

Kaitlin Donnelly Integrated Education Lecture

Carl Milofsky introduces Kaitlin Donnelly. She has done research comparing education in Northern Ireland and Israel. One of the things that come into play is that there are conflicted societies. There is a frequent comparison of societies. Thinking about education in this comparative mode is intrinsic to the way we think about things. He thanks her.

1:30

Donnelly: Okay, well I have been kindly introduced. I'm Kat Donnelly. I work in the University of Ulster Jordanstown Campus. I specialize policy studies and my research specialized in integrated education and that's what I've been doing my most recent research on and that what I'm going to speak to you today about.

1:45

As you probably have already heard mixed religion schools in Northern Ireland are regarded as a key mechanism in the development of reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics, just so that they can learn to live together more peacefully. But the entity of mixed religion or mixed cultures isn't unique to only Northern Ireland, indeed it is a matter of building relations between fighting groups across the world.

2:10

In Israel for example, Jews and Arabs have long been locked in a bitter and vile dispute over land. There's a deep concern to address problems of community deficient and segregation through education as well. Here in Israel, as in Ireland, there are a number of mixed faiths they call them bilingual, bicultural schools, which operate alongside the segregated schools for Arabs and Jews. Although the conflicts are different in both countries, and arguably the conflict in Israel has been more violent, issues of inequality and inequitable treatment by the state and the demand to free cultural and political expression appear to be at the root of both conflicts.

2:55

And this in a sense has guided our decision to compare the mixed faith schools in Northern Ireland and in Israel. And the purpose of the research project, which I want to discuss with you today, is primarily sociological, in the sense that I want to explore the processes by which mixed faiths and cultural schools actually adapt in their quest to improve relations between divided groups. So, its very micro process oriented research as opposed to a macro-approach, which may look at the number of students who go to these schools, why people go to these schools. What we are looking at in the research that I'm going to present to you today is what actually happens in these schools and how do they actually set about this very difficult task of building better relations between groups that are very very divided and very segregated. And indeed between groups and individuals that might not feel have met each other before they come to this school.

3:55

This project that I'm going to talk to you about was carried out in 2003, it was on hold for a very long period of time because I had to take into account my colleagues and maternity leave. So it took place in Northern Ireland and in Israel and we looked at 4 schools and its focus was on micro-educational processes. So in that sense, there's less of an aid to really understand the wider political environment that I know some of you might have been concerned about, maybe lack of knowledge or understanding of the Israeli environment. But, the research that I'm presenting you today, there's not really that need to understand the wider political environment. What we are really interested in are the schools, comparing how the schools adapt and process and building better relations between the groups.

4:50

Okay, so what am I going to talk to you, how I'm going to start the presentation, first I am going to look at the mixed faith systems in Northern Ireland and in Israel and give you some brief background information, I'm sure you've already got some from following Shamus already. Then I'm going to inform you of the conceptual framework of our study. What was our hypothesis? What did we set out to try to explore? I'm going to give you some idea of the methods we used and then I want to focus mainly on the key themes arising from our data.

5:20

Okay, so as you probably already know, the first integrated school in Northern Ireland opened in 1981 and it's called Langdon College, and it's a secondary school. All 9 of the schools operated independently until 1989 when the government decided to fund integrated schools. And there are two categories as you have probably already heard: there are controlled integrated, which are transforming schools, schools that have decided to transform as a result of parental ballot, and grant-maintained integrated, which are new schools set up by parents to specifically address building better relations between Catholics and Protestants from the very start.

6:00

Schools must actually maintain certain criteria to maintain government funding. These criteria mainly relate to the fact that you need to have a balanced enrollment, i.e. there must be roughly equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants attending the schools or the government will not fund these schools. And not only should there be equal numbers or roughly equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants at the start of the school when it starts off as integrated, but over time the school must prove that it can have a projected balanced enrollment. In Northern Ireland, the Department of Education accepts balanced as 70/30 ratio, so 70/30 is the lowest ratio they will accept as balanced. I'm not sure what happens if the school doesn't meet that criteria, I'm not sure that any school has ever suffered any negative consequences from not meeting it, but that's the figure that the Department of Education set. There are currently 50 said schools.

