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Denominationally Integrated Education in Northern Ireland - Panacea or Civil Right

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Introduction

The creation of a school system in which children of Ireland's different and frequently antagonistic Christian denominations would be educated together has long been an objective of many educationists and policy makers. In the early decades of the nineteenth century when state support for schools was under considerable discussion, several official investigations made such a recommendation. The National Board of Education, established in 1831, had the prospect of such a system formally endorsed by one of its chief architects, the Secretary of State for Ireland, E.G. Stanley. Stanley wrote that 'one of the main objects must be to unite in one system children of different creeds.'ⁱ Under the auspices of the Board it was hoped that applications for state funding of local schools would be jointly made by both Protestants and Roman Catholics. Indeed, as Stanley himself put it "Where an application proceeds exclusively from Protestants or exclusively from Roman Catholics, it will be proper for the Board to make inquiry as to the circumstances which lead to the absence of any names of the persuasion which does not appear."ⁱⁱ

As Stanley recognised support for denominationally mixed schools depended to a considerable extent on the churches. In light of subsequent developments it is perhaps curious that it was the Roman Catholic Church which, at the outset, was the most positively disposed towards denominationally mixed schools within the new system. Although gravely concerned about the proselytising missions of some Protestant groups which had been establishing schools in which they had enrolled Catholic pupils, the Catholic authorities were prepared to accept a system of national education which would include denominationally mixed schools provided Catholic teachers would be appointed to teach in them and control exercised over the choice of texts to be studied.ⁱⁱⁱ However, the same approach was not as evident in the main Protestant churches at this time. The Established (Anglican) Church regarded education as a particular responsibility and would not support the National Board, choosing instead to maintain its own network of schools.^{iv} The Presbyterian church took a somewhat similar view, objecting most strenuously to the prospect of Roman Catholic clergy having any right to enter schools where pupils of that denomination were enrolled for the purposes of religious instruction.^v

As a result of such divergent stands the prospects for inter-denominational co-operation in applying for assistance to the National Board were virtually non-existent and, in fact, did not happen. However, many schools throughout the country did become, to a greater or lesser extent, multi-denominational in terms of pupil intake and occasionally in terms of teaching staff as well.^{vi} This was particularly the case in the northern province of Ulster where communities were more mixed than elsewhere. However, since the schools themselves remained, almost exclusively, under the separate control and management of the churches, integration was essentially only of an informal kind.

The most concerted nineteenth century attempt to establish a formal system of denominationally integrated schools resulted from the Board of National Education's decision to set up a network of model schools as part of its approach to teacher education.^{vii} Unlike the ordinary national school, model schools were directly under the control and management of the board. Following the same programmes of study as the national schools, their twin aims were to be models of excellence for elementary education as well as locations for the initial training of entrants to the teaching profession. In addition, they were to exemplify the benefits of integrated education since they were explicitly intended to be multi-denominational in their enrolments and in their staffing.

In all, some twenty-eight model schools were in operation by the late eighteen-fifties, some with considerable initial support from different local churches. However, by the early eighteen-sixties growing opposition, some on grounds of alleged proselytising within model schools themselves, from both the Roman Catholic and Established churches, began to inhibit their development.^{viii} The result was that their enrolment of Catholic pupils in particular gradually declined over the following decades.

Thereafter, denominationally integrated education was not seriously an issue in Irish education until the country was partitioned in 1921 and educational reform was initiated by the new unionist regime in Northern Ireland. In the rest of this paper denominationally integrated education is discussed with reference to Northern Ireland commencing with a review of how integrated education has been varyingly understood in the Irish context.

Integrated education - definition and context

Nineteenth century definitions of denominationally integrated education were essentially simplistic. The term most usually used was ‘mixed education’^{ix} which, defined in the language of present day social psychology, amounted to naive expressions of the ‘contact hypothesis’.^x This hypothesis posits that the resolution to social conflict lies in bringing people from opposing sides into regular, non-threatening contact to pursue common objectives. Schooling in which is invested many hopes for a better future is seen, from this perspective, as the ideal situation in which such contact can be provided and cultivated.

