment and I'm sure they can make the connections (Thomas - 2a20).

Or as an opening to a more philosophical discussion:

> I have talked quite openly with some A level classes about it – recently I was teaching 'The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn' and quite a wee bit came through about Calvinism and I was explaining - because that's where Presbyterianism traces back to - and we were talking about pre-destination and they were horrified at this idea. And I was explaining that I wouldn't necessarily go with all of that and they of course were saying that they wouldn't necessarily go with all of what their church teaches either (Anna - 3d04).

Inevitably perhaps, exploration of poetry by Seamus Heaney provided explicit opportunities for pupils to explore issues related to division and identity in the Northern Ireland context.

> Seamus Heaney at A level - I have usually *come out* at some stage and said that - you know? - told them. And that has been quite interesting and particularly with the previous syllabus we were doing there's a poem of his called 'The Other Side' – you know it? – there is that brilliant sort of little portrait that he gives of the Protestant mind in it and we would talk a wee bit about it and yet thankfully nowadays maybe young people are not as good at coming up with the stereotypes - which is a refreshing sign - but if you ask them, "How do you characterise Protestants?" Then I would usually comment (Anna - 3d04).

Two teachers made separate reference to the impact upon them and their students of one particular novel, 'Bog Child' by Siobhan Dowd. The story deals with the 1981 IRA hunger strike and a young boy growing up at that time. His brother is a hunger striker nearing the end of his life. The whole political situation is in turmoil.

> I was designing a scheme of lessons for the kids and I thought "Why not flip this on its head? For homework… let's look at it from the British perspective – to come up with a song that promotes their ideals – why the British soldiers are there, what their perspective is." I thought that was quite a creative way of looking at it to challenge their perspectives. [A week later] everyone had it done but there was this one wee girl – was sitting at the table, almost shaking, tears coming out of her eyes. I said, 'What's wrong, what's wrong, what's wrong?' {CONCERNED TONE}
>
> She said that she had gone home and explained to her daddy what the homework was – and it was to write a pro-British poem or rhyme; propaganda thing. Her dad was very, very cross and said, "There is no way that you are doing that homework." She was crying because she was caught between a rock and a hard place. Forbidden from daddy – having no homework for the teacher… this girl's dad had been heavily involved in the provisional IRA movement (Thomas - 2a20).

Thomas saw this as an indication that he should actively seek to withdraw from addressing any potentially controversial topics. Whilst he had encountered opposition to his lesson on the book from a Republican perspective, Sophie, teaching the same book in an Integrated school, had faced Unionist objections. On this occasion the legitimacy of exploring controversial issues in school was specifically backed up by the school leadership.

> ['Bog Child'] was introduced and there was a lot of controversy because it mentions the Hunger Strike… So, some members of the school didn't appreciate that at all so there was ill-feeling within the staff but the way it also then went back to parents too, there were parents that weren't happy so it ended up going to the local newspaper, local politicians got involved as well but at the end of the day the Principal was very, very supportive with the English Department, said,

> "We are an Integrated school, and we approach things and we look at things, you know, differently." (Sophie - 2c29).

Not all teachers had received the same level of support in the face of external criticism. Mairead, an RE teacher in a Controlled post primary in a strongly loyalist community, was subjected to personal attack when she attempted to extend the way in which the syllabus was taught in her school.

> I was taking the Year 8s out around the town to visit the Methodist church, [two] Presbyterian, the Church of Ireland and the Catholic church. Letters went out. Permission slips came back. No problem at all.
>
> These kids all went. Their parents all got the note. In March some of the parents had been at a parent evening with other staff – and it was relayed to me with advice from another member of staff to tell me to be very careful with what I'm doing teaching RE in a Protestant town, in a Protestant school… because the parents aren't very happy about you taking those children to a Catholic church (Mairead - 2a02).

Problems escalated and Mairead felt unsupported by the principal – who retired soon after. A new principal was appointed and the opposition that she faced from pupils and parents receded; temporarily.

> Everything was quite easy until I was involved in a Shared Education partnership – and we went to the Mosque! {AUDIBLE INTAKE OF BREATH} We went to the mosque but unbeknownst to me – they all came back with their reply slips – half the class didn't want to go. I was soon to find out why. The parents all took to Facebook – identified me by name – identified me by where I live – my position within the school – "She's a fenian!" – the language was unbelievable (Mairead - 2a02).

A similar social media campaign had culminated a couple of years earlier in the resignation of a Catholic teacher (and political activist) from a school in an urban loyalist area – another Catholic teacher who had been working in the school at the same time had a perspective that was noticeably different to the dominant narrative.

> I would absolutely stand by the fact it was a small cohort of people who didn't know what they were talking about. She had pupils from her… class[es] in her corner, boys saying, "This is the best teacher I've ever had." "She doesn't sway me in any way." "I am happy with my culture and I love who I am and where I'm from," and, "I don't feel she pushed anything on us"… I think maybe it was just a wee bit too much too soon. Maybe we weren't ready for it here in this community, but the news does have a tendency to report to the bad and - she would kill me for saying this - but my belief is that [a political party] jumped on that and

> used that as a tool to further their agenda. There were extremely supportive families, extremely supportive members of staff and pupils which I think is the most important thing who came out and were vocal in their support for her (Maeve - 2a23).

The above examples relate primarily to cross-over teachers in post primary settings. Whilst the primary curriculum does not have the same potential to raise controversy, curriculum areas such as RE and The World Around Us still retain components that touch on a teacher's identity and might lead to disagreement. The need to retain impartiality and not be drawn into exposing personal biases was considered to be particularly important in the teaching of RE in an Integrated primary school.

> You will be asked… "What do you believe?" Because you are teaching R.E, you know, "What do you believe?" It was always made very clear that we should not be influencing the children to believe one religion over another or one approach over another. Now obviously as a teacher you are influencing the children all the time in what you say, you know… You might well be able to admit that you were Protestant but to say, "Well I don't believe this and that," was something you shouldn't be doing because that would influence the children. You present all the options. You don't say, "This one's better!" (Andrew - 1c15).

In another example of cultural affirmation in a Catholic school, a Protestant teacher employed in a Catholic primary recalled making birthday cards for Queen Elizabeth's jubilee with a P1 class – a decision which she identified as being a "spontaneous response to a child-led initiative" – only to be informed by the principal that the children would on no account be allowed to take their work home to show their parents.

> [The principal] said, "We are very in for the GAA and that sort of thing as a school and some parents would be shocked" – no not even shocked "would be *horrified* to think that you were teaching your children to wish the Queen happy birthday".
>
> It wasn't a planned thing and I maybe should have second guessed it but to me what is happening in the *world around us* is what is happening in the World Around Us – and it's not going to change things whether you like that person or not. I thought it was quite indicative that there were the trenches being drawn. The innocence and the gesture that they would have made; it didn't matter that this person was the Queen of England – when it's somebody's birthday you send them a card! And then somebody says, "No you can't send her a card!" (Heather - 1b13).

For some teachers – particularly those in Integrated schools – use of their ethnic identity in their teaching was not merely commonplace but a required dimension of their practice.

Outside of that sector, most cross-over teachers had made a conscious choice to selectively reveal their identity in their teaching and to colleagues. Some teachers had, however, gone to considerable lengths to conceal their community background. For others the exposure of their identity, had been involuntary – in such cases the motivation (and the consequence) was often sectarian. There were very few illustrations of Catholic-to-Protestant or Protestant-to-Catholic teachers being wholly comfortable with the revealing the ethnic component of their identity to the whole school community.

It is not possible to generalise the findings here to all cross-over teachers in NI schools, however, the prevailing orthodoxy amongst the cross-over teachers interviewed as part of this research is that community identity should remain hidden unless and until its exposure is either absolutely necessary or unavoidable. Those who were in a position to choose to whom, how and when to reveal that aspect of their identity were seen to have demonstrated increased agency in their professional lives.

9.4 Summary and Concluding Observations

Interviewees' reflections on the factors that act to limit teacher cross-over indicated that policy, practice and individuals' perceptions all played a part in maintaining the divide. Teachers who had crossed over had come from very different backgrounds – the overwhelming majority were at pains to stress the absence of bigotry at home (even when many of these comments were of the "My parents weren't bigoted but…" archetype). It was not possible to determine any shared, common characteristics or formative experiences that may have predisposed them to taking the atypical path. It was notable that many, but by no means all, had experience of life outside of NI – working, living and/or studying outside the region. For most, the decision to cross-over had been taken on pragmatic grounds. Many recognised that, in a flooded market, teachers are less able to be selective with regard to the schools that they apply to. Many teachers in Integrated schools spoke of having made an active and conscious choice to teach in a school where diversity in the classroom and staffroom was accepted as "*that hidden kind of normal*".

Those teachers from Protestant backgrounds found the omni-presence of religious iconography and religious practices in *de facto* Catholic schools unfamiliar and, in some instances, uncomfortable – particularly when such practices exposed them as non-Catholics (e.g. the conferring of Ashes at the start of Lent or the rituals around the worship of Mass). Some spoke of aspects of Irish cultural identity which they found disconcerting (e.g. Gaelic sports). Similarly, Catholic teachers who were employed in Controlled or

non-Catholic grammar schools were unsettled by the relative absence of a faith-based ethos and the British components embedded in the culture of these schools, particularly when these served to expose those pupils and members of the staff team who were not consistent with the dominant school community (e.g. the sale and wearing of Poppies, the singing of God Save the Queen at prize day).

There was evidence of good cross-community relationships having been built between colleagues and shared social activity – these were however limited to neutral places and activities. Cross-community colleagues had not attended community-specific sporting events together (rugby and GAA).

It was considered that, in the past, the Catholic authorities may have actively sought to discourage Catholic teachers from taking up employment outside of community consistent schools. Some of those Catholic individuals who had chosen to attend or work in Integrated schools, in particular, spoke as having been treated as something of a pariah within their own community. Whilst some resistance remained there were also comments made that suggested that there had been at least a partial thaw in respect of attitudes towards these schools. Alongside the evidence of pragmatic employment decisions having been made by cross-over teachers, schools seemed increasingly keen to appoint the best person for the job regardless of their faith/community.

Looking towards the future, only two of the teachers who had crossed-over were actively seeking employment in a community consistent setting. Both had been victims of sectarian bullying. Neither had received effective support from school authorities. Both had returned to NI after a prolonged period teaching in GB to take up cross-over posts.

All of the other interviewees were relatively contented with their decision to cross-over and the school in which they were employed. A number of those who had taken employment in the Integrated sector spoke of how they had not had a strong commitment to the ethos of integration at the time of applying for their post but had subsequently become 'converts to the cause'. For others their attitude could be described as *'a job is a job'*.

Few teachers were wholly happy to reveal their community identity to their pupils and/or to use it in their teaching. Some saw their ethnic identity as being irrelevant to their role as a teacher and sought to keep the personal and the professional disconnected. In contrast with efforts made by Protestant-to-Catholic and Catholic-to-Protestant cross-over

teachers to deny, disguise or obscure their community identity, many of those teaching in Integrated schools were seen to have incorporated their community identity into their teaching. This would appear to have been actively encouraged by in-school policies, in service training and curricular activities. Other teachers selectively revealed aspects of the 'otherness' of their identity as an aid to their teaching; a number of examples of teachers effectively engaging their ethnic identity in their interactions with pupils were identified most notably in the teaching of history, politics, citizenship and English.

In order to answer the research question, in the remaining chapters, the implications of these qualitative findings will be reflected upon and interpreted in conjunction with the qualitative findings (Chapter 7) and in the context of the knowledge that currently exists (Chapters 2 and 3) and relevant literature (Chapter 5). The research project will then be critically evaluated and suggestions for future research will be identified alongside proposals for future policy and practice.

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 10. DISCUSSION

"There is a crack in everything. That's how the light gets in."
Leonard Cohen

This project was developed in respect of a short sentence in 'A Review of Policy Areas Affecting the Integration of the Education System in Northern Ireland' which was produced by the UNESCO Centre in Ulster in September 2015. Towards the end of the conclusions section it was stated that, "*data related to employment and movement of teachers is out of date and we would benefit from better understanding of the experiences of teachers teaching across the traditional sectors*" (UNESCO Centre, 2015, p. 48). Whilst the impact of educational division in post-conflict NI has been the focus of a wide range of educational research, no research had been conducted since 2004 that could be used to determine the number of those who were teaching "*across the traditional sectors*". The report went on to suggest that, "*the system would benefit from a better understanding of how teachers could be incentivised to teach across sectors so that all children can benefit from being taught by teachers from diverse backgrounds and experiences*" (UNESCO Centre, 2015, p. 48).

These two comments have framed this research project and define the original contribution to knowledge made in this report. Quantitative fieldwork was conducted to update and improve that which had previously been known about the "*employment and movement of teachers"* within and between the ethnically defined sectors of education in NI. This was augmented with qualitative fieldwork which was designed to gain an understanding of cross-over teachers' "*experiences"*, and thereby, to identify the barriers that stand in the way of movement between sectors and the lessons that can be learnt in respect of the capacity of "*teachers from diverse backgrounds and experiences*" to engage their identity to the benefit of the pupils that they teach. An additional, inadvertent, by-product of the research has been the development of insight into the previously univestigated phenomenon of ethnic division in teaching unions in NI.

Obviously, the link between ethnicity, conflict and education is not unique to Northern Ireland. The impact of ethnic division upon educational policies and practices have been researched in other contested, conflict-affected and post-conflict societies – Cyprus (e.g. Zembylas 2010), Israel (e.g. McGlynn and Bekerman 2007), Sri Lanka (e.g. Lopes Cardozo and Hoeks 2015) and many other places besides. Thus, the lessons learned from the research being undertaken in this investigation, whilst specific to Northern Ireland,

may have relevance in other contexts and have the potential to be applicable to other situations around the world.

In previous chapters, the data gathered from quantitative and qualitative fieldwork was broken down and analysed. Over the course of this chapter, these insights be drawn together to address each of the four research aims and, ultimately, to answer the research question:

> **What have the experiences been of those teachers who teach across the traditional sectors in Northern Ireland?**

10.1 Limitations of the Research.

No research project can ever be perfect! That truism has been recognised throughout this thesis and, notwithstanding the considerable efforts that have gone in to making this research as good as possible, this project is no exception. In order to ensure integrity, it is encumbent upon any researcher to identify any known potential flaws or weakness in method and methodology and to inform the reader of these shortcomings (Phillips and Pugh, 1993).

Three main areas of potential weakness were identified in respect of the quantitative component of the research. Firstly, the method adopted for distributing the on-line survey was far from ideal. There is no central repository that contains all the email addresses of teachers in NI *and* is accessible to the external researcher. This project had to rely on the support of school administration/management to circulate the on-line survey by emailing information on the nature of the research and a link to the survey to the *info@...* addresses for all NI mainstream schools. Circulation to individual teachers was therefore dependant on the engagement of an unknown intermediary. Furthermore, on arrival into the school 'in-box' the survey may have been completed in the first instance by a Principal, Vice Principal or senior teacher in order to 'vet' it before deciding whether or not it was worthy of being passed on to their teams – consequently s/he may or may not have further circulated the link to staff who may or may not have been encouraged to complete it. There is some evidence to suggests that, in some schools, the survey went no further than the first point of contact – completion rates are disproportionately higher for male teachers than would be expected given the gender profile of rank and file teachers and closer to the (higher) proportion of male teachers in school leadership posts.

Secondly, the survey was clearly labelled *'Teaching Across the Divide'* – this may have encouraged the first recipient in a school to target those teachers to whom the research seemed most relevant i.e. cross-over teachers. In addition, those who had crossed-over, may have felt more motivated than those who had remained community consistent to complete a survey that they felt related to them. Evidence to support this accusation may be indicated by the higher than proportional rates of survey uptake by teachers in Integrated schools.

Thirdly, the principal researcher had a pre-existing professional profile prior to commencing the project – his name was much more familiar to teachers in some regions of NI than in others. Response rates were seen to have been higher in these regions than in those where he was less well known.

Returns were regularly monitored to determine trends and biases in response rates against several key categories – school sector, location, gender, community identity etc. The potential for the emergence of bias due to the factors identified above was recognised early in the data collection process and, as far as was practical, steps were taken to ameliorate their potential impact.

It remains, however, likely that these factors, in combination, will have affected the accuracy of the results obtained. The size of the sample – over 5% of those employed as teachers in mainstream schools in NI (n = 1,015) – does provide some degree of reassurance. The results were calculated as being 95% reliable with a 3% margin for error; no similar statistical parameters had been published for either of the two earlier quantitative studies.

The qualitative element of the research was also not without its potential flaws in design, execution and analysis. Sampling methods were employed to both achieve a degree of balance within the sample across the range of cross-over permutations *and* to ensure a manageable workload within the project's limited resources (time and money). Interviews were conducted with a purposive sample of thirty teachers. Key themes emerged at an early stage in analysis. The narratives obtained were rich, but such was the variety present in the experiences outlined that there could be no certainty that data saturation was ever really reached. A suspicion remains that, had more interviews taken place, then additional themes may have emerged, though it is unlikely that these would have significantly altered the findings

The sample was structured to ensure a numerical balance across the range of possible cross-over permutations (primary, post primary, grammar: *de facto* Catholic, *de facto* Protestant, Integrated) – teachers in some categories were very difficult to identify (e.g. Protestant teachers in CCMS primaries) whilst others were easily populated (all but the 10% of teachers in Integrated schools who had attended an Integrated primary could be considered to have crossed-over). Arguably the experiences of the former were more informative about the nature of division than the latter – yet both were afforded equal weight in the analysis.

Academic literature identified that the method of analysis employed for the qualitative data – six-step Thematic Analysis – was appropriate given the size of the sample, the data gathering methodology and the nature of the research (e.g. Sisson, 2016). However, the method also meant that, by extracting short(ish) snatches of data, much of the richness and depth of individual narratives was lost. There may have been considerable potential value had a Narrative Analysis approach been adopted with a small number of key interviews.

Finally, it must also be noted that the interviewees had been selected from those teachers who had completed the on-line survey. They had volunteered themselves for further involvement in the research. The potential biases identified in respect of respondents to the quantitative dimension were therefore replicated in the qualitative element and the qualitative sample may have been populated by those who felt most passionately about the subject – potentially, those who had had the most extreme experiences.

10.2 Aim 1: Determining the Distribution of Teachers in NI Schools by Identity.

The quantitative element of the research identified that ethnic-community identity plays a statistically significant role in the patterns of teacher deployment in the Northern Ireland education system. For primary school teachers there was a strong correlation between the sector in which they had attended primary school, the ITE institution that they had attended, the union that they had elected to join and the sector within which they were employed. There was a weaker (but still statistically significant) association between the profile of the primary schools and ITE colleges attended by those teachers employed in post primary (non-selective and grammar) schools; union membership amongst teachers in post primary schools was less reflective of ethnic identity.

Community consistency was most evident in *de facto* Catholic primary schools: 93% of those teaching in CCMS primary schools had themselves attended a CCMS primary school whilst 85% of those teaching in Controlled primaries had attended a primary in the same sector. Those teaching in Integrated primaries presented a more balanced profile (46% *de facto* Protestant and 36% *de facto* Catholic) as did teachers employed in Integrated post primary schools (43% and 38% respectively). There was some indication that a pattern similar to the sectoral self-replication observed in the ethnically separated schools may be beginning to emerge in Integrated schools – where teachers disproportionately gain employment in a school in the same sector as that in which they received their own formative education.

The ethnic separation of teachers in CCMS post primaries and Controlled post primaries was not quite as evident as had been seen with their primary counterparts: CCMS post primaries were 83% community consistent and Controlled post primaries were 73% community consistent. Of the ethnically defined school sectors, the research showed that grammar schools had the lowest level of teacher community consistency – 73% of teachers employed in Catholic grammars had attended a *de facto* Catholic primary, 63% of teachers employed in non-Catholic grammars had attended a *de facto* Protestant primary.

The overwhelming majority of CCMS primary school teachers (60%) were shown to have attended a community consistent ITE institution, St Mary's or St Joseph's; only 4% had attended the college associated with the 'other side', Stranmillis. In Controlled primaries these figures were reversed: 63% Stranmillis, 2% St Mary's/St Joseph's. The depth of difference between the character of these ethnically and culturally separate colleges was illustrated in the qualititative research (see: Clodagh 1a09 and Elizabeth 1c30, p. 195; Andrew 1c15 and Lindsay 2c17, p 196).

Teachers in Integrated primaries are more likely to have undertaken ITE outside of NI than those in ethnically defined primaries - 30% as compared with 21% in Controlled and 23% in Maintained primaries. Qualitative data gathered from a number of teachers in Integrated primary schools who had attended community specific schools in NI before undertaking ITE in GB suggested that they had actively sought out employment in that sector on their return (e.g. Andrew 1c15, p. 221). A further 40% of those teachers employed in Integrated primaries had attended Stranmillis and 14% St Mary's/St Joseph's.

Stranmillis and St Mary's/St Joseph's have traditionally provided mainly (but not exclusively) undergraduate primary teaching degrees. For many appointments in post primary and grammar schools, candidates are expected to possess both a subject-specific bachelor's degree and a post graduate teaching qualification (e.g. PGCE) - 38% of post primary CCMS teachers had obtained a PGCE from QUB or Ulster as had 63% of those employed in Controlled post primaries.

Within the quantitative component of the research those post primary and grammar school teachers who had undertaken a university degree and ITE somewhere other than at the teaching colleges in Belfast, were consequently considered to have departed the community consistent path. This research had, initially, assumed that, by virtue of having followed this route, these teachers will have deviated from a wholly community consistent career. Subsequent analysis of qualitative data identified that it may be a mistake to presuppose that this departure will necessarily have facilitated any meaningful encounters across the divide (e.g. Sean 1a11 and Paddy 3e21, page. 197).

A sizeable minority of post primary teachers had attended the community consistent ITE colleges: 33% of those teaching in Maintained post primary and 18% of those in Catholic grammars had attended St Mary's/St Joseph's – 19% of teachers in Controlled post primaries and 13% of those non-Catholic grammars had qualified through Stranmillis. Similarly, a preference was observed amongst those Catholic *would-be* teachers who had undertaken their teacher education outside NI (particularly in England), to have opted for ITE colleges that fell under the auspices of the Catholic church – and provided students with a RE certificate that was recognised by the CCMS Trustees.

The all-Ireland INTO was easily the strongest union amongst CCMS primary school teachers (87%) – the NI-specific UTU (which had broken away from INTO almost a century ago) represented only 1%. In Controlled primaries UTU accounted for 48% of teachers and INTO only 3%. The largest union in Integrated primaries (and post primaries) was the NASUWT – a union unconnected with either Irish-Catholic or Ulster-Protestant identity. NASUWT was also the largest union across both non-selective post primaries and grammar schools on both sides. Crossing into one of the community specific unions – UTU or INTO – may be uncomfortable for the teacher who does not share the ethnic identity of the bulk of members (Norma 2b07, page. 241) even though (as this research has revealed) these two unions are now working in very close partnership!

This research project adopted the concept of *cultural encapsulation* (Banks 1994; Howard 1999) to describe the careers of those teachers who had followed wholly community consistent routes entering primary school, through post primary education, ITE and into professional employment. A third of teachers in schools on the Catholic side and under a quarter of teachers on the Protestant side were identified as being culturally encapsulated. The phenomenon was shown by the research to be particularly evident in CCMS primary schools where just under half of those teaching had had no experience of education outside of their own community at any stage; they had neither undertaken teaching practice nor been employed in a school of the other tradition at any point. Cultural encapsulation was a less notable feature of the careers of those employed in grammar schools (9% of teachers in *de facto* Protestant schools and 19% of teachers in *de facto* Catholic schools).

It must also be recognised that the possibility exists that some of those teachers who had been identified as having followed a wholly community consistent professional path may, actually have been exposed to a rich and diverse range of social experiences across the divide. The apparently culturally encapsulated teacher may in fact have availed of plentiful opportunities outside of school and their professional life to critically engage with the 'other side' and, as a result, have developed a deep understanding of their culture and concerns. However, given the depth of inter-community division that has been observed in housing (Shuttleworth and Lloyd, 2009) and social spheres (Mitchell et al, 2016) it seems that this is unlikely.

