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**MONO-ETHNIC TO MULTI-ETHNIC: EXPLORING CHANGE IN FOUR
SCHOOLS WHICH WENT FROM MONO-ETHNIC TO MULTI-ETHNIC
STUDENT POPULATIONS**

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Ph.D.

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School of Education

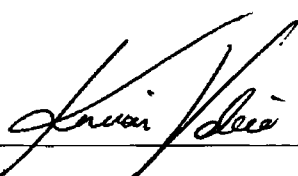
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DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the program of study leading to the award of Ph.D., is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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DEDICATION

To Linda, Luka, Lara and Max

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores change in four inner-urban DEIS schools which went from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations between 2000 and 2010. Lightfoot argues that work in the area of education is 'ahistorical' offering a 'snapshot' of school life. Thus, this research adopts an 'evolutionary view' seeking to unravel changes to key areas of school life over a period of time. In order to explore change, this inquiry employed case studies. Four secondary schools, with 'high' concentrations of minority ethnic students, were selected. Qualitative data from interviews and focus groups was collected. Quantitative data, in the form of enrolment records and Leaving Certificate results were gathered. Official school-based documents were also reviewed. The research process unearthed changes to five key areas of school life. It reveals that the classroom became more conducive to teaching and learning, school academic standards improved, and that relations between Irish and minority ethnic students evolved. It further uncovers that staff came to accept a new school identity and that over the ten year period all four schools became inclusive Catholic schools. In general, the changes brought about by the demographic shift in the student populations, were profound and positive.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ME - Minority Ethnic

LC - Leaving Certificate

DEIS - Delivering Equality and Opportunity in Schools

ESRI - Economic and Social Research Institute

OECD - Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PISA - Programme for International Student Assessment

JMB - Joint Managerial Body

AMCSS - Association of Management of Catholic Secondary Schools

VEC - Vocational Education Committee

HSCL - Home School Community Liaison

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of immigration into Ireland, as opposed to emigration, began with the dawn of the Celtic Tiger in the late 1990s. From this time returned Irish migrants, people seeking asylum and migrants from EU and non-EU countries came into Ireland.¹ Their impact on the Irish landscape was significant. By 2007, over fifteen percent of people living in Ireland were born outside the country.²

Akin to international settlement patterns, migrants in Ireland settled in large urban centres.³ The literature in Ireland and abroad indicates that immigrants tend to settle in areas that have succumbed to socio-economic deprivation. Dublin's north inner city was one such area, attracting migrants for a number of reasons. This area provided migrants with private-rented accommodation and access to an immediate network for social and employment opportunities. Equally, this part of the city housed a large percentage of people seeking asylum. As a result, migrant children enrolled and attended a select number of schools in the area. In line with international trends, these schools tended to be under-subscribed designated disadvantaged (DEIS) schools.⁴

This study explores change in a select number of these schools. It does not set out to measure change. A total of four DEIS secondary schools which went from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations between 2000 and 2010 were selected purposely for this study. In 2010, Smyth and her colleagues maintained that most secondary schools in Ireland had Minority Ethnic (ME) student populations ranging from two to nine percent; anything exceeding ten percent was considered

¹ Piaras Mac Éinrí, *Immigration into Ireland: Trends, Policy Responses, Outlook*, first part of research project for EU Commission Contract VS/2000/0312 (Cork: ICMS, University College Cork, 2001), p. 5.

² Peter Wright, *Labour Mobility within the EU in the Context of Enlargement and the Functioning of the Transitional Arrangements, Country Studies, Ireland* (Nuremberg: European Integration Consortium. Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities Directorate General of the European Commission, 2007), p. 6.

³ Piaras Mac Éinrí and Allen White, 'Immigration into the Republic of Ireland: A Bibliography of Recent Research', *Irish Geography*, 41 (2) (2008), p. 8.

⁴ DEIS is an acronym for Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools.

'high'.⁵ By 2010, all four schools had an ME student population exceeding twenty five percent. This ensured that, for the Irish case, such schools were 'unique' compared to the norm. Further, it allowed for comparative discussion between 'high' concentration multi-ethnic schools in Ireland and in other countries.

The topic and research question:

What changes occurred in four schools which went from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations?

emerged following an extensive review of the literature. Much of the work conducted in multi-ethnic settings offers what Lightfoot argues is a 'snapshot' view of school life where the 'worth of a school' is measured at one single moment in time. Lightfoot maintains that schools are 'changing institutions' and therefore social scientists should adopt an 'evolutionary view' in the way they study them.⁶ This study adopts Lightfoot's 'evolutionary view' as it attempts to unravel changes to key areas of school life resulting from the increased enrolment of ME students over a ten year period.

This research is positioned within an interpretive paradigm. Quinn-Patton contends that such an approach attempts to understand a social reality as lived by those within it.⁷ Additionally, it recognises that schools are 'complex' environments.⁸ The researcher is aware that other paradigms exist. A positivist approach was deemed unsuitable as it relies heavily on quantitative-based measures, 'over-simplifies' the human experience and may exclude what is considered 'human and important'.⁹ Likewise, this research seeks to explore change rather than affect change. Thus, a critical theory paradigm would have been unbecoming of the research question.

⁵ Emer Smyth, Merike Darmody, Frances McGinnity and Delma Byrne, *Adapting to Diversity: Irish Schools and Newcomer Students* (Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute, 2009), p. 68.

⁶ Sara L. Lightfoot, *The Good High School* (United States of America: Perseus Books Group, 1983), p. 24.

⁷ Michael Quinn-Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, 3rd ed. (California: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 69.

⁸ Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Susan L. Lytle, 'Research on Teaching and Teacher Research: The Issues that Divide', *Educational Researcher*, 19 (2) (1990), p. 3.

⁹ Anne B. Ryan, *Post-Positivist Approaches to Research. Researching and Writing your Thesis: a Guide for Postgraduate Students* (MACE: Maynooth Adult and Community Education), p. 20.

In order to explore change this research employed case studies. Widely used in education, Umit maintains that case studies describe and understand what is happening within a specific context.¹⁰ Case studies utilise multiple sources of evidence to provide what Noor contends is a 'holistic view of a certain phenomenon or series of events.'¹¹ It does not seek to 'enumerate frequencies' or provide 'scientific generalisations', yet it attempts to provide a 'detailed examination of a small sample.'¹²

This research primarily focuses on the experiences of staff who worked in the four schools during this time. Interviews, focus groups and a follow-up focus group were conducted with staff in all four schools. While much work to emanate from other countries centres on academic achievement, Irish authors acknowledge that, due to limited methods of data collection, the opportunities to conduct achievement-focussed research have been impeded.¹³ It is within this context that this research seeks to break new ground by gathering Leaving Certificate (LC) results over a ten year period, desegregating these results along ethnic and gender lines. Additionally, student enrolment records for the period, 2000 to 2010, were also gathered. Further, official school documents and relevant literature on the schools and on education in Ireland were reviewed. Finally, observational notes were taken throughout the process.

The analysis of qualitative data was guided by the thematic framework set out by Elliot and Timulak.¹⁴ All statistical analysis was conducted using Statistical Analysis Software (SAS® v9.2, SAS® Institute Inc, Cary, NC). The analysis of qualitative and quantitative data ensured triangulation was achieved as the statistical

¹⁰ Hakan Umit, 'Case Studies', in *Méthodologie de la Recherche en Sciences de Gestion*, (Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut d'Administration et de Gestion Louvain-la-Nueve, June, 2005), p. 2.

¹¹ Khairul Bharein Mohd Noor, 'Case Study: A Strategic Research Methodology', *American Journal of Applied Sciences*, 5 (11) (2008), p. 1603.

¹² Hamel, Dufour and Fortin cited in Umit, p. 2; Malcom Tight, 'The Curious Case of Case Study: A Viewpoint', *International Journal of Sociology Research Methods*, 13 (4) (2010), p. 337.

¹³ *Diversity at School*, ed. by Anne Lodge and Kathleen Lynch (Dublin: Equality Authority, 2004), p. 65.

¹⁴ Robert Elliot and Ladislav Timulak, 'Descriptive and Interpretive Approaches to Qualitative Research', *A Handbook of Research Methods for Clinical and Health Psychology*, ed. by Jeremy Miles and Paul Gilbert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 153–155.

data was used to critique the data to emerge from the qualitative process. Yin describes this as a model of convergence whereby all of the sources of evidence described above – interviews, focus groups, statistical data, and documentary evidence – lead to establishing what occurred across the four schools between 2000 and 2010.¹⁵ Moreover, triangulation was further attained as the research process ensured a ‘multiplicity of perspectives’ was gained.¹⁶ In this case, the researcher sought the perspectives of an array of staff in all four schools, along lines of gender, years of teaching and across a broad spectrum of subject areas.

In essence, this study concludes that, across the four schools, as the decade progressed and the number of ME students increased, the classroom became more conducive to teaching and learning, and school academic standards improved. Further, over the decade the relationship between Irish and ME students evolved whilst staff came to accept a new school identity. Finally, by 2010, all four schools had become ‘inclusive’ Catholic schools. This also resulted in a re-emergence of the original ethos as outlined by Edmund Rice and Mary Aikenhead. In general, the demographic shift of the student population along ethnic lines was profound and positive.

The Term ‘Minority Ethnic’

Prior to 1999, the official term used to describe any migrant who did not have at least one Irish born grandparent was ‘alien’. This was replaced by the term ‘non-national’.¹⁷ This was adopted by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform and the Department of Education and Skills.¹⁸ Researchers in Ireland employ

¹⁵ *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, by Robert K. Yin, 4th ed. (USA: Sage Publications, 2008), p. 117.

¹⁶ *Research Methods in Education*, by Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion and Keith Morrison, 6th ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 241.

¹⁷ Bryan Fanning and Fidele Muttwarasibo, ‘Nationals/non-nationals: Immigration, Citizenship and Politics in the Republic of Ireland’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30 (3) (2007), p. 449.

¹⁸ Mathew Wallen and Helen Kelly-Holmes, ‘I Think They Just Think it’s Going to Go Away at Some Stage: Policy and Practice in Teaching English as an Additional Language in Irish Primary Schools’, *Language and Education*, 20 (2) (2006), p. 141.

the term 'migrant student',¹⁹ 'newcomers',²⁰ or 'immigrant students'.²¹ The use of 'international student' is most common for those studying the experiences of non-Irish born students at third level.²² Lodge and Lynch utilise the phrase 'minority ethnic group', whilst Nowlan employs the term 'minority ethnic student'.²³ The Department of Education and Skills, at times, adopted more educationally-appropriate terminology, most of which focuses on the language needs of students. Language Minority Students, English as a Foreign Language (EFL), English as a Second Language (ESL) and more recently English as an Additional Language (EAL) have all been employed.²⁴

In England, Leung notes that the term 'immigrant' has receded from public discourse and has been replaced by 'minority ethnic'. Arshad and others argue that this applies to students whether they are new arrivals (asylum seekers, refugees or from the European Union and beyond) or whether they are descendants from settled ethnic communities. In the United States the term 'minority' was previously used in reference to African Americans and later Hispanics,²⁵ but it is now used by the

¹⁹ Dymrna Devine and Mary Kelly, 'I Just Don't Want to Get Picked on by Anybody: Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion in a Newly Multi-Ethnic Primary School', *Children and Society*, 20 (2006), pp. 128–139; Taguma and others, p. 15.

²⁰ Emer Smyth, Merike Darmody, Frances McGinnity and Delma Byrne, *Adapting to Diversity: Irish Schools and Newcomer Students* (Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute, 2009).

²¹ Delma Byrne, Frances McGinnity, Emer Smyth and Merike Darmody, 'Immigration and School Composition in Ireland', *Irish Educational Studies*, 29 (3) (2010), pp. 271–288.

²² Gerard W. Boucher, 'Irish Acculturation Ideologies: Mixing Multiculturalism, Assimilation and Discrimination', *Cultivating Pluralism: Psychological, Social and Cultural Perspectives on a Changing Ireland*, ed. by Malcolm MacLachlan and Michael O'Connell (Dublin: Oak Tree Press, 2000); Martina Flavin, *The Cultural and Intercultural Experiences of International Students in Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Council for International Students, 2000); Suarez-Orozco, p. 287; *Diversity at School*, ed. by Anne Lodge and Kathleen Lynch (Dublin: Equality Authority, 2004); Emer Nowlan, 'Underneath the Band Aid: Supporting Bilingual Students in Irish Schools', *Irish Educational Studies*, 27 (3) (2008), pp. 253–266.

²³ *Diversity at School*, ed. by Anne Lodge and Kathleen Lynch (Dublin: Equality Authority, 2004); Emer Nowlan, 'Underneath the Band Aid: Supporting Bilingual Students in Irish Schools', *Irish Educational Studies*, 27 (3) (2008), pp. 253–266.

²⁴ Wallen and Kelly-Holmes, p. 141.

²⁵ Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco, 'Becoming Somebody: Central American Immigrants in U.S. Inner City Schools', *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 18 (1987), p. 287. United States Department of Education, Planning and Evaluation Service, *High Standards for All Students: A Report from the National Assessment of Title I on Progress and Challenges Since the 1994 Reauthorization* (Washington DC: 2001), p. 6.

Department of Education to include all minorities, immigrants and non-immigrants.²⁶

This research acknowledges that not all minority ethnic students are necessarily minority language students. Nevertheless, almost all of the minority ethnic students who enrolled in the four schools between 2000 and 2010 were also minority language students. In light of the above, this research adopts the term ‘minority ethnic’ (ME). This refers to all students who belong to a minority ethnic group, whether they or their parent/s were born in a country outside of Ireland.

Furthermore, throughout this dissertation terms such as ‘Irish’, ‘local’, ‘academic’, ‘non-academic’ and ‘DEIS’ are employed in reference to students who belong to the majority ethnic group. While this study distinguishes between these students based on where they lived, their social background and at times, academic dispositions, they are all Irish and in general, were all born in Ireland. Equally, terms which may not be considered nuanced, such as ‘non-national’ or ‘foreign’, are found in this study. While the author does not endorse the use of these terms they were used by participants involved in this research. In order to stay true to the data, the views and responses of all participants were transcribed verbatim and thus employed appropriately.

This research consists of six chapters. Chapter One provides an extensive review of the literature on ME education in Ireland and from more traditional countries of immigration – Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom. This chapter sets the context, outlining the recent trends in immigration, migrant settlement patterns and the distribution of ME students across schools in Ireland. A description of the research typologies in Ireland and abroad is also offered. Additionally, Chapter One explores how ME students have changed schools in Ireland and in other countries. The final section identifies a vacuum in the research offering reasons why the current study was undertaken.

Chapter Two outlines the research process. It briefly introduces the notion of change, from a philosophical and an educational position. Following this, the chapter

²⁶ United States Department of Education, Planning and Evaluation Service, *High Standards for All Students: A Report from the National Assessment of Title I on Progress and Challenges Since the 1994 Reauthorization* (Washington DC: 2001), p. 6.

considers different research paradigms and offers reasons why an interpretive paradigm was deemed most suitable. This chapter presents a rationale as to why this research employed case studies. In so doing it offers a detailed description of the research sample, the fieldwork and the analysis of data. Finally, ethical considerations are highlighted as the researcher makes clear his ontological position and recognises his own biases.

In keeping with Lightfoot's 'evolutionary view', the focus of Chapter Three positions the four schools within the historical context of Irish education and society from the 18th century to the year 2000. Titled, 'Responding to the Needs of the Time', the first section of this chapter explores life in 19th century Ireland. It considers the response to the educational needs of the poor by two notable figures in Irish history: Edmund Rice, founder of the Christian Brothers, and Mary Aikenhead, founder of the Sisters of Charity. A history of the four schools is then presented and positioned within significant periods of Irish educational history. These include the introduction of the Intermediate Education Act (1871), the establishment of the Department of Education in 1924 and the introduction of free education in 1967. The period of the 1990s, when the four schools evolved into DEIS schools, is also explored.

The second section of Chapter Three documents the patterns of ME student enrolment between 2000 and 2010. This section outlines how the schools became 'high' concentration multi-ethnic schools by 2010. In essence, it considers why ME students initially enrolled in the four schools, why they continued to enrol over the decade and the impact this had on student numbers across the four schools.

Chapter Four presents the findings to emerge from the research process. For purposes of clarity the findings are presented under five categories. These categories emerged from the data and correspond to changes to five key areas of school life. These are teaching and learning, academic achievement, peer relations, school identity, and school ethos. Direct quotations, tables, and graphs are presented throughout this chapter. Additional quotations, tables and graphs are numbered accordingly and presented in the Appendices.

The introduction to Chapter Five provides a brief synopsis of the history of the four schools and the patterns of ME student enrolment between 2000 and 2010.

This discussion chapter positions the findings from Chapter Four within the Irish and international literature on ME education. It further positions some of the findings within the historical context of the four schools.

Chapter Six draws on the narratives outlined in the previous chapters and presents the main conclusions of the research. It achieves this by briefly reviewing the research process. It then highlights the study's key findings offering both an evolutionary and a philosophical view of the changes which occurred in four inner-urban DEIS schools between 2000 and 2010. This chapter further considers the contribution this study has made to Irish research, and takes into account the limitations of the study. Following this a personal reflection is presented as are future directions for research.

CHAPTER ONE

Exploring Change in Multi-Ethnic Schools: The Irish and International Literature

1.0 Introduction

A literature review is significant for a number of reasons. First, it allows the researcher to gain greater insight into the topic at hand, thus identifying ‘gaps’ in the research area.¹ Second, it serves ‘as the foundation upon which a study is built’² and therefore guides the design of a study, determining the appropriate research methods to employ.³ This review process took two forms. An initial manual filtering of literature in Ireland and abroad was carried out, following the path of literature of key authors in the area. The extensive bibliographies on the issues of modern Irish immigration produced by Cotter and subsequently by Mac Éinrí and White proved helpful.⁴ The second part of the process involved the use of internet-based search engines.⁵

The review of literature below is divided into four parts. The first sets the scene of recent immigration into Ireland from the late 1990s until the late 2000s. It outlines the settlement patterns of recent immigrants to Ireland focusing on the north inner city of Dublin. This section charts the distribution of ME students across

¹ Chris Hart, *Doing a Literature Review: Releasing the Social Science Research Imagination* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 11.

² Timothy J. Ellis and Yair Levy, ‘Towards a Guide for Novice Researchers on Research Methodology: Review and Proposed Methods’, *Issues in Informing Science and Information Technology*, 6 (2009), p. 324.

³ Ellis and Levy, p. 324.

⁴ Gertrude Cotter, *A Guide to Published Research on Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in Ireland* (Dublin: Integrating Ireland, 2004); Piaras Mac Éinrí and Allen White, ‘Immigration into the Republic of Ireland: A Bibliography of Recent Research’, *Irish Geography*, 41 (2) (2008), pp. 151-179.

⁵ These included Scopus, Web of Science, and Sage and for other theses, DART-Europe E-Theses Portal and Trove were used. For successful searches key words were offered. These included minority ethnic, students, immigrant, migrant, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, schools, school change, school effectiveness, language acquisition, achievement, and academic.

secondary schools in Ireland. In keeping with international trends, ME students are likely to enrol in urban DEIS schools.⁶

The second section presents an overview of the research typology on ME education. It highlights the dominant ‘achievement’ driven research to emanate from more traditional countries of immigration – the United States, Australia, Canada and developed western European countries. Further, it sheds light on the typology of research conducted in Ireland from the late 1990s to the present, accentuating key themes which emerge from much of the research: language and integration.

The third section provides an overview of the Irish and international literature on ME education with respect to school-based changes in multi-ethnic settings. It explores the impact ME students have had on academic and non-academic areas of school life. The final section of this review briefly summarises the literature with the view to identifying gaps in the research on ME education in Ireland.

Section One: Setting the Scene

1.1 Immigration into Ireland: The Celtic Tiger Years

The phenomenon of immigration into Ireland, as opposed to emigration, from the mid-1990s until the late 2000s, has been well documented.⁷ Much work concentrates on the reasons for immigration, the different types of immigrants and the lives of migrants in Ireland.⁸ The growth of the high-skilled sector in the late 1990s –

⁶ Delma Byrne, Francis McGinnity, Emer Smyth and Merike Darmody, ‘Immigration and School Composition in Ireland’, *Irish Educational Studies*, 29 (3) (2010), p. 285.

⁷ Piaras Mac Éinrí, *Immigration into Ireland: Trends, Policy Responses, Outlook*, first part of research project for EU Commission Contract VS/2000/0312 (Cork: ICMS, University College Cork, 2001); Piaras Mac Éinrí and Paddy Walley, *Labour Migration into Ireland: Study and Recommendations on Employment Permits, Working Conditions and the Integration of Migrants* (Dublin: Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2003); *Immigration and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*, ed. by Bryan Fanning (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Peter Wright, *Labour Mobility within the EU in the Context of Enlargement and the Functioning of the Transitional Arrangements, Country Studies, Ireland* (Nuremberg: European Integration Consortium. Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities Directorate General of the European Commission, 2007); Mac Éinrí and White (2008).

⁸ Mac Éinrí and White (2008), p. 153.

information technology and pharmaceuticals – attracted a high-skilled, higher paid population to the Irish labour market. This in turn spurred an increase in living standards and subsequently a demand for labour for a growing services sector. The shortfall in this demand was satiated by a young, low-paid, although not necessarily a low skilled, migrant population.⁹ It was in the low-skilled occupations that the majority of migrant workers were employed.¹⁰

In order to quantify the number and types of immigrants Mac Éinrí classified the main types of immigration flows into categories. These included returned Irish migrants, immigrants from other European Union (EU) and European Economic Area (EEA) countries, people seeking asylum and programme refugees, high-skilled migrants from non-EU and non-EEA countries, and others who migrated from non-EEA countries.¹¹

Initially, returned Irish migrants constituted a large percentage of all migrants into Ireland. Up until 1999 this number was at fifty five percent.¹² From then on, Ireland, like many European countries, saw a large number of immigrants enter from non-EU countries.¹³ Prior to the enlargement of the EU in 2003, Ireland attracted more immigrants from non-EU countries than from other member states.¹⁴ By 2007 immigrants from the European Union (EU) accession states, most notably Poland, represented the greatest number.¹⁵

Furthermore, during the early 2000s there was an increase in the number of people seeking asylum. By 2002, over 11,500 people claimed asylum in Ireland. This was a sharp increase from 1994 when just over 350 applications were made.¹⁶ Since this peak in 2002 the number continued to decrease throughout the decade. In 2009 there were just fewer than 2,700 applications made.¹⁷ This decline was

⁹ Wright, p. 11.

¹⁰ Mac Éinrí and Walley, p. 12; Martin Ruhs, 'Ireland from Rapid Immigration to Recession', Centre of Migration Policy and Society, Oxford University, Sept. 2009, p. 4.

¹¹ Mac Éinrí, p. 5.

¹² Mac Éinrí and Walley, p. 5

¹³ Wright, p. 6.

¹⁴ Mac Éinrí and Walley, p. 8.

¹⁵ Magdalena Kilmczak, 'Island of Hope: Polish Immigrants in Ireland', *Studies, An Irish Quarterly Review*, 96 (381) (2007), p. 37.

¹⁶ Ruhs, p. 5.

¹⁷ Reception and Integration Agency, *Monthly Statistics Report, June 2010* (Dublin: Statistics Unit, RIA).

attributed to the tightening of laws which included the abolition of an automatic right to citizenship of children born to parents who were not Irish. This measure, passed by a referendum in 2005, was considered severe by some.¹⁸

The impact of immigration on the country's population was significant.¹⁹ By 2007, over fifteen percent of people living in Ireland were born outside the country.²⁰ During this time immigrants were described as young, well-educated and a promising addition to the Irish economy.²¹ Nevertheless, immigration was soon supplanted by emigration. By the end of April 2010 the number of immigrants entering Ireland dropped from over 109,000 in 2007 to just over 30,000. During the same period the number of people who emigrated rose from just over 42,000 to 76,000.²² The largest group to emigrate in 2010 were Irish nationals, representing over fifty percent of those who left Ireland. While some immigrants were leaving, figures from the Central Statistics Office revealed that many were staying.²³

1.1.1 Immigrant Settlement Patterns in Ireland

The settlement of migrants in Ireland mainly clustered around the inner city areas of Dublin (in particular the north inner city), Cork, Limerick and Galway – trends in line with international norms of settlement patterns.²⁴ Mac Éinrí and White contend that Ireland was unique in some regards as migrants also settled in smaller towns. The departure of the indigenous population to larger urban settings in search of higher-skilled and higher-paid employment generated a labour shortage in the

¹⁸ Éidín Ní Shé, Tom Lodge and Maura Adshead, *A Study of the Needs of Ethnic Minority Immigrants in County Clare* (Clare: Health Service Executive, 2007), p. 8.

¹⁹ Mac Éinrí and Walley, p. 14.

²⁰ Wright, p. 6.

²¹ Wright, p. 11.

²² Central Statistics Office (CSO), *Census 2006, Non-Irish Nationals Living in Ireland* (Dublin: Stationery Office, June 2008), p. 1.

²³ CSO (2008), p. 1

²⁴ Mac Éinrí and White, p. 8.

services. This labour shortfall was filled by immigrants.²⁵ In towns like Longford and Roscommon migrants made up to twenty percent of the population.²⁶

1.1.2 Dublin's North Inner City: An Area of Migrant Concentration

By 2009 non-Irish/UK born migrants constituted fifteen percent of Dublin city's population.²⁷ The highest concentration was in the north east inner city.²⁸ Drawing on the 2006 census, Hegarty revealed that,

... four of the ten electoral divisions in this part of Dublin have an ethnic minority population of over 50%, while a further three in that area have an ethnic minority population of over 25%.²⁹

The borders of the north inner city extend from the docklands in the east to the Phoenix Park in the west and from the North Circular Road/Royal Canal and Tolka River in the north to the River Liffey in the south. It attracted migrants for a number of inter-dependent reasons. First, it afforded migrants access to an 'immediate social network' and second, it presented employment opportunities.³⁰ Third, the north inner city at the time was awash with private-rented accommodation.³¹

Similarly, the availability of accommodation was key to why people seeking asylum 'temporarily' settled in the area. In 2000 the then government introduced 'direct provision' to house asylum seekers.³² Former hotels and hostels, leased by the government, were scattered throughout the area. In 2002, eleven of the twenty nine electoral divisions which housed more than 100 asylum seekers in County

²⁵ Mac Éinrí and White, p.8; Brian McGrath, 'Social Capital in Community, Family and Work Lives of Brazilian Migrant Parents in Ireland', *Community, Work and Family*, 13 (2) (2010), p. 148.

²⁶ Mac Éinrí and White, p.8

²⁷ Tony Fahey and Brian Fanning, 'Immigration and Socio-spatial Segregation in Dublin, 1996–2006', *Urban Studies*, 47 (8) (2010), p. 1632; Maria Hegarty, *Towards Integration, A City Framework* (Dublin: Dublin City Council, 2009), p. 24.

²⁸ Hegarty, p. 24.

²⁹ Hegarty, p. 24.

³⁰ Hegarty, p. 24.

³¹ Fahey and Fanning, p. 1632

³² Samantha K. Arnold, *State Sanctioned Child Poverty and Exclusion* (Dublin: Irish Refugee Council, 2011), p. 11.

Dublin were in the north inner city.³³ For Kelly, this resulted in a numerical over-representation of people seeking asylum in the area as well as a spatial one; the geographic area of the electoral divisions in the north inner city were smaller in size than in suburban areas, thus asylum seekers made up a far greater proportion of the population.³⁴ Kelly further discloses that, in the same year, of all those seeking asylum in County Dublin, twenty seven percent were housed in the north inner city. Of this figure, over sixty percent were from Europe – with thirty seven percent coming from Romania – and just over thirty percent from African countries – nineteen percent from Nigeria.³⁵

1.1.3 Distribution of Minority Ethnic Students across Irish Schools

The settlement of immigrants across Irish cities and towns ‘impacted on the composition of Irish schools.’³⁶ In 2009, Smyth and her colleagues from the Economic, Social and Research Institute (ESRI) revealed that around ninety percent of post-primary schools in Ireland had ME students; many of them with populations ranging from two to nine percent.³⁷ The authors established numerical criteria categorising schools with a low, medium and high concentration of ME students. In the post-primary sector, ‘high’ constituted ten percent or more, reflecting the Irish situation of the time.³⁸

Upon further examination, authors deduced that there was an absence of school segregation based on ethnic lines in Irish schools. Unlike schools in many European cities, the ME student populations across schools in Ireland were not dominated by a few ethnic groups.³⁹ As will be explored in more detail in Section Three, in some countries this leads to a decrease in the enrolment of the native

³³ Darren Kelly, ‘Dublin Spatial Narrative, The Transition from Essentially Mono-Cultural Places to Poly-Cultural Spaces’, (unpublished Doctoral Thesis, St. Patrick’s College, Dublin, 2007), p. 450.

³⁴ Kelly, p. 450.

³⁵ Kelly, p. 452.

³⁶ Byrne and others, p. 271.

³⁷ Smyth and others, p. 68.

³⁸ Smyth and others, p. 37–38.

³⁹ Byrne and others, p. 285.

student population, otherwise known as ‘white flight’.⁴⁰ Despite this, the distribution of ME students across Irish schools was in keeping with international trends in that ME students were likely to attend designated disadvantaged schools.⁴¹

1.1.4 The DEIS School

Under the Department of Education and Skills’ social inclusion programme schools in Ireland that are designated as disadvantaged schools are referred to as DEIS schools (Delivering Equality and Opportunity in Schools). Authors maintain that such schools differ to non-DEIS schools as teachers generally deal with a higher number of students with literacy, numeracy and behavioural difficulties.⁴² While many are ‘under-subscribed’ with respect to student numbers,⁴³ evidence in England suggests that in areas where student populations are dwindling, the arrival of ME children provides ‘a much needed boost.’⁴⁴ DEIS schools in Ireland are generally prone to a high turnover of staff and higher rate of teacher absenteeism.⁴⁵ Though DEIS status entitles schools to additional resources, Lodge and Lynch contend that the gap in resources between DEIS schools and fee-paying schools in particular, remains considerable.⁴⁶

The reality that ME students are more than likely to attend DEIS schools raises concerns. Byrne and others assert that the distribution of ME students across Irish schools is largely determined by school admission policies – policies which

⁴⁰ Mieke Van Houtte and Peter A.J. Stevens, ‘School Ethnic Composition and Aspirations of Immigrant Students in Belgium’, *British Educational Research Journal*, 36 (2) (2010), p. 212.

⁴¹ Byrne and others, p. 285.

⁴² Karl Kitching, ‘An Excavation of the Racialised Politics of Viability Underpinning Education Policy in Ireland’, *Irish Educational Studies*, 29 (3) (2010), p. 221; Smyth and others, p. 53.

⁴³ Smyth and others, p. 53.

⁴⁴ Grace Reynolds, *The Impacts and Experiences of Migrant Children in UK Secondary Schools, Working Paper No. 47* (University of Sussex, Centre for Migration Research, 2008), p. 5.

⁴⁵ Áine Cregan, *From Difference to Disadvantage: Talking Posh, Sociolinguistic Perspectives on the Context of Schooling in Ireland* (Dublin: Combat Poverty Agency, June 2008), p. 56.

⁴⁶ Kathleen Lynch and Anne Lodge, *Equality and Power in Schools: Redistribution, Recognition and Representation* (Oxon: Routledge, 2002), p. 290.

tend to favour settled communities.⁴⁷ Lodge and Lynch attribute this to the Education Act (1998), which requires schools to recognise social, cultural and religious differences, yet affords denominational schools, which make up a substantial cohort of all schools in Ireland, the right to protect their religious ethos.⁴⁸ Bryan echoes this view as does Lyons who discovered that only thirty percent of ME students were found in voluntary secondary schools with a particular religious ethos.⁴⁹ Issues pertaining to the discrimination of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools in other countries has raised similar concerns.⁵⁰

As noted above, the distribution of ME students across DEIS schools in Ireland reflects international trends. In the 1970s and 1980s, in Australia and the United States, Bullivant and Suarez-Orozco respectively pointed to the subtle systemic patterns of discrimination where 'powerless' ME students were 'routed' to disadvantaged schools.⁵¹ This pattern of discrimination is still omnipresent across schools in Australia today; many low socio-economic status schools have high proportions of ME students.⁵² In European countries there is an over-representation of ME children in schools for children with special needs.⁵³ In Belgium, schools attract students from certain socio-economic backgrounds, and immigrants come from lower status backgrounds.⁵⁴ This has led to the unintentional creation of 'concentration' schools where in some high concentrated schools ME students made

⁴⁷ Byrne and others, p. 285.

⁴⁸ *Diversity at School*, ed. by Anne Lodge and Kathleen Lynch (Dublin: Equality Authority, 2004), p. 69.

⁴⁹ Audrey Bryan, 'Corporate Multiculturalism, Diversity Management, and Positive Interculturalism in Irish Schools and Society', *Irish Educational Studies*, 29 (3) (2010), p. 258; Zachary Lyons, 'Articulating a Deficit Perspective: A Survey of the Attitudes of Post-Primary English Language Support Teachers and Coordinators', *Irish Educational Studies*, 29 (3) (2010), p. 292.

⁵⁰ Michael S. Merry, 'Social Exclusion of Muslim Youth in Flemish and French-Speaking Belgian Schools', *Comparative Education Review*, 49 (1) (2005), p. 36.

⁵¹ Brian Milton Bullivant, *The Ethnic Encounter in Secondary School, Ethnocultural Reproduction and Resistance: Theory and Case Studies* (London: Falmer Press, 1987), p. 55; Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco, 'Becoming Somebody: Central American Immigrants in U.S inner-city Schools', *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 18 (1987), p. 289.

⁵² Khoo and others, cited in Joel Windle, 'Shifting Concepts of Migrant Educational (dis)advantage in Australia', Paper presented at the Education, Social Mobility, and Social Cohesion (EDUC) Workshop, 'Economic Change, Quality of Life & Social Cohesion' (University of Pompeu, Barcelona, EQUALSOC, 22–23 September, 2006), p. 10.

⁵³ Friedrich Heckmann, *Education and Migration: Strategies for Integrating Migrant Children in European Schools and Societies* (European Commission: Directorate-General for Education and Culture, 2008), p. 15.

⁵⁴ Van Houtte and Stevens, p. 211.

up over fifty percent of the school's population. The same phenomenon is reflected in Spain⁵⁵ and in Germany.⁵⁶

There is a correlation between ethnicity and low socio-economic status. In the United States new immigrants are prone to higher levels of poverty and as a result they are 'forced' to assimilate in areas with under-resourced schools.⁵⁷ Such schools are often ill-prepared, ill-equipped and, as Hood maintains, take a long time to adapt to 'who is here'.⁵⁸ Robust evidence suggests that teachers in these schools are perceived to hold low expectations which predetermine underachievement and contribute to student disaffection.⁵⁹ Cebolla-Boado and Medina assert that teachers tend to adapt to the level of the student body and in so doing create a less demanding learning environment.⁶⁰

Nevertheless, not all ME students come from low socio-economic backgrounds and attend disadvantaged schools. Dobson and his colleagues closely examine the social background and achievement levels of Chinese students in Australia. They argue that any disadvantage these students have through their lack of educational experience in Australia is more than compensated for by their class. More than half reside in high-status postcodes and their parents are prepared and able to invest in their education.⁶¹ Similarly studies in the United Kingdom find that students from certain ME groups who attend 'mainly white' schools outperform ME students who attend multi-ethnic schools.⁶² Hence ME students who come from 'educated' and 'skilled' backgrounds tend to begin or continue their education at

⁵⁵ Hector Cebolla-Boado and Luis Garrido Medina, 'The Impact of Immigrant Concentration in Spanish Schools: School, Class and Composition Effects', *European Sociological Review* (Advance Access Published June 21, 2010), p. 5.

⁵⁶ Andreas Ammermueller, 'Poor Background or Low Returns? Why Immigrant Students in Germany Perform so Poorly in the Programme for International Student Assessment', *Education Economics*, 15 (2) (2007), p. 222.

⁵⁷ Carola Suarez-Orozco, Hee Jin Bang, Erin O'Connor, Francisco X. Gaytan, Juliana Pakes and Jean Rhodes, 'Academic Trajectories of Newcomer Immigrant Youth', *Developmental Psychology*, 46 (3) (2010), p. 603.

⁵⁸ Lucy Hood, *Immigrant Students, Urban High Schools: The Challenge Continues* (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 2003), p. 3.

⁵⁹ Suarez-Orozco and others, p. 152; Heckmann, p. 15.

⁶⁰ Cebolla-Boado and Medina, p. 5.

⁶¹ Ian Dobson, Bob Birrell and Virginia Rapson, 'The Participation of Non-English-Speaking-Background Persons in Higher Education', *People and Place*, 4(1) (1996), p. 49.

⁶² Tony Cline, Guida de Abreu, Cornelius Fihosy, Hilary Gray, Hannah Lambert and Jo Neale, *Minority Ethnic Pupils in Mainly White Schools* (University of Luton: Department of Education and Skills, July 2002), p. 4.

non-disadvantaged schools with lower concentrations of ME pupils. Likewise their achievement is similar or higher than that of natives from similar backgrounds.⁶³

This section provided a brief overview of recent immigration trends in Ireland. It highlighted that, in general, immigrants who came to Ireland during the recent period of economic prosperity settled in large urban settings. One such setting was Dublin's north inner city. This area provided economic migrants access to private-rented accommodation and social and employment opportunities. It was also awash with government-provided accommodation for migrants within the asylum process.

Furthermore, Section One charted the distribution of immigrant children, that is, ME students, across Irish schools. In line with international trends, ME students in Ireland generally enrolled in urban disadvantaged (DEIS) schools. Authors in Ireland and abroad have commented on the discriminatory nature of these enrolment patterns. The next section of this chapter focuses on the nature of research conducted on immigrants, and subsequently on their children, comparing this to the typology to emanate from other countries.

Section Two: Research on the Education of Minority Ethnic Students

1.2 Typology in Traditional Countries of Immigration: A Focus on Achievement

The focus of much research on ME education to emanate from more traditional countries of immigration centres on student 'achievement' and 'attainment'.⁶⁴ As documented further below, this is in stark contrast to the limited yet growing body of work which has been conducted in Ireland. The most common form of this enquiry has been comparative in nature, attempting to explain the achievement gap between native and ME students. The work of Coleman and others, whose national survey of student achievement highlighted the 'poor' performance of African American

⁶³ Suarez-Orozco and others (2010), p. 603.

⁶⁴ Grace Kao and Jennifer S. Thompson, 'Racial and Ethnic Stratification in Educational Achievement and Attainment', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29 (2003), p. 425.

students, was decisive in shaping research in the United States.⁶⁵ The Select and Swann Committee Reports, of 1974 and 1985 respectively, had the same bearing in the United Kingdom.⁶⁶

The dominance of this type of enquiry is attributed to readily available data.⁶⁷ National Census figures and standardised national and international tests, provide information on school completion, post-secondary schooling or non-schooling, social mobility, and on personal and social characteristics, which may or may not determine academic performance.⁶⁸ In the United Kingdom academic outcomes based on standardised tests are published annually and schools are positioned in national league tables.⁶⁹ More recently standardised international measurements of testing – PISA⁷⁰ – have afforded researchers the opportunities to compare achievement and attainment levels across countries.⁷¹

Despite the dominance of this typology, authors highlight its limitations. First, there is a multitude of definitions and terms used to determine the educational

⁶⁵ John I. Goodlad, *A Place Called School: Prospects for the Future* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1984), p. 4.

⁶⁶ Deborah Wilson, Simon Burgess and Adam Briggs, 'The Dynamics of School Attainment of England's Ethnic Minorities' CASE Paper 105 (London School of Economics: Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, 2006), p. 2.

⁶⁷ Dobson and others, p. 49; Khoo and others cited in Kao and Thompson, p. 420; Suarez-Orozco, p. 287; Magnus Bygren and Ryszard Szulkin, 'Ethnic Environment During Childhood and the Educational Attainment of Immigrant Children in Sweden', *Social Forces*, 88 (3) (2010), p. 1326; Yann Algan, Christian Dustmann, Albrecht Glitz and Alan Manning, 'The Economic Situation of First and Second-Generation Immigrants in France, Germany and the United Kingdom', *The Economic Journal*, 120 (542) (2010), p. 8.

⁶⁸ Siew-Ean Khoo, Peter McDonald and Dimi Giorgas, *Second Generation Australians: Report for the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs*, (Melbourne: Australian Centre for Population Research, April, 2002), p. 62.

⁶⁹ Maud Blair, 'Effective School Leadership: The Multi-Ethnic Context', *Journal of Sociology*, 23 (1) (2002), p. 180.

⁷⁰ The PISA study tests fifteen year olds in subjects of reading, mathematics and science proficiency. In 2000, forty three countries participated in the assessment, whilst this figure rose to sixty five in 2009. In 2000, more than 250,000 students took part. A minimum of 150 schools and 4,500 students took part from each country.

⁷¹ Ammermueller; Horst Entorf and Martina Lauk, 'Peer Effects, Social Multipliers and Migrants at School: An International Comparison', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34 (4) (2008), 633 – 654; Heckmann; Andreas Schleicher, 'Where Immigrant Students Succeed: A Comparative Review of Performance and Engagement in Pisa 2003', *Intercultural Education*, 17 (5) (2006) 507–516; Sylke Viola Schnepf, 'Immigrants' Educational Disadvantage: An Examination Across Ten Countries and Three Surveys', *Journal of Population Economics*, 20 (3) (2007), 527–545; Natalia Zinovyeva, Florentino Felgueroso, and Pablo Vazquez, 'Immigration and Students' Achievement in Spain', Paper prepared for the Fedea Report. (University of Oviedo, Spain, October 2008), pp. 1–34.

status of ME students and therefore difficulties arise in trying to compare like with like.⁷² Second, countries differ in immigration policies and therefore attract different migrants, with different 'experiences, abilities and social and economic backgrounds.'⁷³ With specific reference to PISA assessment, authors recognise that data only quantifies the effects of personal and other characteristics on achievement rather than explaining them.⁷⁴ Further, the language used is conducted in the language of the host nation and assumes that every student in that country is proficient in the language.⁷⁵ PISA data also fails to distinguish between the cultural, social and socio-economic diversity among different ethnic groups.⁷⁶ For Windle this has limited value considering that the largest group of migrants to Australia is from the United Kingdom, with similar language and educational norms.⁷⁷ Perna-Bohn and Sleeter maintain that the fixation on measurement assumes that all students have an equal opportunity to learn when the reality is completely different.⁷⁸ Finally, achievement-driven research tends to focus on a single point in time, exploring achievement through common 'static' themes of socio-economic, school or cultural factors rather than the evolving dynamics involved in student achievement.⁷⁹

In spite of the concerns raised, achievement-led research still dominates in the area of ME education. More recently commentators have positioned the motivation for this typology within political and economic contexts. If one considers that immigration and education policies are steered by economic policies,⁸⁰ then as the economies of the western world are progressively bifurcating into knowledge-

⁷² Schnepf, p. 529.

⁷³ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *PISA 2009 Results: Overcoming Social Background. Equity in Learning Opportunities and Outcomes, Volume II*, (OECD, 2010), p. 66; Nicole Schneeweis, 'How Should we Organise Schooling to Further Children with Migration Background?', *Working Paper No. 0620*, (Department of Economics, Johannes Kepler University of Linz, December 2006), p. 2.

⁷⁴ Schleicher, p. 508.

⁷⁵ Ammermueller, p. 217.

⁷⁶ Windle, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Windle, p. 8.

⁷⁸ Anita Perna-Bohn and Christine E. Sleeter, 'Multicultural Education and the Standards Movement, A Report from the Field', *Phi Delta Kappan*, 82 (2) (2000), p. 157.

⁷⁹ Gary Marks, 'Improvements Over the Educational Career of Immigrant Students', *Australian Journal of Education*, Vol. 54 (2) (2010), p. 133.

⁸⁰ Robyn Iredale and Christine Fox, 'The Impact of Immigration on School Education in New South Wales, Australia', *International Migration Review*, 31 (3) (1997), p. 667.

based and service based sectors,⁸¹ immigrants are seen as 'productive economic resources'.⁸² Having access to figures on achievement and attainment, governments are able to gauge the success or non-success of their economic, immigration and education policies.⁸³

1.2.1 Typology in Ireland: A Focus on Issues Pertaining to Language and Integration

In contrast, limited methods of data collection on achievement in Ireland have impeded the opportunities to conduct achievement-focussed research.⁸⁴ The PISA studies of 2006 and 2009 are exceptions insofar as they draw on data from international testing mechanisms; however, it has been recognised that the sample of ME students within these studies is small.⁸⁵ While Ireland's immigration phenomenon is more recent, the arrangements for collecting data have not kept pace with the flows of immigration.⁸⁶ Unlike the United Kingdom, Ireland does not employ league tables. While the Department of Education and Skills has achievement records, they are primarily used to elicit general trends, and evaluate individual schools for the purposes of inspections and whole school evaluations.⁸⁷

Authors contend that due to limited methods of data collection ME students are not made visible, leading to the persistence of certain issues.⁸⁸ First, no concrete comparisons can be made between ME and native students. The lack of data hinders

⁸¹ Alejandro Portes and Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, 'No Margin for Error: Educational and Occupational Achievement among Disadvantaged Children of Immigrants', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, 620 (12) (2008), p. 1081.

⁸² Iredale and Fox, p. 677.

⁸³ Algan and others, p. 4.

⁸⁴ Lodge and Lynch, p. 65.

⁸⁵ Dymphna Devine, *Immigration and Schooling in the Republic of Ireland – Making a Difference* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 41; Miho Taguma, Moonhee Kim, Gregory Wurzburg and Frances Kelly, *OECD Reviews of Migrant Education: Ireland* (Ireland: OECD, 2009), p. 23.

⁸⁶ Taguma and others, p. 15.

⁸⁷ Department of Education and Skills, *A Guide to Whole-School Evaluations – Management, Leadership and Learning in Post-Primary Schools* (Dublin: Department of Education and Skills, 2011); Department of Education and Skills, *A Guide to Incidental Inspection in Second-Level Schools and Centres for Education* (Dublin: Department of Education and Skills, 2011).

⁸⁸ Lodge and Lynch, p. 65; Taguma and others, p. 15.

the construction of any clear picture of the situation regarding the education of ME students.⁸⁹ For example, the largest group of non-Irish returned immigrants who immigrated to Ireland recently came from the United Kingdom,⁹⁰ with similar language, cultural and educational norms.⁹¹ Thus, the lack of a clear picture fails to highlight any inequalities that exist within the education system.⁹²

Much of the initial research on the education of ME students emerged from the nature of the research on the lives of migrants, in particular people seeking asylum.⁹³ For Boucher, this narrow focus overlooked the intricacies of contemporary Irish society with regard to inclusion and exclusion of all migrants.⁹⁴ Research was underpinned by a 'rights based' and 'needs analysis' approach.⁹⁵ It reflected on many aspects of the lives of people seeking asylum and refugees and served an advocacy purpose to affect policy at local and national level.⁹⁶ Cotter maintains that this research tended to be 'general, predictable and repetitive.'⁹⁷ This approach unearthed key issues, most notably language barriers and racism, surrounding the acculturation of migrants into Irish society.⁹⁸ While there was a growing scepticism

⁸⁹ Taguma and others, p. 15.

⁹⁰ CSO (2008), p. 10.

⁹¹ Windle, p. 3.

⁹² POBAL, *Barriers to Access to Further and Higher Education for Non-EU Nationals Resident in Ireland, Executive Summary* (Dublin: POBAL, 2006), p. 7; Taguma and others, p. 15.

⁹³ Mac Éinri and White, p. 159.

⁹⁴ Gerard W. Boucher, 'Irish Acculturation Ideologies: Mixing Multiculturalism, Assimilation and Discrimination', *Cultivating Pluralism: Psychological, Social and Cultural Perspectives on a Changing Ireland*, ed. by Malcom MacLachlan and Michael O'Connell (Dublin: Oak Tree Press, 2000), p. 258.

⁹⁵ Cotter, p. 8.

⁹⁶ Bryan Fanning, Angela Veale, and Dawn O'Connor, *Beyond the Pale: Asylum Seeking Children and Social Exclusion in Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Refugee Council, 2001); Irish Vocational Education Association, *IVEA Policy on Education Provision for Asylum Seekers, Refugees and other Non-Nationals* (Dublin: IVEA, 2001); Avril Rea, 'Psychosocial Needs, Social Support and Estimates of Psychological Distress among Unaccompanied Refugee Minors in Ireland' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Queens University Belfast, 2001); Krizan Vekic, *Unsettled Hope: Unaccompanied Minors in Ireland. From Understanding to Response* (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2003).

⁹⁷ Cotter, p. 8.

⁹⁸ Boucher, p. 243.

that much of the work was ‘falling on deaf ears’⁹⁹ some research led to the formation of guidelines for primary and secondary schools.¹⁰⁰

The ‘rights-based’ and ‘needs analysis’ approach also assumed a ‘deficit’ direction with respect to the research on ME students.¹⁰¹ Deficit in language and in the system of providing language support came under scrutiny.¹⁰² Little’s pioneering work led to the creation of the Refugee Language Support Unit which subsequently was termed Integrate Ireland Language and Training (IILT).¹⁰³ Ward’s work on behalf of the County and City of Dublin Vocational Educational Committees (VEC) on the language needs of asylum seekers was also prominent in steering government responses in devising national guidelines.¹⁰⁴ Other guidelines and policies followed.¹⁰⁵ More recently, the focus of research is on the government’s response in providing additional English support to ME students, drawing attention to the deficits within the education system.¹⁰⁶ Further to this, some work was conducted on

⁹⁹ Cotter, p. 8.

¹⁰⁰ Department of Education and Science (Skills), *Information Booklet for Schools on Asylum Seekers* (Dublin: Government Stationery Office, 2001); Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, *Promoting Anti-racism and Interculturalism in Education: Draft recommendations towards a National Action Plan Against Racism in Ireland: A Discussion Document to Inform the Consultative Process* (Dublin: Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2002); Irish National Teachers’ Organisation (INTO), *Intercultural Education in the Primary School* (Dublin: INTO, 2005); Irish National Teachers’ Organisation (INTO), *Newcomer Children in the Irish Primary Education System* (Dublin: INTO, 2005); IVEA (2001); Irish Vocational Education Association (IVEA), *Pilot Framework for Educational Provision for Asylum Seekers, Refugees and Minority Linguistic Groups, Volume I: Lifelong Learning* (Dublin: IVEA, 2002); Irish Vocational Education Association (IVEA), *Pilot Framework for Educational Provision for Bilingual Learners Including Asylum Seekers and Refugees, Volume II: Second Level* (Dublin: IVEA, 2004).

¹⁰¹ Lyons, p. 289.

¹⁰² Dymphna Devine, ‘Welcome to the Celtic Tiger? Teacher Responses to Immigration and Increasing Ethnic Diversity in Irish Schools’, *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 15 (1) (2005), p. 57.

¹⁰³ Mathew Wallen and Helen Kelly-Holmes, ‘I Think They Just Think it’s Going to Go Away at Some Stage: Policy and Practice in Teaching English as an Additional Language in Irish Primary Schools’, *Language and Education*, 20 (2) (2006), p. 147.

¹⁰⁴ David Little, *Meeting the Language Needs of Refugees in Ireland* (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Refugee Language Support Unit) (2000); *International Seminar on ESOL for Asylum Seekers*, ed. by Tanya Ward (Dublin: City of Dublin VEC, County Dublin VEC, Dun Laoghaire VEC, 2000).

¹⁰⁵ Department of Education and Science (Skills) Schools Division, *Meeting the Needs of Pupils Learning English as an Additional Language (EAL) Circular 0015/2009*.

¹⁰⁶ Lyons; Emer Nowlan, ‘Underneath the Band Aid: Supporting Bilingual Students in Irish Schools’, *Irish Educational Studies*, 27 (3) (2008); Wallen and Kelly-Holmes.

recognising and promoting first language acquisition in schools¹⁰⁷ and in the area of language acquisition in early childhood education.¹⁰⁸

Another dominant theme to emerge from the Irish literature pertains to integration. Devine, in conjunction with her colleagues, has been the most prominent academic to date in the area of integration in schools.¹⁰⁹ Her initial work with Kenny and MacNeela highlights the challenges new multi-ethnic schools faced relating to language provision, integration, cultural differences and issues surrounding racism and bullying.¹¹⁰ Since then, her work and that of authors associated with her have focused on race, ethnicity and class in schools through the lens of inclusion, exclusion and power.¹¹¹ Other authors also contribute to this debate. Through the prism of Critical Race Theory, O'Brien explores racist and anti-racist aspects of teacher education, highlighting its non-existence.¹¹² Clarke and Drudy correlate teacher identity with attitudes and approaches in the classroom.¹¹³ Some research focuses on race and education within the wider societal context, exploring the impact of government policies and other societal factors.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ POBAL, p. 9; Bryan (2010), p. 262; Rory McDaid, 'Glos, Voce, Voice: Minority Language Children Reflect on the Recognition of their First Languages in Irish Primary Schools', in *The Changing Faces of Ireland: Exploring Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Children's Experiences*, ed. by Merike Darmody, Naomi Tyrell and Steve Song (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2011).

¹⁰⁸ Máire M. Mhic Mhathúna and Una Hill, *Strategies in Working with Children Learning English as a Second Language* (Dublin: School of Social Sciences and Law, Dublin Institute of Technology, 2008).

¹⁰⁹ Dympna Devine, M. Kenny and E. McNeela, *Ethnicity and Schooling: A Study of Ethnic Diversity in Selected Irish Primary and Post-Primary Schools, Report for the Department of Education and Science* (Dublin: University College Dublin, 2002); Dympna Devine, *Children, Power and Schooling: How Childhood is Structured in the Primary School* (Stoke-On-Trent: Trentham Books, 2003); Devine (2005); Dympna Devine and Mary Kelly, 'I Just Don't Want to Get Picked on by Anybody: Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion in a Newly Multi-Ethnic Primary School', *Children and Society* 20 (2006); Devine (2011).

¹¹⁰ Devine and others (2002).

¹¹¹ Devine (2005); Devine and Kelly (2006); Devine (2011).

¹¹² Joe O'Brien, 'Institutional Racism and Anti-Racism in Teacher Education: Perspectives of Teacher Educators', *Irish Educational Studies*, 28 (2) (2009), p. 204.

¹¹³ Marie Clarke and Sheelagh Drudy, 'Teaching for Diversity, Social Justice and Global Awareness', *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 29 (3) (2006), p. 372.

¹¹⁴ Audrey Bryan, 'Pedagogies of Privilege: Re-Thinking Interculturalism and Anti-Racism in Education', *Education in Ireland: Challenge and Change*, ed. by Sheelagh Drudy (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 2009); Bryan (2010); Kitching.

1.2.2 Recent Studies in Ireland on the Education of Minority Ethnic Students

Smyth and others of the ESRI published a notable report in 2009 analysing the distribution of ME students across schools in Ireland, documenting language needs and underlining the language and other supports they received. It further examines the suitability of the school curriculum.¹¹⁵ Quantitative (in the form of surveys) and qualitative (in the form of case studies) methods were used to provide a general picture of how schools adjusted to the enrolment of ME students.¹¹⁶ The case studies employed in this research involved twelve schools – six primary and six post-primary. These schools varied in size, student population, number of ME students, settings – urban and rural – and in status – DEIS or non-DEIS.

Devine's work on immigration and schooling was published in 2011. Through concepts of power, identity and governance, Devine highlights the role education plays in shaping government and educational responses to ME students.¹¹⁷ She argues that the 'structurally embedded patterns of segregation of social class' have transcended into segregation on the basis of religious/faith background. For Devine, this added 'layer', though it aims to be pluralist by offering choice, has the potential to segregate, as 'immigrant' schools differ to normal schools, which have predominantly white and Catholic student populations.¹¹⁸ Her work provides a critical perspective on the system of education in Ireland and draws on data from interviews with key personnel in six primary and five post-primary schools to underline the power societal factors exert on the education and thus on the lives of students, ME or other, in Irish schools.¹¹⁹

The section above provides an overview of the research typology on ME education conducted in Ireland and in some developed western countries. It shows that 'achievement' driven research dominates the typology in more traditional countries of immigration – the United States, Australia, Canada and western European countries. This is in contrast to the nature of research which has been conducted in Ireland to date. Due to restricted methods of data collection, it is

¹¹⁵ Smyth and others.

¹¹⁶ Smyth and others.

¹¹⁷ Devine (2011), p. 11.

¹¹⁸ Devine (2011), p. 11.

¹¹⁹ Devine (2011), p. 166.

evident that research on ME education, while growing, has been limited in quantity and in scope. Issues pertaining to language and integration have emerged as two dominant themes in the Irish literature. While this section outlined the nature of the literature on ME education, Section Three below elicits what this research has produced. In essence, the next section explores the impact ME students have had on schools in Ireland and abroad.

Section Three: School Change as a Result of Student Demographic Change

1.3 A Focus on Key Aspects of School Life

There is a growing body of research in Ireland which documents how schools have adapted to the enrolment of ME students¹²⁰. A much wider body of research emanates from other countries.¹²¹ This research offers a more detailed position of what life is like in multi-ethnic school settings. Nevertheless, much of the research to emanate from Ireland and abroad, offers a ‘snapshot’ of what life is like in multi-ethnic settings rather than providing what Lightfoot maintains is an ‘evolutionary view’ of how the enrolment of a high concentration of ME students impacts on school life.¹²² This section of the literature review examines the impact the enrolment of ME students, in particular the enrolment of a high concentration of ME students, has on academic and non-academic aspects of school life. As noted, much research in more traditional countries of immigration centres on academic achievement. Nevertheless, much attention has been afforded to the impact ME students have on teachers in the classroom, student inter-ethnic relations and school identity. There has been some work in Ireland which has focused on how schools have adapted to religious diversity. These aspects of school life will be further explored below.

¹²⁰ Devine and others (2002); Smyth and others.

¹²¹ Bullivant; Hood; Sara L. Lightfoot, *The Good High School* (United States of America: Perseus Books Group, 1983).

¹²² Lightfoot, p. 24.

1.3.1 Teaching Minority Ethnic Students

There are a number of inter-dependent school-based and personal factors which impact on the teaching experience.¹²³ A student's disposition to learning, notably their motivation and enthusiasm, is considered pivotal, as is the general behaviour of students within a classroom setting.¹²⁴ Stenlund maintains that teachers value students who are willing to learn.¹²⁵ The continuous reprimanding of students for non-compliant and disorderly behaviour impacts negatively on the teaching experience.¹²⁶

The general consensus to emerge from the literature in Ireland with respect to teaching ME students is positive.¹²⁷ Devine contends that ME students have a 'positive disposition to learning', a disposition shaped by their 'middle class backgrounds'.¹²⁸ Teachers in Irish schools generally view ME students as 'diligent', 'willing to learn' and generally adding to the experience of both teaching and learning.¹²⁹ Bryan suggests that ME students from certain ethnic groups, in particular Eastern European students, are 'academically motivated'.¹³⁰ Authors insist that teachers' favourable construction of ME students stems from their own 'middle class' position in society.¹³¹

In conjunction with their motivation and enthusiasm for learning, the research suggests that ME students are considered 'well behaved'.¹³² This may result from their 'traditional values of respect for authority'.¹³³

¹²³ Noella Mackenzie, 'Teacher Morale, more Complex than we think', *The Australian Educational Researcher*, 34 (1) (2007), p. 98.

¹²⁴ William C Miller, 'Staff Morale, School Climate and Educational Productivity', *Educational Leadership*, March 1981, p. 485; Nancy Protheroe, 'Maintaining High Teacher Morale', *Principal-A Healthy Child-Research Report*, 85 (3) (2006), p. 46.

¹²⁵ Stenlund, cited in Linda Lumsden, 'Staff Morale', *Reading for Child and Youth Care Workers*, 29 (1) (2001), p. 2.

¹²⁶ Miller, p. 485.

¹²⁷ Devine (2005), p. 61; Wallen and Kelly-Holmes, p. 155.

¹²⁸ Devine, (2011), p. 94.

¹²⁹ Devine (2011), p. 91; p. 94; Wallen and Kelly-Holmes, p. 155.

¹³⁰ Bryan (2010), p. 266.

¹³¹ Devine (2011), p. 91; Devine (2005), p. 63.

¹³² Bryan (2010), p. 266.

¹³³ Devine and others (2002), p. 100.

This is particularly the case in DEIS schools.¹³⁴ Smyth and others suggest that, in DEIS schools, ME students are likely to be viewed in a more positive light than in non-DEIS schools. As demonstrated by the comment below, this is primarily dependent upon the 'reference group' to which staff in DEIS schools compare ME students.¹³⁵

There is some evidence that principal views of newcomers depends on the reference group they adopt, that is the group of Irish students with whom they are comparing newcomers. Thus, principals of disadvantaged (DEIS) schools, urban schools and girls secondary schools view the behaviour and attendance of newcomers more positively than those of their Irish counterparts.¹³⁶

There is evidence that teachers in Irish DEIS schools deal with a larger proportion of students who have 'literacy, numeracy, behavioural and attendance difficulties.'¹³⁷ This mirrors the experiences of teachers in similar schools in other countries.¹³⁸ Research indicates that, due to teachers' low expectations, the learning environment is less demanding.¹³⁹ In considering first the DEIS context and second what ME students bring to that context – a positive disposition to learning – then the description that ME students are a 'teacher's dream' is comprehensible.¹⁴⁰

In addition to this disposition, teachers find working with ME students rewarding. Wallen and Kelly-Holmes unearth the enjoyment teachers experience in watching the 'rapid progress' of students they described as 'eager to learn'.¹⁴¹ Equally, teachers make note of the personal gain in learning about other cultures.¹⁴²

The finding that ME students have a more favourable learning disposition is mirrored across many countries.¹⁴³ In Australia, Bullivant indicates that teachers 'treasured' the influx of Indo-Asian students because of their hard work, politeness

¹³⁴ Smyth and others, p.97.

¹³⁵ Smyth and others, p. 97.

¹³⁶ Smyth and others, p. 97.

¹³⁷ Smyth and others, p. 53; Taguma and others, p. 19.

¹³⁸ Cebolla-Boado and Medina, p. 5.

¹³⁹ Cebolla-Boado and Medina, p. 5; Heckman, p. 15; Suarez-Orozco and others, p. 152.

¹⁴⁰ Devine and others (2002), p. 100.

¹⁴¹ Wallen and Kelly-Holmes, p. 155.

¹⁴² Wallen and Kelly-Holmes, p. 155.

¹⁴³ Bullivant, p. 87; Justine Dandy and Ted Nettlebeck, 'The Relationship Between IQ, Homework, Aspirations and Academic Achievement for Chinese, Vietnamese and Anglo-Celtic Australian School Children', *Educational Psychology*, 22 (3) (2002), p. 270; Schleicher, p. 508.

and compliance.¹⁴⁴ In one disadvantaged school in the United States, teachers considered ME students more 'desirable' than their native counterparts. Teachers commented on the favourable change that ME students brought to the classroom and many felt 'they could not go back to face unruly behaviour in classes.'¹⁴⁵ In her seminal work, Lightfoot observed the unique characteristics of the 'new arrivals'.

It is the new arrivals, the eager immigrants who give the Fiesta Floor its special flavour. Peering into the open doors of classrooms, the students' faces are intense as they listen. Many sit on the edges of their chairs, as if they are literally stretching to understand and reaching for the moon. It is rare that one sees such clear motivation, such visible wilfulness. Everyone who teaches these newcomers comments on their civility, drive and earnestness.¹⁴⁶

1.3.1.1 A Noticeable Trait: Ambition

Devine maintains that teachers construct their views of ME students in terms of an 'enrichment value', not only by what they bring to the classroom but, moreover, by what they want to become.¹⁴⁷ Perception-based data from Irish research affirms this ambition.¹⁴⁸ This is in keeping with conclusions to emerge from other countries.¹⁴⁹ In Canada, Krahn and Taylor discover that, overall, ME students have higher educational ambitions than Canadian born students. This was regardless of students' educational or social background.¹⁵⁰ Dandy and Nettlebeck chart similar trends amongst Chinese and Vietnamese students in Australia.¹⁵¹ Francis and Archer draw comparable conclusions about British-born Chinese students in the United Kingdom.¹⁵²

In Ireland there is little documented evidence contradicting the positive notions expressed above. While authors hint that students from certain ethnic groups might be more 'boisterous' or 'demanding' there is little to insinuate that teachers

¹⁴⁴ Bullivant, p. 87.

¹⁴⁵ Suarez-Orozco, p. 289.

¹⁴⁶ Lightfoot, p. 79.

¹⁴⁷ Devine (2011), p. 94.

¹⁴⁸ Vekic, p. 51.

¹⁴⁹ Dandy and Nettlebeck, p. 270; Harvey Krahn and Alison Taylor, 'Resilient teenagers: Explaining the High Educational Aspirations of Visible Minority Immigrant Youth in Canada', *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 6 (3/4) (2005), p. 405.

¹⁵⁰ Krahn and Taylor, p. 405.

¹⁵¹ Dandy and Nettlebeck, p. 267.

¹⁵² Becky Francis and Louise Archer, 'British-Chinese Pupils' and Parents' Construction of the Value of Education', *British Educational Research Journal*, 31 (1) (2005), p.104.

view students from these groups in negative terms.¹⁵³ This is not the case in other countries. In England, Youdell suggests that teachers view Afro-Caribbean students as 'undesirable' and 'far from ideal', whilst in Belgium, Turkish and Moroccan students are considered 'extremely difficult'.¹⁵⁴

1.3.1.2 An Onerous Challenge: Limited Language Competence

Despite the affirming notions expressed above there is evidence in Ireland and abroad which indicates that teachers face onerous challenges in multi-ethnic classrooms. A significant challenge pertains to the introduction of students to the classroom setting who have a limited grasp of the 'native' language.¹⁵⁵ As early as 2002, Devine, Kelly and MacNeela highlighted the difficulties teachers faced when confronted with ME students who had a limited grasp of English, in some cases no English at all.¹⁵⁶ In their survey of over 450 second-level principals in Ireland, Smyth and her colleagues discovered that over half reported language difficulties among 'nearly all' or 'more than half' of their ME students. This was particularly the case in schools which had a higher proportion of ME students.¹⁵⁷

Smyth and others argue that teachers faced additional difficulties in dealing with the 'diversity' in language competence among ME students.¹⁵⁸ This reaffirms the position Devine and her colleagues assumed in 2002 when they exposed the 'horrendous' range in levels of English amongst new ME students which spanned from 'nothing, to very basic, to advanced'.¹⁵⁹ In addition to variations in levels of language competence, more recent research in Ireland highlights differences between

¹⁵³ Devine (2011), p. 91.

¹⁵⁴ Merry, p. 12; Deborah Youdell, 'Identity Traps or How Black Students Fail: The Interactions Between Biographical, Sub-cultural, and Learner Identities', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24 (1) (2003), p. 18.

¹⁵⁵ Mulki Ali, Kelsey Franklin, Kerry Harvey, Guled Hussein, Sarah Jane Lees, Jill Munro, and Bette Yelich, *Teaching Somali Immigrant Children: Resources for Student Success* (Alberta: Canadian Multicultural Education Foundation, 2012), p. 5; Bullivant, p. 66; Devine, Kelly and MacNeela, p. 177; Hood, p. 3; Iredale and Fox, p. 666; Jorge Ruiz-de-Velasco & Michael Fix, *Overlooked & Underserved Immigrant Students in U.S. Secondary Schools* (USA: Urban Institute, 2000), p. 54, Schnepf, p. 543; Smyth and others, p. 143.

