

The Economics of Schooling in a Divided Society

Vani K. Borooah
and
Colin Knox

The Case for Shared Education



The Economics of Schooling in a Divided Society

This page intentionally left blank

The Economics of Schooling in a Divided Society

The Case for Shared Education

Vani K. Borooah

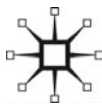
Emeritus Professor of Applied Economics, Ulster University, UK

and

Colin Knox

Professor of Comparative Public Policy, Ulster University, UK

palgrave
macmillan



© Vani K. Borooh and Colin Knox 2015

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2015 978-1-137-46186-5

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2015 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-49897-0 ISBN 978-1-137-46187-2 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9781137461872

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	viii
<i>List of Tables</i>	ix
<i>Preface and Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<i>List of Abbreviations, Acronyms and Glossary of Terms</i>	xiii
1 Introduction – Divided Communities	1
Divided communities	1
Behavioural vs structural approaches to division	4
The ‘parallel lives’ thesis	7
A shared and equal future?	11
2 The History and Evolution of Education in Northern Ireland	16
Education in Ireland	16
Education in Northern Ireland	18
Improving community relations through schools	20
Segregation vs integration in education	24
Is integrated education the solution?	26
3 The Education Policy Context	36
Political background	36
Declining violence	38
Tackling segregation	40
A reconciled society?	42
Shared space	43
Building a united community?	47
Education in Northern Ireland	48
School structures	48
School performance	49
Education segregation	54
Tackling segregation and inequality	55
4 Post-Primary Schools’ Performance	62
School performance	62
Salient features of Northern Ireland’s post-primary schools	63
Small vs large schools	64
Maintained, controlled and integrated secondary schools	64

Grammar versus secondary schools	65
Catholic vs Protestant grammar schools	65
A multivariate analysis of school performance	69
School size, financial stress, and area boards	71
Single sex vs co-educational schools	73
FSM and SEN pupils	73
Catholic vs Protestant schools	74
Explaining absenteeism	74
Is there a Catholic ethos?	77
Summary findings	80
5 Inequality and Segregation	84
Inequality and segregation	84
Differences in educational outcomes between grammar and secondary schools	85
Differences in educational outcomes between secondary schools	87
Difficulties of accessing grammar schools by FSM and SEN pupils	93
Selection tests: FSM pupils and grammar school admission	96
The performance gap – underachievement and inequality	100
Value-added by schools	104
The deprivation-induced performance gap	105
Segregation in schools	109
Measuring segregation	112
Summary findings	113
6 Shared Education – An Alternative Approach	116
Collaborative learning	116
Shared education	120
The shared education programme – its inception	123
Shared education – its theoretical underpinnings	124
Shared education – implementation	126
Shared education – impact	129
Education vs reconciliation benefits	131
Impact on primary schools	134
7 The Economics of Shared Education	138
The economics of Shared Education Programme	138
The case studies	139
Case study A: Lumen Christi/Foyle College	139
Case study B: Belfast High School/Dominican College/Hazelwood Integrated	140

Case study C: Belfast Model School for Girls	141
Case study D: Shimna Integrated College	142
Measuring the economic benefits	143
Measuring the reconciliation benefits	148
8 Conclusions – Embedding Shared Education	155
<i>Notes</i>	167
<i>References</i>	171
<i>Index</i>	183

List of Figures

2.1	Proportion of school leavers obtaining 'Good GCSEs' by management type	33
3.1	Security-related incidents	39
3.2	Relations between Protestants and Catholics	43
3.3	Percentage achieving 5+ GCSEs A*–C with English and Maths	52
3.4	Percentage of pupils entitled to FSM by school type	53
4.1	Grammar and secondary schools compared	67
4.2	Catholic and Protestant grammar schools compared	68
5.1	A concave utility function and diminishing marginal utility	89
5.2	The equally distributed equivalent performance	90
5.3	Equally distributed equivalent performance levels in secondary schools	92
5.4	Under and overachievement by pupil group	101
5.5	Average ESCS index scores for the United Kingdom and Ireland	106
5.6	Values of the segregation index by school type	113
6.1	Shared education model	126
7.1	Returns to education	144
8.1	The spectrum of shared education	159