Bespoke data provided by NISRA to this project from the 2011 census identified a noted contrast in the way in which Catholic and Protestant teachers' in NI defined their national identity. The figures showed that Catholic teachers were more likely to consider themselves to be Irish and less likely to consider themselves British than the general Catholic population, whilst Protestant teachers were less likely to identify themselves as British and more likely to ascribe to an 'Other' identity than the rest of their co-religionists.

The qualitative research detected that patterns of community consistency and cultural encapsulation in each of the various sectors were mirrored in the profile of national allegiance : the *de facto* Catholic schools with the lowest community diversity and highest cultural encapsulation among teaching staff (CCMS primary schools), were also found to have the highest rates of Irish national identity – the lowest rate of Irish nationality in *de*

facto Catholic schools was found in the grammar sector, who also had the most mixed cohort of teachers.

British was, proportionally, the largest nationality present in all types of *de facto* Protestant schools although across the board staff at these schools were less likely to declare as British (47%) than staff at *de facto* Catholic schools were to declare as Irish (70%). A more even spread of national identities was identified amongst teachers in Integrated schools – Irish and British were more or less equally distributed and Northern Irish was the most frequently cited nationality.

The statistics for the community composition of the various mainstream school types indicate that, with the exception of the 7% of pupils who attend Integrated schools, the divided education system is, on the whole, reflective of the ethnic separation evident in many aspects of life in NI. A series of policy initiatives over the years have sought to ameliorate the impact of this division by providing funding and other support for the development of face-to-face contact programmes between pupils.

The Assembly has committed to ensuring that “sharing in education becomes a central part of every child’s educational experience” (T:BUC, 2013, p. 27) and that “all children have the opportunity to participate in shared education programmes” (T:BUC, 2013, p. 48) it follows therefore that, if these ambitious targets are to be achieved, *all* primary school teachers and a significant proportion of those teaching in post primary and grammar schools will be required to engage with Shared Education.

Murray (1985) identified that teachers may lack of experience of ‘the other side’ and as a consequence have failed to develop the skills required when encounters do take place. He proposed that teachers’ deficits of confidence when leading cross-community contact initiatives may contribute to the maintaining of in-community solidarity and perpetuating separateness. Donnelly (2004) illustrated how the process of restorative engagement between pupils may be made more difficult still by the conscious or unconscious predilection of teachers in the ethnically separated school system to construct an ethos which sustains religious and cultural division.

Later research by McCully (2006) and King (2009) indicated that many of the teachers responsible for designing and leading contact programmes felt ill-equipped to engage in the classroom with issues that they perceived as being sensitive, controversial or

contentious in the NI context. Consequently, in the space where contact was occurring, there was a strong *culture of silence* around controversial or sensitive issues.

> The culturally ubiquitous story that discourages open discussion on the causes and consequences of social division, particularly in the company of people from the other main tradition, is reflected in the approach of teachers (Smith et al, 2006, p. 220).

Thus, whilst school-based cross-community programmes in NI may have brought children together in the same *physical space* little progress was made in respect of the development of *meaningful engagement* with key issues affecting division.

Considered in combination, these factors raise uncomfortable questions about the potential efficacy of policy directives that require teachers to play a central role in cross-community activity and reconciliation work with their pupils. This research has shown that many teachers' (and particularly those in primary schools) are likely to have had their professional identities forged in an education system that sustains community separation, and a societal culture that manages ethnic division by avoiding engagement with issues that are deemed to be controversial or contentious in mixed social settings.

The current community relations policy directive and funding programme for schools, Shared Education, foregrounds *'Educational Outcomes'* and assigns '*Reconciliation Outcomes'* only secondary significance (DENI 2015). One potential outworking of this is that schools may elect to engage with less challenging and less impactful subjects. In common with previous policy initiatives, Shared Education recognises the reality of ethnic division in education rather than developing a vision to transform it. In so doing, it arguably reflects the consociational model of politics employed in the NI Assembly (Nolan, 2015).

Real transformation requires teachers and pupils to identify and challenge the sources and out-workings of community division. It involves dealing with issues of dominance and suppression, prejudice and the legacy of violence. The presence of so many culturally encapsulated teachers within the separated NI school system (particularly primary) suggests that the Shared Education programmes that are currently being promoted and developed may struggle to build improved relations in NI in spite of the very significant amounts of money that are being invested. Thus, the community division of education remains one of the bulwarks that ensures the enduring separation of communities in NI.

The high degree of community homogeneity within the teaching workforces in the schools of the various management types means that it may be difficult for 'different' or 'dissenting' voices to be heard – some of those who had crossed-over had indicated a wariness raising potentially contentious issues in their conversations with colleagues (e.g. Orla 3e08, page 249). Consequently, the ethnic continuity of the two monolithic blocs means that the current policy of Shared Education may struggle to make meaningful in-roads into increasing understanding between the communities and building reconciliation.

No other profession has the same potential for daily engagement with young minds. No other profession separates its exponents so rigorously and effectively along ethnic lines. No other profession will have as many exponents with as limited exposure to 'the other side'. Yet no other profession carries the same burden of expectation around the building of the community bridges necessary to ensure a peaceful future.

There is a fundamental political paradox in retaining policies and practices that preserve the on-going ethnic separation of teachers and at the same time introducing new policies that compel teachers to bring their pupils together to build a shared future. The conclusion that the way in which education currently operates in NI is a fundamental factor in the maintenance of ethnic division in NI, is unavoidable.

Without significant systemic change it may be unrealistic to expect that teachers will have the capacity to successfully develop and deliver pedagogical interventions that build the social bridges required to dilute and challenge students' stereotypes and prejudices. Teachers are both the product and the re-producers of divided systems of education that appear to be locked into self-replication. In this context those cross-over teachers who engage their ethnic identity in their teaching and in shared education initiatives may have unique potential to act as catalysts to effect change from within and to allow pupils to hear 'other' voices.

10.3 Aim 2: Identifying Movement of Teachers Between Ethnic Sectors.

For teachers from the two dominant communities, the barrier between the separated education systems of NI is not as impermeable as had been discovered in earlier research. Darby et al (1977, p. 50) had identified from a sample of 250 schools that "only 41 of the 2,751 teachers from the responding schools (1.5%) taught in schools where they were in a religious minority". The Equality Commission (2004) had observed from a targeted sample of 80 Primary and Post Primary schools that approximately 85% of teachers

employed in the Controlled sector had their origins the Protestant community; 5% of teachers employed in Controlled schools were identified as being Catholic. Their report also recorded that 98% of teachers in Maintained schools were Catholic and less than 1% were from a Protestant background.

Both ECNI and Darby et al, acknowledged the multitude of school management types and accepted that assigning schools within the simplistic determinates 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' was a potentially inaccurate generalisation. ECNI (2004) addressed this dilemma by reporting their results *only* according to management types i.e. Controlled, Catholic Maintained, Catholic Voluntary Grammar, Non-Catholic Voluntary Grammar. Darby et al (1977), on the other hand, took the decision to classify schools as either *de facto* 'Protestant' or *de facto* 'Catholic' according to assumed identity – when these were checked against returns they found their initial assumptions to have been "invariably and indisputably accurate". This research project adopted elements of both these approaches.

This project has shown that six percent of those who were teaching in *de facto* Catholic schools were ethnically 'Protestant' by virtue of the type of Primary school (i.e. Controlled or grammar preparatory) that they had attended; Protestant teachers accounted for less than 2% of those teaching in CCMS primaries, 8% in CCMS post primaries and 17% in Catholic voluntary grammar schools (Table 39.).

	In Primary	In Post Primary (non-Grammar)	In Grammar
Darby et al, 1977	< 1%	2%	1%
ECNI, 2004	2%	2%	1%
Milliken, 2018	2%	8%	17%

Table 39. % of Protestant Teachers employed in *de facto* Catholic Schools

Similarly, 14% of the teachers employed in *de facto* Protestant schools had a Catholic identity (i.e. having attended a CCMS Primary). The survey revealed that Catholic teachers made up 7% of the total number of teachers employed in *de facto* Protestant primary schools, 17% of those in Controlled non-grammar post primary schools and 23% of those in non-Catholic grammars (Table 40.).

These figures are in many respects quite dramatically different to the statistics recorded in 1977 and 2004.

	In Primary	In Post Primary (non-Grammar)	In Grammar
Darby et al, 1977	< 1%	2%	1%
ECNI, 2004[104]	5%	5%	1%
Milliken, 2018	7%	17%	23%

Table 40. % of Catholic Teachers employed in *de facto* Protestant Schools

Even given the 3% margin for error in the figures that emerged from this research, the statistics gathered show a sizeable increase in the proportion of cross-over teachers employed in every sector – with one very clear exception. The numbers of Protestants teaching in CCMS primaries has remained almost unchanged in 40 years.

The two earlier research projects had employed markedly different methods to those employed in this project to identify and enumerate teachers' ethnic identities. In both the research conducted by the University of Ulster in 1977 and that which had been undertaken by the Equality Commission in 2004 responses were collected from a specific sample of schools. The statistics that they gathered on teacher identity were based on figures provided by the employing schools. Given that schools are not legally required to record their teachers' community of origin, the figure provided by each school can only have been an informed estimate.

The qualitative component of this research identified that cross-over teachers may actively seek to disguise, obscure or hide their community identity within their employing school – and that many had done so quite successfully! Consequently, the statistics from 1977 and 2004 may, to some extent, have been based on inaccurate assumptions.

The ECNI report also allowed schools to categorise teaching staff identities as 'community not determined'. Thus, whilst non-Catholic grammar schools reported a teaching cohort that contained only 1% Catholic, they also recorded 38% as 'community not determined' – some, all or none of whom might have crossed-over. Controlled schools reported 10% as 'community not determined' whilst for Maintained schools the figure was below 1%. None of the Catholic Voluntary Grammar schools who provided returns for the Equality Commission in 2004 had identified *any* of their teachers as being outside of the binary Catholic/Protestant categories.

[104] ECNI research did not provide a breakdown by primary and post primary – only three categories were identified: Controlled, Maintained and Voluntary Grammar

Whilst the research in 1977 and 2004 recorded that staff teams in grammar schools (on both sides) included only a 1% rate of cross-over, the survey undertaken within this project identified that around one-in-six (17%) teachers in Catholic voluntary grammars had attended a Controlled primary school and that nearly a quarter (23%) of teachers in non-Catholic grammar schools had attended a Maintained primary.

The increase in cross-over teachers employed in non-grammar post primaries is less spectacular but still worthy of note. In 1977, at the height of the conflict, John Darby and his colleagues had recorded an only 2% rate for both Catholic-to-Protestant and Protestant-to-Catholic cross-over by teachers in post primary schools. In contrast, the responses to this survey revealed that 17% of those employed in Controlled post primaries were Catholic and 8% of those working as teachers in Maintained post primary schools were Protestant.

The data gathered for this project has revealed that cross-over is much more of a feature in post primary schools than in primary. Post primary school teachers are also less likely to have attended St Mary's or Stranmillis and consequently also show lower levels of cultural encapsulation than their primary school counterparts. They are more likely to have been exposed to 'the other side' at a mixed university – for some this had been cited as providing them with their first encounter across the divide, if even if at only a superficial level (see Cathy 2c22, page 218).

This research identified a much higher proportion of Catholics teaching in Controlled post primary and non-Catholic grammar schools (17% and 23%) than had been the case in 1977 (2% and 1%) or 2004 (5% and 1%). For those that had crossed out of the Catholic system the prevalence of British cultural iconography provided an unwelcome reminder of the enduring community division and their 'outsider' status (e.g. Thomas 2a20, page 232). Catholic post primary and grammar schools have a less diverse student profile - 1% Protestant (DENI, 2017) - but there was evidence that, here too, the ubiquity of the mono-cultural staffroom that had been observed by ECNI (2004) and Darby (1977) may be waning.

Teaching retains a high status in NI. Demand for places in teaching institutions exceeds the number of places available and the numbers of students graduating as teachers each

year far exceeds the number required to fill the posts that become available[105]. This over-supply of teachers allows schools to be highly selective in those they employ. Using a simple economic model: the supply of new teachers exceeds the demand, teaching in Northern Ireland is a "buyers' market". Posts in grammar schools are particularly sought after. The prestige of the grammar sector and the expectation that pupils will be better behaved, more academic and display less-sectarian attitudes and behaviours combine to reduce the barrier to the cross-over teacher (e.g. Gerrard 3e14, page 245).

This research project has shown that teacher community cross-over is a feature of all school types – to varying degrees. Whilst the evidence shows that the "*complete chill factor*" that had been identified by Dunn and Gallagher (2002, p. 23) would appear to have thawed somewhat in the intervening years for Protestant teachers considering employment in Catholic grammar and post primary schools, CCMS primary schools remain largely impenetrable for the cross-over teacher.

10.3 Aim 3: Factors That Moderate Movement Between and Across Sectors.

Primary school teachers are very nearly unique in the comprehensiveness of their professional division by virtue of their ethnic identity – the extent of this ethnic separation is perhaps rivalled only by the clergy in NI! As has been shown in earlier chapters, the division is held in place by policy and practice and buttressed by perceptions (and possibly prejudice). This division was shown to be most evident and pervasive in the profile of those employed to teach in Maintained primary schools.

The still unsurmountable barrier to cross-over teachers gaining employment in CCMS primary schools is the prerequisite that teachers need to be able to prepare pupils to undertake the Catholic sacraments of confirmation and first communion, and the concomitant 'occupational requirement' that they must be in possession of the CRE.

Sacramental preparation is however specific to only one or two year-groups, and, in an example provided by one interviewee drawing from her experiences teaching in a Catholic school in Scotland, it was illustrated (by Katrina 1a18, page 201) that, in the absence of CRE-qualified Catholic staff, there may be alternative ways in which this can be managed.

[105] https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/only-third-of-new-teachers-have-found-a-job-in-northern-ireland-31339116.html

All three Protestant interviewees who had been employed in CCMS primary schools expressed scepticism about the real value of the CRE in terms of equipping them with the necessary skills and knowledge to adequately prepare their pupils within the Catholic ethos (e.g. Heather 1b13, page 206).

A DENI (2013) review of the certificate proposed that its removal would not necessarily increase the number of Protestants taking up teaching posts in CCMS primary schools citing the perceived '*chill factor'*. The imbalance between the numbers of beginning teachers entering the marketplace and the number of jobs available in schools, means that those more adventurous or ambitious teachers have been prepared to adopt a more liberal perspective in respect of the range of schools that they applied to. The increased diversity in post primary staffrooms that has been identified by this research suggests that the 'chill factor' no longer plays as significant a role in respect of those posts in *de facto* Catholic post primary schools that do not require the applicant to have completed an approved CRE.

The CRE requirement for those seeking permanent employment in a CCMS primary seemed to at least one interviewee (who had had a succession of short term posts in CCMS primary schools but, as a consequence of not being in possession of the CRE, had been unable to apply for a permanent position in the same schools) to be an unnecessary and unjustified barrier to her obtaining a permanent post (Leah 1b01, page 190).

All schools in receipt of grant funding in NI are required (under the terms of the 1989 Education Reform Order) to provide pupils with both a daily act of collective worship and Religious Education in line with a syllabus drawn up by the four largest Christian denominations. Primary school teachers are generally required to teach one class only and to cover all curriculum areas with that class. It follows that all primary school teachers teach RE[106]. It is difficult to imagine a set of circumstances where Catholic authorities would be prepared to remove the CRE requirement for all teaching posts in CCMS primaries.

The teacher exception to FETO was, to some extent, introduced to offset Protestant teachers' concerns around issues of equality of employment opportunities in the light of the acceptance of the CRE as an *occupational requirement* for posts in CCMS primaries.

[106] Teachers, who on conscience grounds feel that they cannot teach religious education, can request to be exempted from teaching the subject.

ECNI, CCMS and the teaching unions are broadly in support of the removal of the teacher exception to FETO in order that teachers "should be able to enjoy the same legislative protections as other workers" (UNESCO Centre, 2015, p. 39). However, in light of the above considerations, even were the FETO exception to be removed, it seems likely that teaching posts in CCMS primary schools would remain largely the preserve of Catholic teachers. This is reinforced by:

- The separation of St Mary's and Stranmillis
- The absence of a shared RE certificate delivered by all ITE providers
- The insistence by Catholic authorities that CRE is an occupational requirement for *all* permanent teachers in CCMS primaries

It has long been recognised that, on economic grounds, the pattern of provision of teacher education colleges in NI is in need of significant rationalisation. The proposals for reform contained in the Chilver Report (1985), Osler Report (2005) and the Sahlberg Report, *'Aspiring to Excellence'*, (DEL, 2014) received short shrift from both the churches and the dominant political parties. It seems improbable that there will be any sort of merger between the ethnically separated St Mary's and Stranmillis any time soon.

If increased teacher cross-over is to be facilitated across all sectors (including CCMS Primary) then a new approach will be required. Working on the assumption that there will be no merger between St Mary's and Stranmillis in the short or even the medium term, there may be merit in the colleges working together – using perhaps a collaborative *Shared Education* model type of arrangement – to develop and deliver a *common* CRE.

Non-Catholics who had experience of teaching in CCMS primaries criticised the educational value of the existing CRE heavily. It would seem that the certificate is in need of revision if it is to ensure that it adequately equips non-Catholics with the knowledge required to deliver the RE syllabus within the Catholic ethos.

CCMS do not require temporary or supply teachers to be in possession of the CRE – they have also relaxed the rule for those teachers who transfer from the Controlled to the Maintained sector to obviate redundancy; such teachers are now allowed a three-year window to complete the certificate following transfer. A further relaxation of the CRE requirement may be another step towards greater inclusivity (e.g. by applying the requirement only to those teachers who are *directly* involved in preparing pupils for the

sacraments or appointing staff without the CRE in the understanding that they will complete it within a specified time period).

Examples of practice from outside NI indicate that retention of the blanket CRE requirement for all teachers in CCMS primaries in its current form is anachronistic. The current CRE has been identified by those non-Catholic teachers employed in CCMS Primary schools (two of whom had completed the qualification) as not being fit-for-purpose. It is therefore debateable whether the CRE can be regarded as a genuine 'occupational requirement' for all teaching posts in Catholic primary schools. The evidence from this project suggests that, as it is currently designed and delivered, the CRE serves as a filter that effectively excludes non-Catholics from employment in CCMS primary schools. Whether, if FETO were to be fully applied to the appointment of teachers, the requirement could constitute discriminatory practice is a moot point, but its continued presence, in its current form, unquestionably contributes to the maintaining the ethnic segregation and the community encapsulation of primary school teachers.

The age-profile of NI has changed dramatically since 1977. Children of school age make up a smaller proportion of the general population. Children are more likely to stay in school longer and, according to UCAS (2017), over one third (34.5%) of 18-year-olds in NI now go on to university.

Non-grammar post primary schools had traditionally focused on preparing pupils for employment and training opportunities when they left school aged 16. Many pupils in these schools are now staying on at these schools to sit 'A' levels, before taking up places at university. The established position of grammar schools as the solitary bastions of academic excellence is consequently being challenged, and their continued existence has been under threat since the state-sponsored transfer test was withdrawn in 2008[107]. For grammar schools to survive and flourish they must attract pupils from a diminishing pool.

The environment of education has changed since 2004 and changed immensely since 1977. Changing demography (a dramatic drop in post primary pupil numbers) and a neo-liberal agenda in education management – prioritising value-for-money and school league tables – have contributed to the creation of an environment where many schools have recognised a need to attract the best possible teachers rather than just the best possible

[107] After protracted debate the Transfer Test was removed by the Minister for Education - only to be replaced by two separate systems of unregulated tests. These are largely aligned with the community divide (see Page 24).

teacher who has the community identity profile appropriate to that of the school. Non-Catholic grammar schools, in particular, have reached out to new audiences; in respect of both pupils (12% Catholic: DENI, 2107) and teaching staff (23% Catholic: identified in this research).

Comments made by a vice principal in a Catholic grammar school (Hannah 3d05) illustrated how her BoG and school management were adopting more pragmatic employment practices to ensure that they appoint the best quality teachers – irrespective of their community background – with the aim of their students achieving the best possible results.

10.5 Aim 4: Identity, Agency and the Cross-over Teacher.

This research has determined that the ethnic divide in education is not a straightforward separation of Catholic and Protestant students on the basis of faith. Schools under the auspices of Catholic authorities were seen as actively promoting a specific perspective of Irish cultural identity (including: the Irish language, GAA) within a specific set of religious values. Non-Catholic schools were identified as working to an explicitly British model within which some elements of the Protestant faiths were accommodated.

Many of those teachers who had crossed over into employment in *de facto* Catholic schools expressed discomfort at being confronted with the rituals associated with Catholic worship (e.g. Rebecca 1b12, page 206). However, for those Protestant teachers with a deep personal spiritual belief, the pervasiveness of religion in Catholic schools was actually seen as an attractive component of school life (e.g. Anna 3d04, page 208).

For those Catholics in *de facto* Protestant schools it was the iconography of Britishness which caused some uneasiness (e.g. Ailish 2c26, page 231). Those more secular Catholic teachers were relieved at the relative absence of religion in the *state* system!

Openness about ethnic identity was highlighted as being central to the practice of those teachers working in Integrated schools – *"that hidden kind of normal"* – at the same time, it was recognised that such an attitude may not be commonplace elsewhere. It would appear that, in the Integrated sector, ethnic identity is an accepted dimension of the teacher as a complete entity. Teachers use their identity in their teaching on a daily basis. By contrast, those teachers who had stepped into a school associated with the other side were often wary of revealing their identity as *other*.

Unlike identities in some other contested regions, the ethnic separation in NI is not always immediately evident – there are no distinguishing racial or linguistic characteristics. Names, particularly first names, are often key in revealing an individual's community identity. For those teachers who have a family name that may be perceived as being ethnically neutral, the convention widely employed in NI schools of students only ever addressing their teachers by their surnames makes it easy for them to hide their identity – those teachers whose surname was more readily associated with one side or the other found greater difficulty in disguising or obscuring their identity. In the example of Gerrard (3e14, page 248), the revelation to his pupils of his first names through Google Classroom was involuntary but enabled him to engage with his identity in a way that he might not otherwise have chosen.

There are a number of other well recognised 'linguistic' clues to ethnic identity – such as the use of the aspirated or unaspirated 'h' or the convention of referring to Northern Ireland's second city as either Derry or Londonderry – those teachers who sought to disguise their identity chose to adapt their speech accordingly. There are however other subtle 'tells' that the cross-over teacher may be unable to avoid; indeed, the teacher who has had limited exposure to the other side may be unaware of these (Orla 3e08, page 208).

It would appear that, unless and until it has been proven otherwise, a working assumption may be made by the pupils in community-specific schools that their teacher will share their ethnic identity – as illustrated by Paula 2b03, page 248.

To a large extent, therefore, the aware cross-over teacher who wishes to remain hidden may be in a position to make a choice as to whether or not they wish to expose their 'other' identity. However, when the pupil-community feels that their dominion is in some way threatened by the outside identity, the direct question may be asked as in the case of Mairead 2a02, *"Are you a fenian miss?"* (page 236).

Many teachers (particularly those who have grown up during the conflict) felt uncomfortable revealing their community identity – two teachers whose fathers had served as police officers during the Troubles spoke of having grown up in a culture of secrecy in respect of their fathers' occupation. Those cross-over teachers who had not had their identity 'exposed' were able to choose to whom they revealed their ethnic/community origins; to trusted colleagues only, to teaching colleagues generally

within the school, to colleagues and some trusted pupils (usually senior) or to everyone in the school.

The development of a professional identity is an extremely social and context-dependent process that cannot be understood without taking into account the environment within which it takes place and the role of an individual in making sense of this environment (Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate, 2016). For cross-over teachers to be able to engage their identity in their school (and thereby achieve agency) the alignment of two components is needed: the environment must be (or be perceived to be) receptive or at the very least not openly hostile to the cross-over teacher exposing their identity *and* the teacher must be personally comfortable in revealing their identity to students and colleagues.

Where the school environment was perceived as being potentially hostile to the 'otherness' of the teacher's identity the teacher may endeavour to hide that identity from their pupils or, in more extreme examples, from both pupils and other staff members. They may carefully and consciously adopt the culture, but such a strategy is fraught with difficulties. It must inevitably involve a degree of deception and dishonesty. The 'disguised' teacher may be anxious about their otherness being found out – the fear of having their identity exposed does not diminish with time – they must maintain a consistent mask.