¹⁵⁶ Devine and others (2002), p. 120.

¹⁵⁷ Smyth and others, p. 76.

¹⁵⁸ Smyth and others, p. 78.

¹⁵⁹ Devine and others (2002), p. 89.

ME students' language proficiency for 'academic purposes' as compared to that 'required for daily conversation.'¹⁶⁰ Lyons explores this notion and stresses that, depending on when they commenced their schooling in Ireland, the time required to learn a language for academic purposes can range from five to eight years in duration.¹⁶¹ Therefore, for older ME students, the lack of a 'specialised vocabulary' in particular subject areas may exacerbate teacher difficulties.¹⁶²

Issues pertaining to language difficulties reflect the challenges teachers face in other countries.¹⁶³ According to Ruiz de-Velasco and Fix, teachers in the United States are expected to teach subjects in English to new ME students 'using texts and materials that assume advance English language competence.'¹⁶⁴ In England, Reynolds explores teachers' experiences in schools where ME student enrolment is a 'new feature' as compared to those which have a history of ME student enrolment.¹⁶⁵ He indicates that in new multi-ethnic schools teachers feel 'overwhelmed'.¹⁶⁶ In addition to feeling overwhelmed, Lightfoot discovered that some teachers found teaching students with limited English 'boring'. Language barriers fostered 'docility', limiting interesting dialogue in classroom settings.¹⁶⁷

Schools attempt to overcome language-based difficulties through language support provision. There are a number of approaches schools adopt. For logistical purposes, the general approach adopted by schools in Ireland centres on withdrawing students for additional support.¹⁶⁸ Smyth and her colleagues contend that such an approach, in keeping with international practice, allows 'students to participate in mainstream classes while at the same time receiving additional support.'¹⁶⁹ There is evidence that teachers find this approach disruptive for students and teachers alike.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁰ Lyons, p. 297.

¹⁶¹ Lyons, p. 297.

¹⁶² Smyth and others, p. 79.

¹⁶³ Ali and others, p. 5; Bullivant, p. 66; Hood, p. 3; Iredale and Fox, p. 666; Lightfoot, p. 161; Reynolds, p. 5; Ruiz de-Velasco and Fix, p. 54; Schnepf, p. 543.

¹⁶⁴ Ruiz de-Velasco and Fix, p. 56.

¹⁶⁵ Reynolds, p. 22.

¹⁶⁶ Reynolds, p. 22.

¹⁶⁷ Lightfoot, p. 82.

¹⁶⁸ Wallen and Kelly-Holmes, p. 144.

¹⁶⁹ Smyth and others, p. 143.

¹⁷⁰ Devine and others (2002), p. 118; Smyth and others, p. 143.

Individual schools, generally with a higher concentration of ME students, have established stand-alone intensive immersion classes. While research in some countries indicates that this system is effective, authors in Ireland contend that it hampers ME student integration.¹⁷¹

The establishment of language support across Irish schools has led to certain challenges. In his work, Lyons investigates how the introduction of language support teachers in schools encouraged the formation of a culture whereby mainstream teachers are able to ‘hand on the problem’ of teaching language to language support teachers. Lyons stresses that the ‘referral-driven model of service delivery’ establishes a two-tier staffroom where mainstream teachers serve the ‘many’ and are therefore afforded higher status compared to language support teachers who serve the ‘few’.¹⁷² This does not mean that mainstream teachers do not appreciate the ‘dedication and commitment’ of language support teachers.¹⁷³

In keeping with the experiences of teachers in other countries, research shows that teachers in Ireland feel ‘inadequately prepared’ to deal with students who have little or no English.¹⁷⁴ Yet again, Lyons is vocal in exposing the inadequacies in teacher training, in particular the inability to identify and address the needs of students with different levels of language competency.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, teacher dissatisfaction with the absence of professional development in this area has been documented.¹⁷⁶

1.3.1.3 Challenges Pertaining to Irregular Enrolment and the Absence of Student Information

In 2002, Devine, Kelly and MacNeela exposed how the irregular enrolment patterns of ME students compounded teacher difficulties in the classroom.¹⁷⁷ This issue was

¹⁷¹ Hood, p. 5; Lightfoot, p. 81; Smyth and others, p. 143.

¹⁷² Lyons, p. 298.

¹⁷³ Smyth and others, p. 144.

¹⁷⁴ Rowena Arshad, Fernando Almeida Diniz, Paul O’Hara, Dr Stephen Sharp and Rana Syed, *Minority Ethnic Pupils’ Experiences of School in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Education Department, 2005), p. 134; Lyons, p. 297.

¹⁷⁵ Lyons, p. 297.

¹⁷⁶ Smyth and others, p. 144.

¹⁷⁷ Devine and others (2002), p. 120.

affirmed by Smyth and others in 2010.¹⁷⁸ While native students generally enrol and commence schooling in September, due to their 'geographically mobile' nature, ME students are prone to enrolling in schools throughout the course of the year.¹⁷⁹ As a result, ME students generally end up in schools which are under-subscribed. The irregularity of their enrolment places additional burdens on school resources.¹⁸⁰

This enrolment pattern is not unique to schools in Ireland.¹⁸¹ In the United States and Australia random enrolment of students throughout the year is aggravated by the substantial number of students who arrive in schools with an 'interrupted formal education.'¹⁸² In some cases, many students arrive 'under-schooled'.¹⁸³ Teachers are frustrated that some ME students 'have no schoolwork skills, let alone language' to endure the classroom setting for a whole day.¹⁸⁴

Moreover, authors allude to the absence of information on students when they arrive.¹⁸⁵ The lack of knowledge about students' prior educational experiences and capabilities meant that schools in Ireland changed from enrolling 'known students to total strangers'.¹⁸⁶ Teachers in other countries face similar challenges.¹⁸⁷ In Canada, Ali and others assert that teachers need to understand the 'values, beliefs and backgrounds' of student in order to teach them effectively.¹⁸⁸ In line with the above, there is the added burden that teachers feel ill-prepared and ill-equipped to deal with students who have experienced trauma.¹⁸⁹

While there is a growing body of research in Ireland on ME education, it is evident that greater exploration on the experiences of teachers is required. In keeping with international research, the above accentuates some of the positive and negative aspects of teaching ME students. Research indicates that ME students' positive disposition to learning may result in the creation of more conducive teaching and

¹⁷⁸ Smyth and others, p. 68.

¹⁷⁹ Smyth and others, p. 68.

¹⁸⁰ Smyth and others, p. 68.

¹⁸¹ Bullivant, p. 68; Ruiz de-Velasco and Fix, p. 112.

¹⁸² Bullivant, p. 68; Ruiz de-Velasco and Fix, p. 112.

¹⁸³ Bullivant, p. 68; Lightfoot, p. 167; Ruiz de-Velasco and Fix, p. 54.

¹⁸⁴ Bullivant, p. 68.

¹⁸⁵ Devine and others (2002), p. 120; Ruiz de-Velasco and Fix, p. 112.

¹⁸⁶ Devine and others (2002), p. 120.

¹⁸⁷ Ruiz de-Velasco and Fix, p. 112.

¹⁸⁸ Ali and others, p. 5.

¹⁸⁹ Bullivant, p. 60; Devine and others (2002), p. 90.

learning environments. This is particularly the case in DEIS schools. It is further apparent that teaching ME students brings some challenges. The most significant pertains to language. Teachers in schools can be ‘overwhelmed’ when confronted with the task of teaching a ‘specialised vocabulary’ to students with limited grasp of the native tongue. Other challenges centre on irregular student enrolment and the absence of information about students’ prior educational experiences. While research in other countries indicates that some ME students arrive to class with little previous education this was not the case in Ireland. It is also evident from the above that teachers in Ireland and abroad felt ‘inadequately prepared’ to deal with ME students, in particular those who had a limited grasp of English.

1.3.2 Minority Ethnic Students and Academic Achievement

In Ireland to date, there has been little research examining the achievement levels of ME students across schools.¹⁹⁰ Similarly, research of any kind comparing LC results across schools has been limited.¹⁹¹ The lack of suitable methods of collecting and desegregating data on ethnic grounds, and the disinclination by officialdom to introduce ‘league tables’ in Ireland have hindered the advancement of this type of research.¹⁹² Therefore, much of the literature on the achievement levels of ME students in Ireland is either perception or estimation-based. Devine’s study of school teachers’ estimations on the ability and performance of ME students in DEIS primary schools across Ireland is an example of this.¹⁹³ PISA studies (2006 and 2009) are exceptions, as they draw on data from international testing mechanisms; however, it is recognised that the sample of ME students in these studies is small.¹⁹⁴ As outlined in Section Two of this review, this is in stark contrast to the achievement-driven research to emanate from other countries.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ Devine, (2011), p. 41.

¹⁹¹ Lodge and Lynch, p 65.

¹⁹² Taguma and others, p. 15.

¹⁹³ Devine, 2011, p. 41.

¹⁹⁴ Devine, (2011), p. 41.

¹⁹⁵ Schnepf, p. 528.

In Irish DEIS schools there is a view that ME students are responsible for raising academic standards.¹⁹⁶ Drawing on the perceptions of principals, Taguma and others stress the belief that ME students raise the standard and learning expectations within DEIS settings.¹⁹⁷ Irish authors concede that this is primarily determined by the reality that, within DEIS settings, ME students come from higher social backgrounds than Irish students.¹⁹⁸ Thus, as previously noted, they possess a more favourable disposition to learning.¹⁹⁹

Evidence to emanate from other countries is less conclusive. The enrolment of ME students is either ‘academically beneficial’ or ‘detrimental’ to school academic standards.²⁰⁰ Schnepf discovers that ‘immigrant capital’ is favourable in countries like Australia and Canada and less favourable across many countries in western Europe.²⁰¹ Schnepf adds that this may be the result of school systems. The increase of ME students negatively impacts on performance in countries with ‘ability differentiated’ school systems – France, Germany and Switzerland – whereas standards improve in non-differentiated school systems – Australia, Canada and Scandinavian countries.²⁰²

The impact ME students have on school academic standards is further determined by the socio-economic composition of the student body, the distribution of ME students across schools and their language skills.²⁰³ Thus, it is not necessarily the enrolment of a large number of ME students which determines standards but more so the relationship between the type of school students attend and the type of students attending the school.

The natural premonition that ME students lower academic standards is prevalent in European discourse. This stems from a perception that ME students require ‘additional needs’ and therefore place additional ‘burdens’ on teachers.²⁰⁴ As noted, Cebolla-Boado and Medina argue that, in schools with a high concentration of

¹⁹⁶ Taguma and others, p. 37.

¹⁹⁷ Taguma and others, p. 37.

¹⁹⁸ Devine (2011), p. 94; Smyth and others, p. 97.

¹⁹⁹ Devine (2011), p. 94.

²⁰⁰ Reynolds, p. 5; Schnepf, p. 542.

²⁰¹ Schnepf, p. 542.

²⁰² Entorf and Lauk, p. 651; Schnepf, p. 542.

²⁰³ Schnepf, p. 542.

²⁰⁴ Reynolds, p. 5.

ME students and a high concentration of low performing students teachers are forced to 'adapt their thresholds to a lower group average.'²⁰⁵ Teachers tend to concentrate much of their attention on helping the 'worse' or 'low-performing' students in any given group. They are not necessarily ME students.²⁰⁶ In England in the 1970s the contention that ME students, in particular from Black and south-Asian backgrounds, lowered the academic standards of schools was largely due to their socio-economic 'disadvantaged' status.²⁰⁷ This led to an official policy to distribute ME students across schools.²⁰⁸

In contrast, Bullivant exposes the positive impact Indo-Asian students had on a disadvantaged, existing multi-ethnic school in Melbourne.²⁰⁹ More recently, a state-run school in England, where over seventy percent of the pupils did not speak English at home, was declared one of the top primary schools in the country.²¹⁰ Thus, academic standards are shaped by a multiple of factors and not merely by an influx of a high concentration of ME students.²¹¹ Research indicates that the type of schools ME students attend may explain more in terms of their academic achievement than their home background does.²¹²

1.3.2.1 Two Schools of Thought: Ethnic Disadvantage and Ethnic Success

Two schools of thought have emerged from the achievement-driven literature conducted in traditional countries of immigration. One stresses 'ethnic disadvantage' and student under-achievement, the other 'ethnic success' and student achievement.²¹³ Across many western European countries the under-achievement of

²⁰⁵ Cebolla-Boado and Medina, p. 15.

²⁰⁶ Cebolla-Boado and Medina, p. 15.

²⁰⁷ Martin McLean, 'Education and Cultural Diversity in Britain: Recent Immigrant Groups', *Comparative Education*, 19 (2) Special Number (7) 'Education and the Diversity of Cultures' (1983), p. 184.

²⁰⁸ McLean, p. 184.

²⁰⁹ Bullivant, p. 65.

²¹⁰ 'Ethnic minority school is top', *Coventry Evening Telegraph* [England] 15 Dec. 2011: 21. *Business Insights: Essentials*.

²¹¹ Heckmann, p. 22.

²¹² Stephen P. Heyneman, 'Student Background and Student Achievement: What Is the Right Question?', *American Journal of Education*, 112 (2) (2005), p. 2.

²¹³ Robert Birrell and Anne Seitz, 'The Myth of Ethnic Inequality in Australian Education', *Journal of Population Research*, 3 (1) (1986), p. 52.

ME students has been well documented.²¹⁴ Further afield, Windle looks at the poor performance of students of Turkish origin in Australia²¹⁵ whilst Lopez and his colleagues focus on the poor performance of Mexican students in the United States.²¹⁶

A number of theories have been employed to rationalise these trends. Cultural Deficit Theory, first employed by Coleman and others in the United States, explains the low achievement of non-white American groups²¹⁷ and has been used subsequently by others.²¹⁸ It 'blames the victim,'²¹⁹ stresses family lifestyles²²⁰ and 'deficits of knowledge and language' to explain poor performance.²²¹

Bourdieu's line of theory, correlating socio-economic status with educational achievement, has also been employed.²²² Authors continue to emphasise social background and a lack of 'family capital' – language, knowledge, education and the ability to provide school-related resources – as the precursors to low achievement.²²³ The effects of peer relationships have also been considered.²²⁴ Peer-effects or the 'micro interactions' that take place within schools where ME students are over-represented assumes the position that low aspiring and low achieving students negatively impact on the student body.²²⁵

²¹⁴ Algan and others, p. 12; Ammermuller, p. 222; Anthony Heath and Yael Brinbaum, 'Explaining Ethnic Inequalities in Educational Attainment', *Ethnicities*, 7 (291) (2007), p. 294; Maria Hudson, Joan Phillips, Kathryn Ray and Helen Barnes, *Social Cohesion in Diverse Communities* (York: The Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2007) p. 9; Schleicher, p. 513.

²¹⁵ Windle, p. 4.

²¹⁶ Eric J. Lopez, Stewart Ehly and Enedina Garcia-Vazquez, 'Acculturation, Social Support and Academic Achievement of Mexican and Mexican American High School Students: An Exploratory Study', *Psychology in the Schools*, 3 (39) (2002), p. 246.

²¹⁷ Foley, p. 18.

²¹⁸ Daniel Patrick Moynihan, 'Patterns of Ethnic Succession: Blacks and Hispanics in New York City', *Political Science Quarterly*, 94 (1) (1979), p. 1.

²¹⁹ Foley, p. 18.

²²⁰ Barry Troyna, 'Paradigm Regained: A Critique of Cultural Deficit Perspectives in Contemporary Educational Research', *Comparative Education*, 24 (3) (1988), p. 275.

²²¹ Windle, p. 5.

²²² Christopher Jencks, *Inequality* (Norwich, Great Britain: Fletcher and Son Ltd, 1972); Sheelagh Drudy and Kathleen Lynch, *Schools and Society in Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1993).

²²³ Ammermueller, p. 222; Heath and Brinbaum, p. 294.

²²⁴ Heckmann, p. 5.

²²⁵ Cebolla-Buado and Medina, p. 5.

A different perspective is offered by researchers who refute the notion that social background determines achievement. In Australia, Bullivant's 'ethnic success' ethic is used to illustrate how drive, motivation, ambition, and familial and cultural values counter individual and systemic failures to promote academic achievement, in particular among Indo-Asian students.²²⁶ His case study suggests that students are able to 'beat the system' and 'resist the forces of social and cultural reproduction that affect their future.'²²⁷ The argument for their success revolves around what Bullivant referred to as self-motivation syndrome²²⁸

Similarly, in the United Kingdom, Francis and Archer determine that the reproduction of inequalities from one generation to another, as maintained by Bourdieu, does not apply to some British born ME students.²²⁹ Students of Chinese and Indian descent not only outperform students from other ethnic groups but are proportionately more than likely to continue on to third level, despite the fact that many of their parents are 'from a peasant background.'²³⁰

The terms 'social' or 'ethnic' capital have been used to describe the role familial values play.²³¹ The importance of the family unit is a principal form of social capital and is closely linked to academic achievement,²³² as is the status associated with education in their country of origin that migrants bring with them to their new country.²³³

Ogbu maintains that the academic success of students from certain groups stems from the 'dual frame of reference' they possess. Thus, they have the capacity to compare their new situation, a land of opportunity, with their home situation.²³⁴ In the 1980s Suarez-Orozco argued that the opportunities in the United States offered to high performing Central American students, who fled war and poverty, were 'self-evident and needed little elaboration.'²³⁵ This reflects what Mosselson unearthed

²²⁶ Bullivant, p. 191.

²²⁷ Bullivant, p. 191.

²²⁸ Bullivant, p. 87.

²²⁹ Francis and Archer, p. 91.

²³⁰ Francis and Archer, p. 91.

²³¹ Birrell and Seitz, p. 67.

²³² Kao and Thompson, p. 433.

²³³ Birrell and Seitz, p. 69.

²³⁴ Suarez-Orozco, p. 290.

²³⁵ Suarez-Orozco, p. 290.

with respect to the achievement of Bosnian refugee students in New York.²³⁶ Ogbu and Simmons contend that such migrants are more optimistic, adaptable and adopt a 'tourist attitude', learning to speak and behave like Americans but at the same time holding on to their distinct culture.²³⁷

The analysis of Irish PISA results shows that ME students perform similarly to their Irish counterparts.²³⁸ This is confirmed by the perceptions of teachers and principals across Irish schools.²³⁹ There are disparities between those working in DEIS schools and non-DEIS schools. Principals in DEIS schools tend to stress that ME students achieve higher than their native colleagues whilst, in non-DEIS schools, the majority of principals perceive that the academic achievement of ME students is similar to that of Irish born students.²⁴⁰ Within the DEIS context there is a firmly held view that ME students come from families where parents might have higher levels of education and who possess the ambition and commitment to education to provide the resources for their children to achieve compared to Irish born students who might not hold the same levels of education, commitment and therefore resources.²⁴¹

As stressed in Section Two, the research in Ireland on ME student achievement is guided by a 'deficit' approach; focusing on what ME students do not have rather than what they have.²⁴² As a result of their lack of linguistic and cultural capital, students within the asylum seeking process were perceived to be a threat to the school's reputation for academic excellence.²⁴³ On the contrary, academically motivated Eastern European students are considered more likely to do well in state

²³⁶ Jacqueline Mosselson, 'Masks of Achievement: An Experiential Study of Bosnian Female Refugees in New York City Schools', *Comparative Education Review*, 51 (1) (2007), p. 103.

²³⁷ Cited in Natasha Warikoo and Prudence Carter, 'Cultural Explanations for Racial and Ethnic Stratification in Academic Achievement: A Call for a New and Improved Theory', *Review of Educational Research*, 79 (1) (2009), p. 370.

²³⁸ Taguma and others, p. 25.

²³⁹ Smyth and others, p. 146.

²⁴⁰ Smyth and others, p. 146.

²⁴¹ Smyth and others, p. 146.

²⁴² Tanya Ward, *Education and Language Needs of Separated Children* (Dublin: City of Dublin VEC, County Dublin VEC, Dun Laoghaire VEC, 2004), p. 33.

²⁴³ Bryan (2010), p. 265.

exams.²⁴⁴ Such subtle differences have also been stressed by Smyth and others who suggest that teachers' position towards eastern Europeans is more favourable.²⁴⁵

1.3.2.2 Academic Achievement and Gender Differences

There has been a considerable sum of research conducted on the increasing achievement gap between male and female students in developed countries,²⁴⁶ including Ireland.²⁴⁷ National and cross-country comparisons indicate that,

... females are outperforming males at all levels of the school system, attaining more school and post-school qualifications, and attending university in higher numbers.²⁴⁸

Similar patterns are reflected in the Irish context.²⁴⁹ In certain subjects, in particular maths, males have a tendency to surpass female students; however, female students still dominate in English.²⁵⁰ An array of both cognitive and non-cognitive factors has been outlined in an attempt to explain this achievement disparity.²⁵¹ Though there is an enduring tradition of single-sex secondary schooling in Ireland, Smyth contends that there is still no significant evidence suggesting that attending either a single-sex or co-educational school is beneficial in terms of overall achievement.²⁵²

A number of studies have focussed on the differences in achievement between males and females across ethnic and in some cases social lines. In Britain, Rotheron investigated the performance levels of white, black, Indian and

²⁴⁴ Bryan (2010), p. 254.

²⁴⁵ Smyth and others, p. 114.

²⁴⁶ David M. Fergusson and L. John Horwood, 'Gender Differences in Educational Achievement to age 25', *Australian Journal of Education*, 52 (1) (2008), p. 63.

²⁴⁷ Jannette Elwood and Karen Carlisle, *Examining Gender: Gender and Achievement in the Junior and Leaving Certificate Examinations, 2000/2001* (Dublin: National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, 2003); Damian F. Hannan, Emer Smyth, John McCullagh, Richard O'Leary, Dorren McMahon, *Coeducation and Gender Equality: Exam Performance, Stress and Personal Development* (Dublin: Oak Tree Press, 1996).

²⁴⁸ Fergusson and Horwood, p. 63.

²⁴⁹ Peadar King and Sheila O'Driscoll, *Gender and Learning* (Dublin: AONTAS, 2002), p. 20.

²⁵⁰ Elwood and Carlisle, p. 96.

²⁵¹ Franziska Fischer, Johannes Schult and Benedikt Hell, 'Sex Differences in Secondary School Success: Why Female Students Perform Better', *European Journal of Psychological Education*, 28 (2) (2013), p. 529.

²⁵² Emer Smyth, 'Single Sex Education, What Does Research Tell Us?', *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, 171 April-May-June (2010), p. 49.

Pakistani/Bangladeshi students and concluded that, across all ethnic groupings, females outperformed males.²⁵³ Similar trends have also been discovered in other enquiries.²⁵⁴ Rothon further endorsed the contention that 'white working-class' males have the 'most problematic path through secondary school.'²⁵⁵

Some authors stress that, while females outperform males across the board, British born Chinese and Indian males perform similarly to their female counterparts.²⁵⁶ In the United States the general consensus is that ME males 'perform more poorly than their female counterparts on most indicators of school success.'²⁵⁷ Studies further endorse ME female dominance in the area of English and the dominance of ME males in maths.²⁵⁸ Research also shows the exceptional academic achievement levels of females from certain ethnic groups; females of Arab descent and Bosnian female refugees are two examples.²⁵⁹

1.3.2.3 Minority Ethnic Students and their Disposition to Maths and Science

The literature emphasises that students from certain ethnic groups are predisposed to opt for maths and science subjects.²⁶⁰ A cross-national OECD survey of seventeen countries indicates that 'both first-generation and second-generation students still

²⁵³ Catherine Rothon, 'Women, Men and Social Class Revisited: An Assessment of the Utility of a "Combined" Schema in the Context of Minority Ethnic Educational Achievement in Britain,' *Sociology*, 42 (4) (2008), p. 700.

²⁵⁴ Gargi Bhattacharyya, Liz Ison and Maud Blair, *Minority Ethnic Attainment and Participation in Education and Training: The Evidence* (Nottingham: DfES Publications, 2003), p. 11; Norah Frederickson and K.V. Petrides, 'Ethnic, Gender and Socio-Economic Group Differences in Academic Performance and Secondary School Selection: A Longitudinal Analysis', *Learning and Individual Differences*, 2 (18) (2008), p. 146.

²⁵⁵ Wilson and others cited in Rothon, p. 700.

²⁵⁶ Archer and Francis, p. 90.

²⁵⁷ Sandra Graham, April Z. Taylor, and Cynthia Hudley, 'Exploring Achievement Values Among Ethnic Minority Early Adolescents', *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 90 (4) (1998), p. 618.

²⁵⁸ Joan Aldous, 'Family, Ethnicity, and Immigrant Youths' Educational Achievements', *Journal of Family Issues*, 27 (12) (2006), p. 1641.

²⁵⁹ Jen'nan Ghazal and Sharon Oselin 'Gender and the Education-Employment Paradox in Ethnic and Religious Contexts: The Case of Arab Americans', *American Sociological Review*, 73 (2) (2008), p. 297; Mosselson, p. 109.

²⁶⁰ Bullivant, p. 63; Nicole M. Else-Quest, Concetta C. Mineo and Ashley Higgins, 'Maths and Science Attitudes and Achievement at the Intersection of Gender and Ethnicity', *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 37 (2013), p. 293, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Where immigrant students succeed – A comparative review of performance and engagement in PISA 2003* (OECD, 2006), p. 88.

tend to show significantly higher levels of motivation (for maths) than their native peers in most of the countries'.²⁶¹ Authors determine that some ME students are inclined to opt for maths and science subjects due to their familiarity with concepts from their previous education as well as the perceived association these subjects have with university courses and selected professions.²⁶² Despite this, there is evidence that students from certain ethnic groupings are less inclined to opt for maths and science subjects. Strand found that Afro-Caribbean students in England were 'less-likely' to opt for higher level maths and science subjects at senior level.²⁶³

Additionally, a high enrolment of ME students, who are predisposed to maths and science, impacts on a school's curriculum. Bullivant discovers that, prior to the enrolment of a high concentration of ME students of Indo-Asian descent, a school in Melbourne's inner-suburbs considered discontinuing all upper level subjects due to low academic performance. The enrolment of these students and their ensuing demand for higher level maths and science subjects meant that the schools continued to offer them.²⁶⁴

The review of literature with respect to ME student achievement exposes a dearth in this area in Ireland. Many of the conclusions on student achievement in Ireland are drawn from teacher/principal perceptions and estimations. While the limitations to achievement driven research were previously expressed, it is evident that a greater focus on the collection and analysis of results-based data would yield more robust findings. While research from other countries is inconclusive, studies in Ireland indicate that ME students in DEIS settings raise academic standards.

In Ireland, a general consensus has emerged that, in DEIS schools, ME students achieve better than their native counterparts. Authors suggest that this is due to their higher social background. Research from other countries has produced two schools of thought. Evidence points to the reality that ME students from certain ethnic groups perform on a par with or better than their native counterparts whilst

²⁶¹ OECD (2003), p. 88.

²⁶² Bullivant, p. 65.

²⁶³ Strand (2007) cited in Deborah Nusche, 'What Works in Migrant Education? A Review of Evidence and Policy Options', OECD Education Working Papers, No. 22, OECD Publishing (2009), p. 13.

²⁶⁴ Bullivant, p. 65.

students from other groups do not. A number of factors, both systemic and individual, have been considered as determinants to student achievement.

Akin to the general trend that females tend to outperform males, despite some exceptions, there is substantial evidence that ME females in other countries achieve better than ME males. Due to limitations in gathering data, there is no evidence in Ireland which distinguishes achievement levels of students along gender and ethnic lines. More robust studies would contribute towards filling the void in this area. The literature also highlights that students from certain ethnic groups are predisposed to maths and science subjects. As a result of this predisposition, there is evidence that ME students affect changes to schools' curricula. To date there has been no research which explores this particular area of ME education.

1.3.3 Student Relations: Attitudes, Interaction and Racism

For Devine and her colleagues, much of the research on student inter-ethnic relations in schools has focused on three particular areas: measuring student attitudes towards others of different ethnic origin, examining the patterns of interaction among students, and exploring racist incidences in schools.²⁶⁵ In measuring student attitudes towards ME students, Devine and Kelly employ Identity Theory.²⁶⁶ They deduce that primary school students construct their attitudes towards ME students through 'concepts of normality and otherness' and 'strangeness and difference'.²⁶⁷ The authors discover that physical difference, that is, 'skin colour', is a significant indicator of ethnic identity.²⁶⁸ In her most recent work on this issue Devine claims,

Minority ethnic, especially non-white children, are at continual risk of racial abuse and it was something that all were aware of and sensitive to. This is not to suggest it was a pervasive aspect of their lives in school, yet it was clear that racialised dynamics came into play when minority children became more visible, unsettling existing status hierarchies in the classroom.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁵ Devine and others (2002), p. 30.

²⁶⁶ Devine and Kelly, p. 128.

²⁶⁷ Devine and Kelly, p. 129 and p. 131.

²⁶⁸ Devine and Kelly, p. 131.

²⁶⁹ Devine, (2011), p. 147.

The attitudes of 'white' children towards the other have been well documented in other countries.²⁷⁰ In the United States, Lightfoot claims that the 'other' group are almost always the 'visible target', notably 'black' students. The combination of optics and a 'need' for a target means that black children are always the focus of negative behaviour. More recently, Merry states that Turkish and Moroccan students are the visible group in Belgium. The negative attitude afforded these students is in stark contrast to Italian and Spanish students who are viewed as 'phenotypically' and 'culturally' similar.²⁷¹ Equally, while Roma children are 'identifiable' and the visible target in schools in the United Kingdom, Eastern European students are not subjected to the same hostilities because they 'look the same'.²⁷²

In addition to the above, student attitudes towards the other have also been framed in terms of the 'threat' they pose.²⁷³ During the initial period of immigration into Ireland, evidence indicates ME students, in particular those within the asylum system, were viewed in threatening terms. This was especially noticeable in DEIS settings where such students were considered a threat with respect to the availability of social services and employment opportunities.²⁷⁴

Keogh asserts that during this period refugees were 'scapegoats' and represented a different kind of foreigner'.²⁷⁵ Bryan positions the negative attitudes shown towards students seeking asylum within the wider societal political context. She argues that immigrants are viewed in terms of 'what they have to offer'. Thus, people seeking asylum 'are portrayed as unscrupulous individuals' who have little to offer and are exploiting state resources.²⁷⁶ This distinguishes them from economic migrants who contribute to Irish society.²⁷⁷ This is in keeping with previous authors

²⁷⁰ Devine and others (2002), p. 130.

²⁷¹ Merry, p. 33.

²⁷² Reynolds, p. 17.

²⁷³ Devine and others (2002), p. 142; Keogh, p. 128.

²⁷⁴ Devine and others (2002), p. 142.

²⁷⁵ Anna Keogh, 'Talking about the Other: A View of how Secondary School Pupils Construct Opinions about Refugees and Asylum Seekers', *Cultivating Pluralism: Psychological, Social and Cultural Perspectives on a Changing Ireland*, ed. by Malcolm MacLachlan and Michael O'Connell (Dublin: Oak Tree Press, 2000), p. 125.

²⁷⁶ Bryan (2010), p. 266.

²⁷⁷ Bryan (2010), p. 265.

who claim that school interaction stems from the politics of recognition, which in itself comes from wider societal norms.²⁷⁸

Bobo and Hutchings employ Competition Theory to explain why certain ethnic groups are subjected to hostility. They contend that negative attitudes are more prevalent and strongest amongst groups who have traditionally felt 'collectively oppressed and unfairly treated by society'.²⁷⁹ Bullivant explores this notion. He coins the term 'self-deprivation syndrome' to describe how people from lower socio-economic backgrounds 'shift the blame for their own inadequacies' onto immigrants, otherwise known as the 'classical scapegoating strategy'.²⁸⁰ The 'threat' noted above is exacerbated when a group increases in number. The potential of 'gangs' to form when students from one or a few particular ethnic groups increase in size has been shown to aggravate negative attitudes.²⁸¹

1.3.3.1 Student Interaction in Multi-Ethnic Schools

Research conducted in Ireland indicates that relationships between Irish and ME students is demarcated 'along ethnic lines'.²⁸² Students of ME origin have a tendency to stick together.²⁸³ This is in keeping with what occurs in other countries²⁸⁴. While the classroom setting can foster positive relationships, Bullivant discovers that students always 'separated' once they went out in the yard.²⁸⁵ Authors maintain that integration, or the lack thereof, is a consequence of a student's deficit in language or, as McGrath claims, their inability to activate 'social capital'.²⁸⁶ Smyth and others

²⁷⁸ Devine and Kelly, p. 136.

²⁷⁹ Lawrence Bobo and Vincent Hutchings, 'Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multicultural Social Context', *American Sociological Review*, 61 (1996), p. 951.

²⁸⁰ Bullivant, p. 189.

²⁸¹ Lightfoot, p. 163.

²⁸² Devine, (2011), p. 143.

²⁸³ Marie Parker-Jenkins and Mary Masterson, 'No longer "Catholic, White and Gaelic": Schools in Ireland coming to terms with Cultural Diversity', *Irish Educational Studies* (2013), p. 7; Smyth and others, p. 114; Vekic, p. 71.

²⁸⁴ Bullivant, p. 86.

²⁸⁵ Bullivant, p. 86.

²⁸⁶ Bullivant, p. 94; Robbie Gilligan, Phillip Curry, Judy McGrath, Derek Murphy, Muireann Ní Raghallaigh, Margaret Rigers, Jennifer Jean Scholtz and Aoife Gilligan Quinn, *In the Front Line of Integration: Young People Managing Migration to Ireland* (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin, 2010), p. 25; McGrath, p. 150; Smyth and others, p. 114; Vekic, p. 45.

find that a student's limited grasp of English is a primary factor in their inability to form strong friendships with Irish students.²⁸⁷ This is reaffirmed by Gilligan and his co-authors who assert that young people who come to Ireland during their primary school years have a greater capacity to form friendships with Irish young people.²⁸⁸

In the United Kingdom Reynolds adopts Warikoo's notion of 'identity matching' to support his claim that inter-ethnic mixing is more positive in schools where the ethnic composition of the student body is more diverse and not dominated by one or two ethnic groups.²⁸⁹ He maintains that students have a greater opportunity to form friendships if they have something in common. This ranges from a shared ethnicity, migrant experience and shared interests.²⁹⁰ Devine and Kelly's findings support this notion. They uncover greater inter-ethnic mixing amongst boys than girls because of their ability to find a common interest, notably a shared interest in football.²⁹¹ According to Gilligan and his colleagues, a 'special talent or hobby' makes it easier too for ME students to forge friendships with Irish students.²⁹² Sport and music have been identified as fostering positive peer relations.²⁹³ Bullivant discovers that the common interest among senior students in his case study school in Melbourne was 'worrying about a physics problem' rather than grappling with racial issues.²⁹⁴

In exploring Allport's hypothesis on inter-group contact in schools, Pettigrew maintains that 'institutional and societal norms structure the forms and effects of contact situations.'²⁹⁵ Thus, it is assumed that schools are 'good places where barriers, stereotypes and hostilities could be settled.'²⁹⁶ Some studies affirm this

²⁸⁷ Smyth and others, p. 114.

²⁸⁸ Gilligan and others, p. 15.

²⁸⁹ Reynolds, p. 19.

²⁹⁰ Reynolds, p. 9.

²⁹¹ Devine and Kelly, p. 134.

²⁹² Gilligan and others, p. 24.

²⁹³ Devine (2011), p. 145; Gilligan and others, p. 24; Smyth and others, p. 93; Roland Tormey & Jim Gleeson, 'Irish Post-primary Students' Attitudes towards Ethnic Minorities', *Irish Educational Studies*, 31 (2) (2012), p. 170.

²⁹⁴ Bullivant, p. 87.

²⁹⁵ Thomas F. Pettigrew, 'Intergroup Contact Theory', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49 (1998), p. 78.

²⁹⁶ Lightfoot, p. 164.

assumption whilst others refute it.²⁹⁷ In examining cross-ethnic friendships in middle-schools in the United States, Knifsend and Juvonen found that schools provided students with 'ample opportunities' to form such relationships.²⁹⁸ Similarly, Schleicher stresses that high concentrations of ME students in schools encourages integration rather than impairs it.²⁹⁹ Vervoort and others found evidence to the contrary across schools in the Netherlands.³⁰⁰ While they deduced that inter-group contact in multi-ethnic settings failed to foster strong friendships, they found that it reduced negative attitudes.³⁰¹

Equal group status is a 'specified condition' to Allport's hypothesis on intergroup contact in schools.³⁰² Pettigrew argues that, in order for positive intergroup contact to occur, individuals from all groups must be treated equally.³⁰³ There has been documented evidence in Ireland to suggest that the preferential treatment shown by teachers to ME students was a source of Irish student resentment.³⁰⁴

More recent research to emanate from Ireland shows a change in the attitudes of Irish students towards ME students.³⁰⁵ Smyth and her colleagues suggest that most ME students in their research found Irish students to be friendly.³⁰⁶ Gilligan and others unearth similar sentiments.³⁰⁷ Tormey and Gleeson's large-scale survey of just under 5000 secondary students highlights that Irish students reported low levels of social distance from ME students.³⁰⁸ Social distance is 'the degree to which people are willing to accept and associate with those having different social

²⁹⁷ Casey A. Knifsend and Jaana Juvonen, 'Social Identity Complexity, Cross-Ethnic Friendships, and Intergroup Attitudes in Urban Middle Schools', *Child Development* (unpublished paper) University of California, Los Angeles (2013) ,p. 9; Miranda Vervoort, Ron Scholte and Peer Scheepers, 'Ethnic Composition of School Classes, Majority-Minority Friendships, and Adolescents' Inter-group Attitudes in the Netherlands', *Journal of Adolescence*, 34 (2011), p. 264.

²⁹⁸ Knifsend and Juvonen, p. 9.

²⁹⁹ Schleicher, p. 508.

³⁰⁰ Vervoort and others, p. 264.

³⁰¹ Vervoort and others, p. 264.

³⁰² Pettigrew, p. 66.

³⁰³ Pettigrew, p. 66.

³⁰⁴ Devine and others (2002), p. 157.

³⁰⁵ Smyth and others, p. 90; Tormey and Gleeson, p. 169.

³⁰⁶ Smyth and others, p. 114.

³⁰⁷ Gilligan and others, p. 24.

³⁰⁸ Tormey and Gleeson, p. 161.

characteristics.’³⁰⁹ The authors find a correlation between a school’s endeavour to engage in multi-cultural issues and lower levels of social distance. While they recognise their study’s limitations in fully explaining whether learning about other cultures results in lower levels of social distance, they insist that ‘even a minimal level of educational activity might have some positive impact on levels of social distance.’³¹⁰ Educational activities have the ‘potential’ to impact positively on fostering more positive attitudes towards ME students.³¹¹

Despite this, there is little evidence to indicate that the interaction between Irish and ME students has improved in multi-ethnic schools over time. While Smyth and others maintain that ME students tend to ‘settle’ after an ‘adjustment period’ they acknowledge that ME students still ‘experience problems in the social sphere’.³¹² In the United States, Lightfoot charts the changes in one particular school where the initial ‘profound resistance to mixing’ evolved some years later into ‘more of a melting pot.’³¹³ Equally, Bullivant discovers that as students progressed from junior to senior years a ‘familiarity’ with each other forms, fostering positive relations.³¹⁴

1.3.3.2 Incidences of Racism in Schools

Racist incidences in Irish schools have been documented.³¹⁵ Authors do not mention physical incidences; however, they allude to bullying, name-calling, alienation and isolation as forms of racist abuse to which ME students have been subjected.³¹⁶ In addition, there is a difference in perspectives between principals/teachers and students on the frequency and the impact of racism in Irish schools.³¹⁷ Teachers believe that racist bullying is not prevalent in schools; students, on the other hand,

³⁰⁹ Tormey and Gleeson, p. 162.

³¹⁰ Tormey and Gleeson, p. 162.

³¹¹ Tormey and Gleeson, p. 168.

³¹² Smyth and others, p. 73.

³¹³ Lightfoot, p. 163.

³¹⁴ Bullivant, p. 85.

³¹⁵ Devine and Kelly, p. 131; Devine, (2011), p. 147; Smyth and others, p. 114.

³¹⁶ Devine and Kelly, p. 131; Devine, (2011), p. 147; Smyth and others, p. 114.

³¹⁷ Devine and Kelly, p. 59; Smyth and others, p. 114.

claim differently. Students in a number of schools either experienced or witnessed their 'classmates bullied on the basis of their nationality'.³¹⁸

In line with the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) guidelines on Intercultural Education in Post-Primary Schools, there is evidence that schools attempt to challenge racism by raising cultural awareness.³¹⁹ Despite this, and despite research which indicates that a substantial number of ME students have experienced bullying, there is an alarming recognition in Irish schools that principals and teachers are 'unaware of racist bullying'.³²⁰ Authors maintain that ME students, like Irish students, are reluctant to report racist incidences or any forms of bullying. Equally, racist bullying, like any type of bullying, is difficult to identify.³²¹ According to Smyth and her colleagues, if schools are oblivious to racist incidences, then they are severely hampered in their efforts to stop them from occurring.³²² While there is evidence of racism in Irish schools there is little to highlight if racist incidences have reduced or increased over a period of time in multi-ethnic schools.

Akin to the notion expressed above by Smyth and her co-authors, Bullivant discovers that teachers are oblivious to the tensions among students from different ethnic groups.³²³ Nevertheless, unlike the situation in Ireland, racist incidences reported in Australia and in the United States seem to be more violent in nature.³²⁴ Hardie and Tyson argue that 'race-related conflict' in American schools dates back to desegregation policies introduced in the 1950s. They maintain that inter-group conflicts have moved from the traditional 'white-black' divide and now encompass other ethnic groups.³²⁵ In schools in California, conflict between 'black and Latino' students has been documented.³²⁶ In schools in Australia, conflict between students

³¹⁸ Smyth and others, p. 94.

³¹⁹ National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, *Intercultural Education in the Post-Primary School: Guidelines for Schools* (Dublin: NCCA, 2006), p. 2; Smyth and others, p. 93.

³²⁰ Smyth and others, p. 92; p. 94.

³²¹ Smyth and others, p. 114; p. 92.

³²² Smyth and others, p. 94.

³²³ Bullivant, p. 85.

³²⁴ Bullivant, p. 85; Jessica Halliday Hardie and Karolyn Tyson, 'Other People's Racism: Race, Rednecks and Riots in a Southern High School', *Sociology of Education*, 86 (1) (2013), p. 83.

³²⁵ Hardie and Tyson, p. 86.

³²⁶ Hardie and Tyson, p. 86.

from Greek and Turkish origin has also been recorded.³²⁷ While teachers and principals in Ireland perceive any racist incidences as isolated events involving a number of individuals,³²⁸ racist incidences in other countries involve ethnic gangs and have greater bearing on the school community.³²⁹

It is evident that attitudes towards ME students are racially-based and, in keeping with international research, focus on the 'visible' target, African students. In addition to this, these students are seen as a 'threat'. This is particularly the case for students within the asylum system who were considered by their Irish counterparts to be competition in terms of access to social services and employment opportunities. The international research suggests that such attitudes reflect traditional 'scapegoating' strategies. More recent research in Ireland hints at improvements in Irish student attitudes towards ME students.

It is further apparent from the above that integration, that is inter-ethnic mixing, in Irish multi-ethnic settings, has been minimal. While authors offer a multitude of reasons why integration is enhanced in some settings and not in others, there is very little evidence across Irish multi-ethnic schools that integration has improved. This is in contrast to research to emerge from other countries. The literature further considers that ME students have and continue to experience racism in Irish schools. This racism takes on many forms and mirrors the experiences of students in other countries. Authors highlight the disparity of views between principals/teachers and students in schools. Only a minority of principals/teachers acknowledge that racism is an issue. This is in stark contrast to the views of students who consider it to be more prevalent. It is evident from the above that there is greater scope for future research to explore, in more detail, whether the relationships between the two groups have evolved.

1.3.4 School Identity and the Phenomenon of White Flight

Another dominant issue to emerge from the international literature on ME education

³²⁷ Bullivant, p. 85.

³²⁸ Smyth and others, p. 93.

³²⁹ Bullivant, p. 88; Hardie and Tyson, p. 83.

centres on the impact ME student enrolment has on school identity. While it is generally assumed that institutional identities are socially constructed,³³⁰ according to de Wolff, the identity of a school encapsulates the 'outstanding features' of 'what makes a school into a school'.³³¹ In her seminal work exploring demographic changes and school identity, Evans delves into the notion of 'features' maintaining that 'image' is an important dimension to any identity. She considers the perceptions of those within a school of how others view their school to be an essential component of school identity.³³² Thus, the way a school is 'positioned by others' and how it 'positions itself' has what Hollingworth and Archer insist, 'real consequences'.³³³

While schools in Ireland have been identified as 'multi-ethnic', there has been little research to date exploring school identity with respect to the enrolment of a high concentration of ME students.³³⁴ Traditionally, much of the work on school identity pertains to religious or language schools.³³⁵ These schools intentionally set out to form 'unique' identities and 'share' them with the wider community.³³⁶ Furlong discusses this in the context of Irish speaking schools that purposely set out to 'formulate' an identity distinct from English speaking schools.³³⁷ Similarly, Clarke contends that patron bodies of minority Christian schools, notably Church of Ireland schools, 'encourage schools to create individual identities.'³³⁸ Research from

³³⁰ Sumi Hollingworth and Louise Archer, 'Urban Schools as Urban Places: School Reputation, Children's Identities and Engagement with Education in London', *Urban Studies*, 47(3) (2010), p. 586.

³³¹ de Wolff cited in Ina Ter Arvest and Cok Bakker, 'School Identity: A living Document on the Relationship between the Biography of the Principal Relating to the School', *Interaccios*, 7 (2007), p.117.

³³² Evans, p. 315.

³³³ Hollingworth and Archer, p. 586.

³³⁴ Devine and others (2002); Launch of 'Learning for Young Minority Ethnic Students (LYNS) Intercultural Guidelines for Schools', speech by Noel Dempsey, T.D., Minister for Education and Science, Buswells Hotel, May 14, 2003.

³³⁵ Richard Clarke, 'Our Faith, Culture and Giant Pandas – A Church of Ireland Perspective on Trusteeship and School Ethos', *School Culture and Ethos: Cracking the Code*, ed. by Catherine Furlong and Luke Monahan (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2000), p 167; Catherine Furlong, 'Comprehending Culture, School Organisation – A Cultural Perspective', *School Culture and Ethos: Cracking the Code*, ed. by Catherine Furlong and Luke Monahan (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2000), p. 64.

³³⁶ Furlong, p. 64.

³³⁷ Furlong, p. 64.

³³⁸ Clarke, p. 167.

other countries also focuses on 'self-identifying' religious schools.³³⁹ In a similar manner, minority religious schools are encouraged to articulate their religious identity and to promote their ecclesiastical character.³⁴⁰

Research from other countries explores Evan's notion of 'image', and the consequences surrounding this image. While the evidence as to whether a high focus of ME students 'damages' or 'enhances' a school is inconclusive, the perception that ME students, in large numbers, hamper academic performance, has been well documented.³⁴¹ Thus, for Cebolla-Boado and Medina, the concentration of ME students in schools is a 'frequent source of public concern.'³⁴² Parents across many developed societies 'avoid stigmatised schools' leading to the phenomenon commonly referred to as 'white flight'.³⁴³ This in turn leads to the creation of schools with high concentrations of ME students.³⁴⁴

The term 'white flight' arose from the desegregation policies in the United States in the 1950s, whereby schools formerly segregated along racial lines were integrated.³⁴⁵ The perception that 'black' students from lower social backgrounds 'threatened' the academic and social standing of a school prompted parents to move to 'mostly-white' neighbourhoods so their children would attend 'mostly-white' schools.³⁴⁶ While this phenomenon was initially premised on racial grounds, recent studies determine that social factors can instigate the flight of 'better off' students.³⁴⁷

Hood unearthed such consequences when a substantial number of 'impoverished immigrant' students enrolled in a school in Houston, Texas.³⁴⁸ In 1993, only a quarter of the school's population was considered disadvantaged. As the number of newly arrived ME students enrolled in the school, in conjunction with an

³³⁹ Yasmin Hassen, 'Making Muslims: The Politics of Religious Identity Construction and Victoria's Islamic Schools', *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 24 (4) (2013), p. 502.

³⁴⁰ Hassen, p. 502; Didier Pollefeyt and Jan Bouwens, 'Framing the Identity of Catholic Schools: Empirical Methodology for Quantitative Research on the Catholic Identity of an Education Institute', *International Studies in Catholic Education*, 2 (2) (2010), p. 193.

³⁴¹ Cebolla-Boado and Medina, p. 1; Van Houtte and Stevens, p. 211.

³⁴² Cebolla-Boado and Medina, p. 1.

³⁴³ Hood, p. 7–8; Linda Renzulli and Lorraine Evans, 'School Choice, Charter Schools, and White Flight', *Social Problems*, 52 (3) (2005), p. 400; Van Houtte and Stevens, p. 211.

³⁴⁴ Van Houtte and Stevens, p. 211.

³⁴⁵ Renzulli and Evans, p. 400.

³⁴⁶ Renzulli and Evans, p. 400.

³⁴⁷ Hood, p. 7–8; Van Houtte and Stevens, p. 211.

³⁴⁸ Hood, p. 7.

increasing number of affluent students leaving the school, by 2003 over ninety percent of the student population was considered disadvantaged.³⁴⁹ White flight also occurs in the European context. The flight of students from schools in Belgium has led to the creation of 'concentration' schools where the ME student population increases from thirty to eighty percent in a short period of time.³⁵⁰ In other jurisdictions, schools are often termed 'ghetto' schools.³⁵¹

While researchers in England do not employ the term 'white flight', the prominence and perceived challenges of ethnic segregation in schools has been highlighted.³⁵² Reynolds claims that there is a perception that schools become 'swamped' by ME students and thus offer a lower quality of education.³⁵³ Nevertheless, akin to what Hood discovered, evidence from the UK suggests that social factors are considered just as important as racial or ethnic ones. Between 1965 and 1971 an official policy stated that schools should not have more than one-third of immigrant pupils, in particular those from 'black' or South Asian background. As McLean purports, the consenting view of the day was that 'disadvantaged pupils should not be allowed to be concentrated in disadvantaged schools.'³⁵⁴ The notion that flight occurs on social as well as racial grounds is further endorsed by the emergence of 'black flight'. Generally, educated parents from different ethnic groups remove their children from high concentration schools and send them to what they consider more academic schools.³⁵⁵

While the literature accentuates some noticeable changes to schools resulting from the enrolment of ME students, there is little, in Ireland and abroad, which explores particular changes to school identity and ME student enrolment. Evans' pertinent work on how demographic changes in three urban high schools in the United States affected school identity stands out. The arrival of a substantial number of 'black' students brought 'meaning' to school identity for staff across her three case study schools. She discovered that staff began to define their school in terms of

³⁴⁹ Hood, p. 7-8.

³⁵⁰ Van Houtte and Stevens, p. 211.

³⁵¹ Andrea E. Evans, 'Changing Faces, Suburban School Response to Demographic Change', *Education and Urban Society*, 39 (3) (2007), p. 332.

³⁵² Heckmann, p. 26.

³⁵³ Reynolds, p. 5.

³⁵⁴ McLean, p. 184.

³⁵⁵ Van Houtte and Stevens, p. 211.

how others viewed it.³⁵⁶ Evans shows that demographic change brought with it an 'uncertain identity'.³⁵⁷ While staff denied any 'racial implications' the author concludes that this uncertainty was race-based as staff feared their new school identity would have negative implications leading to 'white' and 'academic flight'.³⁵⁸ According to Evans, maintaining a 'good' image was imperative for staff in her case study schools. The increased enrolment of African American students 'signalled a threat to this goodness'.³⁵⁹ The researcher highlights the exodus of some 'white and middle class African American students' from the school and the attempts made by other parents to send their children elsewhere.³⁶⁰

In contrast, Bullivant discovers that staff in his case study school believed that the school's image was enhanced by the arrival of a substantial number of ME students. The enrolment of 'hard-working' Indo-Asian students into an existing multi-ethnic setting prompted staff to consider them as augmenting the academic reputation of the school. Equally, the school's reputation which 'assists' all ME students meant that students from beyond the area enrolled in the school.³⁶¹ While Bullivant recorded some 'leakage' of Anglo students to other schools in the district, he concluded that there was no real drop off in student numbers as a result of the enrolment of Indo-Asian students. Despite the disparity in findings between Evans and Bullivant, it is apparent that the identity of a school can be, as Evans claims, 'redefined' by demographic changes.³⁶²

There has been little research in Ireland exploring school identity and demographic change. Future enquiries would contribute to filling the void in this particular area of research. There is some evidence indicating that, due to the unfair distribution of ME students across Irish schools, some schools might be perceived as 'dumping grounds'.³⁶³ Bryan articulates the fears of some staff in one school in which 'Irish parents were concerned' about the growing ME student population. According to Bryan, for staff this fear was 'exacerbated' by a 'declining student

³⁵⁶ Evans, p. 344.

³⁵⁷ Evans, p. 339.

³⁵⁸ Evans, p. 339.

³⁵⁹ Evans, p. 341.

³⁶⁰ Evans p. 340.

³⁶¹ Bullivant, p. 67.

³⁶² Evans, p. 339.

³⁶³ Nowlan, p. 259.

population'.³⁶⁴ More recently Devine articulated the concerns of primary school principals who feared that their school would be perceived as 'immigrant black schools'.³⁶⁵ Devine reports that some element of 'white flight' has occurred as a result.³⁶⁶

The literature above emphasises the notion of image as central to school identity and notes that the identity of a school is determined by how those working within the school view their own school and how they perceive others to view the school. It is evident that the enrolment of a high concentration of ME students in a school brings with it a degree of 'uncertainty'. There is a consensus within the literature that students from certain socio-ethnic backgrounds, notably 'black' students from low social backgrounds, seem to have negative implications for the image of a school. As noted, such students are considered a 'threat' to the 'goodness' of a school and its academic and social standing. This has led to 'white' and 'academic flight' and the creation of high concentration or 'ghetto' schools.

1.3.5 Adapting to Religious Diversity in Irish Schools

In addition to school identity, there has been some work conducted around multi-ethnic schools and religious diversity. Section One of this review highlights that only thirty percent of ME students attend voluntary secondary schools with a specific religious ethos.³⁶⁷ Despite this, the focus of work with respect to religious diversity focuses on how religious-based primary and secondary schools have adapted to students with diverse religious backgrounds, in particular schools with a Catholic ethos.³⁶⁸

Before one examines this work, it is important to briefly outline what constitutes school ethos. This task is often considered difficult.³⁶⁹ The 1995 White

³⁶⁴ Bryan (2010), p. 266.

³⁶⁵ Dymna Devine, 'Practising Leadership in Newly Multi-Ethnic Schools: Tensions in the Field?', *British Journal of Sociology*, 34 (3) (2013), p. 407.

³⁶⁶ Devine (2013), p. 400.

³⁶⁷ Lyons, p. 292.

³⁶⁸ Devine and Kelly; Devine (2011); Parker-Jenkins and Masterson.

³⁶⁹ Seamus McGuinness, 'Conference Insights – Issues for the Future', *School Culture and Ethos: Cracking the Code*, ed. by Catherine Furlong and Luke Monahan (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2000), p. 245.

Paper on Education defines ethos as 'the organic element, arising first and foremost from the actual practices which are carried on in that school on a daily basis'.³⁷⁰ Williams maintains that it is the 'pervading spirit' and acknowledges its importance in school life and in shaping the identity of a school.³⁷¹ For Pringe, the ethos of a school must 'reflect' the wider community which it serves.³⁷² Whilst the above definitions suggest that school ethos encapsulates many aspects of school life, Parker-Jenkins and Masterson maintain that in the Irish educational context 'religious belief' tends to define school ethos.³⁷³ For Williams, such 'religious connotations' should be a 'contingent' and not a 'necessary aspect' of a school's pervading culture.³⁷⁴

While Catholic schools are encouraged to enrol students of different faiths, if 'over-subscribed' they are 'entitled' to give preferential treatment to students of the same faith.³⁷⁵ Irish authors contend that such practices discriminate against students from ethnic minorities whilst favouring the settled community.³⁷⁶ Lodge and Lynch attribute this to the Education Act (1998), which requires schools to recognise social, cultural and religious differences, yet affords denominational schools, which make up a substantial cohort of all schools in Ireland, the right to protect their religious ethos.³⁷⁷ Bryan echoes this view.³⁷⁸

This then raises questions around the inclusive/exclusive nature of some Catholic schools. Pollefeyt and Bouwens explore this in an attempt to devise approaches to 'build' Catholic schools in pluralised contexts.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁰ Cited in McGuinness, p. 245.

³⁷¹ Kevin Williams, 'Understanding Ethos – A Philosophical and Literary Exploration', *School Culture and Ethos: Cracking the Code*, ed. by Catherine Furlong and Luke Monahan (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2000), p. 76.

³⁷² Richard Pringe, 'School Culture and Ethos: Towards an Understanding', *School Culture and Ethos: Cracking the Code*, ed. by Catherine Furlong and Luke Monahan, (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2000), p. 13.

³⁷³ Parker-Jenkins and Masterson, p. 7.

³⁷⁴ Williams, p. 76.

³⁷⁵ Aiveen Mullally, *Guidelines on the Inclusion of Students of Other Faiths in Catholic Secondary Schools* (Dublin: JMB/AMCSS Secretariat, 2010), p. 7.

³⁷⁶ Byrne and others, p. 285; Bryan, (2010), p. 258; Lodge and Lynch, p. 269.

³⁷⁷ Lodge and Lynch, p. 69.

³⁷⁸ Bryan (2010), p. 258.

³⁷⁹ Pollefeyt and Bouwens, p. 202.

They position Catholic schools on a scale ranging from the strict Catholic ‘ghetto’ school which is exclusive and shows ‘little solidarity’ to non-Catholics, to ‘colourful’ schools, which are ‘rich and visibly diverse’.³⁸⁰ Such schools are inclusive, combining a ‘minimal Catholic identity’ with a commitment to ‘mutual solidarity’, ensuring that ‘authentic attention and interest’ is afforded to student differences.³⁸¹ There are also schools which continue to uphold the ‘old school confessional’ rituals in order to ‘remain recognisably Catholic’.³⁸²

The Catholic ethos of a school is thus dependent on interpretation and, as Williams contends, a school’s ‘interpretation’ of its ethos is just as important as the ethos itself.³⁸³ While Irish authors maintain that Catholic schools use their ethos to exclude ME students, Coolahan suggests that the efforts of some Catholic schools to admit and work with ME students in recent years has ‘evoked echoes’ of the original visions set out by some religious congregations.³⁸⁴

Thus the endeavours of some Catholic schools to meet the educational needs of ME students may in part reflect an inclusive interpretation of their Catholic ethos. On the contrary, it might also reflect a reality that most ME students attend schools which are under-subscribed and that such schools, Catholic or not, are in a position to accept ME students.³⁸⁵ In England, Reynolds discovers that ME students ‘provide a much needed boost’ to schools with diminishing student numbers.³⁸⁶

1.3.5.1 The Catholic School and Roman Catholic Traditions

Parker-Jenkins and Masterson maintain that schools are still ‘finding it difficult to recognise and acknowledge new expressions of race, culture and religion.’³⁸⁷ In 2002, Devine, Kelly and MacNeela explored the perplexities surrounding new multi-

³⁸⁰ Polyfeyt and Bouwens, p. 206.

³⁸¹ Polyfeyt and Bouwens, p. 206.

³⁸² Polyfeyt and Bouwens, p. 200.

³⁸³ Williams, p. 76.

³⁸⁴ John Coolahan, ‘School Ethos and Culture within a Changing Education System’, *School Culture and Ethos: Cracking the Code*, ed. by Catherine Furlong and Luke Monahan (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2000), p. 115.

³⁸⁵ Smyth and others, p. 43.

³⁸⁶ Reynolds, p. 5.

³⁸⁷ Parker-Jenkins and Masterson, p. 2.

ethnic schools and religious affiliation. They found that staff had doubts as to whether schools could be 'Catholic multi-denominational multi-cultural schools'.³⁸⁸ The general consensus to emerge from more recent research shows that much of school life in Catholic schools is still informed by 'Roman Catholic' traditions. It is within this context that authors believe,

... religious beliefs tend to define the school ethos and we found that convictions that differ from the established religious norms were not being acknowledged ... [there is] a lack of awareness and understanding about religious differences in schools.³⁸⁹

The National Council for Curriculum and Assessment Intercultural Guidelines for Post Primary schools advocates that schools should 'expose students to a broad range of religious traditions' and 'promote tolerance and mutual understanding'.³⁹⁰ Equally, the Joint Managerial Body/Association of Management of Catholic Secondary Schools (JMB/ACMSS) guidelines on the Inclusion of Other Faiths in Catholic Secondary Schools stresses that a 'genuinely Catholic ethos values religious tolerance and inclusiveness.'³⁹¹ Similar guidelines are published in other countries.³⁹² While authors allude to efforts to promote inclusivity and religious diversity in Irish schools,³⁹³ they maintain that schools with multi-ethnic students, are still 'predominantly Catholic, White and Gaelic'.³⁹⁴ Bryan claims that such efforts are limited in promoting inclusivity and are mere 'token gestures'.³⁹⁵ This narrow 'engagement' has been referred to as a 'liberal limited approach' to recognising and promoting cultural and religious differences in schools.³⁹⁶ In stark contrast, Devine's most recent work reveals that some primary schools practice a genuine inclusivity.³⁹⁷

³⁸⁸ Devine and others (2002), p. 88.

³⁸⁹ Parker-Jenkins and Masterson, p. 7.

³⁹⁰ Mullally, p. 9.

³⁹¹ Mullally, p. 7.

³⁹² Bishops of Queensland, Queensland Catholic Education Commission, *Identity of the Catholic School: A Discussion Paper for Reflection and Action*.

³⁹³ Smyth and others, p. 91.

³⁹⁴ Parker-Jenkins and Masterson, p. 13.

³⁹⁵ Bryan (2010), p. 261.

³⁹⁶ Parker-Jenkins and Masterson, p. 5.

³⁹⁷ Devine, (2013), p. 395.

Religious Education (RE) has the 'potential' to 'foster interfaith and intercultural understandings.'³⁹⁸ The growing body of research in Ireland recognises that the RE curriculum affords students an opportunity to explore different religions. Nevertheless, authors critique its limited value as most schools focus on teaching Christianity as opposed to other world faiths.³⁹⁹ Although parents in Ireland have the right to remove their children from Religious Education, a challenge confronting schools centres on resources and what to do with students when they are removed. Issues surrounding the supervision of students were documented as early as 2002 by Devine, Kelly and MacNeela.⁴⁰⁰ In some schools students 'remain' in class during Religious Education but do not participate, while in others, students are withdrawn for additional language support.⁴⁰¹ Authors maintain that such approaches may lead to student 'discomfort and isolation'.⁴⁰² Smyth and others highlight a negating perspective that, by remaining in class, students 'may convey contradictory messages about belief and spirituality if the faith of the family is different.'⁴⁰³

It is evident that Roman Catholic traditions are at the core of the ethos of schools in Ireland. A significant concern for authors is that this limits the acknowledgement and understanding of other religious traditions. Thus, school efforts to adapt to religious diversity have been inadequate. While guidelines offer direction on how schools should be more culturally and religiously inclusive, the Education Act (1998) affords religious-based schools measures to protect their religious ethos. Research indicates that some Catholic schools exclude students of other faiths. There is evidence to the contrary; other schools are much more inclusive. Whether this inclusivity is underpinned by an intentional interpretation of their Catholic ethos or by the reality that they admit ME students due to being 'under-subscribed' has yet to be determined and requires further investigation.

The above offers some insight into the challenges confronting Catholic schools which enrol students of different faith backgrounds. Additionally, it exposes the dearth of research in Ireland. Akin to what has occurred in other countries there

³⁹⁸ Smyth and others, p. 32.

³⁹⁹ Parker-Jenkins and Masterson, p. 7.

⁴⁰⁰ Devine and others (2002), p. 120.

⁴⁰¹ Smyth and others, p. 104.

⁴⁰² Smyth and others, p. 33.

⁴⁰³ Smyth and others, p. 33.

is scope for future research to explore in more detail how the enrolment of ME students has changed the school ethos of Catholic schools and how Irish Catholic schools have adapted to teaching students from diverse religious backgrounds.

Section Three of this chapter provides an overview of the Irish and international literature on ME education; in essence it offers a 'snapshot' of how ME students change schools. It is clear from the above research that certain aspects of school life dominate the research landscape. These primarily relate to achievement, teaching, student relations and school identity. Equally, it is apparent from this section that the impression ME students make on schools is considerable and extends from the school office to the classroom and from the school yard and beyond. This section of Chapter Three affirms the contention set out in Section Two that the research on ME education in Ireland, whilst growing, is limited in quantity and scope. The next section continues to explore this notion as it draws from what has been previously documented in this chapter with the view to identifying a vacuum within the literature in Ireland.

Section Four: Identifying a Gap in the Research

1.4 Proposing an 'Evolutionary View'

Sections Two of this review highlights the research typologies conducted in Ireland and in other countries. It accentuates the somewhat narrow focus of the research in Ireland. Section Three alluded to an overarching recognition that research in this area, whilst growing, is limited. This section further explores these aspects of Irish research with the view to identifying and recommending possible future areas of enquiry.

Lightfoot maintains that one of the 'persistent problems' with researchers who investigate schools is that 'they often view them as static.' In her attempts to seek out the 'good high school' she recognises that schools change over time.

Typically their methods of inquiry are ahistorical and do not allow for an evolutionary view A snapshot is taken at a moment in time ... But schools are changing institutions.⁴⁰⁴

In Australia, Marks echoes similar concerns. He adopts a longitudinal approach examining the differences in achievement levels between ME and native students over a five year period. In so doing he was able to explore the evolving dynamics involved in student achievement rather than just exploring achievement through common 'static' themes of socioeconomic, school or cultural factors.⁴⁰⁵

Much of the work in Ireland to date has failed to offer an 'evolutionary' view of how schools have adapted to ME students. The literature tends to provide a 'snapshot' of what life is like in multi-ethnic settings as a result of the enrolment of ME students rather than focus on how schools continue to evolve subsequent to their enrolment. For example, in 2010, Smyth and others document the nature of peer relationships across a number of schools, yet they fall short of exploring whether these relations have evolved over time. This example is not only reserved for issues pertaining to peer relations; they can also be applied to student achievement, the teaching experience, school identity and school ethos.

1.4.1 A Focus on the Particular and not the Universal

Large-scale enquiries in Ireland provide a general picture of how schools have adapted to ME students.⁴⁰⁶ This can be attributed to how schools are selected for such studies. There is a tendency for Irish authors to follow a sampling logic whereby they seek to represent the widest representative sample.⁴⁰⁷ While authors argue that such variance allows them to explore the extent to which contextual factors influence how a school operates,⁴⁰⁸ there is little scope to explore particular issues in an in-depth manner, or to examine different perspectives on one issue.⁴⁰⁹ In essence, the research touches on particular school-based issues without exploring

⁴⁰⁴ Lightfoot, p. 24.

⁴⁰⁵ Marks, p. 133.

⁴⁰⁶ Smyth and others; Taguma and others.

⁴⁰⁷ Smyth and others, p. 38.

⁴⁰⁸ Smyth and others, p. 38.