In the Irish context the opposing sides were, on the one hand the different Protestant communities and, on the other, the Roman Catholic community. The former comprised approximately one fifth of the population of Ireland and still does, while the latter comprised the remainder. As in other parts of Europe, hostility on religious grounds between these communities had persisted since the Reformation. To this hostility were added the effects of land dispossession and the denial of civil rights which Catholics had experienced under Protestant ascendancy rule from the early seventeenth century. Following Catholic emancipation in 1829 and the emergence of the movement for ‘home rule’ and political independence for Ireland from Britain throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, inter-community hostility was intensified as Catholics supported home rule and Protestants, by and large, opposed it. Against this background there was considerable potential for inter-community conflict, most likely wherever considerable concentrations of Catholics and Protestants were to be found living in close proximity to each other. Such was most notably the case in the north-eastern counties of Ulster, the territory of Northern Ireland from 1921, where the religious balance was and still is, approximately sixty to sixty-five per cent Protestant, and thirty-five to forty per cent Catholic.

Because of this situation, one of the stated government objectives in establishing the national school system was “to allay animosities and to cultivate good feelings between parties that may have been at variance.”^{xi} Mixed schools were, not unexpectedly, seen as very appropriate contexts in which this objective could be achieved.

While the Catholic Church was, in the early to mid-nineteenth century, prepared to accept mixed schooling, provided certain strict conditions were agreed, it did so more because it was institutionally and politically weak than out of a general conviction that mixed education contributed to communal harmony. Indeed, the official position remained cautious on the issue and, as the church gained in confidence and political influence, increasingly became hostile, even though some Catholic churchmen did express support for mixed education and co-operated in the foundation of some of the model schools. From mid-century onwards Catholic opposition to ‘mixed’ education was being reinforced by the often very explicit determination of some Protestant educationists to use ‘mixed education’ as a new opportunity for proselytising Catholic children.^{xii} So, as the Catholic Church’s institutional position strengthened, its willingness to accept, even on a very conditional basis, any form of mixed education diminished. This was most evident in the position the church adopted on the model schools which were virtually proscribed for Catholics from the eighteen-sixties.

For the Protestant churches, especially the Presbyterian Church, the position became the reverse of that adopted by the Catholic Church. From initial opposition, the Presbyterian Church moved, in the eighteen-forties, to a much more positive attitude both towards the national school system and towards the model schools.^{xiii} Formal statements of support for mixed education were much more likely to be heard from Presbyterian churchmen than from those in any of the other churches. It is therefore not surprising that almost half of the model schools in the country were in the most Presbyterian province, Ulster. Ulster was also the province in which ordinary national schools were most likely to have a denominationally mixed intake, although the scale of such mixing declined as the determination of the Catholic Church to pursue an avowedly denominational approach to education intensified.^{xiv}

The Established Church, after 1870 the Church of Ireland, tended, like the Catholic Church, to adhere to a denominational approach. It maintained its own network of national schools and never formally endorsed mixed education.^{xv}

Religion not the only divider

Not only were Irish schools distinct in a denominational sense but they were also distinct in terms of other cultural markers as well, most notably in terms of their ethnic, or national affiliation. Catholic schools tended to promote a distinctive and exclusive sense of Irishness and, with the renaissance of Gaelic-Irish culture at the end of the nineteenth century, became more enthusiastic about assimilating elements of it into curricular and extra-curricular activities than were their Protestant counterparts.^{xvi} This enthusiasm was most evident, for example, in the extent to which Catholic schools included instruction in the Irish language and the playing of Gaelic games. A Gaelic-Irish cultural ethos was being promoted in such schools in contrast to which Protestant schools could be characterised as promoting a more Irish-British ethos.

The Irish-British ethos of Protestant schools was evident by the manner in which loyalty to the British crown was taken for granted, the virtues of the British Empire extolled, and in practical ways such as the playing of games, perceived to be British, like rugby, cricket and hockey. Also, the general absence from the curriculum in such schools of any significant elements of Gaelic culture was a further contrast with their Catholic counter-parts.

Northern Ireland - the early years

The educational legacy which Northern Ireland inherited on its establishment in 1921 was, therefore, at all levels a sharply divided one, but no more so than the communities which comprised the new state itself. Addressing these divisions was regarded as an important priority by the first Minister of Education, Lord Londonderry. In doing so he was to invoke the ideal of an integrated school system as the most appropriate model. However, as the discussion which follows will argue, his approach was deeply flawed.