Norma 2b07 had very sensitively and cautiously introduced the Duke of Edinburgh Award and British sports not normally associated with CCMS schools (hockey, rugby) without ever openly revealing her identity to anyone outside a small group of trusted colleagues Such deception, however well intentioned, has the potential to backfire. Word-of-mouth quickly spreads.

Alternatively, a teacher may, out of habit or convention, attempt to obscure their identity, or believe, probably naïvely, that it is unknown. Such an approach is only possible where the teacher's *other* identity is not seen as a threat within the school – this was seen to be the case where the teacher was well-established in the school, particularly when they teach a non-contentious subject and/or do not see that their wider identity has any role to play in their professional practice.

Some teachers were seen to have actively brought their otherness into both the classroom and the staffroom – for these teachers their outsider status had become a defining aspect of their identity within the school. They were seen to have used their identity in their

practice and to have actively sought out opportunities where it can be applied. If such a strategy is to prove effective, it requires respect, trust and support from higher management – such engagement was seen to have been dependant on both the audience (the class) and the context. The profile of the agentic teacher being consistent and open about their identity is not straightforward in the Northern Irish context. It has been observed that there can be significant problems where an agentic teacher with *other* identity acts in a manner that challenges established, mono-cultural practices and attitudes. This was seen at its most extreme in school communities that were inexperienced, unwilling and/or unprepared to engage with alternative perspectives. In each of these instances the situation was seen to have deteriorated into sectarian bullying.

A small number of teachers who had returned to NI following a period teaching in GB took up a cross-over position in the assumption that things had moved on. Those who had entered an Integrated school found a culture within which their identity was accommodated. Two of those teachers who had stepped across the ethnic divide in education had experienced a less welcoming situation – Katrina 1a18 and Mairead 2a02. They found themselves exposed in a school environment that was hostile to the otherness of their identity. Their identity tested the culture of their 'host' in ways for which it was not prepared. Neither received effective support from either the school leadership or sectoral management. The sectarian attitudes displayed by pupils, parents and other staff members went unchallenged and, as such, were effectively reinforced. Both have since left their posts and are seeking employment in community consistent schools.

From these examples it was identified that capacity of the cross-over teacher to achieve agency is affected by both their own willingness to engage their identity and the culture of the school in which they are employed i.e. whether their *otherness* is supported or not. Cross-over teachers were seen as being characterised by the different approaches that they had adopted within these four possible permutations: the Ostrich, the Peacock, the Chameleon and the Hedgehog (Table 41).

The apocryphal story of the Ostrich that sticks his head in the sand in the face of a perceived threat provides an illustration of the cross-over teacher who endeavours to hide or distance themselves from their identity, even though it may be widely known in the school. There is no hostility towards their otherness. The Ostrich does not does not engage their agency – there is no impact from their otherness on the school culture.

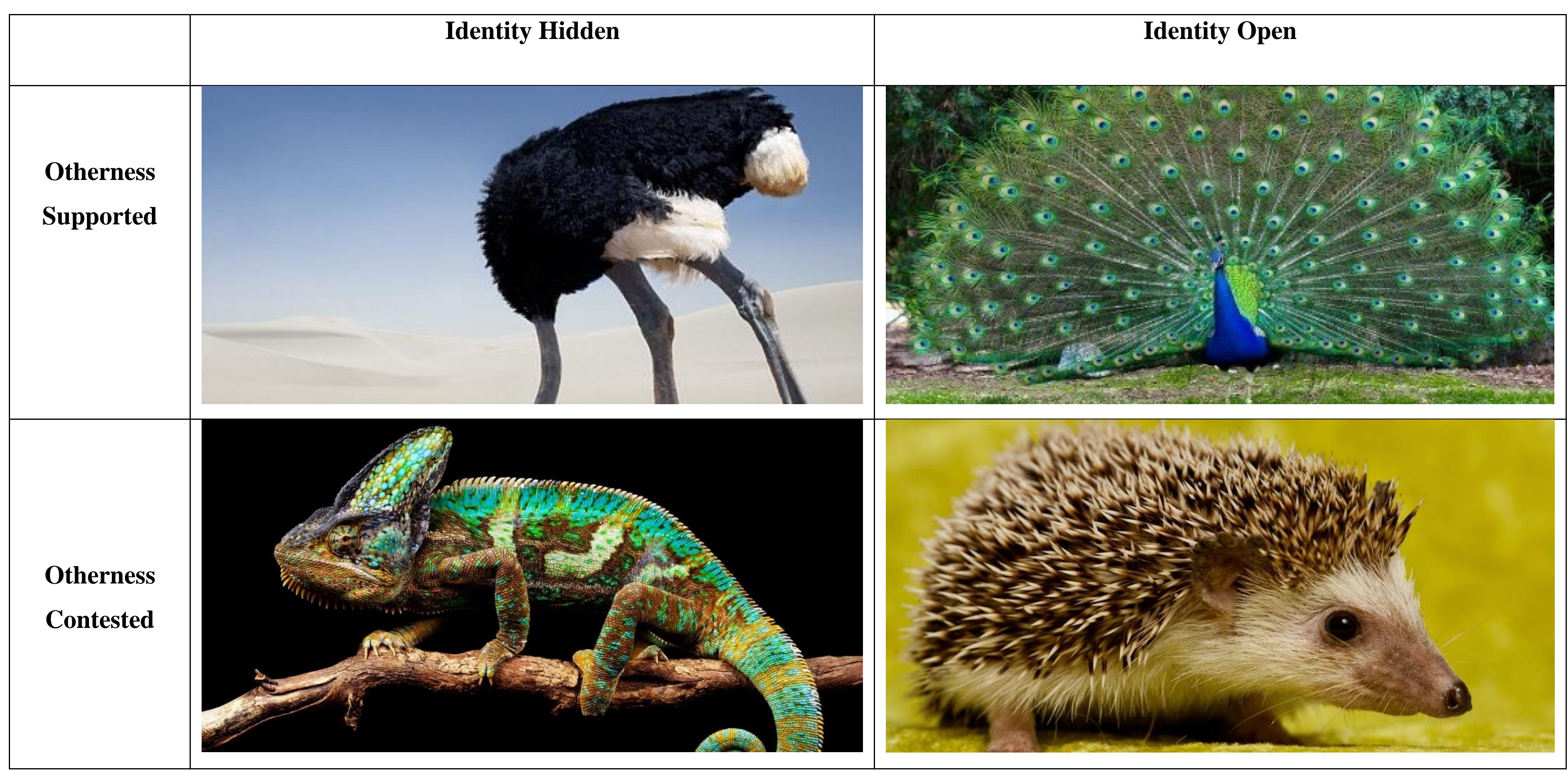


Table 41. Cross-Over Teacher Identity-Agency Matrix

The Chameleon is a cross-over teacher who adopts the culture of the 'host' community so effectively that they assimilate to such an extent that their otherness effectively disappears. The chameleon teacher is accepted as 'one of us'; their ethnic identity is assumed by all but a few trusted individuals to be consistent with that of the school. They can however work unseen in the assumption that they are an insider to create change. Their position is however vulnerable and maintaining the pretence may prove difficult in the longer term.

The Peacock flamboyantly displays their identity and, where the school authorities accept and accommodate this display, they are able engage their identity in their teaching – thereby opening opportunities for their pupils to encounter and engage with issues that might otherwise remain hidden or unexplored. In order to be able to achieve agency, the peacock needs to have critically reflected on their own identity *and* to feel comfortable and confident in its expression. Such displays may be unsettling to more conservatively-minded colleagues and the wider school community – the support of school management is therefore crucial. Where that support has been assumed by the teacher but has failed to materialise, the cross-over teacher becomes exposed and has to fall back on their own defences. The peacock becomes a hedgehog.

Where an innovative, collegial cross-over teacher critically reflects on their identity and engages their agency in their interactions within the school, change is possible – *but only* where that engagement is accepted by the school-community. The agentic cross-over teacher brings not only new perspectives to the pupils that they teach but also potentially to the interactions in the staffroom and potentially also the boardroom. It may well be that, in order to achieve real change in the separated school system, the agentic cross-over teachers may have capacity to act as a catalyst, as the grit that creates the pearl. In order for this to happen policy needs to change. The nature of this required change will be identified in the next chapter.

10.6 The Experiences of Those Who Teach Across the Traditional Sectors in NI

The experiences outlined by the thirty cross-over teachers interviewed within this project were hugely varied. To attempt to extract generalised comment from the vast array of experiences detailed would run the risk of providing a glib or unduly reductionist presentation of the rich and complex data obtained. It is more useful to consider a spectrum of experiences that is comprised of many strands and operates across a number of continua.

In order to construct this spectrum. the experiences were examined of two of those teachers who were most positive about their cross-over (Anna 3d04 and Craig 3d24) and contrasted with two of those that had found employment across the divide most problematic (Mairead 2a02 and Katrina 1a18). Seven discrete continua were identified within these experiences – the experiences of the remaining 26 cross-over teachers could be located at various points between the extremes of each continuum, thereby allowing for a great many possible permutations of experience (Fig. 34).

Firstly, the quality of the school was noted – both of the schools where the *cross-over positive* teachers were employed had excellent academic reputations. Both of the schools where the *cross-over negative* teachers were employed had received school inspection reports that had identified significant areas requiring improvement. Obviously, all schools fall somewhere between these two points. It seems that the confident, high achieving school may be more accommodating of a teacher who brings *something different* whereas the school community that feels insecure may be more resistant to the in-comer.

Somewhat paradoxically both teachers who had experienced a hostile response to cross-over reported having commenced their posts with great enthusiasm. Both had also had their 'other identity' exposed involuntarily. In contrast, the positive teachers spoke of having been consciously and deliberately circumspect when they took up their employment – that they had consequently been able to choose to reveal their ethnic identity, this had been done selectively and incrementally.

School 'gate keepers' played a crucial role in determining the nature of the cross-over teacher's experiences. In the most positive examples, the cross-over teacher spoke of the quality of their relationship with school leadership, with pupils, with colleagues and the wider school community whilst those for whom the experience of cross-over had been most negative had found those involved with the management of the school to have been unsupportive.

Both of the teachers who had found their experience of cross community transition to be most positive had a clear concept of their own identity – Craig had grown up in a culturally and politically loyalist community, he had retained links with a sports club that was strongly associated with that identity. Anna had grown up as the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, her Protestant faith remained central to her sense of self. Neither had felt obliged to compromise these key aspects of their identities.

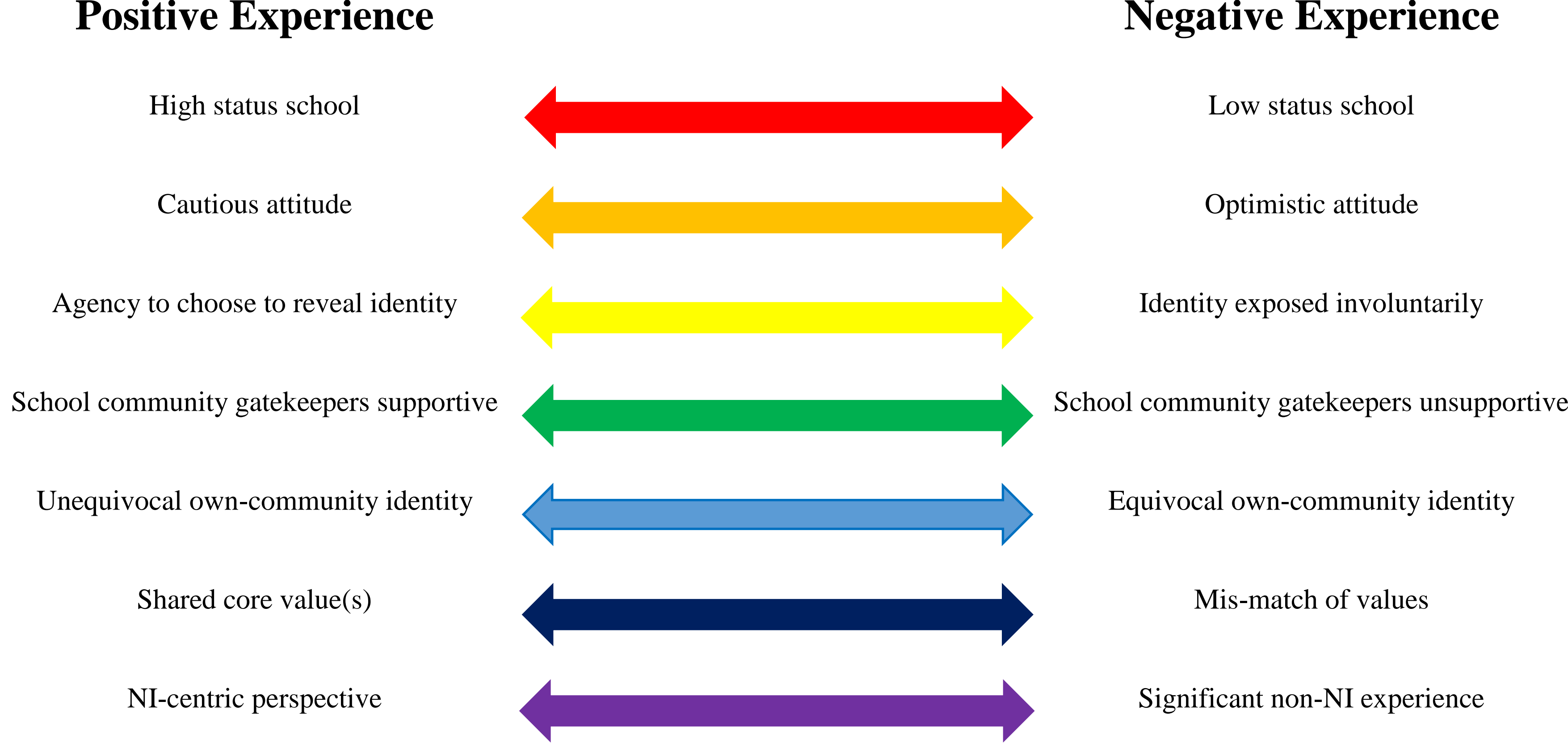


Fig. 34. Spectrum of Factors Affecting Cross-Over Teacher Experiences

Both teachers had found that their 'otherness' was accommodated within the school and the unique qualities that it brought were recognised and appreciated.

In marked contrast the two teachers whose experience of cross-over had been negative had crossed out of the community consistent path when they transferred to post primary school - Mairead to an Integrated school and Katrina (who was the offspring of a mixed marriage) to a non-Catholic grammar. Both had returned to NI in order to take up their teaching posts following a protracted and successful period of employment in schools in GB. Both had endeavoured to introduce practice which reflected the world views that they had gained from these experiences – both encountered significant resistance to their innovation.

Ironically, given the lower rates of Protestant to Catholic cross-over identified in this research and the 'chill factor' reported for Protestants previously, both of the teachers with the most positive experience were ethnic Protestants employed in *de facto* Catholic schools – whilst the two teachers with the most negative experiences were both ethnic Catholics employed in *de facto* Protestant schools.

The breadth of experiences detailed however illustrate that, in the best-case scenario, the agentic cross-over teacher has capacity to make a significant difference. At the same time, there is potential for the cross-over teacher to experience extreme hostility and bullying. The challenges of developing policy and practice that can maximise the potential to have more of the former and minimise the frequency of the latter will be expanded upon in the next chapter.

11. SUMMARY, FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

"Education is political. It is about more than learning to read and to write; it is about shaping generations and who chooses the image in which they are shaped."
Niamh Puirséil (2018)

It is 20 years since the signing of the Good Friday agreement. The bombs and the bullets remain largely silent yet, deep societal, sectarian schisms still scar society in NI. It has been argued that, over the past two decades, by bolstering support in their respective communities rather than building sustainable bridges the two political blocs, Loyalist-Unionist and Republican-Nationalist, have conspired to 'share-out' rather than 'share' power (Barry, 2017). The violence of the past may have passed from daily fare to the realm of collective community memories, but Brexit and the prospect of a border poll are unsettling the uneasy status quo.

> Although violent divisions in ethnically plural societies can be successfully regulated through the recognition and accommodation of opposing groups, as the Good Friday (Belfast) Agreement and other conflict management settlements have shown, an important question is whether group identity can be overcome (Jarrett, 2018, p. 1).

As in many post-conflict societies across the globe, education has been identified in NI as having the potential to be a key mechanism in assisting in the restoration of inter-community relationships. Yet, despite the promises of greater integration included in the peace agreement, there has been little change in the proportions of children that are educated in British-Protestant or Catholic-Irish community-specific schools.

The roots of this educational division are embedded deeply in the history of the conflict. Traditionally the embattled Catholic populace saw education as medium through which community solidarity and Irish identity could be maintained in the face of hostile British imperialism. For the Catholic authorities, schools were fundamental in the maintaining of their control on society's spirituality and morality.

In contrast, British-orientated, state Controlled schools and non-Catholic voluntary grammar schools in NI have promoted an Anglo-centric world-view of culture, literature and history and, whilst still adhering to Christian principles, placed less direct focus on the denominational aspects of Protestant faith (with a few exceptions). Members of the clergy have retained presence and influence in the management of schools on both sides.

This ethnic separation of schools has proved resolutely steadfast and the churches have effectively resisted a number of attempts to introduce policy aimed at bringing about a common, secular system (Akenson, 1973).

Since the late 1970s a stream of policies have sought to facilitate the building of bridges between schools on either side of the divide. The most recent of these, Shared Education (DENI, 2015), recognises the apparent immutability of the structural, ethnic divide and encourages collaboration between schools – primarily to improve pupils' educational outcomes with reconciliation as a secondary consideration.

Whilst the impact of the ethnic separation of pupils has attracted significant academic attention over the years, the experiences of teachers has been less researched, and research into those teachers who have crossed the community divide has been conspicuous in its absence. It has been identified that the community division of teachers is maintained by a series of policies (Nelson, 2010; UNESCO Centre, 2015).

The NI primary school curriculum requires all teachers to teach RE. Pupils in Maintained primary schools are prepared, in school, for two threshold sacraments; Confirmation and First Communion. The trustees who manage these schools require their primary teachers accordingly to possess an RE qualification that meets predetermined requirements set by the Catholic authorities. Few Protestant teachers chose to complete this certificate.

Initial teacher education is provided in four institutions – two of these (who provide the bulk of primary teachers in NI) are strongly reflective of the community division in education. The teaching college associated with the Controlled sector offers the Catholic RE certificate as a distance-learning option – it is a core subject in the teaching college associated with the Maintained sector.

Teachers in NI are also exempted from the protection afforded to almost all other employees in the region through fair employment legislation (FETO, 1998); a school can legally use an applicant's religious faith as a criterion in the appointment and promotion of teachers.

Only three pieces of research had been conducted through which some insight could be gained into those teachers who had crossed between the community defined sectors (i.e. Darby et al, 1977; Dunn and Gallagher, 2002; ECNI, 2004). These lacked currency, and

none had delved into the particular experiences of those teachers who had crossed the traditional divide in education in NI.

Working from a Pragmatic (anti)epistemological perspective, a mixed methods approach was adopted; an online survey to *quantify* the dimensions of the educational divide in the deployment patters of teachers, and a series of *qualitative* interviews to explore the identity and agency of those that had crossed the divide.

The survey was developed using Qualtrics software – it was tested, revised accordingly and distributed to all mainstream primary and post primary schools in NI – and was completed by a total of 1,015 teachers. The completion rate was calculated as allowing for 95% confidence in the findings with a 3% error margin.

Interviews were conducted with a purposive sample – a "strategically selected sample of informants against a specific criterion" (Palys, 2008, p. 697) – of thirty cross-over teachers who had been educated a primary school in NI that was consistent with their community of origin but were currently teaching in a school with a different ethnic/community identity profile.

Literature-scoping techniques (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005) were employed to explore literature relating to teacher identity and agency. This project was thus located within the body of research that relates to the manner in which teachers, by acknowledging and authentically engaging their identity, may achieve agency and have capacity to effect change.

Narrative interviews have been recognised as an effective technique through which to explore critical incidents and thereby gain insight into identity and human agency (Sisson 2016; Seidman, 2013; Webster and Mertova, 2007). An interview schedule was therefore constructed to enable teachers to articulate 'intrinsic' critical events through a set of questions informed by the *Achievement of Agency* model proposed by Biesta et al (2015). These required teachers to reflect on their past (Iterational), their present work situation (Practical-Evaluative) and their future plans (Projective). The schedule was tested with a small number of retired cross-over teachers; both the questions and interview techniques were revised accordingly. The resulting data were analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step Thematic Analysis and organised with the assistance of Nvivo 11 software.

Ultimately this mixed method approach provided revealing insights into a previously under-researched and un-researched phenomenon.

11.1 Summary of Findings

The findings have been comprehensively detailed in previous chapters but in order to locate the recommendations and concluding comments a précis of the key points is provided here.

The combination of the policies identified above and the data produced by earlier research led to an initial hypothesis that teachers in the NI system would be found to be professionally "culturally encapsulated" – that teachers would be seen to have followed a community consistent career trajectory from primary school through the various stages of education before finally entering the workforce of teachers in a school in the same ethnically defined community within which they had their own origins.

This was however found to be true for only around a quarter of teachers, although almost half of those teachers employed in Maintained primary schools had followed a "culturally encapsulated" career path.

This project did identify a high degree of community consistency in the staff rooms of *de facto* Protestant and *de facto* Catholic schools. However, this was seen to be a less pervasive feature of teaching than had been observed in the previous research – with one significant exception. The staff cohort in Maintained primary schools includes fewer than one-teacher-in-fifty teachers who have crossed the divide. Non-Catholic grammar schools were shown to have the greatest cross-community mix in their staff teams.

This was seen to be reflective, to some extent, of the fact that the two colleges that were considered to reflect the ethnic divide, St Mary's and Stranmillis, offer ITE principally for those seeking employment in primary schools. Many post primary teachers enter the profession through the PGCE route having already undertaken a subject-specific degree at a mixed university. Evidence from the interviews suggested, however, that even within a mixed university, students' social lives may be conducted almost exclusively with peers from their community of origin.

The data gathered through this research has shown that there is markedly greater community diversity in the staff room than might have been expected in light of earlier research by Darby et al, in 1977, and the Equality Commission in 2004. It does seem that

the ethnic separation of teachers is being diluted. The exception to this is the relative absence of Protestant teachers employed in *de facto* Catholic primaries.

It is evident from the data that, across the board, Catholic teachers show greater willingness (and/or find it easier) to move across the divide than Protestant teachers. Those teachers who had been educated in *de facto* Catholic primary schools "cross-over" more frequently than those who were educated in *de facto* Protestant primaries. Career movement across the ethnic divide is more frequent in the post primary sectors and particularly in grammar schools.

Ethnic divisions were also identified in the pattern of teaching union membership. Prior to the commencement of this investigation, no research had been published into the effect of community separation on the membership of teaching unions in NI. This project revealed that membership of INTO (a union that had been associated historically with Irish Nationalism) was strongest in CCMS primary schools. INTO represented only a very small proportion of those employed to teach in Controlled schools. In 1919, in the crisis that ultimately led to the partition of Ireland, UTU had broken away from INTO. UTU still retains a power-base in Controlled primaries where around half of teachers pay their dues to UTU. UTU membership amongst teachers employed in CCMS schools is negligible.

Both unions are represented roughly equally among teachers in Integrated primary schools where NASUWT (seen as a neutral union) holds sway, as it does in Controlled and Maintained post primaries. ATL-NEU (acknowledged to be the least militant union) represents mainly grammar school teachers but, even in these schools, sits in second place behind NASUWT.

The range of teaching unions – and the rivalries between them – has been identified as potentially weakening teachers voice in negotiations with employers. There have been recent moves for the unions to align. The four unions did work in consort in industrial action during 2017, but there is evidence that two blocs are emerging: NASUWT on one side and NEU/INTO/UTU on the other. In 2017, ATL merged with the National Union of Teachers (NUT) to form NEU. NUT had previously had no direct presence in NI and, several years earlier, had signed a compact with INTO *and* UTU.

This research has identified that UTU and INTO operate with a shared partnership board and have aligned their recruitment and some other operational matters. Whilst a formal

amalgamation is nowhere on the horizon there has been an unprecedented level of formal and informal co-operation and partnership between the two unions whose membership most reflects the community division in education.

The qualitative element of the research identified that the on-going ethnic separation of teachers could be aligned along three factors: Policy, Practice and Perception.