7:05

How about Israel? Well, in Israel there are a lot less schools in Israel, a lot of the schools the first thing that we could say as a point of contrast between the two countries is there are a lot fewer schools that are integrated or mixed faith schools in Israel. The first was set up in 1984, around roughly the same time as the first integrated school was being set up in Northern

Ireland. Since 2000-2001 the schools' status changed by government to extra regional, what this really means is that no one receives full government funding. * So, since 2000-2001 no one receives full government funding. In addition to this school in the [Officialam](#) which is situated between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem in the middle of the country, there are 4 bilingual, bicultural primary schools which are scattered throughout Israel, one's in Jerusalem, one's in Galilee, one's in Hyphae I think. And these are set up by a center for Jewish-Arab education so there's a particular sect that looks after these schools and tries to promote bilingual, bicultural schools in Israel.

8:15

The focus of the schools is slightly different in Israel compared to Northern Ireland. In Northern Ireland our explicit focus, and indeed, the name of the schools, suggests the focus is on integration, the integration of Catholics and Protestants. In Israel there's less of an explicit focus on integration there official mission appears to be one of peaceful coexistence. So there is a slight variation in the official mission of the school types. However both schools are based on the broad variant of the contact hypothesis. Is that something you've heard of before? What is the contact hypothesis is my next question. I thought some of you might have heard.

9:05

So they're broadly based on a variant of the contact hypothesis, but what is the contact hypothesis? Well, Gordon Allport is the chief architect of the contact hypothesis, and this contact hypothesis is really a theory of social psychology. And it's a theory which suggests that if you bring divided groups together, put them in the same context, in the same classroom or another setting together, they will learn to tolerate each other just because they are learning or doing some activity together that's not necessarily in the school. The contact hypothesis doesn't have to relate just to schools. So, the contact hypothesis is really simple, its just about bringing divided groups together in the same context, bringing them together means they will learn to tolerate each other and they will learn to respect each other and this will improve relations between divided groups.

10:00

Now Gordon Allport has always argued though, that mere body mixing---just because two groups are together---will not necessarily lead to better relations. In fact there needs to be a series of conditions in place for the groups to actually start to respect each other, to reconcile their differences. So the conditions are based on equal status, both groups need to feel equal in the contact situation. You can see strong parallels with the balance requirement for the integrated schools in Northern Ireland and is related to the proportions that are represented within the school. So equality is very important with this contact hypothesis. There's also some research that shows that groups, who are meeting each other in some sort of contact situation, they should work together toward shared goals, this will improve their relation to one another. There also needs to be support from the institution wherein the contact's taking place. And more recent research by Bramble (?) in 2003 has emphasized a need for cultural saliency. And what this means is that the differences between the two groups needs to be made very much explicit when the contact is taking place. They must feel comfortable enough to talk about what divides

them in order for relations to be formed, in order for stereotypes to break down. So differences need to be explicit and openly discussed or else the contact situation will not breed better relations.

So the contact hypothesis is generally considered to be a very simple idea of bringing divided groups together and therefore they will get on. And they will start to respect each other and reconcile their differences. But only when certain conditions are in place. And those are the conditions which I have just outlined for you and there are lots and lots of others.

12:50

But there are a number of problems that have been leveled and have been raised with the contact hypothesis. Some of them are methodological. A lot of the empirical research, a lot of researchers argue that this research lacks validity. That means that the researchers have experimentally manipulated the group members to include, for example, maybe students. It's arguable whether the students are reflective of the population, so whether students' views are reflective of the entire population is a question that needs answered. So, the methodological problems of the contact hypothesis often relate to the people who are used and the groups that are tested within the contact hypothesis. So often researchers said that contact hypothesis and the research associated with it lacks realism and have been far too brief to make any substantial conclusions about the subject.