⁴⁰⁹ *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*, by John W Creswell, 2nd ed. (California: Thousand Oaks, 2007), p. 74.

them in detail.⁴¹⁰ While some studies involve one or two schools with high concentrations of ME students, to date, there has been little if any research conducted involving a number of schools similar in type, size and location and which have high concentrations of students of ME origin. Such an enquiry might provide a more accurate and reliable picture of what life is like in a high concentration multi-ethnic environment.⁴¹¹

Additionally, much of the initial work in the area of ME education in Ireland has been underpinned by a 'rights-based', 'needs analysis', and a 'deficit model' approach.⁴¹² This 'deficit' typology is akin to that which guided research in Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom from the late 1960s until the 1980s, following large waves of immigration.⁴¹³ This type of research narrows the focus of much of the research and, whether through sociological frameworks or educational concepts, the themes of language and integration persistently dominate the research landscape in this area.⁴¹⁴ Cotter stresses that research of this nature tends to be general and repetitive.⁴¹⁵ In 1989, in response to the recurring theme linking ethnic disadvantage with socio economic status in Australia, Bullivant employed the phrase 'here we go again'.⁴¹⁶

In line with this, due to the limited methods of data collection on achievement in Ireland, authors have been impeded in their attempts to fruitfully examine the achievement levels of ME students. Instead, researchers rely on principals' perceptions and teachers' estimations.⁴¹⁷ Similarly, as noted in Section Two of this review, researchers have been hampered in identifying and thus rectifying persistent issues with respect to the educational achievement of ME students.⁴¹⁸ It is evident from the literature that greater use of statistical information,

⁴¹⁰ Bryan (2010); Smyth and others.

⁴¹¹ Khairul Bharein Mohd Noor, 'Case Study: A Strategic Research Methodology', *American Journal of Applied Sciences*, 5 (11) (2008), p. 1604.

⁴¹² Nowlan, p. 254.

⁴¹³ Birrell and Seitz, p. 71; Bullivant, p. 68.

⁴¹⁴ Bryan (2010); Devine, (2011); Devine and Kelly; Lyons; Nowlan; Wallen and Kelly-Holmes.

⁴¹⁵ Cotter, p. 8.

⁴¹⁶ Brian Milton Bullivant, 'The Pluralist Dilemma Revisited', *Education for All: A Landmark in Pluralism*, ed. by Gajendra K. Verma (Great Britain: Taylor and Francis Ltd., 1989), p. 68.

⁴¹⁷ Devine, (2011); Smyth and others.

⁴¹⁸ Lodge and Lynch, p. 65; Taguma and others, p. 15.

such as results and enrolment records, would enhance the robustness of future research findings.

1.4.2 A Gap in the Research

Section One highlights that, since the dawn of the Celtic Tiger, migrants, both economic and those seeking asylum, settled in Dublin's north inner city. As a result, the student populations of a select number of schools in this area changed from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student bodies. Through his employment in one of these schools, the researcher is aware that the student populations in a select group of DEIS schools continued to change in that, by 2010, a number had become multi-ethnic schools with a high concentration of ME students. Given the high concentration of ME students, these schools may, as Schwandt argues, be considered 'unique' and warrant further scientific exploration.⁴¹⁹

It is amidst this background that a vacuum in the research has been identified. It is evident from the review above that to date no published research has examined how a number of inner-urban DEIS schools, located in a specific area, similar in size, type and with a high concentration of ME students, have changed over a period of time. Thus, rather than just explore and provide some insight into what life is like in such multi-ethnic settings, there is scope to explore how these settings have changed over time since the enrolment of ME students commenced some time ago.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter drew from a number of narratives, both in Ireland and abroad, and provides insight into the area of ME education. While every attempt was made to ensure that this review was extensive, the author acknowledges that a review of this nature can never be exhaustive. Much of the exploration of Irish literature was guided by the extensive bibliographies on the issues of modern Irish immigration produced by Cotter and subsequently by Mac Éinrí and White.⁴²⁰ Other literature,

⁴¹⁹ Thomas A. Schwandt, *Qualitative Inquiry: A Dictionary of Terms* (London: Sage Publications, 1997), p. 128.

⁴²⁰ Cotter; Mac Éinrí and White.

both Irish and international, was unearthed manually or involved the use of internet-based search engines.

The first section of this review set the context of recent immigration in Ireland. It stressed that Dublin's north inner city was a focal area of attraction for many immigrants, both people seeking asylum and economic migrants. The availability of private-rented accommodation and government housing for people seeking asylum was considered a pivotal factor in luring migrants to the area. The reality that immigrants settled in this socio-economically deprived area is in keeping with international settlement patterns. This section further stressed that ME students in Ireland were, as is the case in other countries, more than likely to attend DEIS schools than non-DEIS schools.

The second section presented an overview of the research typology on ME education highlighting the dominance of 'achievement' driven research in more traditional countries of immigration – the United States, Australia, Canada and developed western European countries. Further, it brought to light the typology of research conducted in Ireland from the late 1990s to the present, accentuating key themes to protrude through much of the research: language and integration.

The third section of this review considers the impact ME students have on areas of school life. While academic achievement is a dominant theme to emerge from the literature, in particular from other countries, this section outlined other non-academic aspects of school life which have emerged from much of the literature. These pertain to student relations, school identity and how religious-based schools have adapted to religious diversity. In essence, the impact the enrolment of ME students, particularly a high concentration of ME students, has on a school is profound and results in deep changes to many facets of school life.

The final part of this review brought together the many aspects of the sections above to identify a gap in the Irish literature. While the research in Ireland on ME education is growing, it is well recognised that it is, in many respects, limited. Thus, there is scope for future explorations. It is hoped that the insight gained from this literature review will serve 'as the foundation' for a future enquiry in this area. It is further anticipated that previous studies will guide the design and

determine the appropriate research methods to employ in such an enquiry.⁴²¹ The following chapter will explore this further.

⁴²¹ Ellis and Levy, p. 324.

CHAPTER TWO

Exploring Change in Four inner-urban DEIS Schools: The Research Process

2.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the approach adopted to explore the changes which occurred in four inner city schools, the student population of which changed from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic. First, it explores the notion of change from both an eastern and western philosophical perspective and an educational perspective. Second, it proceeds to discuss reasons why this inquiry was positioned within an interpretive research paradigm. The chapter deliberates on the researcher's motivations in doing the research and biases that may arise from this. The research employed multiple case studies. The explanation for this is offered as are the methods of data collection and the process of data analysis. Finally, this chapter sets out to examine ethical concerns linked with the investigation.

2.1 Exploring the Notion of Change

Given its significance to this particular research it is important to explore the notion of change in order to gain a greater understanding of this concept and to unearth some of the language associated with it. The teachings on change of several key figures in both western and eastern philosophical traditions are discussed below as are some aspects of the notion of change in modern education. The author is aware that the discussion below is not exhaustive. Time and space do not allow for a more elaborate dialogue. Likewise, the discussion below does not intend to single out or adopt a particular definition of change.

2.1.1 A Philosophical Perspective

Since Parmenides' initial contention that there is no such thing as change,¹ Greek philosophers, as Songe-Moller maintains, were haunted by the problem.² Heraclitus insisted that 'all things are flowing' likening change to a river that 'you could never step into twice'.³ Aristotle introduced notions of 'potency' and 'act' to describe change.⁴ Before a leaf turned red it was green and had the potential to turn red. Upon turning red the potentiality of the leaf was actualised.⁵ Aristotle further argued that in order for change to take place three things were necessary: form, something new that is created; privation, something old that passes away; and matter, something that stays the same throughout. Change during this period centred on the premise of 'substance' and, as Cobb Jr argues, suited a natural world made up of sticks and stones, but did little to interpret matters of everyday life.⁶ During the Middle Ages, Thomas Aquinas elaborated on the above to explain Creation as a form of change.⁷ Aquinas argued that change was plainly visible to see and that anything changing was caused by something else. Following this, he argued that the first cause of change was God, for something could not change by itself.⁸ If Greek philosophy right down to Aristotle reflected the mentality of the city-state, the expressions of Aquinas and others embodied Catholic intellectual teachings during the Middle Ages.⁹

Hegel's philosophy on the other hand steered away from any attempt to formulate concrete reasons for change. His attempts centred on understanding change through a 'dialectical pattern of thesis, antithesis and synthesis.'¹⁰ Therefore,

¹ Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy* (Canada: Routledge, 1996), p. 69.

² Vigdis Songe-Moller, 'Metamorphosis and the Concept of Change', Department of Philosophy, University of Bergen, Norway, (2012).

³ G.S. Kirk, 'Natural Change in Heraclitus', *Mind, New Series*, 60 (237) (1951), p. 35.

⁴ Russell, p. 123.

⁵ *The Great Ideas: A Synopticon of Great Books of the Western World*, ed. by Mortimer J. Adler and William Gorman (USA: University of Chicago, 1982), p. 196.

⁶ John B. Cobb Jr., 'Person in Community: Whiteheadian Insights into Community and Institution', *Organisation Studies*, 28 (04) (2007), p. 573.

⁷ Timothy McDermott, *Aquinas, Selected Philosophical Writings*, (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1993), p. 200.

⁸ McDermott, p. 200.

⁹ Russell, p. 751.

¹⁰ Chung-Ying Cheng, 'Interpreting Paradigm of Change in Chinese Philosophy', *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, 38 (3) (2011), p. 341.

for Hegel, even the act of understanding change was in constant transformation. Marx adopted Hegel's approach and criticised philosophers for merely interpreting the world rather than changing it.¹¹ Marx remonstrated that history was the result of 'real human activity' determined by social and material conditions rather than determined by a spiritual process.¹² It was a philosophy fitting of the modern industrial state.¹³

More modern western philosophers have continued to question established philosophical traditions. Bergson challenged the scientific notions of change maintaining that true change could only be explained by an 'interpenetration of the past and present, not a mathematical succession of static states.'¹⁴ For Bergson the old view of the world was a static one, rather than what he insisted needed to be a dynamic one.¹⁵ Influenced by Bergson, Whitehead pursued a line of thought rejecting 'substantialist' thinking.¹⁶ He argued that the world was made up of events and that one human momentary experience arises out of other experiences that make up the past. If one were to isolate the initial experience from the past, it 'would lose all human qualities ... the sensory data of that experience would have no meaning.'¹⁷ Furthermore, Whitehead argued that people are who they are because 'of their relations not only with their own bodies and personal past but also with those around them.'¹⁸

In China the ancient philosophy of change stems from the I-Ching or Book of Changes.¹⁹ What makes the eastern notion of change differ to the traditional western ideas is that it is considered more comprehensive, human-involved and experience-directed.²⁰ The notion of change is constructed around yin and yang, two ancient

¹¹ Russell, p. 749.

¹² Lawrence J. Jost and John T. Jost, 'Why Marx left Philosophy for Social Change', *Theory Psychology*, 17 (2) (2007), p. 300.

¹³ Russell, p. 751.

¹⁴ Russell, p. 763.

¹⁵ Russell, p. 763.

¹⁶ Cobb Jr., p. 569.

¹⁷ Cobb Jr., p. 569.

¹⁸ Cobb Jr., p. 577.

¹⁹ William Turner, *History of Philosophy* (London: Ginn and Company Publications, 1903), p. 12.

²⁰ Cheng, p. 342.

pillars of Chinese thought.²¹ These opposing forces share a common pattern of structure and movement that are not divisible but unified.²² The I-Ching emphasises change as an expected facet of life. It also reveals how change affects people, their relationships and their own participation in changes which are taking place around them.²³

In the 4th century BC, another Chinese philosopher, Zhuangzi, continued to enlighten on the notion of change. Zhuangzi also held the view that without exception all things, including every human being, underwent change²⁴ and an 'authentic' person was open and had a positive attitude to endless changes.²⁵ Whereas western philosophers of the time studied real change in real objects, Zhuangzi focused on advising humans to accommodate their minds to infinite changes.²⁶ Change is also an essential component of Buddhism. In the 6th century in India, the significance of change was preached by Buddha – that change is an integral part of existence.²⁷ Buddhism does not attempt to teach people how to make change happen, but on 'recognising, discerning, appreciating and flowing with changes as it happens',²⁸ being able to adapt to change.

2.1.2 An Educational Perspective

The notion of change in education is closely linked to school effectiveness and school improvement.²⁹ School effectiveness began in the United States in the 1960s with the outpouring of an enormous amount of resources on establishing a national curriculum.³⁰ On the back of key studies, by the early 1970s there was a stark

²¹ Stephen Karcher, 'Jung, the Tao and the Classic of Change', *Journal of Religion and Health*, 38 (4) (1999), p. 292.

²² Cheng, p. 343.

²³ Cheng, p. 342.

²⁴ Youru Wang, 'Philosophy of Change and the Deconstruction of Self in the Zhuangzi', *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, 27 (3) (2000), p. 347.

²⁵ Wang, p. 349.

²⁶ Wang, p. 346.

²⁷ Kedar N. Dwivedi, 'An Eastern Perspective on Change', *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, April 11 (2) (2006), p. 206.

²⁸ Dwivedi, p. 206.

²⁹ David Hopkins, *School Improvement for Real* (Canada: RoutledgeFalmer, 2001), p. 36.

³⁰ Michael Fullan, *Changing Forces: Probing the Depths of Educational Reform* (London: Falmer Press, 1993), p. 1.

realisation that desired educational outcomes were not being met.³¹ By the 1980s in the United States and the United Kingdom energy shifted from changing the system to changing schools.³² In the United Kingdom school inspections, using performance indicators such as academic progress and retention, were employed to measure school effectiveness. Thus, school effectiveness measured informed school improvement.³³ Strategies were recommended leading to school change.³⁴ Therefore, schools had no choice but to adapt.³⁵

This approach intensified from the mid 1990s in many countries as governments pursued changes to the ways school were run, what was taught, how it was being taught, and how money was spent.³⁶ Fullan argues that the problems with such a 'top-down' approach to attempt change were short-lived because the basic problem was the 'juxtaposition of a continuous change theme within a continuous conservative system.'³⁷

The literature on change concentrates on describing the process of school change.³⁸ School change, in particular change imposed from the top down, is slow,³⁹ common and pervasive.⁴⁰ Likewise, changes to education and in individual schools is almost always a consequence of changes in society, leading some commentators to apply the axiom, 'think globally, act locally', to appreciate the process. This is particularly the case when change occurs as a result of demographic change in a school's student population.⁴¹

³¹ Fullan, p. 1.

³² John Gray and Brian Wilcox, *Good School, Bad School: Evaluating Performance and Encouraging Improvement* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995), p. 4.

³³ Louise Stoll and Dean Fink, *Changing our Schools* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996), p. 26.

³⁴ Gray and Wilcox, p. 8.

³⁵ *The Culture of School and the Problem of Change*, by Seymour B. Sarason, 2nd ed., (Boston: Allyn and Bacon Inc., 1982), p. 9.

³⁶ Benjamin Levin and J. Anthony Riffel, 'Conceptualising School Change', *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 28 (1) (1998), p. 117.

³⁷ Fullan, p. 3.

³⁸ Fullan; Hopkins; Stoll and Fink.

³⁹ Stoll and Fink, p. 7; Pat Thomson, Jane McGregor, Ethel Sanders and Nafsika Alexiadou, 'Changing Schools, More than a Lick of Paint and a Well Orchestrated Performance?', *Improving Schools*, 12 (1) (2009), p. 43.

⁴⁰ Hopkins, p. 2.

⁴¹ Levin and Riffel, p. 121.

For organisational theorists change in schools revolves around the premise that schools, as organisations, must change in order to survive. Levin and Riffel dispute the over-simplified nature of this theory asserting that schools, unlike organisations, are much more dynamic and complex.⁴² Scanlon adds to this, highlighting a school's multiple cultures and sub-cultures in the staffroom, classroom and school yard.⁴³ Given this dynamism and complexity, Fullan sets out a new paradigm for change stressing the use of 'non-linear' language.⁴⁴ Key aspects of this paradigm include the notion that change cannot be forced, that change is a journey and not a blueprint, problems are inevitable and needed for learning, and every person is an agent of change.⁴⁵

Since ancient times the notion of change has been at the centre of philosophical dialogue in both western and eastern civilizations. Aside from Marx, western philosophers sought to interpret change, whilst eastern philosophy focused on adapting to change. The varying notions of change reflected the societies and periods in which they were written.⁴⁶ The above further illustrates the prevalence of change in education. It is clear that with the attempts in trying to understand why and how change occurs a language has evolved. Whether imposed by government strategies or by demographic and larger societal changes, it is clear that there is nothing simple in how schools respond to change.⁴⁷ In order to understand this process, it is important to consider and be sensitive to the fact that schools are complex and dynamic environments.

2.2 Shaping the Research Design: The Need for a Paradigm

When undertaking research of this nature a paradigm provides an opportunity to have the research positioned within a certain sense of history and philosophy.⁴⁸ The

⁴² Levin and Riffel, p. 122.

⁴³ Lesley Scanlon, 'Why didn't they ask me? Student Perspectives on a School Improvement Initiative', *Improving Schools*, 15 (3), p. 187.

⁴⁴ Fullan, p. 21.

⁴⁵ Fullan, p. 21.

⁴⁶ Russell, p. 751.

⁴⁷ Levin and Riffel, p. 121.

⁴⁸ Pamela A. Moss, D. C. Phillips, Frederick D. Erickson, Robert E. Floden, Patti A. Lather and Barbara L. Schneider, 'Learning From Our Differences: A Dialogue Across Perspectives on Quality in Education Research', *Educational Researcher*, 38 (7) (2009), p. 506.

paradigm a researcher adopts informs others on the how the researcher views the world; how they attain knowledge as well as how they use the knowledge they have gained.⁴⁹ Therefore, a particular paradigm tends to highlight the researcher's innate preferences that more than likely shape the research design.⁵⁰ In order to minimise bias, an integral component to any research process is to ensure that these preferences are made explicit.⁵¹

During the interwar years Parsons stressed several reasons as to why research should be placed within a theoretical context. These reasons are still regarded as important⁵² and are presented below.

It provides a basis for coherent organisation of the factual material thus selected without which a study is unintelligible. It provides a basis of not only selection and organisation of known facts, but in a way which cannot be done otherwise reveals the gaps in our existing knowledge and their importance. It thus constitutes a useful guide to the direction of fruitful research. Through the mutual logical implications of different analytical systems for each other it provides a cross fertilization of related fields of utmost importance. This often leads to very important developments within a field which would not have taken place had it been theoretically isolated.⁵³

Thus, a paradigm affords researchers who share beliefs, values and techniques a conceptual model.⁵⁴ Kuhn notes that it provides models from which 'spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research.'⁵⁵ For Lincoln and Guba the paradigm provides a 'basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator,

⁴⁹ *Research Methods for Business Students* by Mark N.K. Saunders, Phillip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill, 5th ed. (England: Pitman Publishing Limited, 2009), p. 108.

⁵⁰ Kim James and Susan Vinnicombe, 'Acknowledging the Individual in the Researcher', *Essential Skills for Management Research*, ed. by David Partington (London: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 85.

⁵¹ Creswell, p. 15.

⁵² Norman Blaikie, *Designing Social Research: The Logic of Anticipation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), p. 131.

⁵³ Talcott Parsons, 'The Role of Theory in Social Research', *American Sociological Review*, 3 (1) (1938), p. 20.

⁵⁴ Lawrence J. Saha, 'The New Sociology of Education and the Study of Learning Environments: Prospects and Problems', *Acta Sociologica*, 21 (1) (1978), p. 48.

⁵⁵ Thomas S. Kuhn, 'The Structure of Scientific Revolutions', *International Encyclopaedia of Unified Science*, 2nd ed., (United States of America: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 10.

not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways.⁵⁶

Within the world of enquiry different paradigms continue to compete for dominance.⁵⁷ To explore and distinguish between different paradigms would be futile here. Firstly, there are far too many in number. Secondly, the labels used are not standardised across the board and, as a result, authors across different disciplines differ in how they categorize the various paradigms, failing to create a 'well-defined' typology.⁵⁸

Given the 'multitude of tongues'⁵⁹ and the continuing evolution of paradigms in the world of social research,⁶⁰ it is important to make clarifications. The first is to distinguish between paradigm and methodology. In this thesis a paradigm refers to a theoretical approach or framework founded within a philosophical tradition. As noted above it is a 'basic belief system'.⁶¹ It does not refer to a method, such as qualitative or quantitative, both of which may be used appropriately within any research paradigm.⁶²

The second clarification is to elucidate key research paradigms amidst a multiple collection. Drawing on the work of Bernstein, Soltis sets out three major paradigms applied to research in education: paradigms which have their roots in philosophical traditions which have shaped social science – empirical inquiry, interpretive inquiry and critical inquiry.⁶³ As explained below, this research adopted an interpretive paradigm. In view of space constraints a deeper exploration of the three paradigms cannot be undertaken.

⁵⁶ Evon G. Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln, 'Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research', *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. by N. K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (California: Thousand Oaks, 1994), p. 105.

⁵⁷ Guba and Lincoln, p. 105.

⁵⁸ Teresa Brannick and David Coughlan, 'In Defence of Being "native": The Case for Insider Academic Research', *Organisational Research Methods*, 10 (59) (2007), p. 62.

⁵⁹ Moss and others, p. 501.

⁶⁰ Creswell, p. 15.

⁶¹ Guba and Lincoln, p. 105.

⁶² Guba and Lincoln, p. 105.

⁶³ Jonas F. Soltis, 'On the Nature of Educational Research', *Educational Researcher*, 13 (5) (1984), p. 5.

2.2.1 Adopting an Interpretive Paradigm

An interpretive approach was deemed most suitable for this research question,

To explore change in four schools which went from a mono-ethnic to a multi-ethnic student population.

Advocates of the interpretive paradigm share a common belief that, 'social reality is the result of continual construction and manipulation rather than a condition determined solely by forces outside the individual.'⁶⁴ Unlike positivists who view social reality as an 'exterior object', an interpretive paradigm deems the social world to be a 'subjectively' lived construct.⁶⁵ Tracing its roots to Deutscher, it is described as 'phenomenological', dedicated to understanding a 'social reality' as lived by those within it.⁶⁶ To understand this social reality, researchers are required to give meaning to this reality which in itself is subjective in nature. Therefore, social reality within the interpretive paradigm is constructed by an inter-subjective experience.⁶⁷

Drawing on numerous social commentators, Allard-Poesi and Marechal describe the goal of an interpretive researcher as being,

... not to discover a reality and the laws underlying it but to develop an understanding of social reality. This means developing an understanding of the culturally shared meanings, the intentions and motives of those involved in creating these social realities and the context in which these constructions are taking place.⁶⁸

An interpretive approach recognises that schools are 'complex, content-specific, interactive' environments, thus allowing the researcher the opportunity to delve deeper into what occurred in these environments, and the impact it had on those

⁶⁴ Saha, p. 50.

⁶⁵ Véronique Mottier, 'The Interpretive Turn: History, Memory, and Storage in Qualitative Research', *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 6 (2) (2005), p. 3.

⁶⁶ *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* by Michael Quinn-Patton, 3rd ed. (California: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 69.

⁶⁷ John Hassard, 'Multiple Paradigms and Organizational Analysis: A Case Study', *Organization Studies*, 12 (1991), p. 277.

⁶⁸ Florence Allard-Poesi and Christine Marechal, 'Constructing the Research Problem', *Doing Management Research: A Comprehensive Guide*, ed. by Raymond-Alain Theitart and others (London: Sage Publications, 1999), p. 38.

working within them.⁶⁹ In the current study, staff, who experienced life within their schools during a particular time period, were afforded the opportunity to discuss their experiences. Further, the researcher was able to appreciate the ‘different constructions and meanings of people’s experiences’⁷⁰ during this time.

Interpretive inquiry has been dominated by qualitative methods of research.⁷¹ In some cases quantitative measures have been used.⁷² Nevertheless, for interpretive researchers, the positivist quantitative centred approach has ‘over-simplified’ the human experience⁷³ and led to the exclusion of what is considered ‘human and important’ in the process of trying to comprehend the world of education.⁷⁴ Positivism can be traced back to Comte and Durkheim, seeking the ‘facts’ and ‘causes’ of social phenomena.⁷⁵ Positivist approaches guided much research in education for most of the twentieth century⁷⁶ and have re-emerged more recently as a dominant approach.⁷⁷ A positivist approach to this question was deemed unsuitable as it relies too heavily on quantitative-based measures⁷⁸ and a dualistic train of thought – where social reality is ‘either/or’ or ‘black/white’.⁷⁹ As Hopkins asserts, a positivist paradigm disregards variables within the school environment and assumes change is linear.⁸⁰

Critical theory on the other hand is considered emancipatory in nature,⁸¹ offering not only critique but also hope.⁸² Critical theory sets out to explore

⁶⁹ Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Susan L. Lytle, ‘Research on Teaching and Teacher Research: The Issues that Divide’, *Educational Researcher*, 19 (2) (1990), p. 3.

⁷⁰ Noor, p. 1602.

⁷¹ Soltis, p. 6.

⁷² Anne B. Ryan, *Post-Positivist Approaches to Research. Researching and Writing your Thesis: a Guide for Postgraduate Students* (MACE: Maynooth Adult and Community Education), p. 20.

⁷³ Ryan, p. 20.

⁷⁴ Soltis, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Quinn-Patton, p. 69.

⁷⁶ Kathleen Lynch and Anne Lodge, *Equality and Power in Schools: Redistribution, Recognition and Representation* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002), p. 164. and Soltis, p. 6.

⁷⁷ Cochran-Smith and Lytle, p. 2; Kenneth R. Howe, ‘Isolating Science from the Humanities, the Third Dogma of Educational Research’, *Qualitative Inquiry*, 15 (4), (2009), p. 767.

⁷⁸ Howe, p. 768.

⁷⁹ Ryan, p. 16.

⁸⁰ Hopkins, p. 20.

⁸¹ Soltis, p. 7.

⁸² Guba and Lincoln, p. 110.

historical and ideological movements which have shaped social reality⁸³ with the view to affect change.⁸⁴ Theorists who adopt this paradigm seek to investigate domination, exploitation and collective struggle within the visible and hidden structures of society. Through their seminal works, Freire and Giroux outlined radical ways to transform conventional education systems, schools and teacher-student relations.⁸⁵ Bourdieu's focus on the organisation of schools, the hidden curriculum and on the connection between education and economic systems highlights the role education and schools have in perpetuating social inequalities.⁸⁶ Consequently, in light of the aspiration to affect change, the nature of such inquiry and the subjects being researched are influenced by the values of the researcher and his or her motivations.⁸⁷

This research does not seek to affect change but rather to explore change in schools that went from having mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations. Furthermore, in seeking to explore these changes it sets out to, as Allard-Poesi and Marechal state above, 'develop an understanding' of the changes that took place. It is through an interpretive paradigm that such an inquiry can take place.

The literature above recognised schools as complex and dynamic environments consisting of many cultures and sub-cultures and as environments where change is a journey. An interpretive paradigm affords the opportunity to make sense of, give meaning to, and ensure that the research highlights the 'human experience' for those who were on this journey.

⁸³ Ben Agger, 'Critical Theory, Poststructuralism, Postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17 (1991), p. 109. and Soltis, p. 7.

⁸⁴ Guba and Lincoln, p. 110.

⁸⁵ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (England: Penguin Books, 1996), p. 53; Henry A. Giroux, *Theory and Resistance in Education: Towards a Pedagogy for the Opposition, Revised and Expanded Edition* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001), p. 115.

⁸⁶ Sheelagh Drudy and Kathleen Lynch, *Schools and Society in Ireland* (London: Gill and MacMillan, 1993), p. 160.

⁸⁷ Guba and Lincoln, p. 110.

2.3 Gaining Insight: The Initial Literature Review

Prior to formulating a research question and developing a research design, a review of literature was conducted. It was important that this initial review, though not exhaustive, was extensive for a number of reasons. The first was to gain greater insight into the area of study. The second was to identify a 'gap' in the research.⁸⁸ The third reason was that it served 'as the foundation upon which the study was built',⁸⁹ thus providing direction on the appropriate research methods to employ.⁹⁰ The final reason was to demonstrate that the researcher's own research and writing skills were of a certain standard required for entry into the Ph.D. programme.

The review process took two forms. An initial manual filtering of literature in Ireland and abroad was carried out. This involved reading selected chapters or books and following the path of literature of key authors in the area. Here it is important to acknowledge the extensive bibliographies on the issues of modern Irish immigration produced firstly by Cotter and then by Mac Éinrí and White.⁹¹ The second part of the process involved the use of internet-based search engines. These included Scopus, Web of Science, and Sage and, for other theses, DART-Europe E-Theses Portal and Trove were used. For successful searches key words were offered. These included minority ethnic, students, immigrant, migrant, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, schools, school change, school effectiveness, language acquisition, achievement, and academic.

The protocol for reviewing literature was maintained throughout this research. Additional works were continuously explored and added. The use of internet-based search engines increased the certainty that all avenues of exploration were exhausted and limited the probability that relevant literature was not reviewed.

2.4 Formulating the Research Question

Based on the review of literature, the initial question to this research was:

⁸⁸ Chris Hart, *Doing a Literature Review: Releasing the Social Science Research Imagination* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 11.

⁸⁹ Ellis and Levy, p. 324.

⁹⁰ Ellis and Levy, p. 324.

⁹¹ Cotter; Mac Éinrí and White.

What has been the impact of a high concentration of migrant students on north-inner urban secondary schools?

In relation to this question, concerns were raised by the Mater Dei Institute's Research Ethics Committee. The research question highlighted the word 'impact' drawing attention to the issue that one particular group impacted on the school and therefore may have inadvertently created tension between 'Irish' and 'Immigrant' students – tension that may not have been there in the first place. In light of this, the research question was re-phrased and new terminology was introduced. As discussed in the prelude to the literature review, the term minority ethnic (ME) was adopted instead of migrant. Likewise the focus turned away from the 'impact' one group had on the school to 'changes' which occurred in schools whose student populations changed. This resulted in the research question,

What changes occurred in four schools which went from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations?

2.5 Case Study Design

In light of the identified research question and the identified gap in the Irish literature, this research employed case studies. Case studies have been widely used in educational research and in research on ME education.⁹² The evidence used in case studies is qualitative in nature for it necessitates an in-depth inquiry in order to explain, describe and understand what is happening within a specific context.⁹³ Nonetheless, case studies may employ quantitative measures.⁹⁴ They may also employ other methods of data collection as multiple sources of evidence are needed to collect 'complementary' data.⁹⁵ This, argues Yin, is one of the strengths of the method.⁹⁶

⁹² Bullivant; Hood; *Rethinking Multicultural Education: Case Studies in Cultural Transition*, ed. by Carol Korn and Alberto Bursztyn (Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey, 2002); Smyth and others; Wallen and Kelly-Holmes.

⁹³ Hakan Umit, 'Case Studies' in *Méthodologie de la Recherche en Sciences de Gestion*, (Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut d'Administration et de Gestion Louvain-la-Nueve, June, 2005), p. 2.

⁹⁴ Ellis and Levy, p. 327.

⁹⁵ Yin, p. 63.

⁹⁶ Yin, p. xi.

Critique of the use of case studies generally targets the lack of a sufficient number of cases explored. Hamel and others counter this argument claiming that, provided clear parameters are set, even a single case study is acceptable as long as it meets its established objectives.⁹⁷ A second critique centres on the view that case studies provide 'little basis for scientific generalisations'.⁹⁸ Yin retorts that the aim of the case study is not to 'enumerate frequencies' but to 'expand' on generalised theories.⁹⁹ At the heart of case study research is the 'detailed examination of a small sample',¹⁰⁰ utilising multiple sources of evidence to provide a 'holistic view of a certain phenomenon or series of events'.¹⁰¹

The argument for the use of case studies for this research is best outlined by Zainal below.

In most cases, a case study method selects a small geographical area or a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of study. Case studies, in their true essence, explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships.¹⁰²

Bearing this in mind, a multiple case study design was considered and deemed most appropriate. This is when a researcher considers one issue, and selects multiple case studies to investigate the issue. For Creswell, this type of sampling also allows for the selection of cases to show different perspectives on the one issue.¹⁰³ What's more it enhances the accuracy, validity and reliability of the results.¹⁰⁴

There is no general consensus amongst commentators on the number of cases required in a multiple case study.¹⁰⁵ Quinn-Patton argues sample size depends on a number of factors including 'what you want to know', 'the purpose of the inquiry', and 'what can be done with available time and resources'.¹⁰⁶ For Kuzel, the quantity

⁹⁷ Hamel, Dufour and Fortin cited in Umit, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Yin, p. 15.

⁹⁹ Yin, p. 15.

¹⁰⁰ Malcom Tight, 'The Curious Case of Case Study: A Viewpoint', *International Journal of Sociology Research Methods*, 13 (4) (2010), p. 337.

¹⁰¹ Noor, p. 1603.

¹⁰² Zaidan Zainal, 'Case Study as a Research Method', *Jurnal Kemanusiaan*, 9 (2007), p. 1.

¹⁰³ Creswell, p. 74.

¹⁰⁴ Noor, p. 1604.

¹⁰⁵ Quinn-Patton, p. 184; Creswell, p. 76

¹⁰⁶ Quinn-Patton, p. 184.

of cases should be guided by issues surrounding appropriateness and adequacy.¹⁰⁷ Appropriateness refers to the purpose of the study; adequacy focuses on whether the information gathered arrives at a point of 'saturation'.¹⁰⁸

A multiple case study design follows replication logic.¹⁰⁹ According to Crabtree and Miller, replication logic differs to sampling logic. Whereas sampling logic seeks to represent a wider population, replication logic represents a specific number of cases where the investigator seeks to discover similarities.¹¹⁰ Therefore, as Yin asserts, because sampling logic is not used, the typical criterion regarding sample size is irrelevant;¹¹¹ however, each case must be carefully selected.¹¹²

2.6 Selecting the Case Study Schools

The schools that participated in the case studies were selected purposefully to follow the replication logic described above. Schwandt notes that,

... sites or cases are chosen because there may be good reason to believe that what goes on there is critical to understanding some process or concept ... The site may also be chosen on the basis of prior knowledge that it is extreme, typical, deviant, unique, particularly relevant and so on. The procedure for the selection of a site or case requires that the inquirer first establish some relevant criterion and then choose a site or case because it meets that criterion.¹¹³

The criteria set for the sample was based on the researcher's prior knowledge of his own and of other schools in the area being 'unique' and on the evidence unearthed in the initial literature review in both the international and Irish context. The criteria centred on three particular aspects.

1. Determining what was a multi-ethnic school
2. The distribution of migrants

¹⁰⁷ Anton J. Kuzel, 'Sampling in Qualitative Inquiry', *Doing Qualitative Research*, 2nd ed., ed. by Benjamin F. Crabtree and William L. Miller (California: Sage publications, 1999), p. 45.

¹⁰⁸ Kuzel, p. 45.

¹⁰⁹ Yin, p. 54.

¹¹⁰ Benjamin F. Crabtree and William L. Miller, 'Researching Practice Settings, A Case Study Approach in Doing Qualitative Research', *Doing Qualitative Research*, 2nd ed., ed. by Benjamin F. Crabtree and William L. Miller (California: Sage publications, 1999), p. 299.

¹¹¹ Yin, p. 58.

¹¹² Yin, p. 54.

¹¹³ Schwandt, p. 128.

3. The schools ME students enrolled in.

Similar criteria have been employed in educational research. Stake illustrates the initial criteria set for research which explored reform in schools in Chicago. They included impoverishment of neighbourhood, racial mix and tenure of principal.¹¹⁴

2.6.1 Defining a Multi-Ethnic School

Considering the aim of the project is to explore changes in schools whose student populations went from being mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic, it was important to determine what constituted a multi-ethnic school. The literature points to the fact that changes of any significance occur in schools that have a 'high' concentration of ME students. Therefore, a numerical figure was set. In the Irish context, based on the ESRI report, a post-primary school with over ten percent of ME students is considered high. The majority of schools have between two and nine percent which they categorised as low/medium.¹¹⁵

In England, some schools have an ME student population exceeding ninety percent.¹¹⁶ In Australia, Bullivant closely examined a school where over fifty percent of the student population were born outside of Australia and where nearly three quarters of the student population were from a language background other than that of English.¹¹⁷ In Belgium, Van Houtte and Stevens determine that 'high concentration' schools are those in which minority ethnic students make up over fifty percent of the student population. Schools between twenty and fifty percent are referred to as 'multicultural' schools.¹¹⁸

In view of the above figures, a numerical figure reflecting a compromise between the Irish and international context was judged the most suitable. The figure of twenty five percent was selected. This ensured that, for the Irish case, such schools were 'unique' compared to the norm. The current study would differ from

¹¹⁴ Robert, E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), p. 5.

¹¹⁵ Smyth and others, p. 38.

¹¹⁶ Reynolds, p. 10.

¹¹⁷ Bullivant (1987), p. 46.

¹¹⁸ Van Houtte and Stevens, p. 211.

other Irish studies, in particular the case studies in the ESRI report which examined schools under this figure.¹¹⁹ In line with this and as was revealed in the literature, the ESRI study draws a general picture of how schools adapted to the enrolment of ME students, whereas this study sets out to explore in more detail what changes took place in schools with a high concentration of ME students. Finally, this figure would allow for greater comparative discussion between ‘high’ concentration multi-ethnic schools in Ireland and in other countries.

The literature also drew attention to the settlement patterns of immigrants in socio-economically disadvantaged urban settings. As pointed out in Chapter One, Dublin’s north-inner district was one area which was heavily populated by immigrants.¹²⁰ Therefore, this particular geographical location was selected. Finally, in lieu of the evidence in Ireland and abroad that ME students generally attended designated disadvantaged schools, DEIS schools in Dublin’s north-inner city were selected.

2.6.2 Preliminary Research

Preliminary research was conducted. The researcher contacted all principals and home school community liaison (HSCL) teachers of all DEIS secondary schools in the north inner city to determine the number of ME students. Four schools corresponded to the criteria above. All four schools were voluntary secondary schools. The two boys’ schools are under the patronage of Edmund Rice Schools Trust (previously the Christian Brothers) and the two girls’ schools are under the Sisters of Charity. Table 2a below highlights the number, in percentage, of ME students who enrolled in each school in 2010. As illustrated, while the schools were similar insofar as they were inner city DEIS voluntary secondary schools, they differed along gender lines and on the size of the ME student population. This is important given that the nature of change could differ between boys’ and girls’ schools and between schools with a higher percentage of ME students, like School 1, compared to one with a lower percentage, like School 4.

¹¹⁹ Smyth and others, p. 38.

¹²⁰ Maria Hegarty, *Towards Integration, A City Framework* (Dublin: Dublin City Council, 2009), p. 24.

Table 2a Number of ME Students Enrolled in Each School, 2010.

School	Type	Gender	ME Population (%)
School 1	ERST	Male	70%
School 2	Sisters of Charity	Female	50 %
School 3	Sisters of Charity	Female	40 %
School 4	ERST	Male	29 %

It was also imperative to establish a particular time frame for the research. Again, the literature indicates the most prolific non-Irish migratory trends occurred during the first ten years of the new millennium. So a specific academic time period, 2000/01 to 2009/10 was set.

Contact was then made with the four principals. A letter accompanied by a 'Plain Language Statement' (Appendix 55) which explains the details of the project was sent to them and to the chairperson of the Board of Management. The letters were then followed up by phone calls.

2.7 The Fieldwork

Guided by prominent models of case study data collection¹²¹, this research utilised a multitude of sources. Yin argues that this is the overarching principle in any case study.¹²² This will be further discussed below under Triangulation. These included interviews and focus groups, the gathering of statistical data (enrolment records and

¹²¹ Stake, p.53; L.Stenhouse, 'Case Study Methods', *Educational Research, Methodology and Measurement: An International Handbook*, ed. by John P. Keeves (Sydney: Pergamon Press, 1988), p. 50; Yin, p. 99.

¹²² Yin, p. 98.

leaving certificate results), documentary evidence (school documents, annals, journals, books) and observation.

2.7.1 Interviews and Focus Groups

The majority of data for this study were collected by interviews and focus groups. Quinn-Patton argues that qualitative inquiry is 'powerful' for it is conducted in the 'real world rather than in the laboratory or the academy.'¹²³ A distinctive feature of qualitative research is the importance of understanding a phenomenon in its own right and not from some outside perspective.¹²⁴ Qualitative methods have been proven as a useful research tool in the domain of education for they recognize that schools and classrooms are complex, multi-layered environments, and that teachers and students have different histories, interpretations, values and attitudes.¹²⁵ Hara describes the process of educational research as weaving a 'complex web' which cannot be solved in a quantitative manner.¹²⁶ As Hugh points out, the many variables within the school context demand 'the qualification of actions, ideas, values and meanings through the eyes of participants'.¹²⁷

Initial one-to-one interviews were conducted with key school personnel. These included principals and deputy principals, retired and present, home school community liaison (HSCL) teachers or guidance counsellors, school chaplains/pastoral workers, and members of the Board of Management in each school. The literature review and the research aim guided the design of the questions. The questions were open-ended, allowing for a more in-depth probing of responses, motives and feelings.¹²⁸ Interviews provided the interviewee with the opportunity to

¹²³ Quinn-Patton, p. 11.

¹²⁴ Robert Elliot and Ladislav Timulak, 'Descriptive and Interpretive Approaches to Qualitative Research', *A Handbook of Research Methods for Clinical and Health Psychology*, ed. by Jeremy Miles and Paul Gilbert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 147.

¹²⁵ David Hughes, *Research and the Teacher: A Qualitative Introduction to School-Based Research* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 26.

¹²⁶ Katsuko Hara, 'Quantitative and Qualitative Research Approaches in Education', *Education*, 115 (3) (1995), p. 353.

¹²⁷ Hughes, p. 26.

¹²⁸ *The Sage Dictionary of Social Research Methods*, ed. by Victor Jupp (London: Sage Publications, 2006), p. 157; Daniel W. Turner, 'Qualitative Interview Design: A Practical Guide for Novice Investigators', *The Qualitative Report*, 15 (3) (2010), p. 756.

respond, in their own words, treating them as a unique person with a unique perspective.¹²⁹ Two pilot interviews were conducted with key personnel in School 1. This process was critical for it assisted in refining the questions and exposed limitations in the initial set of questions.¹³⁰

Interviews were conducted in school settings and home environments. They ranged from thirty minutes to two hours and thirty minutes in duration. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. A description regarding consent is detailed under ethical considerations. The data obtained through the interviews were rich and provided a detailed context for each school; the history of the school, the profile of the school just prior to the change in student population and insight into the changes that took place during this time. This information guided the design of the focus groups.

Focus groups with teachers were held in all four schools. Focus groups are a form of group interview with an important reliance on interaction within the group.¹³¹ Quinn-Patton argues that focus groups are beneficial for identifying themes.¹³² More importantly, the themes identified emerge from participants and therefore it is their agenda which dominates and not that of the researcher. Focus groups,

emphasise learning about the thoughts and experiences of others. When the participants in a group interview share an interest in the discussion topic, their interaction can provide information about how they relate to the topic and to each other. The group dynamics in these participant-centred conversations allow researchers to hear how people explore the discussion topic.¹³³

Although focus groups are considered unnatural in setting, authors such as Cohen and others believe that they tend to yield more information than may have come from one-to-one interviews.¹³⁴ They have been employed in previous studies within

¹²⁹ Quinn-Patton, pp. 347; 348.

¹³⁰ Turner (2010), p. 757.

¹³¹ *Research Methods in Education* by Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion and Keith Morrison, 6th ed., (New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 376.

¹³² Quinn-Patton, p. 387.

¹³³ Jupp, p. 121.

¹³⁴ Cohen and Mannion, p. 376.

education.¹³⁵ One other strength to focus groups is that a large amount of data is produced in a shorter space of time.¹³⁶

Focus groups were held in school settings. Meetings in Schools 1 and 2 were held after school whilst in Schools 3 and 4, they were held during school hours. An initial pilot group was conducted in School 1. This once again allowed the researcher to refine the general points of discussion. They lasted from one hour to two hours in duration and were recorded and transcribed verbatim. In order to distinguish between participants and to attach a voice to a response, a detailed seating arrangement was recorded and participants were initially asked to answer a general question regarding their teaching experiences in their school.

A follow-up focus group was held once the analysis of data from the four focus groups was conducted. The general points of discussion centred on themes that were common to all four schools and these themes were used to highlight the overall findings of the research. Every effort was taken to ensure that at least one individual from each school participated in the follow-up focus group. In light of continued industrial tension and increased teacher workload, no representative from School 3 offered their free time for the follow-up focus group. Despite this the focus group was beneficial as it provided the opportunity for participants to review the data, to validate its accuracy, to delve deeper into the themes that were discussed and to explore other themes.¹³⁷ It also afforded participants an opportunity to share their own experiences with others. Most importantly no new data or themes emerged from this focus group so the researcher was confident that 'saturation' was reached. This is discussed in more detail below.

2.7.2 Gathering Enrolment Records and Leaving Certificate Results

Enrolment records in all four schools were obtained for the academic years 2000/01

¹³⁵ Maeve O'Brien, *Making the Move: Students', Teachers' and Parents' Perspectives of Transfer from First to Second-level Schooling* (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2004); Seamus O'Brien and Krizan Vekic, *Promoting Partnership in Schools* (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2003).

¹³⁶ Cohen and others, p. 376.

¹³⁷ Elliot and Timulak, p. 156.

to 2009/10. This was considered important to help further illustrate the nature of the enrolment of ME students in the schools during the decade in question. Additionally, given the prevalence of achievement-driven research in the area of ME education, LC results for the same period in all four schools were also gathered. This was deemed necessary to provide a fuller picture regarding achievement levels and to give a more complete representation with regards to ambition. The results highlighted not only test scores but at what levels they were achieved. It further provided statistical data for comparative discussion with schools in other countries. The gathering of the information on enrolment and results required stringent ethical considerations, all of which are outlined below.

2.7.3 Documentary Evidence and Observation

Both primary and secondary evidence was reviewed including school timetables, policies, journals, annals and brochures as well as articles and books. This process was 'invaluable',¹³⁸ for the researcher gained a greater insight into the history of the four schools, from their inception to the present day, as well as a general overview of the Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Charity, and of their founders. This process proved to be very useful in setting the context as is evident in the next chapter. The researcher endeavoured to ensure that each document was authentic and reliable and that a balanced view was always presented.

The majority of the data collection process was undertaken on the grounds of the four schools involved. This provided the researcher with the opportunity to observe directly the 'natural setting' that was to be studied. Furthermore, given that the changes in the student populations were recent, the researcher was able to 'directly observe' the impact these changes had on the four schools.'¹³⁹ Field notes captured the physical aspects of the schools and the dynamics among the student population and the staff as well as between the staff and students. Notes were taken

¹³⁸ Stenhouse, p. 51.

¹³⁹ Yin, p. 109.

during interviews and focus groups describing the expressions and mannerisms of participants during the process and allowed for the occasion to ‘tell its story.’¹⁴⁰

2.7.4 Triangulation

In view of the fact that case studies ‘encourage’ the collection of multiple sources of evidence, triangulation is a necessity.¹⁴¹ The aim of triangulation is to utilise many sources to ‘corroborate’ a fact or phenomenon¹⁴², gain a complete picture¹⁴³ and in so doing further ensure the validity of the findings.¹⁴⁴ For Cohen and Mannion, triangulation attempts to ‘map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint.’¹⁴⁵

Triangulation generally consists of one quantitative method with ‘structured’ data collection and analysis and a ‘less structured’ qualitative component involving a thematic analysis.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, triangulation involves the researcher gaining a ‘multiplicity of perspectives’ on a particular issue.¹⁴⁷ In this case, the researcher gained the perspectives of an array of staff in all four schools as described below.

According to O’Cathain and others, triangulation occurs at the interpretation stage of research, once both data sets have been analysed to complement or contradict each other.¹⁴⁸ Yin’s model of convergence illustrates this process where all of the sources of evidence described above – interviews, focus groups, statistical data, documentary evidence and observation – lead to establishing the events or

¹⁴⁰ Stake, p.62.

¹⁴¹ Yin, p. 114.

¹⁴² Yin, p. 166.

¹⁴³ Alicia O’Cathain, Elizabeth Murphy and Jon Nicholl, ‘Three Techniques for Integrating Data in Mixed Methods Studies’, *BMJ*, 341 (2010), p. 1147.

¹⁴⁴ *Real World Research*, by Colin Robson, 3rd ed. (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 2011), p. 158.

¹⁴⁵ *Research Methods in Education* by Louis Cohen and Lawrence Manion, 4th ed. (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 233.

¹⁴⁶ Alicia O’Cathain, Elizabeth Murphy and Jon Nicholl, ‘The Quality of Mixed Methods Studies in Health Services Research’, *Journal of Health Services Research Policy*, 13 (2) (2008), p. 92.

¹⁴⁷ Cohen and Manion, p. 241.

¹⁴⁸ O’Cathain and others (2010), p. 1147.

facts.¹⁴⁹ Yin further expresses the sentiment that without triangulation ‘an invaluable advantage of the case study strategy would have been lost.’¹⁵⁰

2.8 The Research Sample in the Case Study Schools

Akin to the selection of schools, the research sample within them was purposely selected based on the principle that participants had ‘knowledge’ of the research issue.¹⁵¹ As the aim was to explore change, it was necessary to elicit the views and perceptions of those who experienced this change. Therefore, identifying key informants was pivotal. Initially the inclusion of all school stakeholders was considered – teachers, management, students, and parents; however, due to time, space and resource constraints it was decided that the key informants for this research would include those who were at the ‘coalface’ during this time of change. This included principals, deputy principals, and teachers with key positions – guidance counsellors, HSCL teachers, school chaplains – and subject teachers.

In order to minimise bias selection the researcher as an ‘insider’ had, or any other participant might have had in selecting participants, three variables were introduced. The first related to gender, the second to length of time teaching (teachers who were in the school prior to a change in the student population and those who commenced teaching whilst the student population was undergoing change), and the third an attempt to represent a broad range of subject areas that teachers taught.

2.8.1 Reaching Saturation

The guiding principle in determining sample size was that of saturation.¹⁵² Mason adopts Glaser and Strauss’ direction stating that saturation is reached when the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation.¹⁵³ It is what some consider the ‘gold standard’ by which purposive

¹⁴⁹ Yin, p. 117.

¹⁵⁰ Yin, p. 118.

¹⁵¹ Jupp, p. 244.

¹⁵² Mark Mason, ‘Sample Size and Saturation in PhD Studies Using Qualitative Interviews’, *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 11 (3) (2010), p. 1.

¹⁵³ Mason, p. 2.

sampling should be determined.¹⁵⁴ Initially the research envisaged recruiting all school stakeholders; however, given time and resource constraints reduced recruitment targets were set.

Members of school management and others with key positions were interviewed and provided useful information about the school. It was decided to interview at least one HSCL teacher, guidance counsellor, or school chaplain in each school for they would have been responsible, in some part, for the welfare of ME students. Within this non-teaching group, two retired principals and one retired deputy principal were also interviewed. One member of the Board of Management in each school was also recruited for interview. This individual not only expressed views as a Board member but s/he was on the Board as a representative of the Trustees of the school. A principal officer from the Department of Education and Skills, who had experience in the area of ME education, was also interviewed.

The recruitment of the staff for interviews involved a phone call or email followed by a letter accompanied by the plain language statement. A follow-up phone call was then made and an interview date and time was set. Table 2b illustrates the number of participants involved in the interviews for each school.

The recruitment of teachers for focus groups involved attending a staff meeting or staff room during lunch break and explaining the project. Voluntary participation was stressed. A plain language statement with contact details was made available to all. Those teachers who were interested in participating were asked to give their names and preferred day and time to the school principal. From this list focus groups were selected. Table 2c shows the number of teachers involved in each focus group for each school, their gender and the number of years they have been in their school.

The tables show that there were forty one participants involved in the study; however, each school had a minimum of seven participants (School 3) and a maximum of twelve participants (School 1). Every effort was made to ensure gender balance. In some cases this could not be achieved. As illustrated at least one female or male participant was included in every focus group. Overall, twenty four males

¹⁵⁴ Janiece L. Walker, 'The Use of Saturation in Qualitative Research', *Canadian Journal of Cardiovascular Nursing*, 22 (2) (2012), p. 37.

and seventeen females took part. Just over two-thirds of the total research sample, excluding Board members and the principal officer from the Department of Education and Skills, had been in the school prior to the year 2000. The majority were in their school for over twenty years.

Table 2b Total Number of Participants Interviewed in Each School.

School	Position	Gender	Years in School	Total
School 1	Principal	Male	20	5
	Retired Principal	Male	41	
	Deputy Principal	Male	30	
	HSCLE Teacher	Male	29	
	Board Member	Male	10	
School 2	Principal	Male	14	5
	Retired Principal	Female	10	
	HSCLE Teacher	Female	30	
	Pastoral Worker	Female	4	
	Board Member	Female	9	
School 3	Principal	Male	9	4
	Guidance Counsellor	Female	35	
	School Chaplain	Female	4	
	Board Member	Male	9	
School 4	Principal	Male	32	5
	Guidance Counsellor	Male	14	
	Retired Deputy Principal	Male	40	
	HSCLE Teacher	Male	24	
	Board Member	Male	12	
Department Education and Skills	Principal Officer	Female	n/a	1
Total Number of Participants Interviewed				20

Table 2c Total Number of Teachers Involved in Focus Groups in Each School

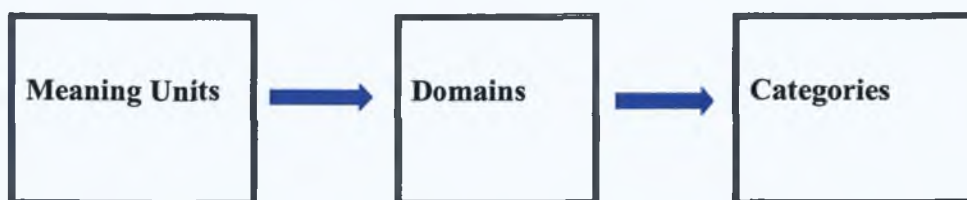
School	Participants	Number of Years in School	Total
School 1	Female Teacher	15	7
	Male Teacher	16	
	Male Teacher	10	
	Male Teacher	4	
	Female Teacher	10	
	Male Teacher	26	
	Male Teacher	34	
School 2	Principal (Male)	14	5
	Female Teacher	2	
	Female Teacher	12	
	Female Teacher	6	
	Female Teacher	11	
School 3	Female Teacher	35	3
	Female Teacher	36	
	Male Teacher	8	
School 4	Female Teacher	4	6
	Female Teacher	6	
	Male Teacher	4	
	Male Teacher	3	
	Male Teacher	36	
	Male Teacher	30	
Total Number of Participants in Focus Groups			21

2.9 The Analysis of Data

The analysis of data took two forms: a thematic analysis of the qualitative data and a statistical analysis of the quantitative data. The thematic analysis was guided by the general framework set out by Elliot and Timulak.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ Elliot and Timulak, p. 153–155.

This framework follows the form,



For Elliot and Timulak, ‘meaning units’ are parts of the data that ‘communicate sufficient information to provide a piece of meaning to the reader.’¹⁵⁶ Once established the different sets of meaning units will describe the different ‘aspects of the phenomenon’, in this case, change.¹⁵⁷ The next step was to take the patterns of meaning units and organise them into domains. This is what Quinn-Patton refers to as inductive analysis, where findings emerge from the data, as compared to deductive analysis, where findings are analysed according to a pre-conceived framework.¹⁵⁸

The meaning units in each domain were then further analysed and positioned within categories. Elliot and Timulak describe this as an interpretive process on behalf of the researcher ‘discerning regularities or similarities’ in the data.¹⁵⁹ It was important to value the language used by the participants in labelling the categories. Nevertheless, ideas for some categories did come from the researcher’s previous knowledge in the area, notably from reviewing the literature.¹⁶⁰

The above framework is similar to the processes outlined by other authors.¹⁶¹ Coffey and Atkinson employ the term ‘coding and retrieving’ to explain the process of formulating categories that condense the data to ‘manageable proportions.’¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ Elliot and Timulak, p. 153.

¹⁵⁷ Elliot and Timulak, p. 154.

¹⁵⁸ Quinn-Patton, p. 453.

¹⁵⁹ Elliot and Timulak, p. 154.

¹⁶⁰ Elliot and Timulak, p.154; Gerry W. Ryan and Bernard H. Russell, ‘Data Management and Analysis Methods’, *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, 2nd ed., ed. by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003), p. 275.

¹⁶¹ Amanda Coffey and Paul Atkinson, *Making Sense of Qualitative Data, Complimentary Research Strategies* (USA: Sage Publications, 1996), p. 26–27; Quinn-Patton, p. 453.

¹⁶² Coffey and Atkinson, p. 28.

They elaborate on this by explaining that in this way data can be used in a quasi-quantitative manner, where incidences and instances are mapped, aggregated and measured.¹⁶³ All statistical information gathered, enrolment records and LC results, were first inputted into Microsoft Excel and then transferred into a statistical based software package, known as SAS – Statistical Analysis Software (Appendix 56).

Amidst the large amount of data, five dominant categories emerged. Given the abundance of data within each category, it was important to sift through the information and select data that was relevant to the notion of ‘change’ and thus to the research question. It was also decided that the categories reflected themes relating to change that were common in all four schools. Some of the language used to describe the prevalence of an issue or instance is quasi-quantitative in nature.

The categories are,

1. Teaching and Learning
2. Academic Achievement
3. Peer Relations
4. School Identity
5. School Ethos.

2.10 Ethical Considerations

In undertaking research of this nature ethical concerns must be high on the agenda.¹⁶⁴ Prior to the commencement of any form of data collection ethical approval was sought and granted. Issues relating to consent, language and confidentiality, the ‘minimal baseline’¹⁶⁵ of ethical concerns, are all discussed below. Interviews are considered ‘interventions’ and they affect people.¹⁶⁶ It was imperative to maintain a high level of professionalism when collecting data and not to be what Quinn-Patton calls either a ‘judge or a therapist’.¹⁶⁷ Given the intrusive nature of qualitative research the researcher worked from the premise that all participants are individuals

¹⁶³ Coffey and Atkinson, p. 28.

¹⁶⁴ Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching* (London: Sage Publications, 1996), p. 29.

¹⁶⁵ Mason (1996), p. 167.

¹⁶⁶ Quinn-Patton, p. 405.

¹⁶⁷ Quinn-Patton, p. 405.

and bring with them different experiences. The aim then during every interview and focus group was to create an environment in which all participants could freely express their opinions with dignity and without fear. The researcher was aware of the sensitivities around the issue as well as the sensitivities surrounding teaching and non-teaching staff discussing aspects of their own workplace. The researcher never 'pushed for sensitive information'.¹⁶⁸

Participants were notified of the availability of a comprehensive list of educational (in and out of school) and social support services (please refer to Appendix 57). Additionally, the researcher let participants know that he was available at a later date to discuss any issues that may have arisen during the data collection process. The third ethical concern revolves around what to do with the information gathered. The qualitative process yielded much information, most of which was relevant and all of which was of a personal nature. It was important that utmost consideration was given to ensuring that the data was used in a formal and purposeful manner.¹⁶⁹

Ethical approval was granted once key ethical considerations were assured. It was essential that prospective participants were made fully aware of the aim, the nature of the study, and how results would be disseminated. Cohen and Mannion argue that the principle of informed consent originates from the participant's right to freedom and self-determination.¹⁷⁰ A Plain Language Statement was written that was 'simple, straightforward and understandable'¹⁷¹ (Appendix 55). It was stressed that participation was voluntary and that no recompense was offered. Participants read and signed a consent form which likewise stressed that their participation was voluntary and that they had the right to leave at any point without recrimination (Appendix 58). The consent form also stressed that every effort would be made to ensure anonymity. Finally, it highlighted the researcher's legal obligation to disclose information that was deemed to be harmful to any individual or group of individuals.

There were also ethical concerns surrounding the gathering of statistical information. Ethical approval was granted once the researcher explained why the

¹⁶⁸ Quinn-Patton, p. 415.

¹⁶⁹ Mason (1996), p. 166.

¹⁷⁰ Cohen and Manion, p. 350.

¹⁷¹ Quinn-Patton, p. 407.

information was necessary and guaranteed that no personal student information was required, including address, social and political status. The information that was deemed essential centred on whether or not a student was an ME student or an Irish student. In most cases the principal or secretary provided this detail.

2.11 Reflexive Analysis: Making Explicit the Researcher's Position

As noted above it is important for the researcher to make explicit their position in order to minimise bias. A significant contention here is that the researcher is an 'insider', on a personal and professional level. I will write in the first person for this section.

I am the son of migrant parents and experienced life and education in Melbourne, Australia, a multi-ethnic context. Further to this for a brief period of eighteen months I lived in Croatia, a relatively homogenous, mono-ethnic society. Though it was the intentions of my parents to reside permanently in Croatia, the conflict in the region in the 1990s meant we went back to Australia under hastened circumstances. Finally, in my early twenties, I came to Ireland, becoming one of the many of hundreds of thousands who made Ireland their temporary or permanent home. Like many migrants, my parents were and still are hard working. They instilled in their children a value for education and the motivation to achieve. This is important for I believe that they, like many migrants, left a positive impression on the country they have called home.

In light of my personal experience I feel I have a natural empathy for immigrants, for children of immigrants and ME students. I have a desire to see that they are afforded opportunities in education and also in life. I also feel that my predisposed views on the impact immigrants have on society are of an affirmative nature. These two factors motivated my desire to conduct an original piece of research in the area of multi-ethnic education.

This Ph.D. is not the first to be inspired by a personal biography.¹⁷² Bourdieu's reflexive analysis, that is, a researcher's own predisposition to how they understand the world, though traditionally entrenched in critical theory,¹⁷³ has been encouraged by many authors across many different disciplines.¹⁷⁴ For Creswell, all writing is 'positioned and within a stance'.¹⁷⁵ For Macbeth, reflexivity 'preserves and recovers the polysemy of multiple positions' in the social setting, something that a 'singular objectivising narrative voice' cannot do.¹⁷⁶

The second contention of being an insider centres on my profession, my role as an educator. In Australia I taught in a designated disadvantaged multi-ethnic school. For the last seven years I have been teaching in Ireland, based in one of the four schools involved in this study. Not only do I have an 'insider's' perspective on my own school, but also my previous research on unaccompanied minors seeking asylum afforded me the opportunity to work in the other three schools. Therefore I was aware to some extent of the nature of changes which occurred in these schools.

There is a traditional standing in research, in particular from a positivistic perspective, that the two aspects of the researcher's dual role as an employee and researcher are 'incompatible', placing the researcher in an untenable position.¹⁷⁷ Despite this, there has been an increase in the number of researchers, in particular in the numbers who are part-time students, investigating their own places of employment.¹⁷⁸ Two advantages of this are access and pre-understanding.¹⁷⁹ Access to data sources, whether through qualitative or quantitative methods, is a crucial element to research. Through previous encounters I was able to gain access to staff in all four schools as well as relevant primary data, such as enrolment and results. Almost all of the data was obtained within a twelve month period. My status as an

¹⁷² Natasha S. Mauthner and Andrea Doucet, 'Reflexive Accounts and Accounts of Reflexivity in Qualitative Data Analysis', *Sociology*, 37 (3) (2003), p. 420.

¹⁷³ Douglas Macbeth, 'On "Reflexivity" in Qualitative Research: Two Readings and a Third', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 7 (1) (2001), p. 36.

¹⁷⁴ Joe Howe and Colin Langdon, 'Towards a Reflexive Planning Theory', *Planning Theory*, 1 (3) (2002); Lynch and Lodge; Macbeth; Mauthner and Daucet.

¹⁷⁵ Creswell, p. 179.

¹⁷⁶ Macbeth, p. 39.

¹⁷⁷ Morse cited in Brannick and Coghlan, p. 59.

¹⁷⁸ Brannick and Coghlan, p. 68.

¹⁷⁹ Brannick and Coghlan, p. 68.

insider was extremely helpful during a period of what I and others in my profession considered industrial tension.

With regard to the notion of pre-understanding I was able to comprehend the language, the meanings and the context participants spoke of during the qualitative stage. I knew as a teacher, teaching in a similar environment, 'where they were coming from.' I was able to rely on 'internal jargon' to delve deeper during interviews, allowing me to obtain 'richer' data.¹⁸⁰

As an 'insider' I had prior knowledge of the attitudes and views of teachers within my own school setting. To guarantee that I did not select staff based on them having what I might have considered a favourable view on the education of ME students, I strictly adhered to my original plan of selecting participants. This was explained above under the sub-heading dealing with the research sample. My status as an insider also alleviated any issues of power between the researcher and those who were researched. I did not represent 'academia' or 'officialdom'; nor did I stand on any previous platform of knowledge. It was important that participants were not disenfranchised by the research. My status was acknowledged and appreciated as being 'one of them', someone who teaches in a similar environment and someone who experienced that environment during a period of change.

In order to ensure that the highest level of methodological rigour was adhered to and to minimise any level of partiality, I was guided by Mauthner and Daucet's main contention that dedicated times of reflexivity should be built into the research process.¹⁸¹ In my case regular meetings with my supervisor allowed for this. This afforded me the opportunity to keep on track with the research path originally set out. Given what Yin claims was my 'preconceived notion' it was also important to test my 'openness' and 'tolerance' to contrary findings.¹⁸² The meetings with my supervisor and other academics, especially during the data collection phase, ensured that my own predisposition and any biases I brought into the research process were continuously challenged. Furthermore, as this research was conducted on a part-time basis, the majority of work was done in dedicated phases, most notably during

¹⁸⁰ Brannick and Coghlan, p. 69.

¹⁸¹ Mauthner and Doucet, p. 425.

¹⁸² *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, by Robert K. Yin, 4th ed. (USA: Sage Publications, 2008), p. 72.

school holidays. This time away allowed me to take important breaks. It also allowed me to take a step back from the research and gain perspective.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter presented how change in four inner city schools whose student population changed from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic was explored. It briefly provided some philosophical and educational insight surrounding the notion of change. It then discussed the importance of research paradigms and outlined why this particular study was positioned within an interpretive research paradigm. The chapter further explored the notion of reflexivity, examining the researcher's motivations for doing the research, biases and efforts to minimise the impact this may have had on the study.

The above shows that a case study approach was adopted to explore change in the four schools. This was deemed the most appropriate research method as the researcher's intention was to examine, in an in-depth manner, change in a select number of schools. Due to their high concentration of ME students, these schools were considered 'unique' in the Irish context. This chapter revealed that the majority of data was obtained through qualitative methods; interviews and focus groups. Issues pertaining to triangulation were considered. This research employed quantitative methods of data collection, through the gathering and analysis of enrolment records and LC results, to complement the qualitative data. The analysis of data was guided by a framework set out by Elliot and Timulak. Finally, this chapter examined ethical concerns linked with the investigation.

CHAPTER THREE

Responding to the Needs of the Time: Rice, Aikenhead and the Four Schools

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the four schools involved in this research and outlined the methods employed for this study. It presented the notion of change from a philosophical and an educational standpoint. From an educational perspective societal changes, whether through government policy or demographic changes, affect school change. Chapter Two also stressed the notion set out by organisational theorists that schools need to change in order to survive. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that, since their founding, the four schools in this study have always been subject to change; this change has almost always been in response to government policy or demographic change.