The teacher exception from FETO was barely mentioned in any of the interviews – teachers seemed largely unaware of its ongoing existence. A number seemed to think (mistakenly) that they were protected by fair employment legislation. A senior manager in a Catholic voluntary grammar school insisted that her school was looking for the best teacher to fill any post and that an applicant's religion would not be a consideration when making appointments (with the exception of posts where the teaching of RE is required).

It was suggested, however, that the influence of a BoG in making appointments may introduce an unintentional bias. The BoG of any school is likely to be composed mainly from representatives drawn from the local area (including clerics) – if that community is dominated by one or other ethnic group then the BoG is unlikely to be wholly neutral. Thus, appointment decisions could be made that were influenced by underlying sectarianism.

The continuing existence of ethnically divergent teaching colleges – St Mary's and Stranmillis – was identified as contributing to the endurance of an educational culture of separateness. The colleges were seen to be preparing future teachers for a career on one side or the other. Few students from either college had been offered teaching practice outside of the community consistent sector, although there was some evidence that this might be changing e.g. St Mary's students undertaking teaching practice in an Integrated primary.

The Catholic RE certificate was seen by those Protestants employed in CCMS primaries as the principle barrier to employment in that sector. These interviewees (and others) also considered it to be anachronistic and unnecessary. Those Protestant teachers who had completed the certificate felt that it had not adequately equipped them for teaching within the Catholic ethos. There was also a perception that, where the CRE had been available to Protestant prospective teachers during ITE, few had opted to avail of the opportunity.

The requirement upon primary school teachers to teach religion, and CCMS insistence that any teacher employed in their primary schools must be in possession of the CRE (or in a small number of very specific cases commit to obtaining it within three years), seemed to pose the biggest policy barrier to cross-over.

It was a widely held belief that those who left the Catholic system to teach in Controlled or Integrated schools would be effectively black-listed and thereby debarred from any future employment opportunities in CCMS schools. Many Catholic teachers who had left the community consistent path reported incidents of perceived hostility from Catholic clerics and authorities.

Four of the teachers who had been interviewed spoke of direct personal experience of hostility that they had understood to have been motivated by sectarianism – three of these were Catholic teachers who had crossed into Controlled schools in staunchly Protestant areas. The fourth was a Protestant teacher, also employed in a Controlled school in a staunchly Protestant area; she had a surname and employment history that had been interpreted by parents as indicating that she was Catholic. The sectarianism came mainly from pupils and parents – included direct comments as well as 'whispering' and attacks on social media – but also from staff members and BoG. Lack of support to the affected teacher from senior staff and management in all of these instances contributed to an escalation of the problem. For two of those affected by in-school sectarianism the experience had been damaging to their health and had led to their stepping back from their posts.

A number of other teachers reported having encountered ostensibly similar behaviours with less devastating consequences. They had adopted a less 'confrontational' defence – accepting and appeasing the protagonists – and the problem had been contained.

Personal examples of hostility towards aspects of Protestant identity were reported by cross-over teachers employed in *de facto* Catholic schools. It would appear that in each of these incidents the perpetrator was a Catholic cleric speaking to an audience that he had supposed shared his community identity. There were no reports of overt sectarian hostility directed towards any Protestant teacher who had crossed into a *de facto* Catholic school.

Out of fear or habit, many cross-over teachers had been unwilling to expose their community-identity and had taken active steps to disguise or obscure their otherness. The

nature of the ethnic division in NI is such that community identity may in some cases be relatively easy to hide. Unless definitively proven otherwise, in the separated system pupils and others may make an assumption that the cross-over teacher shares their identity.

Names, and particularly first names, are often ethnically specific and may be used in the process of 'telling'. Deception is to some extent facilitated by the tradition of pupils using teachers' family names when they address them – Miss Smith, Mr McCartney. It is often only when pupils discover a teacher's first name that their ethnic identity is exposed. Several other culturally specific subtle 'tells' were also identified (e.g. Protestants talking about being 'Christian') – these could be reliably used to reveal a cross-over teacher's ethnic identity sometimes without them even realising.

When speaking about the hiding and exposing of community/ethnic identity many teachers used a term that is most frequently associated with gay identity – 'outing'. Research into teacher agency has recognised the challenges facing gay teachers in engaging all aspects of their identity in their practice – and also the necessity to integrate all dimensions of their identity if they are to achieve agency (Wright, 2016; Perry, 2009; Beijaard et al, 2004).

Cross-over teachers indicated that they were more comfortable in revealing their identity to their colleagues than to their pupils. Some felt able to deliberately expose and use their identity as a teaching tool, particularly when teaching pupils that had reached greater levels of maturity e.g. "A" level students.

Ultimately cross-over teachers were seen as having responded to the challenge of engaging their identity as a component of their agency in the classroom in one of four ways.

- Attempt to hide and disguise the ethnic components of their identity in the belief that they had no relevance to their functioning as a teacher and the assumption that pupils would be unaware of their otherness.
- Complete absorption into the culture and ethos of the school with the effect of disguising their ethnic identity so deeply that it is invisible.
- Having been exposed as 'other' – perhaps involuntarily – and feeling threatened and wary. Attempting to remain authentic in the face of growing antagonism and dwindling support from management.

- Consciously and actively engaging their identity and using their otherness in a structured way in their teaching. This requires a supportive ethos throughout the school. Through exposure the teacher makes him/herself vulnerable.

The exposing of a teacher's ethnic identity still carries an undeniable element of risk in NI. Engaging identity also enables cross-over teachers to act in a more agentic manner – particularly when they are able to claim that decision as a conscious choice. For this engagement to prove fruitful the cross-over teacher needs to be understood supported by management and other staff.

11.2 Future Research Directions

Whilst this research has been conducted in as thorough and thoughtful manner as possible it is recognised that nothing is perfect. By correcting the methodological flaws that have been identified above and replicating the research it is possible that a slightly more accurate picture could be obtained. Potential has also been noted for revisiting a small number of particularly rich and informative interviews in order to conduct a Narrative Analysis as opposed to the techniques of Thematic Analysis that had been employed.

The findings from this investigation have also cast a light on the absence of research in a number of other, related areas. It is perhaps therefore of more interest to ask, what other questions could be addressed through research?

The following areas have been identified as holding potential for further research:

- The experiences and motivations of culturally encapsulated teachers in NI.
- Comparative research into the identity-agency of cross-over teachers in other divided/contested regions.
- The ethnic separation of students in NI universities.
- The identity-agency of teachers who return to NI.
- The experiences of teachers of colour and teachers from EU accession nations.

Prior to this project no research had been conducted into those teachers who had crossed the divide. This investigation has identified not only the extent of movement within and between the various sectors but also that a significant proportion of teachers have remained community consistent throughout their careers – no research has yet been conducted into the motivation behind the career choices that they have made. This research has labelled such teachers as being 'culturally encapsulated', but have their life

experiences really been as mono-cultural as has been assumed from their career paths? How has this impacted upon their agency?

Northern Ireland is far from unique – there is potential that the lessons from here may be transferrable to other jurisdictions. There is value in asking to what extent, and what ways, are education systems separated by policy and practice elsewhere, and how does this impact on teachers' careers? Are the experiences of cross-over teachers in NI comparable to those of teachers in other separated, contested and post-conflict regions (e.g. Sri Lanka, Cyprus, Israel)?

This research has identified that students within NI Higher education may conduct ethnically separated social lives within the – that life in a *mixed* university does not necessarily expose students to meaningful contact with the other side. If such separation does exist, is it an ongoing and active choice or a consequence of conditioning and formative experiences?

The demand for ITE places in NI exceeds supply and ITE colleges produce more graduates annually than is required to replenish the teaching workforce. Many would-be teachers who have not been able to attain a place locally leave NI to attend ITE colleges in GB. It has been shown in this research that the college chosen by these students is likely to be affected by their community identity – there is potential for mixed method research to explore this in further depth. Particular challenges for returning teachers who chose to take up posts 'across the divide' in (re)adapting to the enduring community separation in education. In combination these issues raise a number of questions. To what extent does the GB experience expose the student to greater diversity? Do they leave NI with the ultimate intention of returning? Are teachers who leave NI more inclined to consider posts outside of community consistent schools? How is their identity and agency affected by their experiences of teaching in GB?

This research was unable to identify any teachers of colour or those whose origins lay in any of those countries that acceded to the EU in 2004 – the EU accession states account for over 4% of NI pupils. A more focussed investigation would be required to confirm the actual proportions of such teachers. Again, narrative methods could provide valuable insights into the experiences and motivations of such teachers (if they do exist and can be located!).

s

11.3 Policy Recommendations

There have been notable changes in the proportions of teachers crossing the community divide in education since the most recent previous research (in 2004). Separation is still evident and remains significant but post primary schools have witnessed the emergence of a more open marketplace for teachers seeking employment in a crowded profession. However, with the exception of those schools in the Integrated sector, primary school staff rooms remain largely monocultural and populated by a significant number of teachers who are 'culturally encapsulated'. This is particularly true of Maintained primary schools.

The 2015 report that inspired this research recommended the incentivisation of teachers to move between sectors in order that "*all children can benefit from being taught by teachers from diverse backgrounds and experiences*" (UNESCO Centre, 2015, p. 48). If the enduring ethnic separation of teachers in NI schools is to be further broken down, then a number of policies need to be addressed. It is recommended that:

- FETO should be extended to cover the employment of teachers in schools.
- Section 75 of the NI Order (1998) should be extended to cover schools.
- A common CRE should be developed that considers the needs of non-Catholic teachers and that it is offered in all four ITE institutions.
- The occupational requirement for all teachers in CCMS primary schools to be in possession of the CRE should be removed – it may be retained for those teaching classes being prepared for Catholic sacrament.
- St Mary's, Stranmillis and QUB should develop 'Shared ITE' practices – where students from the colleges attend common lectures and undertake joint fieldwork.
- Critical reflection on formative experiences that have informed students' identity construction should be actively encouraged in ITE courses.
- There is a need to address the way in which schools are managed – particularly the composition and training of BoG.

Notwithstanding the Teacher Exception to FETO (1998), this research was unable to identify any teachers who felt that their career progress had been hindered as a direct consequence of its continued existence. Indeed, several teachers were under the (mistaken) impression that teaching posts *were* protected by fair employment legislation.

ECNI have a statutory duty to keep the teacher exception under review. Following investigations commissioned in 2002 and 2004 they recognised that, in order to maintain a community mix of staff in Integrated schools, an applicant's faith could potentially be considered as a 'genuine occupational requirement' in the decisions made regarding the appointment of teachers. Similarly, in CCMS Primary schools, ECNI had accepted that the 'genuine occupational requirement' may also be legitimately applied for *certain* Posts. ECNI nevertheless determined that it was "no longer acceptable to exclude the entire teaching workforce from the fair employment legislative provisions covering all other occupations in Northern Ireland"[108]. ECNI consequently stated:

> Our view is that all teachers should be able to enjoy the same legislative protection as other workers, and the exemption should be abolished at secondary level, as previously recommended; with early consideration given to the question of urging the removal of the exemption at all levels.

There has however been no discernible progress with regard to the removal of the teacher exception in the fourteen years since ECNI's recommendations were published. The matter seems to have fallen from the political table. It is therefore suggested that ECNI should review this research within the context of their duty to keep the teacher exception under review and should re-visit the reasons behind the lack of progress regarding its removal.

The teacher exception has also been used to justify schools being excluded from the requirements of a key element of the GFA; Section 75 AKA the Equality Clause. Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998, made it a legal requirement for public authorities "to have due regard to the need to promote equality of opportunity between people of different religious belief, political opinion, racial group, age, marital status or sexual orientation; between men and women generally; between people with a disability and people without; and between people with dependants and people without."

At the same time as promoting 'equality of opportunity' for everyone in society, Section 75 also obliges all government departments, agencies and councils to consider the impact on all of those who identify within these nine criteria when creating policy. Paradoxically, whilst DENI and EA (the employing authority for teachers) are required to comply with Section 75, schools are not. It would be consistent with the removal of

---

[108] https://www.equalityni.org/Delivering-Equality/Addressing-inequality/Law-reform/Related-links/Teachers-exception-(1) Accessed 28/05/18

the teacher exception - and at the same time ensure that pupils and staff were afforded the same protection and rights that have been granted to individuals in other settings - were the NI Executive to extend Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998 so that it applied to all schools.

As has been identified, schools in NI are separated between those linked to the Catholic Religion and those reflective of the British State. The imposition of a secular system – as in France, where the display of conspicuous religious symbols has been banned in schools within the public education system – has been effectively resisted in the past and, even in the context of decreasing church influence in matters pertaining to the state, remains inconceivable in the near future. The teaching of RE in NI Primary schools is therefore likely to remain compulsory for at least the medium term.

Even, in some currently inconceivable scenario, were the consociational Assembly willing to oversee the disassembling of the current system and the creation of *common schools*, the resulting legislation would be unwieldy and complex. As in the past, such a move could be expected to be opposed by powerful vested interests. Likewise, the place of religion as a core element in the primary school curriculum is unlikely to change anytime soon. It is therefore expected that those primary schools where Catholic authorities maintain control will continue to require the teachers that they employ to have attained an additional qualification to validate their credentials to prepare pupils for first confession and holy communion.

This research has however shown that whilst the CRE constitutes an effective barrier to cross-over teacher mobility it is an ineffective tool for equipping teachers to deliver RE in a Catholic Primary school. Teachers who had undertaken the CRE in Stranmillis (through distance learning) or St Mary's identified that its content is built on the assumption that those undertaking it are already practicing Catholics. By contrast, the RE certificate developed at Ulster University and offered as an option on their PGCE course has been accepted by the CCMS Trustees as meeting their requirements – it has been specifically constructed in such a way as to provide both Catholic and non-Catholic would-be teachers with a common qualification.

A similar course could be developed across all four ITE institutions. Such a course would need to be designed in such a way as to be of relevance to those non-Catholics who have

had limited experience or knowledge of Catholic liturgical and ecclesiastical practices in order to make it a relevant, practical, professional qualification.

It is difficult to argue that there is an objectively justifiable educational need for the Catholic authorities to continue to insist on the requirement for *all* teachers in CCMS primary schools to be in possession of the CRE. This research has identified that a Catholic ethos is maintained in Catholic voluntary grammar schools and CCMS post primary schools; where possession of the CRE is an occupational requirement for only those posts that include the teaching of RE. The data gathered in this research has shown that these schools employ a higher proportion of non-Catholic teachers than had previously been the case. Furthermore, in Integrated primary schools, the preparation of Catholic pupils for the sacraments is not facilitated by *every* teacher but rather only by those teachers who are considered to be suitably qualified (i.e. have completed an approved CRE). Elsewhere in the UK, the CRE equivalent (the Catholic Pathway) is not an occupational requirement for *all* teachers in primary schools managed by Catholic authorities – an example was provided from a teacher who had been employed in Scotland.

In effect, the insistence that all CCMS primary school teachers hold the CRE, serves as a sectarian filter to maintain a segregated[109] and significantly culturally encapsulated workforce in that sector.

Previous attempts to amalgamate St Mary's and Stranmillis have been met with strong and effective opposition. It is recognised that a straightforward merger of the teaching colleges is unlikely to receive enough support to go ahead any time soon. As an alternative, there may be merit in exploring the development of a Shared Education or Extended Curriculum model between the colleges. There are obvious opportunities for collaboration across the St Mary's, Stranmillis and QUB campuses which are geographically only 2½ miles apart. Both St Mary's and Stranmillis are University Colleges under the auspices of QUB. Logistically and operationally, therefore, such a move should not be complex. There is obvious potential for mutual benefit through the sharing of classes for those studying sport, literature, history, politics and RE.

[109] The use of the word 'segregated' has been studiously avoided throughout this document – *segregation* implies separation enforced and supported by law. It is considered that in this case the use of the word *is* appropriate.

It is not enough simply to cross-over; to break down the hegemony of division teachers must be in a personal and professional position to engage their identity and their agency. Lopes-Cordoza and Hoeks (2014) explored the place of education in addressing peace-building in the wake of the conflict in Sri Lanka and recognised that teachers do not act in isolation from their environment; they are strategic actors in an often highly-politicised context. Le Roux (2014) documented how white teachers in post-apartheid South Africa had avoided engaging with racial issues for fear of generating classroom conflict and how, in the absence of dialogue, they were unable to engage with the legacy of racial oppression. The status quo cannot be changed by avoiding the issues: an approach which avoids reconciliation and conflict resolution will only ever reproduce structures of inequality and (in)direct violence.

Research by Francis and le Roux (2011) with pre-service teachers identified that their identities were connected to their capacity for critical agency. They attested that teachers could not claim to have a purely professional identity; that it will inevitably be mediated by their race, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, class, language, sexual orientation, physical ability and language. Thus, the professional self is inseparable from a person's narrative or life story and friction may arise in teachers' professional identity in cases in which the 'personal' and the 'professional' are too far removed from each other (Beijaard et al, 2004). Identity affects everything that the teacher does, feels, says and thinks.

The process of preparing teachers to engage their personal and professional identity in order to achieve agency begins with ITE. Lipponen and Kumpulainen (2011) saw that benefits occurred when teacher educators broke away from the away from the traditional "taken-for-granted" patterns of activities and that if beginning teachers were to develop professional agency, then they needed to move beyond reacting-to and repeating previous practice. Research by Moate and Ruohotie-Lyhty (2014) identified that teaching practice can easily become periods of 'apprenticeship' – an uncritical transition into the existing culture of the school. They highlighted the importance of critical reflection in supporting beginning teachers to engage their agency and the need to establish a school-community environment within which multiple bridges could be built between individuals, different educational communities, educational theory and practice. Such an environment was seen to have benefits for both the present and the future. In contrast, Chun Lai et al (2016) showed how the capacity of teachers to exercise their agency can be limited by school structure and the cultural system with its associated power relations, self-imposed roles, and individuals' confidence and competencies.

It follows that, if pre-service teachers are to be prepared through ITE to achieve agency they must be enabled to develop the capacity to critically reflect on their identity and how they may engage with it in the professional environment – in order to do so they need be actively supported to attain the necessary confidence and skills.

School management also needs attention. The current models of school governance mean that BoGs can be dominated by clerics and community representatives with a common ethnic identity. This may not be in the interests of ensuring an ethnically diverse workforce (see Sean 1a11, page 193). If fair employment policies are to be applied to the appointment and promotion of teachers, then the bodies involved in making that choice need to be constructed in such a manner as to make such bias less possible.

There was also evidence that those cross-over teachers who had experienced sectarian bullying and intimidation had found little support from school management (e.g. Katrina 1a18, page 243). If cross-over teachers are to flourish, those involved in school management (who may have had little or no previous experience of working in an ethnically mixed setting) will require additional training and/or support.

11.4 Concluding comments

Education is both a product and reproducer of the ethnic divide in NI. It is easy to assume that teachers who are created within this system will subsequently go on to replicate it. Whilst this is true for a significant proportion of teachers, the pattern of teacher deployment in 2018 is more diverse and nuanced than had been observed in previous research.

Grammar schools would seem to be taking an increasingly pragmatic approach and seek to employ best teachers – not just the best community consistent teachers – ethnic separation is still a feature of employment patterns in primary schools and particularly *de facto* Catholic primaries. Separation in these schools may be considered as 'segregation' – it is prescribed by an 'occupational requirement' that all teachers have obtained a community specific teaching qualification.

Those teachers who cross the divide may endeavour to hide their *other* identity or to engage with it to provide their students with insight into new perspectives. The potential for cross-over teachers to achieve professional agency is largely determined by the extent to which their identity is accepted and accommodated by the school-community.

Ethnic deployment patterns of teachers have changed. Some teachers have demonstrated considerable capacity to use their otherness in their practice. Education remains nevertheless a key element in maintaining denominational, cultural and community identity and separation. In the contested setting of NI, it plays an undeniable role in the preservation of the divide and the preparation of future generations to live in an ethnically separated society. Teachers hold one potential key to a new model.

This thesis commenced with a story from my own formative years. The teacher at the core of the story was my English teacher, Frank Ormsby. Frank is also a poet of some renown. One of his poems, 'Sheepman', draws on a 1958 western of the same name to evoke images of thinly-vieled prejudice and mistrust. He paints an allegorical picture of the struggles of a minority outsider as he seeks to find an accommodation with the majority community that surrounds him. The poem has undoubtedly been influenced by his experiences as a cross-over teacher in Belfast at the most violent period of the conflict. 'Sheepman' concludes with a plea for the 'outsider' to be recognised and accepted as he is; without having to deny his identity. It seems fitting that this work should sign off with Frank Ormsby's words.

> *Even the barflies move to corner tables,*
> *mouthing 'Sheepman'. The barman serves,*
> *but grudgingly. Like Mexicans and half-*
> *breeds I must wear that special hangdog look,*
> *say nothing…*
>
> *Unbowed I claim my rights – to herd alone,*
> *and be accepted. When I skirt*
> *the rim of cattle drives, salute me,*
> *and when I come to share your bunkhouse fire,*
> *make room.* (Ormsby, 2015)

REFERENCES

Adams, M. & Umbach, P. (2012) Non-response and online student evaluations of teaching: Understanding the influence of salience, fatigue, and academic environments. *Research in Higher Education, 53,* pp. 576-591

Akenson, D. H. (1973) *Education and Enmity: The Control of Schooling in Northern Ireland.* Harper and Rowe, New York

Alkire, S. (2005). Subjective quantitative studies of human agency. *Social Indicators Research*, *74*, pp. 217–260.

Allder, M. (1993) The meaning of school ethos, *Westminster Studies in Education, 16, pp. 59–69*

Andrews, M., Squire, C. & Tamboukou, M. (2008) *Doing narrative research* Sage, London

Archer, M. S. (2000) *Being human: the problem of agency* Cambridge University Press

Archer, T. M. (2007) Characteristics associated with increasing the response rates of Web-based surveys. *Practical Assessment Research & Evaluation*, 12(12)

Archer, T. M. (2008) Response Rates to Expect from Web-Based Surveys and What to Do About It *Journal of Extension June 2008 Volume 46 Number 3*

Arksey, H. & O'Malley, L. (2005) Scoping studies: towards a methodological framework, *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 8:1,* pp. 19-32

Baird, J. (2009) 125 Years of ATL *Report Magazine June/July 2009* http://www.atl.org.uk/publications-and-resources/report/2009/125-years.asp

Baker, S. & Edwards, R. (2014) How many qualitative interviews is enough? Expert voices and early career reflections on sampling and cases in qualitative research *National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper* http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/2273/4/how_many_interviews.pdf

Banks, J. A. (1994) *Multi-ethnic education: theory and practice* 3rd Edition, Allyn and Bacon

Bardon, J. (1992) Protestant teachers to teach Protestant children. In: Bardon, J. (1992) *A History of Ulster*, Belfast, Blackstaff

Barry, J. (2017) From Power Sharing to Power Being Shared Out *Green European Journal, 6th July 2017* https://www.greeneuropeanjournal.eu/from-power-sharing-to-power-being-shared-out/

Bates, J. A. (2004) Use of narrative interviewing in everyday information behavior research *Library & Information Science Research 26, pp. 15–28*

Bazeley, P. & Jackson, K. (2013) *Qualitative Data Analysis with Nvivo: 2nd Edition*. Sage, London

Beara, Y. & Caplan, D. (2002) *When You Come to a Fork in the Road, Take It! Inspiration and Wisdom from One of Baseball's Greatest Heroes* Hatchette Books, New York

Beauchamp, C, & Thomas, L (2009) Understanding Teacher Identity: An Overview of Issues in the Literature and Implications for Teacher Education, *Cambridge Journal Of Education*, 39, 2, pp. 175-189

Beijaard, D., Meijer, P. C. & Verloop, N. (2004) Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity *Teaching and Teacher Education 20, pp 107–128*

Bell, M., Jopling, M., Cordingley, P., Firth, A., King, E & Mitchell, H. (2006) *Systematic Research Review: The impact of networks on pupils, practitioners, organisations and the communities they serve* National College for School Leadership

Bennett, J. (2010) *The Labour Market for Teachers in Northern Ireland*. Economic Research Institute of Northern Ireland, Belfast.

Biesta, G. & Burbules N. (2003) *Pragmatism and Educational Research* Rowman and Littlefield, Oxford

Biesta, G., Priestley, M. & Robinson, S. (2015) The Role of Beliefs in Teacher Agency, *Teachers and Teaching 21:6* pp. 624-640

Biesta, G. & Tedder, M. (2007) Agency and learning in the lifecourse: Towards an ecological perspective. *Studies in the Education of Adults, 39,* pp. 132–149.