In one of his earliest official comments on educational policy Londonderry spoke enthusiastically of collecting “in one great body and in one band all the great educational forces of the country...and that with co-operation and with sympathy we will be able to evolve a system that will be the admiration of all other countries.”^{xvii} What Londonderry hoped to have established was a system of publicly controlled elementary schools open and acceptable to all interests and to all sections of the population. Such schools would not be denominational, though provision for religious instruction would be made. However, such schools would also, according to the committee which drew up the proposals for educational reform, cultivate loyalty and citizenship of a form that was clearly British, an injunction that had no prospect of support within the Catholic-Nationalist community which had supported the cause of Irish independence and resented being subjected to unionist and Protestant domination. General Catholic church opposition to the legislation that was enacted two years later and the seven years of controversy that followed ended any prospect of such a system being put in place.

The Catholic Church insisted on retaining control over its own schools and would neither transfer them to public control nor encourage Catholic parents to enrol their children in the new public elementary schools. In this stand the church was supported by the overwhelming majority of the Catholic community, not least because Catholic schools were seen as contributing to the transmission and fostering of nationalist culture as well as Catholic beliefs and values.^{xviii} The Protestant churches were also unwilling to transfer their schools to the new system because they regarded those schools as secular given that religious instruction was reduced to an optional status and the churches deprived of any significant role in their management.^{xix}

In the event, the government agreed, in 1930, to amend its legislation. The result was that public elementary schools became in effect Protestant, and Catholic schools remained outside this system, but with a degree of public funding considerably less than the former. Parallel but unequally funded systems of elementary schools then evolved, not quite, as Londonderry had hoped, “the admiration of all other countries”.

The outcome was in many respects not dissimilar to that which had followed the attempt to create a system of ‘mixed’ national schools. Both in 1831 and in 1921 the churches strongly defended their claims to be directly involved in education. They did so on historic grounds, but more so because they argued that education had a strong religious dimension which, in a believing society like that in Ireland, could not be easily set to one side. While the public authorities expressed a desire to encourage schools to address and overcome communal divisions, their approach lacked any appreciation of the complexity of the issues

involved. They assumed the case for integrated education to be so reasonable and self-evident that opposition could only be motivated by narrow self-interest and a desire to perpetuate division.

While the Protestant churches had vehemently defended their educational rights, the Catholic Church was, particularly in unionist and liberal circles, perceived as the main opponent to integrated education. It became common place to attribute responsibility for the persistence of communal division to the Catholic Church's insistence on maintaining its own separate network of schools. The reforming, unionist Prime Minister, Terence O'Neill, (1963-69), could not avoid this temptation and, at a time when he was attempting to promote more harmonious community relations argued that the greatest contribution would be made if the Catholic Church abandoned its ownership of schools.^{xx}

O'Neill's failure to appreciate the educational and civil rights issues involved was only too evident in his remarks. Neither the Catholic Church's reasons for providing its own schools both as an expression of a basic right and as a religious responsibility, nor the broader cultural differences which schools reflected as agencies of the different communities which they served, were appreciated by O'Neill and critics like him.

It was not until the outbreak of serious communal conflict in the nineteen-seventies that the issue of integrated education again became a serious issue in Northern Ireland, and this time efforts to realise it was to achieve much greater success. The result has been the gradual establishment of denominationally integrated primary and second level schools across Northern Ireland. In the rest of this paper the background and underlying issues affecting this development will be examined.

Education and conflict

With the outbreak of widespread and bitter communal violence in Northern Ireland in 1970 questions began to be asked as to the responsibility of education in addressing and removing the causes underlying this conflict. Once again the contribution which integrated schools might make was advanced as a solution. A key contrast with earlier attempts was the extent to which the campaign which developed around this issue came to be parent-driven. It was in this feature that the key to success lay, not least in ensuring the viability of any integrated schools that would be established. A second factor was the legal basis upon which education is provided and the rights afforded parents by that legal basis. A third factor was the determination of those involved to develop a more holistic educational rationale for integrated education than that understood by 'mixed education' in the nineteenth century. That rationale would incorporate a commitment to a particular ethos as well as an approach to the curriculum which would respect and celebrate all of Northern Ireland's cultural traditions.^{xxi}

In Northern Ireland, as in the rest of Ireland and in Britain, the legal responsibility for a child's education rested, and still does, in the first instance, with parents.^{xxii} Effectively this meant that whereas public authorities might and did provide schools, there could be no legal obligation to insist that any child be educated in such schools. Other schools provided by groups or individuals could exist, among them schools of religious organisations and churches. It was precisely on this basis that the Irish churches, in particular the Catholic Church, had long argued the case for its schools to be recognised. Furthermore, the case that such schools should be in receipt of public funding rested on the argument that the education they provided was within the requirements of the public authorities and, therefore, contributed to the common good of society in the same way as schools provided by those same authorities.