List of Tables

3.1	Post-primary schools' performance	50
3.2	Performance inequalities	52
3.3	Access inequalities	53
4.1	Salient features of Northern Ireland's post-primary schooling system	66
4.2	Overall attendance rates and pupils with poor attendance by school type	68
4.3	Regression estimates to explain GCSE examination performance	70
4.4	Regression estimates to explain A-level examination performance	71
4.5	Regression estimates to explain absenteeism in secondary schools	75
5.1	Inter-school inequality: grammar/secondary schools	87
5.2	Distribution of FSM and SEN pupils by type of school	93
5.3	Shares in employment and the labour force: Catholics and Protestants	95
5.4	Six routes out of FSM Protestant male school leavers' GCSE underachievement	102
5.5	Protestant male underachievement	102
5.6	Economic class and family profile of deprived pupils	106
5.7	Factors determining PISA reading and mathematics test scores	108
5.8	Segregation in schools	110
6.1	Shared and integrated education	122
6.2	Selection criteria for Shared Education Programme	128
7.1	Analysis of costs and benefits	147
7.2	Main reason for being involved in activities with pupils from another school	148
7.3	Mean thermometer readings by pupil characteristics	149
7.4	Regression estimates: equation on 'other community' thermometer reading	150
7.5	Regression estimates: equation on 'other community' thermometer reading with area-intervention interaction	152

7.6	Regression estimates: equation on 'other community' thermometer reading with area-intervention and area-religion interaction	152
8.1	Scaling-up shared education	163

Preface and Acknowledgements

Although this book is about the role of schooling in a divided society like Northern Ireland, it is rooted in a more generic issue pertaining to countries which are fractured. This prompts the question whether fissures based on ethnicity or religion should result in 'separate' schooling or whether, notwithstanding such divisions, children of different backgrounds should be schooled together? Against this context, Northern Ireland offers an interesting study of such dilemmas as, leaving behind its troubled past, it moves towards a 'shared future', free of conflict and involving the full and equal participation of both the Protestant and Catholic communities.

Education policy in Northern Ireland embodies a dual provision of schooling comprising, in the main, Catholic (or 'maintained' schools) and Protestant (or 'controlled' schools). Since both types of schools are publicly funded, parents have a genuine choice between sending their children to either type. However, in practice, the outcome is that, by and large, Catholic children attend 'maintained' schools and Protestants attend 'controlled' schools. So, the reality is that parental choice leads to voluntary segregation with pupils from each community attending their 'own' schools. While school segregation is the most obvious manifestation of Northern Ireland's fractured society, there is a constellation of several more important issues centring around the general theme of 'educational inequality' with respect to schools and pupils.

This book analyses three issues in some detail: segregation, educational performance, and inequality in educational outcomes between schools and between pupils from deprived and affluent family backgrounds. Using both quantitative and qualitative evidence it examines the determinants of education performance, the extent of inequalities, and the degree and nature of segregation. In addition, the book evaluates the Department of Education Northern Ireland's (DENI) policies for addressing these problems, including policies to generate an integrated school education movement to educate Catholic and Protestant children in the same schools. Given the limited success of these policies, we consider an alternative approach, which we term 'shared education', the aim of which is to improve school performance and, in so doing, to dismantle some of the barriers between maintained and controlled schools.

In pedagogic terms, the book is appropriate for the general reader who is interested in issues of educational performance, educational inequalities, and educational segregation. However, because this book has a strong analytical foundation, it inevitably contains technical matter. Such matters have been dealt with by using ‘technical boxes’ which incorporate the more mathematically esoteric matter that the more technical minded reader may consult but which the general reader could easily skip without any loss of continuity. These boxes are to be found in Chapters 4 and 5.