In order to explore recent changes to the schools resulting from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic shifts in student population, an overview of previous changes is required. In so doing a degree of consistency is maintained ensuring that an 'evolutionary view' of the schools is taken. Further, it avoids what Lightfoot argues is the 'ahistorical' approach taken by some enquiries where the 'value and worth of a school' are judged by a 'single snapshot in time.'¹ This is in line with Bergson's contention that true change could only be explained by an 'interpenetration of the past and present, not a mathematical succession of static states.'² As documented in Chapter Two, Bergson's insistence that the view of the world must be 'dynamic' rather than static³ was pursued by Whitehead who claimed that the world was made up of events and that one human momentary experience arises out of other experiences that make up the past. If one were to isolate the initial experience from the past, it 'would lose all human qualities ... the sensory data of that experience would have no meaning.'⁴

¹ Lightfoot, p. 24.

² Russell, p. 763.

³ Russell, p. 763.

⁴ Cobb Jr., p. 569.

This chapter is sectioned into two parts. Section One positions the background of the schools within the historical context of Irish society and education from the beginning of the 19th century up until the year 2000. It provides a brief description of the plight of the poor in Ireland at the turn of the 19th century, outlining the response from the State, the Catholic Church, and two historically significant figures in Irish education, Edmund Rice, founder of the Christian Brothers and Mary Aikenhead, founder of the Sisters of Charity. An interpretation of their original visions is summarised. Following this, a brief synopsis of the Intermediate Education Act of 1878 and its impact on second level education in Ireland, and the four schools, is presented. The schools are then positioned amidst the backdrop of the establishment of the Irish Department of Education in 1924 up to free education in 1967, then right through the 1980s and 1990s when issues surrounding educational disadvantage gained greater prominence in Irish education. It concludes by offering a portrayal of the schools in the year 2000.

Section Two describes how the student populations across the four schools changed from 2000 to 2010. This section explores the initial reasons why ME students enrolled, stressing location as a key reason, and why they continued to enrol. The successive enrolment of ME students was largely determined by the reputations the schools established in welcoming and caring for ME students.

Section One: Society, Education and the Four Schools in the 19th and 20th Century

3.1 Education and Poverty in Ireland in the Early 19th Century

By the beginning of the 19th century European countries were gripped by ‘profound’ change.⁵ As political unrest enveloped France, England, by means of industrialisation, underwent significant social change.⁶ Ireland did not experience

⁵ John Coolahan, *Irish Education: Its History and Structure* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981), p. 3.

⁶ Coolahan, p. 3.

this industrial change;⁷ however, centuries of colonial rule culminating in Penal Laws meant that by the 1800s there were no measures in place to educate Irish people of Catholic faith.⁸ Their participation in organised education was 'practically non-existent.'⁹ Prior to the establishment of the National System of Education in 1831, education was 'privately financed,'¹⁰ serving the aim to 'protestantise' rather than educate.¹¹

Additionally, as Blake contends, people did not have to 'look far to discover the poor.'¹² Between 1800 and the Great Famine, poverty in Ireland was central to how Irish society was defined.¹³ Rescuing Ireland from the grip of poverty was considered a cause which would bestow upon the individual 'the applause of the world.'¹⁴ Dublin did not escape this poverty. The abolition of the Irish Parliament in 1801 left the lavish Georgian public buildings and townhouses in the hands of ravenous landlords who sub-divided the buildings into tenements for the poor.¹⁵ As wealthier citizens moved out to newly created suburbs beyond the city limits, the story of Dublin in the 19th century became synonymous with poverty.¹⁶ Normoyle described the city as one of contrast, 'of poverty and luxury, it was very wealthy and very wicked, very gay and very dissolute.'¹⁷ People within the city limits lived in

⁷ Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish Educational Experiment: The National System of Education in the 19th Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 3.

⁸ Eugene M. Boylan, 'Edmund Ignatius Rice, Founder of the Irish Christian Brothers, 1762–1844', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 131 (31) (1944), p. 291.

⁹ Louis O'Flaherty, *Management and Control in Irish Education: The Post-Primary Experience* (Dublin: Drumcondra Teacher Centre, 1992), p. 5.

¹⁰ Joel Mokyr, *Why Ireland Starved: A Qualitative and Analytical History of the Irish Economy, 1800–1850* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1985), p. 183.

¹¹ *Mud Island: A History of Ballybough*, ed. by Noel Dowling and Aran O'Reilly (Dublin: Allen Library Project, 2002), p. 55.

¹² Donal S. Blake, *Mary Aikenhead, Servant of the Poor* (Dublin: Caritas, 2009), p. 18.

¹³ Peter Gray, 'Thomas Chalmers and Irish Poverty' in *Ireland and Scotland in the 19th Century*, ed. by Frank Ferguson and James McConnel (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), p. 93.

¹⁴ Donal A. Kerr, *'A Nation of Beggars'? Priests, People and Politics in Famine Ireland, 1846–1852* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 7.

¹⁵ Blake (2009), p. 20.

¹⁶ Jacinta Prunty, 'Improving the Urban Environment, Public Health and Housing in 19th Century Dublin' in *Dublin Through Space and Time*, ed. by Joseph Brady and Angrett Simms (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 167.

¹⁷ M.C. Normoyle, *A Tree is Planted, The Life and Times of Edmund Rice* (Dublin: Irish Christian Brothers, 1976), p. 98.

‘human rabbit warrens’ leading to the spread of diseases: tuberculosis, typhoid and smallpox.¹⁸

3.1.1 Educating the Poor: The State Response

Amidst this backdrop there was a need to establish educational structures for Ireland’s poor.¹⁹ In 1799, Edgeworth’s Education Bill proposed to establish schools in every parish in Ireland; however, given that it was proposed only a year after the 1798 Rebellion, ‘hardened attitudes’ by some prevented the bill from passing.²⁰ In 1811, The Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, otherwise known as the Kildare Place Society, formed by a group of Anglican gentlemen with some Catholic support, set out to with a ‘similar vision.’²¹

In 1831 a National School System was established. It set out to serve poor students of all denominations; students should be in the same class for literacy subjects, yet separated for religious instruction.²² As a result the number of schools grew at an extraordinary rate. In 1835 there were just over 1,100 national schools; by 1850, this figure was just over 4,500.²³ Though the state’s original intention was to establish a non-denominational system, mainly for demographic reasons, by 1851 a denominational system was in practice.²⁴

3.1.2 Educating the Poor: The Response of the Catholic Church

Though the Penal Laws in the 18th century prohibited the education of Catholics they did not prohibit them from involvement in trade.²⁵ The dismantling of some Penal

¹⁸ Glasnevin Heritage Project, *Death and Design in Victorian Glasnevin* (Dublin: Dublin Cemeteries Committee, 2000), p. 39.

¹⁹ Coolahan, p. 3.

²⁰ Edward F. Burton, ‘Richard Lovell Edgeworth’s Education Bill, 1799: A Missing Chapter in the History of Irish Education’, *The Irish Journal of Education*, 1 (xiii) (1979), p. 26.

²¹ Norman Atkinson, *Irish Education: A History of Educational Institutions* (Dublin: Allen and Figgis Co. Ltd., 1969), p. 69.

²² O’Flaherty, p. 7.

²³ Coolahan, p. 9.

²⁴ Akenson, p. 4.

²⁵ Blake (2009), p. 18.

Laws in 1778 further meant that a minority of Catholic farmers availed of larger land leases.²⁶ The net result was the creation of a small group of wealthy Catholic merchants.²⁷ It was from this 'close knit' and 'firmly entrenched' Catholic social class that the plight of the poor struck at the heart of certain individuals. As Blake suggests, such enlightened individuals 'had the broader vision of feeding the greater hunger of the time, a hunger for knowledge, spiritual growth, and a thirst for truth, justice and fair play.'²⁸ Two most notable figures were Rice and Aikenhead. Consequently, it was from this group that the Catholic Church in Ireland saw the opportunity to provide an alternative to free state education, which it sceptically viewed as being proselytising.²⁹

3.2 Responding to the Needs of the Poor: Edmund Ignatius Rice

Edmund Rice amassed his wealth as a merchant in Waterford city.³⁰ After a familial tragedy, he devoted much of his time to visiting the poor in Waterford, frequenting their homes and comforting prisoners prior to their executions.³¹ Through his involvement in a number of charities, Rice became 'increasingly aware of the woeful plight of Waterford's uneducated boys'.³² His work reflected his concern for social justice and helping the marginalised in society.³³ In 1800, Rice began teaching street children and by 1802 he was joined by two others to form a 'brotherhood to teach the poor'.³⁴ In 1808, Rice and nine companions took on vows of poverty, chastity and obedience.³⁵ A year later they took another vow – the charitable instruction of poor boys. By 1810, Rice and his Brothers had a system of education in place.³⁶ In 1822,

²⁶ Daire Keogh, 'Edmund Rice (1762–1844): Apostle of Modernisation', *History Ireland*, 3 (4) (1996), p. 33.

²⁷ Blake (2009), p. 18.

²⁸ Blake, *Ard Scoil Ris – Rice High School, 50 Years*, Introduction.

²⁹ Daire Keogh, *Edmund Rice, 1762–1844* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996a), p. 18.

³⁰ School 1 Annual 1996, ed. by J. Maher (Dublin, 1996), p. 2.

³¹ Maher, p. 2.

³² Desmond Rushe, *Edmund Rice: The Man and His Times* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan Ltd., 1981), p. 33.

³³ Keogh (1996a), p. 32.

³⁴ Maher, p. 3.

³⁵ Rushe, p. 47.

³⁶ Keogh, (1996a), p. 47.

this group was formally recognised by the Vatican and Edmund Rice became the Superior General of the Christian Brothers.³⁷

3.2.1 The Original Rice Vision

Rice's original vision is found in his congregation's constitution. It states:

The end of this congregation is that its members labour in the first place for their own perfection and in the second for that of their neighbour by serious application to the instruction of male children especially the poor, in the principles of religion and Christian piety.³⁸

Rice's vision went beyond education. In his first school in Waterford students were provided with milk and bread. A tailor was employed to mend and distribute clothes to the poorer boys.³⁹ Even at this, Rice was sensitive in how he dealt with them so as to make sure that the poorer students' dress did 'not distinguish them from other scholars.'⁴⁰ Contrary to the practice of the day, care was also demonstrated by his unwillingness to enforce corporal punishment.⁴¹ He advocated 'kindness and gentleness'⁴² towards students and aspired to educate through what Keogh stresses was a 'spirit of love rather than fear.'⁴³ In every boy Rice 'saw a soul and in every soul he saw Christ.'⁴⁴

His work was inclusive in nature. Tuite outlines the many forms to this inclusivity. First, regardless of religion or social standing, Rice was willing to work with anyone, in order to achieve his goal. Second, regardless of denomination he welcomed all poor boys to his schools. Third, even in teaching religion, Rice maintained that the 'freedom and dignity' of all was respected and religion should

³⁷ Rushe, p. 75.

³⁸ Keogh (1996a), p. 47.

³⁹ Keogh (1996a), p. 47.

⁴⁰ Normoyle, p. 63.

⁴¹ Kerrie Patricia Tuite, 'Making the Edmund Rice Ethos a Reality: A Case Study in the Perceptions of Principals in Christian Brothers' Schools in Queensland (unpublished doctoral thesis, Australian Catholic University, School of Educational Leadership, 2008), p. 19; Daire Keogh, *Edmund Rice and the First Christian Brothers* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), p. 119.

⁴² Tuite, p. 19.

⁴³ Keogh (2008), p. 119.

⁴⁴ Normoyle, p. 51.

not be 'forced'.⁴⁵ When opening Rice's first permanent school in Dublin (School 1 in this study) Daniel O'Connell stated:

This was a school founded on liberal and not sectarian principles ... no means would be adopted to proselytise the Protestant child, he would be educated and taught with as such anxiety as the Catholic, but with his religion there would be no intermeddling.⁴⁶

There is further evidence that this inclusivity extended beyond the island of Ireland. In one Brothers' school in the north of England, it was reported that two thirds of the student population were of Protestant background. A mother of one Protestant child remarked, 'teach them what you want; I know you will teach them nothing but what is good', affirming the view that the work of Rice and the earlier Christian Brothers was based on an 'open, tolerant, welcoming Catholic Christianity'.⁴⁷

Rice's vision and work were not immune to criticism. Initially, there was a feeling among the upper Protestant classes that educating the poor was considered 'hopeless'.⁴⁸ His associates were 'sceptical', branding his efforts as 'an act of mad folly'.⁴⁹ They questioned his ability to educate 'unstable and erratic boys'⁵⁰ holding the view that 'the poor were better off without education.'⁵¹ Some questioned the location of his first temporary school in Waterford and resented that 'thugs and delinquents' were being brought into a respectable area⁵² and, in their eyes, lowering the tone.⁵³

Criticism and subsequent action also came from within the Catholic hierarchy and within his own order.⁵⁴ Rice's readiness to link in with any legitimate organisation, including state bodies, in order to educate the poor of Waterford, was heavily criticised and undermined. Initially, some Christian Brothers' schools fell under the remit of the National Education System set up in 1831. A minority of

⁴⁵ Tuite, p. 22.

⁴⁶ Keogh (1996a), p. 74.

⁴⁷ Tuite, p. 22.

⁴⁸ Keogh (1996a), p. 49.

⁴⁹ Maher, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Maher, p. 2.

⁵¹ Rushe, p. 35.

⁵² Maher, p. 2.

⁵³ Rushe, p. 35.

⁵⁴ Tuite, p. 23.

Brothers viewed this as ‘collaboration with the enemy’. A few years later those schools were withdrawn from the national system.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, Rice met such disparagement with ‘doggedness and equanimity.’⁵⁶ His vision to provide a system ‘suited to the special requirements’ of his students enabled him to establish a ‘system of schooling which was unified, enlightened and progressive.’⁵⁷ He was pragmatic, recognising continual change in the world.⁵⁸ In all his charitable acts, no-one was ever turned away.⁵⁹ His vision was steeped in a ‘proverbial’ kindness for the poor⁶⁰ and an enlightened approach to provide a holistic education to a large but marginalised section of Irish society at the time.

3.3 Responding to the Needs of the Poor: Mary Aikenhead

Mary Aikenhead was born in Cork. Her father, a pharmacist/doctor, was Protestant and her mother came from a merchant Roman Catholic family.⁶¹ Though baptised an Anglican, she became a Roman Catholic.⁶² Throughout her youth she was impressed by her father’s charitable acts, including visiting the poor in parts of Cork city.⁶³ Further, she witnessed the compassionate work of Nano Nagle’s Presentation Sisters in Cork whose primary concern was to educate, feed and clothe poor children.⁶⁴

It was during her formative years that Aikenhead cultivated ‘one burning passion, a deep concern for the poor.’⁶⁵ At twenty one she decided to dedicate her life to serving the poor. She considered joining the Presentation Sisters but felt restricted by the laws of enclosure which prohibited nuns from working outside their

⁵⁵ Tuite, p. 24.

⁵⁶ Rushe, p. 54.

⁵⁷ Normoyle, p. 51.

⁵⁸ Rushe, p. 77.

⁵⁹ Normoyle, p. 52.

⁶⁰ Normoyle, p. 62.

⁶¹ Blake (2009), p. 2.

⁶² Blake (2009), p. 15.

⁶³ Blake (2009), p. 4.

⁶⁴ Rosa MacGinley, ‘Irish Women Religious and their Convent High Schools’, *Australasian Catholic Record*, 1 (87) (2010), p. 7.

⁶⁵ Blake (2009), p. 18.

convents. Like the Ursuline Sisters, the Presentation Sisters were confined to only serving the poor in schools attached to their convents.⁶⁶

In 1815, Aikenhead founded the Sisters of Charity, whose primary aim was to care for the sick and poor and provide general social relief, including free basic education.⁶⁷ The Sisters were bound by vows of poverty, chastity and obedience as well as an oath of service to the poor. The women who joined Aikenhead, 'deliberately chose an active religious life serving the poor.'⁶⁸ The community quickly became recognised, welcomed and respected by the poor because they were living and working among them.⁶⁹ Aikenhead opened her first school in Gardiner Street in Dublin's north inner city in 1830.⁷⁰ She opened her first hospital in Dublin in 1834.⁷¹

3.3.1 The Original Aikenhead Vision

Aikenhead's vision and subsequent actions were inspired by her faith and her concern and love for the poor at that time.⁷²

Love was the compelling force behind all of her life's work. Her warm-hearted caring love sprang from her deep tender love for God which was rooted in faith.⁷³

She often referred to scriptures for inspiration: the stories of Dives and Lazarus, the Good Samaritan and the washing of the feet.⁷⁴ Aikenhead encouraged her Sisters to live by the simple motto, 'Caritas Christi Urget Nos': the Charity of Christ urges us.⁷⁵

⁶⁶ Blake (2009), p. 19.

⁶⁷ MacGinley, p. 7.

⁶⁸ Moira O'Sullivan, 'Mary Aikenhead, Inspiration for NOW: A Woman for all Seasons', *The Australian Catholic Record*, 88 (4) (2011), p. 408.

⁶⁹ Karen Francis, 'Service to the Poor: The Foundations of Community Nursing in England, Ireland and New South Wales', *International Journal of Nursing Practice*, 7 (2001), p. 172.

⁷⁰ Blake (2009), p. 46.

⁷¹ Margaret Fitzpatrick, Eoin Hartnett, Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Tomás O'Riordan, 'Key Personalities', in *Ireland, 1815–1870: Emancipation, Famine and Religion*, ed. by Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Tomás O'Riordan (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), p. 240.

⁷² O'Sullivan, p. 403.

⁷³ Religious Sisters of Charity Ireland, *History*, (2012).

⁷⁴ O'Sullivan, p. 409.

⁷⁵ Blake (2009), p. 50.

Like Rice, she was not afraid to reach out to the most marginalised of society at the time – the condemned in gaol. Whilst the accepted middle-class attitude towards prisoners was uncompassionate,⁷⁶ she offered compassion. The Governor of Kilmainham Gaol was impressed by her influence on the prisoners and as a result organised regular visitations.⁷⁷ She too responded to the call of the most marginalised beyond the island of Ireland. In 1838 she sent five Sisters to a convict settlement in Australia.⁷⁸ In her quest to help the most marginalised, she often noted, ‘this has never been done before, that is no reason why it should not be done now.’⁷⁹

Aikenhead and her Sisters were always willing to attend to the immediate needs of the poor, ‘both spiritual and temporal.’⁸⁰ When Asiatic cholera broke out in Dublin in 1832, Aikenhead immediately took action. Sisters were sent to a make-shift hospital in Grangegorman in Dublin’s north inner city.⁸¹ There they ‘calmly’ brought ‘solace to the dying and gentle nursing to the convalescents.’⁸² Aikenhead ensured that the highest standards of service were delivered. When she opened St. Vincent’s Hospital in 1834, she sent three Sisters to Paris for training⁸³, advocating that ‘trained nurses provided skilled care.’⁸⁴ In 1858, a School of Medicine was established in the hospital.⁸⁵ In 1845, she established the first hospice for the dying in Ireland. It was located in Harold’s Cross.⁸⁶ Aikenhead wanted the women who joined her to be ‘resourceful and capable of initiative.’⁸⁷ She would always remind them to put the comforts of their patients before their own.⁸⁸

Her vision was inclusive and underlined by the principle of ‘helping all.’⁸⁹ Her Sisters carried this charisma to Australia. At the opening of a hospital in Sydney in

⁷⁶ Rushe, p. 50.

⁷⁷ Blake (2009), p. 40.

⁷⁸ Religious Sisters of Charity, Ireland.

⁷⁹ O’Sullivan, p. 402.

⁸⁰ Blake (2009), p. 51.

⁸¹ Blake (2009), p. 51.

⁸² Blake (2009), p.51.

⁸³ Fitzpatrick and others, p. 240.

⁸⁴ Francis, p. 172.

⁸⁵ Francis, p. 172.

⁸⁶ Fitzpatrick and others, p. 240.

⁸⁷ O’Sullivan, p. 410.

⁸⁸ Blake (2009), p. 58.

⁸⁹ O’Sullivan, p. 408.

1857, they stated that it was 'open to all denominations'.⁹⁰ Her notion of 'including all' may have reflected the fact that she was raised by a Roman Catholic mother and Protestant father, but this mind-set was the prototype of the ecumenical vision set out almost 150 years later in Vatican II.⁹¹

This inclusivity was complemented by humility. Aikenhead and her Sisters were not afraid to seek assistance when required. When opening the first school in Dublin in 1830, the Sisters of Charity 'gratefully accepted' the services of a teacher in a Meath Street school run by the Quakers and later by a Christian Brother.⁹²

As with Rice, Aikenhead's vision for her schools went beyond basic education. Poorer girls were nourished and clothed.⁹³ She stayed true to her principles and commitment to educating the poor. Unlike the Presentation and Mercy Sisters who by the late 1830s developed 'pay day schools' for better-off Catholic children, the Sisters of Charity continued to provide free 'poor' education.⁹⁴

Aikenhead was adamant that in order to provide a service to the poor her congregation had to be independent of any 'ecclesiastical interference.'⁹⁵ She insisted on the notion of 'central government' as the only form that allowed her Sisters to fulfil the vision of her work.⁹⁶ In Cork the poor referred to Aikenhead and her Sisters as the 'walking nuns.'⁹⁷ Like Rice, she too had her critics from outside and from within;⁹⁸ however, she was adamant that her Sisters would endeavour to 'give to the poor what the rich can get with money.'⁹⁹

The original Rice and Aikenhead visions and their subsequent efforts were borne out of the societal inequalities that existed at the time. They focused on serving the largest and most marginalised demographic group, the Catholic poor. There is evidence that this vision and endeavour was initially encouraged and thereafter endorsed by the Catholic Church. This endorsement was in response to the

⁹⁰ O'Sullivan, p. 408.

⁹¹ O'Sullivan, p. 408.

⁹² O'Sullivan, p. 411.

⁹³ Blake (2009), p. 47.

⁹⁴ MacGinley, p. 8.

⁹⁵ Blake (2009), p. 70.

⁹⁶ O'Sullivan, p. 411.

⁹⁷ Blake (2009), p. 42.

⁹⁸ Blake (2009), p. 61.

⁹⁹ Beatrice Musole, 'Celebrating Mary Aikenhead's Anniversary' Speech, (2012).

establishment of a state-run non-denominational education system which, in the eyes of the Catholic Church, was perceived to be a mechanism for ‘proselytising.’¹⁰⁰ Thus, in Rice and Aikenhead, the Catholic Church saw an opportunity to remedy the problem of not only providing an education to the largest group in society but further ensuring that it was a Catholic one.

As evident, there is little doubt that both Rice and Aikenhead were stout in their Catholic faith; however, the underlying premise to their vision and work centred on the concern they had for the marginalised, whether they were Catholic or not. Rice has been described as having ‘the noble qualities of ardour, endurance, foresight and perseverance’¹⁰¹ while Aikenhead has been described as ‘courageous, forward thinking, a risk-taker and visionary.’¹⁰² They both undertook enormous and unique ventures, considered impractical and unpopular at that time. They both set out to serve the marginalised of their day.

3.4 The Founding of the Four Schools

The four schools involved in this study were founded originally as primary schools at different times during the 19th century. All were borne out of the Rice and Aikenhead visions. All are located in Dublin’s north inner city. Schools 1 and 3 are geographically the furthest apart, the other two schools positioned between them. Table 3a offers a description of each school at the time they were founded. It shows that each school initially catered for children from the immediate locality.

¹⁰⁰ Keogh (2008), p. 18.

¹⁰¹ Boylan, p. 292.

¹⁰² O’Sullivan, p. 408.

Table 3a Description of Schools at the time they were founded

School	Description
School 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Foundation stone laid in 1828 - First Class, 300 + boys, all from the immediate locality - Occupation of parents included stone-cutter, chicken-plucker, brewer, churner, fishmonger and so forth¹⁰³
School 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Founded in 1834 - Provided much needed education to girls from locality - Provided some of them with food and clothing - Developed reputation for high standard of care and education - Subjects included music, art and French¹⁰⁴
School 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Originally set up as refuge for young female orphans in 1819 - Provided them with skills for employment - By 1863 catered for 150 girls - In 1867, officially became a 'poor' school for girls in area - Fell under remit of Board of Education at the time¹⁰⁵
School 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opened in 1869 to serve boys from the area - Lies directly between the two girls' schools, Schools 2 and 3 - First day, 300 boys - Shortly thereafter, numbers rose to 500 boys - Boys were 'unruly', some of them never being at school¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ *School 1: A Long and Noble Tradition of Excellence*, ed. by B. Gorman, (Dublin: School 1, 2010), p. 4–6.

¹⁰⁴ School 2, *History*, (2012).

¹⁰⁵ R. Doyle, *School 3: A Brief History*, Unpublished (2004), p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Christian Brothers, 'History of the Institute', *The Christian Brothers' Educational Record* (Dublin: Christian Brothers, 1925), p. 19.

3.5 The Introduction of the Intermediate Education Act (1878)

By 1870 over 580 schools in Ireland, run by various religious organisations, offered education beyond primary level.¹⁰⁷ These schools were considered ‘superior’ schools sharing the common trait of teaching a foreign language.¹⁰⁸ Whilst much of society availed of education at primary level it was still only the privileged who were educated beyond this.¹⁰⁹

In 1878, the government introduced the Intermediate Education Act. It was an examination board which set out to establish a system of public examinations beyond primary level, offer certificates and prizes to high achieving students, and tender payment to managers of schools based on their results.¹¹⁰ It allowed the state to fund schools based on achievement levels, in effect, ‘Payment by Results’.¹¹¹ It was also the turning point in the education of girls. A late addition to the Act ensured government funding was granted to both males and females on equal terms.¹¹²

Despite this, issues persisted. The Act failed to establish a state-coordinated secondary system; organisations who ran schools continued to operate independently.¹¹³ Further, secondary education continued to be a ‘fee paying’ privilege, available only to a minority in society. The Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Charity manoeuvred around the issue of ‘privilege’ in a number of ways.

The Christian Brothers were considered ‘very good’ at ensuring that young boys who had the potential to go beyond primary level did so. Primary schools registered as intermediate schools and thus, through scholarships, prepared students for the Intermediate Examination.¹¹⁴ By the 1890s almost one-fourth of boys who attended Christian Brother primary schools went on to some form of post-primary education.¹¹⁵ They were further successful at quickly establishing a reputation for

¹⁰⁷ O’Flaherty, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ T.J. McGelligott, *Secondary Education in Ireland, 1870–1921* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1981), p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Coolahan, p. 52.

¹¹⁰ O’Flaherty, p. 9.

¹¹¹ O’Flaherty, p. 10.

¹¹² Atkinson, p. 115.

¹¹³ Coolahan, p. 56.

¹¹⁴ McGelligott, p. 69.

¹¹⁵ McGelligott, p. 69.

academic success. Between 1879 and 1900 as much as forty percent of prize money went to students from Christian Brothers' schools.¹¹⁶

Education for Rice was always considered the key to escaping poverty; however, the introduction of the Intermediate Act in 1878 meant that education became all about 'upward social mobility' achieved only through 'the gate' of success in public examinations.¹¹⁷ This was evident in a change in the curriculum in Christian Brother schools. It veered from a vocational and scientific focus to a classic and literary one.¹¹⁸ The Christian Brothers still taught science and manual instruction as in 1900 these subjects became compulsory for Intermediate grants.¹¹⁹ Similarly, the Brothers started teaching Latin when it became a highly marked subject under the Intermediate Board and led to highly positioned civil service jobs.¹²⁰ It was also useful for those who aspired to the priesthood.

According to McLaughlin, Christian Brother schools became more about academic success rather than meeting the needs of the poor.¹²¹ The compassion that Rice meted to the poor boys of Waterford was replaced by the imposition of 'middle-class' values in conjunction with a 'severe discipline' regime, including corporal punishment, which Rice would not have tolerated.¹²² Christian Brother schools became academic and, as McElligott argues, became successful in what mattered most, examination success.¹²³ Given that the standard of education provided by the Christian Brothers was 'of exceptional quality' their schools, in particular in larger urban settings, began attracting not only 'poor children but also, increasingly, children of the Catholic middle classes.'¹²⁴

After the Intermediate Act of 1878, the two Sisters of Charity schools, Schools 2 and 3, remained on as primary schools until the late 1920s when they became known as 'Secondary Tops.' These were primary schools who prepared students for

¹¹⁶ Denis McLaughlin, *The Price of Freedom: Edmund Rice Educational Leader* (Melbourne: David Lovell Publishing, 2007), p. 327.

¹¹⁷ McLaughlin, p. 327.

¹¹⁸ McGelligott, p. 12.

¹¹⁹ Christian Brothers, p. 30.

¹²⁰ McGelligott, p. 12.

¹²¹ McLaughlin, p. 328.

¹²² McLaughlin, p. 327.

¹²³ McGelligott, p. 51.

¹²⁴ McLaughlin, p. 332.

the Intermediate Certificate, thus avoiding imposing secondary school fees upon them. In effect the objective of these schools 'was to give clever children with limited means, a good education and a means of livelihood.'¹²⁵

Students not only prepared for the Intermediate Exams but also for civil service examinations and other government posts. Some students from these two schools also received state prizes whilst others were granted corporation scholarships going on to complete their LC in nearby secondary schools.¹²⁶ For the State, such schools served a 'useful purpose', providing an 'opportunity for certain children, often in poorer districts, to obtain a secondary education which they would not get otherwise.'¹²⁷

From the 1890's Catholic schools in Ireland also served the useful purpose of promoting the Irish language.¹²⁸ Following from their founding in 1893, Farren claims that the Gaelic League concentrated much of their attention in the area of education in order to have the Irish language officially recognised.¹²⁹ The Christian Brothers were one of the first Irish orders to introduce the Irish language into many of their secondary schools¹³⁰ McMahon suggests that while the Gaelic League praised the Christian Brothers for this, they criticised the female orders for offering only 'an English-style education'.¹³¹ Additionally, the Gaelic League's close ties with other organisations such as the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) and Sinn Féin meant that schools not only promoted Gaelic games but also the political aims of Irish nationalism.¹³² In 1916, some 120 past pupils from School 1 volunteered for the Easter Rising of that year.¹³³ Thus, from this period onwards, schools played a

¹²⁵ School 2.

¹²⁶ Doyle, p. 2.

¹²⁷ John Coolahan, *The ASTI and Post-Primary Education, 1909–1984* (Dublin: ASTI, 1984), p. 110.

¹²⁸ Sean Farren, *The History of Irish Education, 1920 - 1965* (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, 1995) p. 15.

¹²⁹ Farren, p. 15.

¹³⁰ Timothy McMahon, *Grand Opportunity, The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893 - 1910* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2008) p. 53.

¹³¹ McMahon, p. 53.

¹³² Farren, p. 16.

¹³³ School 1, *1996 Annual*, p. 25.

crucial role in ensuring that Ireland became 'predominantly Catholic, White and Gaelic'.¹³⁴

3.6 The Establishment of the Department of Education, 1924

All schools, those that offered primary and second level education, fell under the remit of the Department of Education in 1924.¹³⁵ Secondary education, still a privilege, continued to be placed at the feet of voluntary organisations.¹³⁶ Some primary schools progressed to become full secondary schools whilst others remained on as secondary tops. From School 1 a secondary school emerged. It provided a high standard of education and attracted academically able students from beyond its locality, preparing many of them for third level education.¹³⁷ School 4, like many Christian Brother schools, educated boys who showed academic promise. It had, by this time, developed a reputation as a school in which the 'essentials were well taught' and one which 'rendered the envy of less favoured or less successful rivals'.¹³⁸

Schools 2 and 3 remained as secondary tops until the dawn of free education in 1967. Serving the 'useful purpose' noted above, these schools continued to increase in number so much so that, by the mid 1940s, roughly twenty percent of all students in Ireland aged between fourteen and sixteen were educated in secondary tops.¹³⁹ Akin to Schools 1 and 4, the two girls' schools provided academically able students the opportunity to sit their Intermediate and other employment-led examinations. They too established reputations as 'only the highly academic were chosen to remain' beyond primary level.¹⁴⁰

By 1924 all four schools had somewhat deviated from the original visions set out by Rice and Aikenhead. The initial notion to serve all at primary level was

¹³⁴ Parker-Jenkins and Masterson, p. 13.

¹³⁵ Department of Education, *Report for the School Year 1924–1925* (Dublin: Messers Eason and Son Ltd., 1926), p. 5.

¹³⁶ Coolahan (1984), p. 2.

¹³⁷ P.J. Merriman, 'School 1 and the University', *School 1 Centenary Record, 1828–1928* (Dublin: Christian Brothers, 1928), p. 109.

¹³⁸ Christian Brothers, 1925, p. 30.

¹³⁹ Coolahan, p. 44.

¹⁴⁰ School 2.

replaced by a meritocratic one which was to serve only those who were academically able at second level. Their curriculum, driven by purpose, was mainly 'classical-academic', preparing students for 'third level and white-collar occupations.'¹⁴¹ This was later coupled by a greater focus from the state on vocational education and the emergence of schools that offered 'technical, practical and vocational-oriented subjects.'¹⁴² Therefore, students who were not academically-oriented and who progressed beyond primary school were served by this sector.¹⁴³

The Intermediate Education Act 1878 was pivotal in this change – a government policy to financially 'reward' schools for academic success. For Hyland, this act left an impressionable mark.

[Second-level education] became dominated by examinations. Examination syllabuses largely determined what went on in schools and the curricular emphasis of many schools must have undergone significant change as a result. A competitive ethic permeated the system and the legacy of the examination-oriented system has remained with us to the present day.¹⁴⁴

The deviation noted above must be viewed in context. The pressing need to secure funding to operate schools was a constant imposition on both the Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Charity.¹⁴⁵ Prize money secured through examination success was the only source of funding from the state. Keogh argues that it was the Christian Brothers' reluctance to co-operate with state initiatives, even up until 1930, which meant that they were always outside 'the system' and had 'to embrace' the Act of 1878.¹⁴⁶ Similarly Aikenhead's resistance to 'ecclesiastical interference' meant that the Sisters of Charity operated independent of the Catholic Bishops in Ireland.¹⁴⁷

The prize money gained for academic success ensured that the fees for attending a Christian Brothers' school remained relatively low¹⁴⁸ and ensured that they could continue to 'make a case for the poor parents of intelligent children who

¹⁴¹ Mary Lewis and Thomas Kellaghan, 'Vocationalism in Irish Second-Level Education', *The Irish Journal of Education*, 1 (21) (1987), p. 7.

¹⁴² Lewis and Kellaghan, p. 8.

¹⁴³ Lewis and Kellaghan, p. 7.

¹⁴⁴ Áine Hyland, 'Schools and Values', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 299 (75) (1986), p. 254.

¹⁴⁵ Blake (2009), p. 96; John W. Donohue, 'Edmund Ignatius Rice (1762–1844)', *America*, (1996), p. 6.

¹⁴⁶ Keogh (2008), p. 224.

¹⁴⁷ Blake (2009), p. 90.

¹⁴⁸ McGelligott, p. 106.

wished them to have a secondary education.¹⁴⁹ From the Intermediate Education Act 1878 onwards, both congregations adopted a meritocratic philosophy. In the short-term it lessened financial constraints; however, in the long-term it ‘had very significant repercussions for the systems of education’ that Rice, and perhaps Aikenhead, had originally designed.¹⁵⁰

3.7 The Introduction of Free Post-Primary Education, 1967

Free second-level education was introduced in September, 1967.¹⁵¹ Such was the academic standard set by School 1 that by the 1960s its alumni included former Presidents, Taoisigh, judges, engineers, professors, clergy and leaders in industry.¹⁵² By 1970, both Schools 2 and 3 developed into full secondary schools.¹⁵³ Free education in 1967 was preceded by government-funded building grants for the expansion of secondary schools.¹⁵⁴ Between 1960 and 1972, the Christian Brothers alone established four new secondary schools within a five mile radius of School 1 and School 4.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, secondary schools for girls also emerged in the same areas.¹⁵⁶

This posed a problem for schools in the inner city. Students from inner-suburbs who may have originally attended the four schools were now catered for by new, local schools providing free second level education. This was compounded by the continuing decline in the population in the inner city at the time.¹⁵⁷ All four schools, School 1 in particular, embarked upon recruiting students beyond the inner-suburbs. By the 1980s the student population in all four schools consisted of students from both the inner and outer suburbs of Dublin. Nevertheless, in light of their

¹⁴⁹ McGelligott, p. 106.

¹⁵⁰ Keogh (2008), p. 224.

¹⁵¹ Coolahan, p. 195.

¹⁵² Gorman, p. 16; p. 97; p. 108; and p. 117.

¹⁵³ Doyle; School 2

¹⁵⁴ Tom O’Donohue and Judith Harford, ‘Comparative History of Church-State Relations in Irish Education’, *Comparative Education Review*, 3 (55) (2011), p. 328.

¹⁵⁵ Christian Brother Schools emerged in Cabra, Marino, Whitehall and Finglas.

¹⁵⁶ Sisters of the Holy Faith Schools in Whitehall and Killester, Sisters of Mercy School in Coolock and a Sisters of Charity School in Finglas.

¹⁵⁷ Jo-Hanna Ivers, Valerie McLoughlin and Paul Downes, *Current Steps and Future Horizons for CASPr*, (Dublin, CASPr, 2010), p. 17.

reputable academic standing, all four schools continued to attract academically able students, thus remaining over-subscribed.

3.8 Dealing with Educational Disadvantage: the 1990s

By the 1980s the persistent inequalities in education, notably the relationship between social class and educational participation and achievement, were well documented.¹⁵⁸ Kellaghan and others revealed that almost one in four 6th class primary students in the inner city of Dublin were deemed unlikely to cope with the reading demands of secondary education.¹⁵⁹ The inner city itself had become saturated by unemployment, crime and drug-related problems.¹⁶⁰ In 2002 it was characterised,

... by social exclusion, multi-dimensional deprivation and generational educational under-achievement ... high levels of unemployment, dereliction, physical neglect, drugs, environmental decay, pollution, a poor infrastructure, a poor standard of housing.¹⁶¹

In 1990 a Scheme of Assistance to Schools in Designated Disadvantaged Areas was introduced. Schools received an additional teaching post and extra capitation per student.¹⁶² In 1994, indicators¹⁶³ revealed that just over thirty percent of schools in Dublin were under the scheme.¹⁶⁴ The following year the government was prompted to set out a multi-faceted approach to deal with educational disadvantage. This included modifying the curriculum by devising new programmes, providing schools with additional resources, increasing home-school links and encouraging greater parental involvement.¹⁶⁵

It was during this time that all four schools experienced a decline in student numbers, in particular students coming in from Dublin's outer suburbs. By the mid

¹⁵⁸ Drudy and Lynch, p. 145.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Kellaghan, Susan Weire, Seamus O hUallacháin and Mark Morgan, *Educational Disadvantage in Ireland* (Dublin: Educational Research Centre, 1995), p. 45.

¹⁶⁰ Mt Carmel Secondary School.

¹⁶¹ Ivers and others, p. 17.

¹⁶² Kellaghan and others, p. 45.

¹⁶³ Indicators of Disadvantage in Ireland; Parents in receipt of unemployment benefits or assistance, parents in possession of medical cards, and residing in local authority housing.

¹⁶⁴ Kellaghan and others, p. 19.

¹⁶⁵ Peter Archer and Susan Weir, *Addressing Disadvantage: A Review of the International Literature and of Strategy in Ireland* (Dublin: Education Research Centre, 2004), p. 5.

1990s the population in satellite towns surrounding Dublin exploded warranting the government to build new schools. In 1993 in Southeast Meath alone two new post-primary schools were built.¹⁶⁶ This recruiting ground for all four schools was no longer a viable option as students started attending newly built schools in their locality. The traditional 'academically-oriented' student from beyond the locality, the inner and outer suburbs, departed and only students from the immediate locality remained. The local students, generally classified as disadvantaged students, encompassed all or some of what this entailed, including intergenerational educational underachievement.¹⁶⁷

The issue of future student recruitment became a priority, in particular in Schools 1 and 3 where the decline was much more significant. In 1993/94 School 1 had just over 800 students with five classes of first year students. By 1999/2000 the student population totalled 368 with only three first year classes. In School 3 the figure dwindled from just below 500 students with five first year groups in 1993/94 to just below 300 in 1999/2000. Graph 3b charts the student numbers in all four schools for the years 1993/94 and 1999/2000.

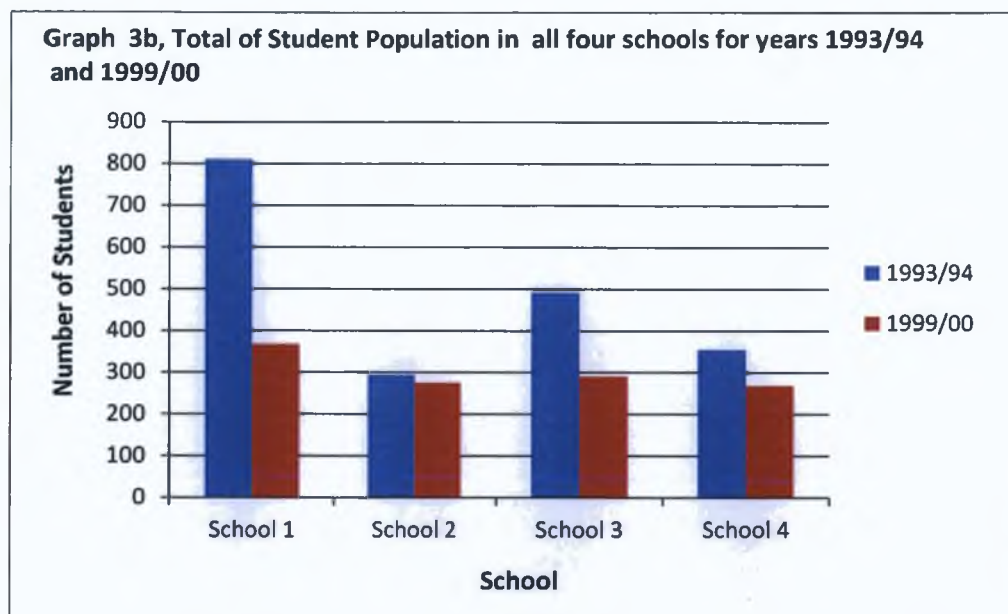
The gradual shift in the social make-up of the student populations in all four schools meant that by 2000 all had become designated disadvantaged (DEIS) schools. They transformed from over-subscribed, academic schools to under-subscribed, non-academic schools, catering once again to students from the immediate locality. The schools adapted to this by modifying their curriculum and introduced the Leaving Certificate Vocational Programme (LCVP) and the Leaving Certificate Applied (LCA). They accessed additional resources that focused on special needs learning and introduced the Home School Community Liaison initiative.

The social change also resulted in a cultural shift. By 2000, the Gaelic culture of school life had somewhat diminished. The dominance of Gaelic games in the two boys schools was supplanted by soccer and an absorption of the English Premier League. Additionally, there was less enthusiasm for the Irish language. Minimal

¹⁶⁶ Dunshaughlin Community College, School History
<http://portal.meathvec.ie/schools/dcc/Pages/SchoolHistory.aspx> accessed November 12th, 2012.

¹⁶⁷ Ivers and others, p. 118.

effort went in preparing and celebrating Seachtain na Gaeilge. The zeal for students to take higher level Irish petered significantly. In the ten years between 2000 and 2010, only three percent of all Irish students across all four schools sat the higher level Irish LC paper. Even within the staffrooms, it was generally the more senior teachers who occasionally conversed in Irish.



Section Two: The Four Schools from 2000 to 2010, Responding to a New Population

3.9 From Mono-ethnic to Multi-ethnic

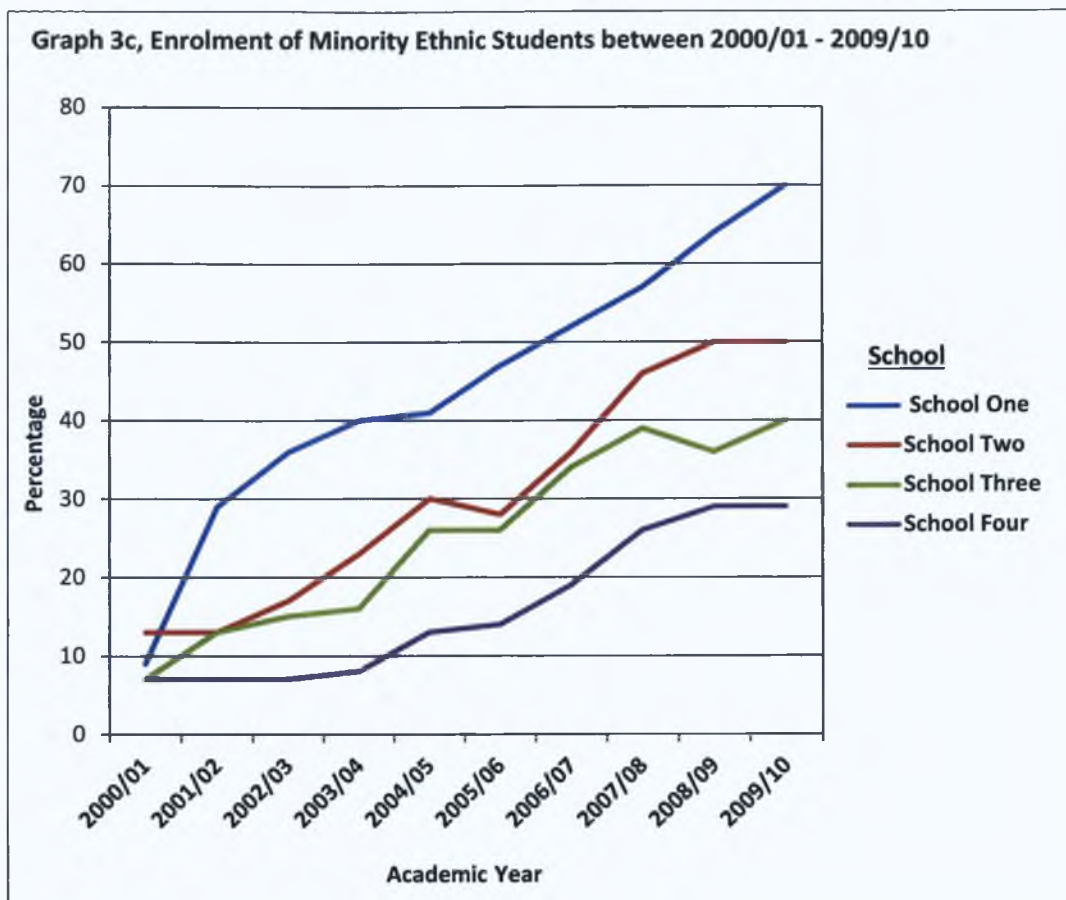
From 2000 onwards the student populations in all four schools transformed again. Unlike the 1990s when all four schools experienced a shift in the social make-up of their student populations, the shift from 2000 was along ethnic lines. By the end of 2009/10 seventy percent of the student population in School 1 were minority ethnic (ME) students, fifty percent in School 2, forty percent in School 3 and just under thirty percent in School 4. The section below draws on the narratives of staffs across

the four schools and on enrolment data to outline this change, the reasons why ME students initially enrolled and the reasons why they continued to enrol throughout the decade. It will also shed light on the impact this had on student numbers in all four schools.

3.9.1 Patterns of Minority Ethnic Student Enrolment

Graph 3c shows the percentage of ME students who enrolled in the four schools between 2000/01 and 2009/10. The number of ME students increased as the decade progressed and each school experienced a sharp increase at one or more times during this period. In School 1 a sharp increase occurred from 2000/01 to 2001/02 where the numbers escalated from nine percent to twenty nine percent. In School 2 a sharp rise occurred between 2005/06 and 2007/08 where figures soared from twenty eight percent to forty six percent. Similarly for School 3, a significant increase occurred during this same period. The most noteworthy increase in School 4 transpired between 2006/07 and 2008/09 when its ME student population grew by ten percent.

The statistics do not discern between student ethnicity and status. This information was obtained from participants who offered a general synopsis of the patterns of enrolment throughout the decade. The first wave of students tended to come from Africa, a large number from Nigeria. This group was closely followed by a large cohort from Romania. During the middle of the decade a much larger contingent came from European Union accession states, notably, Poland. Other Eastern European countries such as Latvia and Lithuania were also represented during this period. In the latter half of the decade students from all regions of the world enrolled in the schools, including Asia, the Middle East and South America. In School 1, over forty nationalities were represented, in Schools 2 and 3, over thirty.



The initial cohort of African students that enrolled in the schools was composed of unaccompanied minors seeking asylum or sons/daughters of families seeking asylum. This trend was gradually replaced by children of what participants considered 'economic' migrants, in particular those who came from Eastern Europe in the middle of the 2000s and from other regions towards the end of decade. These enrolment trends generally reflected the patterns of immigration in Ireland during this time. During the early stages of enrolment, a large cohort of students from the Philippines enrolled in School 4, whilst during the middle and later stages of the decade a large cohort of students from Mauritius enrolled in School 1.

3.9.2 Reasons for Initial Enrolment

The location of the four schools is the fundamental reason why students initially enrolled. As a large number of students to initially enrol were unaccompanied or

other, seeking asylum, they were housed in accommodation settings scattered throughout the area. Thus, social workers, care workers and others from non-governmental organisations brought students to the schools. This is evident in the comment made by a teacher.

This area was an area where the government decided to bring in non-nationals into the city. Rather than put them around the city they were brought into the city. I know at the time we felt that we had definitely more than our quota ... Then that changed, government policy changed. Non-nationals were dispersed and the gun was dropped. They went down to the country. But certainly when they arrived first, it was, it was different, it was strange ... So to answer the question why did they come to this school I think because of location, we were the nearest.

Location also determined the reasons why a large number of students from the Philippines enrolled in School 4. The school's proximity to a major hospital meant parents recruited to work there from the Philippines resided in the locality and sent their children to local schools. Immigrants who followed continued to settle in the area in private-rented accommodation and students continued to enrol in the four schools.

While geography was a contributing factor for initial enrolment it was supplemented by the school's policy to accept ME students. There is ample evidence which points to the reality that the policy of the four schools was to 'welcome' the students and not 'turn them away', as was believed to be the policy of other schools in the area. This strategy was pragmatic, motivated by the need to halt the continuing decline in student numbers which began in the 1990s. The teacher below alludes to this.

We were caught in crux, that if we start turning students away we are kind of caught because our numbers would go down, and we don't want our numbers to go down. Because then we can't deliver the same quality of education, we lose subjects, we lose teachers ... Perhaps we were the right school, in the right place, at the right time. In the sense that, we acknowledged that our numbers were falling, so we did realise as a staff that we have to maintain our numbers and get them up ... I think teachers were aware of that. People were aware that the school was in a downward spiral, numbers wise. We possibly could have lost jobs. Obviously there would be elements of collegiality within the staff, teachers would not want that. They would want to maintain jobs. So out of that there was a necessity to do something. This is when we realised that the international contingent arrived, and that we would all roll up our sleeves and do something about it.

The location of the school ensured that the four schools were the first port of call; however, the fact that they were under-subscribed meant that they were intent on accepting these students.

3.9.3 Reasons for Successive Enrolment

The 'welcome' and 'care' afforded to ME students ensured the successive and increased enrolment of students over the course of the decade. Through 'word of mouth' the schools' reputations for 'caring for' and 'looking after' ME students filtered through to existing and new ethnic communities who settled in the area, and beyond. Consequently social workers and others continued to recommend these schools to future students and their families. This is best outlined by the remark made by a principal.

I would like to just speak on this issue here of the care we gave to students. We did everything to cater for these students. If they needed English language support we provided it. If they were unaccompanied we looked after them and gave them extra support. If they were Muslim we catered for them and so on. We really looked after them and that is why they kept on coming. That is why they will pass four or five schools on their way to our school.

Additionally, a perception emerged that other schools in the area and beyond 'rejected', then 'sent' students to one of the four schools. Expressions such as 'looking after himself,' 'redirecting them' and 'he did not want them' echoed throughout the qualitative process. The former principal of one school makes this point.

I remember talking about this one day and a principal from a very prominent, Catholic school said to me, if you get your admissions policy right you will not have this problem ... There was a stark contrast. I remember going to a school up the road, not even 3 miles up the road. I looked at the student body and they may have had two or three foreign nationals where we were in excess of 50% close to 60% at that time. So there was a huge variance in what was happening within areas that were very, very close ... Even though I knew some schools were sending kids to us. They were refusing them entry into their own schools ... Some schools did not want them. There were only three or four schools in that which had any significant number like us.

Despite this, there is an acceptance that the policies of schools to 'reject', then 'send' students was largely determined by the reality that they were over-subscribed, just as the policy to 'accept' students to the four schools was largely determined by the reality that they were under-subscribed. There is also evidence that individual

schools actively recruited ME students. From the summer of 2002 School 1 ran a six-week summer school for ME males and females, providing them with English tuition, cultural and physical activities. This afforded the school a means to engage with prospective students. Similarly participants in both Schools 1 and 2 singled out certain individuals from their schools who they believed were involved in actively seeking out students, a practice affirmed by a principal officer in the Department of Education and Skills.

One of the most frustrating things I found with some schools, especially School One, was that as I was trying to distribute children to their local schools, your school seemed to come around and recruit them making them go to your own school. This was frustrating, it was important for integration that children went to their local schools and not that they would travel across the city to go to your school. You had kids coming from (suburbs across the city) and all those places. We were working hard to make sure that children were distributed evenly and then someone from School One would go to the hostels or wherever they were and bring them down to their school.

School 1 also employed teachers of different nationalities including teachers from Romania, Poland, Mauritius and Australia. The data suggest that the teacher from Mauritius played an important role in encouraging other students of Mauritian origin to enrol in the school.

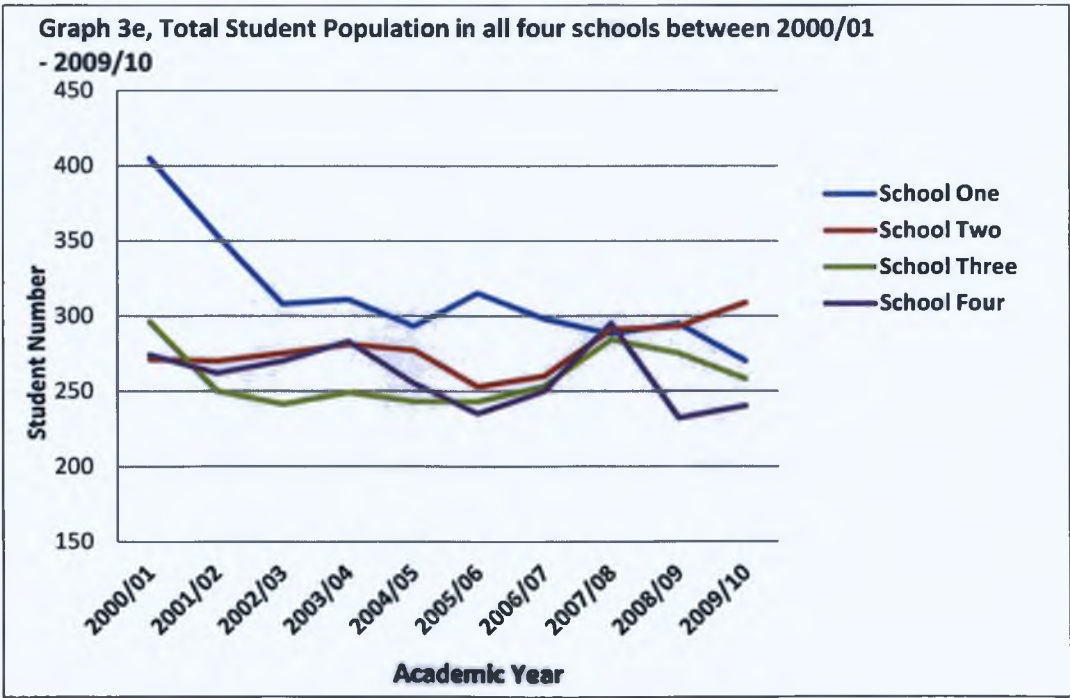
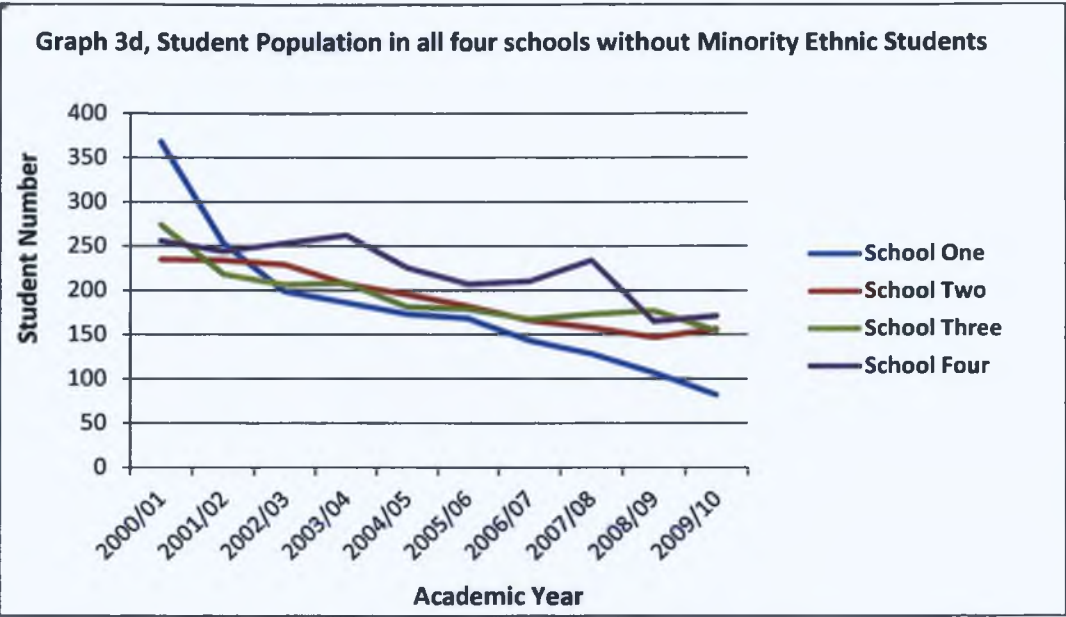
3.9.4 Enrolment of Minority Ethnic Students: The Impact on Student Numbers

The successive enrolment of ME students over the course of the decade ensured school survival. This sentiment was expressed by a majority of staff. It is best described by the unadorned remarks below

Closed ... The internationals have kept us, kept the school alive.

This view is premised on the belief that the schools, in 2010, without ME students, would not be viable entities. Graph 3d charts the student populations in each school over the ten year period if there were no ME students. It shows that the numbers would have continued to decline significantly to an alarmingly low point. School 1 would have had the lowest student population with just over eighty students, School 4 the highest, with just above 170 students.

Enrolment records further indicate that the enrolment of ME students over the course of the decade stabilised student numbers. Graph 3e shows that, while from 2002/03 student numbers in all four schools fluctuate, increasing and decreasing at certain times, they remain generally steady. School 2 is the only school that has a greater student population in 2010 than it did at the beginning of the decade.



3.10 Conclusion

Section One of this chapter positioned the history of the four schools within a historical context. This afforded the present study an ‘evolutionary view’ of the four schools and demonstrated that since their founding all four schools have been subject to significant changes. As noted, the four schools were borne out of an altruistic notion to serve all; however, by the turn of the 20th century a meritocratic notion to only serve the able became the norm. This shift was largely determined by the introduction of the Intermediate Education Act (1878). This was preceded by the policy of both congregations to remain independent of any state or Church interference, thus compelling them to ‘embrace’ the Act out of financial necessity.

The meritocratic approach continued in all four schools for most of the 20th century; however, it is the dawn of free education and the subsequent building of new schools in the inner suburbs of Dublin that compelled the four schools to think, possibly for the first time, about the issue of student recruitment. This issue became more pressing for the four schools throughout the 1990s for it was during this period that, due to largely demographic reasons, student numbers were decreasing. This period saw the four schools transform from well-established academic schools serving students from beyond their locality to under-subscribed DEIS schools serving local students.

Section Two provided an overview of the changes to the student populations in the four schools from 2000 to 2010. Over the course of the decade each school experienced a gradual, yet at times sharp, increase in the enrolment of ME students. The location of the four schools was the primary reason why ME students initially enrolled. This was coupled by the schools’ response in accepting ME students, a response largely determined by the reality that the schools were under-subscribed and needed to act to halt declining student numbers. Very quickly, all four schools, to varying degrees developed reputations for welcoming and caring for ME students. This reputation, in conjunction with the perceived policy of other schools to exclude ME students contributed to the successive enrolment of ME students over the ten year period. According to staff, the successive enrolment of ME students throughout the decade ensured the schools’ viability.

This chapter demonstrates that, throughout their histories, the four schools in the current study have been subject to change. These changes had a significant impact on aspects of school life, in particular the direction the schools took. There is a sense that change has always been in response to either government policy or demographic shifts. Thus, for the four schools, change, in most part, has never been a luxury they could opt for, but one they had to embrace and adapt to. The following chapter explores the changes to the four schools as they went from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations.

CHAPTER FOUR

Exploring Change in Four Inner-Urban DEIS Schools: The Findings

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings to surface from the research process. As noted in Chapter Two, given the volume of data collected it was important to formulate an authentic analysis of data which took into consideration the aim of the research and the validity of the research process. In light of this and the focus of this research on ‘change’ five key categories were identified. The process of identifying the categories were guided by Elliot and Timulak and was explained in the previous chapter.¹ In short, meaning units, which ‘communicated some meaning’ were initially organised into domains. The meaning units in each domain were then further analysed and positioned within categories. Elliot and Timulak describe this as an interpretive process on behalf of the researcher ‘discerning regularities or similarities’ in the data.² Quinn-Patton refers to this as inductive analysis, where findings emerge from the data as compared to deductive analysis where findings are analysed according to a pre-conceived framework.³

These categories which emerged from the data reflect ‘change’ to five key aspects of school life and were common in all four schools. They are: Teaching and Learning, Academic Achievement, Peer Relations, School Identity, and School Ethos. Throughout the chapter direct quotes, graphs and tables are used to highlight the findings. Supplementary evidence is also provided in the Appendices which are located towards the end of this thesis.

4.1 The Classroom: Changes to Teaching and Learning

A substantial amount of deliberation centred on what it was like to be at the coalface during what the principal of School 3 described as a time of ‘deep’ change. These

¹ Elliot and Timulak, p. 153.

² Elliot and Timulak, p. 154.

³ Quinn-Patton, p. 453.

experiences are presented below. They reflect a shift from what teachers initially considered a 'shock to the system' during the early period of ME student enrolment, to an improved teaching experience where the classroom setting became more conducive to teaching and learning by the end of the decade. Factors such as language, irregular enrolment and lack of information underlined the initial challenges teachers encountered. The setting up of language support structures and a change in the students' enrolment patterns alleviated much of this distress. Nevertheless, the reality that ME students, compared to the locals, had a more favourable disposition to learning underscored the improved experience. The findings will show that, as the number of ME students increased across the four schools, the classroom became more conducive to teaching and learning. The findings presented below derived from both the qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection.

4.1.1 The Initial Period of Student Enrolment

A 'shock to the system' was how a teacher described the initial enrolment of ME students in her school. This sentiment was shared by the majority of teachers who took part in the focus groups. The source of this 'shock' stemmed from the reality that for the first time teachers encountered students with little or no English. The challenge for teachers was that some students had no English at all. The comment below illustrates that even a 'little' English would have sufficed. It is further echoed by others (Appendix 1).

They shouldn't be here is what we were saying. Like fire them on to somebody else kind of thing and when they have a little English let them come back (Teacher, School 2).

This frustration was exacerbated by the fact that many ME students who initially enrolled were older and thus, for age appropriated reasons, placed in Leaving Certificate (LC) classes. The result was that teachers were trying to deliver a curriculum to students who did not have the 'basics' in English let alone a grasp of a particular LC subject. A teacher's comment below demonstrates this point.

It was one of the biggest challenges for teachers and they would be very unhappy with it a lot of the time. They are trying to deal with these various

people within the same class. Sometimes they would come in at 6th year and that would be very difficult. Teachers are trying to deal with history, geography, business and students do not have the basics in English (Teacher, School 3).

There is evidence that the students' limited command of English affected teachers in the classroom and impacted adversely on staff morale. There was a belief that it also impacted on academic standards in the classroom (Appendix 2). It was not necessarily that teachers did not want these students in their classes; it was more that teachers felt ill-equipped and uncertain of how best to teach the new students they encountered. On the one hand, teachers expressed a natural sympathy for students with severe English-language limitations yet, on the other hand, they questioned why they were 'taken in' in the first place. This is noted by a teacher below and echoed by others (Appendix 3).

I remember kids being taken in and they should never have been taken in because they had no English at all (Teacher, School 4).

The irregular enrolment of ME students further compounded the challenges pertaining to language. In one academic year in School 1 over sixty students enrolled between October and May of that year. This 'drip feed' effect hampered principals' efforts in obtaining additional student resources, as their teacher allocations were based on the number of students in October of that year. Students were likely to enrol in one of the four schools very quickly upon entering Ireland (Appendix 4). As noted in the comment below, the challenge of teaching students with little English became more onerous as a result of their sporadic enrolment.

I remember teaching and the problem was they were walking in at all times of the year and some of them had no English. I remember this was a big problem and just as their politeness boosted staff morale this one negatively impacted on it (Principal, School 2).

Additionally, teachers in School 1 raised the issue that during the early stages of enrolment they were given no information about students. One teacher claimed that they 'were just thrown into class'. As evident by teachers' comments (Appendix 5), the lack of relevant information about new students made teaching 'unbearable', in particular with respect to students who may have had psychological issues. The absence of information also meant that teachers were unaware of any impact they might have on students when teaching particular topics. Two such examples are offered in Appendix 6 where the religion teacher spoke about the massacre in Rwanda and the history teacher was about to teach on the conflict in Bosnia. Both

teachers were unaware that, not only did they have students from those countries, but students who suffered as a result of those conflicts. Furthermore, teachers not only felt ill-prepared in working with students with limited or no English; individual teachers in School 1 echoed a concern that they were ill-equipped to deal with students who had suffered trauma (Appendix 7).

4.1.1.1 Teaching and Learning in School 1

While teachers in all four school experienced a 'shock' to the system, there is evidence that this shock was more formidable in School 1. The reasons for this might be the fact that they were the only teachers to raise issues around the absence of information; however, it might also be explained by the precipitous volume of ME students who initially enrolled in this school. As illustrated in Graph 3c in the previous chapter, the ME student population in this school rose from nine percent in 2001/02 to thirty six percent by 2002/03. The other three schools experienced a more gradual increase in ME student enrolment. Thus, for teachers in School 1, the 'shock' was more acute given they were encountering a higher volume of ME students with little or no English arriving at irregular intervals during the school year.

4.1.2 Establishing a System for Language Support

There is little evidence to indicate that the challenges above persisted to the same extent. Very quickly, the four schools availed of language resources, employing language support teachers and setting up additional language provisions. Schools 2, 3 and 4 adopted a withdrawal approach; students who required provision were withdrawn from certain subjects. As newly-arrived ME students were exempt from learning Irish, most were withdrawn during this class. There is also evidence that students were withdrawn from Religious Education or other non-examination subjects.

School 1 on the other hand established stand alone English classes, referred to as 'immersion' classes. Students who enrolled from the beginning of 2002/03 were

assessed and placed in either a beginner or intermediate class. They were 'immersed' in either class for a year and then moved into the mainstream. It was common practice that, in all four schools, more senior ME students were placed or as one teacher claimed 'dumped' in Transition Year. In 2006/07 School 1 established an abridged Junior Certificate class. This replaced Transition Year and allowed older ME students, with a more advanced grasp of English, the opportunity to obtain a Junior Certificate. Students were only required to sit the minimum five subjects rather than the standard ten. It was considered a natural progression from the immersion classes.