On the basis of such arguments there was no reason why denominationally integrated schools should not be established and, once demonstrably viable, be afforded similar degrees of government funding and support as other schools outside the public sector. In other words, a civil right to establish integrated schools was already recognised and only required sufficient demand for it to become a reality.

With a clear legal case to support their demands those promoting the cause of integrated schooling had three major issues to address in mounting a campaign to achieve their objective. The first and most serious was the political hurdle posed by existing interests, i.e. the public authorities, the churches and other existing providers who were likely to feel threatened by the emergence of a rival school system. The second hurdle was to convince parents that education in an integrated school would be comparable to that

available in existing schools. The third was to demonstrate that within integrated education the goal of improved community relations could be realised.

The rest of this paper examines the development of integrated education in the light of the issues posed by these hurdles.

Overcoming hurdles

Attitudes towards integrated education as represented by the Department of Education for Northern Ireland and the local education boards were initially influenced by the fact that all schools in the public sector were, theoretically, integrated. There was, therefore no need for a new kind of school which would make demands on the public purse. The Committee on the Reorganisation of Secondary Education, 1972,^{xxiii} considered the matter, but while endorsing the goal of an integrated system decided that it could only be established on a voluntary basis and should not be subject to official determination. The only change in official attitudes towards integrated education at this time was signalled in an initiative taken by the ill-fated 'power-sharing' executive in 1974.^{xxiv} The minister of education in that executive, Basil McIvor, issued a consultative document on the possibility of creating inter-denominational boards of management for existing schools.^{xxv} With the downfall of the executive the initiative died, but even if the executive had survived it is doubtful how much progress would have been made. Cardinal Conway, the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh,^{xxvi} rejected the proposal, though it received a positive reception from other quarters with teachers' unions and the main political parties, unionist and nationalist, welcoming it. In a considered comment the Catholic Advisory Council on Education argued that the Catholic church regarded education as an essentially religious matter, hence the necessity for Catholic schools.^{xxvii} Indeed, as Bishop Philbin of Down and Connor emphasised 'The law of the Church is quite definite, quite universal in this matter. It is that there is an obligation to go to a catholic school...It is the same in Northern Ireland as any other part of the world.'^{xxviii} With respect to communal division and strife, the council argued that even if Catholic schools contributed in any way to that division and strife, that means should be sought to deal with the problems other than by pressurising Catholic schools to amalgamate with others.

The achievement of integrated education was, therefore, left to the efforts of voluntary, parent led groups, several of which were emerging at this time campaigning for the establishment of such schools. The absence of official support,^{xxix} government or church, for integrated education meant that when the decision was taken to establish the first schools in this sector, there was no immediate source of funding or other forms of support available. Since the schools had to prove viability before public funding could be made available and since the voluntary groups lacked the resources which churches could provide in such circumstances, fund-raising became an immediate problem. Some philanthropic bodies, notably the Nuffield Foundation,^{xxx} came to the rescue but a considerable burden had to be borne by the local groups which undertook to establish schools.

Initially progress was slow but by the mid-1980s the first successes had been achieved with the opening of several integrated primary and secondary schools. As these schools proved themselves to be viable, i.e. enrolments could be predicted with some certainty, their management committees were able to apply for 'maintained' status and public funding became available on the same terms as to other schools in the voluntary sector. The establishment of other integrated schools soon followed and by 1990 almost 4,000 pupils, less than two per cent of the school-going population, were enrolled in denominationally integrated schools across Northern Ireland and a council for integrated education had been established to oversee the establishment and further development of this new sector.