14:00

But there are other criticisms as well, and they are not just methodological. There are some that relate to this research that we did quite explicitly. And they stem from the applicability of contact conditions in different social, cultural and organizational contexts to: does contact work in different contexts in different countries. So Ray and his study of racial attitudes has argued that though the contact hypothesis has found support among American and Canadian researchers, there is an inverse contact hypothesis that finds its supporters chiefly in Britain, Australia and South Africa. So, what the American researchers have found doing research in America have found that the more contact blacks have with whites, the less likely they are to be prejudiced. But in Britain, the evidence suggests quite the reverse, that the more contact whites have with blacks, the more prejudiced they become.

15:05

So this is interesting because it draws attention to a number of important issues. Firstly that contact may not actually always lead to better relations, it may lead to exacerbate tension between groups when they come together. And that the success of the contact hypothesis might actually be culturally allocated, that it might depend on the culture in which its taking place. So, this raises some questions about NI and Israel. Are there any elements of the culture and the context that might influence how relations will evolve between the groups in the different stereotypes? And that's what really we set out to do in our research. We wanted to explore whether students in NI and Israel would react differently to this idea of integration. Peaceful coexistence if we set up different processes just because they were in different cultures and their cultures dictate that they must do things differently.

16:25

Well, actually what we wanted to do before we went to Israel and NI was to explore elements of the culture, which is sort of the difficult thing to do. But one way of seeing culture is through the dominant communication practices within each of the jurisdictions. So communication is also an important component of the contact process. Do you remember when I was telling you about the contact process? A lot of its success depends on effective communication. The communication of values and days? And so on in an open way is actually likely to lead to better relations. So communication is very important. So, we looked at the communication processes in Israel and NI to see if there might be anything that might lead us to think further that there might be differences in the way the students might cooperate.

17:05

Research on Israeli culture shows that there was a definite preference for clarity and certainty in social exchanges. Israelis prefer to communicate in a way that is direct, that people say what they think, they value expression of opinions. Unlike the English who tend to keep their emotions should be more reserved. In fact, in Israel there's a little term they've coined to sort of capture this preference for certainty and they call it "doogri." So that's what they call it. It's recognized as a feature of the culture and communication preferences. This preference for open and direct exchange is far removed from the discretion that we practice in Northern Ireland where nuance and subtle complexity is intrinsic to social interaction...and I don't know whether in the short time that you have been here if you have noticed this. In Northern Ireland, and I think this is summarized best by Seamus Heaney, our Nobel Prize winning poet. In 1975 he wrote a poem about just exactly how we communicate in Northern Ireland, and he's talking, I suppose, about mixed groups here Catholic and Protestant, "Religion is never mentioned here of course, the famous Northern Irish reticence, the tight gag of peace.. where to be saved you must save face, and whatever you say, say nothing." What Heaney is saying is that in Northern Ireland in mixed communities we don't discuss what divides us. We don't do politics, we avoid it. In Israel, the research indicated that they're less likely to feel comfortable avoiding the difficult issues we tended to avoid in NI.

19:10

So this led us to think that maybe then the schools will approach this contact hypothesis and put it into practice quite differently because these cultures and their communication practices seem quite different at the national level anyway, in their wider social level. Okay. So just to give you a brief idea of what we did when we went and did in our research: We looked at 2 primary schools in NI, controlled integrated, previously Protestant and transformed into integrated status, and a grant maintained integrated, which had always been integrated for say 14-15 years before we did research. We also looked at 2 primary schools in Israel: we looked at the [Neve Shalom](#) which was the first school it was set up and we looked at a school in Jerusalem which was set up by the center for Jewish and Arab education. In total we did about 37 structured interviews with teachers across the 4 schools and we did some observation. We observed staff for interaction and classrooms. The focus of the data collection was really on teachers, on their perception of the processes they had developed to obtain better relations between the two

groups. So we interviewed teachers in both jurisdictions about what they did to build better relations between the two groups. We did talk to some pupils, we weren't allowed to talk to many due to education policies in NI, but we did talk to some pupils in Israel and we got some idea from pupils' perspective too, but our focus was really on teachers.