There is no evidence to indicate that one system was more effective than the other. Nevertheless, the establishment of language support structures eased the initial challenges teachers experienced in the classroom. Similarly, Transition Year in Schools 2, 3 and 4, and the abridged Junior Certificate class in School 1, alleviated the challenges for teachers, in particular LC teachers. A teacher below highlights this improvement.

I think for me one of the biggest structural changes in the school was the introduction of the third year class. Before that the kids were walking into your class, and I didn't know anything about them, they had no English. They were landed into fifth-year, we were told they were X, Y, and Z. Looking back at the results I would say the early kids we had from outside of Ireland, their academic results would be very poor. That was because there were coming into class, they hadn't the basic English, a lot of them, and they were older. Now that class is not in that long, I suppose the last four or five years. But that has had a huge impact on them doing better in fifth year and sixth year (Teacher, School 1).

The establishment of language support structures created a division amongst staff, notably subject teachers and language support/English teachers. Individual learning support teachers mentioned that, at times, subject teachers shied away from the responsibility of teaching ME students. The comment below highlights this.

The teachers kind of felt at one stage that it was the language teachers' and the English teachers' job to teach them English. And it wasn't. It was everybody else's responsibility. Following a course that I went to it was spelt out very clearly that it is everybody's duty to really teach them English. We can't work miracles and so on. So you have to have a certain amount of patience (Teacher, School 4).

4.1.3 Changing Patterns of Student Enrolment

By 2009/10 the majority of ME students who enrolled in the schools were coming via the primary school system. Therefore, these students had a better grasp of English than their predecessors. Similarly, schools had information about them, their previous educational experiences and their learning capacities. In general, by the end of the decade, the majority of ME students were enrolling in September thus removing the challenge to teachers of dealing with irregular enrolment.

Despite this, for a limited number of students, issues pertaining to language persisted. Assessing students, who did not come through the primary system, for learning difficulties, was challenging. As student assessments were conducted in English, a student's limited grasp meant that it was difficult for learning-support teachers to discern whether their learning was impeded by language-related or learning-related difficulties (Appendix 8).

4.1.4 A Multi-Ethnic Classroom compared to a Mono-Ethnic Classroom

By 2010, the experience for teachers in the classroom improved significantly. Language support and changing student enrolment patterns contributed to this. Nevertheless, the reality that ME students had a more favourable disposition to learning changed the environment in the classroom. The findings show that as the number of ME students increased over the decade the classroom became more conducive to teaching and learning.

As noted in Chapter Three the shift from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic was not the first time the schools experienced changes to their student populations. The shift from 'academic' to DEIS 'non-academic' schools occurred during the 1990s. By 2000 all four schools were primarily mono-ethnic DEIS schools. Thus, staff across the four schools continuously made reference to this – when the school was either a mono-ethnic and academic school or mono-ethnic and DEIS school. In addition staff continuously compared ME students to the local Irish students.

4.1.4.1 Minority Ethnic Students and their Favourable Disposition to Learning: A Noticeable Trait

The consenting view was that ME students were ambitious, hardworking and had a pleasant demeanour. This, according to the comment below, was due to their social background.

It does seem to me that non-nationals might have a different sort of emphasis. They might have a greater regard for education. This might be due to their higher social backgrounds, their upbringing (Board Member, School 1).

For many teachers the attributes above were in stark contrast to what they had experienced with the 'locals'. Therefore, for more senior teachers the 'influx' of ME students meant that once again they encountered students who possessed similar values for education as they did when the schools were much more academically oriented. This is evident in the comment below and echoed by others (Appendix 9).

The school was changing from academic to less academic. Then we got this influx of students for whom education was a huge, huge deal. They were the ones who wanted the extra attention in class. They were the ones who would give you up the homework in class and they were different because they were almost the new generation of academic students (Teacher, School 4).

The data further highlight differences among ME students. Eastern Europeans were particularly singled out as being highly 'motivated' and 'ambitious' (Appendix 10). The ambition of ME students was articulated by staff across all four schools. Teachers offered examples of how ME students 'wanted to do well', 'wanted to go to college', and 'wanted to know what to do to get to college'. Staff stressed that ME students valued education and schooling was an 'opportunity'; that is why, according to one teacher, ME students 'had the drive to grasp it.' The ambition to go to college is reflected in the comment below.

Like the international girls go home, they do their homework and they are studying and they are going to their teacher and asking them for extra work ... The end result is that the international students do all that and they go to university (Teacher, School 2).

This ambition was also evident in the analysis of LC results. Students of ME origin were almost twice as likely to sit one or more higher level subjects as Irish students and ME females were just as likely to sit the higher level English exam as Irish males (Appendix 11).

Students' pleasant demeanour was also raised. All participants acknowledged that generally ME students were well-mannered, appreciative and offered little in terms of discipline concerns. Again, teachers highlighted the disparity between them and the locals.

Just one observation, let's say in the 90s in terms of teaching, you get a class of local kids and within that group, let's say of 25, you might get seven, or eight, or nine, of that group who wanted to disrupt the class and because there were seven or eight or nine, it became very difficult for teachers to cope. But when let's say the foreign nationals came that group became watered down. And it became far easier. You could identify one and did deal with that one (Teacher, School 4).

The simple concepts of saying 'thank you' or 'stepping away' from doors were mentioned and well appreciated by teachers. Staff spoke of the amiable nature of the majority of ME students and Board Members claimed they could not recollect that any individual ME student was brought before the board for serious breaches of discipline. The findings present the impression that for many senior teachers the enrolment of ME students added a new dimension to their teaching lives. For individual teachers it ensured that their teaching careers remained enjoyable. A few noted that it would have been much more difficult had the school continued as a mono-ethnic disadvantaged school. This is noted below and by another teacher (Appendix 12).

I would have found it very difficult and I keep coming back to my point and it might make me sound like I am totally anti inner city, and I am not because there are some fabulously smashing kids from this area ... But without the multi-nationals here I would have found it very difficult in dealing with this awful crass, loutish behaviour. Totally unnecessary, scratch and poison comes out you know. Aggressive and in your face behaviour. And that the Mauritian brought this lovely sense of good humour and gentleness to the place ... They started saying thank you, stepping back from doors. The crass, bad manners that was here, you started to, and then somebody would say thank you to me at the end of the class, whereas the local inner city kids, no way, you know. So I would see that as being a great addition to our school (Teacher, School 1).

For other teachers, the enrolment of ME students ensured they got a 'professional kick' that they needed or, as one teacher claimed, 'they kept her on her toes.' Individual teachers also revealed the professional growth in 're-learning' their profession, as shown.

I was going off the job, I was just going through the motions of the job, then this kind of thing started to emerge and it was more challenging and you had to relearn stuff. But I had fifteen years and I never re-learned anything. In-service

was something you went to, you had your dinner and then you left. Then all of a sudden you had to relearn our profession at some level and our approach to new materials coming in, you had teachers with good ideas that we began to borrow. I began to borrow. All enhanced by technology. You know that is where the re-energising has come from (Teacher, School 1).

Though the indications above paint a positive picture, individual teachers also cited examples of unpleasant behaviour. The phrase ‘a few rough diamonds’ was used more than once to describe the behaviour and attitude of some individual students. A frequent example alluded to were culturally-oriented and centred on the lack of respect individual male students, in particular from certain African countries, showed female teachers. There were also examples where ME students believed they were ‘superior’ to Irish students in their academic capabilities as well as in their attitude to education. One teacher from School 3 employed the term ‘upperosity’ to stress this. Finally, there was a firm view that some individual ME students were completely unrealistic when it came to their capabilities and ambitions. Teachers recognised that for some ME students the pressure from home to do well led to these unrealistic expectations (Appendix 13).

4.1.5 A Synopsis of Changes to Teaching and Learning

For teachers, the initial period of ME student enrolment was fraught with a number of new challenges. These pertained to students' limited grasp of English, their irregular enrolment and the absence of information. During this period many ME students were older and for age-appropriate reasons placed in senior classes. This posed additional challenges for LC subject teachers.

During the interim period there is evidence that the system caught up. Language support structures were put in place alleviating much of the pressure on teachers with respect to students' lack of English. Towards the end of the decade the majority of ME students enrolling in all four schools were coming through the primary system. Thus, they enrolled in September, came to schools with a more commanding grasp of English and teachers had access to their previous educational experiences.

As the number of ME students increased in all four schools, the classroom became more conducive to teaching and learning. This was primarily determined by the educational attributes ME students brought with them into the classroom. Compared to local Irish students, ME students possessed a more favourable disposition to learning. A disposition staff believed stemmed from their social background. They were more ambitious, hard working and better behaved than the local Irish students.

4.2 Changes to Academic Achievement: Analysis of Leaving Certificate Results between 2000 and 2010

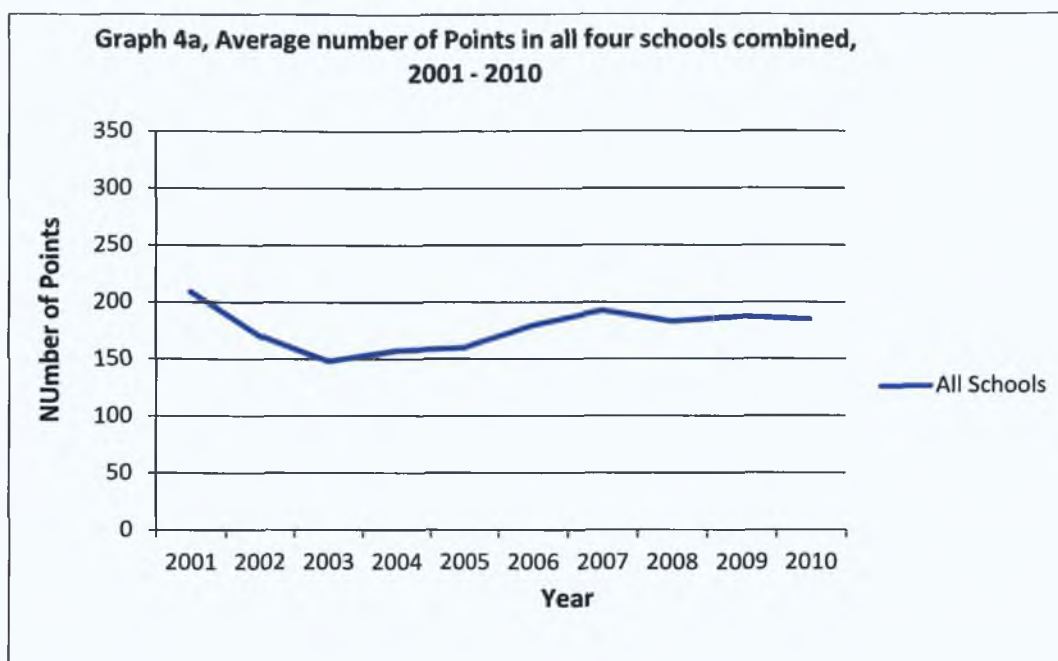
In view of the extensive attention afforded to academic achievement during the qualitative process and given its dominance within the international literature, LC results from all four schools for the period, 2001 – 2010 were gathered and analysed and are presented below. From both the qualitative and quantitative data four noticeable areas of change emerged. The first centres on school academic standards. The findings reveal that, as the number of ME students increases in three out of the four schools, the academic standards improve. The second evident change highlights the differences between the achievement levels of female and male students. Over the decade female averages, both ME and Irish, improve. The third pertains to changes in the ethnic make-up of the ‘high-achievers’ or the top ten percent. The fourth and final change centres on the increase in the up-take of higher level maths and science LC subjects. The findings below are presented in graph and written format and are drawn from both quantitative and qualitative data.

4.2.1 Change in School Academic Standards

The findings presented below examine the average academic results in all four schools combined and individually. Graph 4a charts LC results for all four schools combined highlighting that LC averages dropped from just above 200 points in 2001 to below 150 in 2003. Since 2003, LC points gradually increased and peaked around 190 points in 2007. They hovered around this figure for the remaining three years. This endorses the generally held perception, as noted by the comment below, that the academic standards gradually increased as the number of ME students increased.

I think they (ME students) have been a great addition to the school. I think the school has really improved, definitely academic wise and discipline wise it has really improved ... The standards are rising all the time. I would say standards have gone up (Teacher, School 2).

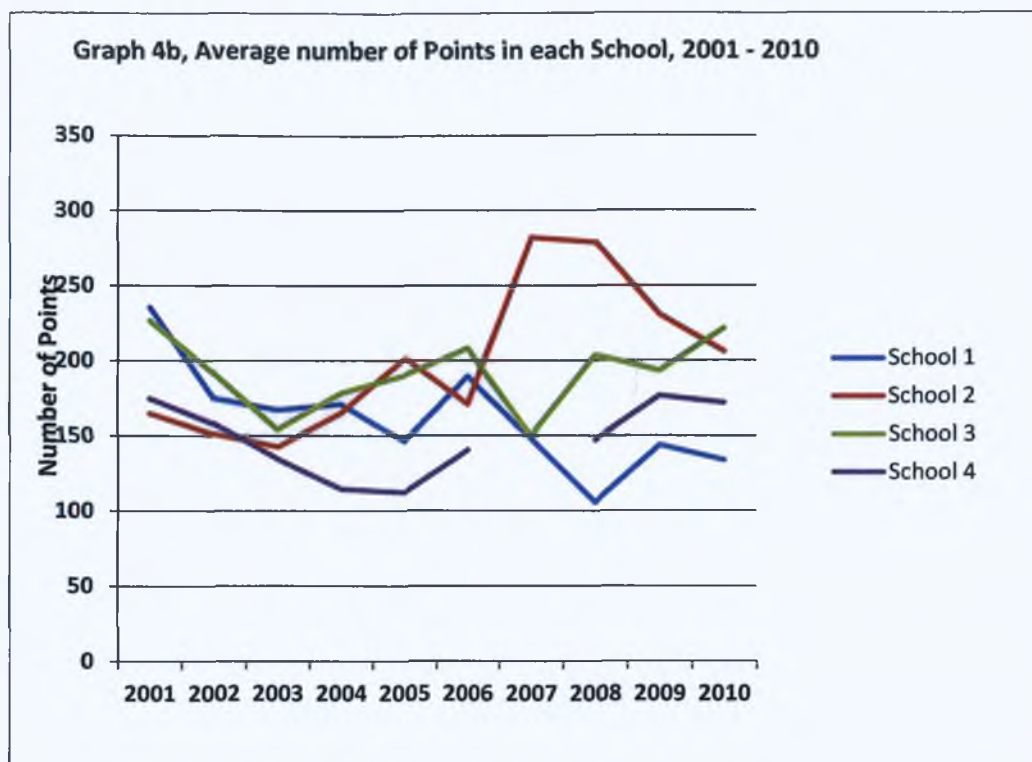
A different picture emerges when results are viewed in isolation. Graph 4b below illustrates this. The average initially decreases in all four schools – Schools 1, 2, and 3 from 2001 up until 2003 and in School 4 from 2001 up until 2004; however, the averages gradually increase in Schools 2, 3 and 4.



Graph 4b shows that School 1 fares the worst. Despite having the highest average in 2001, their results drop sharply and continue to decline as the number of ME students increased. The initial drop reflects the sentiments of teachers at this time that ME students ‘failed left, right and centre’ (Appendix 2). In the ten year period the average in School 1 decreased from 236 in 2001 to 134 in 2010, constituting a drop off of just over 100 points. Though School 3 experienced a sharp drop from 2001 until 2003, their average result increased gradually over time.

There were a minority of teachers in School 1 who acknowledged the fall in academic standards. One teacher stressed that, while individual ME students performed well, the general student body did not. Her views contradicted what she thought was the generally held view in her school that ME students raised the academic standards. Her view below is validated by two other teachers (Appendix 14).

Like one of the teachers here, we all know who he is, he believes that the foreign students have brought up our academic standard, but if you go and look at the books, we all know that it is different. I personally don't think, one or two of them perhaps but not the vast majority. Sometimes we are led to believe different (Teacher, School 1).



Further analysis of LC results reveals that students in School 1 were close to two times more likely to take eight LC subjects or more than students in the other three schools combined. This was brought about because in School 1 the Leaving Certificate Vocational Programme (LCVP) was compulsory for all students thus requiring students in most cases to take eight subjects. Corresponding to this, almost three quarters of students in School 1 failed one LC subject or more compared to just sixty percent of students in the other three schools combined. This analysis is presented in table form (Appendix 15).

In contrast to School 1 the average results in the other three schools gradually increased with an increase in the enrolment of ME students. School 2 is the only one which improved from the original average of 165 points in 2001 to an average of 206 points in 2010. The results peaked in 2007 when the LC average was just over 280 points. At that stage the number of ME students exceeded one third of the student body.

The average result for Schools 3 and 4 gradually grew and peaked around their original figure in 2001 which was 227 and 175 respectively. By the end of 2010

the ME population in School 3 was at forty percent whilst it was just under thirty percent in School 4. The ME student population in School 1 in 2006 was just over forty percent. It was in this year that the average result, since it dropped in 2001, peaked at 190 points.

To surmise, academic standards in Schools 2, 3 and 4 improved as the number of ME students increased. The analysis of LC results supports a view held by a minority that ME students ‘somewhat restored the academic touch’ their schools once had. This was not the case in School 1. Their results improved for a period; however, they declined from the time that the enrolment of ME students exceeded forty percent, from 2006 and beyond.

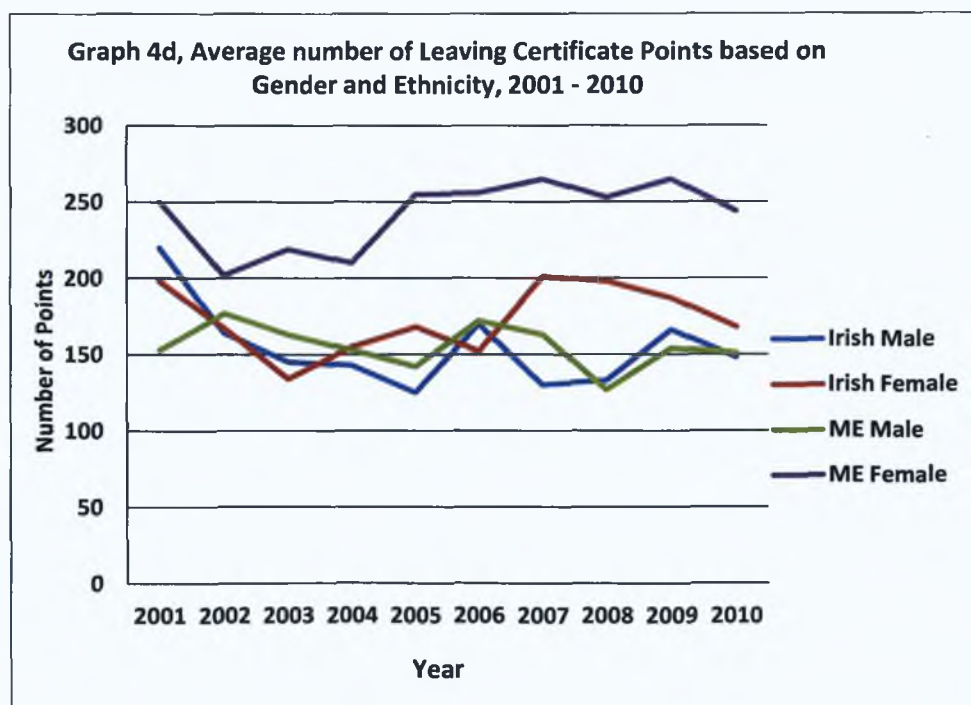
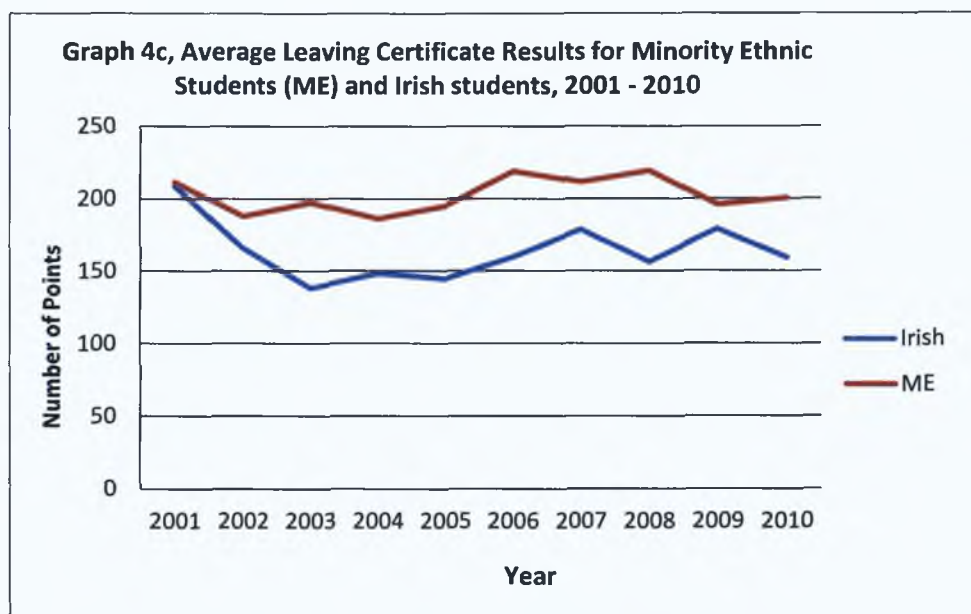
4.2.2 Academic Achievement along Ethnic and Gender Lines

Over the ten year period, ME students outperformed their Irish counterparts. As illustrated in Graph 4c on the following page, from 2002 until 2010, across the four schools, ME students surpassed Irish students. When gender was considered ME females outperformed all other students. Graph 4d on the following page charts this showing that ME females achieve much higher results than Irish females, ME males and Irish males. It further shows that, as the decade progressed and the number of ME students increased in the two girls’ schools, Schools 2 and 3, the achievement levels of ME females improved. This was also the case for Irish females. In spite of a significant drop in the average number of points between 2001 and 2003, the results for Irish females improved gradually and they outperformed both Irish and ME males.

The drop in results for ME females between 2001 and 2002 was supported by claims made by teachers in the two girls’ schools, Schools 2 and 3, that the initial cohort of ME students who enrolled performed poorly because they were older, spoke little or no English, some were unaccompanied minors seeking asylum and the majority were placed in senior classes.

This supports the perception by some in the boys’ schools, in particular School 1 that, due to the reasons outlined above, ME males performed poorly during this time. While ME males were the only group to have bettered their results

between 2001 and 2002, their academic averages remain steady, hovering around the 2001 level. It is evident from the graph below that the academic levels for Irish males decreased significantly during the first few years of the decade and continued to decrease as the number of ME students increased in the two boys' schools, Schools 1 and 4.

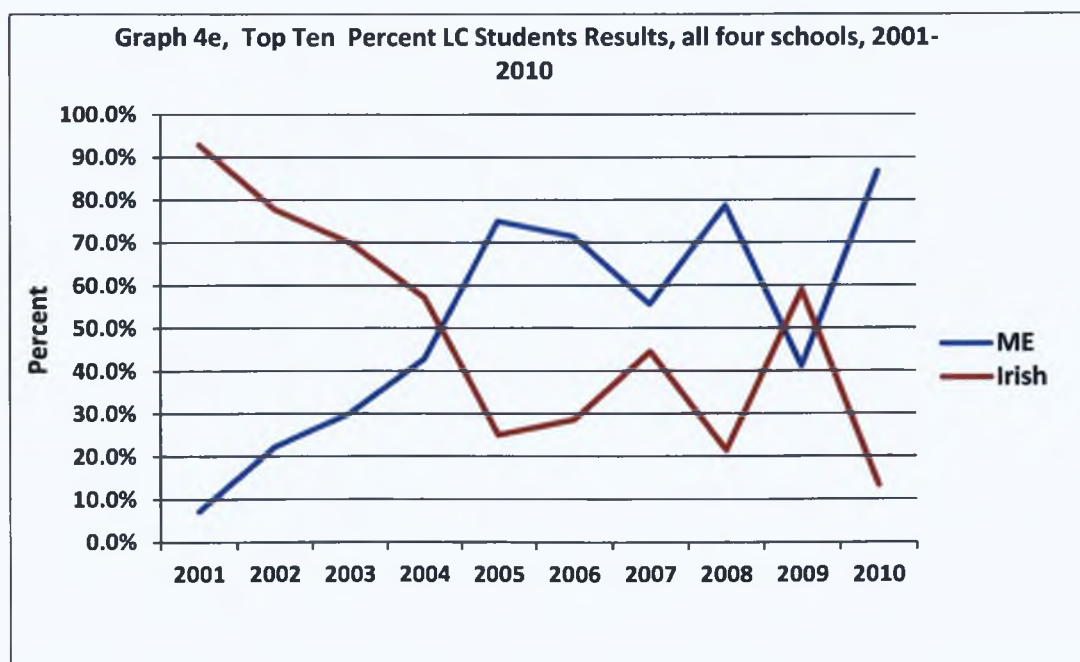


4.2.3 Changes in Ethnic Make-up of 'High-Achievers'

There was an overarching recognition in all four schools that the 'high achieving' or 'top' students were ME students. This is best demonstrated by the comment below in which a teacher described the situation where ME students claimed all the academic prizes in the school. It is further substantiated by her counterparts from the other schools (Appendix 16).

I remember as well, it was a couple of years ago and you might remember at, I don't think it may have been two years ago at the graduation and there was some students getting prizes, like the best student and all of the foreign students were getting it. And all the Irish students were like, I could hear the parents saying, another one getting an award, another one. I do not think there was one Irish girl who got a prize that night, because all of these foreign names were being called out (Teacher, School 2).

Some teachers specifically referred to Eastern European students as their 'high flyers'. Described as 'determined, ambitious and able' these students were singled out and considered the most likely to have 'excelled' among the entire student population (Appendix 17). Graph 4e validates the perception that the high achievers were ME students. As the decade progresses the ethnicity of the top ten percent highest achieving group changes. Initially, over ninety percent of this group were Irish. By 2010, almost ninety percent of this group are ME.



Further analysis shows that ME students were almost twice as likely to get over 300 points for their LC than Irish students. Further, ME females were three times more likely than Irish males and just over twice as likely than Irish females to get above this score.

4.2.4 Changes in the up-take of Higher Level Maths and Science

The general trend to emerge from all four schools indicates that honours maths and science classes at senior level were dominated by ME students. A teacher describes the absence of Irish students in her honours maths and science classes. Her view is echoed by other teachers (Appendix 18).

Like the sixth year group last year for honours chemistry, and honours maths. Now that you mention it I realised that my class last year there were no Irish students in there (Teacher, School 2).

There was a belief that if it were not for the predisposition of ME students to opt for these subjects then the schools would not offer them. The principal's comments below underscore the impact this has had on this particular aspect of the curriculum. It is a view shared by others (Appendix 19).

Like there was a time here when we used to do honours maths with School 4 because we could not afford to have a class just for ourselves. So in sixth year they would go to that school and in fifth year the lads would come here. So you know every two years we have the class. Whereas now we can have our own higher level class. A maths class which is quite impressive in an all girls secondary school in the inner city that we still have enough to have a class. Now there might be only eight in there, but that is 8/40, still 20% doing high-level maths, so we are very proud of that fact. So now we are trying to offer chemistry as well because some of them do want to study medicine and if you only have biology, well it is not good enough (Principal, School 2).

In School 1 ME students were responsible for rejuvenating applied maths in the school. In 2010, applied maths was reinstated as a subject after a ten year absence. The evidence that ME students dominated higher level maths and science subjects was not only apparent in qualitative form but also in quantitative form. Analysis of LC results reveal that ME students were three and a half times more likely to take

higher level maths than Irish students. Their preference for higher level maths was so high that they were four times less likely to take foundation level maths. Finally, across the four schools, ME students over the ten year period were over one and a half times more likely to take one or more science subjects at senior level than their Irish counterparts. This is demonstrated in table form (Appendix 20).

4.2.4.1 Minority Ethnic Students and Achievement Levels in Maths

The consensus to surface from all four schools was that ME students were 'good' at maths. Similar notions were expressed for the sciences – physics, chemistry and biology – and other numerical-based subjects such as accounting. Eastern European students in particular were singled out as those who excelled in the above subjects as noted by the maths teacher in School 4 below and shared by others (Appendix 21).

I think it depends on certain subjects and the levels. I teach maths and sometimes the eastern Europeans more than the Africans, they will be way ahead (Teacher, School 3).

Though the perception advocates superiority in maths the LC results show that there is little between ME students and Irish students when it comes to achievement in higher level maths. Over the ten year period, in all four schools, Irish students were just as likely to get an honours grade (C1 or above) in higher level maths than ME students were. This is illustrated in table form (Appendix 22).

4.2.5 A Synopsis of Changes to Academic Achievement

In three out of the four schools academic standards improve over time as the number of ME students increase. This was not the case for School 1 where academic standards decrease. This may be due to the greater number of LC subjects ME students were likely to sit.

Noticeable changes to academic achievement along gender lines also emerged. Evidence suggests that females outperform males; ME females outperform all other groups while Irish females surpass their male counterparts. Over time, the achievement levels of ME and Irish females improve over time. The achievement levels of ME males remains at the same level while the levels of Irish males decreases over the decade.

There are also identifiable changes in the ethnic make-up of the 'high-achieving' group across the four schools. As the number of ME students increases the ethnicity of this group changes. In 2000/01 ninety percent were Irish students. By 2010, ME students constituted the majority of students who were the 'high achievers'.

The above further reveals changes in the up-take of higher level maths and science LC subjects. ME students dominated higher level maths and science senior classes; however, Irish students were just as likely to get an honour in higher level maths as ME students.

4.3 Peer Relations: Changes in the Relationship between Irish and Minority Ethnic Students

Issues around peer relationships, notably the relationship between Irish and ME students, were given much attention during the qualitative process. From this discussion a change in the relationship between the two groups was identified. This primarily centred on an 'improvement' in relations. An initial 'hostile' reception from Irish students to ME students was gradually replaced by an improved relationship which, according to staff, evolved organically. The data below explore this change as well as the impact ME students had on Irish students in particular in 'broadening' their world and 'enriching' their lives.

4.3.1 Initial Reaction of Irish Students towards Minority Ethnic Students

The initial reception ME students received from Irish students was considered unwelcoming. There is evidence that much of this adverse treatment was geared towards African students who were seeking asylum. Participants conceded that the response of Irish students was in many cases racially based and premeditated by the 'urban legend' that 'they' came to Ireland and got 'everything, the car, the pram and the house.' There is a belief that students' reactions to ME students, in particular African students, transcended from the home and the community. The comment below and others (Appendix 23) highlight this.

I think certainly at the start there would have been a high degree of hostility towards the immigrant community because of the perception, whether rightly or wrongly, they had access and a quicker route to getting social services, getting accommodation, and getting fixed up with regards to all that. There certainly were issues in the early years. There were racist issues. Sadly I would have thought that a lot of our Irish boys had issues and those issues were, those racial issues were reinforced in the home or perhaps even indoctrinated at home ... The Eastern Europeans didn't get any comments. So there would have been an element of racial tension towards the Africans and they did not get the Céad Míle Fáilte (Principal, School 1).

As evident above, students from other ethnic groups were not subjected to the same hostility. Comments supplementing the one above in the Appendix point this out. Due to the perception that Eastern Europeans 'looked the same', they were treated differently.

4.3.1.1 Inter-Ethnic Student Interaction

During the initial period, integration between Irish students and ME students was practically non-existent. It progressed very little beyond this period and only once the majority of the student body came through primary school together did it improve. This is explored below. There is a consensus that, due to teacher management, students ‘mixed’ somewhat in the classroom; however, when they got out into the yard, there was little inter-ethnic mixing. The issue of mixing was not only confined to Irish and ME students, but also between students from different ethnic groups. This is pointed out by a teacher’s perception below and echoed by others (Appendix 24).

But what I thought was interesting, the first thing that I noticed was that, during lunch they all congregated. So you would have a corner of Filipinos, you would have a corner of Africans, there was not as many Eastern Europeans at that time (Teacher, School 4).

While teachers were aware that there was minimal inter-ethnic mixing, there is a sense that the four schools did not try to force integration, but rather encouraged it. Staff recognised the importance for students to congregate with others with shared ethnic, linguistic and cultural attributes. The principal in School 2 recalls a situation where he challenged a teacher who wanted to ‘split up’ four African girls who were always together. He argued that he would never split up Irish girls so why should he start splitting up African girls. He also claimed that this concern centred on optics rather than anything else (Appendix 25).

4.3.1.2 Racist Tension and Incidences

The tension between Irish students and ME students occasionally resulted in racist incidences, both verbal and physical. In Schools 2, 3 and 4 these incidences were described as ‘infrequent’ and tended to involve individual students. Staff in these schools noted that due to the ‘tough stand’ they took on racism these incidences were limited in quantity and bearing (Appendix 26).

The situation in School 1 appeared to be more charged (Appendix 27). One teacher described how racist tension peaked when a group of Chinese students was attacked by a group of Irish students. This is illustrated below.

It reached crisis point at one stage when we had a huge population of Chinese kids. They were not accepted and the tensions well, they actually overflowed. In the end a bunch of Irish kids challenged the Chinese kids and with the result the embassy became involved. The Chinese embassy came down and removed all the kids and as far as I know they were all taken en masse down to (name of school). That was a shock. That was the height of it, that was the worst it ever got (Teacher, School 1).

This same incident was further discussed during the follow-up focus group. Participants from Schools 2 and 4 declared that such heightened tension never existed in their schools. The participants in this focus group concluded that this incident resulted from School 1 having more ME students and reaching a 'tipping point'. Students from certain ethnic groups were larger, more identifiable in the school yard and therefore perceived to be more threatening (Appendix 28).

Participants intimated that issues to do with equality may have also contributed to the heightened tension. This confirmed the views of individuals from School 1 who believed that, at times, ME students were better 'cared for' and treated differently than Irish students. This is best summarised by a teacher's remark below. It is endorsed by another teacher who claimed that the level of 'care' given to ME students continued throughout the decade and at times contributed to a rise in tension between Irish students and ME students. The principal also illustrated this point (Appendix 29).

I think this might have been our own professional failure. I always found it more difficult to chastise an unaccompanied minor or a kid whose English was poor, than I did an Irish kid. Which I could chastise with the ease of a dolphin, you know ... I remember very, very clearly, in the early years, I'm sure I was taken for a ride by quite a few of them. I was tougher with the Irish kids than I was with the non-Irish kids and maybe that is where some of the resentment from the Irish kids came from. I thought the school was tougher on Irish kids (Teacher, School 1).

Despite the strained relationship between the two groups of students, particularly at the beginning, there is an almost alarming disbelief amongst participants that, in light of the size of the ME student population, things were not worse in that they 'dodged so many bullets'. These teachers acknowledged that the hard line the school took against racism was crucial in this (Appendix 30). Issues pertaining to unequal

treatment never surfaced in the other three schools. There is some evidence that these schools advocated the equal treatment of all students, ME or otherwise (Appendix 31).

4.3.2 An Improvement in Peer Relations

As noted all four schools took a tough stand against racist behaviour. They encouraged integration through cultural-awareness activities. Posters and other visual materials on different cultures were displayed in corridors and classrooms, various religious and national days were acknowledged, and the schools organised 'international' days. In the case of one school, this evolved into a week of celebrations. Finally, sport and music were recognised as 'great levellers' and encouraged in all four schools (Appendix 32). These activities were considered important and there is evidence that integration progressed considerably towards the end of the decade (Appendix 33).

Nonetheless, the majority of participants recognised a drastic improvement in peer relations once students, both Irish and ME, enrolled from primary school. This is described by the principal from School 3 and echoed by other staff (Appendix 34).

Because they are now used to each other, they trust each other. So things have just become organic. They are long enough here in the school and the school has a long enough tradition of multiculturalism, it is seamless, they are friends from first year or they have been friends in primary school (Principal, School 3).

Though participants recognised this progress, individual participants cautioned against complacency. A teacher in School 1 reminded her focus group that vigilance was required.

I think we have managed racism but that is not to say that it will not rear its ugly head again. I think it is fairly good at the minute, like we have not had any big fights in the last few years (Teacher, School 1).

There was a recognition that integration was still considerably difficult for students who did not come through primary school together (Appendix 35). Attention was also drawn to differences in opinion about racism between students and teachers. A teacher maintained that racism was still an issue in her school. She cited examples of

racist behaviour and highlighted that, if asked, students would have a differing view to teachers on the issue.

Like I think we talk about is their racism or is there no racism in the school. But we never asked the students do they think there is racism in the school. It has never been addressed to them, have you gone through this? We have never asked them. I did ask some students and they would say every day outside the school they would be called the N word, they would be called names (Teacher, School 4).

Similarly, the qualitative process revealed that in the two boys' schools, Schools 1 and 4, the lines between 'slagging' and racism were blurred. There was an acceptance that male students always taunted each other and whether this was about being 'gay' a 'foreigner' or 'having a big nose' this was part and parcel of school life. This prompted one teacher in School 4 to conclude that schools needed to tackle 'slagging' rather than racism. (Appendix 36).

4.3.3 The Exposure of Irish Students to Students of Different Cultures

The majority of participants acknowledged the positive impact ME students had on Irish students. Exposure to students from different ethnicities and cultures 'broadened' the world of Irish students. The articulation by a teacher below echoes the perception of a substantial number of staff in the schools (Appendix 37), that the culture within the inner city was 'narrow.' Further it affirms the common view that the experience of 'mixing' with ME students 'enriched' the lives of Irish students.

There is a culture there within the inner city. Now, there is nothing wrong with that culture but it is also in my view a narrow culture. For example literally the divide of the Liffey. They are not inclined to cross the river. They are not inclined to move out of their own area ... I often feel they live in a very narrow kind of tunnelled area. The fact that their sons are now mixing with foreign national students, the fact that they can slag each other when Ireland play Poland. It has certainly broadened their horizons which I think is no great harm. I would say just from that element it has enriched their lives let's say. They get to see that whether they are from Poland or from Latvia or wherever they are from, the boys get to see that they are just as human as anybody else. I think it is enriching (HSCL Teacher, School 4).

In School 1 the focus of discussion shifted from 'broadening' to 'educating'. Two teachers stressed that exposure afforded Irish students an education on how to deal with different people. An education, as demonstrated below, students in mono-ethnic schools would not receive.

I think our kids are going into wider society now, a different Ireland, and they have experienced all these different people, and I think they are going to go as people who are used to this. They are going to different environments and they would be able to adapt, to talk to people. I think that our kids are going to go out into the world, into the new Ireland, better than other kids from other schools. Because they know how to deal with this kind of stuff (Teacher, School 1).

Similarly, discussion focused on the sociological impact exposure had on wider society. A number of teachers discussed a scenario where the positive experience of integration between Irish and ME students transcended from school into the local community. The observations of one teacher is presented below and the views of others are found in the Appendix (38).

They are used to being around different nationalities so maybe long-term it might put off a little bit of racism out there, I don't know. We will have to wait and see that but I think for our kids now just to be around these kids, you know, it is good for them. Just to learn how to accept other people, socially. It has to help you know ... If we get the chance to educate them for five years and tell them that there is an alternative to hating them, then maybe, that has to pass along to the next generation somehow or another. But I think it will help a little bit, I don't think it will get rid of it (racism) (Teacher, School 1).

There seemed to be hope emanating from this discussion that the improved relations between Irish and ME students in school would transcend into home and community life. This represented a shift from the initial relationship where the attitudes of Irish students towards ME students transcended from the home and community life.

4.3.4 A Synopsis of Changes to Peer Relations

The findings highlight a shift in the relationship between Irish and ME students. This relationship was initially 'hostile' and 'unsavoury'. There was little integration in all four schools and there were reports of racist tension which at times manifested itself in both the verbal and physical form. African students seeking asylum were the target of much racism during the initial years. Students from Eastern Europe were treated differently.

It seems that tension was more charged in School 1. Staff insist that this could be due to the higher concentration of ME students and that, at times, ME students were treated more favourably than Irish students.

Evidence suggests that, over time, the initial hostile relationship was gradually replaced by an improved relationship. This relationship organically evolved. In the interim, schools took a tough stand against racism and encouraged integration. They never imposed it upon the students. Nevertheless, overwhelming evidence indicates that students coming through primary school together was the pivotal reason why relations between the two groups improved. Students who enrolled in school without coming through primary level together still found it difficult to integrate.

The exposure to different cultures and students from different countries has socially and educationally 'broadened' the lives of Irish students.

4.4 Changes in School Identity

Issues pertaining to school identity surfaced in three out of the four schools, Schools 1, 2 and 3. These three schools had the highest concentration of ME students in 2010. From the data, changes to two particular areas surrounding school identity were identified. The first centred on the change in how staff across the schools identified their school and how they perceived others viewed the school. During the initial period of ME student enrolment, staff were fearful that they would become 'black' schools. This fear gradually subsided as, by 2010, the majority of staff accepted that their schools, and the student populations within them, reflected the community they served. In line with this, the fear surrounding their new identity was premised on a belief that Irish students would not enrol in the schools. The data presented below highlight a change to the enrolment patterns of Irish students. As the decade progressed and the number of ME students increased, the number of Irish students enrolling in all four schools decreased.

4.4.1 A New Identity

The initial demographic change to the student population brought with it much uncertainty. Staff expressed that, as the number of ME students, in particular African students, initially enrolled, there was a fear that they would be labelled a 'black' school. Staff candidly employed terms such as 'black', 'colourful' and 'skin' to describe the sense of trepidation within staffrooms. The comment below expressed by a teacher in School 3 highlights the concern of having 'all just black' students enrol in the school.

When we got Eastern Europeans in it helped because they blended in a bit better. It wasn't all just black. There was a time when we thought we would be seen as a black school and that is not a nice thing to say, but that is how sometimes we used to think. But then when the others started coming we were seen more as an international school. So the black went out of it and it became international ... For about two or three years, yeah, there was a little concern around it, we never voiced it but there was concern among staff that we might end up that way you know (Teacher, School 3).

The question of optics was similarly shared by others who imply that 'the colour of the skin was the problem' when it came to being identified as a 'school who just takes international students.' (Appendix 39).

4.4.2 Irish Flight: Change in Irish Student Enrolment Patterns

A perceived consequence of being identified as a 'foreign', 'black' or 'international' school was that Irish students from the locality would bypass the school and go to other schools; commonly known as white flight. As noted in the literature review this occurs when 'white' or 'native' students leave or bypass a school due to the sudden enrolment of ME students, notably newly arrived immigrants. The end result is the creation of schools with a high concentration of ME students.

There is an overarching view held by participants in Schools 2 and 3, the girls' schools, that there was never a mass departure of Irish students who left the school. The reason for this, according to staff, was that the size of the ME student population never warranted such flight. In School 1 there is an acknowledgment that this may have occurred in small numbers for the first year or two; however, there was a belief that there was never a sizable exodus of Irish students. The staff in School 1 were fervently adamant that the school experienced 'social flight' rather than 'white flight'. This commenced in the 1990s, before the enrolment of ME students, and continued through the early years of the millennium, the period during which the school was gradually becoming a 'less academic' school (Appendix 40).

There was a fear in all three schools, Schools 1, 2 and 3, that if they established themselves as a school specifically catering to 'foreign' students or a 'black school' then Irish parents from the local area would send their sons and daughters elsewhere. The sentiment below expressed by a teacher is shared by others (Appendix 41).

I think there may have been a perception out in this community that we were a school catering specifically to foreign girls. So maybe some of the girls that may have wanted to come here some of their parents may have questioned in which direction the school was going. I would say there was a perception to a degree out there (Guidance Counsellor, School 3).

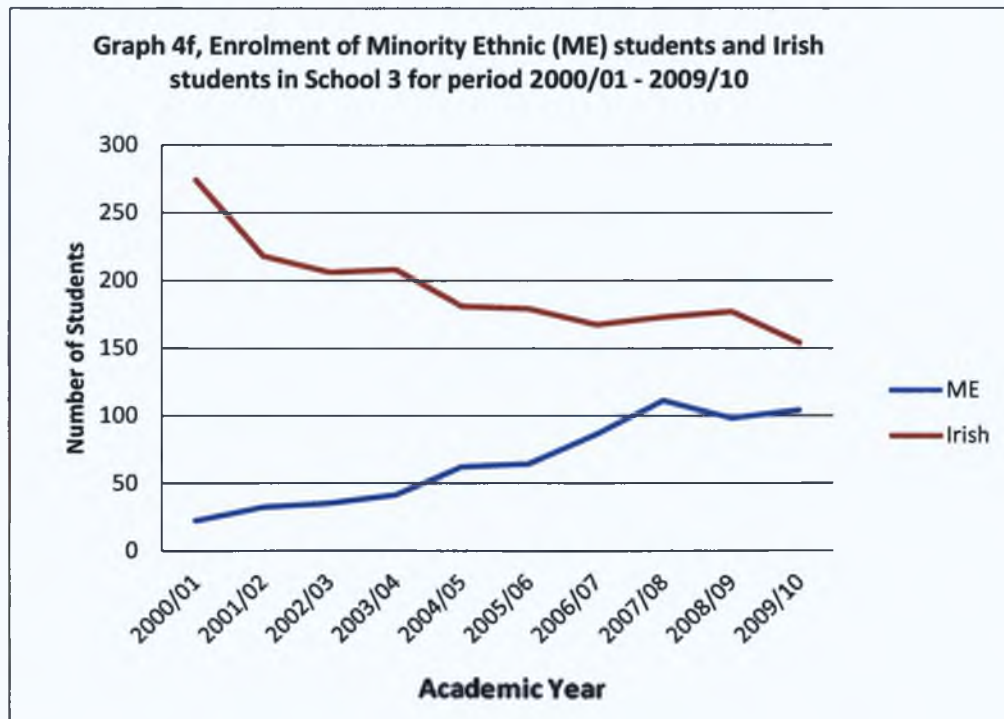
The issue of white flight also prompted one teacher from School 4 to comment on the identity of School 1 and the impact this may have had.

I think School 1 got a big reputation early on. I'm not sure that many Irish parents would have been too eager to send their kids there (Teacher, School 4).

This viewpoint was discussed at length and supported by all who took part in one focus group in School 1. They zealously stressed that Irish students did and continue to bypass their school due to the fact that the majority of their students were 'foreign'. One teacher's views is presented below and supplemented by the response of another (Appendix 42).

The bottom line is we all feel that we are doing a great job and we are, lots of fantastic things are being done, but the reality is it's not wanted. What we do is not wanted. The reality is that we need to ask why do people not want to come here? I think it is because 60 to 65% of the school are foreign students (Teacher, School 1).

The analysis of enrolment records further vindicates the concerns expressed above. The reality in all four schools was that as the number of ME students increased the number of Irish students decreased. This is illustrated in School 3 on Graph 4f below, and on Graphs 4g, 4h and 4i for the other three schools. (Appendix 43).



Significantly, the four schools remained under-subscribed throughout the decade and therefore were never in a position where they had to turn away Irish students. The slight exception to this was in School 2 where they were in the process of rewriting their admissions policy due to an increase in their student numbers. Therefore, in absolute terms the graph and the conclusion that was drawn from it is a valid one.

While some teachers in School 1 were convinced that their new identity contributed to the fall-off in Irish enrolment, this view did not reflect the dominant view across the four schools. Evidence suggests that the fall-off in the number of Irish students reflected demographic changes in the area rather than the initial concern they had of being identified as ‘black’ schools. The generally held view was that make-up of the incoming first years mirrored the make-up of the student population in the primary school from whence they came. This is succinctly stated below by the HSCL teacher in School 2.

It would be different in some schools. For example there is a fee paying school (close by) and I would imagine, but I am only surmising, that they would not have quite a large a cohort of international students. Whereas the primary schools that are in our cluster, we would all have a similar student intake (HSCL Teacher, School 2).

Supplementing this was evidence that the number of students coming in from the feeder primary schools never decreased in such a way as to warrant attention. Further, staff in Schools 2 and 3 made specific reference to the fact that students had ‘nowhere else to go’, that their parents lacked the ‘drive’ to send them elsewhere and that the number of ME students never passed a ‘tipping point’ (Appendix 44).

4.4.2.1 School Identity and School 4

No participant in School 4 alluded to any initial or ongoing fear that the enrolment of ME students would result in an uncertain and unfavourable identity. Further, there is no evidence that any aspect of ‘white flight’ occurred. As the guidance counsellor noted, Irish students never bypassed the school because the tradition of students from the area coming to the school was a strong one as well as,

... the convenience of them coming to a school so close is another thing. Like the culture in the inner city here is such that the idea of a parent sending their child even a mile and a half up the road to the other boys’ school is unheard of.

Why send them up there when they can go here? So I do not think that this happened here (Guidance Counsellor, School 4).

One other teacher further endorsed this view stressing that, like in Schools 2 and 3, the phenomenon never 'registered' with their admission figures (Appendix 45).

4.4.3 School Identity: A Gradual Acceptance

By 2010, the initial fears and uncertainty surrounding their new identity had in most part faded. The majority of staff across all four schools acknowledged that their schools were multi-ethnic; however, this term was not central to how they defined it. The comment below encapsulates the views of many.

I think this is a school which just reflects the time we are in and the area we are in. It reflects the reality. It is a normal school that takes in all the kids from all the different ethnic groups that live in this area. So it provides for people who are out there, who are mostly working class people (Teacher, School 3).

The image of being a 'working class', 'inner city' and/or a 'normal' school was articulated on numerous occasions. There was a sense that the initial 'colour' that teachers were aware of, and in many ways afraid of, was no longer pertinent to how they identified their school or how they believed the outside community identified their school. This is best surmised in the comment below and affirmed by others (Appendix 46)..

Well the first thing I would say is that it is a working-class school. That is the first thing I would say and all that goes with that. I suppose because you are so used to it I don't see the colour. It shocks me now when I go out to other schools. For example I was in a school in (suburb) for the orals and the first thing that hit me was that it was exclusively white. So it hits you when you come to an all white school. But I certainly don't walk around here and see the colour. I don't see colour. I noticed the opposite when I went to a white school so on reflection I am very much aware that I work in a multicultural school, but, on a day-to-day basis I do not even think about it at all. It was interesting when you said how do I see the school, it is not the first thing I would say (Teacher, School 1).

Nevertheless, there was an impression from a minority of staff that they were more comfortable in being identified as a 'working class' school rather than a 'multi-ethnic' school. As noted below, the term 'multi-ethnic' seemed a little too strong. Perhaps, for some, the initial fears with respect to 'colour' had not subsided (Appendix 47).

I would see this as a working class school. If I say multi-ethnic, it sounds a bit strong, but a school that is a working-class school open to all comers, really. That is really as far as I would put a label on it (Board Member, School 3).

Despite this minority view, a noticeable change with respect to school identity was identified. For those in Schools 1, 2 and 3, the initial and uncertain image of a 'black' school was replaced by a contented notion that they were just a normal school. The consenting belief to surface from the qualitative process was that the schools, and the students who constituted their student populations, whether Irish or not, lived in the locality. The schools were merely serving students, who in geographical terms lived in the 'inner city' and in social terms were considered 'working-class' (Appendix 48).

This comfort surrounding their identity is further validated by a change in how teachers referred to the students themselves. Staff in Schools 1, 2 and 3 all hinted that students in their schools, whether Irish or not, were students. This is described below and echoed by others (Appendix 49).

I don't even think of them as different nationalities now. I don't know if I have been here for so long, but I see all of them as our students. I don't like them and us and I think that has reduced (Teacher, School 2).

4.4.4 A Synopsis of Changes to School Identity

Staff in Schools 1, 2 and 3 feared that their school would be identified as a 'black' school. They feared this would impact on the enrolment of Irish students. Staff in School 4 never voiced any such concerns.

Over the course of the decade, as the number of ME students increased in all four schools, the number of Irish students decreased. While staff in Schools 2 and 3 believed it reflected demographic changes to the area, some staff in School 1 determined that the change in Irish enrolment patterns was due to 'Irish flight'.

By the end of the decade, the initial fears and uncertainty surrounding demographic changes to the student populations subsided. There is a sense that 'colour' was no longer a pertinent issue. For the majority of staff across the four schools, their school identity, including the student populations within it, was a reflection of the community it served.

4.5 Changes in School Ethos

During the interviews, initial focus groups and follow-up focus groups, issues pertaining to ethos emerged. While the literature recognises that school ethos encapsulates many aspects of school life, for participants in this research, school ethos focused on particular religious aspects of school life: Religious affiliation and the Religious Founders. Thus, it is within these aspects that changes to school ethos were identified and are presented below. The first change highlights a change to the Catholic identity of the four schools. According to staff, by 2010, all four schools were 'inclusive' Catholic schools. The second change centres on what staff perceive as having been the re-emergence of the original Rice and Aikenhead ethos.

Prior to and during the changes to the student populations, all four schools remained as Voluntary Secondary Catholic schools. The two boys' schools, Schools 1 and School 4, were under the patronage of the Christian Brothers. In 2008, this patron body became known as the Edmund Rice Schools Trust (ERST). The girls' schools, Schools 2 and School 3, were under the patronage of the Sisters of Charity.

4.5.1 A New Dimension to the Catholic Ethos

Demographic changes to the schools' student populations, from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic, added a new dimension to the Catholic ethos of all four schools. The majority of participants employed the term 'inclusive' as they described this. This is best reflected in the comment below which was made by a principal. It is further supported by others (Appendix 50).

From a religious point of view we are definitely very inclusive. On the application form I have a question I ask, what religion are you? They write they are Orthodox or they are Muslim or whatever. Then I would say you do know it is a Catholic secondary school and we have a Catholic ethos, but yet we welcome people of all faiths. Most people will say yes that is why I am sending her here. I would say to them that we have religious services throughout the year, and I always say at the beginning, before every class most teachers will stand up and say a prayer. So I say to the students that most teachers will stand up to say a prayer but this is a chance that you can pray to Allah, pray to whomever. They have no problem with that. Also we have religious emblems all over the place, statues and God knows what. We have crucifixes everywhere. But they know we respect their religion. We will announce it if it is Ramadan on the intercom and wish the girls well, whatever festival it is. During our November service when we remember the dead we say that we are remembering people of all faiths, so we will always include them in that (Principal, School 2).

The notion of being an 'inclusive' Catholic school was fully endorsed by the members of the Boards of Management who were interviewed. Nominated by the Trustees of the school, all four members took the position that their school was 'open' and 'welcoming' to students of all faiths (Appendix 51).

There was evidence that all four schools attempted to be inclusive not only in name but also in practice. During all ceremonies, ME students were, firstly, encouraged and not forced to take part and, secondly, encouraged to take part bearing in mind their own faith. This was best surmised by one teacher who claimed that,

Nobody ever tries to change anybody's religion, nothing is thrown down people's throat or anything like that (Principal, School 3).

There were examples where religious services were 'multi-faith' or 'interdenominational' and took into account the multi-faith mix within the student body. This inclusivity is expressed in the teacher's comment below.

But the great thing has been the services. I think it is very inclusive, you could not find fault with it from my point of view. But looking at the services you could not find how somebody from a non-Catholic background could be upset by anything from the services we have (Teacher, School 4).

In one school a prayer room was converted into a sacred space for students of all faiths. As part of their construction studies project Leaving Certificate Applied students constructed symbols recognising the five major world faiths and these were put in the room. During the early years in this school, students of Islamic faith were granted permission to leave school early on Fridays to attend prayer services. This practice ceased when teachers realised that some individuals were not attending prayer services. Across the schools, various religious festivals were acknowledged publicly, either through the intercom or through posters. The chaplain of one school appreciated the effect this had on ME students.

Over the intercom we would wish students a happy Chinese New Year, and you know the celebration of Eid, and they love that kind of thing if they are recognised over the whole school, because they do have their own religious feasts (Chaplain, School 3).

There was no evidence to emerge indicating that the increased enrolment of ME students, particularly those of different faiths, ever threatened the Catholicity of the

school. During the decade in question all four schools maintained that they were Catholic Schools and to various degrees continued to celebrate their Catholic identity. Services and commemorations continued to be held throughout the year. Religious icons and symbols, including those of the founders Edmund Rice and Mary Aikenhead were on display throughout their respective schools. Similarly, their feast days were also celebrated. Finally, all four schools maintained Religious Education as part of their curriculum and introduced Religious Education as a Junior Certificate examination subject.

4.5.1.1 Interpretation of Catholic Ethos

While staff across all four schools were heartened by their 'inclusive' ethos, they were equally disheartened to find that other Catholic schools were not. Staff referred to such schools as 'exclusive' Catholic schools as they spoke at length on this displeasure. This was particularly the case for the two ERST schools, formerly the Christian Brother boys' schools, Schools 1 and School 4. The principal from School 1 made this point and it is evident below.

There are schools it has to be said who will not deal with international students because of the fact that they would not interpret their ethos as dealing with that. There are international students who we have in this school who have been turned away from what I would call middle-class suburban schools, principally because they are a Catholic school and they don't take Muslims and they better go somewhere else. That to me would be wrong, but that would be their interpretation of their ethos. Some schools are Catholic and Catholic would be very much to the fore and it would be used often to keep kids out. We are a Catholic school but, as I say we are inclusive (Principal, School 1).

As this participant continued, he recognised that, if those schools were in a similar predicament with regard to student numbers, that is, they were under-subscribed, then they too might interpret their ethos accordingly. Similar notions in relation to how some schools interpreted their ethos was made by others (Appendix 52).

I often wonder, you know, if push came to shove and numbers fell in other schools, would they just say right, we would take anybody. I think schools can suit themselves sometimes (Guidance Counsellor, School 4).

During the follow-up focus the hub of discussion shifted from individual 'exclusive' schools to the patron bodies of the four schools: ERST and the Sisters of Charity.

The participant from School 2 found it difficult to comprehend how, in Australia, Sisters of Charity schools were fee-paying. Closer to home, the participant from School 4 expressed his disbelief that ERST did very little to counter the fact that, in his eyes, some Christian Brother schools were 'actively keeping out the un-washable' whilst some, like his own, were 'caring for all' in the Rice tradition. This led him to question the purpose of the patron body being formed in the first place. Despite this, the majority of participants during the initial and follow-up focus groups appreciated and accepted the paradox that up until they became disadvantaged schools, they too, to varying degrees, were exclusive.

4.5.2 The Re-emergence of the Original Visions

The contextual chapter, Chapter Three, outlines the original Rice and Aikenhead ethos: the core premise, caring for the marginalised in society. During the qualitative process participants spoke passionately about the care they afforded ME students. The impact this had on ensuring that ME students continued to enrol throughout the decade was also stressed in Chapter Three.

While all participants agreed that caring for students was always an integral part of the school (Appendix 53), the data reveal that the change in the student population added a different aspect to what that care entailed. This was particularly the case for those working in Schools 1, 2 and 3, who initially catered for a large cohort of unaccompanied minors seeking asylum. A retired principal from School 1 emphasised this.

There were a lot of unaccompanied minors. Now that element is important because it felt like we were looking after them. That was the paternal thing (Former Principal, School 1).

In the latter half of the decade, School 2 created the position of a pastoral care teacher who looked after the specific education and social needs of unaccompanied minors. Similarly the school chaplain in School 3 took on this responsibility as part of her role. Both were members of the Sisters of Charity and both positions were provided for by the congregation.

Moreover, the data suggest the impression that the change in the student population, from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic, brought both the Rice and Aikenhead

ethos to the fore. This manifested itself in two ways. The first is that teachers and non-teachers became more aware of the ethos of the school. The comments made by a teacher in School 1 illustrated this point.

I think if there was one thing constant throughout all of the change, for me, it was the ethos. I am not saying it is a Christian ethos, Catholic ethos, yet it is the Edmund Rice ethos. You take away religion, take it out of the equation completely, the ethos of Edmund Rice, to be good and caring, it all came to the fore (Teacher, School 1).

The second was a realisation that the work they were doing was more in line with the original ethos of the founders than work that may have been previously conducted.

But in effect we are kind of back to the Edmund Rice kind of ideals, it is not that we did not have them when I started here, but I suppose we had maybe 180 in each year and they were all very academic students. I mean the sixth stream or bottom class were able to pass their leaving cert no problem. You know it was a slightly different school in that sense. Now we are back to the Edmund Rice ideals where we are looking after the disadvantaged and those that are less fortunate. I have always enjoyed doing that anyway and I think a lot of the staff do as well. So I suppose it has reinforced the ideals of what Christian Brothers school should be (Deputy Principal, School 1).

The data show, that the enrolment of ME students contributed significantly to the 're-emergence' of the original Rice and Aikenhead ethos. Terms synonymous with both Rice and Aikenhead – 'marginalised', 'vulnerable', and 'challenges of the day' – were articulated by staff in all four schools.

Yeah, very definitely the ethos comes through. We do have a mission statement and you know, everything, is connected to it, that is to provide education for the marginalised (HSCL Teacher, School 2).

An authentic belief that Edmund Rice and Mary Aikenhead would approve of the work of the schools emerged from the data. Similarly, staff genuinely professed their contentment in working in what they termed as either a 'real Mary Aikenhead school' or, as previously stressed, 'what a real Christian Brothers' school should be'. Finally, participants were confident that, if Rice and Aikenhead were around during the first decade of the millennium, they would be doing similar work (Appendix 54).

4.5.3 A Synopsis of Changes to School Ethos

For participants in this study, school ethos pertained to particular religious aspects of school life; religious affiliation and the religious founders of the schools.

Demographic changes to the student populations in all four schools brought about changes to the religious identity of the four schools. All four schools became 'inclusive' Catholic schools. There is evidence that the schools worked hard to acknowledge, respect and include students of different faiths.

There is no evidence to suggest that the enrolment of ME students of different faiths was ever considered a threat to the Catholic ethos of the schools.

Participants in all four schools were disheartened that some Catholic schools used their Catholic ethos to exclude ME students of different faiths.

The change in the student population instigated a greater awareness and appreciation of the original Rice and Aikenhead visions. Participants recognised that their schools were more in line with the original visions than they had been in the past.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings from this research. These findings were presented under key categories which emerged from the research process. This process of data analysis, largely guided by Elliot and Timulak, ensured that the analysis of data took into account the aim of the research question as well as the validity of the research process. The categories identified – Teaching and Learning, Academic Achievement, Peer Relations, School Identity, and School Ethos – reflect change to key aspects of school life and were common to all four schools. These categories reflect the experiences of those working in the four schools between 2000 and 2010.

As a summary of changes was presented under each category, there is little need to replicate this here. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight common themes which have emerged from the findings. It is evident that the demographic changes to the student populations across the four schools brought about significant changes to key areas of school life. It is further evident that these areas of school life continued to change. For those working in the schools, it seemed that change was part and parcel of school life during this period.

While all four schools, as high concentration multi-ethnic schools, experienced deep change, the findings presented above reveal that the deepest change occurred in School 1. The reasons for this can be attributed to the sheer size of their ME student population and the rapid rate of ME student enrolment, in particular during the initial years. Additionally, it is apparent that much uncertainty and anxiety that came with the change in the student population was racially based.

In 2000/01 the ME student population across the four schools ranged from seven percent in Schools 3 and 4 to thirteen percent in School 2. By 2009/10, this population ranged from twenty nine percent in School 4 to seventy percent in School 1. In numerical terms this represents a significant change to a student population in a short period. The evidence above unearths the impact this shift in student population had on the four schools and on those working within them during this period.

CHAPTER FIVE

Exploring Change in Four inner-urban DEIS Schools: A Discussion on the Changes to Five Key Areas of School Life

5.0 Introduction

The findings from this research were presented in the previous chapter under five categories. These categories emerged from the research and correspond to key areas of questioning and data gathering conducted throughout the research process. Furthermore, these categories represent key areas of school change which were common, to varying degrees, across all four schools. Hence, their relevance to the research question,

What changes occurred in four schools which went from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations?

The categories of school change identified were: Teaching and Learning, Achievement, Peer Relations, Identity, and Ethos. This chapter discusses the changes which occurred in these five areas and positions them within the Irish and the International research on ME education, as well as within the narratives presented in Chapter Three – the historical background of the four schools.

While other studies provide a ‘snapshot’ of what life is like in a multi-ethnic school, this research adopted what Lightfoot argues is an ‘evolutionary view’.¹ The discussion below centres on how five key areas of school life changed across four schools over time. Equally, while much of the research in Ireland on ME education compares experiences across different types of schools, the discussion below compares ‘different perspectives’ on the experiences of teachers across similar schools.² This enhances the ‘accuracy, validity and reliability’ of the findings.³

¹ Lightfoot, p. 24.

² Creswell, p. 74.

³ Noor, p.1604.

5.0.1 Re-Setting the Scene

As outlined in Chapter Three all four schools were founded during different periods of the 19th century. They were born out of the visions of Edmund Rice and Mary Aikenhead who founded the congregations of the Christian Brothers and Sisters of Charity. These congregations were set up in response to the needs of the largest demographic group of the time: the Catholic poor.⁴ All four schools were originally primary schools and served students who came from the immediate locality.⁵

Chapter Two presented the notion of change from a philosophical and educational standpoint. School change was almost always brought about by government policy or in response to demographic change. Chapter Three explored this position and showed that, since they were founded in the 19th century, all four schools underwent significant changes. The first resulted from the introduction of the Intermediate Education Act (1878) in the late 19th century. The second resulted from demographic changes which occurred at the beginning of the 1990s.

From 2000 to 2010 another demographic change transpired. Initially, the largest cohort of ME students to enrol across the four schools was from Africa. This was particularly the case in Schools 1, 2 and 3. The majority of these students were within the asylum process and many were unaccompanied minors. This group was closely followed by a significant contingent from Romania. From 2004/05 onwards, the majority of students enrolling across the four schools came from Eastern European countries. A considerable number of these students came from Poland. By 2010, the ethnic-makeup of the schools' student populations was diverse as students from all regions of world had enrolled. This reflected the general immigrant population of the area at that time.⁶

School location is considered the fundamental reason why ME students initially enrolled. Government housing provision for people seeking asylum was scattered across the north inner city at this time. Social and other workers from non-government groups brought students to the schools.⁷ Equally, for existing and new

⁴ Blake, p. 50; Keogh, p. 41.

⁵ Christian Brothers, p. 1; Doyle, p. 1; Gorman, p. 4–6; School 2.

⁶ Fahey and Fanning, p. 1632.

⁷ Arnold, p. 11.

immigrant communities, the north inner city was awash with private rented accommodation, employment opportunities and an 'immediate social network, attracting immigrants to the area.'⁸

The initial and successive enrolment of ME students stabilised declining student numbers in all four schools. As outlined in Chapter Three, to varying degrees, all four schools experienced a drop-off in student numbers throughout the 1990s. Demographic changes to the outer Dublin landscape and the building of new schools in these areas resulted in a significant decrease in the number of students coming to the schools. This was coupled with the increase in the number of local students enrolling in the four schools. Throughout the 1990s all four schools gradually shifted their focus from 'academically-oriented' schools to 'non-academic' schools. By 2000, all four schools were designated, to some degree, as DEIS schools.

Nevertheless, after the initial enrolment of ME students, the schools quickly developed reputations for welcoming and caring for ME students. As this reputation filtered through to new and existing ethnic communities in the area and beyond, an ever increasing number of ME students enrolled across all four schools. Furthermore, there was a perception amongst staff across the four schools that principals of other schools, nearby and further afield, directed ME students towards the four schools. As outlined in Chapter Three, there is evidence that the schools actively recruited ME students from other areas.