Blaylock, D., Hughes, J., Wölfer, R. & Donnelly, C. (2018) Integrating Northern Ireland: Cross-group friendships in integrated and mixed schools *British Educational Research Journal Vol. 44, No. 4,* pp. 643–662

Borooah, V. & Knox, C. (2015) Segregation, inequality, and educational performance in Northern Ireland: Problems and solutions, *International Journal of Educational Development Volume 40, January 2015, pp. 196-206*

Bosnjak, M. (2003) Prepaid and Promised Incentives in Web Surveys: An Experiment *Social Science Computer Review Volume 21 Number 2 pp 208-217*

Boyte, H. C. & Finders M. J. (2016) A Liberation Of Powers: Agency And Education For Democracy *Educational Theory Volume 66 Number 1–2*, pp 127-145

Brannen, J. (2014) in Baker, S. & Edwards, R. (2014) *How many qualitative interviews is enough? Expert voices and early career reflections on sampling and cases in qualitative research* National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper Pp. 16-17

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3, 77–101*

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2013) *Successful qualitative research*, Sage, London

Brien, S., Lorenzetti, D., Lewis, S., Kennedy, J. & Ghali, W. (2010) Overview of a formal scoping review on health system report cards. *Implement Sci.* 2010: 5 pp. 2-10

Bruner, J. (1991) The narrative construction of reality, *Critical Inquiry.* 18, pp. 1-21.

Bryson, A. & McConville, S. (2014) *The Routledge guide to interviewing: oral history, social enquiry and investigation.* Routledge, London

Burton, F. (1978), *The Politics of Legitimacy: Struggles in a Belfast Community* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd

Bush, K.& Saltarelli, D. (2000) *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peace-building Education for Children. Research Report*. UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre

Cairns, E. (1994) *A Welling Up of Deep Unconscious Forces, Psychology and the Northern Ireland Conflict*. Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster, Coleraine

Campbell, A., Taylor, B., Bates, J. & O'Connor-Bones, U. (2018) Developing and Applying a Protocol for a Systematic Review in the Social Sciences. *New Review of Academic Librarianship, 24(1), pp:1-22*

Carr, D. (2013) Qualtrics Dominates Academic Survey Research *Information Week 24th July 2013* https://www.informationweek.com/qualtrics-dominates-academic-survey-research/d/d-id/1110904

Chapman, C., Muijs, D., Sammons, P., Armstrong, P. & Collins, A. (2009) *The Impact of Federations on Student Outcomes.* National College for Leadership of Schools and Children's Services, Nottingham

Chapman, C. & Muijs, D. (2014) Does School-to-school Collaboration Promote School Improvement? *School Effectiveness and School Improvement: An International Journal of Research Policy and Practice 25:3*, pp 351-393

Chapman, Y. & Francis, K. (2008) Memoing in qualitative research, *Journal of Research in Nursing, 13(1*).

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chun Lai, Zhen Li & Yang Gong (2016) Teacher agency and professional learning in cross-cultural teaching contexts: Accounts of Chinese teachers from international schools in Hong Kong, *Teaching and Teacher Education 54 (2016) 12e21*

Clandinin, D. J. & Connelly, F. M. (2000) *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Clarke, M. (2009) The Ethico-Politics of Teacher Identity, *Educational Philosophy And Theory*, 41, 2, pp. 185-200

Clarke, V. & Braun, V. (2017) Thematic analysis, *The Journal of Positive Psychology, 12:3*, pp. 297-298

Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2011) *Research Methods in Education (7th Edition)* Routledge, London

Cohen, M. (2000) Drifting with denominationalism: a situated examination of Irish national schools in nineteenth century Tullylish, Co. Down. *History of Education Quarterly, 40:1*

Cohen, N. (2007) Stop this Drift into Educational Apartheid, *The Guardian, 13 May 2007*

Connolly, P. (2007) *Quantitative Data Analysis in Education* Routledge, Abingdon

Daly, P. & Simpson, K. (2004) Politics and education in Northern Ireland; an analytical history. *Irish Studies Review, 12:2*

Darby, J., Dunn, S., Murray, D., Mullan, K., Farren, S., Batts, D. & Harris, J. (1977/1989) *Education And Community In Northern Ireland Schools Apart? [AND] Schools Together?* Centre for the Study of Conflict University of Ulster, Coleraine.

De Gruchy, N. (2013) *History of the NASUWT 1919 – 2002: The Story of a Battling Minority* Abramis, Bury St Edmunds

Denscombe, M. (2010) *The Good Research Guide: 4th Edition* Open University Press, Maidenhead

Department of Education NI (1982) *The Improvement of Community Relations: The Contribution of Schools* Circular 1982/21

Department of Education NI (2011) *Community Relations Equality and Diversity Policy* DENI, Bangor http://credni.open.wp-dev.web.tibus.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/CRED-Policy-March-2011-English-PDF.pdf

Department of Education NI (2013) *Advancing Shared Education. Report on the Ministerial Advisory Group.* Professor Paul Connolly, Dawn Purvis and PJ O'Grady. Available at: http://www.qub.ac.uk/schools/SchoolofEducation/MinisterialAdvisoryGroup/Filestore/Filetoupload,382123,en.pdf

Department of Education NI (2013a) *Review of the Employment Opportunities for Teaching Staff - An Assessment of the Impact of the Religious Certificate Requirement to teach in Catholic Maintained Primary and Nursery Schools.* Bangor, DENI Available at: https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/de/Review-of-employment-opportunities-for-teaching-staff-Part-1.pdf Accessed 16/05/18

Department of Education NI (2015a) *Sharing Works: A policy for Shared Education and Draft Bill. Summary of Responses to Public Consultation.* Available at: https://www.deni.gov.uk/publications/shared-education-consultation-responses

Department of Education NI (2015b) *Sharing Works: A policy for Shared Education.* Available at: https://www.deni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/de/shared-education-policy.pdf

Department of Education NI (2016) *Statistical Bulletin 9/2016 Annual enrolments at grant-aided schools in Northern Ireland 2016/17* https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/education/Statistical%20Bulletin%209%20-%202016.pdf

Department of Education NI (2016a) *School Enrolments in Northern Ireland - 2015-16 Key Statistics* https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/education/Enrolments%201516.pdf

Department of Education NI (2016b) *Statistics 2015-16* Downloaded from DENI website 4th May 2016 http://apps.deni.gov.uk/appinstitutes/InstViewManagements.aspx

Department of Education (2017) Statistical Bulletin 2/2017 Annual enrolments at schools and in funded preschool education in Northern Ireland, 2016/17 https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/education/Statistical%20Bulletin%20combined..Census%20statistical%20bulletin%20-%20Feb%2017%20FINAL%20revised.pdf

Department of Education NI (2018) School Enrolments in 2017-18: Key Statistics https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/education/DE-enrolment-stats-bulletin-revised-feb-2018_0.pdf

Department for Employment and Learning (2014) *Aspiring to Excellence: Final report of the international review panel on the structure of initial teacher education in Northern Ireland* DEL, Belfast http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/20454/1/aspiring-to-excellence-review-panel-final-report.pdf

Devine, P. (2013) *Summary Report on Attitudes to Community Relations.* ARK Occasional Paper, Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey.

Dewey, J. (1937) "Democracy and Educational Administration" in *John Dewey: The Later Works, 1925–1953, vol. 11*, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987)

Donnelly, C. (2000) In Pursuit of School Ethos, *British Journal of Educational Studies, 48:2,* pp 134-15

Donnelly, C. (2004) What price harmony? Teachers' methods of delivering an ethos of tolerance and respect for diversity in an Integrated school in Northern Ireland. *Educational Research,* 46 (1), pp 3-16

Donnelly, C. & Burns, S (2017) Teaching Citizenship in the Faith School: Qualitative Evidence from Separate Schools in Northern Ireland. *Irish Educational Studies*, V36:4, pp 471-487

Doyle, S. (2014) No Protestant trainee teachers at St Mary's University College *Irish News 25th November 2014*

Drapeau, M. (2002). Subjectivity in research: Why not? But…. *The Qualitative Report*, *7*(3), pp 1-15. Retrieved from http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol7/iss3/3

Dunn, S. & Gallagher, T. (2003) *The Teacher Exception Provision and Equality in Employment in Northern Ireland.* Belfast, Equality Commission for NI.

Education and Training Inspecorate (2018) *The Shared Education Signature Project Evaluation Report* ETINI, Belfast. Available at: https://www.etini.gov.uk/sites/etini.gov.uk/files/publications/shared-education-signature-project-evaluation-report.pdf

Education Authority (2016) *DSC Signature Project: Shared Education (Application Guidance)* http://www.sepni.org/resources/6599/6599_86_Application%20Guidance.pdf

Edwards, A (2015) Recognising and realising teachers' professional agency *Teachers and Teaching 21:6*, pp 779-784

Egan, G. (2010) *The Skilled Helper: A problem management and opportunity development approach to helping.* 9th edition. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole

Elbaz, F. (1990) Knowledge and discourse: the evolution of research on teacher thinking in Day, C., Pope, M. & Denicolo, P. (eds.) *Insights in teachers' thinking and practice*. Falmer, London

Elliot, J. (2005) *Using narrative in social research* Sage Publications Ltd., London

Elwood, J., McKeown, P., Gallagher, T., Kilpatrick, R., Murphy, C. & Carlisle, K. (2004) *Equality Awareness in Teacher Education and Training in Northern Ireland - Summary Report*. Equality Commission for NI.

Emirbayer, M. & Mische, A (1998) What is agency? *American Journal of Sociology* 103: 4, pp. 962-1023

Equality Commission for Northern Ireland (2003) *Investigation of the Teachers Exception under the Fair Employment and Treatment (NI) Order 1998*.

Equality Commission for Northern Ireland (2004) *The Exception of Teachers from the Fair Employment and Treatment (NI) Order 1998* http://www.equalityni.org/ECNI/media/ECNI/Publications/Delivering%20Equality/TeacherExceptionfromFETOInvestigReport2004.pdf

Espinoza, K. (2015) Teacher Identity: Claiming Me, *Journal Of Latinos And Education*, 14, 2, pp. 146-149

Eteläpelto, A., Vähäsantanen, K., Hökkä, P. & Paloniemi, S. (2014) Identity and Agency in Professional Learning. In: Billett, S., Harteis C., Gruber, H. (eds) *International Handbook of Research in Professional and Practice-based Learning*. Springer International Handbooks of Education.

Eteläpelto, A., Vähäsantanen, K. & Hökkä, P (2015). How do novice teachers in Finland perceive their professional agency? *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 21(6), pp. 660-680*

Etikan, I., Musa, S. & Alkassim, R. (2016) Comparison of Convenience Sampling and Purposive Sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics. Vol. 5, No. 1*, pp. 1-4

Eyben, K., Morrow, D. & Wilson, D. (1997) *A Worthwhile Venture? Practically Investing in Equity, Diversity and Interdependence* University of Ulster, Coleraine

Fair Employment and Treatment (Northern Ireland) Order 1998

Farren, S. (1989) Catholic-nationalist attitudes to education in Northern Ireland, 1921–1947, *Irish Educational Studies, 8:1,* pp 56-73

Farren, S., Finn, P., Kirk, T. & Hughes, J. (1992) *Students Together and Students Apart: A study of student-teachers' attitudes in Northern Ireland*. Coleraine, University of Ulster

Fay, M.-T., Morrissey, M. & Smyth, M. (1998) *Mapping Troubles-Related Deaths in Northern Ireland 1969-1998* INCORE, L'Derry

Fay, M.-T., Morrissey, M. & Smyth, M. (1999) *Northern Ireland's Troubles: The Human Cost* Pluto

Field, A (2005) *Discovering Statistics Using SPSS: 2nd Edition* Sage, London

Finlay (1992) Politics, Sectarianism And The 'Failure' Of Trade Unionism In Northern Ireland: The Case Of Garment Unions In Derry, 1945-1968. *Saothar Vol. 17* pp. 78-86

Fleming, C & Bowden, M. (2009) Web-based Surveys as an Alternative to Traditional Mail Methods *Journal of Environmental Management Volume 90, Issue 1*, pp 284–292

Francis, D, & le Roux, A (2011) Teaching for Social Justice Education: The Intersection between Identity, Critical Agency, and Social Justice Education, *South African Journal Of Education*, 31, 3, pp. 299-311

Freeman, M. (2009) *Hindsight: the promises and perils of looking backward* Oxford University Press

Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the oppressed,* Continuum International Publishing, London

Fullan, M. (1993). The professional teacher. Why teachers must become change agents. *Educational Leadership, 50,* pp 12–17.

Gage, N.L. (1989) The paradigm wars and their aftermath a “historical” sketch of research on teaching since 1989. *Educational researcher,* 18 (7), pp 4-10

Gallagher, T. (2004) *Education in divided societies.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gallagher, T. (2014) *A matter of sympathetic recognition: education and the spirit of John Malone*. The John Malone Memorial Lecture, Orangefield High School, August 22, 2014. http://eastsidearts.net/sites/default/files/Malone%20lecture%202014.pdf

Galtung, J. (1975) Three approaches to peace: peacekeeping, peacemaking and peace-building. In *Peace, War and Defence - Essays in Peace Research Vol. 2, pp. 282-304.* Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers.

García-Horta, J. & Guerra-Ramos, M. (2009) The use of CAQDAS in educational research: some advantages, limitations and potential risks, *International Journal of Research & Method in Education, 32:2, pp 151-165*

Gault, G. (2017) *An exploration of the demand for Irish within the primary controlled sector in Northern Ireland* http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.726352

Gébler, C. (1991) *The Glass Curtain: Inside an Ulster Community*, Hamish Hamilton, London

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and self-identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Gill, S. & Niens, U. (2014) Education as humanisation: a theoretical review on the role of dialogic pedagogy in peace-building education, Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 44:1, pp. 10-31

Giroux, H. (1992) *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education* Routledge

Gläser, J. & Laudel, G. (2013). Life With and Without Coding: Two Methods for Early-Stage Data Analysis in Qualitative Research Aiming at Causal Explanations [96 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *14*(2), Art. 5

Glaser, B. & Strauss, A. (1967) *The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research.* Chicago, Aldine

Goffman, E. (1981) *Forms of talk* University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania

Goodrich, K, Kingsley, K, Levia, C, & Daugherty, D (2016) The Lived Experiences of LGBTQQIAA Advocates in Education, *Teacher Educator*, 51, 3, pp. 211-229

Göritz, A. (2010) Using lotteries, loyalty points, and other incentives to increase participant response and completion Pp. 219-233. In Gosling, S. & Johnson, J. (eds). (2010). *Advanced methods for conducting online behavioral research*. American Psychological Association, Washington, DC

Gormley-Heenan, C. and Byrne, J. (2012) The Problem with Northern Ireland's Peace Walls *Political Insight Volume 3, Issue 3,* pp 4–7

Gormley-Heenan, C., Byrne, J. & Robinson, G. (2013) The Berlin Walls of Belfast *British Politics 8: 357* pp 357–382

Government of the United Kingdom (1998) *The Agreement*

Greener, I. (2011) *Designing Social Research: A guide for the bewildered* Sage, London

Gregory, I. N., Cunningham, N. A., Lloyd, C. D., Shuttleworth, I. G. & Ell, P. S. (2013) *Troubled Geographies: A Spatial History of Religion and Society in Ireland*, Indiana University Press

GTCNI (2014) *Annual Statistics Digest* General Teaching Council for Northern Ireland, Belfast

Guba, E. & Lincoln, Y. (1989) *Fourth Generation Evaluation* Thousand Oaks: Sage

Gudgin, G. (1999) Discrimination in Housing and Employment under the Stormont Administration. In Roche, P. and Barton, B. (eds.) *The Northern Ireland Question: Nationalism, unionism and partition* Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Aldershot

Guelke, A. (2012) *Politics in Deeply Divided Societies*. Cambridge: Polity.

Guest, G., Bunce, A. & Johnston, L. (2006) How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability *Field Methods, Vol. 18, No. 1,* pp 59–82

Guest, G., MacQueen, K. & Namey, E. (2012) *Applied Thematic Analysis,* Sage, London

Hagan, M. & McGlynn, C. (2004) Moving barriers: Promoting learning for diversity in initial teacher education. *Intercultural Education*, 15:3, pp 243-252.

Hajisoteriou, C., Neophytou, L. & Angelides, P. (2015) The perceptions of high-level officers in Cyprus about intercultural education and their underlying assumptions *Curriculum Journal, 26 (1), pp. 115-136.*

Halai, A. & Durrani, N. (2017) Teachers as agents of peace? Exploring teacher agency in social cohesion in Pakistan, *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education,*

Hargie, O., Dickson, D. & Nelson, S. (2003) Working Together In A Divided Society *Journal of Business and Technical Communication*, Issue 17, p. 285

Hart, C. (1998) *Doing a Literature Review: Releasing the Social Science research imagination* London, Sage Publications

Hayes. B., McAllister, I. & Dowds, L. (2007) Integrated Education, Intergroup Relations, and Political Identities in Northern Ireland *Social Problems, Vol. 54, Issue 4,* pp. 454–482

Heaney, S. (1991) *The Cure at Troy: A Version of Sophocles' Philoctetes* Farrar, Straus and Giroux

Hoffman-Kipp, P. (2008) Actualizing Democracy: The Praxis of Teacher Identity Construction *Teacher Education Quarterly* Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 151-164

Hökkä, P., Vähäsatanen, K. & Mahlakaarto, S. (2017) Teacher educators' collective professional agency and identity - Transforming marginality to strength *Teaching and Teacher Education: 63*, pp 36-46

Horner, L., Kadiwal, L., Sayed, Y., Barrett, A., Durrani, N. & Novelli, M. (2015) *Literature Review: The Role of Teachers in Peace-building* UNICEF Research Consortium on Education and Peace-building.

House of Commons Library (1998) Northern Ireland: The Release of Prisoners under the Northern Ireland (Sentences) Bill RESEARCH PAPER 98/65 http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/RP98-65/RP98-65.pdf

Howard, G. R. (1999) *We can't teach what we don't know: White teachers in multi-racial schools* Columbia University, New York

Hughes, J. (2011) Are Separate Schools Divisive? A Case Study from Northern Ireland. *British Educational Research Journal 37: pp. 829–850*

Irish National Teachers Organisation (2009) *Constitution* https://join.into.ie/INTORulesConstitution2009.pdf

Izadinia, M (2013) A Review of Research on Student Teachers' Professional Identity', *British Educational Research Journal*, 39, 4, pp. 694-713

Jarrett, H. (2018) *Peace and Ethnic Identity in Northern Ireland: Consociational Power Sharing and Conflict Management.* Routledge, London

Javadi, M. & Zarea, K. (2016) Understanding Thematic Analysis and its Pitfall. *Journal Of Client Care 1 (1):* pp 34-40

Johnson, D. W. & Johnson, R. T. (2005) Essential Components of Peace Education, *Theory Into Practice, 44:4,* pp 280-292

Johnston, K. (2008) *In the Shadow of Giants: A Social History of the Belfast Shipyard,* Gill Books, Dublin

Kenny, J. (2018) What Sort of Education Future Should We Give Our Children? *The View, Issue 45 p. 22*

Kilpatrick, R. & Leitch, R. (2004) Teachers' and Pupils' Educational Experiences and School-Based Responses to the Conflict in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Social Issues.* Sep2004, Vol. 60 Issue 3, pp 563-586

King, J. (2009) Teaching and Learning about Controversial Issues: Lessons from Northern Ireland. *Theory and Research in Social Education,* 37 (2), pp 215-246.

King, N. (2004). Using templates in the thematic analysis of texts. In C. Cassell & G. Symon (Eds.), *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research* (pp. 256–270). London: Sage Publications.

Klehr, M. (2015) Community Engagement as Catalyst for Professional Learning, Reflection, and Agency in Preservice-Teacher Education, The New Educator, 11:4, pp. 277-291

Krausova, A. & Vargas-Silva, C. (2014) *Northern Ireland: Census Profile.* Migration Observatory briefing, 26th June 2014. COMPAS, University of Oxford http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/CensusProfile-Northern_Ireland.pdf

Lange, M. (2012) *Educations in Ethnic Violence*, Cambridge

Lauer, C., McLeod, M. & Blythe, S. (2013) On-line survey design and Development: a Janus-faced approach *Written Communication 30 (3) pp. 330-357*

le Roux, A (2014) "We Were Not Part of Apartheid": Rationalisations Used by Four White Pre-Service Teachers to Make Sense of Race and Their Own Racial Identities, *South African Journal Of Education*, 34, 2,

Lederach, J. (1995) *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures* Syracuse University Press

Lederach, J. & Maiese, M. (2009) Conflict Transformation: A Circular Journey with a Purpose. *New Routes. 16: pp. 7-10*

Leggo, C. (2008) Narrative Inquiry: Attending to the Art of Discourse *Language and Literacy; Toronto Vol. 10, 1*

Liechty, J. & Clegg, C. (2001) *Moving Beyond Sectarianism.* Columbia Press

Liggett, T (2012) Critical Multicultural Education and Teacher Sense of Agency, *Teaching Education*, 22, 2, pp. 185-197

Linehan, C. (2002) *Integrated Education - An historical perspective* BBC NI Homepage, BBC NI Learning http://www.bbc.co.uk/northernireland/schools/agreement/reconciliation/support/rec2_c031.shtml

Lipponen, L. & Kumpulainen, K (2011) Acting as accountable authors: creating spaces for agency work in teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 27* pp 812-819

Looney, T. (2016) *Nvivo in 7 Steps*, ST Publishing House

Lopes-Cardozo, M. & Hoeks, C. (2015) Losing Ground: a critical analysis of teachers' agency for peace-building education in Sri Lanka*, Journal of Peace Education, 12:1 pp 56-73*

Lopez, E. (2011) Culturally relevant pedagogy and critical literacy in diverse English classrooms: A case study of a secondary English teacher's activism and agency *English Teaching; Hamilton Vol. 10, Iss. 4*

Lundy, L., Emerson, L., Lloyd K., Byrne, B. & Yohanis, J. (2012) *A human rights review of the Northern Ireland education system.* NI Human Rights Commission, Belfast

Magee, J. (1995) From national schools to national curriculum: popular education in Ulster from 1831 to the 1990s in E. Phoenix (ed.) *A century of northern life: the Irish News and 100 years of Ulster history 1890s-1990s* Ulster Historical Foundation, Belfast

Malone, J. (1973) Schools and community relations *The Northern Teacher, 11, 1.*

Malteraud, K., Siersma, V. & Guassora, A. (2015) Sample Size in Qualitative Interview Studies: Guided by Information Power. *Qualitative Health Research 2016, Vol. 26(13)* pp 1753–1760

Mapstone, R. (1986) *The Ulster Teachers Union: An Historical Perspective* University of Ulster, Coleraine

Marx, K. (1845) Eleven Theses on Feuerbach in *Marks, K & Engels, F. (1975) Marx/Engels Selected Works, Volume One, International Publishers, New York* pp. 13-15

Marx, K. (1843) *Zur Kritik der Hegelschen RechtsphiloSophie - 2c29 (Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right)*

Mason, M. (2010, August). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. In *Forum qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: qualitative social research* Vol. 11, No. 3

McCartney, M. & Glass, D.H. (2015) *A three-state dynamical model for religious affiliation*, Physica A, 419, pp. 145-152.

McCully, A. (2006) Practitioner perceptions of their role in facilitating the handling of controversial issues in contested societies: a Northern Irish experience. *Educational Review,* 58 (1), pp 51-65.

McDonald, H. & Cusack, J. (2004) *UDA – Inside the Heart of Loyalist Terror*, Dublin: Penguin Ireland

McGlynn, Z. & Beckerman, C. (2007) *Addressing ethnic conflict through peace education*, New York: Palgrave, MacMillan

McMaster, J. (1993) Young People as the Guardians of Sectarian Tradition. *Youth Link NI Booklet Number 2, Youth Link, Belfast.*

McMinn, R. & Phoenix, E. (2005) The Chilver Report: Unity and Diversity. *Irish Educational Studies,* 24 (1), pp 5-19.