Much of the research described in this book depended on the goodwill and cooperation of fellow researchers, teachers, parents, and pupils who gave unstintingly of their time in helping us understand the vexed issues underpinning schooling in Northern Ireland. In particular, the authors wish to acknowledge the external funders – The Atlantic Philanthropies and the International Fund for Ireland – who generously and unequivocally supported shared education interventions in Northern Ireland and whose endorsement made shared education a feature of Northern Ireland’s schooling system. The persons in these organisations most responsible for this support were Padraic Quirk, Gail Birkbeck, and John Carson. The authors are also immensely grateful to the members of the Shared Education Learning Forum (SELF) whose constituents implemented the shared education programme in schools and were instrumental in mainstreaming the concept. The individuals in SELF to whom we are particularly indebted are Mark Baker, Danielle Blaylock, Caitlin Donnelly, Frances Donnelly, Gavin Duffy, Tony Gallagher, Joanne Hughes, Roisin Marshall, Lauri McCusker, Hazel McFarland, Jayne Millar, Alistair Stewart, and Catherine Ward. The Education Committee of the Northern Ireland Assembly skilfully chaired by Mervyn Storey MLA, and more recently Michelle McIlveen MLA, invited the authors to present ongoing evidence of their work. Committee members showed a willingness to invest time in this topic and have been very influential in embedding shared education as an integral feature of the education governance arrangements in Northern Ireland.

However, none of these organisations or individuals is responsible for the errors, both of commission and omission that a book of such scope and ambition will inevitably contain. For these, we take full and sole responsibility. In addition, the views presented in this book represent the views of the authors and should not be associated with any organisation or institution.

List of Abbreviations, Acronyms, and Glossary of Terms

AP	The Atlantic Philanthropies
A-Levels	The General Certificate of Education Advanced Level (short form: GCE Advanced Level), or more commonly, the A Level, is a school leaving qualification offered to pupils aged 16–18. It is the precursor to gaining entry to University (or equivalent) education
ATS	Attitude to School Index
CCMS	Council for Catholic Maintained Schools
Controlled School	Controlled (nursery, primary, special, secondary, and grammar schools) are under the management of the schools Board of Governors and the Employing Authorities are the five Education and Library Boards – de facto ‘Protestant’ or state schools
CRED	Community Relations, Equality and Diversity in Education
CSI	Cohesion, Sharing and Integration
DENI	Department of Education, Northern Ireland
DSC	Delivering Social Change
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
EDE	Equally Distributed Equivalent
EF	Entitlement Framework
ELB	Education and Library Board
EMU	Education for Mutual Understanding
ESA	Education and Skills Authority
ESaGS	Every School a Good School: A Policy for School Improvement
ESCS	Economic, Social and Cultural Status index
ETI	Education and Training Inspectorate
FSM	Free School Meals
GAA	Gaelic Athletic Association

GCSE	The General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) is an academic qualification awarded in a specified subject and generally taken in a number of subjects by students aged 14–16. At the end of the two-year GCSE course, candidates receive a grade for each subject that they have sat. The pass grades, from highest to lowest, are: <i>A*</i> , <i>A</i> , <i>B</i> , <i>C</i> , <i>D</i> , <i>E</i> , <i>F</i> , and <i>G</i> .
GCSE (E&M)	General Certificate in Secondary Education (GCSEs, including English and Mathematics)
‘Good’ GCSEs	They are GCSE passes in which grades <i>A*</i> – <i>C</i> are obtained in five or more subjects including English and Mathematics
HER	Home Educational Resource Index
IEF	Integrated Education Fund
IFI	International Fund for Ireland
IIQ	Innate intellectual quality
Integrated Schools	Integrated schools bring children and staff from Catholic and Protestant traditions, as well as those of other faiths, or none, together in one school
Irish Medium School	Irish-medium education is education provided in an Irish speaking school
IRA	Irish Republican Army
JRD	Joy of Reading Index
KS4	Key Stage 4 is the legal term for the two years of school education prior to the GCSE examinations. These are Years 11 and 12 in Northern Ireland
KS5	Key Stage 5 describe the two years of education for students aged 16–18 that is in the two Sixth Form years
MAG	Ministerial Advisory Group on Shared education
Maintained School	Maintained (nursery, primary, special, and secondary) schools are under the management of the Board of Governors and the Employing Authority is the Council for Catholic Maintained Schools (CCMS) – de facto ‘Catholic’ schools