The net effect of this was that by the end of May just over two-thirds of the student population in School 1 were ME students. In School 2, ME students counted for half the student population, in School 3 just over one third, while they constituted just under one third in School 4. This represented a seismic shift in the make-up of the student populations in all four schools between 2000 and 2010.

⁸ Fahey and Fanning, p. 1632; Hegarty, p. 24.

5.1 The Classroom Setting: Changes to Teaching and Learning

For teachers involved in this research, focus groups represented an opportunity to reflect on and articulate their experiences of what life was like in the classroom during a time of change. As outlined in Chapter Two, focus groups are beneficial in an enquiry like this for they are 'participant-centred', thus, it is 'their' agenda which dominates and not that of the researcher.⁹ The agenda set by participants around teaching ME students focused on how the enrolment of ME students changed the experience of teaching over the ten year period.

The discussion below focuses on two significant changes to teaching and learning. The first occurred during the initial period of ME student enrolment. For the first time, teachers were confronted with students who had little or no English. This was compounded by the reality that students were 'walking in at all times of the year' and little was known about them. This period, was described as a 'shock to the system'

The second change saw a significant improvement for teachers in the classroom. This was determined by two key factors. First, a system of language support was established in all four schools. This alleviated the initial burdens of teaching students with limited English. This was coupled by the changing nature of ME student enrolment. Towards the end of the decade, the majority of ME students who enrolled in the four schools did so through the primary system. Second, and most noteworthy, was that ME students had what Devine claims, a 'positive disposition to learning'.¹⁰ As the decade progressed and the numbers of ME students increased across all four schools, teachers encountered an increasing number of students who were ambitious, hardworking and well-behaved.

5.1.1 A 'Shock': Teaching English to non-English Speakers

The initial enrolment and thus impact of ME students on teaching and learning was

⁹ Jupp, p. 121.

¹⁰ Devine (2011), p. 94.

described by one teacher as a 'shock to the system'. For the first time, teachers encountered students with limited English proficiency that enrolled at different times of the year. Prior to the enrolment of ME students in 2000, students across all four schools shared similar ethnic, social, linguistic and educational backgrounds. The classroom was a mono-ethnic setting. The student body was composed of local English-speaking students who enrolled in September from a feeder primary school. They all entered secondary schooling with similar educational experiences.

Almost instantly teachers faced an ever increasing number of students who had a limited grasp of English or, in many cases, no English at all. As many of the ME students who enrolled during this initial period were older, for age-appropriate reasons they were directed into senior classes. This placed additional pressures on LC teachers. Duties around classroom management, teaching a curriculum and preparing students for LC exams were supplemented by the additional task of teaching students who neither possessed the basics in English nor what Smyth and others refer to as the 'specialised vocabulary' of a LC subject.¹¹

During this period teachers acknowledged that they did not know 'how' to teach students with little or no English. This was a stressful period for teachers and led some to ask the question, 'what were students with limited English doing in their class in the first place?' This is best surmised by a teacher's comment below.

They shouldn't be here is what we were saying. Like fire them on to somebody else kind of thing and when they have a little English let them come back.

The findings above are in keeping with what Devine and her colleagues established in 2002. Additionally, they concur with much of the research to emanate from other countries. Research from Australia, the United States and Canada all document the challenges teachers face when dealing with students who have little or no English.¹²

¹¹ Smyth and others, p. 79.

¹² Ali and others, p. 5; Bullivant, p. 66; Hood, p. 3; Iredale and Fox, p 666; Ruiz de-Velasco and Fix, p. 54; Schnepf, p 543.

In particular, when teaching academic subjects in English ‘using texts and materials that assume advanced English language competence.’¹³

5.1.1.1 Compounding the Shock: Irregular Enrolment Patterns

Compounding the difficulty above was the atypical enrolment patterns of new students. While local Irish students enrolled in September, a significant number of ME students enrolled from September right through to April. A principal’s description outlines this pattern.

They (ME students) were walking in at all times of the year and it seemed that whenever they arrived in Ireland they were coming to the school.

As the findings show, in one year alone, up to sixty students enrolled in one school after the October returns were filed. This placed added pressures on principals in availing of resources and increased the pressures on teachers in the classroom. This reaffirms what Devine and her co-authors established in 2002. They emphasised the challenges teachers faced in dealing with ‘arrivals throughout the year.’¹⁴

Additionally, teachers were afforded little warning of any new students. In some cases student names and their country of origin were written on notice boards in staff rooms on the mornings before class commenced. In other cases students were introduced at morning assemblies. There were occasions where teachers were informed about new ME students by existing students when they arrived to class. Previous authors in Ireland have described the challenges faced around the change from ‘enrolling known children to enrolling strangers.’¹⁵ Similarly, in line with the experiences of teachers in other countries, teachers in this study were dealing with new students, some with limited or no English, on a daily basis.¹⁶ As illustrated by a teacher’s remark below, the irregular enrolment of ME students impacted negatively on staff morale.

I remember teaching and the problem was they were walking in at all times of the year and some of them had no English. I remember this was a big problem and just as their politeness boosted staff morale this one negatively impacted on it.

¹³ Ruiz de-Velasco and Fix, p. 56.

¹⁴ Devine, Kelly and MacNeela, p. 120.

¹⁵ Devine, Kelly and Mac Neela, p. 89.

¹⁶ Bullivant, p. 68; Ruiz de-Velasco and Fix, p. 112.

The extent of the 'shock' described above varied between the schools. There is evidence to suggest that issues pertaining to language difficulties and irregular enrolment were more onerous on teachers in School 1 than in the other three schools. It is possible that this was determined by the sheer volume of ME students who enrolled in School 1 during the first three years. Devine, Kelly and MacNeela discovered that the 'rapid' change to the student population of some schools 'impacted almost immediately' on their administration systems.¹⁷

This was certainly the case for School 1. Graph 3c in Chapter Three shows that by the end of the 2002/03 academic year ME students in School 1 constituted just over a third of the student population. In the other three schools the ME student population ranged from just below ten percent in School 4 to just below twenty percent in School 2. Additionally, when one considers that the number of ME students in School 1 swelled from nine percent to thirty six percent during the same period, then it is evident that the 'shock' to teachers was more burdensome. Teachers in this school had more ME students with little or no English and more students arriving into their classrooms at irregular intervals than in the other three schools.

The findings above reinforce what has been previously established in Ireland and abroad. Nevertheless, the reality that in 2010 teachers from this research articulated similar experiences as those unearthed by Devine and her colleagues in 2002 reveals the extent of the initial 'shock' and the lasting impression it left on teachers.

5.1.2 An Improvement in the Teaching Experience

The evidence outlined in Chapter Four suggests that by 2010 life in the classroom changed for a second time; however, this gradual change proceeded from one of burden to one of improvement. Despite the initial period of distress, by 2010, teachers recognised that the environment within their multi-ethnic classroom was more conducive to teaching and learning than it was as a mono-ethnic setting prior to the enrolment of ME students. Two reasons for this are offered. The first centres on language support coupled by the changing nature of enrolment of ME students. The

¹⁷ Devine, Kelly and MacNeela, p. 85.

second centres on the general consensus that ME students possessed what Devine coins a 'positive disposition to learning'.¹⁸ The ever increasing enrolment of ambitious, hardworking and well behaved students meant that the classroom setting became more conducive to teaching and learning.

5.1.2.1 Easing the Burden: Language Support and the Changing Nature of ME Student Enrolment

The stressors teachers experienced during the initial years of ME student enrolment became less onerous from the middle of the decade onwards. The system of enrolling and accommodating ME students was, as one teacher claims, 'tidied up'. By 2005/6, the ME student populations across the four schools ranged from fourteen percent in School 4 to forty seven percent in School 1. By this stage, all four schools had established formal language support structures funded by the Department of Education and Skills.

The four schools adopted different approaches in the provision of language support. Schools 2, 3 and 4 adopted a withdrawal approach. New students with limited English were withdrawn from classes for additional language support. As many new ME students were exempt from learning Irish, they were usually withdrawn from these classes. Due to a higher number of ME students, School 1 established two stand alone English immersion classes for new ME students. Students were 'immersed' in English for a year and then placed into the mainstream. School 1 also established an abridged Junior Certificate class for older ME students with a better grasp of English. Students in this class took five Junior Certificate subjects rather than the normal ten.

There is little emanating evidence to suggest that one system was superior to the other. The literature in Ireland maintains that stand alone immersion classes, as established in School 1, hamper pupil integration, yet it recognises that withdrawing students from certain subjects is disruptive to teacher and student alike.¹⁹ Research

¹⁸ Devine (2011), p. 94.

¹⁹ Smyth and others, p. 143.

from the United States suggests that 'intense' immersion classes are successful.²⁰ Nevertheless, it is evident that the establishment of language support eased the stressors for teachers in the classroom. It is further apparent that the establishment of language support added a level of bureaucracy creating a divide between classroom teachers and language support teachers. In keeping with what Lyons highlighted, there was a sense among classroom teachers in this study that teaching new ME students who had limited English was now the responsibility of language support teachers.²¹ Though principals in Schools 2, 3 and 4 considered establishing immersion classes during the period in question, they all recognised that, unlike School 1, they did not have the student numbers to do so.

Towards the latter half of the decade an ever increasing number of ME students were enrolling into the four schools through the primary system. Staff estimated that 'most of the kids' coming into the schools in 2009/10 had come from one of the primary feeder schools. This alleviated the burden with respect to the challenges teachers initially faced with respect to the irregular enrolment of students. Moreover, ME primary students had a healthier grasp of English than their predecessors had in the first half of the decade. Additionally, teachers had access to their prior educational experiences.

Though older ME students continued to enrol at irregular intervals, by 2010, staff described this as a 'trickle'. In School 1 these students were generally placed into the abridged Junior Certificate class. The other three schools placed students in Transition Year. It is clear that the establishment of language support and the changing nature of ME student enrolment alleviated much of the burden teachers faced during the first few years. The changing nature of ME student enrolment also impacted positively on the relationship between Irish and ME students. This will be discussed below.

²⁰ Hood, p. 5.

²¹ Lyons, p. 298.

5.1.2.2 Re-affirming the Position that Minority Ethnic Students have a Positive Disposition to Learning

Language support and the change in how ME students enrolled lessened the initial difficulties teachers faced; however, it was their ‘positive disposition to learning’ which changed the environment in the classroom. The previous chapter documented teachers’ favourable perceptions about ME students. In general, they were considered ambitious, hardworking and well behaved. Their value for education was perceived to be ‘quite high’ and evidence from this study concludes that these favourable educational traits resulted from their social class and upbringing. A member of the Board of Management outlines this below.

It does seem to me that the non-nationals might have a different sort of emphasis. They might have a greater regard for education. This might be due to their higher social background, their upbringing.

This conclusion is in keeping with Devine’s assertion that, in Ireland, ME students possess ‘middle class values’ and a ‘positive disposition to learning’.²² Furthermore, the higher social background of ME students compared to the local Irish students across all four schools validates what has been previously documented by Smyth and her colleagues.²³ The finding that ME students had a more favourable disposition to learning is mirrored across many countries.²⁴ Authors argue that, despite variances across countries with respect to immigration, immigration populations and education systems, ME students in general possess similar or higher learning qualities than native students.²⁵

The analysis of LC results highlights that, over the ten year period, and across all four schools, ME students were twice as likely to sit one or more higher level subjects as Irish students. This complements the generally held view from staff in the four schools that ME students were ambitious and motivated. Eastern European students in particular were singled out. Furthermore, ME students possessed what teachers claimed was a superior work ethic to Irish students. This is best expressed by a teacher below.

²² Devine (2011), p. 94.

²³ Smyth and others, p. 97.

²⁴ Bullivant, p. 87; OECD, (2006), p. 2; Schleicher, p. 508.

²⁵ OECD (2006), p. 2.

Like the international girls go home, they do their homework and they are studying, and they are going to their teacher and asking them for extra work ... The end result is that the international students do all that and they go to University.

Ambition and hard work have been previously documented in Irish research.²⁶ Principals and teachers in DEIS and non-DEIS schools refer to ME students as 'diligent' and 'willing to learn'.²⁷ It is also mirrored in other countries; however, favourable educational traits tend to be associated only with students from specific ethnic groups.²⁸ Though students from Eastern Europe were singled out in this research as being particularly ambitious and hardworking, there was a sense that teachers applied these traits to the general ME student population. While the findings from this study concur with previous research in Ireland, it is the process by which the findings were unearthed which is unique. This study is the first in Ireland which attempts to quantify ME student ambition through the analysis of LC data.

Supplementing ambition and hard work, the findings reveal that, in spite of a 'few rough diamonds', ME students were well-mannered, appreciative and offered little in terms of discipline concerns. This echoes what Devine and her colleagues assert are 'traditional values of respect for authority.'²⁹ Teachers across the four schools spoke of the amiable nature of ME students as they were more likely to say 'thank you' and 'step away from doors' than Irish students were. Smyth and her colleague argue that such favourable behaviour impacts positively on life in the classroom, in particular in DEIS settings.³⁰

5.1.2.3 The Multi-Ethnic Classroom: It Became Far Easier

Teachers in all four schools emphasised differences between the disposition of ME and Irish students. This is evident in a teacher's comment below.

I had a girl last year and she wanted to go to college, she was very academic and she had to work to save. Some of the local girls were looking at her and saying,

²⁶ Smyth and others, p. 156.

²⁷ Devine (2011), p. 91; Devine, Kelly and MacNeela, p. 100; Smyth and others, p. 154.

²⁸ Coates and others, p. 2; Dandy and Nettlebeck, p. 267; Perna, (2002), p. 1; Van Houtte and Stevens, p. 230.

²⁹ Devine, Kelly and MacNeela, p. 100.

³⁰ Smyth and others, p. 97.

are you crazy? Why would you be working to save to go to college? Why would you do that? They could not understand.

Teachers continuously compared ME students to Irish students with respect to ambition, work ethic and behaviour. In light of this, teachers' perceptions of ME students reaffirm what previous authors in Ireland describe as 'a teacher's dream'.³¹ Authors in other countries have portrayed such students as 'desirable'.³² Thus, as the decade progressed and the number of ME students increased in all four schools, so did the number of students who were more inclined to show ambition, work hard and be well behaved. Consequently, the classroom became more conducive to teaching and learning representing a change to what life in the classroom was like when there were no ME students. A teacher's remark below best illustrates this.

Just one observation, let's say in the 90s in terms of teaching, and you get a class of local kids, and within that group of let's say 25, you might get seven, or eight or nine who wanted to disrupt the class. Because there were seven or eight or nine, it became very difficult for teachers to cope. But when let's say the foreign nationals came, that group became watered down. It became far easier. You could identify one and deal with that one.

For some teachers, the increased enrolment and thus impact of ME students on the classroom setting restored some of the academic values the schools had when they were non-DEIS schools and were more academically-oriented. Teachers were grateful for the arrival of ME students and in general saw them as a great addition to not only the classroom but the school. A few teachers pondered on the notion that they could never go back to teaching in a mono-ethnic DEIS school. This reflects the experiences of teachers in some inner city schools in the United States who claim 'they could not go back to face unruly behaviour in classes.'³³ In jest, two teachers claimed that teaching ME students turned them into racists; they started hating Irish kids.

The literature in Ireland and abroad recognises that DEIS schools deal with a larger proportion of students who have 'literacy, numeracy, behavioural and attendance difficulties'.³⁴ There is also evidence that teachers' expectations in such schools are low, resulting in the creation of less demanding and motivating learning

³¹ Devine, Kelly and MacNeela, p. 100.

³² Suarez-Orozco, p. 289.

³³ Suarez-Orozco, p. 289.

³⁴ Cebolla-Boado and Medina, p. 5; Smyth and others, p. 53; Taguma and others, p. 19.

environments.³⁵ The evidence from this research shows that, prior to 2000, teachers across the four DEIS schools encountered a large number of disruptive students with less-academic learning dispositions. The introduction of ambitious, hard working and well behaved students significantly improved the dynamic in the classroom with respect to teaching and learning. As the decade progressed, and the number of ME students increased in all four schools, teachers encountered more ME students, who possessed a positive disposition to learning, in their classrooms.

It is within this context that teachers were able to, as Devine maintains, 'construct positive views about ME students because of what they bring to their teaching experience.'³⁶ It is apparent that ME students brought a more favourable disposition to learning into the classroom and this improved the experience for teachers. This is in line with broader research from other countries which maintains that discipline, motivation and work ethic enhance the experiences of teaching.³⁷

In the Irish context, authors contend that ME students raise academic standards and expectations within DEIS schools and they positively contribute to teaching and learning.³⁸ The findings from this research confirm these assertions. They also concur with what authors have discovered in Australia and the United States.³⁹ It is evident that, across the four DEIS schools in this study, the classroom changed from a less conducive teaching and learning environment, when the school was a mono-ethnic DEIS school, to a more favourable setting, when it became a multi-ethnic DEIS school.

The discussion above highlighted the significant changes to life in the classroom which transpired between 2000 and 2010. The first change, almost instantaneous, occurred from the outset during which time teachers were beset by challenges they had not previously encountered. Teaching a curriculum, in particular a LC curriculum to students who had a limited grasp of, or in many cases, no English, was a considerable challenge teachers faced. This was compounded by the irregular enrolment of ME students. The discussion above demonstrated that due to

³⁵ Cebolla-Boado and Medina, p. 5; Heckmann, p. 15; Suarez-Orozco and others, p. 152.

³⁶ Devine (2011), p. 94.

³⁷ Lumsden, p. 2; MacKenzie, p. 98; Miller, p.485; Protheroe, p.1.

³⁸ Devine (2011), p 72; Smyth and others, p. 53.

³⁹ Bullivant, p. 66; Suarez-Orozco, p. 289.

the higher number of ME students to enrol in School 1, the 'shock' for teachers in this school was more telling. There is evidence to suggest that teachers, to varying degrees across the four schools, were overwhelmed by the enrolment of ME students causing stress and impacting negatively on staff morale.

The second change to occur was more gradual and resulted in a significant improvement for teachers with respect to teaching and learning. Despite the initial stressors teachers recognised that the environment within their multi-ethnic classroom was more favourable to teaching and learning than it was as a mono-ethnic setting prior to the enrolment of ME students. This change was initially aided by the setting up of language support structures in all four schools and the ever increasing enrolment of ME students through the primary system. Nevertheless, it was the positive disposition to learning which ME students brought with them into the classroom which improved the teaching experience. As the years progressed, and the number of ME students increased, teachers encountered more students who were ambitious, hard working and well behaved.

Many of the findings with respect to teaching and learning were positioned within two notable studies: research by Devine, Kelly and MacNeela conducted in 2002 and by Smyth and her colleagues in 2009. This underscores the significant dearth in literature in Ireland which explores the experiences of teachers in multi-ethnic classrooms. Nevertheless, the findings here concur with the little literature that exists.

Additionally, this research is the first in Ireland to attempt to quantify student ambition through the analysis of LC results. This was used to complement teachers' perceptions. Earlier studies in Ireland have relied solely on the perceptions of teachers and principals in multi-ethnic schools to stress student ambition. Therefore, the triangulation of both qualitative and quantitative data strengthened the findings above.

5.2 Changes in Academic Achievement

The change to the student population, from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic, in the four schools in this study, impacted on achievement levels. The discussion below centres

on four notable changes to aspects of achievement between 2000 and 2010. The first focuses on school academic standards; as the number of ME students increases over the decade the academic average in three out of the four schools improves. The second change alludes to differences in achievement between male and female students. Findings show that over the ten year period the average results for ME females and Irish females improves. There is little change in the achievement levels of ME males whilst the achievement levels of Irish males decreases.

The third significant change to occur in relation to academic achievement focuses on the ethnic make-up of the ‘high-flyers’ or the top ten percent of students across all four schools. By 2010, close to ninety percent of the high-flyers were ME students. This represents a considerable shift from the beginning of the decade where the majority of the top students were Irish. The final change highlighted centres on changes to the up-take of higher level maths and science subjects at senior level.

In Ireland to date, there has been little research examining the achievement levels of ME students across schools.⁴⁰ Similarly, research of any kind comparing LC results across schools has been limited.⁴¹ The lack of suitable methods of collecting and desegregating data on ethnic grounds, and the disinclination by officialdom to introduce ‘league tables’ in Ireland have hindered the advancement of this type of research.⁴² This is in stark contrast to the achievement-driven research to emanate from other countries.⁴³ In view of this, LC results for the ten year period across the four schools were gathered and analysed. These results complement much of the data to emerge from the qualitative process and form the basis of the discussion below.

5.2.1 An Improvement in School Academic Standards over Time

Between 2000 and 2010 the academic achievement levels in each school changed. Graph 4.2d in the previous chapter illustrates this change demonstrating that the academic average improved in three out of the four schools whilst it decreased in one

⁴⁰ Devine, (2011), p. 41.

⁴¹ Lodge and Lynch, p 65.

⁴² Taguma and others, p. 15.

⁴³ Schnepf, p. 528.

of the schools. In 2004 the average LC result in Schools 2, 3 and 4 was 165, 178 and 114 points respectively. By 2010, this average gradually increased to 206, 221 and 134. This is in contrast to what occurred in School 1, where the average result gradually decreased from 171 to 134 for the same period. Nevertheless, the focus of this discussion centres on the finding that as the number of ME students increases the academic averages in the majority of schools improves.

The analysis of LC results complements the perceptions of staff in these schools. Their view, as demonstrated by a teacher's comment below, holds that the addition of ME students into the student body improved academic standards.

I think they (ME students) have been a great addition to the school. I think the school has really improved, definitely, academic wise and discipline wise it has really improved ... The standards are rising all the time. I would say standards have gone up.

The above findings reaffirm the position taken by Taguma and her colleagues who maintain that in DEIS schools in Ireland, ME students were responsible for raising academic standards.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the present study is unique in the Irish research context. Firstly, while Taguma and others, and previous authors, rely solely on the perceptions and estimations of staff in Irish schools to determine their findings, this research draws on the analysis of LC results as well as qualitative data.⁴⁵ PISA studies, 2006 and 2009, are exceptions, as they draw on data from international testing mechanisms; however, it is recognised that the sample of ME students in these studies is small.⁴⁶ Secondly, this study is the first in Ireland to document the changes to school academic standards over time.

The verdict from other countries as to whether the enrolment of ME students impacts negatively or positively on school academic standards is inconclusive.⁴⁷ Evidence suggests that it is not necessarily the enrolment of a large number of ME students which determines this impact, but the relationship between the school system, the type of school and the social background of ME students attending the school.⁴⁸ In light of this, the findings from this research echo the experiences of

⁴⁴ Taguma and others, p. 37.

⁴⁵ Bryan, p. 254, Devine, (2011), p. 41; Smyth and others, p. 114; Taguma and others, p. 21–22.

⁴⁶ Devine, (2011), p. 41.

⁴⁷ Reynolds, p. 5.

⁴⁸ Schnepf, p. 542.

schools in Australia and Canada and refute the findings to emerge from many western European countries.

Like Ireland, the school systems in Australia and Canada are 'non-ability differentiated' school systems. Thus, ME students who attend designated disadvantaged schools and who generally come from higher social backgrounds than native students, enhance school academic standards.⁴⁹ The previous discussion on teaching and learning pointed to the fact that the majority of ME students who attended the four schools were from higher social backgrounds and brought with them a 'positive disposition to learning'.⁵⁰ This is in contrast to the experiences of schools in 'ability differentiated' school systems such as those in Germany, France and Belgium. In these countries evidence suggests that ME students generally come from lower social backgrounds. Authors argue that, due to their 'additional needs' and the 'additional burdens' they place on teachers, they are responsible for the creation of poor learning environments and thus negatively impact on academic standards.⁵¹

5.2.1.1 Declining Academic Standards: The Case of School 1

There is no evidence within the data to indicate why the achievement levels in School 1 decreased whilst they improved in the other three schools. A minority of teachers in this school refuted the misperception that ME students increased school academic standards. This is evident in the remark below made by one of the teachers from this school.

Like some teachers here believe that foreign students have brought up our academic standards, but if you go and look at the books, we all know it is different, they have not brought up the standards. I personally do not think they have ... Sometimes we are led to believe different.

⁴⁹ Bullivant, p. 65; Dobson and others, p. 11; Schnepf, p. 542.

⁵⁰ Devine, (2011), p. 94.

⁵¹ Entorrf and Lauk, p. 651; Merry, p. 9; Reynolds, p. 5; Schnepf, p. 542.

The experiences of School 1 mirror what has occurred in other countries.⁵² It is plausible that School 1, like schools in other countries, was simply 'overwhelmed by migrant students' and that this adversely impacted on academic standards.⁵³

5.2.2 Gender Differences in Academic Achievement: The Superior Achievement Levels of Minority Ethnic Females

A significant change to emerge from the analysis of LC results highlights the differences in the academic achievement levels of male and female students. Graph 4d in Chapter Four illustrates the dominance of ME females compared to Irish females and ME and Irish males. The findings from this research show that, over time, as the number of ME students increases, the achievement levels of ME females improves. Similarly, so do those of Irish females. This is not the case for male students. The previous chapter shows that over time the academic achievement levels of ME males remain relatively stagnant whilst the average points obtained by Irish males decreases with the increased enrolment of ME students.

Given the absence of previous research in Ireland on ME achievement along gender lines, the findings from this research can be positioned within the wider research context on gender education. The reality that females outperform males in this study concurs with the general pattern of achievement along gender lines in Ireland, where females surpass their male counterparts in the LC.⁵⁴ This is a trend reflected across all school types: DEIS, non-DEIS, single sex and co-educational, rural and urban.⁵⁵ This is also reflected in other countries.⁵⁶ Rotheron's prominent investigation on the academic differences between male and female students in Britain reveals that across all ethnic groupings females outperform males.⁵⁷

⁵² Entorff and Lauk, p. 651; Merry, p. 9; Schnepf, p. 542.

⁵³ Reynolds, p. 3.

⁵⁴ King and O'Driscoll, p.20; Elwood and Carlisle, p. 96.

⁵⁵ Smyth, p. 49.

⁵⁶ Bhattacharyya and others, p. 11; Ferguson and Horwood, p. 63; Frederickson and Petrides, p. 146; Rotheron, p. 70.

⁵⁷ Catherine Rotheron, 'Women, Men and Social Class Revisited: An Assessment of the Utility of a "Combined" Schema in the Context of Minority Ethnic Educational Achievement in Britain,' *Sociology*, 42 (4) (2008), p. 700.

Similarly, the underperformance of Irish males in this research mirrors similar developments in the area of educational disadvantage in Ireland.⁵⁸ Sofroniou and his colleagues stress that the 'impact of social context is greater for boys than girls.'⁵⁹ This endorses the contention to emanate from international research where 'white working-class' males have the 'most problematic path through secondary school.'⁶⁰

5.2.3 Changes to the 'High-Achieving' Student Group: Minority Ethnic Students Replace Irish Students

The dominant view held by the staff in all four schools in this research was that the 'high flyers' or the students who obtained the highest LC points were ME students. Staff comments presented in the previous chapter illustrate how ME students were more likely than Irish students to get the 'best results' and 'all the prizes' during graduation ceremonies. This teacher illustrates this.

In terms of results you could say that our best results over the years have certainly been from ethnic students.

There was also a resounding sentiment that Eastern Europeans, as one teacher claims, 'excelled' with respect to LC results. This echoes the general consensus to emerge from the literature in Ireland where Eastern European students have been singled out by what Devine claims were 'higher estimates of ability'.⁶¹ In other countries, students from Asian, Indian and Middle Eastern backgrounds have been considered those most likely to achieve academically.⁶²

The perceptions of staff across the four schools were endorsed by the analysis of LC results. Graph 4e in Chapter Four charts the changes to the ethnic make-up of the top ten percent of students across the four schools between 2000 and 2010. It shows that, in 2010, close to ninety percent of the top ten percent of 'high flyers' were ME students. At the start of the decade ninety percent of this group were Irish students. The fact that ME students were the 'high flyers' in all four schools is not an

⁵⁸ Sofroniou and others, p. 70.

⁵⁹ Sofroniou and others, p. 58.

⁶⁰ Wilson and others (2005) cited in Rothson, p. 700

⁶¹ Bryan, p 254; Devine (2011), p. 43.

⁶² Bullivant, p. 191; Suarez-Orozco, p 290; Francis and Archer, p. 91.

uncommon phenomenon in countries like Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom, in particular in disadvantaged schools.⁶³ Similarly, the reality that, by the end of the decade, there was a complete change in the ethnic make-up of the top ten percent of students across all four schools combined, has also been reflected elsewhere.⁶⁴

5.2.4 The Predisposition of Minority Ethnic Students to take Higher Level Maths and Science

The final notable change to emanate from the data centre on higher level maths and science at senior level. The change with respect to these LC subjects focuses on changes in the up-take of these subjects rather than changes in achievement levels. Nevertheless, in lieu of the reality that this topic dominated much discussion around achievement, it warrants attention here. The analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data reveal that the change from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations brought about a greater up-take of higher level maths and science subjects at senior level. This is evident in the teacher's remarks below.

Like the sixth year group last year for honours chemistry and honours maths. Now that I think about it I realise that in those classes there were no Irish students in there.

The findings in the previous chapter reveal that ME students were three and a half times more likely to take higher level maths than Irish students. Similarly, ME students were over one and a half times more likely to take one or more science subjects at senior level than their Irish counterparts. A consequence of this reality was that the four schools were able to maintain these subjects at senior level. Staff in all four schools acknowledged that, if it were not for ME students, the capacity to offer higher level maths and science options would be jeopardised.

There is no literature in Ireland which focuses on the proclivity of ME students to opt for higher level maths and science subjects at senior level. Thus, the findings above are unique and contribute to the void in this area of research.

⁶³ Bullivant, p. 191; Suarez-Orozco, p 290; Francis and Archer, p. 91.

⁶⁴ Bullivant, p. 191.

Nevertheless, the findings documented above emulate the trends in other countries.⁶⁵ Bullivant discovers that, prior to the enrolment of a high concentration of ME students of Indo-Asian descent, his case study school in Melbourne's inner-suburbs considered discontinuing all upper level subjects due to low academic performance. The enrolment of these students and their ensuing demand for higher level maths and science subjects meant that the schools continued to offer them.⁶⁶

Furthermore, Bullivant argues that ME students concentrated on these subjects because of their familiarity with concepts from their previous education as well as the perceived association these subjects had with university courses and selected professions.⁶⁷ This is reflected in this study. Staff, in particular maths and science teachers, noted that ME students came into class with previous knowledge. There was also evidence that ME students were inclined to opt for these subjects as they were less language-laden. The actuality that ME students were over four times less likely to opt for foundation level maths endorses the above and possibly, as Bullivant argues, the high regard ME students have for maths.

The general inclination of staff in all four schools to highlight the superiority of ME students in maths was not substantiated by the analysis of LC results. While Irish students were prolifically outnumbered in higher level maths classes, they were just as likely to obtain an honour (C1 or above) in higher level maths as ME students. This finding contradicts previous enquiries conducted in other countries showing the superiority of ME students in maths, in particular Asian students.⁶⁸ Though Irish students were just as likely to obtain a respectable result in maths as ME students, it is conceivable that, without the enrolment of ME students and their subsequent tendency to opt for higher level maths, Irish students may not have been afforded the opportunity to take higher level maths in the LC.

⁶⁵ Bullivant, p. 67.

⁶⁶ Bullivant, p. 65.

⁶⁷ Bullivant, p. 65.

⁶⁸ Else-Quest and others, p. 293.

5.2.5 A Historical Perspective on Academic Achievement: Reflecting on Previous Changes in the Academic Focus of the Four Schools

While from the outset all four schools developed reputations for delivering ‘good’ basic education,⁶⁹ they adopted a more ‘academic’ focus following the introduction of the Intermediate Education Act (1878). According to Hyland, this was a turning point for post-primary schooling in Ireland.⁷⁰ The Act set out to establish a system of public examinations beyond primary school level offering certificates and prizes to high achieving students and funding to schools based on their achievement levels.⁷¹ Nevertheless, it failed to establish a state secondary system. Thus, organisations who operated schools, such as the congregations of the Christian Brothers and Sisters of Charity, continued to do so independently.⁷² Aikenhead’s resistance to ‘ecclesiastical interference’ and the Christian Brothers’ reluctance to co-operate with state initiatives,⁷³ meant that the pressing need to secure funding to operate schools was a constant imposition for both congregations.⁷⁴ As Keogh stresses with respect to the Christian Brothers, they had no choice but to ‘embrace’ the Act of 1878.⁷⁵ Prize money through examination success was the only source of funding from the state. Therefore, Christian Brother and Sisters of Charity schools changed as a result.

In general, all four schools became focussed on more than just providing a good education; they became focussed on academic achievement. Like many Christian Brothers’ schools, Schools 1 and 4 quickly developed reputations for academic success. By 1900, as much as forty percent of prize money went to students from Christian Brothers’ schools.⁷⁶ The two girls’ schools, Schools 2 and 3, continued as primary schools. By the 1920s they became ‘secondary tops’, where ‘only the highly academic’ remained and were prepared for the Intermediate Certificate.⁷⁷ The focus on academic achievement brought about changes to the

⁶⁹ Christian Brothers, *History of Institute*, p. 19; Gorman, pp. 4–6; School 2, *History*.

⁷⁰ Hyland, p. 254.

⁷¹ O’Flaherty, p. 9.

⁷² Coolahan, p. 56.

⁷³ Blake, p. 90; Keogh, p. 224.

⁷⁴ Blake, p. 96; Donohue, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Keogh, p. 224.

⁷⁶ Denis McLaughlin, *The Price of Freedom, Edmund Rice Educational Leader* (Melbourne: David Lovell Publishing, 2007), p. 327.

⁷⁷ Mt Carmel Secondary School.

curriculum. In the two boys' schools, the curriculum veered from a vocational and scientific focus to a classic and literary one.⁷⁸

Academic success meant that the classroom comprised of 'picked scholars' rather than the 'unruly' students who attended the schools when they first opened.⁷⁹ Equally, the care the initial Brothers and Sisters would have shown students was replaced by the imposition of 'middle class' values ensuring that education became all about 'upward social mobility' through public examination success.⁸⁰ Thus, from the 1920s onwards, students who attended the four schools would have brought with them a more positive disposition to learning than students who attended the schools when they were originally established.

This reflects the experiences of the schools in the 2000s when ME students brought with them a more favourable learning disposition than the local students did. The only difference lay with the fact that, during the late 19th and early 20th century, teachers were not faced with the challenge of dealing with students with limited or no English.

From the late nineteenth century onwards all four schools adopted a meritocratic approach to education where the focus was on academic achievement. The curriculum reflected their purpose; a 'classical-academic' curriculum preparing students for third-level and white-collar occupations.⁸¹ Those students who were non-academic were served by the growing vocational sector which offered 'technical, practical and vocational-oriented subjects.'⁸² Their reputable academic standing ensured that students from across Dublin's inner and outer suburbs continued to enrol right up until the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The change from the 'academic' school described above to a 'non-academic' school resulted from demographic changes to the Dublin landscape from the 1960s onwards.⁸³ The dawn of free education in 1967, the subsequent building of new schools, and gradual demographic changes meant that the traditional 'academically-

⁷⁸ McGelligott, p. 12.

⁷⁹ McLaughlin, p. 329.

⁸⁰ McLaughlin, p. 327.

⁸¹ Lewis and Kellaghan, p. 7.

⁸² Lewis and Kellaghan, p. 8.

⁸³ Ivers and others, p. 17.

oriented' student that enrolled across the four schools from Dublin's inner and outer suburbs no longer did so. By the late 1990s the student populations across the four schools comprised of local 'non-academic' students. These students, classified as disadvantaged students, encompassed all or some of what this entailed: intergenerational educational underachievement.⁸⁴ For staff, this meant dealing with greater numbers of students with learning and behavioural difficulties and, more importantly, working within a classroom setting that was not considered conducive to teaching and learning.

The schools adapted their curriculum. Programmes such as the Junior Certificate School Programme and the Leaving Certificate Applied were introduced to cater for non-academic students. They accessed additional educational resources and introduced the Home School Community Liaison Programme. Effectively, by 2000, all four schools had become DEIS schools and according to staff 'non-academic' schools.

There is no evidence to show that the enrolment of ME students between 2000 and 2010 resulted in the four schools returning to the same 'academic' disposition they had prior to becoming DEIS schools. Nevertheless, the settlement of immigrants into Dublin's north inner city and the subsequent enrolment of ME students across the four schools between 2000 and 2010, restored, to some extent, the 'academic' focus which characterised all four schools for substantial periods of their histories. This is surmised in the teacher's comment below.

You know they (ME students) cheat at exams, you know the others (Irish) couldn't care less to cheat at exams, it is they just don't care. They actually cheat because they want, you know, it is an indication of their attitude. Our guys would no more think of achieving an exam. Why would you bother doing that? They don't care about the results anyway. So they (ME students) have brought back into the school the values that I had when I started in 1978. So I can see they have restored some of those.

The discussion above highlights changes to academic achievement in four schools which went from having mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations. It is evident that there was a change in the academic achievement levels in all four schools as a result of the enrolment of ME students. In the majority of cases, this change was positive as schools' standards improved. Furthermore, there was a

⁸⁴ Ivers and others, p. 18.

notable change in the achievement levels of female students in this study. Females of ME origin surpassed all other groups in their achievement levels and as the years progressed their achievement levels improved. This was also the case for Irish females. The achievement levels of ME males remained relatively stagnant whilst they decreased for Irish males.

Another notable change to occur across all four schools was that, by 2010, the majority of 'high-flyers' or the top ten percent of students were ME students. This represented a considerable shift from the early years of the decade when close to ninety percent of this group were Irish students. The discussion also focused on changes in the up-take of higher level maths and science classes at senior level. As the number of ME students increased in all four schools, the demand for these subjects grew. The discussion further exposed the positive impact this had on the schools' ability to maintain these options at senior level.

The changes to achievement levels in the four inner city DEIS schools in this research mirror the experiences of schools in other countries, in particular in Australia and Canada. These similar experiences are determined by shared characteristics which include school system, school type and student social traits. While the discussion above underscores the plethora of literature on ME student achievement to emanate from other countries, it exposes the dearth of such literature in Ireland. The current research is the first in Ireland to draw findings from the analysis of LC results. This represents a shift in typology and stresses the need for more results-based research.

Finally, the discussion above shows that since their founding the four schools have undergone changes with respect to their academic character. This research shows that government policy, demographic change, or at times a combination of both, have determined such changes. For considerable periods of their histories the four schools were 'academic' in disposition, attracting a certain type of student. Throughout the 1990s, the schools lost their academic focus and, by 2000, had become 'non-academic' DEIS schools. For staff across all four schools, the enrolment of ME students restored some of the 'academic' focus which characterised the schools previously.

5.3 Changes in the Relationship between Irish and Minority Ethnic Students

Between 2000 and 2010 there was a significant change in the relationship between Irish students and ME students. The discussion below illustrates this change offering a description of how the initial hostile relationship between the two groups significantly improved by 2010. As presented below, this improvement was primarily determined by time. Though all four schools took a 'tough stand' against racism and encouraged integration, the improved relationship between the two groups of students was due to the reality that by the end of the decade the majority of students, ME and Irish, had come through the primary system together. In line with this, the second change to emanate from this research points to one of enrichment. This change focuses on how the lives of Irish students changed because of their contact and interaction with ME students.

5.3.1 The Initial Hostile Welcome: Targeting African Students

The findings from the previous chapter emphasise the hostile reception ME students received from Irish students in all four schools. There is evidence which suggests that ME students of African origin were more susceptible to racist incidences, both verbal and physical, than students from other ethnic groups. This initial hostility was not only racist in nature, yet it was founded and perpetuated by the 'urban legend' that, as asylum seekers, Africans were, as the principal below claims, 'getting a quicker route to social services.'

I think certainly at the start there would have been a high degree of hostility towards the immigrant community because the perception whether rightly or wrongly, was that they had access or a quicker route to getting social services, getting accommodation and getting fixed up with regards to all that ... Sadly, a lot of our Irish boys had issues and those racist issues were reinforced in the home or even indoctrinated in the home. There was not a welcome for them ... The Eastern Europeans didn't get any comments. So there would have been an element of racial tension towards the Africans and they did not get the Céad Míle Fáilte.

The hostile reception African students received across the four schools in this study reflects what has been previously documented in Irish schools. The notion of 'looking different' has been argued as the precursor to much of this treatment within

schools.⁸⁵ A minority of staff in the four schools were explicit in referencing skin colour to explain the strained relationship between the two groups of students.

The above is also indicative of the experiences of schools in other countries.⁸⁶ Lightfoot's leading case study of American schools in the 1980s exposed the reality that hostility was always geared towards 'visible targets', notably black students.⁸⁷ In some schools in the United Kingdom, Roma children are 'identifiable' and the target of racist abuse whilst in Belgium students from Turkish or Moroccan origin are targeted.⁸⁸ Akin to the situation in the four schools where Eastern European students were generally spared from any hostilities, Merry discovered that the attitudes of Belgian students towards Moroccan and Turkish students was in stark contrast to the attitudes shown towards those of Italian and Spanish origin who are viewed as 'phenotypically' and culturally similar.⁸⁹ Equally, in England, Eastern European students are not subjected to the same hostilities as other students because they 'look the same'.⁹⁰

In addition to race, the findings from this research indicate that the perpetuation of societal stereotypes caused tension between Irish and African students. Staff in the four schools relayed the initial perception of Irish students that Africans 'were taking our jobs'. This has been documented in former studies. Authors suggest that some ME students were spoken of in 'threatening' terms, in particular in DEIS settings where ME students were considered a threat with respect to the availability of social services and employment opportunities.⁹¹ In other countries researchers employ Competition Theory to explain how 'groups who feel collectively oppressed' are more than likely to consider the 'other', in this case visible African students seeking asylum, as possible threats.⁹²

The initial hostility shown towards ME students, in particular African students, manifested into verbal and physical incidences. The evidence from Schools

⁸⁵ Devine, Kelly and MacNeela, p. 144; Devine, (2013), p. 401; Smyth and others, p. 89.

⁸⁶ Arshad and others, p. 135; Bullivant, p. 85; Lightfoot, p. 164.

⁸⁷ Lightfoot, p. 163.

⁸⁸ Merry, p. 33; Reynolds, p. 16.

⁸⁹ Merry, p. 33.

⁹⁰ Reynolds, p. 17.

⁹¹ Devine, Kelly and MacNeela, p. 142.

⁹² Bobo and Hutchings, p. 951.

2, 3 and 4 suggests that these incidences were infrequent and had little bearing on the school climate. The HSCL teacher makes this clear.

To tell you the truth, we never really had any major stand off or problems. You would have had occasional issues of bullying and racism but they would have been pretty minor. It never, in other words, erupted into a major thing. I would say that in all honesty.

In the United Kingdom Reynolds argues that peer relations are more positive in schools where the ethnic composition of the student body is more diverse and not dominated by one or two ethnic groups.⁹³ Tension between groups is often stronger in 'bi-ethnic' schools as compared to 'super diverse' schools.⁹⁴ In light of the fact that all four case study schools had a 'super diverse' ME student population, Reynolds' contention might go some way in explaining why racist incidences, in Schools 2, 3 and 4, were limited in quantity and bearing.

Nevertheless, the evidence to emerge from School 1 suggests that the hostilities were more charged and racist incidences more frequent. The findings show that, due to their significantly larger number of ME students, groups of ME students from certain ethnic groups became more visible in the school yard. The conclusion drawn by the follow-up focus group was that the ME student population in School 1 had gone beyond a 'tipping point'. As early as 2002, Devine and her colleagues indicated that Irish students felt threatened by the potential 'gangs' ME students from specific ethnic groups could form. Lightfoot discovered that tension often heightened when 'visible' students became more prominent as they increased in number.⁹⁵ This occurred in School 1 and in one case led to an incident where a large number of Irish students attacked a group of ME students from a specific ethnic group.

Additionally, there is evidence which indicates that schools differed in how they treated ME students. While staff in Schools 2, 3 and 4 stressed that all students, ME and other, were treated equally, staff in School 1 acknowledged that preferential treatment was afforded to ME students. Staff in this school recognised a reluctance to chastise ME students during the early years.

⁹³ Reynolds, p. 19.

⁹⁴ Reynolds, p. 9.

⁹⁵ Lightfoot, p. 163.

They also accepted that individual staff members were overzealous in ensuring that ME students had access to school-related resources such as books and uniforms. In line with what other authors in Ireland discovered, staff in School 1 acknowledged that preferential treatment described above was a source of Irish student resentment.⁹⁶

Equal group status is a 'specified condition' to Allport's hypothesis on intergroup contact in schools.⁹⁷ Pettigrew argues that, in order for positive intergroup contact to occur, individuals in all groups must be treated equally.⁹⁸ It is evident that this did not transpire in School 1. Thus, the heightened hostilities in School 1 as compared to the other three schools, can be explained, not only by the higher number of ME students, but also the preferential treatment they received.

Devine's seminal work on peer relations in Irish multi-ethnic schools reveals that during the first few years of the decade friendship was demarcated 'along ethnic lines'.⁹⁹ The findings from this study reinforce this contention. Staff in all four schools accepted that there was very little mixing between Irish and ME students and, equally, little inter-ethnic mixing amongst ME students of various ethnic groups. This is described in the comment below.

The first thing that I noticed was that during lunch they all congregated. So you would have a corner of Filipinos, a corner of Africans. There was not as many Eastern Europeans at that time.

Though staff managed to encourage some interaction within the confines of the classroom, this did not transcend into the school yard. Therefore, as Bullivant unearthed in his case study of an inner-urban DEIS school in Melbourne, there was always a 'tendency for students to separate' during break times.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Devine, Kelly and MacNeela, p. 157.

⁹⁷ Pettigrew, p. 66.

⁹⁸ Pettigrew, p. 66.

⁹⁹ Devine, (2011), p. 143.

¹⁰⁰ Bullivant, p.86.

5.3.2 An Improvement in Relations: Students Coming through the Primary System

By 2010 staff noted a change in the relationship between Irish students and ME students. From the outset all four schools took what staff claim was a ‘tough stand’ against racism. This, they argue, minimised the number and bearing of racist incidences. Additionally, schools promoted the various student cultures through cultural days and events. As has been previously noted in Irish research, sport and music were also great levellers in advancing more positive peer relations between the two groups.¹⁰¹ Though the schools were proactive in encouraging integration there was a sense that integration was never forced on the student body.

A minority of staff alluded to the change in the ethnic make-up of the ME student body. They emphasised that the increase in the number of non-African students, notably Eastern European students, played a role in improving student relations, thus, reinforcing the notion that race and the ‘visible’ student was a leading precursor to the initial hostilities which was more geared towards African students as opposed to Eastern Europeans.

Though studies in Ireland suggest that school intercultural education strategies are important in improving relations between students, this research concludes that the improved relationship between Irish and ME students evolved organically.¹⁰² By 2010 the majority of students, both ME and Irish, enrolled in all four schools through the primary system. As illustrated by the teacher’s remarks below, this was fundamental to improving what was initially a hostile relationship between ME students and Irish students and also increasing integration among the general student population.

I think the current first years are the fruits of the primary school system. Therefore, when they came through there was no sense of difference. They have been through primary school together and they don’t see colour anymore, and you can see it, the way they mix. It (racism) will become a non-issue for us if we continue to get groups of students like them.

¹⁰¹ Devine, (2011), p. 145; Gilligan and others, p. 24; Smyth and others, p. 93; Tormey and Gleeson, p. 170.

¹⁰² Tormey and Gleeson, p. 162.

Comments like the one above surfaced across all four schools and emphasise Lightfoot's contention that schools, in this case primary schools, 'were good places where barriers, stereotypes and hostilities could be settled.'¹⁰³ Gilligan and others stress that young people who came to Ireland during their primary school years had a greater capacity to form friendships with Irish young people.¹⁰⁴ This reinforces the findings from this study that ME students who did not come through primary school found it more difficult to integrate. The improvement in peer relations towards the end of the decade in all four schools reflects the general research in Ireland around this time underlining the general positive sentiment Irish students had for 'newcomer' students.¹⁰⁵

It is evident that the attitudes of the Irish students who enrolled from the primary system were determined by what Miles contends were 'their experiences of and with other children who are ethnically different.'¹⁰⁶ While research from other countries illustrates similar improvements in peer relations in multi-ethnic settings, they fall short in accentuating the role of the primary school in determining this change, as was emphasised by this research.¹⁰⁷

5.3.2.1 Racism – No Longer an Issue?

Despite the general consensus that due to the 'tough stand' and the improved relationship between Irish and ME students, racism was no longer an issue in the four schools, Bryan contends that state-led 'inclusive and anti-racist aims ... are often not realised in practice.'¹⁰⁸ Therefore, the state, and the schools within them propagate anti-racist initiatives and policies to 'placate their proponents with the idea that something is being done about the problem.'¹⁰⁹ Kitching claims that such initiatives are 'severely spurious' as they fail to address real issues surrounding interculturalism and anti-racism in Irish society.¹¹⁰ This was evident in the perceptions of

¹⁰³ Lightfoot, p. 164.

¹⁰⁴ Gilligan and others, p. 15.

¹⁰⁵ Smyth and others, p. 90; Tormey and Gleeson, p. 169.

¹⁰⁶ Miles (1988) cited in Devine and others, p. 30.

¹⁰⁷ Bullivant, p. 85; Lightfoot, p. 163.

¹⁰⁸ Bryan (2010), p. 266.

¹⁰⁹ Bryan (2010), p. 266.

¹¹⁰ Kitching (2010), p. 221.

individual teachers who believed that racism was still an issue. One teacher insisted that if asked, ME students themselves would refute the claim that racism was non-existent. This re-affirms the notion set out by Smyth and others who suggest that teachers in Irish schools are ‘unaware of racist incidences’ and while racism is a non-issue for teachers, it is still an issue for students.¹¹¹ The above also highlights the limitations to the current study. It is evident that the inclusion of students in the research process would have contributed to the discussion above.

Furthermore, the above raises questions surrounding institutional racism and anti-racist teacher training. O'Brien finds that the initial training teachers receive in ‘preparing’ them to work against racism is ‘inadequate’ and perceived by some ‘as not even being on the agenda’.¹¹² Other authors reinforce this view suggesting that professional development in Ireland surrounding anti-racist teacher training has not been resourced.¹¹³ O'Brien argues that this nonchalant attitude towards anti-racist teaching is a reflection of the institutional racism present in the education system today.¹¹⁴ In light of this, it is possible that due to their lack of initial and continued professional development, staff across the four schools in this study were inadequately prepared to identify and subsequently deal with issues pertaining to racism.

5.3.3 Exposing Irish Students to Minority Ethnic Students: Enriching their Lives

The general consensus to emerge from all four schools stressed that ME students had a positive impact on Irish students. The word ‘enriched’ was commonly used by staff to describe how ME students broadened the lives of inner city Irish students, which many of them viewed as being culturally narrow. This is outlined in the HSCL teacher’s perception.

There is a culture there within the inner city. Now, there is nothing wrong with that culture but it is also in my view a narrow culture. For example literally the divide of the Liffey. They are not inclined to cross the river. They are not

¹¹¹ Smyth and others, p. 93.

¹¹² O'Brien (2009), p. 204.

¹¹³ Devine (2005), p. 66; Kitching, p. 221.

¹¹⁴ O'Brien (2009), p. 204.

inclined to move out of their own area ... I often feel they live in a very narrow kind of tunnelled area. The fact that their sons are now mixing with foreign nationals students, the fact that they can slag each other when Ireland play Poland. It has certainly broadened their horizons which I think is no great harm. It has enriched their lives let's say. They get to see that whether they are from Poland, Latvia or wherever they are from, the boys get to see that they are just as human as anybody else. I think it is enriching.

Through their contact with ME students, Irish students received an education which not only exposed them to different cultures and traditions but also taught them how to deal with people of different cultures. The enriching experience Irish students gained from their contact with ME students conforms to the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) guidelines on Intercultural Education in Post-Primary Schools which insist that 'interculturalism expresses a belief that we all become personally enriched by coming in contact with and experiencing other cultures.'¹¹⁵ Moreover, as set out by the above guidelines, the four schools in this study were in the ideal position to equip students 'to participate in an increasingly diverse Ireland.'¹¹⁶ The 'benefits' of such exposure has been well documented in Ireland and abroad.¹¹⁷

It is evident that relations between Irish and ME students changed over the ten year period. The initial relationship was shrouded by the hostile reception Irish students afforded ME students, in particular students from Africa. The discussion above emphasises that racism underpinned much of the initial tension as did the societal stereotype of the time propagating asylum seekers in threatening terms. In keeping with much of the literature in Ireland and abroad, individual Irish students in all four schools targeted 'visible' students who they viewed as a 'threat'.

Tensions in School 1 were more charged. This may have stemmed from their greater number of ME students and ME students were treated differently, notably more favourably, to Irish students.

By the end of the decade the initial hostile relationship significantly improved. While the schools took a tough stand against racism and promoted cultural awareness, the general consensus from the four schools was that the

¹¹⁵ NCCA, p. 2.

¹¹⁶ NCCA, p. 2.

¹¹⁷ Arshad and others, p. 135; Devine, Kelly and McNeela, p. 143; Hood, p. 10; Smyth and others, p. 90.

relationship between the two groups evolved organically. By 2010, the majority of students, Irish and ME, had come through the primary system together. This allowed for a more fruitful relationship to emerge between the two groups and, as expressed by the majority of staff, curtailed racism in the four schools. The exposure to ME students, their cultures and traditions, enriched the lives of Irish students. This enrichment was described above as broadening their lives and equipping them to deal with students of different cultures.

The discussion above stresses the limitations to the current study. The inclusion of students in this research process would have yielded valuable information with respect to peer relations. It would have allowed for a more in-depth analysis of the relationships that have been formed between Irish and ME students as well as the opportunity to gain some insight into the role of the primary school in promoting positive peer relations.

5.4 Changes in School Identity

The findings from this research unearth changes to aspects of school identity. These changes centre on image. Initially, staff expressed a fear as their schools were changing from a mono-ethnic to a multi-ethnic one. Subsequent to this, aspects of ‘white flight’ or in this case ‘Irish flight’ are discussed. The discussion below highlights the changes in the patterns of Irish student enrolment; as the number of ME students increased over the decade, the number of Irish students decreased. Finally, the dialogue below explores the shift from the *initial* fear to one of acceptance. By 2010, the majority of staff came to accept a generic identity – that their schools reflected the community they were located in.

5.4.1 The Initial Fear: The Image of a Black School

For Evans, an important dimension to the identity of any organisation is image; in essence, how members perceive others to view the place in which they work.¹¹⁸ The initial fear for staff in this study, in particular staff from Schools 1, 2 and 3, centred

¹¹⁸ Evans, p. 315.

on image and the fear that their schools would be identified by the local community and beyond as a 'black' school. This fear coincided with the enrolment of a large number of students from Africa during the first few years of ME student enrolment. The comment below made by a guidance counsellor accentuates this.

When we got Eastern Europeans in it helped because they blended in a bit better. It wasn't just all black. There was a time when we thought we would be seen as a black school and that is not a nice thing to say, but that is how we sometimes used to think. But when the others started coming in we were seen more as an international school. So the black went out of it. For about two or three years, there was a little concern around it, we never voiced it but there was concern among staff that we might end up that way you know.

References to skin colour were made across the three schools underlining the reality that this fear was racially-based. This is in keeping with what Evans discovered in her seminal work looking at the impact demographic changes had on three urban high schools in the United States.¹¹⁹ It is further in line with what Devine reveals in her recent work.¹²⁰ While the staff in this research were explicit in acknowledging that 'colour' was the issue with respect to the image of their school, Evans noticed that staff across her three schools denied that their fears were race-based.¹²¹ She further noticed that 'demographic change redefined their schools and gave them an uncertain identity.'¹²²

The fear expressed in Schools 1, 2 and 3 was not evident in School 4. The findings indicate that during the first few years of the decade School 4 did not experience the sharp increases in the number of ME students, in particular African students, as the other three schools did. The sharpest rise in ME student enrolment in School 4 occurred from the middle of the decade onwards. From 2005/06 to 2007/8 the ME student population in School 4 rose from fourteen to twenty six percent.

The findings indicate that around this time the ethnic make-up of the ME student population enrolling across the four schools changed. A substantial number of students from Eastern Europe began enrolling in the schools.

¹¹⁹ Evans, p. 339.

¹²⁰ Devine, (2013), p 404.

¹²¹ Evans, p. 344.

¹²² Evans, p. 339.

5.4.1.1 A Mono-Ethnic or Multi-Ethnic Identity: The Dichotomy

As outlined in Chapter Three, the issue of falling student numbers was a pressing one for all four schools from the mid 1990s onwards. For staff, in particular in Schools 1, 2 and 3, the perceived consequence of their new image as a 'black' school was that Irish students would bypass the school and enrol elsewhere, consequently adding pressure on the schools to recruit students. This is in line with the experiences of schools in other countries.¹²³ Though the issue of 'Irish flight' is discussed below, there is evidence to suggest that the schools found themselves in a dichotomous position with respect to their new found identity.

Much of the work in Ireland on school identity pertains to religious or language schools.¹²⁴ These schools intentionally set out to form 'unique' identities and 'share' them with the wider community.¹²⁵ Chapter Three outlines how Schools 1, 2 and 3 very quickly established unique identities as multi-ethnic schools, in particular establishing reputations for welcoming and looking after ME students. This reputation filtered through to new and existing ethnic communities in the area and beyond and ensured the successive enrolment of ME students over the course of the decade. This mirrors the experiences of a school in Australia where the school's reputation and 'commitment to assist' ME students attracted ME students from other areas, some a 'considerable distance from the school.'¹²⁶

It further filtered through to schools beyond the area. Evidence suggests principals from other schools sent ME students to the schools in this research. This, some staff argued, was to ensure that these schools retained their own identities as 'white' and 'middle-class'. Therefore, on the one hand the schools in the research benefited from their new identity, and in some cases intentionally set out to 'share' this with the wider ethnic community. On the contrary, they feared, if shared with the wider Irish community, their new identity would negatively impact on their capacity to recruit Irish students.

¹²³ Evans, p. 339.

¹²⁴ Clarke, *Culture and Ethos*, p. 167; Furlong, p. 64.

¹²⁵ Furlong, p. 64.

¹²⁶ Bullivant, p. 67.

5.4.2 Irish Flight: As the Number of Minority Ethnic Students Increases, the Number of Irish Students Decreases.

The term ‘white flight’ initially arose out of the desegregation policies of the United States in the 1950s. Parents perceived the enrolment of ‘black’ students threatened the social and academic standing of a school and led them to send their children to ‘mostly-white’ schools.¹²⁷ This racially-based phenomenon has more recently been incited by social factors, as the literature suggests: ‘black’ or ‘white’, educated parents avoid sending their children to high concentration multi-ethnic schools as they fear the academic standards are low.¹²⁸ As has been emphasised above, the fear of ‘Irish flight’ earlier on in the decade was a real one for staff in three of the four schools. More recently, the issue of ‘white flight’ surfaced in a number of multi-ethnic primary schools in an area of Dublin’s outer-suburbs.¹²⁹

Nevertheless, by the time of their participation, the majority of staff in all four schools genuinely believed that ‘Irish flight’ did not occur. They maintained this was based on what they thought was the lack of drive Irish parents and subsequently their sons/daughters from the area had in going elsewhere. A teacher remarks on this.

The convenience of them coming to a school so close is the thing. Like the culture in the inner city here is such that the idea of a parent sending their child a mile and a half up the road is unheard of. They do not have that drive. Why send them up the road when they can go here.

In addition, staff noted that if ‘Irish flight’ occurred then it would have registered with their admission figures from the primary schools. Staff maintained that there was never a significant drop-off in the number of students coming from the feeder primary schools to warrant attention to the possibility that students were going elsewhere. For the majority of staff in the schools, the demographic make-up of their student population was, by 2010, a reflection of the student population of the surrounding primary schools and thus an indication of the demographic population of the area.

Despite this, the analysis of enrolment records shows a change in the patterns of Irish enrolment across all four schools between 2000 and 2010 and, to an extent,

¹²⁷ Renzulli and Evans, p. 400.

¹²⁸ Van Houtte and Stevens, p. 209.

¹²⁹ O’Gorman and Sugrue (2007) cited in Devine, (2011), p. 61.

contravenes the above perception. Graphs 4f to Graphs 4i reveal that, as the number of ME students increased in each school between 2000 and 2010, the number of Irish students decreased. This decrease was most dramatic in School 1 and supports the view of a minority of staff in this school who vehemently argued that ‘Irish flight’ did and continued to occur. In 2000/01, School 1 had 368 Irish students. By 2010, this number dropped to eighty two Irish students. This is reflected in the teacher’s comments.

The bottom line is we all feel that we are doing a great job and we are, lots of fantastic things are being done, but the reality is it’s not wanted. What we do is not wanted ... The reality is that we need to ask why do people not want to come here? I do know that we had bad discipline and that was certainly out there but I do think it’s because the majority of the school are foreign students. Just like parents will make the decision to send them to an all Irish speaking school they are making the decision not to send their kids here.

There is little research in Ireland exploring the issue of ‘Irish flight’ in schools. The experiences of the four schools, with respect to the decrease in the enrolment of the native population, mirrors the experiences of schools in the United States and other European countries.¹³⁰ Whether the change in the enrolment of Irish students across the four schools was the result of ‘Irish flight’ or merely reflected the student populations of the surrounding primary schools is still inconclusive. It is plausible that, if ‘Irish flight’ occurred, it may have occurred in the local primary schools. Examination of their enrolment records would establish this.

5.4.3 School Identity in 2010: Just a Working Class School

In their work Lynch and Lodge unearth the ‘unease’ of staff in referring to students as ‘working class’.¹³¹ This unease was not evident in this research. Staff nonchalantly referred to their own schools as either a ‘working class’ or an ‘inner city’ school. The connotations associated with being identified as a ‘working class’ school were, as Lynch and Lodge previously discovered, negative.¹³² Nevertheless, the reality that staff across the four schools identified their school as such represents

¹³⁰ Cebolla-Medina, p. 1; Hood, p. 7; Van Houtte and Stevens, p. 211.

¹³¹ Lynch and Lodge, p. 63.

¹³² Lynch and Lodge, p. 55

a seismic shift from the initial concerns staff had of being identified as a 'black' school. This is evident in the comment below articulated by a teacher.

Well the first thing I would say is that I work in a working class school and all that goes with that. I suppose because you are so used to it I do not see the colour anymore. It shocks me now when I go out to other schools. For example I was in a school for the orals and the first thing that hit me was that it was exclusively white. So it hits you when you got to an all white school. But I certainly don't walk around here and see the colour. On reflection I am very much aware that I work in a multi-cultural school, but on a day to day basis I do not think about it at all.

The findings suggest that over time staff came to accept that the identity of their school reflected the community it was located in. There was a sense that the staff were comfortable in the notion that their schools' role was to serve students, Irish and ME, who lived in the locality. Equally, it was noticeable that, for the majority of staff across all four schools, the initial apprehension they had with respect to their image as a 'black' school was no longer a dominant concern.

Eckert and Wenger argue that identity is a 'trajectory' defined over time, while Avest and Bakker suggest that identity is an entity produced at the end of a stage.¹³³ In light of the above, it is feasible that staff had finally come to accept the significant demographic change which occurred to the student body. Perhaps the initial 'uncertain identity' that Evans discovered in her work had, over time, changed into a more certain identity that the staff were comfortable with. Equally, it is plausible that by referring to their schools as 'working class' or 'inner city' staff may have been reluctant to acknowledge that their school evolved into a 'multi-ethnic' school.

5.4.4 A Historical Perspective on School Identity: The Case of Academic Flight as opposed to Irish Flight

As previously noted, for a substantial period of the twentieth century the four schools were known, to varying degrees, for their reputable academic standing, providing education to 'clever children with limited means'.¹³⁴ Their image as schools where 'the essentials were well taught' ensured that they were the envy of

¹³³ Eckert and Wenger, p. 17; Avest and Bakker, p. 119.

¹³⁴ Mt Carmel Secondary School.

other schools and attracted students who were academically-oriented.¹³⁵ This ensured that the schools were in a position to recruit students from beyond the locality for a considerable period of the twentieth century.¹³⁶

This research highlighted staff concerns with respect to the enrolment of a substantial number of African students in the early 2000s. For staff, the fear of being identified as a 'black school' was a concern and centred on the notion that Irish students would bypass the schools and enrol elsewhere. While staff across the four schools refute that 'Irish flight' occurred, analysis of enrolment records shows a decline in the enrolment of Irish students over the ten year period.

A similar apprehension was evident across the four schools in the 1990s. While the fear in the early 2000s was underpinned by race, staff fears in the 1990s were founded on social grounds. As an ever increasing number of 'academic' students ceased to enrol and more students from the locality began to enrol, staff feared that their new image as a 'non-academic' school would deter the enrolment of 'academically-oriented' students. Furthermore, a minority of staff, including the teacher below, referred to this as 'academic' or 'social' flight.

We had academic flight ... Once we reached critical mass here with the inner-city kids, then for snobbish reasons parents from the outlying areas began to withdraw the kids. Because they were into results.

Evans maintains that demographic changes 'redefine schools and give them an uncertain identity'.¹³⁷ Thus, uncertainty with respect to school identity brought about by demographic change along ethnic lines in the early 2000s, mirrored the uncertainty resulting from demographic change on social grounds the previous decade. Equally, the fear that the enrolment of a considerable number of African students would deter Irish students, reflected the anxiety in the 1990s that the increased enrolment of local 'non-academic' students would discourage academically-oriented students from enrolling.

¹³⁵ Christian Brothers, 1925, p. 30.

¹³⁶ McLaughlin, p. 332.

¹³⁷ Evans, p. 339.

The discussion above explored changes to school identity across four inner city DEIS schools that went from having mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations. The first change with respect to identity was shrouded by fear. Staff in Schools 1, 2 and 3 feared that the initial enrolment of ME students, in particular African students, would lead to the formulation of a new and, as Evans maintains, 'uncertain' identity. It was evident that 'skin colour' underpinned this fear and the perceived consequence of an identity as a 'black' school would hinder their ability to recruit Irish students from the area. As a result of their lower enrolment of African students during this time, this fear was not evident in School 4. In the 1990s fears pertaining to school identity were premised on social grounds as the four schools moved away from traditional 'academic' schools to 'non-academic' DEIS schools.

While staff initially feared their new identity, this research demonstrated how the schools benefited from it. Through their new and unique identity all four schools were promoted, in some cases intentionally, as schools who welcomed and cared for ME students. As this filtered through to new and existing ethnic communities in the area and beyond, it guaranteed the successive enrolment of ME students over the course of the decade. Throughout their histories, the schools' 'academic' reputations have ensured that they attracted 'academic' students from beyond the locality.

The discussion above explored the issue of 'Irish flight' in all four schools. Analysis of enrolment records highlighted the changing patterns of enrolment of Irish students. A correlation between the increased enrolment of ME students and the decreased enrolment of Irish students was established. While the majority of staff believed that 'Irish flight' did not occur and that the demographic make-up of the student population reflected that of the student populations in the local primary schools, a minority of staff from School 1 disagreed. It is feasible that if 'Irish flight' did occur it would have occurred in the local primary schools. Further analysis of their enrolment records would determine this.

The above also describes the change in staff attitudes to school identity. The initial image and the fear associated with it, was over time replaced by an acceptance that the school's identity merely reflected the area it was located in. By 2010, the initial fear of being identified as a 'black' school was replaced by a more comfortable acceptance of being a 'working class' school.