21:05

So there's a general consensus with regard to the 3 factors in building good relations in mixed faiths schools. All of the teachers we interviewed, across both jurisdictions, agreed that firstly there need to be balanced enrollments and appointments, not only should it be balanced between Catholic and Protestant or Jewish and Arab pupils but also teachers must be balanced too. There was also an agreement that there should be some method of discussion allowed for within the school week. And they call this, in both jurisdictions "circle time." Circle time relates to a period of time where students are taken out of formal lessons and they all talk to the teacher about anything that's bothering them. And they (all of the teachers) agree that this is very important for disseminating the values of tolerance, respect and mutual understanding which are intrinsic to integrated schools and bicultural bilingual schools in Israel. And thirdly there was general agreement that the school should openly commemorate national days and cultural symbols. They shouldn't hide them; there is a general agreement that that should be an important part of an integrated school or a bilingual/bicultural school. So, so far, so good, there seemed to be a lot of consensus about how the schools can build better relations between the groups that they have.

22:55

But it's whenever these ideas are put into practice that the disparities between the two jurisdictions started to become apparent. Three of the 4 schools had encountered problems with creating a balanced enrollment. In NI we can't get people to commit, they tell us they are not Catholic or Protestant or they won't reveal their identity, so we guess then, so that we can prove to the Dept. of Education that we are balanced. A lot of the parents of the children wouldn't tell the head teacher what religion they were; they thought it was a label and that it shouldn't matter. This left problems for the head teacher; he has to tell the Dept. how many Catholics and Protestants he has to maintain balance.

Carl interjects with a question: Aren't there 5% of people who are "other" who don't identify themselves with one or another. They also went to those schools.

Donelly: There might have been some of those people, but more so there were the people who just would not tell the head teacher what they were because they didn't believe they should. At the other school, the controlled integrated school also they had a problem attracting Protestant students to go to the school, so what the head teacher did was just recategorize the students from mixed marriages. He would say "oh their father is a protestant, so they are Protestant" just to keep from being penalized by the Dept. That was his way of solving this very difficult problem. They wanted to show that they were balanced in case they were closed in on.

25:05

In Israel there were problems too, there was problems attracting the Jewish children because, as the head teacher told us, "There are good Jewish schools in Israel, why would they come

here?" There was a large network of Jewish schools in Israel, so there was nothing to attract the Jewish children to these schools. But, two years ago we established a marketing strategy to attract Jewish children and I think that it is working because we have almost a 50/50 ratio. So they recognized the problem and dealt with it in their own way.

25:40

So all 3 of the 4 schools had encountered problems in creating a balanced enrollment. But what is significant here is... (A student asking a question cuts her off)

Student: The student wonders about the marketing strategy to attract Jews to the new schools. What changed and made them want to come to the integrated schools?

Donnelly: We went out into the community and told them this is what we are doing in the school, there's been good results, it's a really good mechanism to bring the two groups together, maybe we can solve the conflict. And in some small way they told people and, though the schools are not well known, they went out and told them that the school existed and why they should go. And it worked to some extent.

27:00

Similar problems has arisen in both jurisdictions with regard to the balance issue, but what is significant here is that there is a difference in the response to the problem. The response to the problem really emphasizes the disparity between schools. In NI the overriding focus of both schools was meeting or seeming to meet, the Dept. of Education balance targets. And this dictated the response to dealing with any imbalance of pupil numbers. The head teacher's key concern was having the school not be penalized for not meeting the balance. Much less importance was placed on the effect that a pupil imbalance might have on the ethos of the school. And remember this school is said officially to build better relations. But when they were looking at the relations and the balance is shown to be unequal between Protestants and Catholics there was less attention cared to what this might mean for the establishment of better relations.