MidYIS (ages 11–14) and Yellis (ages 14–16)	Measure what their proprietors describe as developed ability – students’ underlying raw learning potential, free of the influence of curriculum-based teaching
MLA	Member of Northern Ireland’s Legislative Assembly in Stormont
NIA	Northern Ireland Assembly
NICIE	Northern Ireland Council for Integrated Education
NILTS	Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey
NISRA	Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency
OAR	Overall Attendance Rate
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFMdFM	Office of the First Minister and deputy First Minister
PAR	Poor Attendance Rate
PfG	Programme for Government
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PP	Percentage Points
PSNI	Police Service of Northern Ireland
RUC	Royal Ulster Constabulary
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party
Segregated Schooling	The term ‘segregated schools or schooling’ is used as shorthand to describe the system of parallel schools (controlled and maintained schools) which characterise the structure of education provision in Northern Ireland. In fact, both types of school are state funded and hence open to all pupils and parents who choose to send their children to either. In essence, the system is one of voluntary segregation
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SEP	Shared Education Programme
SESP	Shared Education Signature Project
SF	Sinn Féin

STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths
The Agreement	Refers to the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement reached in multiparty negotiations in 1998
T:BUC	Together: Building a United Community
Voluntary School	Voluntary (grammar), Integrated (primary and secondary) schools [and Institutions of Further and Higher Education] – each school is under the management of a Board of Governors.

1

Introduction – Divided Communities

Divided communities

As the title suggests, this is a book about the economics of education in a divided community – Northern Ireland. By a ‘divided community’ we mean societies which are partitioned – or which partition themselves – into distinct and identifiable groups such that persons from these groups lead ‘separate’ lives – that is, lives that do not involve association with persons from other groups – with respect to a number of areas. Housing is often such an area of separation; education is another; work might be a third. In all these cases the result is often ‘segregation’, with people from each group living, studying, and working apart from others.

It is often the case that such segregation is involuntary – people from a particular group do not seek to live separate lives but are forced to do so because of circumstances outside their control. For example, as one study highlighted, Muslims in New Delhi (India), as the city’s minority group, find it almost impossible to rent houses from Hindu landlords, the city’s majority group (Field et al., 2008). Consequently, they are obliged to live in Muslim areas where their landlords are fellow Muslims, with the result that New Delhi is segregated into Muslim and Hindu areas. Segregation in education is often a concomitant of housing segregation as children go to neighbourhood schools so that all the pupils in a particular school are from a specific group (or groups) without any representation from other groups. Involuntary segregation is different from forced segregation but essentially results in people living parallel lives.

Historically, ‘apartheid schooling’, has been associated with laws which have forbidden the mixing of races – whether through the apartheid laws in South Africa or through ‘Jim Crow’ laws in the southern states of the United States which, from 1865 until the passage of the

Civil Rights Act of 1964, proscribed most forms of association between blacks and whites.¹ The ruling by the US Supreme court in 1954 on *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka* that school segregation was illegal, and its concomitant order that school districts must desegregate, swept away the legal basis for blacks and whites being educated separately in the US's southern states. These laws required the separate use of most public facilities (toilets, restaurants, buses, schools) under the spurious justification that equal facilities would be supplied separately. In handing down the Court's judgement, Chief Justice Earl Warren poured scorn on the 'separate but equal' doctrine which justified Jim Crow laws by writing 'separate educational facilities are inherently unequal'. However, it was not the inferior school resources of black schools that underpinned the Court's judgement: as the Court pointed out, many southern states, in order to forestall integration, had invested heavily in closing the gap in standards between black and white schools. Rather it was that, in Chief Justice Warren's words, 'we must look instead to the effects of segregation itself'. To separate black children 'from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way that is unlikely ever to be undone' (Smithsonian American History, 2014).

And yet, 60 years after *Brown v Board of Education*, the trend in US schools appears to be towards a return to segregation rather than towards increased integration. As Dorsey (2013) points out, students were more racially segregated in schools in 2009–10 than they were in 1968–69 when the US Department of Education began to implement the *Brown v Board of Education* decision. According to the US National Center for Education Statistics (2012), in 2009–10, 40% of Black and Latino students were attending schools that were 90% to 100% minority, and 15% of Black and Latino students were attending 'apartheid schools', that is schools that were 99 to 100% minority. These views are echoed by Orfield et al. (2012: 102) who pointed out school (re)segregation for black students is:

Increasing most dramatically in the South, where, after a period of intense resistance, strong action was taken to integrate black and white students. Black students across the country experienced gains in school desegregation from the 1960s to the late 1980s, a time in which racial achievement gaps also narrowed sharply. These trends began to reverse after a 1991 Supreme Court decision made it easier for school districts and courts to dismantle desegregation plans. Most

major plans have been eliminated for years now, *despite increasingly powerful evidence on the importance of desegregated school* [emphasis added]. (see also Fiel, 2013)