It is evident from the discussion on school identity that there is very little research in this area in Ireland. Therefore, the discussion above significantly contributes to the void in this area. This is the first study to explore issues around school identity in multi-ethnic settings and to analyse enrolment records over time to determine changing patterns of student enrolment. Further, this is the first research to establish changes to school identity in four inner city, DEIS, multi-ethnic schools over time.

5.5 Changes in School Ethos

The 1995 White Paper on Education defines ethos as ‘the organic element, arising first and foremost from the actual practices which are carried on in that school on a daily basis’.¹³⁸ Williams maintains that it is the ‘pervading spirit’ of any institution.¹³⁹ As these definitions suggest, school ethos ‘emerges from a number of aspects of school life.’¹⁴⁰ For staff across the four schools; however, school ethos centred primarily on the religious aspects to school life – religious affiliation (Catholic) and religious founders (Christian Brothers/Sisters of Charity). While Williams maintains that ‘religious connotations’ should be a ‘contingent rather than a necessary aspect’ of school ethos, the findings from this research reveal that religion was at the heart of school ethos for staff across the four schools.

The discussion below centres on the changes to school ethos as defined by staff across the four schools. The first change charts the transformation of the school from a Catholic to an ‘inclusive’ Catholic school. The second centres on the original ethos of the religious founders of the school. The findings suggest that the enrolment of ME students played a role in evoking the original Rice/Aikenhead visions.

5.5.1 School Ethos in 2010: An Inclusive Catholic School

The overwhelming sentiment to emerge from the findings with respect to school ethos was that the enrolment of ME students transformed the schools from a Catholic school to an ‘inclusive’ Catholic school. Though staff neglected to elaborate on how

¹³⁸ 1995 White Paper on Education, McGuinness, p. 245

¹³⁹ Williams, p. 75.

¹⁴⁰ Moran, p. 1.

they defined a Catholic school, they were determined to pronounce and discuss that they were an 'inclusive' Catholic school. This centred on, not only their admissions policy to accept students of different faiths, but also their attempts to accommodate such students. This is reflected in the comment made by a principal.

From a religious point of view we are definitely very inclusive. On the application form I have a question I ask, what religion are you? They write they are Orthodox or they are Muslim or whatever. Then I would say you do know it is a Catholic secondary school and we have a Catholic ethos, but yet we welcome people of all faiths ... But they know we respect their religion. We will announce it if it is Ramadan on the intercom and wish the girls well, whatever festival it is. During our November service when we remember the dead we say that we are remembering people of all faiths, so we will always include them in that.

There is a sense that the four schools were highly conscious of the multi-faith mix within the student body and numerous examples allude to this. Students of different faiths were encouraged, not forced, to take part in ceremonies, some Catholic, inter-denominational and multi-faith. In School 1 a prayer room was set up with symbols reflecting the five major world religions. These symbols were made by senior students in Construction Studies. In their own ways the schools acknowledged and at times celebrated the various religious festivals. Moreover, staff recognised that the Junior Certificate Religious Education syllabus played an important role in achieving this; as set out by the NCCA, to 'expose students to a broad range of religious traditions' and 'promote tolerance and mutual understanding'.¹⁴¹ The teaching of religion will be discussed in more detail below.

While authors allude to school efforts to promote inclusivity and religious diversity in Irish schools,¹⁴² Parker-Jenkins and Masterson maintain that as Irish society is predominantly 'Catholic, White and Gaelic',¹⁴³ schools are still 'finding it difficult to recognise and acknowledge new expressions of race, culture and religion'.¹⁴⁴ This was not the case across the four schools. Given that, in comparison to other researched schools, the concentration of ME students in the four schools was much higher, it is plausible that, over time, their original Catholic ethos organically evolved into what staff claimed was an 'inclusive Catholic' ethos.¹⁴⁵ This is what

¹⁴¹ JMB, p. 9.

¹⁴² Smyth and others, p. 91.

¹⁴³ Parker-Jenkins and Masterson, p. 13.

¹⁴⁴ Parker-Jenkins and Masterson, p. 2.

¹⁴⁵ Smyth and others; Nowlan and others; Devine.

Devine discovered after returning to a select number of multi-ethnic primary schools.¹⁴⁶

In 2002, Devine, Kelly and MacNeela explored the perplexities surrounding new multi-ethnic schools and religious affiliation. They found that staff had doubts as to whether schools could be 'Catholic multi-denominational multi-cultural schools'.¹⁴⁷ There was no evidence of this doubt in 2010. Staff seemed very comfortable articulating the 'inclusivity' of their Catholic ethos. In many ways the inclusive ethos of the four schools reflected aspects of the JMB/AMCSS guidelines on the Inclusion of Other Faiths in Catholic Secondary Schools.¹⁴⁸ The guidelines maintain that a 'genuinely Catholic ethos values religious tolerance and inclusiveness'.¹⁴⁹

In addition to this, there is no evidence to suggest that the increased enrolment of students of different faiths ever threatened the Catholicity of the schools. The four schools continued to celebrate what some authors claim were 'old school confessional' rituals in order to 'remain recognisably Catholic'.¹⁵⁰ Catholic celebrations and commemorations continued to be held throughout the year; however, as identified above, schools ensured these events were inclusive in nature. Similarly, religious icons and symbols, including statues of founders Rice and Aikenhead, were on display throughout their respective schools. Their feast days were also celebrated.

In light of this, the 'inclusive Catholic' school ethos described above can be positioned within what Polyfeyt and Bouwens contend is a 'colourful school'.¹⁵¹ According to the authors, such schools combine a 'minimal Catholic identity' with a commitment to 'mutual solidarity' ensuring that 'authentic attention and interest' is afforded to student differences.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Devine, (2013), p. 395.

¹⁴⁷ Devine, Kelly and MacNeela, p. 88.

¹⁴⁸ JMB.

¹⁴⁹ JMB, p. 7.

¹⁵⁰ Polyfeyt and Bouwens, p. 200.

¹⁵¹ Polyfeyt and Bouwens, p. 206.

¹⁵² Polyfeyt and Bouwens, p. 206.

While there was no evidence that ME students threatened the Catholicity of the four schools, there was equally no evidence to indicate that the enrolment of ME students ever threatened the Gaelic culture within the schools. It is important to note that this Gaelic culture had diminished considerably by 2000, in particular with respect to Irish language and the playing of Gaelic games. Nevertheless, a minority of staff noted that some ME students were 'more Irish than the Irish themselves'. This was particularly the case when it came to learning Irish. While the majority of ME students were exempt from taking Irish, the ME students who did take Irish between 2000 and 2010 were considered model students. This is evident in a teachers comment below.

Yeah (attitude to education), I teach Irish which is difficult enough subject to teach in an inner city school, but then I would have a lot of students from, especially a lot of African students who are amazing at languages. Their written Irish is amazing and they would surpass anyone else on the class. We have two lads in sixth year who are great but they would struggle with the spoken Irish but they would always work hard, they would always hand in their homework, their homework is amazing and I never have to push them, the way I have to push some of the Irish lads. They do appreciate it more.

This comment is supported by the analysis of LC results. Between 2000 and 2010 ME students outperformed Irish students when it came to LC Irish. Furthermore, ME students who took Irish, while considerably fewer in number, were over two times more likely to take higher level Irish. This is endorsed by the Irish teacher from School 2.

It is funny because the number of people who want to do honours Irish are the foreign students. Usually around 50% of the class. Now I could be talking about four students and two of them are foreign but they are the ones who go on to do honours Irish. Some of them have a real flair for languages and they just, they just pick it up very quickly in first year.

Furthermore, while soccer dominated the sporting area of school life in the two boys schools, when the schools fielded Gaelic football teams, individual ME students were praised for their athleticism and courage. The comment below not only illustrates this point but more so the positive impact sport has on improving the relations between ME and Irish students.

We have one Nigerian guy who's playing Gaelic football to me and he put his head where most of our Irish boys would be afraid to put their feet. But he's a good footballer. He helped us a lot. I'm just talking about the under 18 team I ran we were beaten in the final by a point, to the lads were African you know, and they were playing as a team. The other lads were giving out to one of them

not because he was from here or there but because he wouldn't get the ball. was generally the ME students who were noted for their skills and courage.

5.5.1.1 Interpretation of Ethos: The Inclusive/Exclusive Debate

While staff accepted that their schools were 'inclusive Catholic' schools, they expressed their displeasure at nearby schools which, according to them, had become 'exclusive Catholic' schools. These have been described as 'walled Catholic ghetto' schools.¹⁵³ In Ireland, Catholic schools are encouraged to enrol students of different faiths; however, if 'over-subscribed', they are 'entitled' to give preferential treatment to students of the same faith.¹⁵⁴ Irish authors contend that such practices discriminate against students from ethnic minorities whilst favouring the 'settled community'.¹⁵⁵ The displeasure at these discriminatory practices was particularly emphasised in the two Christian Brothers' schools. Staff in the two boys' schools could not comprehend how schools with the same ethos 'turned' students away. Staff who commented on this recognised, as does Williams, that the interpretation of ethos is just as important as the ethos itself.¹⁵⁶ The principal of one school articulates this below.

There are schools it has to be said who will not deal with international students because of the fact that they would not interpret their ethos as dealing with that. There are international students who we have in this school who have been turned away from what I would call middle-class suburban schools, principally because they are a Catholic school and they don't take Muslims and they better go somewhere else. That to me would be wrong, but that would be their interpretation of their ethos. Some schools are Catholic and Catholic would be very much to the fore and it would be used often to keep kids out. We are a Catholic school but, as I say we are inclusive.

Issues around the distribution of ME students across Irish schools has been documented previously.¹⁵⁷ While the four schools in the study were Catholic Secondary schools, evidence suggests that just under one-third of all ME students in Ireland attend such schools. The majority of students attend VEC schools.¹⁵⁸ This raises pertinent questions pertaining to the inclusivity of the four schools. While

¹⁵³ Polyfeyt and Bouwens, p. 205.

¹⁵⁴ JMB, p. 7.

¹⁵⁵ Byrne and others, p. 285; Bryan (2010), p. 258; Lodge and Lynch, p. 269.

¹⁵⁶ Williams, p. 76.

¹⁵⁷ Byrne and others, p. 285; Lyons, p. 292.

¹⁵⁸ Lyons, p.292.

there is overwhelming evidence indicating that, by 2010, the four schools were 'inclusive' Catholic schools, it is possible that their interpretation of their own Catholic school ethos was more borne out of the necessity to halt declining student numbers rather than something they intentionally set out to do.

5.5.2 School Ethos in 2010: 'Evoking the Echoes' of the Original Rice and Aikenhead Visions

The narratives set out in Chapter Three show that, for long periods of their histories, the four schools diverged from the original visions set out by Rice and Aikenhead. In light of the political and social contexts of the time Christian Brother and Sisters of Charity Schools gradually digressed from the original inclusive charism which was to serve all, to one focussed on serving those who were academically able.¹⁵⁹

As documented in the findings, by 2010, there is strong evidence to suggest that the ethos of the four schools was more in line with the original Rice/Aikenhead visions. The two Christian Brothers' and two Sisters of Charity schools in this study were again 'serving all'. This change to the ethos was warmly welcomed by staff across the four schools. This is illustrated in the Deputy Principals' comment below.

But in effect we are kind of back to the Edmund Rice kind of ideals, it is not that we did not have them when I started here, but I suppose we had maybe 180 in each year and they were all very academic students. I mean the sixth stream or bottom class were able to pass their leaving cert no problem. You know it was a slightly different school in that sense. Now we are back to the Edmund Rice ideals where we are looking after the disadvantaged and those that are less fortunate. I have always enjoyed doing that anyway and I think a lot of the staff do as well. So I suppose it has reinforced the ideals of what Christian Bros school should be.

Inclusivity was at the heart of the original Rice and Aikenhead visions and of the schools when they were founded. This was demonstrated in a number of ways. Firstly, both Rice and Aikenhead were willing to work with others in the community, regardless of their standing or religion, in order to achieve their goals.¹⁶⁰ Second, their schools, both in Ireland and abroad, were open to all, regardless of religion.¹⁶¹ When School 1 was opened, Daniel O'Connell claimed that the school was founded

¹⁵⁹ McLaughlin, p. 328.

¹⁶⁰ O'Sullivan, p. 411.

¹⁶¹ O'Sullivan, p. 411.

on 'liberal and not sectarian principles'.¹⁶² The early Christian Brothers were known for providing an 'open, tolerant, welcoming Catholic Christianity'.¹⁶³ Aikenhead was intent on 'helping all'.¹⁶⁴

It is important to consider that the increased enrolment of local Irish students prior to the enrolment of ME students may have instigated the initial re-emergence of the original Rice/Aikenhead vision. Nevertheless, staff maintain that the enrolment of ME students significantly contributed to this.

In line with previous research in Ireland, staff were naturally empathic towards ME students and their personal situations.¹⁶⁵ They likened their own work to that of Rice and Aikenhead and maintained that they were meeting the 'challenges of the day' just as Rice and Aikenhead did in the early 19th century. In keeping with Coolahan, who contends that such work 'evokes echoes' of original visions set out by some religious congregations, staff professed their contentment in working in what they either termed a 'real Mary Aikenhead school', or as previously stressed, 'what a real Christian Brothers school should be'.¹⁶⁶

While staff professed their contentment in working in a 'real' Rice/Aikenhead school, one must consider the context. Would the same level of satisfaction would have been evident if the schools remained mono-ethnic DEIS schools? As previously discussed, in general, ME students were considered a 'teacher's dream', and when compared to 'local' Irish students, they were more ambitious, hard working and better behaved. For teachers, this meant that the classroom became more conducive to teaching and learning as the number of ME students increased over the decade. It is important to note that while staff generalised about the educational traits of both ME and Irish students, they recognised that not all ME students were a 'teacher's dream' and likewise, not all 'local' Irish students were 'unruly'. Nevertheless, it is possible that the re-emergence of the original Rice/Aikenhead visions and the level of teacher satisfaction in working in what they claimed was a 'real' Rice/Aikenhead school, was

¹⁶² Keogh, (1996), p. 74.

¹⁶³ Tuite, p. 22.

¹⁶⁴ O'Sullivan, p. 408.

¹⁶⁵ Devine, Smyth and others.

¹⁶⁶ Coolahan in Furlong, p. 115.

primarily driven by what ME students brought with them into the school; a positive disposition to learning.

In line with this, the majority of staff accepted the paradox that, up until recently, they too, to varying degrees, were exclusive schools. Prior to becoming DEIS schools, many young people from the area were excluded from enrolling into the case study schools. Additionally, staff conceded that, if they had been 'oversubscribed' during the recent surge in immigration, then they too would be, as a teacher's view below suggests, 'no different to them then.'

I think we need to look beyond the ethos. This is about necessity, it is about maintaining jobs. This is purely practical. If we had 1000 kids lined up outside wanting to get in then we too could be exclusive. Then we could start looking for baptismal certs and so on. So I do not think that we were any different to them then. We did this out of necessity.

While authors maintain that school ethos encapsulates many aspects of school life, the staff across the four secondary schools in this study concentrated on what Williams calls the 'religious connotations' to ethos – religious affiliation and religious founders. The discussion above highlighted the changes to occur to these particular aspects of ethos in four schools which went from having mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations.

The revelations above demonstrate how the enrolment of ME students added a new dimension to the Catholic ethos of the four schools. By 2010, staff considered that their schools were 'inclusive Catholic' schools. This 'inclusivity' not only referred to their admissions' policy which was to welcome students of all faiths, but also their endeavours to promote inclusivity and tolerance for students from diverse religious backgrounds. While Irish authors contend that much more work is required by schools to become more inclusive, there is a sense that the four schools are ahead of the posse in this regard. This may be due to their higher concentration of ME students and the reality that they have become much more established in dealing with ME students from diverse religious backgrounds. It is apparent that the enrolment of a large number of ME students never threatened the Catholicity of the four schools.

According to staff, just as the four schools evolved into 'inclusive Catholic' schools, nearby schools evolved into 'exclusive Catholic' schools. The discussion

above pointed to the perception that due to being 'over-subscribed' certain schools excluded ME students on religious grounds. As noted this practice has come under scrutiny in previous research. While staff were disheartened at how other schools interpreted their ethos, they recognised that if they were 'over-subscribed' then they too might not be as welcoming to ME students. This raises the question as to whether the four schools intentionally set out to adopt an 'inclusive' ethos or whether this inclusive ethos evolved out of necessity.

The discussion above further demonstrates changes to school ethos with respect to the original founders of the Christian Brothers and Sisters of Charity: Edmund Rice and Mary Aikenhead. Evidence suggests that for long periods of their histories the four schools somewhat digressed from the original visions set out by Rice and Aikenhead. The enrolment of ME students 'evoked echoes' of the original visions and staff warmly accepted that their schools and the work they were doing was more in keeping with the work Rice and Aikenhead initially set out to do.

It is apparent that government policy – the introduction of the Intermediate Education Act (1878) – played a considerable role in why the schools changed from their initial inclusive ethos to one more exclusive-oriented. It is further evident that demographic changes, starting from the 1990s onwards, compelled the schools to depart from their exclusive ethos and revert back to a more inclusive one. Despite the reason for the change from exclusive to inclusive Catholic schools, the original Rice and Aikenhead charism was paramount to how the schools operated originally and it seems to be paramount to how they operated in 2010.

The discussion above highlights the dearth in Irish research in the area of multi-ethnic schools and school ethos. This research contributes to this growing body of literature, in particular in the area of the religious affiliation of multi-ethnic schools and the re-emergence of the original visions of the two congregations: Christian Brothers and Sisters of Charity.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter explored the changes to five key areas of school life in four schools which went from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations between 2000 and

2010. These key areas were teaching and learning, achievement, peer relations, identity and ethos. They emerged from the research process and correspond to key areas of questioning relating to the research question. This section positioned the changes to these areas of school life within the Irish and international literature on ME education and within the historical backgrounds of the four schools.

The discussion above highlighted changes to aspects of teaching and learning. For teachers the initial period of ME student enrolment was one fraught with challenges. In keeping with previous research in Ireland these challenges pertained to language and irregular enrolment patterns. Given their higher concentration of ME students at this time, there was evidence that the challenges were more burdensome for staff in School 1. The initial burden on teachers was eased by the establishment of language support structures and the gradual change in the enrolment patterns of ME students.

As the decade progressed and the number of ME students increased, the classroom became more conducive to teaching and learning. This largely resulted from ME students' positive disposition to learning. In comparison to the Irish student population, ME students were more ambitious, hard working and better behaved. This concurs with much of the research in Ireland and abroad, in particular in DEIS settings. The traditional educational values ME students brought with them into the classroom created a more favourable environment and represented a significant change from when the classroom was a mono-ethnic one.

In line with this, the enrolment of ME students impacted on LC results across the four schools. Over time, as the enrolment of ME students increased, the academic averages in three out of the four schools increased. The results in School 1 decreased. This may have resulted from School 1 being 'overwhelmed' by ME students. Similarly, given this school's insistence in running the LCVP it is plausible that students themselves were overwhelmed by workload. There were also changes to the academic achievement levels along gender lines. Females, both ME and Irish, improved over time whilst the averages declined for Irish males and remained relatively stagnant for ME males. This was in line with the literature in Ireland and abroad which reveals that in general females outperform males.

The final change to emerge from this category centred on the uptake of higher level maths and science at LC. The increased enrolment of ME students led to an increased demand for higher level maths/science subjects. This ensured that the schools offered these subjects at this level. While ME students outnumbered Irish students in these classes, the evidence suggests that Irish students were just as likely to perform at a high level in maths as ME students.

The discussion above documented changes with respect to peer relations. The initial period of change to the student population was described as hostile resulting in racist incidences and little integration. In keeping with much of the literature to emerge from the United States and other countries, evidence suggests that the hostility towards ME students was specifically targeted towards the 'visible' targets that Irish students considered competition, notably African students seeking asylum. Additionally, it was clear that students from other ethnic groups did not receive such an antagonistic reception. Due to their higher numbers, this tension was more visible in School 1.

By 2010, the relationship between Irish and ME students improved significantly. While the schools took a tough stand against racism and encouraged integration, it was the reality that students had come through the primary system together which was considered fundamental to the improved relationship. Coined as 'fruits of the primary' students, both ME and Irish, who enrolled towards the end of the decade, and who had come through the primary system, had a more positive relationship than their peers did at the start of the decade. Finally, there was overwhelming evidence that ME students enriched the lives of the local Irish student population. Staff noticed that contact with and exposure to people of different cultures and traditions 'broadened' the lives of Irish students and helped prepare them for life after secondary schooling.

Another aspect of school life which underwent change centred on school identity. Staff relayed concerns that the enrolment of ME students, in particular a substantial number of African students, might negatively impact on their school's identity. In line with research in the United States, skin colour premeditated much of this apprehension as staff feared that they would be labelled as a 'black' school. This fear was not evident in School 4. Evidence suggests that they had fewer African

students at the time. The perceived consequence to this image pertained to Irish flight and the schools' future capacity to recruit Irish students. Though staff generally contend that this did not occur, this research highlighted changes to the enrolment patterns of Irish students over the ten year period. Over time, as the number of ME students increased, the number of Irish students decreased. This reflects the experiences of many schools in other countries.

The initial fear around school identity changed by 2010. While staff recognised that they were multi-ethnic schools, this is not how they identified their schools. There was an acceptance that their schools were 'working class' schools and that the student population reflected the general population within the communities they served. The discussion pertaining to school identity further revealed the dichotomy the schools found themselves in. On one hand the schools' reputation for looking after ME students ensured the successive enrolment of students over the ten years; yet they feared that it would deter Irish students from enrolling.

The enrolment of ME students impacted significantly on school ethos. Though authors recognise that school ethos encapsulates many aspects of school life, for staff in this study, school ethos pertained solely to religious aspects of ethos. The discussion above showed how the four Catholic schools had, by 2010, claimed to be 'inclusive Catholic' schools. This was not only evident in their admissions' policy but also in their endeavours to promote inclusivity.

Just as the staff claimed to be 'inclusive' they noticed that other schools were 'exclusive' schools – schools which did not enrol ME students. Despite this, staff realised the paradox and accepted that they too were once exclusive schools and that, if they were again 'over-subscribed', then they might not be as welcoming to ME students. This raised the issue of interpretation and whether the four schools' interpretation of their Catholic ethos evolved out of a necessity to maintain student numbers.

Changes were also discovered with respect to the ethos of the religious founders of the Christian Brothers and Sisters of Charity. The general consensus to emerge was that the four schools, as multi-ethnic schools, were more in line with the original visions set out by Rice and Aikenhead, than they previously were as mono-ethnic schools.

The discussion above positions key areas of school change, as identified in this research, within the historical context of the four schools. In so doing it demonstrates that, since they were founded, the schools have always been subject to change. The above exposes a general pattern where many of the changes which transpired between 2000 and 2010 follow a cyclical pattern.

For a substantial period of their history, the four schools, to varying degrees, focussed on academic success. During the 1990s there was a sizable shift in this focus. Demographic changes to the student populations of the four schools resulted in the shift from an 'academic' focus to what staff considered a 'non-academic' one. The findings from this research show that the enrolment of ME students brought about a more moderate change. By 2010, the four schools had gradually become more academically focussed than they were in 2000.

The changes in academic focus brought about changes to the schools' identity. The discussion above draws parallels between the fears staff expressed in the early 2000s of becoming a 'black' school to the concerns they articulated in the 1990s of becoming a 'non-academic' school. While staff in this research expressed concern that the enrolment of ME students, notably African students, might adversely impact on their ability to recruit local Irish students, during the 1990s it was the adverse impact local students had on the schools' capacity to attract 'academic' students which was the focus. The above draws parallels between the phenomenon of 'Irish flight' which may have occurred in the 2000s to 'social' or 'academic flight' which may have transpired in the 1990s.

The evidence indicates that the enrolment of ME students added a new 'inclusive' dimension to this Catholic ethos of the schools. Nevertheless, this was not the first time the schools experienced changes to dimensions of their ethos. For a substantial period of their histories, the schools were 'exclusive' Catholic schools excluding many of those they were originally intent on serving. The above demonstrated that the current 'inclusive' nature of their ethos is more in line with the original visions set out by Rice and Aikenhead.

This section of the discussion positioned key aspects of school change identified in this research within this historical context of the four schools. It is evident that these key areas of school life have been subject to change previously.

Just as the demographic changes impacted significantly on the four schools between 2000 and 2010, there is evidence that changes to student populations, at times instigated by government policy, have previously determined the academic focus, identity and ethos of the four schools involved in this study.

While there is a growing body of literature in the area of ME education in Ireland, the discussion above underlines the dearth in research into the different aspects of school life in multi-ethnic schools. As evident, studies have been confined to particular issues written by a limited number of authors. Therefore the findings from this research contribute significantly to this growing body of research.

In general, the findings discussed above concur with much of what has been documented previously in Ireland and abroad. The differences between this study and previous research lie in research design. This will be further explored in the next chapter under contributions to research. Nevertheless, as was noted at the opening of this chapter, a considerable distinction between this research and others in Ireland is in relation to its approach. Whilst other research takes a 'snapshot' of what life is like in multi-ethnic schools, this research adopted an 'evolutionary view'. It was able to explore changes to five key areas of school life over a period of time. This is important, for as the next section shows, changes to the key school areas identified above have not just occurred between 2000 and 2010, or when schools moved from a mono-ethnic to a multi-ethnic population, yet throughout the many periods of the schools' histories.

CHAPTER SIX

Changes to Four Inner-Urban DEIS Schools: Profound and Positive

6.0 Introduction

This study attempts to answer the question,

What changes occurred in four schools which went from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations?

The above question emerged following an extensive review of literature on ME education in Ireland and abroad. This review exposed the ‘limited’ body of research in the area of ME education in Ireland. It further unearthed the ‘snapshot’ approach which has guided much work in this area and the tendency for authors in Ireland to explore issues pertaining to ME education seeking the widest representative sample: schools which differ in type, size, location and concentration of ME students. Thus, this research adopted an ‘evolutionary view’, exploring and highlighting school-based changes in a small sample of inner-urban DEIS schools, all with a high concentration of ME students.

The chapter draws on the previous narratives in this study and presents a conclusion on the change which took place in four schools during a ten year period. It does this by briefly outlining the research process, and underlining the use of case studies and issues pertaining to triangulation. It then provides a succinct review of the four schools. Following this, a synopsis of the changes which occurred in all four schools between 2000 and 2010 is presented. The contribution of this study to the body of knowledge and its limitations are considered. Subsequent to this, a personal reflection on the researcher’s journey is offered. Finally, possible directions for future research are outlined.

6.1 A Review of the Research Process

This research adopted an interpretive paradigm to explore changes in multi-ethnic schools. In so doing, the research attempted to understand, as Quinn-Patton argues, a social reality as

lived by those within it.¹ An interpretive approach recognises that schools are 'complex, content-specific, interactive' environments. This allowed the researcher an opportunity to delve deeper into what occurred in these environments, and the impact it had on those working within them.²

This enquiry employed case studies. This was deemed the most appropriate approach as it afforded an in-depth exploration in order to explain what was happening within a specific context.³ This specific context involved four inner city DEIS secondary schools; two boys' and two girls' schools. Prior to 2000 all four schools were inner-urban voluntary secondary mono-ethnic DEIS status schools. From 2000 onwards the student population in each school transformed from a mono- to a multi-ethnic one. By 2010, all four schools had what this research and others deduce, high concentrations of ME students, which was unique in the Irish context.

Yin argues that one of the strengths to case studies is that the researcher may employ both qualitative and quantitative measures to collect.⁴ Thus, interviews, focus groups and a follow-up focus group were complemented with enrolment records and Leaving Certificate results, as well as the review of official school documents and literature. While critics argue that case studies provide 'little basis for generalisations',⁵ the aim of this study was to explore, in detail, what occurred in a 'small sample.'⁶

In employing multiple sources of evidence, this research ensured that triangulation of the data was achieved. Throughout the research process, statistical evidence in the form of enrolment records and LC results 'corroborated' the evidence to emerge from the qualitative process.⁷ In some cases, it was contradictory to what was uncovered by the interviews and focus groups.⁸ By employing multiple sources of evidence, this particular research was able to 'gain a complete picture' of what happened in the four schools between 2000 and 2010.⁹

¹ Quinn-Patton, p. 69.

² Cochran-Smith and Lytle, p. 3.

³ Umit, p. 2.

⁴ Yin, p. xi.

⁵ Yin, p. 15.

⁶ Tight, p. 337.

⁷ Yin, p. 166.

⁸ O'Cathain and others (2010), p. 1147.

⁹ O'Cathain and others (2010), p. 1147.

As a result, this study was able to, as Cohen and Manion argue, explain more fully the 'richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint.'¹⁰ Additionally, the researcher was able to gain a 'multiplicity of perspectives' on the issue at hand.¹¹ The perspectives of an array of staff in all four schools was gathered. This included teachers across different subjects, different levels of experience, and gender. Additionally, the views of principals, deputy principals and other non-classroom teachers were gathered. The research process described above aligned itself to Yin's model of convergence, in which all of the sources of evidence – interviews, focus groups, statistical data, documentary evidence and observation – led to establishing what occurred in the four schools between 2000 and 2010.¹²

6.2 Change in Four Inner-Urban DEIS Schools: An Evolutionary View

Chapter Three emphasised that change was nothing new to the four schools. Throughout their histories the schools have, on more than one occasion, metamorphosed. Whether through the imposition of government policy or demographic shifts, the four schools have been compelled to change to ensure they endured. Thus, for the four schools involved in this research, school change has been a necessary component to school existence.

An evolutionary view affords this research the opportunity to consider this notion. The rapid shift in student populations along ethnic lines in the 2000s followed the hastened demographic changes the schools encountered in the 1990s. If the schools had not changed from over-subscribed academically-oriented settings to under-subscribed DEIS schools, then one can confidently deduce that they would not have evolved into high concentration multi-ethnic schools by 2010. Furthermore, if as under-subscribed DEIS schools, with dwindling student numbers, they had not become multi-ethnic schools, one might consider whether or not they could have remained viable entities.

Furthermore, an evolutionary approach allows this research to illustrate that, in the some aspects, change has been cyclical. All four schools were borne out of an inclusive

¹⁰ Cohen and Manion, p. 233.

¹¹ Cohen and Manion, p. 241.

¹² Yin, p. 117.

vision to 'serve all' students from the locality. By the beginning and through most of the twentieth century all four secondary schools developed a meritocratic disposition serving only those who were 'academically-able'. For large periods of their histories many students who lived in the locality were excluded. By 2010, the schools were once again inclusive, serving all who live in the locality, regardless of ethnicity or religious background.

6.3 Change in Four Inner-Urban DEIS Schools: A Philosophical View

The changes which the four schools experienced over the ten year period can be positioned within an array of both traditional philosophical and educational philosophical standpoints. Change in the four schools can be likened to Heraclitus' insistence that 'all things are flowing' and like a river in constant motion there was a sense that one could 'never step in the same [school] twice'. For Aquinas, the change in the schools would have been plainly 'visible' whilst, for Bergson, this research emphasises his notion that the world was not static but dynamic and that true change could only be explained by an 'interpenetration of the past and present'. For followers of traditional eastern philosophy, including Buddhism, those within the four schools 'flowed' and thus adapted by 'accommodating' themselves to change.

From an educational standpoint, akin to what organisational theorists argue, the schools in this study had to change in order to survive. For Levin and Riffel, these changes were a direct consequence of broader societal changes. Nevertheless, the process of change which occurred across the four schools can be best surmised by Fullan's contention that this change was 'a journey'. Like other educationalists, he recognises that schools are 'complex and dynamic' environments consisting of 'multiple cultures and sub-cultures'. In light of this, problems were inevitable and as Fullan maintains, 'needed for learning'. It is clear that the journey the schools took between 2000 and 2010 was littered with problems and learning.

6.4 Change in Four Inner-Urban DEIS Schools: The Key Findings

This research charted the changes to four inner-urban DEIS schools which went from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations between 2000 and 2010. By 2010, all four schools had 'high' concentrations of ME students ranging from just under thirty percent in School 4 to just below seventy percent in School 1. The changes which took place across the four

schools during this time pertained to particular aspects of school life which included teaching and learning, academic achievement, peer relations, school identity and school ethos.

The first few years of the decade brought about a rapid change in the student populations in three out of the four schools. School 4's demographic shift was more gradual. The impact of this rapid swing was significant for teachers in the classroom and can be best described as a 'shock to the system'. For the first time teachers were confronted with students with limited, or no English. They were ill-equipped and uncertain of how to teach them. Administration systems were overwhelmed as the schools endeavoured to cater to an ever increasing number of ME students, with limited English competency, who enrolled at irregular intervals. This added to the pressures in the classroom.

Yet, as the years progressed these challenges petered out. The schools established language support systems. Students were withdrawn from certain subjects for additional language support, or in the case of School 1 immersed in stand-alone English classes. In addition to this, as the years progressed, an ever increasing number of ME students enrolled via the primary system. This not only meant that they entered the classroom in September, more so, they had a greater grasp of English than their predecessors.

More importantly teachers across all four schools realised that ME students had a more favourable disposition to learning than Irish students. Students of ME origin showed greater ambition, worked harder and in general valued education more than the local students. Thus, for teachers, as the number of ME students increased over the course of the decade the classroom became more conducive to teaching and learning. In essence, teaching in a multi-ethnic classroom was more enriching than teaching in a mono-ethnic classroom.

This enrichment was also reflected in the Leaving Certificate results between 2000 and 2010. Across the four schools, academic standards improved as the number of ME students increased. This was especially the case for ME females who outperformed Irish females, Irish males and ME males. There is evidence to deduce that ME females positively impacted on their Irish counterparts in the two girls' schools. As the number of ME females increased in Schools 2 and 3, so did the average performance of Irish students.

The four schools also experienced a change in the make-up of the high achieving group. By 2010, the majority of students who were in the top ten percent group were ME students. The achievement levels of some ME students, in particular ME females, reflects the

‘ethnic success ethic’ that Bullivant discovered in Australia in the 1980s. In addition, ME students across the four schools were predisposed to taking higher level maths and science subjects. It can be concluded that their inclination to opt for these subjects meant that the schools continued to offer them at senior level.

The student body was not immune to the rapid demographic shift. Irish students too had to adapt as the schools went from enrolling ‘known students’ to complete ‘strangers’. The initial school environment was, at times, beset with tension and hostility. Much of this hostility transcended from the community and home and was geared towards African students who were seeking asylum. While incidences of a racist nature were reported, due to the tough stand the schools took on racism the number and impact of such incidences were limited.

As the years progressed the relationship between Irish and ME students evolved organically. This primarily resulted from students enrolling together from feeder primary schools. Equally, the exposure to different cultures and ethnicities broadened the lives of Irish students. The enrolment of ME students encouraged the schools to be proactive in fostering better relations and improving integration.

The schools also grappled with issues pertaining to identity. Demographic changes brought with them uncertainty as to how the schools would be viewed by the communities of the north inner city. This fear was premised on race and compounded the existing fears staff had with respect to the declining student numbers they experienced in the 1990s. Nevertheless, as greater numbers of students from Eastern Europe enrolled from the mid 2000s onwards, the initial concerns waned. By the end of the decade, issues pertaining to a negative school identity were not as prominent. Gradually, staff came to accept their schools and the student populations within them as a reflection of the population living in the north inner city. This is despite the reality that the number of Irish students decreased as the number of ME students increased.

Finally, the enrolment of ME students between 2000 and 2010 changed the Catholic ethos of the four schools. Never threatened, a new inclusive Catholic dimension was cultivated where, in name and practice, students of all faiths were welcomed, tolerated and acknowledged. They had in essence become ‘colourful Catholic schools’ combining a ‘minimal Catholic identity’ with a ‘commitment to mutual solidarity.’ Equally, the care the schools afforded ME students ‘evoked echoes’ of the original visions set out by Rice and

Aikenhead. By 2010, the ethos of all four schools transformed and was more in line with the original Rice and Aikenhead visions than when the schools were mono-ethnic settings.

Much of the findings from this research mirrors what other authors have previously documented in Ireland and abroad. Akin to what has been unearthed by notable studies in Ireland the enrolment of a high concentration of ME students generated numerous challenges for the four schools. Yet, over time, it harvested many rewards. This is also reflected in countless studies conducted in Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom. While previous studies provide a 'snapshot' of such experiences, this research was able to demonstrate how the schools moved from a position encumbered by challenges to one comprising many rewards.

In exploring the changes to four inner-urban DEIS schools which went from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations between 2000 and 2010, one can conclude that the changes which transpired were deep. The successive enrolment of ME students, to the point where by 2010 all four school were high concentration multi-ethnic schools, had a profound impact on the four schools. This research has demonstrated that, in general, this impact was positive. The classroom became more conducive to teaching and learning, school academic standards improved, the relationship between Irish and ME students evolved, staff came to accept a new school identity and all four schools progressed to become inclusive Catholic schools.

6.5 This Study's Contribution to Research

The research contributes to the body of knowledge in Ireland in a number of ways. First, a dearth in the literature on ME education in Ireland has been well documented. This research contributes to filling this void. Second, this study concentrated on the particular rather than the universal, offering, as documented, a 'detailed examination of a small sample'. This differed to the approach assumed by other Irish authors who investigate a wider representative sample and thus offer a broader generalised view. Third, in line with the above, this research was able to explore in more detail aspects of school life which have, to date, been neglected. The fourth contribution to the area of research centres on the 'evolutionary' approach this research adopted. Not only has this study highlighted changes to four schools, it has charted changes over a period of time.

This research is the first in the area of ME education in Ireland to gather statistical data, in the form of enrolment records and LC results, to inform its findings. In conjunction with the qualitative data, the gathering and subsequent analysis of enrolment records and LC results provided a more accurate picture of what occurred in the four schools. This is the first study in Ireland to examine LC results over time on both ethnic and gender lines. Additionally, this study is the first in Ireland which attempts to quantify student ambition. The use of statistical data, in particular LC results, is akin to the research typology employed in other countries and establishes a template for future studies.

6.6 Limitations to this research

Denscombe suggests that,

There is no such thing as perfect research because every investigation involves some kind of compromise. The researcher is obliged to confront the reality of limited resources and less than perfect research tools, and eventually strike some kind of balance which involves a trade between competing demands and priorities. In the end, therefore, every piece of research has its limitations.¹³

Quinn-Patton argues that what is important is to recognise this in an open and clear manner.¹⁴ It has been recognised throughout this study that student involvement would have contributed to providing more fruitful findings. Equally, the inclusion of parents, former pupils and others connected to the four schools would have yielded rich data. This was beyond the scope of this research.

It is important to recognise that the researcher was an ‘insider’ who was examining his own place of employment. While this afforded ‘access and pre-understanding’, the researcher recognises that he may have been placed in an ‘untenable’ position. Nevertheless, as noted in Chapter Two, every effort was made to ensure that the highest level of methodological rigour was adhered to. Dedicated times of reflexivity, through regular meetings with the researcher’s supervisor, made certain that his ‘openness’ and ‘tolerance’ to contrary findings were continuously tested.’

¹³ *Ground Rules for Social Research, Guidelines for Good Practice* by Martyn Denscombe, 2nd ed. (England: Open University Press, 2010), p. 165.

¹⁴ Quinn-Patton, p. 242.

Equally, it is important to acknowledge that the participants who took part in this study worked, or previously worked, in the four schools. Thus, some of the data gathered may have been as Quinn-Patton argues, 'distorted by personal bias, anger, anxiety and politics.'¹⁵ Additionally, as much of the statistical information was gathered from school registers, there is a possibility that, due to human error, this information may have been incomplete or inaccurate.

This study adopted a case study approach to explore change in a small sample of schools within a specific geographical context. It is possible that in casting a wider net with respect to the school sample the research may have produced different outcomes. It is further possible that comparing the experiences of 'high' concentration schools with other schools may have been useful. Much of the data collected throughout the research process was qualitative in nature. The researcher was aware that subsequent quantitative methods, in the form of surveys and questionnaires, could have been employed to generate more data. Nevertheless, saturation was achieved proceeding the follow-up focus group as no new information emerged.

While it is important to recognise that this study, like all, had particular limitations, this research confidently assumes the position taken by Denscombe that, 'whatever the limitations, on balance, the chosen approach provided more useful kinds of findings than would have been obtained from using some other approach to the research question.'¹⁶

6.7 Personal Reflections

Akin to Fullan's contention described above, this research was a journey comprising inevitable problems and learning. Prior to commencing this research I asked my local TD if there was funding available to look at the positive impact ME students had on schools. This preconceived notion was based on my upbringing and my own schooling in a multi-ethnic setting. He looked at me in bewilderment. The initial passion I had for this topic suddenly amplified tenfold. Nevertheless, after conducting interviews and focus groups and analysing the data, I began to understand the position he took. I realised that my own biases, as

¹⁵ Quinn-Patton, p. 306.

¹⁶ Denscombe, p. 166.

documented in Chapter Two, and the reality that I had surrounded myself with colleagues of a similar disposition, meant that my views were somewhat distorted.

While I have come to the conclusions that changes to the student population across the four schools have, in general, been positive, I learned that the road for the schools, their systems and their staff, has been a difficult one. In conducting this research I have come to appreciate the importance of the minority voice when attempting to establish a social reality. While a large number of staff in School 1 maintained that the continued enrolment of ME students improved academic standards, a minority were adamant it did not. The analysis of LC results showed that the latter group was correct. Equally, I have come to appreciate honesty. Throughout the research process individual teachers highlighted 'skin colour' as an issue which, in their eyes, had adversely impacted on the schools. While I was surprised, I appreciated their sincerity.

The learning from this research has been significant. First, the knowledge I initially gathered and continued to gather throughout the research has helped me in the classroom – in how I deal with students, in how I teach students. Similarly, the evidence I have gathered from this and the previous literature meant that I was somewhat equipped to propose ideas and strategies at staff and school development meetings, as well as to colleagues on an informal basis. I anticipate that I will utilise the knowledge I have gained and the skills I have acquired to continue on a journey of learning. Whether in the second or third level system, I trust that I will make a positive contribution in the area of education in Ireland.

6.8 Directions for Future Research

While the conclusions drawn from this study stress that, in general, the shift from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations brought about positive changes to four inner-urban DEIS schools, this conclusion was formulated from evidence gathered not long after 2010. Therefore, there is scope that the current study could evolve into a longitudinal enquiry whereby research could be conducted in all four schools at a later date, possibly some five or ten years from 2010. It would be noteworthy to explore whether changes continued to occur to the key areas of school life which were identified in this thesis. In line with this, future research could seek to involve other school partners. Further investigations could involve students, past and present, parents and those within the community. Recruiting former pupils

who attended the four schools during the time in question would prove fruitful in gaining insight into how they adapted to demographic changes.

In a broader sociological context, certain aspects of the findings from this research can be positioned and thus explored within grander sociological theories. Issues pertaining to peer relations and school identity can be positioned and thus explored through Foucault's notion of exclusion. Similarly, issues around achievement and under-achievement can be explored through the prism of Bourdieu's habitus and capital.

The methods employed by this research, notably the gathering and analysis of LC results, provides a template for future research in this area. It is hoped that this will contribute in some way towards bringing Irish research in this area in line with other developed countries.

The aim of this research was to explore change rather than to measure it. In so doing, it identified change in five key areas of school life in four inner-urban DEIS schools which went from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations. While this research concludes that the above changes were profound and positive, a future study could measure this through a model of school change. Goddard and Bohac-Clarke's eight-stage integrated model of school change, which seeks to assess how schools adapt to their 'specific community contexts', is one such model.¹⁷

This research unearthed changes in four schools over a ten year period. In considering their long histories, the years between 2000 and 2010 may not seem that significant. Nevertheless, the changes which occurred during this time were profound and placed all four schools on a unique path. This path is in stark contrast to one which the majority of Irish secondary schools have taken. As a result, the four high concentration multi-ethnic DEIS schools involved in this research will always be worthy of exploration.

¹⁷ Tim Goddard and Veronika Bohac-Clarke, 'The Cycles of School Change: Towards an Integrated Developmental Model', *Journal of Education*, 41 (2) (2007), p. 105.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Unfortunately, some of our students came into the school with very little English and that was a great problem for the teachers. Definitely, I mean it was not plain sailing (Principal, School 2).

With regards to language, you had some kids with no language and you are trying to help them but they are on a completely different spectrum (Teacher, School 3).

Appendix 2

In the early stages you were liable to have a kid who had no English, doing honours leaving cert beside bright kids who done it for three years or so. I thought there was a feeling that this affected the morale of the staff and the academic standards (Teacher, School 1).

Appendix 3

Yeah that is right, we did not want them. How could we teach them? (Teacher School 2)

Some teachers were bewildered, disgruntled and annoyed. Some of them felt that they should not have been in their classroom and that they should have got intensive English first. For a certain period of time and then come back into their class when they were capable of learning (Teacher, School 3).

Appendix 4

They were walking in at all times of the year and it seemed that whenever they arrived in Ireland they were coming to the school (Retired Principal, School 1).

Appendix 5

Just throw into class, and they tended to be unaccompanied minors. They tended to be refugees, asylum seekers, who probably had the most psychological problems. We were not told anything, we did not know a single thing about their background or whatever ... We then started to demand from those responsible for bringing children into the school, more information, information where it was necessary to teach those kids properly. There was a couple of years and it was just unbearable (Teacher, School 1).

Appendix 6

You put your foot in it. I remember doing something in class on the Rwandan genocide in 1994. Not knowing that I had one child that was indirectly affected by it in the classroom. That type of thing became unacceptable (Teacher, School 1).

It is definitely true that there was no information given and we were liable to make the most horrendous mistakes. You are talking about Rwanda I remember a student in my class and he was just put in the door by named teacher and I was just about to put on the video about Srebrenica, I was just about to play it and I

asked this kid, I asked him where are you from? He said Bosnia. I said alright and here I was about to press the play button. And I can still see that scene. You know the scene when all the women are taken off on the buses and the hard look on the men's faces. That is the exact one. I have not seen it in a long time and it will all be shown again in this trial. But the kid came out and he said Bosnia. I said who are you here with? He said no-one, here on his own. I said where are your parents? He said, my mother, my father, brother, sister, probably all dead. Well I said ok and we went back in. He wasn't in school the next day and I said to the kids, it was a transition year programme, I said that's the end of our history Bosnian war, let's do Hitler (Teacher, School 1).

Appendix 7

You see a lot of these kids that had come from war-torn countries, they had a lot of psychological damage, you know. Again there was no help from any Department on that kind of stuff. And if there was then there was one social worker. I remember at one parent teacher meeting one social worker came in with a list of about 20 kids. She sat with me for about an hour. And only then do you get little sneak previews of what these kids had been through before that. And here they are landed in a new country, after coming from a war, and maybe our kids are picking on them. Stupid, sure, how it wasn't worse, I don't know ... Lads who had been tortured (Teacher, School 1).

Appendix 8

I suppose the pitfalls there are, we are often delayed at identifying a learning difficulty because you tend to think it is just English. And then you say actually, I think it is more than English. Then you need to get an assessment done and that assessment depends on verbal stuff and then you have to do a non-verbal and that just takes a bit longer. I do feel it is one area that we need a lot of help with because we don't want people falling through the cracks. And I do feel in my experience, there has been two people I can think of that it was probably fourth year before we picked up on a learning difficulty. You know and I think it is bad, and we tried to rectify that and it hasn't happened since. But definitely it is on my conscience (Principal, School 2).

I think as well there is a percentage of students, students who come from abroad and that, that would have learning difficulties. I am the learning support teacher. Some of them would have learning difficulties. It is very, very difficult, to first of all assess them. Because depending on how long they have been in the country and on their standard of English. It is very hard to figure out, I suppose, the test that we have for them as well, the standardised tests, aren't applicable to them. And I think that is very difficult, it is very difficult for a student coming in to Ireland that has got a learning need to be assessed. How do you address it? Where do you begin? I think that is something that could be addressed as well (Teacher, School 4).

Appendix 9

You know they cheat at exams for Christ's sake, you know the others couldn't be bollixed cheating at exams. It is they just don't care. They actually cheat because they want, you know, it is an indication of their attitude. Our guys would no more think of achieving an exam. Why would you bother doing that? They don't care about the results anyway. So they have brought back into the school the

values that I had when I started in 78. So I can see they have restored some of those (Teacher, School 1).

I had a girl last year and she wanted to go to college and she was very academic and she had to work to save and, and some of the local girls were looking at her and saying, are you crazy? Why would you be working to save to go to college? Why would you do that? They could not understand (Teacher, School 2).

Yes, they were very focussed, very hungry. They were aware of education, they were here for a reason. Education, and just get on with it. So the majority of them yes, were very, very focused and very ambitious. The only problem that they had was the language that was the only thing that held them back (Teacher, School 3).

Like we would have students if you remember them, like named student, who would ask, please sir can we use your PE hall at lunchtime to do extra study. They would actually study and the other guys, the locals would be looking and saying, what are they at? It was totally different like the attitude (Teacher, School 4).

Appendix 10

I get the impression that East Europeans and possibly Indians, now I have no evidence now, but people seem to think that east Europeans are very ambitious and Indians. I really don't know about the Africans. I get the impression that there is such a wide range of them that it is very hard to pass any judgement (Board Member, School 2).

My memories of the first eastern Europeans to come was that they were very, very motivated to learn. I am think of one particular German class. They were in school for academic advancement. They would have had less of the social issues that the African girls seemed to have had ... The main difference I would see is that a lot of the international students have a hunger, they want what I wanted when I was at school. I thought education was a way forward. We have had girls who have had the very same attitude and it worked for them. The Eastern Europeans that I have had were very, very focussed and very determined, ambitious and able (Teacher, School 3).

The one thing that would strike let's say about the eastern Europeans is that they are more disciplined, more appreciative, more clued into wanting to be educated (Teacher, School 4).

Appendix 11

Table A1, Number of Students who took ≥ 1 Higher Level LC Subjects

						B2 1		
Higher Level Subjects Taken ≥ 1 Categorical		Irish		ME		Std Diff	ChiSq	p
		n	%	n	%			
0	0	526	54.3%	83	17.7%	64.76	36.42	0.0001
≥ 1	1	442	<u>45.7%</u>	387	<u>82.3%</u>	64.76		
Total		968		470				

Table A2, Number of Students who took Higher Level LC English

										B4 1	
Higher Level English Taken Categorical		Irish Male		ME Male		Irish Fem.		ME Fem.		Chi Sq	p
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Ord/Found	0	280	61.8%	176	78.9	356	69.1	159	64.4	21.68	0.0001
Higher	1	173	<u>38.2%</u>	47	21.1	159	30.9	88	<u>35.6</u>		
Total		453		223		515		247			

Appendix 12

They started saying thank you, stepping back from doors. The crass, bad manners that was here, you started to, and then somebody would say thank you to me at the end of the class, whereas the local inner-city kids, no, you know. So I would see that as being a great addition to our school (Teacher, School 1).

I would not have liked to have continued, you know, the way things were in my first year here. I remember girls shrieking at me she was a Dublin girl. It was Halloween and I marched up to the principal and I could not believe that she shrieked at me for no reason at all. It was tough going. It was tough going then, so. So I was very grateful to the international girls (Teacher, School 2).

Appendix 13

Also they sometimes, I shouldn't say this, they have notions of uperosity (superior) about themselves. That is they don't know their limitations. So you have difficulty trying to say to them, for instance, they want to do a higher level English, and they are hardly able to read their poem, and trying to get them into reality is sometimes a problem. More so than our own. Our own you are trying

to bring them up, saying you can do it, let's go for it, but the others you are dragging them back sometimes. Like someone said to me, she wants to go and do international commerce in UCD next year and she needs to do French and then the French teacher comes to me and says how is that possible when she's doing honours French and she should not even be there. And trying to explain to her that this is not making sense, it is a bit of a challenge for teachers. So it can be, they are more challenging that way. Trying to get them into a reality. Our own ones you are trying to drag up, and say, you can do better than this (Guidance Counsellor, School 3).

Appendix 14

This idea of them raising the academic standard well some of them are quite weak. I would not go overboard (Teacher, School 1).

Appendix 15

Table A3, Number of Students who took 8 LC subjects or more

NUMBER OF SUBJECTS 19:58 Wednesday, January 8, 2014 145

The FREQ Procedure

Table of school_1 by eight_subjects

school_1	eight_subjects		
	0	1	Total
0	1010 70.24 98.10 74.54	41 2.85 3.90 49.40	1051 73.09
1	345 23.99 89.15 5.40	42 2.92 10.85 50.60	387 26.91
Total	1355 94.23	83 5.77	1438 100.00

Table A4, Number of Students who failed 1 LC subject or more

ONE OR MORE SUBJECTS FAILED

148

19:58 Wednesday, January 8, 2014

The FREQ Procedure

Table of school_1 by one_failed

school_1 one_failed

Frequency Percent Row Pct Col Pct	0	1	Total
0	452	599	1051
	31.43	41.66	73.09
	43.01	56.99	
	81.29	67.91	
1	104	283	387
	7.23	19.68	26.91
	26.87	73.13	
	18.71	32.09	
Total	556	882	1438
	38.66	61.34	100.00

ONE OR MORE SUBJECTS FAILED

149

19:58 Wednesday, January 8, 2014

The FREQ Procedure

Table 1 of school_1 by one_failed
Controlling for ethnicity_1=0

school_1 one_failed

Frequency Percent Row Pct Col Pct	0	1	Total
0	301	447	748
	31.10	46.18	77.27
	40.24	59.76	
	85.03	72.80	
1	53	167	220
	5.48	17.25	22.73
	24.09	75.91	
	14.97	27.20	
Total	354	614	968
	36.57	63.43	100.00

Appendix 16

I suppose if you look at the exam results over the last three or four years the lads who would score the highest have been our foreign nationals. Most of them would be international students (HSCL Teacher, School 1).

In terms of results you could say the our best results over the years have certainly been from ethnic students (Guidance Counsellor, School 4).

Appendix 17

The Eastern Europeans that I have had were very, very focussed and very determined, ambitious and able (Teacher, School 3).

My general opinion on achievement would be that they would perform like the Irish girls but that some of the eastern Europeans would have excelled (Teacher, School 3).

Appendix 18

We try and cultivate honours maths and honours chemistry, honours biology. We don't have physics. Yeah, I was in there one day in the honours group, I think it was biology and it was nearly all internationals (Principal, School 3).

It varies with the subjects. Let's say with the honours maths class yes. For example when I was teaching business most of my class were foreign nationals. They would be very, how to say it, they would be more to the mathematical side then Irish students ... If I was to go out into a classroom of the higher level maths or going up to the science lab and just looking at who is there, now this is just at senior level, I would say, I would say they would be more towards the mathematics and science (HSCL Teacher, School 4).

Appendix 19

Maths and physics. Yes, those two subjects have improved. The numbers have increased. There is a domain for chemistry as well. We have a number of students now who set the higher level maths but they would all be international students. You would get a mix. You might get up few bright sparks from the Romanian group, from Eastern Europe, from the Polish community. Then you have a good few from the Mauritius. They seem to have a knack for the maths and the sciences. I mean if they were not here then we would have nobody doing high-level maths for example (Principal, School 1).

The only people doing higher maths for leaving cert are international students. The only people doing chemistry are international students. So that is the trend as well. We would not have either of those two subjects if we did not have international students, yeah (Guidance Counsellor, School 3).

Appendix 20

Table A5, Number of Students who took Higher Level LC Maths

						B3	1	
Higher Level Maths Taken		Irish		ME				
Categorical		n	%	n	%	Std Diff	ChiSq	p
Ord/Found	0	923	95.4%	390	83.0%	36.49	61.02	0.0001
Higher	1	45	4.6%	80	17.0%	36.49		
Total		968		470				

Table A6, Number of Students who took Foundation Level LC Maths

							B6	1
Foundation Level Maths Taken		Irish		ME				
Categorical		n	%	n	%	Std Diff	ChiSq	p
Ord/High	0	490	50.6%	417	88.7%	69.57	197.22	0.0001
Foundation	1	478	49.4%	53	11.3%	69.57		
Total		968		470				

Table A7, Number of Students who took LC Science Subjects

							B5	1
Sciences Taken		Irish		ME				
≥1	Categorical	n	%	n	%	Std Diff	ChiSq	p
None	0	598	61.8	179	38.1	39.82	71.50	0.0001
≥1	1	370	38.2	291	61.9	-39.82		
Tot		968		470				

Appendix 21

The Eastern European girls seem to be very good at maths. They seem to have no trouble, I get that impression that they are very good at maths (Teacher, School 2).

I was just thinking that the maths teachers are really impressed with how able they are. They seem to have mathematical ability above the level of Irish girl here (Teacher, School 3).

Appendix 22**Table A8, Results for Higher Level Maths**

								0	1
Higher Level Maths Taken		Irish		ME					
Categorical									
		n	%	n	%	Std Diff	ChiSq	p	
Pass	0	30	66.7%	53	66.3%	0.72	0.00	0.9622	
Honours	1	15	<u>33.3%</u>	27	<u>33.8%</u>	-0.72			
Total		45		80					

Appendix 23

While it is not nice to say we don't have as many coloured kids, so the optics is different. So the other kids who came here looked the same. In the early days there was a lot of Africans and I can see how that might have had an impact (Principal, School 2).

Certainly I would say with some of the inner-city students you would occasionally here you know that when they came to sign on social welfare that they got this, they got that. That was even before. I remember, sorry this is aside from this but I remember a local politician was telling me that up on the major road here some had arrived into the country and this was before the big surge, and he was getting grief from the local residents and that it was primarily because of the urban legends that they got everything, you know the car, the pram, the house (HSCL Teacher, School 4).

Appendix 24

Maybe four years ago there were huge numbers of Polish, the Chinese were there, the Romanians were there. People still obviously have their friends and especially when they first come to the school they have friends from their countries they stick to (Teacher, School 1).

But back then there was more real set groups. The Lithuanians, the Polish, they were in their groups (Teacher, School 3).

Appendix 25

I remember one teacher saying, I hate the way those four black kids always pal around together and I am going to split them up. I remember saying at staff meetings that those four girls who have been best friends since first year who are white girls, you don't think of splitting them up. It was like this optics, you can't have four black kids in a group and it was completely wrong and thankfully they did not start to split up this group of friends. Because if they were white you would not have thought to split them up, but because they were

four black people, like somebody thought we will put one there and one there and one there. That was the thinking at the time (Principal, School 2).

Appendix 26

To tell you the truth, we never really had any major stand off or problems. You would have had occasional issues of bullying and racism and that but there would have been pretty minor. It never, in other words, erupted into a major thing. I would have to say in all honesty (HSCL Teacher, School 2).

I must be honest the amount of incidences where race and ethnicity has manifested itself and was a divisive factor has been very small. Now we have had incidences where racist remarks have been made but even at that, that was small. I do not think that it got off the ground anywhere. I think it didn't. I do think it didn't to be honest (Former Deputy Principal, School 4).

Appendix 27

Certainly in the early days when I came back in 2001, you could see that there was a problem there all right. There was a lot of racism amongst the Irish students, a lot of resistance amongst the older students to the imposition of the foreign students. There was definitely racial tension there ... Those kids were a bit older when suddenly half of their class were non-Irish (Teacher, School 1).

Don't get me wrong we have had instances over the years that have had pure racist motivations and they are not nice to deal with (Principal, School 1).

Appendix 28

Once one ethnic group reached a tipping point, where they became large in number then it became problematic. Once they became a noticeable body within the yard then there were problems. We had a big fight between Irish students and Chinese students. A group of Irish boys en masse attacked a group of Chinese students. The result was that the next day the Chinese embassy came down to the school and removed all of them, there was about fifteen of them, and took them to a new school (School 1).

We never had that but I am not sure if this is something that happens with boys. It does not happen with girls (School 2).

We did not have that ethnic fighting, one group against another. We had instances but nothing systemic like that. They were isolated instances and these were dealt with (School 4).

Appendix 29

The foreign kids are treated in a particularly good way and they are treated to all sorts of things, and the Irish lads are the most part left out. The Irish kids at times see it as a blatantly and that. So in a sense some of the tensions, even though the racist tensions in the school are almost non-existent, I think at certain times during the year when these events take place, there is a noticeable rise in tension. There is a noticeable commentary made about how the foreign kids get everything, the foreign kids get taken to Cavan, the foreign kids get this, that, and the other. And we get nothing. And I think to a huge extent is actually, it is justified what they are saying because I actually think it is true. It is a positive discrimination but it is having a negative knock-on effect (Teacher, School 1).

We had a famous comment a few years ago and we are still paying for it. An announcement went out over the intercom, would all the foreign students please come down for their free books ... Yes, God, (laughter). We paid for that for a while. I mean it was not PC, it was just not right at all. I remember the previous principal saying, 5 years of hard work is gone, just like that (Principal, School 1).

Appendix 30

I think we did take a hard line on that in the beginning and there has been very little of it (racism). Like what you get now is in the classes, lads calling each other you know four-eyes, you know the regular stuff, the regular bullying which is not racism really (Teacher, School 1).

I often wonder when the history of this school is written how we dodged so many potential bullets over the years. Maybe it was because of the way the principal handled things or various people handled things but, it could have been so much more of a disaster and so much less successful than what it has been (Teacher, School 1).

Appendix 31

I had been principal before which was a great help. I also had been to Zambia. So I was not afraid if a black student came into the school, for want of a better word, I was not afraid if that student misbehaved to say so. I was not afraid if things went wrong. I thought the best advice was from one of the teachers who was a barrister. When they were talking about our policy in dealing with and I would not call them non-nationals, I would call them non-Irish students, she said please don't have this. She said because immediately, you are making a distinction. We have rules, let's use the rules for everybody. So naturally then with everything you couldn't be inflexible. And I thought that was the best ever (Former Principal, School 2).

Appendix 32

We introduced a sports day a number of years ago in September and some of these girls who were only in the school for a month or two and then they get on the running track and they run like trained athletes and straight away they get a bit of kudos, like they are good and they are on a team. We split the 300 kids and the teachers into four groups, red blue and they all wear a t-shirt, so that gives that sense of I am on the blue team, you are on the red team and so on. So I have not met you before but if you win you get points for my time. Suddenly this girl is fantastic runner and she is getting us loads of points for our team. I just felt that sort of thing was very important. It was not just seen like here is a foreign kid winning and getting an award. They were delighted to have her. It is a great day every year. All ages, all nationalities teachers and students, all out there with different coloured t-shirts. And a lot of these foreign kids have done very well and they were accepted (Principal, School 2).

But we had a very vibrant Gospel choir so it was kind of semi-African in parts for me. It was nice to see it and it was nice to see all of the students rubbing shoulders together and getting on so well (Chaplain, School 3).

Appendix 33

But I just looked at those kids, even before the graduation, and this is something we don't acknowledge, and that is the ease with which they get on with each other. The sense that they don't see the divisions, they don't get any sense of that whatsoever (Teacher, School 1).

You can see that in the last couple of years they sit together, they don't sit in groups. I just think that that segregation is filtering out (Teacher, School 2).

Like our first year group now, they blend, they all really interact, all from different backgrounds. They are all just mates, they are just all girls that are friends. They do not see the differences anymore (Teacher, School 3).

I think now, looking from my point of view from my class Africans are more integrated now and are the Eastern European's (Teacher, School 4).

Appendix 34

I think they (a particular year level) were the first fruits of the primary school system. Therefore when they came through together there was no sense of that. The first years are a prime example of this. They have been through primary school together and they don't see any colour, and you can see it. It will become a non-issue for us if we continue to get classes like that you know (Teacher, School 1).

I think now there is more mixing going on. I just see now when they do come in with the international students they can pronounce their names ... it is because they have spent time with them in primary school ... Even in first year they don't see any difference because they have come up through the primary school. When I started here and I used to go into the transition year, you could see the difference. You knew the different groups, not now (Teacher, School 2).

Appendix 35

I think there are two levels of what I would call non-Irish. You've got the lads who have grown up here and they are very much accepted, yeah the ones who have come through primary. In transition year I am thinking of (student). Like he has got a Dublin accent, yeah and they are just, they are kind of seen as Irish, I think (Teacher, School 4).

And then you've got lads who have got an accent and who have been here a couple of years maybe. And I think that there is a differentiation between them ((Teacher, School 4).

Appendix 36

I don't think there is racism in the school. I think there is 350 boys, bashing into each other, sitting in a classroom every single day, and I think you can have 350 of the exact same persons and you would have the same tensions you have here everyday. I think when I went to school the worst thing you could be called was gay. Nowadays it is foreigner. You know, kids they pick out differences, they pick up things and they say these words. We all know of the class, they fight with each other and all they do is moan at each other all day long but I don't think there is a single kid in there who actually dislikes another kid. All those jokes are just lads slugging each other ((Teacher, School 1).

Appendix 37

I think on the bigger picture as well, I think in an area like this, where we are kind of the lower social group, for our kids it is good for them to have something different in here with them, for the future like. If there were no international students here and you are asked our kids where is the Mauritius, they would not have a clue. Whereas now they do know that, they know that because there are loads of kids here (Teacher, School 1).

I think they give them (Irish students) an insight into the fact there is a world outside Dublin and not just Ireland. Like Irish kids can be very insular here. Like one girl said to me, when I asked her where are you working for the summer, she said to me I am over on the south side, I said whereabouts, she said Temple Bar. (Laughing) she spoke about it like it was some area, you know they are just very much like that. They are different people with different experiences. They are a little bit more open-minded. I suppose the fact they have travelled, they have seen more, so they have matured a bit more in that way. What other influences? I think as well, a number of them get friendly and then they travel with them. You know the Irish girls go to Estonia and Latvia and that has happened once or twice. You get a postcard, you expect a postcard from the girl who was from there rather than from an Irish girl. And you say that is fantastic that they are doing that. So that is another positive, that they have broadened their horizons (Principal, School 2).

Appendix 38

There is no racism may be on the campus because they don't see a Nigerian as being a foreigner, they seem as a student who has been sitting there for five years. That out on the street they might see it because this is where racism really starts to set. They come under pressure from their families, their neighbourhood and of other boys in their society. I would love to think that we make an impact on that. I'm sure we do (Teacher, School 1).

I would feel we definitely do make a difference because whilst you are a sponge when you are 11, 12 or 13, when you leave school at 17 and someone says something about a friend of yours that you had sat with all those years, you will react to it. We definitely make a difference there (Teacher, School 1).

Appendix 39

I remember meeting a parent of a student I am very good friends with socially. He said to me within a year or two of this that he heard that our school had become a very colourful school. You know what he meant by that. In terms of the clientele that was coming there then ... For some of them they (the staff) said we do not want to be known as the Black school (Retired Principal, School 1).

We definitely did not want it to become known just for international students. Probably there was a fear there as well that would we be known as a school who just takes international students. But it is amazing because the colour of the skin was the problem. Because we have now Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and you do not even notice them. But because they were mainly coming from Africa, it was because they were more visible. I think that is what people were afraid of. Maybe it is an Irish thing that people did not like the idea of too many black people coming into the school (Principal, School 2).

Appendix 40

I do not think there were enough foreign kids. Kids were not being removed. That never happened that I can say (Teacher, School 3).

You see what happened here. We did not have the white flight, like because the whites can't go anywhere. We had the academic flight. Once we reached critical mass here with the inner-city kids, then for snobbish reasons parents from the outlying areas began to withdraw their kids, because they were into results (Teacher, School 1).