Within that period official attitudes towards integrated education underwent a significant change. From the *laissez-faire* attitude of the 1972 Committee, official attitudes had moved to a position wherein integrated education was being viewed with greater favour than any other part of the whole school system. The terms of the 1989 Education Reform Order placed an obligation on the Department of Education not just to provide the usual support for integrated schools, but also to encourage their development.^{xxxi}

Opposition to integrated schools came, not unexpectedly from existing providers, most notably the Catholic church and, less overtly from sections of the Protestant-unionist community. The Catholic Church insisted that Catholic parents had an obligation to enrol their children in Catholic schools. To reinforce this stand

the church made it difficult for Catholic children attending integrated schools to participate in those features of church life for which they are usually prepared in Catholic schools, notably first communion and confirmation.^{xxxii} Furthermore, Catholic clergy were not appointed to minister to Catholic children in integrated schools, despite being invited to do so. In some areas parents with children at integrated schools publicly confronted their clergy when difficulties arose over communion and confirmation. However, with the spread of such schools and with the support which they were receiving from Catholic parents, such resistance gradually declined.

The main political parties supported integrated education to a greater or lesser extent usually not because they expressed any great conviction or enthusiasm for it, but more so because they felt obliged to uphold the principle of parental choice. The Alliance Party, itself a cross-community party, was the most enthusiastic while the Democratic Unionist Party, led by Ian Paisley, a Protestant fundamentalist party, was the most opposed.^{xxxiii} Opposition at political level was more covert becoming evident in attempts by some local authorities to deny planning permission to groups seeking to build premises for new integrated schools - a form of opposition, however, that did not become widespread. More pragmatically, as school rolls generally began to decline in the mid-nineteen nineties and competition for pupils increased between local schools, proposals to establish an integrated school in an area often met with considerable opposition from existing providers - such opposition could also conceal more fundamental reasons for not wanting integrated schools established.^{xxxiv}

What now exists is a vibrant and growing third school sector catering for a small percentage of Northern Ireland's young generation. Its place within the overall framework of first and second level education is assured, though it is likely to remain very much the junior partner alongside the public, predominantly Protestant, and the voluntary- maintained (predominantly Catholic) sectors.

Has the creation of this sector done more than serve the needs of those parents who either do not wish to send their children to schools in the other sectors, or who wish to have them educated alongside children of the other community? It is to this question touching on the fundamental *raison d'être* for integrated schools that I turn in the final section of the paper.

Integrated education, community relations and civil rights

Searching for evidence as to the effects which integrated education may be having on community relations either specifically with respect to the pupils and staff in integrated schools, or more generally, is an extremely difficult quest. Despite the considerable literature on integrated education in Northern Ireland hardly any of it is based on empirical studies addressing this question. Irwin's 1990 study^{xxxv} provides some of the most positive evidence that pupils in integrated schools may attain a greater capacity for 'reciprocity of thought', i.e. the capacity to understand the points of view of others, than do those attending traditional Catholic or Protestant schools. Furthermore, Irwin's studies also reveal a much stronger tendency amongst pupils at integrated schools to develop and sustain, even beyond schooling, friendships across the community divide, than do pupils attending traditional schools. Positive as such evidence is, it does not suggest achievements necessarily exclusive to integrated schools. However, if the scale of the achievements is so much greater, integrated schools are posing a challenge which other providers and society generally should note.

While the longer term benefits of educating Protestant and Catholic pupils together are awaited, integrated education has one very positive and important achievement to its credit, the vindication of the right to provide, where they do not already exist, schools to meet the conscientious beliefs of parents. In line with the United Nation's Declaration on Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights which uphold the right of parents to determine the education of their children, denominationally integrated schools in Northern Ireland are a clear expression of that determination. In that respect they truly do mark an important achievement.

ⁱ Letter from the secretary for Ireland to his Grace the Duke of Leinster on the formation of a Board of Education, October, 1831, in *Irish Educational Documents*, Vol. 1, edited by A. Hyland and K. Milne. Dublin, 1987,98-103.

ⁱⁱ Ibid.

ⁱⁱⁱ see circular letter from Bishop J. Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin to his clergy, December 1831, *Irish Educational Documents*, Vol. 1, edited by A. Hyland and K. Milne. Dublin, 1987, 107-10. There was, nonetheless, a significant minority within the Catholic Church opposed to the approach adopted by Doyle and their views would eventually prevail.