The US experience articulates two separate arguments against segregated schooling. Firstly, segregated schooling is, in practice, ‘separate and unequal’: minority group students go to schools that are inferior – in terms of, inter alia, less experienced and less qualified teachers, higher teacher turnover, less successful peer group role models, and inadequate facilities and learning materials – to those attended by students from the majority group (see Orfield et al., 2012). As a consequence segregation is *instrumental* in leading to poor educational outcomes for minority group students relative to their majority group peers. The second argument, articulated by the US Supreme Court in 1954, cited above, is that segregation is undesirable *per se* even if segregated schools were found to be separate *and equal*. If educational outcomes are defined broadly to include both learning and social outcomes, then segregation is undesirable because it is both *instrumental* in causing poor educational (learning) outcomes and because it is *constitutively* a part of poor educational (social) outcomes. Consequently, there is a fundamental distinction to be made between the *instrumental* and the *constitutive* roles of school segregation in determining educational outcomes, broadly defined (see Sen [2000] who makes a similar distinction between the *instrumental* and the *constitutive* roles of social exclusion in determining deprivation outcomes).

The experience of Indian society, with its caste divide between its (formerly ‘untouchable’) ‘Scheduled Castes’ (*Dalit*) and its upper castes (non-*Dalits*) shows that non-segregated schooling doesn’t always lead to parity of treatment between the ‘have-nots’ and the ‘haves’ *within* a school.² Nambissan (2010: 282) in her study of the experiences of *Dalit* children in schools in Jaipur district in the state of Rajasthan concluded that ‘social relations and the pedagogic processes fail to ensure full participation of *Dalit* children and they are subject to discriminatory and unequal treatment in relation to their peers’. The result is that, thrown in as a minority group with children from the higher social groups, *Dalit* students face discrimination, exclusion, and humiliation. If there is force to this argument, then one solution to *Dalit* educational underachievement lies in creating a social and cultural environment in schools whereby they cease to be unwelcoming and frightening places for *Dalit* children. This would require teachers to be trained to respect the caste sensitivities of ‘depressed minorities’ in much the same way that

teachers in Western countries are trained to be sensitive to racial and religious diversity (see also Akerlof and Kranton (2010) on this point).

The fact that students from different groups are treated differently within the same school is not confined to India. The most frequently cited explanation for ethnic gaps in educational attainment relates to the substantial differences in socio-economic status between, say, Black and White groups. However, differences in socio-economic status cannot explain more than one-third of the black-white gap in scores for six year olds (Phillips et al., 1998). Consequently, as Strand (2011: 199) suggests, 'variables such as parents' educational aspirations for their children, provision of educational resources, and involvement with school are also important in understanding attainment' in addition to teachers' expectations of pupils, institutional racism, and cultural differences. As a result, there is the perception that 'institutional racism' in schools in England leads teachers to have low expectations of Afro-Caribbean pupils relative to their White counterparts. This means, for example, that, all other things being equal, for every three white British pupils entered for the higher tiers, only two black Caribbean pupils are entered (Strand, 2011). However, not all commentators are convinced by the 'institutional racism' argument. The *Guardian* newspaper quotes Tony Sewell (Curtis, 2008: 10), an education consultant, as saying that there is 'a link between behaviour and academic outcomes. It doesn't mean that's evidence of institutional racism. It's evidence that we need to address properly the complex reasons why black Caribbean pupils behave badly. We can't just say it's white racist teachers.'

Behavioural vs structural approaches to division

The denominational nature of the education system and separate faith-based schools is part of a wider narrative taking place in Northern Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom. In Northern Ireland this debate is being played out as part of a peace-building approach directly linked to the conflict – what kind of post-conflict society do the people of Northern Ireland want in the future? In other parts of the United Kingdom a similar discussion is taking place along ethnic lines. Should minority ethnic groups be 'separate but equal' or should they be fully assimilated into the wider community?

The wider literature on conflict and peace building offers some insights into the segregated society of Northern Ireland. Oberschall (2007), for example, in a comparative study of the peace-building processes in Bosnia, Israel–Palestine and Northern Ireland argues that peace