I do not think it did to any great extent, this white flight. It may have happened earlier on when we went from a so-called academic school to an inner-city school, parents may have felt that as we were becoming an inner-city school their sons would not do so well, or as well in the school. So that may have happened. But that probably happened maybe two or three years before the foreign nationals started coming in (HSCL Teacher, School 1).

Appendix 41

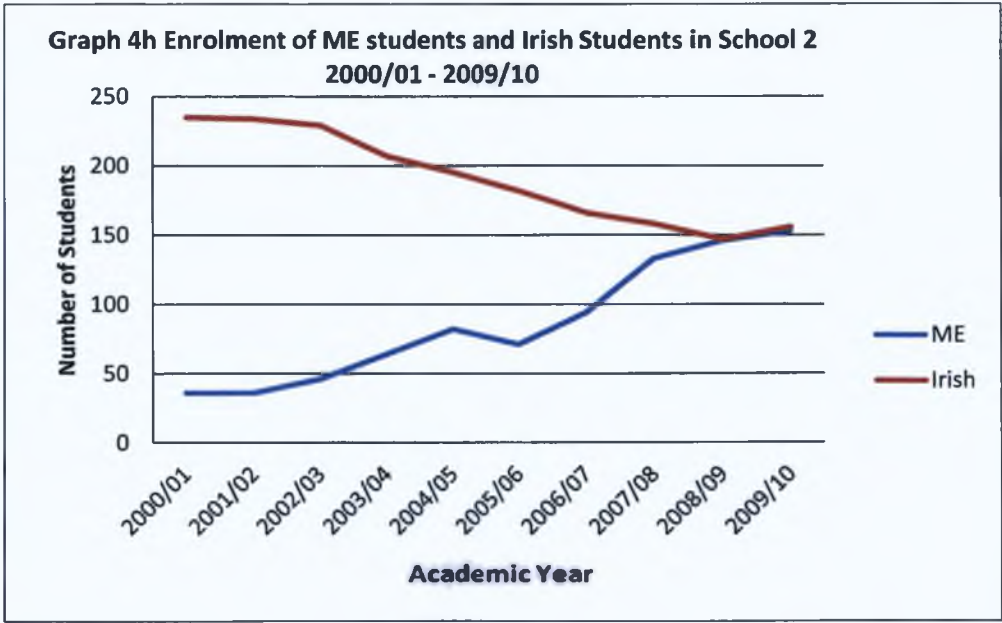
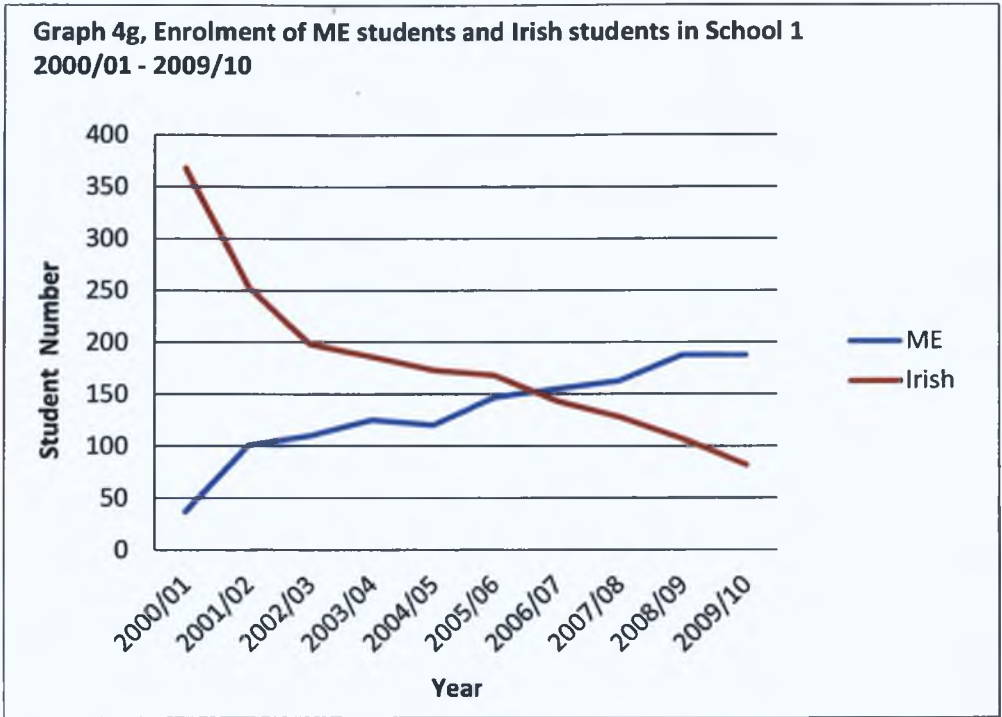
Then naturally enough they would have been concerned that if we take all these foreign nationals, particularly if they are black students, then you know there was the fear that parents would not send their children here and all that type of thing (HSCL Teacher, School 1).

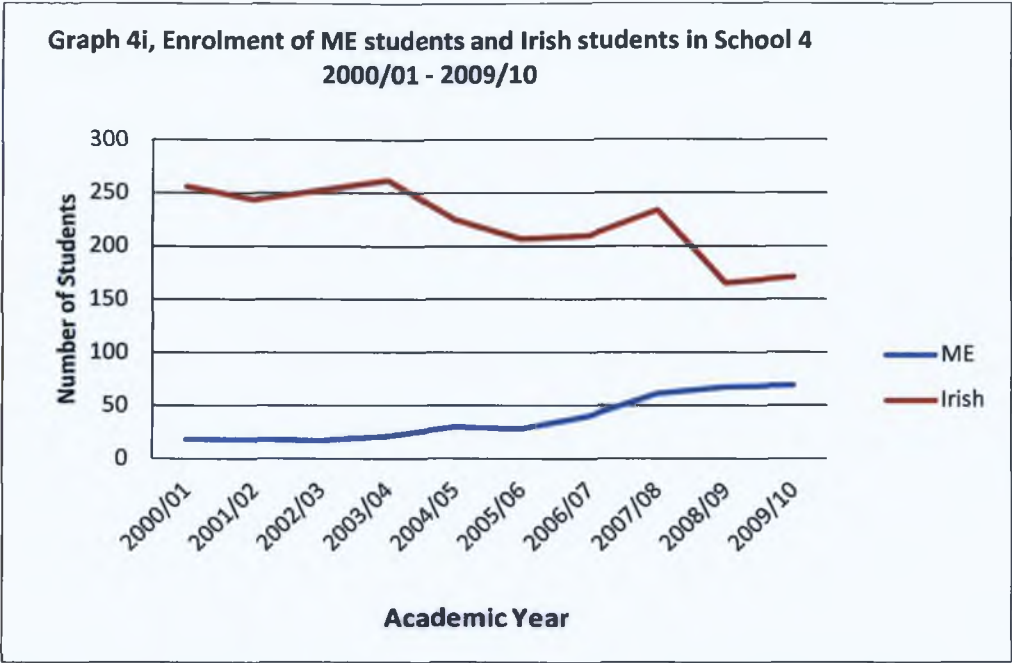
Yes, yes, there was a fear there that we would be known as a school who just takes international students. Even some of the local people would say, oh yes, that is where all the foreigners go (Teacher, School 2).

Appendix 42

It had an impact on our intake. I don't care. I know our location has not helped. There is no doubt about that. But as I said, there are other schools in the area who are in the same location but they have not suffered ... That is the bottom line (nobody wants to come here) (Teacher, School 1).

Appendix 43





Appendix 44

Know it has not happened here and I know what you are talking about. No because parents here would not have that much maybe, drive in them. I don't think. At the beginning, when they first came to us maybe in the late 90s early 2000's, parents may have been a little bit annoyed may be that the girls might be getting access to services and stuff like that, and they would have voiced little opinions on that but generally know, nobody has ever been taken out of school because of that and I think it is to do with that they don't have that drive (Guidance Counsellor, School 3).

I do wonder if Irish parents would have sent their children to the school if we passed a tipping point. But i do not think that we ever passed that tipping point so it was important to keep the balance there. Because of that i do not think we ever had white flight (Board Member, School 3).

Appendix 45

It did not register with our admission. Like instead of getting 50 we only got 25 then we would ask why were 25 not coming to us? But that did not happen. It hasn't been on our radar (HSCL Teacher, School 4).

Appendix 46

This is the school I am working in and they are just students (Teacher, School 2).

I would say that I teach in the inner-city and I think all that comes with teaching in an inner-city school (Teacher, School 4).

Appendix 47

I would see it as the inner-city school with a multi-ethnic dimension to it, yes that is how I would say. That for the moment seems to be the right proportion. I suppose with the word dimension because dimension could be any size. I would like the dimension part of that to reflect the reality (Board Member, School 4).

Appendix 48

It's just, our student population, your student population is or has in the last 10 years changed the face of the school. It is no longer 100% Irish, it is definitely an inner-city school, because the students despite where they come from, they do, they do, they actually live in the inner-city (HSCL Teacher, School 4).

Appendix 49

I would agree with you that I think we look upon a Mauritian or a Nigerian or a Latvian or an Estonian as just another student. You know I would see them as no different to our own lads (Teacher, School 1).

It is only because you made me think of it that I realise that the majority in that class are foreign (Teacher, School 2).

Appendix 50

Well the ethos of the school is that it is an all inclusive school. That is the bottom line so no matter who you are or where you're from, that you well valued and welcomed in the school (Guidance Counsellor, School 3).

I have always been surprised at how inclusive the school is because when I went to school I didn't do religion. I was in a multi-denominational school and we never did exams in religion. Like when I started in this school, a Christian Brothers school, I was expecting you know like a very religious school, but when I came here I found out that it was really, you know open to all religions (Teacher, School 4).

Appendix 51

Catholic and inclusive, obviously, they look after, I don't know how many religions you have in the school, but at the same time, the ethos of the school is a catholic school, the board and the teachers realise that, and that would be an aspect of the school, that it is a catholic school. An inclusive school in the sense that it is self-evident. It includes everyone. (Board Member, School 1)

From an official position we are a Catholic school open to educating people who are not Catholics, whether they are Irish or not. We always felt that we did and were doing more than enough both in terms of opening the school to people of different nationalities and religion ... There was never a fear that we would lose our Catholic identity (Board Member, School 3).

Appendix 52

If we had 1000 kids lined up outside wanting to get in then we too could be exclusive. Then we could start looking for baptismal certs. and so on. So I do not think that we were any different to them then. We did this out of necessity (Guidance Counsellor, School 4).

Appendix 53

This brings me back to your first point here that the school is a caring school. It always was but and still is, and the management has always been extremely caring. Maybe the needs, the caring needs just changed (Teacher, School 1)..

It was always there. It did not matter what type of student was coming in. From the day I came here that was really strongly fostered. Obviously I have seen several principals, six or seven, and that would have been the way it is. You would not think about any other way (Teacher, School 3).

Appendix 54

Yet if you look back and when you think of what the Sisters of Charity did. They responded to the challenges of the time. And the people in need at the time. And these people were coming into our country and they were the people in need of our help. I often wonder and that is a good question. I often think maybe they would have been open to them. If they are true to the ethos, which they are, I think that is very much of what we are now. We are responding to the needs and challenges of the time (Teacher, School 2).

I think so. I mean I personally am very happy. Our ethos is to look after or out for the marginalised. Like before I was educating but most of them were well off. Like I feel that I am in a real Mary Aikenhead school and the school up the road that is a real Mary Aiken head school. I really feel that is where she would be today. I would really feel that and I would really try look out for those kids that are on their arm. I feel I need to be there for them and to support them. And I do feel that she would be very happy with what is going on in the school. And she would want us to stay there. And to give all of the students the best that we can give them and to look out for the dignity of the human person as well (Chaplain, School 3).

I think the ethos has permeated everything we have done. Strictly speaking as a Catholic voluntary secondary school under the education act we would have the right to say sorry you are not Catholic you can't come in. Now this school has never done that. Never done that (Principal, School 4).

Appendix 55**Plain Language Statement (for Principals/teachers)****Research Project: Changes to Schools**

Krizan Vekic, a teacher at O'Connell's Secondary School is conducting a study on the changes that have taken place in schools which have gone from having a mono-ethnic student population to a multiethnic one. This study is part of a Ph.D. programme conducted at the Mater Dei Institute of Education in Dublin. To explore these changes, the researcher will seek the views and perceptions of Principals, members of the Board of Management, teaching staff and other staff within the school. Participants will be invited to take part in one-on-one interviews and focus groups. Focus groups will have between five and seven people and take about sixty to ninety minutes. All interviews and focus groups will be audio-taped and will be conducted on school grounds. In addition to the above, questionnaires will be administered to students during a class period. Consent forms will be given to students and must be signed by a parent/guardian.

Students, as well as adult participants who take part will sign a consent form. The consent form highlights that participants can pull out of the study at anytime without suffering any consequences. The researcher aims to create a 'friendly' environment where the dignity and views of each individual are respected. The researcher will not press any individuals to discuss issues they are not comfortable with.

Every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality is guaranteed. NO NAMES will be recorded. However, because the sample size is small, there might be some limitations in guaranteeing full confidentiality of participation. Furthermore, there are established legal limitations to confidentiality. The researcher is obliged to pass on information if it is deemed to be harmful to any individual or group of individuals. The collected data will be securely stored at the Mater Dei Institute of Education and will be destroyed five years after the study has ended.

Participation is voluntary – no payments will be made. Participants will not directly benefit from participating in the study. However, their views and perceptions may be used by the school to improve the school in regard to the education of all students. If participants have any questions they should feel free to contact the researcher on the following number, 087 9909637 or email: kvekic@gmail.com. If participants have any further concerns about this study and wish to speak to an independent person please feel free to contact,

Gabriel Flynn, Chairperson of Research Committee, Mater Dei Institute of Education

Phone: 01 808 6554 or E-mail: gabriel.flynn@materdei.dcu.ie

Regards,

Kris Vekic

Appendix 56

SAS® v9.2 (SAS® Institute Inc, Cary, NC) considers results statistically significant at a two-sided α -level of 0.05. Each student's LC points total was calculated as the sum of the six highest individual subject points obtained. Descriptive statistics were calculated for Irish and ME students, stratified by year and school. Differences in the LC points obtained between Irish and ME students were evaluated using a Wilcoxon rank-sum test. Correlations between leaving certificate points obtained and the proportion of ME students in the school population were assessed by Pearson correlation coefficients. In addition, students' LC points total were classified as high (≥ 300) or low (< 300) by the mean national leaving certificate points total.¹

Based on these classifications, univariate log-binomial models (1,2) were employed to estimate risk ratios (RR) with 95% confidence intervals (CI) for associations between ethnicity (Irish, ME) and a high LC points total (3,4). This means no adjustments were made for possible cofounders such as socio-economic status and language proficiency. Interactions between ethnicity and gender on a multiplicative scale (ratio of risk ratios rRR) with 95% CI (Wald test for product term) were also assessed (5).

The level of subjects taken – higher, ordinary, foundation - by each student for LC was also calculated. Students taking higher level English, higher level Maths and foundation level Maths, and students taking at least one science subject were identified. Descriptive statistics were calculated for Irish and ME students and differences in the distribution and number of higher level subjects taken were compared using a chi squared test and Wilcoxon rank-sum test respectively. Students were also classified as higher-level (one or more higher-level subjects taken for leaving certificate) or ordinary-level (no higher-level subjects taken for leaving certificate).

Based on these classifications, univariate log-binomial models(1,2) to estimate risk ratios (RR) with 95% confidence intervals (CI) for associations between ethnicity (Irish, ME) and higher level subject taken (3,4) were used. Interactions between ethnicity and gender on a multiplicative scale (ratio of risk ratios rRR) with 95%CI (Wald test for product term) were also assessed (5). Analyses were repeated for higher level English (taken, not taken), higher level Maths (taken, not taken), foundation level Maths (taken, not taken) and science subjects taken (none, one or more).

Note: According to the Irish Times 300 points was the national average in 2010. This article was written on September 28, 2010 and posted on the website of the Parents Association of Community and Comprehensive Schools (PACCS), online at http://www.paccs.ie/content/publish/news/Leaving_Cert_results_printer.shtml accessed 4th September, 2012.

Appendix 57

List of School, National and Local Support ServicesSchool (names and numbers to be added)

- Principal (name and number)
- HSCL/Guidance Counsellor (name and number)

National

<u>Childline</u>	Phone: 1800 66 66 66 www.childline.ie	<u>Samaritans</u>	Phone: 1850 60 90 90 www.samaritansdublin.org Address: 112 Marlborough Street, Dublin 1
<u>Immigrant Council of Ireland</u>	Phone: 01 674 0202 www.immigrantcouncil.ie Address: 2 St Andrew Street, Dublin 2	<u>Irish Refugee Council</u>	Phone: 01 7645854 Address: 2 nd Floor, Ballast House, Aston Quay, Dublin 2 www.irishrefugeecouncil.ie
<u>Migrant Rights Centre of Ireland</u>	Phone: 01 889 7570 Address: 55 Parnell Square West, Dublin 1. www.mrci.ie		

Local (the following support services are free)

Access Ireland – Refugee and Social Integration Network	Dominick Court, 40/41 Dominick Street Lower Dublin 1 Phone: 353-1-8780589 Email: info@accessireland.ie
Belvedere Youth Club	41 Buckingham Street Lower, Dublin 1 Phone: 01 855 0282
Crosscare Teen Counselling,	Mater Dei, Clonliffe Road, Dublin 3 Phone: 01 837 1892 Email: materdei@teencounselling.com
Curam Family Centre	46 North Strand Road, Dublin 1 Phone: 01 885 9313
Deora Project	St Laurence's Place East, Seville Place, Dublin 1 Phone: 01 855 0730
Dublin Multicultural Resource Centre	Basement, 44 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin 1 Phone: 01 873 0684 Email: Dublin.multicultural@gmail.com
Gateway Women's Project	38 Arran Quay, Dublin 7 Phone: 01 872 0133 Email: carmelbrien@gatewayproject.ie
Hill Street Family Resource Centre	Hill Street Playground, Hill Street, Dublin 1 Phone: 01 874 6810 Email: hillstreetfamilyresource@hotmail.com
NYP2 Youth Club	Bridgewater Hall, Summerhill, Dublin 1 Phone: 01 856 1316 Email: nyp2@hse.ie

Appendix 58

Mater Dei Institute of Education
Research Ethics Committee
Informed Consent Form - FOCUS GROUPS

Research Study Title	Changes in Schools
School / Department	Education
Principal investigator	Krizan Vekic
Other investigators	PJ Sexton (Supervisor)
Statement of the Purpose of the Research	Research Study for granting of Ph.D.
Statement of Participation Activities	Participants will be involved in focus groups. All focus groups will be audio recorded and will consist of six to eight individuals. They will last between sixty and ninety minutes.
Other Relevant Details	Due to the small sample size, complete anonymity of individual's participation may not be fully guaranteed. Due to the legal limitations on confidentiality, the researcher is legally obliged to disclose any information s/he deems to be harmful to any individual or group of individuals. Participants will not be pressed to discuss any information they deem to be of a sensitive nature. Participants have the right to leave the research at any point without recrimination.

Statement of Informed Consent

Name of Intended Participant	
Address (optional)	
Declaration of informed consent	<p>I have read the Plain Language Statement and I have been made fully aware of the implications of participation in the above named research project.</p> <p>I agree to take part in the above named research study.</p> <p>Signature</p> <p>Date</p> <p>Witness</p>

Mater Dei Institute of Education
Research Ethics Committee
Informed Consent Form - INTERVIEWS

Research Study Title	Changes in Schools
School / Department	Education
Principal investigator	Krizan Vekic
Other investigators	PJ Sexton (Supervisor)
Statement of the Purpose of the Research	Research Study for granting of Ph.D.
Statement of Participation Activities	<i>Participants will be involved in one-on-one interviews. All interviews and will be audio recorded and will last between sixty and ninety minutes.</i>
Other Relevant Details	<i>Due to the small sample size, complete anonymity of individual's participation may not be fully guaranteed. Due to the legal limitations on confidentiality, the researcher is legally obliged to disclose any information s/he deems to be harmful to any individual or group of individuals. Participants will not be pressed to discuss any information they deem to be of a sensitive nature. Participants have the right to leave the research at any point without recrimination.</i>

Statement of Informed Consent

Name of Intended Participant	
Address (optional)	
Declaration of informed consent	<p><i>I have read the Plain Language Statement and I have been made fully aware of the implications of participation in the above named research project.</i></p> <p><i>I agree to take part in the above named research study.</i></p> <p>Signature</p> <p>Date</p> <p>Witness</p>

Appendix 59

Mater Dei Institute of Education

Research Ethics Committee

Dear applicants

MDI/REC/2010/16Resubmission

The REC has reviewed your amendments in response to our correspondence (16.03.2011).

The REC approves the above application.

There are two items I would like you to change:

Appendices:

c. Permission Note - call it Permission Note/Consent Form (it is the parents who do the consenting on behalf of their child).

m. Preface - I would suggest that you speak to the participants about this rather than hand it out.

The REC will review the questionnaire for students when it is finally prepared.

A letter of approval will be available for you in the student post at Reception. You can collect at a time that suits you.

Best wishes

Dr Alan J. Kearns

Chair

24.03.2011

Appendix 60

Mater Dei Institute of Education

Research Ethics Committee

**APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF A RESEARCH PROJECT
INVOLVING HUMAN PARTICIPANTS**

This application form is to be used by researchers seeking ethics approval for research projects that involve human participants.

Please submit the **signed original, plus an electronic copy** of your completed application to:

Dr Alan Kearns, Chair of Research Ethics Committee, Mater Dei Institute of Education.

Email: alan.kearns@materdei.dcu.ie

Please note:

- Before filling in this application form, please read the Instructions on Completing an Application for Approval of a Research Project involving Human Participants.
- All sections of the application form must be completed. Do not leave any section blank.
- Additional material (such as informed consent forms, plain language statements, questionnaires, proposed letters seeking permission, etc) should be included at the end of the form.
- Applications will not be considered until they have been reviewed and signed by the supervisor/lead investigator.
- Applications need to be submitted by 1pm on the respective application date (see FAQs aor PG Calendar). Late applications will not be reviewed.

Research must not commence until written approval has been received from the Mater Dei Institute Research Ethics Committee.

PROJECT TITLE **Investigating the changes in schools which have moved from a mono-ethnic to a multi-ethnic student population**

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S) **Krizan Vekic**
Dr PJ Sexton (Supervisor)

1. ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

THIS PROJECT IS: ☐ Research Project ☐ Funded Consultancy
(tick as many as apply) ☐ Practical Class ☐ Student Research Project

(please give details)

☒ Other - Please Describe:

☐ Masters ☐ Undergraduate

☒ PhD

Project Start **Date:** March 2011 **Projected Project** **End Date:** September 2014

1.1 INVESTIGATOR CONTACT DETAILS *(see Guidelines)*

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S): *(please state supervisor's name)*

TITLE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	PHONE	FAX	EMAIL
Mr	Vekic	Krizan	0879909637		Krizan.vekic3@materdei.dcu.ie
Dr	Sexton	PJ	0862623204		Pj.sexton@materdei.dcu.ie

OTHER INVESTIGATORS:

TITLE	SURNAME	FIRST NAM	PHONE	FAX	EMAIL
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1.2 WILL THE RESEARCH BE UNDERTAKEN ON-SITE AT MATER DEI INSTITUTE?

☐ YES ☒ NO *(If NO, give details of off-campus location.)*

School 1

School 2

School 3

School 4

1.3 IS THIS PROTOCOL BEING SUBMITTED TO ANOTHER ETHICS COMMITTEE, OR HAS IT BEEN PREVIOUSLY SUBMITTED TO AN ETHICS COMMITTEE?)

☒ YES ☐ NO *The initial submission for ethics approval was rejected in December 2010. The written review of this application by the ethics committee is enclosed within.*

DECLARATION BY INVESTIGATORS

The information contained herein is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, accurate. I have read the Institute's current research ethics guidelines, and accept responsibility for the conduct of the procedures set out in the attached application in accordance with the guidelines and any other condition laid down by the Institute's Research Ethics Committee. I have attempted to identify all risks related to the research that may arise in conducting this research and acknowledge my obligations and the rights of the participants.

(If there any affiliation or financial interest for researcher(s) in this research or its outcomes or any other circumstances which might represent a perceived, potential or actual conflict of interest this should be declared.)

I and my supervisor, or co-investigators or supporting staff have the appropriate qualifications, experience and facilities to conduct the research set out in the attached application and to deal with any emergencies and contingencies related to the research that may arise.

Signature(s):

Principal investigator(s): _____

2. PROJECT OUTLINE

2.1 LAY DESCRIPTION *(see Guidelines)*

This project aims to highlight the changes that have taken place in four inner-city secondary schools that have moved from having a mono-ethnic student population to a multiethnic student population.² As outlined in the above footnote the research will employ the terms 'minority ethnic student', 'mono-ethnic' and 'multiethnic'. In order to further explain the nature of the research and to avoid offence the reasons for the use of these terms will be explained to all research participants prior to any interviews and focus groups. A paragraph explaining the reasons why these terms have been adopted will be given to all participants prior to interviews and focus groups. All four schools are Voluntary secondary and designated disadvantaged schools (DEIS). They are all located within a defined geographical urban area on the east coast of Ireland.³ In order to achieve this, the project envisages obtaining previous and current school-related information. Initially, one-on-one interviews will be conducted with Principals, Members of the Board of Management, and designated key personnel such as the Home School Liaison Teachers or Guidance Counsellors. These interviews will yield valuable information and provide a picture of the school at present and the changes that have taken place. Following this, the study will recruit teaching staff to partake in focus groups. Both the interviews and focus groups will not exceed ninety minutes. The information gathered from the interviews and the focus groups will then be used to guide questionnaires which will be administered to students.⁴ It is predicted that the administration of the student questionnaires will not take longer than one class period. To gain further insight into the changes that have taken place and to robustly test the data which has been gathered, supplementary focus groups with staff will be held.

The researcher will also seek school-based administrative information. This will include statistics on student enrolments and student achievement⁵, information on the curriculum, extra-curricular activities, provision of learning and learning support, school-based policies, and on the school ethos.

The researcher enrolled in Mater Dei in October 2010. It is foreseen that the project will conclude in September 2014. The process of data collection will commence once ethics approval is granted. This will begin with official contact with Principals and letters outlining the aims of the project will be sent to the Boards of Management of each school. It is hoped that the data will be collected by the end of May 2013.

2.2 AIMS OF AND JUSTIFICATION FOR THE RESEARCH *(see Guidelines)*

Through in-depth case studies this research sets out to highlight the changes that have occurred in four secondary schools. These four schools have moved from having mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations. Indications from the international context reveal that much research in the area of the education of minority ethnic students focuses on achievement. It also suggests that research centres on investigating the impact individual and societal factors (including school-related factors) have on such students.⁶ Though some of this research yields information on the impact minority ethnic students have on particular schools, this tends to only focus on specific facets of schooling, such as student achievement, integration and segregation, and does not fully illustrate the process of change which have transpired in schools due to the changes in the ethnic make-up of their student bodies.

In Ireland, the review of literature suggests that there is a dearth of such inquiry. Studies to date focus on language needs and language provision in schools, racism and integration. These recurring themes have been underpinned by a 'rights based', 'needs analysis' and 'deficit' approach.⁷ Large scale studies such as those produced by the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD),⁸ only offer a broad or general picture of how schools have adapted to minority ethnic students. To date, there has been no vigorous study in Ireland which highlights the changes which have taken place in a specific type of school in a defined geographical area – voluntary secondary, designated disadvantaged, undersubscribed, in an inner-city urban setting on the east coast of Ireland. Three of the four schools proposed for the study have a minority ethnic student population exceeding forty percent. The other one has a population exceeding twenty percent.

This inquiry intends to meticulously investigate the processes of change which has occurred in schools which now have multi-ethnic student populations. By gaining a deeper understanding of the changes which have ensued in schools which share similar characteristics, researchers and practitioners alike will be afforded the opportunity to better reflect on and improve school-based practices in relation to the education of minority ethnic students. The findings will make a significant contribution to Irish education. This enquiry will assist in providing guidelines to multi-ethnic schools. The findings of the study will be used in leadership and teacher training in Ireland and abroad, in particular in countries like Spain and Scotland where immigration is a recent phenomenon. The proposed research has a specific focus and is appropriate for the degree of Ph.D.. From this research an original and significant thesis (up to 90,000 words) will be produced which will contribute to the academic debate on the education of minority ethnic students in Ireland and abroad.

2.3 PROPOSED METHOD *(see Guidelines)*

The research proposes to employ case studies. These are generally qualitative in nature for they necessitate an in-depth inquiry in order to explain, describe and understand what is happening within a specific context⁹ - voluntary secondary schools in an urban setting with a high concentration of minority ethnic students. As a tool for educational research qualitative methods recognise that schools and classrooms are complex, multi-layered environments, and that teachers and students have different histories, interpretations, values and attitudes.¹⁰ The proposed method of data collection will be broken into five sections.

Section One: Collection of Relevant School Administrative Data

- Enrolment data from since 1998 – to highlight the number of minority ethnic students who have enrolled in the school since 1998.
- Junior Certificate and Leaving Certificate Results – to determine if a correlation exists between enrolment and achievement.
- Changes to or devising of new school-based policies
- Changes to the curriculum or introduction of other school-based programmes such as the Leaving Certificate Vocational Programme (LCVP) or Junior Certificate Schools Programme (JCSP).
- Changes to or introduction of new extra-curricular activities
- Provisions of learning support, both English as an additional language (EAL) and other.
- The ethos of the school

Section Two: One-on-One Interviews

Data will come from one-on-one interviews with Principals, Home School Liaison/Guidance Counsellors and members of the Board of Management. This information will,

- Provide a general picture of the school
- Offer the research information on the changes which have taken place as the school moved from having a mono-ethnic to a multi-ethnic student population.
- Used to guide the line of questioning for the focus groups.

Interviews will take place on school grounds and last between sixty and ninety minutes.

Section Three: Focus Groups with Staff

It is foreseen that a substantial amount of data will come from focus groups. These focus groups are important for identifying key themes which emerge from participants and not the researcher.¹¹ They yield more information in a shorter space of time,¹² and have been used in previous studies within education.¹³

Staff and the other school personnel mentioned above will be invited to participate in the research. Interviews and focus groups will last between sixty and ninety minutes. Focus groups will consist of a maximum of eight people. In light of these two factors a maximum of three questions will be asked. All focus groups will be conducted on school grounds. The information collected from the interviews and focus groups will be used to guide the quantitative method of data collection outlined below.

Section Four: Student Questionnaires

The data collected above will be used to guide the formulation of student questionnaires. The researcher is well aware of the sensitivities surrounding the use of young people in research and the sensitivities surrounding the topic at hand. In light of this and the counsel forwarded by the ethics committee the aim of this questionnaire is to gain general information on

- How students describe their school?
- What they like about their school?
- Their involvement in school life – extra-curricular activities

At present more precise questions are not available as the design of the questionnaire will be guided by the data collected from the interviews and focus groups. This questionnaire will be submitted to the ethics committee once completed.

The questionnaires will make no reference to the student population or the perceived changes to the student population and the school as a result. Furthermore, no reference will be made to any particular group of students. This will ensure that no potential 'tension' could result. It also ensures that no one student or group of students will feel stigmatised and stressed as a result of the questionnaire. Please refer to a draft copy of the questionnaire enclosed.

Section Five: Additional Focus group

The data from the interviews, focus groups and questionnaires will then be analysed and presented to staff during an additional focus group in each school. This will allow for greater profundity and will also provide the researcher the opportunity to test the data ensuring that it is accurate as possible.

Analysis of Data

The analysis of data will be guided by the general framework set out by Elliot and Timulak but also by the researchers' previous work.¹⁴ Verbatim transcripts of all focus groups and observational notes will be prepared. Although the research will have preconceived themes in order to guide the research questions, it is not until all of the data is collected that key themes will be identified. This process will then inform the design of a thorough coding scheme which will not only reflect the study's aims but incorporate issues and themes that have emerged directly from the focus groups. The final stage of the analytic work is to make sense of the data collected clarifying and integrating emerging concepts and themes.¹⁵

2.4 PARTICIPANT PROFILE *(see Guidelines)*

At the heart of case study research is the 'detailed examination of a small sample.'¹⁶ The argument for the use of case studies for this research is best outlined by Zainal below.

In most cases, a case study method selects a small geographical area or a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of study. Case studies, in their true essence, explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships.¹⁷

Case studies have been widely used in educational research. In her study, Hood specifically looks at three schools in the United States serving migrant students, New York, Houston and North Carolina.¹⁸ Stave looked at five particular schools in relation to policies on desegregation and racial balance.¹⁹ Korn and Burszytn use case studies to explore the many dimensions to multicultural education and the experiences of cultural transition of migrant students in the United States.²⁰ In Ireland, the recently published Economic Social and Research Institute (ESRI) report conducted research in six primary and six post-primary schools.²¹ In Australia, Bullivant adopted a case study approach in seven secondary schools.²²

Mason concludes that the guiding principle in determining sample size should be the concept of saturation.²³ In sifting through the academic deliberations on what constitutes saturation Mason highlights the elasticity associated with the concept. However, he does employ Glaser and Strauss’ direction stating that saturation is reached when the collection of new data does not shed any further light on the issue under investigation.²⁴ In considering this, the research sample will constitute Principals, staffs and students from four schools located in an inner-urban setting. All schools are designated disadvantaged and have a substantial minority ethnic student population. Two schools are all-girl schools, the other two all boys. Initial research indicates that three of the four schools have a minority ethnic student population equal to or greater than forty percent, two in excess of fifty percent. In the other school minority ethnic students constitute twenty five percent of the student cohort. All four schools are considered multiethnic schools. This is outlined in the table below.

Table 1: Percentage of Minority Ethnic Students in Schools

<u>School</u>	<u>Migrant Student %</u>
<i>School A – Boys</i>	<i>50% +</i>
<i>School B – Boys</i>	<i>25% +</i>
<i>School C – Girls</i>	<i>50% +</i>
<i>School D – Girls</i>	<i>40%</i>

As noted above, the following members of the school community will make up the research sample.

- Representatives from Board of Management
- Principals
- Teachers and key staff (Home School Liaison/Guidance Counsellor)
- Students (junior and senior cycle)

Initially, other partners such as parents and ancillary staff were considered with the view to ascertain what Bernard refers to as ‘sample accuracy’, ensuring that every element within the school population is selected.²⁵ This approach has been used by the author in a Department of Education and Skills funded project which facilitated, reviewed and highlighted the process of partnership in primary and post-primary schools in Ireland.²⁶ However, in light of the recommendations proposed by the ethics committee and the change in the focus of the research, it is proposed that only certain members of the school community participate in the research. Principals, teachers and students are considered to be at the ‘coalface’ of school life and are not only most affected by changes in their school but are considered the agents of this change.

Table 2: Type, number and age profile of participants (n = 276 participants)

	School A	School B	School C	School D	Total	AGE
<u>Interviews</u>						
1. Principal	1	1	1	1		Adult
2. HSCL/GC*	1	1	1	1		Adult
3. B of M*	1	1	1	1	12	Adult
<u>Focus Group</u>						
Staff	8	8	8	8	32	
<u>Questionnaire</u>						
Students	50	50	50	50	200	11-18
<u>Focus Group 2</u>						
Staff	8	8	8	8	32	Adult

Total Participants

276

*HSCL/GC – Home School Community Liaison Teacher/Guidance Counsellor, B of M – representative of Board of Management.

Every effort will be made to ensure a gender balance. This will be controlled in the student sample given the schools in the sample, but may not be controlled for teaching staff within the particular schools.

2.5 MEANS BY WHICH PARTICIPANTS ARE TO BE RECRUITED (see *Guidelines*)

Initial contact will be made with School Principals followed by formal letters to Boards of Management. These letters will outline the aims of the project and what the project will entail. It is anticipated that the researcher will be provided an opportunity to speak to the teaching staff of each school – during a staff meeting. Contact with students will be made through the Home School Liaison teacher who will be fully briefed on the research. S/He will present to the students detailed information about the research and provide them with consent forms which must be signed by parents. Please refer to the consent form enclosed.

2.6 PLEASE EXPLAIN WHEN, HOW, WHERE, AND TO WHOM RESULTS WILL BE DISSEMINATED, INCLUDING WHETHER PARTICIPANTS WILL BE PROVIDED WITH ANY INFORMATION AS TO THE FINDINGS OR OUTCOMES OF THE PROJECT?

The findings which emanate from this research will go towards the completion of a Ph.D. in Education. Aspects of the results will also be disseminated through academic journals. As has already been noted certain aspects of the initial data will be presented to the staff during supplementary focus groups. However, the researcher will approach schools with the view to present key aspects of the findings about individual schools to whole staff.

2.7 OTHER APPROVALS REQUIRED *Has permission to gain access to another location, organisation etc. been obtained?. Copies of letters of approval to be provided when available.*

☐ YES ☐ NO ☒ NOT APPLICABLE

(If YES, please specify from whom and attach a copy. If NO, please explain when this will be obtained.)

2.8 HAS A SIMILAR PROPOSAL BEEN PREVIOUSLY APPROVED BY THE INSTITUTE'S REC?

☐ YES ☒ NO

(If YES, please state both the Project Title)

3. RISK AND RISK MANAGEMENT

3.1 ARE THE RISKS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR RESEARCHERS ASSOCIATED WITH YOUR PROJECT GREATER THAN THOSE ENCOUNTERED IN EVERYDAY LIFE?

☐ YES ☒ NO If YES, this proposal will be subject to full REC review

If NO, this proposal may be processed by expedited administrative review

3.2 DOES THE RESEARCH INVOLVE:

	YES	NO
• use of a questionnaire? (attach copy)?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• interviews (attach interview questions)?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• observation of participants without their knowledge?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
• participant observation (provide details in section 2)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
• audio- or video-taping interviewees or events?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• access to personal and/or confidential data (including student, patient or client data) without the participant's specific consent?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
• administration of any stimuli, tasks, investigations or procedures which may be experienced by participants as physically or mentally painful, stressful or unpleasant during or after the research process?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
• performance of any acts which might diminish the self-esteem of participants or cause them to experience embarrassment, regret or depression?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
• investigation of participants involved in illegal activities?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
• procedures that involve deception of participants?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
• administration of any substance or agent?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
• collection of body tissues, fluid samples or DNA samples?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

3.3 POTENTIAL RISKS TO PARTICIPANTS AND RISK MANAGEMENT PROCEDURES (see Guidelines)

This research project will be underpinned by Mater Dei’s core research principle to promote benefit whilst avoiding harm. The benefits of the research have been outlined in 2.2. Whilst it is the researcher’s intention to avoid harm to participants, given the intrusive nature of qualitative research, the author acknowledges that there may be some risks. These are outlined below as are the measures to minimise these risks. The work of Greene and Hogan²⁷ is used as a guide as is the researcher’s previous work in research (as outlined in 4.0).

Consent

It is important that participants, in particular the students, are not pressurised into participating. The aim, process and implications of the study will be clearly outlined, as are the full rights of participants to refuse to partake in the study, or to cease involvement at any stage of the process without any pressure or recrimination. They will be told of this prior to their involvement.

Child Protection

Serious consideration must be given in relation to child protection issues. Students, who have been given parental consent, will be invited to complete a questionnaire during class time. This questionnaire will be administered by the researcher with the classroom teacher present. At no time will the researcher be alone in the classroom with any students.

Language

It is important that the all language related to the study is 'friendly' and easy to understand by all participants. Information and letters of consent will be written in a number of languages in order to cater for minority ethnic students and their parents.

Sensitivity

The research will work from the premise that all participants are individuals and bring with them different ethnic, social, religious and educational experiences. It will also work from the premise that the professional experiences of some staff and therefore their perceptions may differ to that of others, particularly when staff are invited to discuss their places of employment. In light of this the researcher aims to create an environment in which all participants can freely express their opinions and perceptions with dignity and without fear.

The aims, process and implications of the project will be fully explained in a 'friendly' language to the participants. This also includes the way in which results will be disseminated. Prior to the commencement of interviews/focus groups the researcher will notify participants of the availability of a comprehensive list of educational (in and out of school) and social support services. The researcher will also let participants know that he will make himself available at a later date to discuss any issues that may have arisen during the data collection process. If during the interview/focus groups an individual does become distressed then immediate assistance by way of comfort and reassurance will be offered.

It is important that participants are not pressed into discussing issues which may be sensitive to them. As noted previously participants will be told that they can cease their involvement during any stage of the interview or focus group.

Confidentiality

The issues surrounding confidentiality will be highlighted and fully explained. Participants will be made aware that their involvement in the study will not be made known in any public oral, written or other form. They will also be told that in no way will the information provided be used for any personal use. However, participants will also be made aware of established legal limitations on confidentiality. The researcher will make it known that if a participant reveals information which may be of harm to him or herself or any other individual then the researcher has a legal obligation to disclose this information. In school environments, the researcher will follow the 'critical incident' code in disclosing this information. This involves disclosing the information to a designated staff member. The researcher will be fully aware of each school's code and of the designated person prior to commencement of the data collection.

3.4 ARE THERE LIKELY TO BE ANY BENEFITS (DIRECT OR INDIRECT) TO PARTICIPANTS FROM THIS RESEARCH?

☒ YES ☐ NO (If YES, provide details.)

Participants will not directly benefit from participating in the study.

No payment will be provided. However, their views and perceptions may be used by the school to improve the school for all students.

3.5 ARE THERE ANY SPECIFIC RISKS TO RESEARCHERS? (e.g. risk of infection or where research is undertaken at an off-campus location)

☐ YES ☒ NO (If YES, please describe.)

3.6 ADVERSE/UNEXPECTED OUTCOMES (see Guidelines)

In light of the potential risks outlined in 3.3, the following procedures will be put in place. If a participant experiences emotional discomfort during the interview/focus groups instant comfort and reassurance will be offered. If this happens to a student during the administering of the questionnaire the classroom teacher will ask another student to get another teacher to come to the classroom. One teacher will accompany the student to the office where more assistance and reassurance

will be offered. This will ensure that the researcher will never be alone with students in the classroom and that one school teacher will always be present.

If physical discomfort is experienced during any stage of the data collection then the researcher will seek the assistance of 'designated staff members' with first aid training. The researcher will ask for a list and introduction to these staff members in individual schools.

3.7 MONITORING *(see Guidelines)*

The monitoring of the project will be the responsibility of the researcher and his supervisor.

3.8 SUPPORT FOR PARTICIPANTS *(see Guidelines)*

As mentioned previously in 3.3, a comprehensive list of supports will be supplied to participants. This will include the location and phone numbers of,

- Management and Designated Staff within school
- National Support Services - Childline, Samaritans, Immigrant Council of Ireland, Irish Refugee Council, Migrant Rights Centre of Ireland
- Local Support Services – Access Ireland Dominick Place Dublin 1, Dublin Multicultural Resource Centre, Ozanam House Mountjoy Square, Crosscare Teen Counselling Mater Dei, Curam Family Centre North Strand, Deora Project Seville Place, Gateway Women's Project Dublin 7, Hill Street Family Resource Centre Dublin 1, Oasis Counselling Seville Place.
- Local Youth Clubs – NYP2 Summerhill/Ballybough Youth Project, Belvedere Youth Club.

3.9 DO YOU PROPOSE TO OFFER PAYMENTS OR INCENTIVES TO PARTICIPANTS?

☐

YES

☒

NO

(If YES, please provide further details.)

4. INVESTIGATORS' QUALIFICATIONS, EXPERIENCE AND SKILLS (Approx. 200 words – see Guidelines)

The researcher has extensive experience in working with and researching young people and adults from various communities across Ireland. This experience stems from teaching experiences in Australia and Ireland, research conducted in the Marino Institute of Education and the Children's Research Centre in Trinity College Dublin. The researcher has experience conducting interviews and focus groups in a variety of different settings including schools, education centres, hostels, emergency shelters, drug treatments centres, prisons and street-based settings. The following list of publications, chapters and research highlights this. The researcher is currently teaching in O'Connell's Schools, Dublin 1. This is his fifth year of teaching.

Publications

- Paula Mayock and Krizan Vekic, *Understanding Youth Homelessness in Dublin City*, (Dublin: Department of Health and Children, 2006).
- Krizan Vekic, *Unsettled Hope: Unaccompanied Minors in Ireland. From Understanding to Response*, (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2003).
- Seamus O'Brien and Krizan Vekic, *Promoting Partnership in Schools*, (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2003).

Chapters

- Krizan Vekic, 'Student Leadership Councils and Faith Development', *Strategies for Building Faith Communities in Schools*, ed. by Tony Hanna (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2005).
- Krizan Vekic, 'The Disaffected Minor: Issues relating to the schooling of unaccompanied minors in Ireland', *Encountering Disaffection*, ed. by Luke Monahan and Ned Prendergast (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2002).

Evaluations and Reports

- A Beacon of Light: An External Evaluation of An Cosán (2004)
- Impact of Rational Emotive Education on Teachers in Ballyfermot Area, Evaluation Report, (2003).
- Integration of Students, School 2. (2002)
- St Andrew's Youth Project, Evaluation Report (2001).
- Educational Links Report, (2000) Research commissioned by Business in the Community (BITC) and the Department of Education and Science.
- Adult Education Centre Project, Evaluation Report, (2000). Commissioned by the Sisters of Charity, Dublin, Ireland.
- Educational Resources Inner City Schools (1999) Dublin Inner City Partnership

Theses

- MSc. in Equality Studies, Entitled Rights: A Comparative Study of the Treatment of Unaccompanied Minors Seeking Asylum in Australia and Ireland
- B Ed. – Arts (Secondary), A Comparative Analysis of Students from Two Contrasting Socio-Economic Regions of Melbourne: The Outer West and Inner East

Research Projects

- The researcher has also worked on numerous research projects looking at school culture and ethos, access programmes, educational disadvantage, transition from primary to post-primary education and the potential of young people in Dublin's inner city.

5. CONFIDENTIALITY/ANONYMITY

5.1 WILL THE IDENTITY OF THE PARTICIPANTS BE PROTECTED?

☒ YES ☐ NO (If NO, please explain)

IF YOU ANSWERED YES TO 5.1, PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

5.2 HOW WILL THE ANONYMITY OF THE PARTICIPANTS BE RESPECTED? (see Guidelines)

During the process of recruitment, participants will be made aware of the processes taken to ensure confidentiality. This includes,

- No names to be taken or written,
- Each participant and focus group will be designated with a numerical code,
- The creation of a conducive environment where the rights of all will be encouraged,
- The safe storing of data.

They will also be made aware that due to the specificity and focus of the study that there may be some limitations to providing complete anonymity.

5.3 LEGAL LIMITATIONS TO DATA CONFIDENTIALITY: (Have you included appropriate information in the plain language statement and consent form? See Guidelines)

☒ YES ☐ NO (If NO, please advise how participants will be informed.)

6. DATA/SAMPLE STORAGE, SECURITY AND DISPOSAL (see Guidelines)

6.1 HOW WILL THE DATA/SAMPLES BE STORED? (The REC recommends that all data be stored on campus)

Stored at MDI ☒
 Stored at another site ☐
 (Please explain where and for what purpose)

☐ (Please explain where and for what purpose)

6.2 WHO WILL HAVE ACCESS TO DATA/SAMPLES?

Access by named researchers only ☒

Access by people other than named researcher(s) ☐ (Please explain who and for what purpose)

Other :

☐ (Please explain)

6.3 IF DATA/SAMPLES ARE TO BE DISPOSED OF, PLEASE EXPLAIN HOW, WHEN AND BY WHOM THIS WILL BE DONE?

All Data – written, transcribed or recorded - will be disposed of following a five year period after the conclusion of the study. This will be the responsibility of the researcher.

7. FUNDING

7.1 HOW IS THIS WORK BEING FUNDED?

The Ph.D. Program will be privately funded by the researcher

7.2 PROJECT GRANT NUMBER (If relevant and/or known)

7.3 DOES THE PROJECT REQUIRE APPROVAL BEFORE CONSIDERATION FOR FUNDING BY A GRANTING BODY?

☐ YES ☒ NO

7.4 HOW WILL PARTICIPANTS BE INFORMED OF THE SOURCE OF THE FUNDING?

8. PLAIN LANGUAGE STATEMENT (Approx. 400 words – see Guidelines)

Attached

9. INFORMED CONSENT FORM (Approx. 300 words – See Guidelines)

Attached

10. CHECKLIST

Please check that all supplementary information is attached to your application (in both hard and soft copy). If questionnaire or interview questions are submitted in draft form, a copy of the final documentation must be submitted for final approval when available.

	ATTACHED		NOT APPLICABLE
Bibliography	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
Recruitment advertisement	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Plain language statement/Information Statement	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
Informed Consent form	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
Evidence of external approvals related to the research	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>
Questionnaire	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> draft	<input type="checkbox"/>
Interview Schedule	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> final	<input type="checkbox"/>
Debriefing material	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> final	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Please note:

- 1. Any amendments to the original approved proposal must receive prior REC approval.
- 2. As a condition of approval investigators are required to document and report immediately to the Secretary of the Research Ethics Committee any adverse events, any issues which might negatively impact on the conduct of the research and/or any complaint from a participant relating to their participation in the study

² The initial aim of the research above hoped to highlight the impact a high concentration of migrant students had on four inner-city schools. In light of the recommendation by the ethics committee to the initial application that the use of the phrase ‘impact of immigrant students’ could be potentially ‘divisive’ the researcher has altered the focus. The research now hopes to highlight the changes that have taken place in four inner-city schools that have moved from having mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic student populations. This alteration represents a shift of focus from categorising and emphasising the impact one particular group has had within the school to highlighting the whole school and the changes that have taken place within it. This shift will ensure that no ‘divisive’ terminology will be used and that no one group within the school will be singled out. In relation to the use of the term ‘immigrant student’, the researcher has explored the many different terms used by researchers in Ireland and abroad. In England, Leung notes that the term ‘immigrant’ has receded from public discourse and has been replaced by ‘minority ethnic’. Arshad and others argue that this applies to students whether they are new arrivals (asylum seekers, refugees or from the European Union and beyond) or whether they are descendants from settled ethnic communities. Studies in England, such as those conducted by Lindsay and

others, which focus on language barriers, tend to employ the term English as an Additional Language (EAL) or 'bilingual'. In Ireland prior to 1999, the initial term to describe any migrant who did not have at least one born Irish grandparent was 'alien'. This was replaced by the term non-national and initially adopted by the Department of Justice Equality and Law Reform and the Department of Education and Skills. However, commentators such as Fanning and Muttwarasibo considered this undignified. In 2003, the JMB/ACMSS devised Intercultural Guidelines for Secondary Schools. These guidelines grew out of a pilot project known as Learning for Young Minority Ethnic Students (LYNS). It was one of first times the term 'minority ethnic student' was used by officialdom. Researchers Lodge and Lynch and subsequently Nowlan, Clarke and Drudy employ the term 'minority ethnic' when referring to groups or students. Researchers, Smyth and others, and subsequently Taguma and others, from the Economic, Social and Research Institute (ESRI) have also referred to students as 'migrant student', 'newcomers' or 'immigrant students'. Gilligan and others employ the term 'migrant young people' in their 2010 report on integration whilst the latest summary report for the OECD Pisa Test uses the term 'immigrant students'. Like in England, Wallen and Kelly-Holmes argue that research focusing on the language needs of students in Ireland has adopted terms such as English as a Foreign Language (EAL), English as a Second Language (ESL) and more recently English as an Additional Language (EAL).

In light of the above and the recommendation specified by the ethics committee the researcher will adopt the term 'minority ethnic student'. This term, used previously by officialdom, will refer to all students who belong to a minority ethnic group, whether they or their parents were born in a different country.

The use of terms such as mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic to refer to schools in Ireland with minority ethnic students has been limited. The NCCA Intercultural Guidelines for Secondary Schools employs the term mono-ethnic to describe the former nature of some schools whilst Byrne and others from the ESRI also stress the 'ethnically monolithic' nature of schools prior to immigration in the last fifteen years. In her work Nowlan describes the sample of schools in her research as those who are 'ethnically mixed'. Though the use of the terms mono and multi have had limited application to describe the ethnic composition of schools, they have been used frequently to describe the changing nature of Irish society in the last fifteen years. The term multicultural is a prominent term within many studies. Likewise the term multidenominational has been used by researchers and officialdom to describe the religious nature of schools. The limited use of the terms mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic in Ireland can be attributed to the recent nature of immigration to Ireland. In England the use of the term multi-ethnic to describe schools has been commonly used in research and by officialdom. This is none more so evident than in Gilborn's work as far back as 1990 and most recently Blair's work in 2010. As a result of the above, the researcher deems the use of the terms mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic to describe the schools involved in the study as appropriate.

³ The initial application specified the exact inner-city location of the four schools. However, in order to further ensure the anonymity of the schools involved, the researcher has

decided to omit this and to refer to the geographical location in more general terms, such as an urban setting on the east coast of Ireland. This change in referencing does not deduct from the research design or from the justifications for the research, as outlined in 2.2. Principals and the Board of Management will be made aware of the added to effort to ensure anonymity.

⁴ The initial application for ethics approval requested the involvement of students, Irish and minority ethnic, to be involved in focus groups. This request transpired as a result from the researcher's previous work in conducting focus groups with students and the work of others. Most recently Gilligan and others who investigate what life is like for young people who migrated to Ireland. However, this was not considered appropriate as the use of terms such as 'immigration' and the sensitivities surrounding immigration could cause discomfort to individuals and tension between students. In light of this, the current application seeks to involve students in a quantitative process (questionnaires). Though the questions will be guided by data from interviews and focus groups with staff, they will make no reference to 'immigration' or any specific group of students within the school. As provided in the draft example enclosed the general line of questioning will resemble; What are some of the things that you like about this school? Information on the administering of the questionnaires is provided in 2.3.

⁵ No personal student information will be sought. The research seeks to gather information regarding the number of students from ethnic minorities which have enrolled in the school on a yearly basis since 1998. Central Statistics Office (CSO) figures from 2008 reveal that although a substantial number of European Union immigrants came to Ireland during the 1990's the majority came between 2001 and 2006. Likewise, the majority of migrants who came from European Union Accession States arrived in Ireland during 2002 – 2006. Over forty percent of these migrants came to Ireland after 2005. The census of 2002 was the first time that the question, 'What is your Nationality?' was asked. In light of these figures, and on anecdotal evidence which suggests that the student population of all four schools in the academic year 1998/1999 was monoethnic, the year 1998 has been chosen as the date from which changes to the student populations of the four schools begin. Additionally, the research seeks to explore both the Junior Certificate and Leaving Certificate results during these years. The aim of this is to investigate if there are correlations between student enrolment and achievement. The research will not sift through individual student results but ask to be provided with general results of Irish students compared to students from ethnic minorities. No personal information, such as ethnicity, or political status, will be sought.

⁶ Robert Birrell and Anne Seitz, 'The Myth of Ethnic Inequality in Australian Education', *Journal of Population Research*, 3 (1) (1986) 52 – 74; Marcelo M. Suarez-Orozco, 'Becoming Somebody: Central American Immigrants in U.S Inner-City Schools', *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 18 (1987) 287-299; Lingxin Hao and Melissan Bonstead-Bruns, 'Parent-Child Differences in Educational Expectations and the Academic Achievement of Immigrant and Native Students', *Sociology of Education*, 71 (July) (1998) 175 – 198; Douglas E. Foley, 'Reconceptualising Ethnicity and Educational Achievement', *Ethnicity, Race and Nationality in Education: A Global Perspective*, ed. by N. Ken Shimahara, Ivan Z. Holowinsky and Sandra Tomlinson-Clarke (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2001); Eric, J.

Lopez, Stewart Ehly and Enedina Garcia-Vazquez, 'Acculturation, Social Support and Academic Achievement of Mexican and Mexican American High School Students: An Exploratory Study', *Psychology in the Schools*, 39 (3) (2002) 245 – 257; Diego Herrera, 'School Success of Moroccan Youth in Barcelona. Theoretical Insights for Practical Questions', *Athenea Digital*, 4, (2003) 97 – 108; Grace Kao and Jennifer S. Thompson, 'Racial and Ethnic Stratification in Educational Achievement and Attainment', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29 (2003); Andreas Schleicher, 'Where Immigrant Students Succeed: A Comparative Review of Performance and Engagement in Pisa 2003', *Intercultural Education*, 17 (5) (2006) 507 – 516; Nicole Schneeweis, 'How Should we Organise Schooling to Further Children with Migration Background', *Working Paper No. 0620*, (Department of Economics, Johannes Kepler University of Linz, December 2006) 1 – 35; Andreas Ammermueller, 'Poor Background or Low Returns? Why Immigrant Students in Germany Perform so Poorly in the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)', *Education Economics*, 15 (2) (2007) 215 – 230; Sylke Viola Schnepf, 'Immigrants' Educational Disadvantage: An Examination Across Ten Countries and Three Surveys', *Journal of Population Economics*, 20 (3) (2007) 527 – 545; Freidrich Heckmann, *Education and Migration: Strategies for Integrating Migrant Children in European Schools and Societies*, (European Commission: Directorate-General for Education and Culture, 2008); Alejandro Portes and Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, 'No Margin for Error: Educational and Occupational Achievement among Disadvantaged Children of Immigrants', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, 620 (12) (2008) 12 – 36; Natalia Zinovyeva, Florentino Felgueroso, and Pablo Vazquez, 'Immigration and Students' Achievement in Spain', Paper prepared for the Fedea Report. (University of Oviedo, Spain, October 2008) 1 – 34; Carola Suarez-Orozco, Jean Rhodes and Michael Milburn, 'Unravelling the Immigrant Paradox: Academic Engagement and Disengagement among Recently Arrived Immigrant Youth', *Youth and Society*, 41 (2) (2009) 151 – 185; Natasha Warikoo and Prudence Carter, 'Cultural Explanations for Racial and Ethnic Stratification in Academic Achievement: A Call for a New and Improved Theory', *Review of Educational Research*, 79 (1) (2009) 366 – 394; Magnus Bygren and Ryszard Szulkin, 'Ethnic Environment During Childhood and the Educational Attainment of Immigrant Children in Sweden', *Social Forces*, 88 (3) (2010) 1305 – 1329; Hector Cebolla-Boado and Luis Garrido Medina, 'The Impact of Immigrant Concentration in Spanish Schools: School, Class and Composition Effects', *European Sociological Review* (Advance Access Published June 21, 2010) 1 – 18; Gary Marks 'Improvements Over the Educational Career of Immigrant Students', *Australian Journal of Education*, 54 (2) (2010) 133 – 154; Carola Suarez-Orozco, Hee Jin Bang, Erin O'Connor, Francisco X. Gaytan, Juliana Pakes and Jean Rhodes, 'Academic Trajectories of Newcomer Immigrant Youth', *Developmental Psychology*, 46 (3) (2010) 602 – 618.

⁷ Sheelagh Drudy and Kathleen Lynch, *Schools and Society in Ireland*, (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1993); Gerard W. Boucher, 'Irish Acculturation Ideologies: Mixing Multiculturalism, Assimilation and Discrimination', *Cultivating Pluralism: Psychological, Social and Cultural Perspectives on a Changing Ireland*, ed. by Malcom MacLachlan and Michael O'Connell (Dublin: Oak Tree Press, 2000); Anna Keogh, 'Talking about the Other: A View of how Secondary School Pupils Construct Opinions about Refugees and Asylum

Seekers', *Cultivating Pluralism: Psychological, Social and Cultural Perspectives on a Changing Ireland*, ed. by Malcom MacLachlan and Michael O'Connell (Dublin: Oak Tree Press, 2000) 123 – 136; David Little, *Meeting the Language Needs of Refugees in Ireland*, (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Refugee Language Support Unit, 2000); *International Seminar on ESOL for Asylum Seekers*, ed. by Tanya Ward (Dublin: City of Dublin VEC, County Dublin VEC, Dun Laoghaire VEC, 2000); Amnesty International (Irish Section), *Racism in Ireland: The Views of Black and Ethnic Minorities*, (Dublin: Amnesty International/Lansdowne Market Research Centre, 2001); Marie Clarke and Maureen Killeavy, 'The Challenge of Multiculturalism for Citizenship Education in Irish Post-Primary Schools', *Learning for a Democratic Europe*, ed. by Alistair Ross (London: CiCe Publications, 2001) 311-321; Bryan Fanning, Angela Veale, and Dawn O'Connor, *Beyond the Pale: Asylum Seeking Children and Social Exclusion in Ireland*, (Dublin: Irish Refugee Council, 2001); Avril Rea, 'Psychosocial Needs, Social Support and Estimates of Psychological Distress among Unaccompanied Refugee Minors in Ireland', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Queens University Belfast, 2001); Dymrna Devine, M. Kenny and E. McNeela, *Ethnicity and Schooling: A Study of Ethnic Diversity in Selected Irish Primary and Post-Primary Schools, Report for the Department of Education and Science*, (Dublin: University College Dublin, 2002); Dymrna Devine, *Children, Power and Schooling : How Childhood is Structured in the Primary School*, (Stoke-On-Trent: Trentham Books, 2003); Ana Fiona Keogh and Jean Whyte, *Getting On: The Experiences and Aspirations of Immigrant Students in Second Level Schools Linked to Trinity Access Programmes*, (Dublin: The Children's Centre, Trinity College Dublin, 2003); Krizan Vekic, *Unsettled Hope: Unaccompanied Minors in Ireland. From Understanding to Response*, (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2003); Gertrude Cotter, *A Guide to Published Research on Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in Ireland*, (Dublin: Integrating Ireland, 2004); *Diversity at School*, ed. by Anne Lodge and Kathleen Lynch (Dublin: Equality Authority, 2004); Marie Clarke and Sheelagh Drudy, 'Teaching for Diversity, Social Justice and Global Awareness', *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 29 (3) (2006) 371 – 386; Dymrna Devine, 'Welcome to the Celtic Tiger? Teacher Responses to Immigration and Increasing Ethnic Diversity in Irish Schools', *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 15 (1) (2005) 49 – 70; Dymrna Devine and Mary Kelly, 'I Just Don't Want to Get Picked on by Anybody: Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion in a Newly Multi-Ethnic Primary School', *Children and Society*, 20 (2006) 128 – 139; POBAL, *Barriers to Access to Further and Higher Education for Non-EU Nationals Resident in Ireland, Executive Summary*, (Dublin: POBAL, 2006); Mathew Wallen and Helen Kelly-Holmes, 'I Think They Just Think it's Going to Go Away at Some Stage: Policy and Practice in Teaching English as an Additional Language in Irish Primary Schools', *Language and Education*, 20 (2) (2006) 141 – 161; Piaras Mac Einrí and Allen White, 'Immigration into the Republic of Ireland: A Bibliography of Recent Research', *Irish Geography*, 41 (2) (2008) 151 – 179; Emer Nowlan, 'Underneath the Band Aid: Supporting Bilingual Students in Irish Schools', *Irish Educational Studies*, 27 (3) (2008) 253 – 266; Emer Smyth, Merike Darmody, Frances McGinnity and Delma Byrne, *Adapting to Diversity: Irish Schools and Newcomer Students*, (Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute, 2009); Miho Taguma, Moonhee Kim, Gregory Wurzburg and Frances Kelly, *OECD Reviews of Migrant Education: Ireland*, (Ireland: OECD, 2009); Audrey Bryan, 'Corporate Multiculturalism, Diversity Management, and Positive

Interculturalism in Irish Schools and Society', *Irish Educational Studies*, 29 (3) (2010) 253 – 269; Delma Byrne, Frances McGinnity, Emer Smyth and Merike Darmody, 'Immigration and School Composition in Ireland', *Irish Educational Studies*, 29 (3) (2010) 271 – 288; Robbie Gilligan. Phillip Curry, Judy McGrath, Derek Murphy, Muireann Ni Raghallaigh, Margeret Rigers, Jennifer Jean Scholtz and Aoife Gilligan Quinn, *In the Front Line of Integration: Young People Managing Migration to Ireland*, (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin, 2010); Zachary Lyons, 'Articulating a Deficit Perspective: A Survey of the Attitudes of Post-Primary English Language Support Teachers and Coordinators', *Irish Educational Studies*, 29 (3) (2010) 289 – 303; Rory McDaid, 'Glos, Voce, Voice: Minority Language Children Reflect on the Recognition of their First Languages in Irish Primary Schools', (Publication to come, 2010); Rachel Perkins, Grainne Moran, Jude Cosgrove and Gerry Shiel, *Pisa 2009: The Performance and Progress of 15-Year-Olds in Ireland, Summary Report*, (Dublin: Educational Research Centre, St. Patrick's College, 2010).

⁸ Smyth and others; Taguma and others.

⁹ Hakan Umit, 'Case Studies' *Methodologie de la Recherche en Sciences de Gestion*, (Universite Catholique de Louvain, Institut d'Administration et de Gestion Louvain-la-Neuve, June 2005) p. 2.

¹⁰ David Hughes, *Research and the Teacher: A Qualitative Introduction to School-Based Research*, (New York: Routledge, 1995) p. 26.

¹¹ *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, by Michael Quinn-Patton, 3rd ed. (California: Sage Publications, 2002) p. 387.

¹² *Research Methods in Education*, by Louis Cohen, Lawrence Mannion and Keith Morrison, 6th ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007) p. 376.

¹³ Patricia Mail, Elizabeth Hawkins, Sandra Radin and C. June La Marr, 'Insights from Urban Teens on Staying Healthy', *American Journal of Health Studies*, 20 (2005); Ross J. Rapaport, Mark J. Minelli, Jeffry J. Angera and Joseph E. Thayer, 'Using Focus Groups to Quickly Assess Students' Opinions about Alcohol Issues and Programs', *Journal of College Student Development*, 40 (1999).

¹⁴ Robert Elliot and Ladislav Timulak, 'Descriptive and Interpretive Approaches to Qualitative Research', *A Handbook of Research Methods for Clinical and Health Psychology* ed. by Jeremy Miles and Paul Gilbert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 152; Paula Mayock and Krizan Vekic, *Understanding Youth Homelessness in Dublin City*, (Dublin: Department of Health and Children, 2006) p. 13.

¹⁵ Mayock and Vekic, p. 13.

¹⁶ Malcolm Tight, 'The Curious Case of Case Study: A Viewpoint', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 13 (4) (2010) p. 337.

¹⁷ Zaidah Zainal, 'Case Study as a Research Method', *Jurnal Kemanusiaan*, 9 (2007) p. 1.

¹⁸ Lucy Hood, *Immigrant Students, Urban High Schools: the Challenge Continues*, (New York: Carnegie Corporation, 2003).

¹⁹ Sondra A. Stave, *Achieving Racial Balance: Case Studies of Contemporary School Desegregation*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995).

²⁰ *Rethinking Multicultural Education: Case Studies in Cultural Transition*, ed. by Carol Korn - and Alberto Bursztyn (Westport, Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey, 2002).

²¹ Smyth and others.

²² Brian Milton Bullivant, *The Ethnic Encounter in Secondary School, Ethnocultural Reproduction and Resistance; Theory and Case Studies*, (London, Falmer Press, 1987).

²³ Mark Mason, 'Sample Size and Sturation in PhD Studies Using Qualitative Interviews', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 11 (3) p. 1.

²⁴ Mason, p. 2.

²⁵ Harvey Russell Bernard, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2000) p. 15.

²⁶ Seamus O'Brien and Krizan Vekic, *Promoting Partnership in Schools*, (Dublin: Marino Institute of Education, 2003).

²⁷ *Researching Children's Experiences: Methods and Approaches*, ed. by Sheila Greene and Diane Hogan (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2005).