But in Israel a quite different set of assumptions seemed to prevail, here there was a general agreement that any imbalance in pupil numbers needed urgent attention, not just because it undermined the schools' commitment to a 50/50 ratio, but more so because it would adversely affect its mission to build equality. As such considerable efforts have been invested and with some success to attract Jewish children. Thus, compared to NI it might be said that a more process oriented and proactive approach to the integration issue had been adopted in Israel. And this trend seemed to repeat itself as we continued through the research.

28:55

So we look at circle time now. And remember what circle time was, it's a period of discussion during the school week that both schools in both jurisdictions had agreed was intrinsic to the development of good relations. So this is when teachers take time out of formal teaching to allow children to talk. The emphasis is all but formal; it is an open discussion between students and teachers to facilitate greater understanding and respect. However, two quite distinct approaches to circle time had actually evolved.

29:30

In Israel, and this is a quote from a teacher, "Our 4th grade students might not understand everything, but they tell their stories and we tell ours. At the end of one of the sessions one of the girls started crying saying 'we will find a solution' I think circle time allows them to see what really motivates the other group." So the focus here was mainly on telling personal stories about the conflict and the Israeli teachers used the time to encourage pupils and teachers as well to exchange stories about how they personally were and affected by the violence. This type of discussion was endorsed by the teachers in the belief that it would encourage pupils to not only develop understanding of others, through activity like role play and so on and exchange of personal views, but also to create empathy with the social and cultural injustices experienced by the other group or perceived to be experienced by the other group. This is something which has been recognized by the theorists on the contact hypothesis (like Bramble, like Kenmore Kate (names?) in 2004) as likely to have a positive effect on the inter group relations, not least because it means differences are made explicit and stereotypes can be discussed and broken down.

30:55

In Northern Ireland, the discussion time took place for one of the teachers, to give example and this is reflective of other teachers who gave similar examples, "We have really good discussions, we talk mainly about things like the Rangers and Celtics (these are Scottish football teams that have associations with the Protestant and Catholic communities within NI respectively) I let them talk about that as quite a sensitive issue, but I always say something like 'I like Manchester United' which is an English team that Protestants and Catholics will both support. Then the conversation is changed." So what she's doing is something clever. She's saying, oh you like football? Well I like football too. I like another team, so moving the conversation away from controversy (Rangers vs. Celtics) because that causes sensitivity. And she moves it to a safe topic like Manchester United because then they can just talk about football without the controversy. She manages to manipulate the discussion time to something safe; she avoids discussing anything that might challenge stereotypes that already exist. That was kind of a good way to see how controversial issues were avoided in NI to maintain harmony. We have lots of examples of this that indicate that this is very much intrinsic to the way things operate in the school. They avoid anything that might be controversial.

33:00

But there were a couple of dissenters and I don't want to talk too much about them, but in both of the jurisdictions and in both of the schools there were dissenters who said "I don't like the way things are going here." One of the teachers in NI said, "In the past everybody used to talk openly but now we don't. We avoid things and some teachers just join our school because they want a quick route to promotion." Which is recognized often on NI because in integrated schools often teachers can get promoted quicker than they would in the more established schools. They don't really want to engage in the integration, they just want to get promoted and they aren't necessarily interested in promoting better relations. The other head teacher from another school said, "There's lack of real thinking about the integration process here. I think the children just want to learn the curriculum together, but they don't really understand each other." He was very

disillusioned because he didn't know how to get the teachers to really develop understanding and appreciation of the difference because they weren't that interested. Remember this is a school that transformed from Protestant to integrated so there were some problems with some resentment among the teachers.