McNicholl, K. (2017) *The 'Northern Irish' identity is no new dawn* The Detail, 3rd April 2017 https://www.thedetail.tv/articles/the-northern-irish-identity-is-no-new-dawn

Menter, I. (2008) Tradition, culture and identity in the reform of teachers' work in Scotland and England: some methodological considerations, *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 16:1, pp 57-69*

Menter, I. (2010) *Teachers – formation, training and identity: a literature review* Creativity, Culture and Education, Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Mercer, N., Perrott, M. & Swann, J. (2001) *Research Methods in Education.* Open University, Milton Keynes

Merry, M. (2013) *Equality, Citizenship, and Segregation* Palgrove MacMillan: Basingstoke

Mertova, P. & Webster, L. (2014) Critical Event Narrative Inquiry in Higher Education Quality *Quality Approaches in Higher Education Vol. 3, No. 2 pp. 15-21*

Miles, M. B. & Huberman, A. M. (1994) *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook (2nd ed.).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Milliken, M. (2007) A personal story about the work and growing up in Northern Ireland Pp 265-271 in Magnuson D & Baizerman M (eds.) *Work With Youth in Divided and Contested Societies* Sense Publishers, Rotterdam, The Netherlands

Mitchell, C. (2017) *Religion, Identity and Politics in Northern Ireland: Boundaries of Belonging and Belief*, Ashgate, Aldershot

Mitchell, D., Somerville, I. & Hargie, O. (2016) Sport for peace in Northern Ireland? Civil society, change and constraint after the 1998 Good Friday Agreement *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 18(4) pp 981 –996

Moate, J, & Ruohotie-Lyhty, M (2014) Identity, Agency and Community: Reconsidering the Pedagogic Responsibilities of Teacher Education, *British Journal Of Educational Studies*, 62, 3, pp. 249-264

Montgomery, A. & Smith, A. (2006) Teacher Education in Northern Ireland: Policy Variations Since Devolution. *Scottish Educational Review*, 37, pp 46-58.

Morrow, D. (2011) After Antagonism? The British–Irish Ethnic Frontier after the Agreement, *Irish Political Studies, 26:3*, pp 301-312

Morse, J. (2000) Determining sample size. *Qualitative Health Research*, *10* (1), pp. 3-5.

Munck, R (1985) Class and Religion in Belfast - A Historical Perspective *Journal of Contemporary History Vol. 20, No. 2,* pp. 241-259

Murray, D. (1985) *Worlds Apart: Segregated Schools in Northern Ireland.* Belfast, Appletree.

Nelson, J. (2008) Exploring diversity through ethos in initial teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education Vol. 24 (7),* pp. 1729-1738

Nelson, J. (2010) Religious segregation and teacher education in Northern Ireland. *Research Papers in Education,* 25 (1), pp 1-20.

Nelson-Jones, R. (2013) *Practical Counselling and Helping Skills: Text and Activities for the Lifeskills Counselling Model, 6th Edition*. London, Sage

Nolan, P., Bryan, D., Dwyer, C., Hayward, K., Radford, K. and Shirlow, P. (2014) *The Flag Dispute: Anatomy of a Protest* QUB Publications, Belfast

Nolan, P. (2015) Northern Ireland Peace Monitoring Report (3). Belfast: Community Relations Council.

Northern Ireland Assembly (2012) *Education Bill* http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/assembly-business/legislation/Primary-legislation-current-bills/education-bill/education-bill/

Northern Ireland Assembly (2016) Official Report *Hansard, Tuesday 26 January 2016 Volume 111, No 6* http://data.niassembly.gov.uk/HansardXml/plenary-26-01-2016.pdf

Northern Ireland Assembly (2016) AQW 5083/16-21

Northern Ireland Assembly (2011) *Migration in Northern Ireland: a demographic perspective NIAR 246-11 – Paper 7/11 June 2011* Research and Information Office http://www.migrationni.org/DataEditorUploads/NI%20ASsembly%20paper%20on%20demographics.pdf

Novelli, M., Lopes-Cardozo, M. & Smith, A (2015) *A Theoretical Framework for Analysing the Contribution of Education to Sustainable Peace-building: 4Rs in Conflict-Affected Contexts*. University of Amsterdam. https://educationanddevelopment.wordpress.com/rp/research-consortium-education-and-peace-building/

NI Census (2011) http://www.nisra.gov.uk/census/2011Census.html

NI Certification Officer for Trade Unions and Employer Associations (2015) *Annual Report of the Certification Officer for Northern Ireland 2014-15* NICO, Belfast

O'Connell, T. (1968) *History of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation 1868 – 1968* Dakota Ltd., Dublin

O'Connor, U., Hartop, B. & McCully, A. (2002) *A Review of the Schools Community Relations Programme* UNESCO Centre, Coleraine & DENI, Bangor

Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (2011) *Programme for Government 2011-2015: Building a Better Future* Northern Ireland Executive

Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (2003) *A Shared Future: Policy and Strategic Framework for Good Relations in Northern Ireland* Community Relations Unit, Belfast

Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (2005) *A Shared Future: Improving Relations In Northern Ireland - A Consultation Paper* Community Relations Unit, Belfast

O'Leary, J. (2014) *Why is Irish language divisive issue in Northern Ireland?* BBC NI Spotlight 17.12.14 https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-30517834

O'Reilly, M. & Parker, N. (2013) 'Unsatisfactory Saturation': a critical exploration of the notion of saturated sample sizes in qualitative research *Qualitative Research Volume: 13 Issue: 2,* pp 190-197

Ormsby, F. (2015) *Goat's Milk: New and Selected Poems* Bloodaxe Books Ltd

Osler, D. (2005) *Policy review of Teacher Education in Northern Ireland* DENI, Bangor https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/de/osler-report.pdf

Oswald, M. & Perold, M. (2015) A teacher's identity trajectory within a context of change *South African Journal of Education, 35 (1), art. no. 1046*

Pantiĉ, N. (2015) A model for study of teacher agency for social justice. *Teachers and Teaching 21:6,* pp 759-778

Perry. G., Moore. H., Edwards, C., Acosta, K. & Frey, C. (2009) Maintaining Credibility and Authority as an Instructor of Color *Journal of Higher Education Vol 80 No 1, pp 80-105*

Phillips, E. & Pugh, D. (1993) *How to Get a PhD* OU Press, Milton Keynes

Phoenix, A. (2008) Analysing narrative contexts. In Andrews, M., Squire, C. & Tamboukou, M. (eds.) *Doing Narrative Research*, pp 64-77, Sage, London

Polkinghorne, D. (1995) Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 8:1, pp 5-23

Presser, S., Couper, M., Lessler, J., Martin, E., Martin, J., Rothgeb, J. & Singer, E. (2004) Methods for Testing and Evaluating Survey Questions *Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 68 No. 1* (pp 109-130)

Priestly, M., Biesta, G. & Robinson, S. (2015) *Teacher Agency: an ecological approach.* Bloomsbury, London

Puirséil, N. (2017) *Kindling the Flame: 150 years of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation*. Gill Books, Dublin

Rafferty, D. and Relihan, M. (2015) Schooling in Ireland: Policy and Practice from Penal Times to the Present Day in Matheson, D. (ed.) *An Introduction to the Study of Education: 4th Edition.* Routledge, London

Richards, L. (2009) *Handling Qualitative Data: A practical Guide (2nd Edition)* Sage, London

Richards, L. and Morse, J. M. (2007) *Users Guide to Qualitative Methods (2nd Edition)* Sage, London

Ridley, D. (2012) *The Literature Review: A Step-by-step guide for Students 2nd Edition* London, Sage Publications

Riessman, C. K. (2002) Narrative Analysis. In Huberman, A. M. and Miles, M. (eds.) *The qualitative researchers' companion pp 217-270* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Riessman, C. K. (2008) *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences.* Sage, London

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J. & Elam, G. (2003). Designing and selecting samples. In Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice. A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp.77-108) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Roberts, K. & Wilson, R. (2002). ICT and the research process: Issues around the compatibility of technology with qualitative data analysis. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *3*(2), Art. 23

Roberts, L. and Allen, P. (2015) Exploring ethical issues associated with using online surveys in educational research *Educational research and evaluation, 21:2* Pp 95-108

Ross, D. & Lopes-Cardoso, M. (2017) Reclaiming reconciliation through community education, *Research in Comparative and International Education vol 12 No 1 Pp 76-94*

Roulston, S. & Dallat, J. (2001) James Craig - 3d24, Lord Charlemont and 'The Battle of Stranmillis'; 1928-1933 *Irish Studies Review 9:3*

Roulston, S., Hansson, U., Cook, S. & McKenzie, P. (2017) If you are not one of them you feel out of place: understanding divisions in a Northern Irish town *Children's Geographies Vol. 15, Iss. 4, pp. 452-465*

Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. & Moate, J. (2016) Who and how? Preservice teachers as active agents developing professional identities *Teaching and Teacher Education, 55, pp. 318-327.*

Rüsen, J. (2005). *History: Narration, interpretation, orientation*. New York: Berghahn

Ryan, G. & Bernard, H. (2003) Techniques to identify themes *Field Methods 15(1), pp 85-109*

Saldaña, J. (2016) *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers 3rd Edition* Sage, London

Saul, J. (2008) *Northern Ireland looks to make peace dividend pay*. Reuters Market News 6/5/2008 https://www.reuters.com/article/us-irish-economy/northern-ireland-looks-to-make-peace-dividend-pay-idUSL0283780420080506

Savin-Baden, M. & Major, C. H. (2013) *Qualitative Research – The essential guide to theory and practice*. Routledge, London

Selby, D. & Kagawa, F. (2011) “Development Education and Education for Sustainable Development,” *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review* 12: pp 15–31.

Shared Education Act: Northern Ireland (2016) http://www.legislation.gov.uk/nia/2016/20/pdfs/nia_20160020_en.pdf

Sheatsley, P. (1983) *Questionnaire Construction and Item Writing* in Handbook of Survey Research pp. 195-230 ed. Rossi, p., Wright, J., and Anderson, A. Academic Press, New York

Shukla, N., Wilson, E & Boddy, J. (2014) *Combining thematic and narrative analysis of qualitative interviews to understand children’s spatialities in Andhra Pradesh, India*. Novella: London

Shulman, L. (1979) *The skills of helping individuals, families, groups and communities*. Illinois, Peack Publishers.

Shuttleworth, I. & Lloyd, C. (2007) *Mapping Segregation on Belfast NIHE Estates* NIHE, Belfast

Shuttleworth, I. & Lloyd, C. (2009) *Mapping Segregation on NIHE Estates outside Belfast* NIHE, Belfast

Singer and Ye (2013) The Use and Effects of Incentives in Surveys *The Anna - 3d04ls Of The American Academy AAPSS, 645, January 2013* pp. 112-141

Sisson, J. H. (2016). The significance of critical incidents and voice to identity and agency. *Teachers and Teaching*, *22*(6), pp. 670-682.

Smith, A. and Robinson, A. (1992) *Education For Mutual Understanding: Perceptions and Policy* Centre for the Study of Conflict, University of Ulster, Coleraine

Smith, R., Hartop, B., Kelly, K., McCully, A. and O’Connor, U. (2006) What does it mean to be a community relations professional in Northern Irish education? Some research-based answers. *Reflective Practice* Vol. 7, No. 2, May 2006. pp 215–231

Squire, C., Davis, M., Esin, C., Andrews, M., Harrison, B., Hydén, L-C. & Hydén, M. (2014) *What is Narrative Research?* Bloomsbury, London

Stivers, C. (1993) Reflections on the Role of Personal Narrative in Social Science. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 18, no. 2. pp 408-425

Strauss, A. (1987) *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory 2nd Ed.* Sage, London

Sudman, S. (1983) Applied Sampling in *Handbook of Survey Research*, pp. 145-194 ed. Rossi, P., Wright, J., & Anderson, A. Academic Press, New York

Sudman, S. & Bradburn, B. (1982) *Asking Questions: A Practical Guide to Questionnaire Design* Jossey Bass, San Francisco.

Sugden J. (1995) Sport, Community Relations and Community Conflict in Northern Ireland. In: Dunn S. (eds) *Facets of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. Palgrave Macmillan, London

Taylor, B., Killick, C. & McGlade, A. (2015) *Understanding and Using Research in Social Work*. London: Sage

Taylor, B., Wylie, E., Dempster, M. & Donnelly, M. (2007). Systematically retrieving research: A case study evaluating seven databases, *Research on Social Work Practice, 17 (6), pp. 697-706.*

Taylor, D. & Usher, R. (2004) *Aspects of initial teacher education (ITE) in NI: A report for the Department for Employment and Learning* DEL, Belfast

Trew, K. (2004) Children and Socio-Cultural Divisions in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Social Issues* 60:3, pp 507-522.

Turner, D. W. (2010). Qualitative Interview Design: A Practical Guide for Novice Investigators. *The Qualitative Report*, *15*(3), 754-760

UCAS (2017) *Application Cycle: End of Year Cycle Report – Patterns by Geography* UCAS Analysis and Research (Downloaded 15 May 2018) https://www.ucas.com/file/137236/download?token=LtrRkIaK

Ulster Teachers Union (2014) *Constitution* http://www.utu.edu/cmsfiles/items/downloads/1-RULESANDCONSTITUTION2014.pdf

UNESCO Centre Ulster University (2015) *A review of policy Areas Affecting Integration of The Education System in Northern Ireland.* Belfast, Integrated Education Fund

Van der Heijden, H., Geldens, J., Beijaard, D. & Popeijus, H. (2015) Characteristics of teachers as change agents. *Teachers and Teaching, 21:6* pp 681-699

Vanette D (2015) *Six Ways to Pretest Your Survey Before You Send it* Qualtrics Blog from 26th August 2015 https://www.qualtrics.com/blog/6-ways-to-pretest-your-survey-before-you-send-it/

Vähäsantanen, K. (2015) Professional agency in the stream of change: Understanding educational change and teachers' professional identities. *Teaching and Teacher Education 47,* pp 1-12

Veale, G. (2014) Collapsing Churches in Northern Ireland? *Saints and Sceptics 8/12/14* http://www.saintsandsceptics.org/collapsing-churches-in-northern-ireland/

Wardlow, M. (2013) *Essentially Christian in character? Ethos in integrated schools* A dissertation submitted as a part of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Education (EdD) in the School of Education, Queen's University Belfast

Warren, S., Raghavan, R. & Roberts, K. (2014) Short and Sweet *Market & Social Research Volume 22, Number 2*, pp 95-106

Webster, L. & Mertova, P. (2007) *Using Narrative Inquiry as a research method* Routledge, London

Woods, P. (1993) *Critical events in teaching and learning* Falmer, Basingstoke

Wright, F. (1996) *Two Lands One Soil* Gill & McMillan, Dublin

Wright, T (2016) On Coming out in Practicum: An Autoethnography of (Non) Disclosure, *Journal Of Early Childhood Teacher Education*, 37, 3, pp. 189-202

Zanazanian, P. (2011) Historical consciousness and the structuring of group boundaries' *Curriculum Inquiry v42, No 2 pp 215-239*

Zemblylas, M. (2010) Critical Discourse Analysis of Multiculturalism and Intercultural Education Policies in the Republic of Cyprus *The Cyprus Review Vol 22, No 1*

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. Literature Scoping Workbook

PHASE ONE: DATABASE SEARCHING

Table A1. Documents Identified in Initial Searches

	Author	Year	Title
1.	Izadinia, M	2013	'A Review of Research on Student Teachers' Professional Identity', *British Educational Research Journal*, 39, 4, pp. 694-713
2.	Wilson, E, and Deaney, R	2010	'Changing Career and Changing Identity: How Do Teacher Career Changers Exercise Agency in Identity Construction?', *Social Psychology Of Education: An International Journal*, 13, 2, pp. 169-183
3.	Zanazanian. P.	2012	‘Historical consciousness and the structuring of group boundaries’ *Curriculum Inquiry v42, No 2 Pp 215-239*
4.	Liggett, T	2011	'Critical Multicultural Education and Teacher Sense of Agency', *Teaching Education*, 22, 2, pp. 185-197
5.	Moate, J, and Ruohotie-Lyhty, M	2014	'Identity, Agency and Community: Reconsidering the Pedagogic Responsibilities of Teacher Education', *British Journal Of Educational Studies*, 62, 3, pp. 249-264
6.	Perry. G., Moore. H., Edwards, C., Acosta, K and Frey, C.	2009	Maintaining Credibility and Authority as an Instructor of Color *Journal of Higher Education Vol 80 No 1 Pp 80-105*
7.	Ross, D. and Lopes-Cardoso, M.	2017	Reclaiming reconciliation through community education, *Research in Comparative and International Education vol 12 No 1 Pp 76-94*
8.	Lopes-Cardoso, M. and Shah, R.	2016	The Fruit Caught Between Two stones *Globalisation, Societies and Education Vol 14 No 3 Pp 331-344*
9.	Wright, T	2016	'On Coming out in Practicum: An Autoethnography of (Non) Disclosure', *Journal Of Early Childhood Teacher Education*, 37, 3, pp. 189-202
10.	Bodman, S, Taylor, S, and Morris, H	2012	'Politics, Policy and Professional Identity', *English Teaching: Practice And Critique*, 11, 3, pp. 14-25
11.	Edwards, A	2015	'Recognising and Realising Teachers' Professional Agency', *Teachers And Teaching: Theory And Practice*, 21, 6, pp. 779-784

12.	Buchanan, R	2015	'Teacher Identity and Agency in an Era of Accountability', *Teachers And Teaching: Theory And Practice*, 21, 6, pp. 700-719,
13.	Espinoza, K	2015	'Teacher Identity: Claiming Me', *Journal Of Latinos And Education*, 14, 2, pp. 146-149,
14.	Francis, D, and le Roux, A	2011	'Teaching for Social Justice Education: The Intersection between Identity, Critical Agency, and Social Justice Education', *South African Journal Of Education*, 31, 3, pp. 299-311,
15.	Clarke, M	2009	'The Ethico-Politics of Teacher Identity', *Educational Philosophy And Theory*, 41, 2, pp. 185-200
16.	Goodrich, K, Kingsley, K, Levia, C, and Daugherty, D	2016	'The Lived Experiences of LGBTQQIAA Advocates in Education', *Teacher Educator*, 51, 3, pp. 211-229,
17.	Philip, T, and Zavala, M	2016	'The Possibilities of Being "Critical": Discourses That Limit Options for Educators of Color', *Urban Education*, 51, 6, pp. 659-682,
18.	Biesta, G, Priestley, M, and Robinson, S	2015	'The Role of Beliefs in Teacher Agency', *Teachers And Teaching: Theory And Practice*, 21, 6, pp. 624-640,
19.	Sisson, J. H.	2016	'The Significance of Critical Incidents and Voice to Identity and Agency', *Teachers And Teaching: Theory And Practice*, 22, 6, pp. 670-682
20.	Beauchamp, C, and Thomas - 2a20, L	2009	'Understanding Teacher Identity: An Overview of Issues in the Literature and Implications for Teacher Education', *Cambridge Journal Of Education*, 39, 2, pp. 175-189
21.	le Roux, A	2014	'"We Were Not Part of Apartheid": Rationalisations Used by Four White PreService Teachers to Make Sense of Race and Their Own Racial Identities', *South African Journal Of Education*, 34, 2,
22.	Loo, D.B., Trakulkasemsuk, W., Jimarkon Zilli, P.	2017	Examining narratives of conflict and agency: Insights into non-local english teacher identity *Journal of Asia TEFL, 14 (2), pp. 292-306.*
23.	Tao, J., Gao, X.	2017	Teacher agency and identity commitment in curricular reform *Teaching and Teacher Education, 63, pp. 346-355.*
24.	Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., Moate, J.	2016	Who and how? Preservice teachers as active agents developing professional identities

			Teaching and Teacher Education, 55, pp. 318-327.
25.	Vähäsantanen, K.	2015	Professional agency in the stream of change: Understanding educational change and teachers' professional identities *Teaching and Teacher Education, 47, pp. 1-12.*
26.	Oswald, M. and Perold, M.	2015	A teacher's identity trajectory within a context of change *South African Journal of Education, 35 (1), art. no. 1046*
27.	Previna, D.	2011	Hidden in Plain View: Classroom Space, Teacher Agency and the Hidden Curricula *Harvard University, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2011.*
28.	Allen, Q.	2015	Race, culture and agency: Examining the ideologies and practices of U.S. teachers of Black male students *Teaching and Teacher Education, 47, pp. 71-81.*
29.	Hajisoteriou, C., Neophytou, L., Angelides, P.	2015	The perceptions of high-level officers in Cyprus about intercultural education and their underlying assumptions *Curriculum Journal, 26 (1), pp. 115-136.*
30.	Pantić, N.	2015	A model for study of teacher agency for social justice *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 21 (6), pp. 759-778.*
31.	Menter, I.	2015	UK and Irish teacher education in a time of change *Teacher Education in Times of Change: Responding to Challenges Across the UK and Ireland, pp. 19-36.*
32.	Philip, T.M., Benin, S.Y.	2014	Programs of teacher education as mediators of White teacher identity *Teaching Education, 25 (1), pp. 1-23.*
33.	McEvoy, J., O'Leary, B.	2013	*Power Sharing in Deeply Divided Places, pp. 1-442*
34.	Lonergan, J., Mooney Simmie, G., Moles, J.	2012	Mentoring to reproduce or change discourse in schools *International Journal of Mentoring and Coaching in Education, 1 (2), pp. 104-119.*
35.	Sullivan, G.	2011	The culture of community and a failure of creativity *Teachers College Record, 113 (6), pp. 1175-1195.*

36.	Sannino, A.	2010	Teachers' talk of experiencing: Conflict, resistance and agency *Teaching and Teacher Education, 26 (4), pp. 838-844.*
37.	E. Lopez, A.	2011	Culturally relevant pedagogy and critical literacy in diverse English classrooms: A case study of a secondary English teacher's activism and agency *English Teaching; Hamilton Vol. 10, Iss. 4,*
38.	Hartman, Shana V.	2016	Cultivating Teacher Agency: How Teachers Persist in the Face of School Mandates *English Journal, High school edition; Urbana Vol. 106, Iss. 2,: 16-21.*
39.	Farrlley, J.	2015	Not just another brick in the wall: Three teachers' stories of resistance and agency *Northern Arizona University, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing,*
40.	Samoukovic, B.	2015	Re-conceptualizing teaching expertise: Teacher agency and expertise through a critical pedagogic framework *The University of Iowa, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing,*
41.	Naraian, S.	2014	Agency in Real Time? Situating Teachers' Efforts Toward Inclusion in the Context of Local and Enduring Struggles *Teachers College Record; New York Vol. 116, Iss. 6: 1.*
42.	Ketelaar, E; Koopman, M; Den Brok, P J; Beijaard, D; Boshuizen, H.	2014	Teachers' learning experiences in relation to their ownership, sense-making and agency *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice; Abingdon Vol. 20, Iss. 3, : 314.*
43.	Cardozo-Lopez, M.; Hoeks, C.	2015	Losing ground: a critical analysis of teachers' agency for peace-building education in Sri Lanka *Journal of Peace Education; Abingdon Vol. 12, Iss. 1, 56.*

PHASE 2: INITIAL SCREENING

Table A2. Inclusion and ~~Exclusion~~ of Documents For Further Consideration.