^{iv} D.H. Akenson, *The Irish education experiment, the national system of education in the nineteenth century*, London, 1970, 17-58.

^v Ibid.

^{vi} The annual reports of the Board of Commissioners of National Education in Ireland contain statistical details bearing out this situation.

^{vii} *First Report of the Board of Commissioners of National Education in Ireland*, 1834.

^{viii} Report of the Powis commission, 1870.

^{ix} This is term which appears most frequently in the reports of the board of national commissioners.

^x Amir, Y., 'Contact Hypothesis in Ethnic Relations', *Psychological Bulletin*, 71, 5, 319-338.

^{xi} Par.3 of the statement of 'General Principles of the System of Education to be attended to by the Inspectors', Appendix E to the *Third Report of the Board of Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, 1836*.

^{xii} Wright, F., *Integrated Education and New Beginnings in Northern Ireland*, Belfast,1991., pp12-15.

^{xiii} McIvor, J., *Popular Education in the Irish Presbyterian Church*, Dublin, 1969

^{xiv} Farren, S., *The politics of Irish education*, Belfast, 1995, chapter 1.

^{xv} Kelly, T.F., 'Education', M. Hurley (ed), *Irish Anglicanism 1869-1969*, Dublin,1970.

^{xvi} Farren, S., *The politics of Irish education*, Belfast, 1995, chapter 1.

^{xvii} N.I. Senate debates, v.1,col.24, (23 June 1921).

^{xviii} Farren, S., 'Nationalist-Catholic reaction to educational reform in Northern Ireland 1921-1930', *History of Education*, 15,1,(1986), pp1921-1930.

^{xix} Farren, S., 'Unionist-Protestant reaction to educational reform in Northern Ireland 1923-1930', *History of Education*,14,3, (1985),pp227-36.

^{xx} Address by Terence O'Neill to the Corrymeela Community, Ballycastle, Co. Antrim, Easter, 1966.

^{xxi} See newsletters of the All Children Together movement from 1974 and publications of the Northern Ireland Council for Integrated Education from 1987.

^{xxii} Education legislation in Britain and Ireland has long enshrined parental rights as fundamental, e.g. the 1947 Education (Northern Ireland) Act.

^{xxiii} Established to consider the case for the re-organisation of secondary education in Northern Ireland particularly along comprehensive lines Northern Ireland; it also considered the case for integrated schooling.

^{xxiv} Following an agreement involving some of the main political parties a coalition administration involving members of those parties existed for five months in 1974 before resigning in the face of mass protests organised by extreme unionists.

^{xxv} *Statement on Mixed Schooling*, issued by the Office of Information Services, Belfast, 17 May 1974. Known as the 'shared management' proposal it invited existing school managements to restructure themselves on a cross-community basis.

^{xxvi} Statement by Cardinal William Conway, Archbishop of Armagh, May 1974.

^{xxvii} Catholic Advisory Council on Education, *The Role of Catholic Education*, Belfast, 1974.

^{xxviii} Philbin, Bishop William in an interview with RTE (the Irish television service), 3 October, 1979.

^{xxix} The one exception being the passing of the Education (Northern Ireland) Act 1978 permitting the establishment of multi-denominational schools out of existing schools where management and trustees

agreed to such a change; in effect this put into legislation the McIvor proposals, though with little immediate effect.

^{xxx} The Nuffield Foundation made initial grants available to support the establishment of integrated schools while they sought official recognition and the normal financial support that would follow.

^{xxx}_i Article 65 of the Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order 1989. Belfast, 1989.

^{xxx}_{ii} Bishop William Philbin, in particular, refused to allow clergy in his diocese to administer the sacraments to Catholic children attending non-Catholic schools; other bishops were not always so dogmatic but generally did little to facilitate preparation for the sacraments in such schools.

^{xxx}_{iii} Hall, EA., *The development of a denominationally integrated sector of education and the implications for teacher training*, unpublished MA dissertation, Coleraine: University of Ulster, 1995.

^{xxx}_{iv} The integrated secondary school in Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, opened in 1995, experienced such opposition when declining rolls became the basis for opposition being mounted by school authorities in both the Catholic and the public sectors in the town.

^{xxx}_v Irwin, C. , *Education and the development of social integration in divided societies*. Belfast, Queen's University, 1990.