34:30

Similarly in Israel, in the [Neve Shalom](#) School one of the teachers said, " I don't like teaching in this open way everyone else teaches in. I decide to never talk about differences ever. My son is in the army and I don't want to fight about his job with the others." Her son was in the Israeli army and that was quite a controversial thing in the school and she didn't want to talk about it to her colleagues or the children. She kept things safe like most of the teachers in NI, but she was odd in Israel because most of the other teachers were different from her. But there were some dissenters.

35:00

So the final point of agreement of building better relations was in this idea of publicly commemorating identity and culture. In both jurisdictions important issues around the norming and shaping of values were revealed as research participants discussed the decisions which were made with respect to the outward expression of cultural identity. In their attempts to give prominence to cultural events to NI schools, it was apparent that both the type of event that was celebrated and the way the celebrations took place was subject to the subtle filtering process that seemed to reflect the cultural preferences of the most dominant group in the school. You can see this through these quotes, "It is difficult to be open and direct about difference here. Like for the Catholics when our men won the All Ireland Gaelic Football League." (That's a Catholic football league that is inter county) The school that it would be cool to bring the cup they had won to the school for everyone to see, but the general feeling in the school was that it shouldn't happen, it would not be a good that to have, it would make people feel uneasy in the school. So that's a good way in which the Catholics could have expressed publicly their Catholic identity through sport achievement, but it was subjugated in this way. But this teacher, who was a Catholic, she said that, "On the Protestant side, cultural expression is constrained too. There are all sorts of symbols that should be here but they aren't here." So in NI we have a lot of symbols that are either associated with Catholics or Protestants and in this particular school, symbols for the most part were not allowed, although a sport, I suppose as well, is a good example of how it reflects the division between Catholics and Protestants. So, for example, Catholics would play Gaelic football, Protestants play hockey or rugby, so the games are not always, but there are certain sports that are associated with one group or another. And its funny because in this school one of teachers said, "It's very neutral here. We are all very respectful of each other. For example we play hockey and that's a very neutral game." But it's not from a Catholic perspective, from their perspective hockey is Protestant. Then I asked how he would feel about Gaelic football being played here and she said, "We wouldn't have that. We are very neutral, we play hockey." This idea that what was normal to her was hockey, because she was a Protestant, but she never thought about what might be normal to the Catholic community or what might be acceptable to them. There were all sorts of issues around the challenging of the norms and values.

Another school, the general feeling was that flags and emblems divide internally and it's easier to not be categorized and they had banned everything, banned all symbols. That was causing problems too; students would come with their school uniforms, but have their football tops underneath, Rangers or Celtics. So you could see that they wanted to express their identity but they couldn't within the school environment so they found some way of doing that anyway.

39:30

In Israel there were problems with regard to the expression of identity too. In Israel one of the big things is Independence Day, that is the day when the Jewish community got their land in Israel and the Arab community see it as the "day of disaster" the day they lost their land. So you see the same day as very different connotations in the Arab and Jewish communities, it was very difficult. What happened was usually in one of the schools they just celebrated Independence Day according to the Jewish calendar, but it happens on a different day on the Arabic calendar, so its very difficult, what do they do? So they always just went with the Jewish calendar and celebrated Independence Day until two years ago when one of the Arab teachers stood up and said, "I'm not happy with this, I want this changed." And it set off a discussion to talk about Independence and why they should change it. They decided, they sort of asked themselves why they were adapting to the Hebrew calendar and they thought that this opened an opportunity to talk about people's need for Independence and then they decided to change the way they celebrate this very contentious event in the schools because they talked about it and discussed it

40:55

Now at the time we were doing research in these schools, the Jews were still finding it very difficult to accept Arabic political expression, so it was still a very difficult issue, but they were very keen to keep talking about it. That was the key difference we find with regard to the commemoration of identity and culture; the Israelis although they find it difficult they talked about it, similar issues kept arising, in Israel they talked about it, in NI the tendency was to avoid it.