	Author	**Year**	**Decision having read abstract**
1.	Izadinia, M	2013	Included: Review of Agency Research
	~~Wilson, E, and Deaney, R~~	~~2010~~	~~Excluded: Teacher Career Change~~
2.	Liggett, T	2011	Included: Critical Pedagogy

3.	Zanazanian, P.	2012	Included: Teacher Cross-over
4.	Moate, J, and Ruohotie-Lyhty, M	2014	Included: Community
5.	Perry, G., Moore, H., Edwards, C., Acosta. K and Frey, C.	2009	Included: Multicultural Practice/Race
6.	Wright, T	2016	Included: Identity and Disclosure
	~~Bodman, S, Taylor, S, and Morris, H~~	~~2012~~	~~Excluded: Curriculum focus~~
7.	Ross, D. and Cardozo-Lopez, M.	2017	Included: Reconciliation and Teacher Agency
8.	Edwards, A	2015	Included: Teacher Empowerment
	~~Buchanan, R~~	~~2015~~	~~Excluded: Too specific – geographically and topic~~
9.	Espinoza, K	2015	Included: Race and Identity
10.	Francis, D, and le Roux, A	2011	Included: Race and Identity
11.	Clarke, M	2009	Included: Methodological framework
12.	Lopez-Cardozo, M and Shah, R.	2016	Included: Reconciliation and Teacher Agency
13.	Goodrich, K, Kingsley, K, Levia, C, and Daugherty, D	2016	Included: Identity and Disclosure
14.	Philip, T, and Zavala, M	2016	Included: Race and Identity
15.	Biesta, G, Priestley, M, and Robinson, S	2015	Included: Methodological framework
16.	Sisson, J. H.	2016	Included: Critical Incidents
17.	Beauchamp, C, and Thomas - 2a20, L	2009	Included: Methodological overview
18.	le Roux, A	2014	Included: Race and Identity
	~~Loo, D.B., Trakulkasemsuk, W., Jimarkon Zilli, P.~~	~~2017~~	~~Excluded: over-specific to a particular context~~
	~~Tao, J., Gao, X.~~	~~2017~~	~~Excluded: Unavailable~~
19.	Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., Moate, J.	2016	Included: Methodological overview
20.	Vähäsantanen, K.	2015	Included: Methodological overview
21.	Oswald, M. and Perold, M.	2015	Included: Reconciliation and Teacher Agency
	~~Previna, D.~~	~~2011~~	~~Excluded: Unavailable~~
22.	Allen, Q.	2015	Included: Race and Identity
23.	Hajisoteriou, C., Neophytou, L., Angelides, P.	2015	Included: Agency and Interculturalism
24.	Pantić, N.	2015	Included: Model of Agency Potentially very relevant
	~~Menter, I.~~	~~2015~~	~~Excluded: Not relevant~~
25.	Philip, T.M., Benin, S.Y.	2014	Included: Race and Identity
	~~McEvoy, J., O'Leary, B.~~	~~2013~~	~~Excluded: Too general~~

	~~Lonergan, J., Mooney Simmie, G., Moles, J.~~	~~2012~~	~~Excluded: Focus too specific~~
	~~Sullivan, G.~~	~~2011~~	~~Excluded: Focus too specific~~
	~~Sannino, A.~~	~~2010~~	~~Excluded: Too specific~~
26.	E. Lopez, A.	2011	Included: Agency and Interculturalism
.	~~Hartman, Shana V.~~	~~2016~~	~~Excluded: Too specific~~
27.	Farrlley, J.	2015	*???*
	~~Samoukovic, B.~~	~~2015~~	~~Excluded: Focus too general~~
	~~Naraian, S.~~	~~2014~~	~~Excluded: Focus on Special Education~~
	~~Ketelaar, E; Koopman, M; Den Brok, P J; Beijaard, D; Boshuizen, H.~~	~~2014~~	~~Excluded: Focus on specific pedagogical change~~
28.	Cardozo-Lopez, M.; Hoeks, C.	2015	Included: Teachers and Peace-building Potentially very relevant

PHASE 3: SECONDARY SCREENING

Table. A3. Final List of Documents for Inclusion in Literature Review

	Author	Title	Methodology/Approach	Summary of Key Findings
1.	Izadinia, M (2013)	'A Review of Research on Student Teachers' Professional Identity', *British Educational Research Journal*, 39, 4, pp. 694-713	Review of 29 empirical studies	There is no clear definition of teacher identity but there is a general acknowledgement of its significance. Having STs reflect upon their own values, beliefs, feelings and teaching practices and experiences helps shape their professional identity.
2.	Biesta, G., and Tedder, M. (2007)	Agency and learning in the lifecourse: Towards an ecological perspective. *Studies in the Education of Adults, 39,* 132–149.	Relationship between policy and teacher agency – ecological approach	Policies had effectively de-professionalised teachers by removing their agency and replacing it with prescriptive curricula and oppressive regimes of testing and inspection
3.	Biesta, G., Priestley, M. and	The role of beliefs in teacher agency, *Teachers and*	Policy and teacher agency – how	Proposed three-strand model for the achievement of agency

	Robinson, S (2015)	*Teaching, 21:6,* Pp 624-640	to achieve agency in a time of change	
4.	Boyte, H., C. and Finders M., J. (2016)	A Liberation Of Powers: Agency And Education For Democracy *Educational Theory Volume 66 Number 1–2* Pp 127-145	Teachers as agents of democracy	The development and expression of Agency was central to the purposes of education and that Agency underpinned the principles of pragmatism as articulated by John Dewey.
5.	Edwards, A. (2015)	Recognising and realising teachers' professional agency, *Teachers and Teaching, 21:6*, Pp 779-784	Overview	"Agency emerges in the dialectical interaction of person and practice."
6.	Emirbayer, M. and Mische, A. (1998)	What Is Agency? *American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 103, No. 4,* Pp. 962-1023	Overview	Identified a 'chordal triad of agency' an individual's conception of their agency is informed by the past (*iterational*), oriented toward the future (*projective*) and acted out and understood in the present (*practical-evaluative*). They considered that the actor requires the capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment and that consequently 'all three dimensions resonate as separate but not always harmonious tones' (P. 972).
7.	Lipponen, L. and Kumpulainen, K. (2011)	Acting as accountable authors: Creating interactional spaces for agency work in teacher education *Teaching and Teacher Education 27:81* Pp 812-818	investigated the factors that encouraged the development of teacher agency during teacher education in Finland	Identified that teacher-student relations played a key role, and that benefits occurred when teacher educators broke away from the away from the traditional "taken-for-granted" patterns of activities. They considered that in order for beginning teachers to develop professional Agency

				they needed to move beyond reacting-to and repeating previous practice, and that agentic teachers had the capacity to transform and refine their social and material worlds and thereby to initiate purposeful action
8.	Lopes Cardozo, M. and Hoeks, C. (2015)	Losing ground: a critical analysis of teachers' agency for peace-building education in Sri Lanka, *Journal of Peace Education, 12:1,* Pp 56-73	Teachers' capacity to assist with the process of peace-building in Post conflict Sri Lanka.	They observed that teachers do not act in isolation from their environment but are strategic actors in an often highly-politicised context. By implication therefore teachers' actions (or inaction) cannot be disconnected from the potential positive or negative faces of education. It is not enough to look at teachers alone. To understand teachers' capacity for agency, it is necessary to consider the politics of education, the education policies and the educational practice.
9.	Vähäsantanen K. (2015)	Professional agency in the stream of change: Understanding educational change and teachers' professional identities *Teaching and Teacher Education 47* Pp 1-12	Teachers' capacity to effect change	The potential power of collective action
10.	Zanazanian . P. (2011)	'Historical consciousness and the structuring of group boundaries' *Curriculum Inquiry v42, No 2 Pp 215-239*	Focus on the different understandings that two teachers of the Franco-Québécois majority develop from the past for knowing and engaging with the Anglo-Québécois.	There is a need to give both teachers and students opportunities for change, to then let them freely and consciously accept such change if they want to without fears of any recrimination.

11.	Liggett, T (2012)	'Critical Multicultural Education and Teacher Sense of Agency', *Teaching Education*, 22, 2, pp. 185-197	What factors influence students' sense of agency around integrating a critical multicultural framework in their teaching?	An individual's membership in a particular community of practice is at times contested either by their current situation or by the way they are positioned (or believe they are positioned) by others. There is a need to foster practices that are inclusive, collaborative, and community oriented.
12.	Moate, J, and Ruohotie-Lyhty, M (2014)	'Identity, Agency and Community: Reconsidering the Pedagogic Responsibilities of Teacher Education', *British Journal Of Educational Studies*, 62, 3, pp. 249-264	Action research – comparing students at a Finnish HE institution and the British system of ITE	Teaching practice periods can all too easily become periods of apprenticeship into the existing culture of the practice school, rather than an opportunity to critically practice theoretical understanding. It is the responsibility of teacher education to provide a community environment that supports the building of multiple bridges with and between individuals, different educational communities, educational theory and practice within the present and for the future.
13.	Perry. G., Moore. H., Edwards, C., Acosta, K and Frey, C. (2009)	Maintaining Credibility and Authority as an Instructor of Color *Journal of Higher Education Vol 80 No 1 Pp 80-105*	In-depth interviews with 20 instructors of colour who teach diversity courses at a predominately white college	The experiences of instructors of colour largely emanate from their "peculiar marginality". Student resistance was generated when instructors of colour held a position as *outsiders-within* a predominately white academy and classroom.
14.	Wright, T (2016)	'On Coming out in Practicum: An Autoethnography	An autoethnographic approach - how best to support students	Integrating one's self-identity with

		of (Non) Disclosure', *Journal Of Early Childhood Teacher Education*, 37, 3, pp. 189-202	navigating the decision to disclose their sexual orientation in the context of practicum or student teaching	professional identity is important. Three factors preventing disclosure of 'gay' identity: 1. Professional opposition. 2. Perception that identity would not be accepted, 3. It was easy to remain 'closeted' Authenticity and connection will lead us more meaningful connections with others and, ultimately, deeper understandings and expressions of self.
15.	Ross, D. and Lopes-Cardoso, M. (2017)	Reclaiming reconciliation through community education, *Research in Comparative and International Education vol 12 No 1 Pp 76-94*	The role of education for peace-building, through a multi-scalar application of four interconnected dimensions of social justice	Education can play a crucial role in creating a culture of peace and healing the wounds of war. In common with NI, the education system in Sri Lanka reflects an ethnically divided society: it was established during British colonialism and has deepened ethnic division. Almost half of teachers interviewed explicitly defended the current segregated structures – they safeguard culture (particularly that of the minority) but maintain an absence trust and knowledge of one another's religion and culture. Some were willing to challenge exclusionary nationalist subjectivities and pre-conceived notions of identity and difference through an open dialogue.
16.	Espinoza, K (2015)	'Teacher Identity: Claiming Me',	autoethnographic approach	Teacher had, on several occasions, to negotiate

		Journal Of Latinos And Education, 14, 2, pp. 146-149,		different aspects of her ethnic identity. Not only was she her students' teacher, but also, at times, their advocate.
17.	Francis, D, and le Roux, A (2011)	'Teaching for Social Justice Education: The Intersection between Identity, Critical Agency, and Social Justice Education', *South African Journal Of Education*, 31, 3, pp. 299-311,	In-depth interviewing to explore pre-service teachers' emerging identities as teachers, and how these identities are connected to notions of critical agency.	Identity is constructed through our membership of social groups (race, ethnicity, religion, gender, etc.), the traits we show, and the traits others ascribe to us. Teachers have not, and cannot claim to have, a purely professional identity. Teacher education must help students to engage and understand their own identity development and formation.
18.	Clarke, M (2009)	'The Ethico-Politics of Teacher Identity', *Educational Philosophy And Theory*, 41, 2, pp. 185-200	Review of literature to support the development of a model of 'ethical agency'	Identity is a complex matter of the social and the individual, of discourse and practice, of reification and participation, of similarity and difference, of agency and structure, of fixity and transgression, of the singular and the multiple, and of the synoptic and the dynamic. Identities, just like pedagogical practices, should not be predetermined, but need to be continually renegotiated within specific contexts.
19.	Goodrich, K, Kingsley, K, Levia, C, and Daugherty, D (2016)	'The Lived Experiences of LGBTQQIAA Advocates in Education', *Teacher Educator*, 51, 3, pp. 211-229,	Autoethnographic methodologies. Theories of social justice and democratic social change	Agency rests upon collective action grounded in individual convictions, not in policy mandates.

				The mainstream dominant group can subvert the work of the minority by pretending to adopt their causes, but then changing the discourse to maintain the status quo.
20.	Philip, T, and Zavala, M (2016)	'The Possibilities of Being "Critical": Discourses That Limit Options for Educators of Color', *Urban Education*, 51, 6, pp. 659-682,	*Relevance reconsidered – rejected*	
21.	Sisson, J. H. (2016)	'The Significance of Critical Incidents and Voice to Identity and Agency', *Teachers And Teaching: Theory And Practice*, 22, 6, pp. 670-682	Narrative inquiry. Draws on cultural models theory to explore identity, agency and professional practice	Human agency is defined as, 'the capacity of people to act on behalf of what matters to them' Personal life history accounts provide an insight into how individuals make sense of who they are and their relation to others in social contexts as informed by their past experiences. Not all individuals will choose to enact agency Highlights the importance of critical incidents in the development of a sense of identity and agency "human agency is frail, particularly for those with little Power"
22.	Beauchamp, C, and Thomas - 2a20, L (2009)	'Understanding Teacher Identity: An Overview of Issues in the Literature and Implications for Teacher Education', *Cambridge*	Literature review – teacher identity.	Teacher identity has been explored in a variety of very different ways: 1. the constant 'reinventing' of themselves.

		Journal Of Education, 39, 2, pp. 175-189		2. the narratives that teachers create to explain themselves and their teaching lives 3. The variety of discourses teachers participate in and produce 4. the metaphors that may guide or result from a teacher's understanding of the role 5. the influence of a wide range of contextual factors on teachers and their practice Identity contains both personal and professional dimensions – they change throughout career and life. The idea of narrative can be expanded to include not only the person telling the story, but also those who are told the story. Teacher education programmes seem to be the ideal starting point for instilling not only an awareness of the need to develop an identity, but also a strong sense of the ongoing shifts that will occur in that identity.
23.	le Roux, A (2014)	'"We Were Not Part of Apartheid": Rationalisations Used by Four White PreService Teachers to Make Sense of Race and Their Own Racial Identities', *South African Journal Of Education*, 34, 2,	Bonilla-Silva's *structural theory of racism* is used as a theoretical lens to unpack the rationalisations used by four white pre-service teachers to make sense of race and their own racial identities.	Racism is not a phenomenon operating at the individual level, but is a systemic condition that structures institutions and relationships. Teacher educators often avoid engaging in racial dialogue for fear of generating classroom conflict.
24.	Ruohotie-Lyhty, M.,	Who and how? Preservice teachers as active agents	Action research project with preservice teachers in Finland.	Draws on notion of 'identity-agency', that is, the agency

	Moate, J. (2016)	developing professional identities *Teaching and Teacher Education, 55, pp. 318-327.*		individuals invest in the development of their professional identity Developing a professional identity can be seen as an extremely social and context-dependent process that cannot be understood without taking into account the context where it takes place and the role of an individual in making sense of this environment Identifies three types of identity-agency: **Expansive** (inc. taking on new goals, making connections, taking responsibility for self) **Reductive** (inc. loss in confidence, withdrawing) **Attentive** (inc. recognising current situation, questioning former beliefs)
25.	Oswald, M. and Perold, M. (2015)	A teacher's identity trajectory within a context of change *South African Journal of Education, 35 (1), art. no. 1046*	university-school research partnership focused on teachers' situated practices of care and support – using Cultural-Historical Activity Theory as Framework	"A teacher's identity is a social product, drawn from social history, actively internalized and re-authored in response to new circumstances."
26.	Allen, Q. (2015)	Race, culture and agency: Examining the ideologies and practices of U.S. teachers of Black male students *Teaching and Teacher Education, 47, pp. 71-81.*	*Related specifically to student outcomes – not relevant*	
27.	Hajisoteriou, C., Neophytou, L.,	The perceptions of high-level officers in Cyprus about intercultural	An analysis of the policy dynamics influencing intercultural education in the Cypriot	A curriculum needs to be understood as a cultural *and* a social construction. It is an

	Angelides, P. (2015)	education and their underlying assumptions *Curriculum Journal, 26 (1), pp. 115-136.*	context - semi-structured interviews with key officials – thematic analysis.	emergent, dynamic process and does not exist separately from human interaction it unfolds through human agency. Consequently, there will inevitably be a "difference between the official curriculum and the implemented curriculum". Despite being recognised as key stakeholders, teachers are actually considered as pawns in a process of fulfilling the declared/official policy.
28.	Pantić, N. (2015)	A model for study of teacher agency for social justice *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 21 (6), pp. 759-778.*	Development of a model based on literature and Critical Communicative Methodology	Teachers' exercise of their agency is highly relational and context-contingent rather than a matter of 'application' of the knowledge generated by research. The way teachers act in a particular environment is likely to result from complexly interdependent relations of their personal and professional beliefs and dispositions, degrees of autonomy and power, and interactions with other actors within the social contexts in which they work. gents need to find the reasons embedded in a role sufficiently good to make them their own.
29.	Philip, T.M. and Benin, S.Y. (2014)	Programs of teacher education as mediators of White teacher identity *Teaching Education, 25 (1), pp. 1-23*	*Re-working of 12!*	

30.	E. Lopez, A. (2011)	Culturally relevant pedagogy and critical literacy in diverse English classrooms: A case study of a secondary English teacher's activism and agency *English Teaching; Hamilton Vol. 10, Iss. 4,*	Focus on 'Culturally relevant pedagogy' in Canada – study of one African-Canadian teacher teaching critical literacy	How culturally relevant teaching can be implemented in the classroom with diverse students. Teachers must be agentic if they are to adjust the curriculum and yet remain within Ministry guidelines and polices.
31.	Farrlley, J. (2015)	Not just another brick in the wall: Three teachers' stories of resistance and agency *Northern Arizona University, ProQuest Dissertations Publishing,*	*Set to one side*	
32.	Beijaard, D., Meijer, P. C. and Verloop, N. (2004)	Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity *Teaching and Teacher Education 20, Pp 107–128*	Reviewed academic literature	Identified that friction may arise in teachers' professional identity in cases in which the 'personal' and the 'professional' are too far removed from each other.
33.	Eteläpelto A., Vähäsantanen K., Hökkä P., Paloniemi S. (2014)	Identity and Agency in Professional Learning. In: Billett S., Harteis C., Gruber H. (eds) International Handbook of Research in Professional and Practice-based Learning. Springer International Handbooks of Education. Springer, Dordrecht		Identity has three elements: 1. Identity Construction 2. Identity Negotiation 3. Identity renegotiation
34.	Hökkä, P., Vähäsatanen, K. and	Teacher educators' collective professional	Study of agency of those who educate teachers	Collective agency – working together to achieve/exert agency

	Mahlakaarto, S. (2017)	agency and identity - Transforming marginality to strength Teaching and Teacher Education 63 Pp 36-46		
35.	Halai, A. and Durrani, N. (2017)	Teachers as agents of peace? Exploring teacher agency in social cohesion in Pakistan, Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education,	Teachers' role in peace-building in conflict-affected contexts (Pakistan) - 4Rs framework of redistribution, recognition, representation and reconciliation was employed to analyse data gathered from interviews, focus groups and survey.	Perspective of teachers as agents of change is significant in conflict-affected settings where both teachers and students may bring the legacies of hurt, trauma and prejudice existing in the wider community. Issues of social cohesion, lack of mutual trust and respect for diversity are often found in the sociopolitical context within which education enterprise takes place but are not an explicit focus of change through teacher agency. Teachers did not feel empowered to see their role in the broader social context and therefore limited themselves to issues of academic nature; dealing with inequities and divisions in society was perceived by the teachers involved in the research as peripheral to the core curriculum.
36.	Mary Klehr (2015)	Community Engagement as Catalyst for Professional Learning, Reflection, and Agency in Preservice-Teacher Education, The New Educator, 11:4,	Ethnographic study	Identifies three responses to new initiatives: 1. staying firmly within one's comfort zone, 2. taking cautious and careful steps, 3. wholeheartedly embracing it. Community engagement is a catalyst for critical reflection and agency

		277-291,		within a professional development school clinical program. Highlighted that external controversy and conflict can create opportunities for teachers to engage with agency if such incidents can be effectively embraced.
37.	Chun Lai*, Zhen Li, Yang Gong (2016)	Teacher agency and professional learning in cross-cultural teaching contexts: Accounts of Chinese teachers from international schools in Hong Kong, Teaching and Teacher Education 54 (2016) 12e21	Open-ended interviews with 14 Chinese teachers	Social structures mediated minority teachers' capacity to exercise their agency the potential of mutual learning in the contexts of international education rests heavily on teachers' individual professional agency to engage in learning crossculturally from their peers and to exert influence on their peers. The exercise of agency is subject to the interaction between social suggestions, including school structure, cultural system and the associated power relations, and personal resources, including professional identity, self-imposed roles, and confidence and competencies shaped by their past and present experience.
38.	Selby, D. and Kagawa, F. (2011)	"Development Education and Education for Sustainable Development," *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review* 12: Pp 15–31.	Exploring agency and development education	Teacher agency had become 'circumscribed by technocratic trends in educational policy and practice' - it only survived in "shadow spaces," where educators have room to 'experiment, imitate, learn, communicate, and reflect on their actions.'

				It is in these shadow spaces where cross-over teachers will best be able to exert the agency that their difference confers upon them rather than in formal curriculum-orientated, exam-driven lessons.
39.	van der Heijden, H., Geldens, J., Beijaard, D. and Popeijus, H. (2015)	Characteristics of teachers as change agents, Teachers and Teaching, 21:6, 681-699,	Structured interviews with twenty teachers in the Netherlands that had achieved successful change in the classroom	Identified four key characteristics attributed to teachers as change agents: 1. lifelong learning (being eager to learn and reflective), 2. mastery (giving guidance, being accessible, positive, committed, trustful, and self-assured), 3. entrepreneurship (being innovative and feeling responsible), 4. collaboration (being collegial).

APPENDIX B. ULSTER UNIVERSITY ETHICAL APPROVAL

UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER RESEARCH GOVERNANCE

RG3 Filter Committee Report Form

Project Title	Teaching Across the Divide
Chief Investigator	Professor Alan Smith
Filter Committee	Dr. Alan McCullv

This form should be completed by Filter Committees for all research project applications in categories A to D (*for categories A, B, and D the University's own application form – RG1a and RG1b – will have been submitted; for category C, the national, or ORECNI, application form will have been submitted).

Where substantial changes are required the Filter Committee should return an application to the Chief Investigator for clarification/amendment; the Filter Committee can reject an application if it is thought to be unethical, inappropriate, incomplete or not valid/viable.

Only when satisfied that its requirements have been met in full and any amendments are complete, the Filter Committee should make one of the following recommendations:

The research proposal is complete, of an appropriate standard and is in

- category A and the study may proceed* [X]
- category B and the study must be submitted to the University's Research Ethics Committee** Please indicate briefly the reason(s) for this categorisation [ ]

- category C and the study must be submitted to ORECNI along with the necessary supporting materials from the Research Governance Section*** ☐

- category D and the study must be submitted to the University's Research Ethics Committee** ☐

Signed: Dr Una O'Connor Bones	Date: 28.6.16
Chairperson/Administrator of Filter Committee	

***The application form and this assessment should now be returned to the Chief Investigator. The Filter Committee should retain a copy of the complete set of forms.**

** **The application form and this assessment should now be returned to the Chief Investigator so that he/she can submit the application to the UUREC via the Research Governance section. The Filter Committee should retain a copy of the complete set of forms for their own records.**

*** The application form and this assessment should now be returned to the Chief Investigator so that he/she can prepare for application to a NRES/ORECNI committee. The Filter Committee should retain a copy of the complete set of forms for their own records.**

For all categories, details of the application and review outcome should be minuted using the agreed format and forwarded to the Research Governance section

Please complete the following

The application should be accompanied by an appropriate and favourable Peer Review Report Form (if not, the Filter Committee should be prepared to address this as part of its review). Please comment on the peer review (include whether or not there is evidence that the comments of the peer reviewers have been addressed).

The peer review was favourable.

Please provide an assessment of all component parts of the application, including questionnaires, interview schedules or outline areas for group discussion/unstructured interviews.

The methodological approach is sound and appropriate. The research instruments are well constructed for purpose subject to making the minor amendments contained in the RG2

Please comment on the consent form and information sheet, in particular the level of language and accessibility.

The consent form and information sheet are satisfactory – reference should be made specifically to the current 10 year period for retaining data..

Please comment on the qualifications of the Chief and other Investigators.

The Chief Investigator is a highly experienced researcher and PhD supervisor.

Please comment on the risks present in conducting the study and whether or not they have been addressed.

The risks which are low have been addressed in the RG1c

Please indicate whether or not the ethical issues have been identified and addressed.

The ethical issues, appropriate to this category A study have been identified and addressed.

Please comment on whether or not the subjects are appropriate to the study and the inclusion/exclusion criteria have been identified and listed

The sample group is appropriate to the study. Inclusion criteria have been outlined and applied.

APPENDIX C. TEACHER SURVEY

Q1

By completing this survey you are helping with important research into the impact of community divisions on teachers' careers.

This questionnaire has been designed in line with Ulster University ethics requirements; your responses are anonymous, Voluntary and will not be traced back to you - unless you indicate that you are willing to take part in further aspects of this research. You may quit at any time, but please stay with it - the survey should take less than 5 minutes to complete.

Should you wish to make any additional comments please contact me at: Milliken-m1@email.ulster.ac.uk

Your completion of this questionnaire will be taken as consent to use the information you provide for research purposes. Your participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without your rights being affected in any way. All information and data collected will be held securely and in confidence and every effort will be made to ensure that you cannot be identified as a participant in the study (except as might be required by law). By completing the survey, it is understood that you are granting permission for the researchers to hold relevant personal data for the period prescribed by the university.

2 I understand the purpose and conditions of the survey

○ I am happy to proceed. (1)

3 What is your gender?

○ Male (1)

○ Female (2)

○ Other gender identity (3) ____

Q4 How old are you?

- ◯ 20-29 (1)
- ◯ 30-39 (2)
- ◯ 40-49 (3)
- ◯ 50-59 (4)
- ◯ 60+ (5)

Q5 What do you consider to be your principal national identity?

- ◯ British (1)
- ◯ Irish (2)
- ◯ Northern Irish (3)
- ◯ English (4)
- ◯ Scottish (5)
- ◯ Welsh (6)
- ◯ Other - please state which national identity (7) ____

Skip To: Q6 If What do you consider to be your principal national identity? = English

Skip To: Q6 If What do you consider to be your principal national identity? = Scottish

Skip To: Q6 If What do you consider to be your principal national identity? = Welsh

Skip To: Q6 If What do you consider to be your principal national identity? = Other - please state which national identity

Q38 Do you consider yourself to have a secondary national identity?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Display This Question:

If What do you consider to be your principle national identity? = Northern Irish

And Do you consider yourself to have a secondary national identity? = Yes

Q39 What is your secondary national identity?

- ○ British (1)
- ○ Irish (2)
- ○ English (3)
- ○ Scottish (4)
- ○ Welsh (5)
- ○ Other - please state which national identity (6) ________________

Display This Question:

If What do you consider to be your principle national identity? = British

And Do you consider yourself to have a secondary national identity? = Yes

Q37 What is your secondary national identity?

- ○ Irish (1)
- ○ Northern Irish (2)
- ○ English (3)
- ○ Scottish (4)
- ○ Welsh (5)
- ○ Other - please state which national identity (6) ________________

Display This Question:

If What do you consider to be your principle national identity? = Irish

And Do you consider yourself to have a secondary national identity? = Yes

Q40 What is your secondary national identity?

- British (1)
- Northern Irish (2)
- English (3)
- Scottish (4)
- Welsh (5)
- Other - please state which national identity (6) ____

Q6 What is your ethnic group?

- White (1)
- Chinese (2)
- Irish Traveller (3)
- Indian (4)
- Pakistani (5)
- Bangladeshi (6)
- Black African (7)
- Black other (8)
- Mixed ethnic group (9)
- Other ethnic group (10)

End of Block: Demographic Information

Start of Block: Background and Career Information

Q8 In which type of school did you predominantly receive your own PRIMARY education?

- Catholic Maintained (NI) (1)
- Controlled (NI) (2)
- Integrated (NI) (3)
- Grammar Preparatory (NI) (4)
- Irish Medium (NI) (5)
- Other: Republic of Ireland (6)
- Other: Great Britain (7)
- Outside of UK and Ireland - please state where (8) ____

Q9
In which type of school did you predominantly receive your own POST PRIMARY education?

- Catholic Maintained Secondary (NI) (1)
- Controlled Secondary (NI) (2)
- Integrated Secondary (NI) (3)
- Grammar (NI Protestant) (4)
- Grammar (NI Catholic) (5)
- Irish Medium (NI) (6)
- Other: Republic of Ireland (7)
- Other: Great Britain (8)
- Outside of UK and Ireland - please state where (9) ____

Q11 Where did you gain your initial teaching qualification?

- Stranmillis College (1)
- St Mary's College (2)
- St Joseph's College (3)
- Queen's University Belfast (4)
- Ulster University/University of Ulster/NUU/Ulster Polytechnic (5)
- Open University (6)
- Other - please state where (7) ____

Skip To: Q15 If Where did you gain your initial teaching qualification? = Other - please state where

Skip To: Q15 If Where did you gain your initial teaching qualification? = Open University

Q43 In which sector(s) did you undertake teaching practice (please tick all that apply)?

- Controlled (1)
- Integrated (2)
- Catholic Maintained (3)
- Voluntary Grammar - Catholic (4)
- Voluntary Grammar - Protestant (5)
- Irish Language (6)

Page Break

Q15 How many years of teaching experience have you had?

- ◯ less than 5 years (1)
- ◯ 5 - 9 years (2)
- ◯ 10 - 14 years (3)
- ◯ 15 - 19 years (4)
- ◯ 20 - 24 years (5)
- ◯ 25 - 29 years (6)
- ◯ 30+ years (7)

Q36 In which geographical region of the Education Authority are you currently teaching?

- ◯ Belfast (1)
- ◯ North Eastern (2)
- ◯ Southern (3)
- ◯ South Eastern (4)
- ◯ Western (5)

Q12 In which type of school are you currently teaching?

- ◯ Primary (1)
- ◯ Post Primary (2)

Display This Question:

If In which type of school are you currently teaching? = Primary

Q13 In which sector are you currently teaching?

- Catholic Maintained (1)
- Controlled (2)
- Integrated (3)
- Grammar Preparatory (4)
- Irish Medium (5)

Display This Question:

If In which type of school are you currently teaching? = Post Primary

Q14 In which sector are you currently teaching

- Catholic Maintained (1)
- Controlled (2)
- Integrated (3)
- Irish Medium (4)
- Voluntary Grammar (Protestant) (5)
- Voluntary Grammar (Catholic) (6)

Q40 Have you ever been employed as a teacher in another school?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Skip To: Q42 If Have you ever been employed as a teacher in another school? = No

---

Display This Question:

If Have you ever been employed as a teacher in another school? = Yes

Q16 In how many schools have you taught during your career?

- One (1)
- Two (2)
- Three (3)
- Four (4)
- Five (5)
- Six (6)
- Seven or more (7)

In which types of school have you taught (please tick all that apply)?

- Catholic Maintained Secondary (NI) (1)
- Controlled Secondary (NI) (2)
- Integrated Secondary (NI) (3)
- Grammar (NI Protestant) (4)
- Grammar (NI Catholic) (5)
- Irish Medium Secondary (NI) (6)
- Maintained Primary (7)
- Controlled Primary (8)
- Integrated Primary (9)
- Irish language Primary (10)
- Special school (11)
- Other: Great Britain (12)
- Other: Republic of Ireland (13)
- Outside of UK and Ireland - please state where (14) ____________________

Q42 Have you ever unsuccessfully applied to teach in another school?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Skip To: Q21 If Have you ever unsuccessfully applied to teach in another school? = No

Q19 To which type of school have you applied (please indicate all school types to which you have applied)?

- Irish Medium Primary (1)
- Controlled Primary (2)
- Maintained Primary (3)
- Integrated Primary (4)
- Preparatory Department (5)
- Irish Medium Secondary (6)
- Controlled Secondary (7)
- Maintained Secondary (8)
- Integrated Secondary (9)
- Voluntary Grammar (Protestant) (10)
- Voluntary Grammar (Catholic) (11)

Page Break

Q21 To which teaching union do you currently belong?

- NASUWT (1)
- INTO (2)
- UTU (3)
- ATL (4)
- NAHT (5)
- None (6)
- Other - please state which (7) ____________________

Display This Question:

If To which teaching union do you currently belong? = NASUWT

Or To which teaching union do you currently belong? = INTO

Or To which teaching union do you currently belong? = UTU

Or To which teaching union do you currently belong? = ATL

Or To which teaching union do you currently belong? = NAHT

Or To which teaching union do you currently belong? = Other - please state which

Q22 Have you ever been a member of a different teaching union?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If To which teaching union do you currently belong? = None

Q23 Have you ever been a member of a teaching union?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If Have you ever been a member of a teaching union? = Yes

Q24 To which teaching union did you most recently belong?

- NASUWT (1)
- INTO (2)
- UTU (3)
- ATL (4)
- NAHT (5)
- Other - please state which (6) ____

Display This Question:

If Have you ever been a member of a different teaching union? = Yes

And To which teaching union do you currently belong? = NASUWT

Q25 To which teaching union(s) did you previously belong?

- INTO (1)
- UTU (2)
- ATL (3)
- NAHT (4)
- Other - please state which (5) ____

Display This Question:

If Have you ever been a member of a different teaching union? = Yes

And To which teaching union do you currently belong? = INTO

Q26 To which teaching union(s) did you previously belong?

- ☐ NASUWT (1)
- ☐ UTU (2)
- ☐ ATL (3)
- ☐ NAHT (4)
- ☐ Other - please state which (5) ____________________

Display This Question:

If Have you ever been a member of a different teaching union? = Yes

And To which teaching union do you currently belong? = UTU

Q27 To which teaching union(s) did you previously belong?

- ☐ NASUWT (1)
- ☐ INTO (2)
- ☐ ATL (3)
- ☐ NAHT (4)
- ☐ Other - please state which (5) ____________________

Display This Question:

If Have you ever been a member of a different teaching union? = Yes

And To which teaching union do you currently belong? = ATL

Q28 To which teaching union(s) did you previously belong?

- ☐ NASUWT (1)
- ☐ INTO (2)
- ☐ UTU (3)
- ☐ NAHT (4)
- ☐ Other - please state which (5) ____________________

Display This Question:

If Have you ever been a member of a different teaching union? = Yes

And To which teaching union do you currently belong? = NAHT

Q29 To which teaching union(s) did you previously belong?

- ☐ NASUWT (1)
- ☐ INTO (2)
- ☐ UTU (3)
- ☐ ATL (4)
- ☐ Other - please state which (5) ____

Display This Question:

If Have you ever been a member of a different teaching union? = Yes

And To which teaching union do you currently belong? = Other - please state which

Q30 To which teaching union(s) did you previously belong?

- ☐ NASUWT (1)
- ☐ INTO (2)
- ☐ UTU (3)
- ☐ ATL (4)
- ☐ NAHT (5)
- ☐ Other - please state which (6) ____

Q32
This investigation is seeking to gain insight into the careers and experiences of those "Teaching Across The Divide" - i.e. those who are teaching in a school that is of a different faith/community to that in which they were educated. Does this apply to you?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Display This Question:

If This investigation is seeking to gain insight into the careers and experiences of those "Teaching... = Yes

Q33 If you are willing to assist further with this research by taking part in a short interview please provide an email address and/or phone number in order that we may contact you (please note that this will invalidate the anonymity of your responses - alternatively should you wish to retain the anonymity of your responses you can email me at: Milliken-m1@email.ulster.ac.uk).

____

End of Block: Background and Career Information

Start of Block: Block 3

Q31 If you wish, you may provide comment on the research below

____

Q46 Thank you very much for your time in completing this survey. Should you have any questions about my research please contact me: Milliken-M1@email.ulster.ac.uk

End of Block: Block 3

APPENDIX D. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Iterational

a. Tell me about your own experience of education on your way to becoming a teacher
    i. Primary
    ii. Post Primary
    iii. Higher
    iv. Post grad
    v. Other

b. Do you recall any particular incident in your life that influenced your choice of career?
c. What experience have you had of community relations or contact with the other community - either through school or outside?
d. What was your family's attitude to the 'other side'?
    i. How did that affect/influence you?

Practical-Evaluative

a. **Material**: Tell me about the school you are working in and the pupils you teach
b. **Cultural**: In what ways does the school you are currently teaching in differ from the schools you attended as a pupil?
c. **Structural:**
    Do others in the staff team know that you are Catholic/Protestant?
        How have they reacted – how do you think they might react if they knew?
    Do your pupils know that you are Catholic/Protestant?
        How have they reacted – how do you think they might react if they knew?

Projective

a. Where do you see yourself professionally 2 years from now?
b. Where do you see yourself professionally 10 years from now?

Reflective

a. Why do you think more teachers in NI do not teach in schools that would be considered to be within a different religious community to their own?
b. What personal challenges did you face (if any)?
c. What professional challenges did you face (if any)?
d. What has been the impact on you personally?
e. What has been the impact on you professionally?

APPENDIX E. RESEARCH INFORMATION FOR INTERVIEWEES

School of Education

"TEACHING ACROSS THE DIVIDE"

How teachers' professional and career choices are affected by the divided systems of education in Northern Ireland

Research Information

- This research is being conducted under the auspices of the UNESCO Centre at the Ulster University School of Education as part of a PhD. The aims of the research are outlined below.
- All aspects of the research process have been assessed by senior staff within the University and reviewed to ensure that they are conducted in an ethically appropriate manner.
- All information/data collected will be held and eventually destroyed in accordance with the university's data protection policy
- The scope of the research will include:
    - The collation of publically held records and the membership records of those organisations that represent teachers.
    - The completion of questionnaires by teachers.
    - Interviews with teachers

Aims

- To secure contemporary data on the profile of the teaching workforce in Northern Ireland and to address gaps in the information available in the public realm.
- To determine the distribution of teachers across sectors in Northern Ireland by community background and identity, and to identify the extent of movement of teachers between sectors.
- To investigate the role that community background and other factors play in teachers' career choices by investigating the biographical experiences of those who have crossed within and between sectors.
- Apply the learning from the data gathered in order to inform policy development with regard to: Initial Teacher Education, employment legislation and Teachers' Right of Conscience.

APPENDIX F. INTERVIEWEE CONSENT FORM

School of Education

Interview Consent form

"TEACHING ACROSS THE DIVIDE"
Teacher demography: community identity, careers and the divided system of education in Post-conflict Northern Ireland

Please tick

I confirm that I have been given and have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have asked and received answers to any questions raised. [ ]

I understand that my participation is Voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without my rights being affected in any way. [ ]

I understand that the researchers will hold all information and data collected securely and in confidence and that all efforts will be made to ensure that I cannot be identified as a participant in the study (except as might be required by law) and I give permission for the researchers to hold relevant personal data for the period prescribed by the university. [ ]

I agree to take part in the above study [ ]

.

______________________________ ______________

Name of Subject ***Signature*** ***Date***

______________________________ ______________

Name of Chief investigator ***Signature*** ***Date***

______________________________ ______________

Name of researcher ***Signature*** ***Date***

*One copy for the subject; one copy for the researcher.

APPENDIX G. THEMATIC ANALYSIS CODE BOOK

Table 1. Phase 2 "Initial Coding"

Name	Sources	References
Boards of Governors	7	15
Cath Vol Grammar - School Culture	1	2
Catholic Education	3	3
Catholic School – Diversity	3	4
Catholic Schools – Community	5	6
Catholic Schools – Controlling	3	4
Catholic Schools – Ethos	14	18
Catholic Schools - Identity and the Conflict	1	1
Catholic Schools - Non-sectarian	1	1
Catholic Schools – Perception	2	3
Catholic Schools - Protestant Teacher	7	21
Catholic Schools – Religion	18	44
Community Identity – Concealing	16	26
Community Identity – Telling	15	21
Controlled School - Being A Catholic Teacher	8	21
Controlled School - Church Presence	4	4
Controlled School – Diversity	1	1
Controlled School – Integrated	2	2
Controlled School – Mixed	2	3
Controlled School - Religion Faith	5	7
Controlled School - State School	2	2
Controlled Schools - British Symbols	2	3
Controlled Schools - Catholic Church Attitude	2	2
Crossing Over – Fear	3	4
Crossing Over - Perceived Barriers	9	13
Crossing Over - Why not cross over	22	36
Education – Tech	1	1
EMU	6	7
Enjoy school	2	4

Faith - Changing attitude	6	7
Faith - In school	3	5
Faith - personal attitude	14	21
Family - Attitude to the Other Side	16	27
Family – Orangism	4	4
Family – Political	4	4
Family – Religion	9	10
Family - Teacher in family	10	13
Formative CR experience	12	17
Growing Up - Contact with other side	24	40
Integrated School - Catholicism	7	14
Integrated School - Community Division	8	10
Integrated School – Diversity	8	14
Integrated School – Ethos	13	29
Integrated School - Identity Confusion	3	3
Integrated School – Protestantism	1	3
Integrated School – Quality	2	2
Integrated School – RE	4	8
Integrated School – Weakness	7	9
ITE - Outside NI	3	5
ITE – QUB	6	6
ITE - St Mary's	7	11
ITE – Stranmillis	12	20
ITE - Teaching Practice	8	9
ITE - Ulster Uni	2	3
Mixed Marriage	12	20
Motivation – Behaviour	9	12
Motivation - Enjoy school	3	3
Motivation – Grammar	2	2
Motivation - Integration as active choice	15	23
Motivation - Love children	6	7
Motivation - Love of teaching	8	10
Motivation for Employment Choice – Personal	19	25

Nationality - Complex Identity	2	2
NonCath Vol Grammar – Catholics	3	4
NonCath Vol Grammar – Culture	3	7
NonCath Vol Grammar – Perception	1	3
Non-Catholic Schools - Catholic Church Opposition	12	19
Promotion - Glass Ceiling	16	27
RE cert	13	31
Religion Culture - Ash Wednesday	3	4
Religion-Culture - 12th and Orangism	12	15
Religion-Culture – Flags	2	2
Religion-Culture – GAA	10	30
Religion-Culture - Other sports	3	3
Religion-Culture – Poppies	14	19
Religion-Culture – Protestantism	1	1
Religion-Culture – Royalism	6	7
Religion-Culture – Rugby	4	8
Religion-Culture JP 2nd	2	2
Retirement	3	3
School Bus	7	7
Sectarianism In School - Absence of...	6	10
Sectarianism in School	7	17
Segregation	1	1
Self Censorship	4	5
Shared Education	6	6
St Mary's - Opposition to Integration	1	3
St Mary's - Opposition to merger	2	2
Staff Relations	19	34
Teacher Burn Out	2	2
Teaching - Controversial Issues	9	16
Teaching Experience - Range of Schools	4	5
Teaching In England	6	10
Tech	6	6
The Troubles	16	25

Transfer Test 11+	12	13
Union Membership	7	12
University Life – Separation	7	10
Using Difference	7	9
Violence at school gate	4	4
Work - Not As Teacher In School	16	23
Youth Organisation	1	1

Table 2. Phase 3 "Developing Categories"

Name	**Sources**	**References**
APPLICATION OF AGENCY	0	0
Community Identity – Concealing	16	26
Community Identity – Telling	15	21
Self-Censorship	4	5
Teaching - Controversial Issues	9	16
ITERATIONAL	0	0
Education – Tech	1	1
EMU	5	6
Formative CR experience	12	17
Enjoy school	2	4
Faith - In school	3	5
Faith - personal attitude	14	21
Family - Attitude to the Other Side	16	27
Family – Orangism	4	4
Family – Political	4	4
Family – Religion	9	10
Family - Teacher in family	10	13
Growing Up - Contact with other side	24	40
ITE	0	0
ITE - Outside NI	3	5
ITE – QUB	6	6
ITE - St Mary's	7	11
ITE – Stranmillis	12	20

ITE - Teaching Practice	8	9
ITE - Ulster Uni	2	3
St Mary's - Opposition to Integration	1	3
St Mary's - Opposition to merger	2	2
Mixed Marriage	11	19
Teaching Experience - Range of Schools	4	5
Teaching In England	6	10
The Troubles	16	25
Transfer Test 11+	12	13
Work - Not As a Teacher In School	16	23
PRACTICAL EVALUATIVE	0	0
Catholic Schools	0	0
Catholic School – Diversity	3	4
Catholic Schools – Community	5	6
Catholic Schools – Controlling	3	4
Catholic Schools – Ethos	14	18
Catholic Schools - Identity and the Conflict	1	1
Catholic Schools - Non-sectarian	1	1
Catholic Schools – Perception	2	3
Catholic Schools - Protestant Teacher	7	21
Catholic Schools – Religion	18	44
Controlled Schools	0	0
Controlled School - Being A Catholic Teacher	8	21
Controlled School - Church Presence	4	4
Controlled School – Diversity	1	1
Controlled School – Integrated	2	2
Controlled School – Mixed	2	3
Controlled School - Religion Faith	5	7
Controlled School - State School	2	2
Controlled Schools - British Symbols	2	3
Controlled Schools - Catholic Church Attitude	2	2
Faith - Changing attitude	6	7
Integrated Schools	0	0

Integrated School – Catholicism	7	14
Integrated School - Community Division	8	10
Integrated School – Diversity	8	14
Integrated School – Ethos	13	29
Integrated School - Identity Confusion	3	3
Integrated School – Protestantism	1	3
Integrated School – Quality	2	2
Integrated School – RE	4	8
Integrated School – Weakness	7	9
Motivation	0	0
Motivation – Behaviour	9	12
Motivation - Enjoy school	3	3
Motivation – Grammar	2	2
Motivation - Integration as active choice	15	23
Motivation - Love children	6	7
Motivation - Love of teaching	8	10
Motivation for Employment Choice – Personal	19	25
Non-Catholic Schools - Catholic Church Opposition	12	19
Religion-Culture	0	0
Religion Culture - Ash Wednesday	3	4
Religion-Culture - 12th and Orangism	12	15
Religion-Culture – Flags	2	2
Religion-Culture – GAA	10	30
Religion-Culture - Other sports	3	3
Religion-Culture – Poppies	14	19
Religion-Culture – Protestantism	1	1
Religion-Culture – Royalism	6	7
Religion-Culture – Rugby	4	8
Religion-Culture JP 2nd	2	2
Shared Education	6	6
Staff Relations	19	34
Union Membership	7	12
Violence at school gate	4	4

Vol Grammar Schools	0	0
NonCath Vol Grammar – Catholics	3	4
NonCath Vol Grammar – Culture	3	7
NonCath Vol Grammar – Perception	1	3
PROJECTIVE	**0**	**0**
Cath Vol Grammar - School Culture	1	2
Catholic Education	3	3
Promotion - Glass Ceiling	16	27
Retirement	3	3
Teacher Burn Out	2	2
REFLECTIVE	**0**	**0**
Boards of Governors	7	15
Crossing Over – Fear	3	4
Crossing Over - Perceived Barriers	9	13
Crossing Over - Why not cross over	22	36
Nationality - Complex Identity	2	2
RE cert	13	31
Sectarianism In School - Absence of...	6	10
Sectarianism in School	5	15
Segregation	1	1
University Life – Separation	7	10
Using Difference	7	9

Table 3. Phase 5 "Defining and Naming Themes"

Name	Sources	References
ACHEIVEMENT OF AGENCY	0	0
Iterational	0	0
Formative	3	3
Early Attitudes and Experience, and family	36	102
Mixed Marriage	15	21
Peers	27	53
ITE	11	13

Transfer Test	21	27
Breaking Cycle	2	2
After Primary	6	8
After Post Primary	13	18
Non-teaching Employment	14	17
Living-Working Outside NI	21	32
Practical-Evaluative	0	0
Motivation	0	0
Pragmatism	30	57
Principled Choice	16	30
Experiences of Separateness	1	1
Colleagues	36	79
Deep Culture	24	32
Sectarianism and bigotry	27	69
'Background Noise'	11	17
Unions	9	15
Components of Education Separation	4	4
Culture	15	23
Ethos	32	66
Religion	37	112
Community	21	25
Sport	15	37
Symbolism	23	46
Projective	1	1
Promotion and Employment - Internal	24	55
Promotion and Employment - External	13	28
Retirement	9	12
EXPRESSION OF AGENCY	13	19
Through Curriculum	22	41
Resistance	8	10
Using, hiding and exposing identity	37	87
REFLECTIVE - WHAT MAINTAINS HOMOGENEITY	3	4
Catholic Authorities	4	5

Attitudes to Non-catholic schools	13	24
Attitudes to Integration	11	19
Attitudes to Non-catholic teachers	15	23
Perceptions	6	7
Irish Language Requirement	3	3
Staying with familiar	23	38
Respecting Division	8	12
Not considered	5	7
CRE Requirement	11	23
Bigotry	3	3
Self-justification	5	8
Structures	4	6
Parental choice	1	1
ITE and University	2	2
Teaching Practice	22	27
RE Certificate	17	30
Community Separation in HE	22	47
Informal recruitment and Nepotism	20	40
Fair employment	7	8