41:30

So what does all of this mean? Well, what we could say as a result of our research: building better relations was in part determined by the cultural practices within each school which were in turn informed by the wider cultural orientation. So, in keeping with the open and direct communication side which we had observed before we went to Israel in some of the literature, this "door," both Israeli schools put a considerate emphasis on frank and outright patterns of discourse. This meant that the purpose of the school was in the main theory identified and the measures taken to develop the purpose clearly communicated within the schools and generally supported. The seemed to facilitate a school culture that was processed oriented as teachers and parents appeared to have reflected on the schools' vision and agreed on the best processes to develop meaningful relationships between Jews and Arabs. This inclination however, to open discussion and critical reflection of the schools' mission sat in sharp contrast to the rather cautious practices that we had observed in Northern Ireland.

42:45

The national cultural tendency here toward reserve and resonance seemed to permeate all relationships within the schools and there were implications for the school thoughts. For example, open discussion and debate about what the school should seek to achieve in terms of building better relations, which was a key priority in Israel, was not at either of the Northern Ireland schools, we were quite struck in fact at the NI schools at the lack of critical reflection on the part of the teachers and what they were supposed to be doing. So the teachers very rarely talked, whenever we were asking the questions that they had never heard or thought of before in respect to how to build better relations between Protestants and Catholics, they were sort of taken aback, they never really thought about it. What we had begun finding was the culture did have some effect that was our main finding. But there were other issues too.

43:55

Both schools operate within very distinct policy environments and the emphasis on demonstrating accountability and the stress on meeting externally developed targets in NI seemed to skew the schools own official objectives. The school was officially set up to build better relations, but the government developed all these targets for schools in NI, like you must meet the target curriculum and they must pass so many exams and this is the prime priority for students in NI, that's what they're primarily concerned with. Building better relations often gets subjugated as schools try to show that they are meeting all of their targets. So this target performance culture, which was evidenced in NI, didn't seem as much in evidence in Israel. The target culture that is very important in Britain and the US is not as much apparent in Israel and the schools seemed to have much more power over how they might shape their destiny in terms of building relations between Arabs and Jews.

45:10

So that's all. I hope I didn't bore you, but that's a good summary of the research project.

Student with Question: Could you elaborate more on the promotion system you spoke of in the integrated schools in NI?

Donelly: The promotion system is the same in all schools in NI I guess. But what happens is in Catholic and controlled schools, these are schools that have been established for a very long time and what you find is that teachers don't tend to leave, they tend to move up. So the teachers with the most experience will tend to move upwards. Can you imagine then, if you are a young teacher in a Catholic or Protestant school and the chances of you getting promoted are a long way off, maybe 10-15 years off. And the new integrated school opens down the road and they need all sorts of teachers and you have chance of getting to be head of department in that school and then become vice principal very quickly and get a lot more money than you make in your present school. So that is a big attraction for many teachers, so that's the attraction rather than building better relations.

46:30

Student with Question: I heard that the relative teaching age at the integrated schools is around 30, is that because of the promotions?

Donelly: Yeah that's very interesting. What you find is that teachers who are established in existing segregated schools and are on the route to promotion won't leave to go into an integrated school because they'll lose the chance of promotion in their own school. You find that the teachers at integrated schools then are usually very young. That has its own consequences as well because you often find that they are very inexperienced. Her friend who works in a school says that there's often problems with head teachers and deputy head teachers who are not as experienced as they might be in another school because of the quick promotions. It is an issue.

47:35

Student with Question: I just wanted to know your opinion, or I guess which school you favor? Because the schools in NI for example don't do as much in addressing the conflict and open expression sort of thing.

Donelly: When we've done research, myself and my colleague, you sort of start to make your own system when you do comparative research in your own critical way and there is a danger because we are from here we are more critical of this system. However, on balance, we would be much more supportive of the methods that the Israeli schools put in place to develop better relations. There seemed to be much more explicit focus on building good relations between Arabs and Jews. Everybody seemed to be pulling together and were all motivated and committed to the purpose of building better relations. In NI some people were committed but lots of them had other agendas going on. Maybe they wanted to be promoted, maybe it was just that they got a job in that school and couldn't anywhere else. So from that point of view the Israeli schools are probably doing what they're supposed to be doing. But they're not perfect. Israel only has 4 or 5 schools whereas NI has 57, so you might think oh they're better developed and doing a better job. But, actually maybe NI would be better with fewer schools and doing what they're supposed to be doing properly as opposed to building more and more without tracking what their doing.

49:35

Student with Question: How would you motivate the teachers at the integrated schools to do more with integration since you say a lot of them aren't very motivated?

Donelly: Some of them are. I would hit you to go about thinking none of the NI teachers are motivated; some of them are very motivated.

Student: You said that a lot of them didn't like to openly address the conflict, how would you go about getting them to talk more openly?

Donelly: This is an issue that is starting to become recognized. This research in some respects in a bit controversial in the NI context because we are saying things that, I mean in integrated schools for example this is the one good thing that comes out of NI, these schools work, and then myself and my colleague come out and say, well actually, there are some issues here you need to think about. And for a long time, I had done a project going around talking to the NI council for integration about what I had found and they didn't like to hear what I found too much. But actually last year we had been invited to the Northern Ireland Council for Integrated Education and all the workers there were saying yes yes everything you're saying we recognize. And that is the first step. If the people in the statutory recognize what we are saying, this idea of

avoidance is intrinsic to NI, why are teachers going to act differently when this is how they always act. There needs to be some sort of training program to act differently. Now how do you train teachers to get away from the idea of avoiding issues the way everybody does here? It is recognized as a cultural trait.

Carl: I think probably what they've run into are people who are more willing to talk, because they aren't being pressed.

Donelly: *laughs* That's true, but it is recognized as a constraint and it needs to be addressed. How you do that is very difficult. What you have now is teachers are being trained on how to teach in an integrated school and promoting mutual understanding. But if its one module in their "how to" teaching training how effective might that be? I don't know. But certainly some training should be required for teachers definitely.

52:25

Student with Question: I work in a community center and it seems to me that in NI the way the conflict is dealt with in the schools is more about redirecting negative energy and instead of facing the conflict they are just looking at it as redirection whereas in Israel they get to the root of the conflict. Would you say that's the reasoning for the different methods?

Donelly: Yeah its sort of hard to say exactly, what it is. I think some of the cultural issues are certainly important. There are also issues around the fact that we are in a peace process, its relatively calm, we haven't had that many shootings. Israel isn't really at that point, its sort of calm at the moment but it rears up every now and then and its all much more raw there and maybe that's a reason why. Actually a bomb, when we were there, had went off right beside a school we were in, which is really scary. We asked the teachers how they dealt with it and they said immediately they all got together and talked about it and the Arab children called the bombers "freedom fighters" and the Jewish children "no they're not they're terrorists" and they got very heated about it. The teacher said she had a sort of day of that and that she was quite comfortable in some ways in dealing with it. It might be because they've got more things to react to in Israel. Here I don't know, it's just a more reserved culture. There's not as much happening on the ground as there used to be, there's not much to talk about. There's temptation here to say "We are all together, we are all the same," whereas in Israel sometimes they don't even look the same you can't as much they are all the same. Here we can say "We are all the same, we get on together," but actually we are very different but we tend to gloss over it in the interest of preserving harmony.

54:50

Student: We have about 15 minutes until we need to be on the bus, and I know a lot of people still have questions. Would you mind sticking around for a few minutes so some of us could ask you some individual questions?

Donelly: Yes. Sure.

The class thanks Kaitlin Donelly with applause for her lecture and you can hear a lot of commotion and talking as someone talks privately with Donelly though it is not audible. Then the tape ends.