Queen's University Belfast

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Investigating Links in Achievement and Deprivation (ILiAD)

Main Technical Report

(Volume 1)

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OFMDFM/QUB Research Project:

Investigating Links in Achievement and Deprivation (ILiAD)

Main Technical Report

Volume 1

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Table of Contents

List of figures

Executive Summary

(i) Introduction

This report presents the findings of the 'Investigating Links in Achievement and Deprivation' (ILiAD) research study, which was conducted by a team of researchers from the School of Education and the School of Geography, Archaeology and Palaeoecology at Queen's University Belfast, Stranmillis University College, and with independent research consultants. The study was funded by the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (OFMDFM) between 2012 and 2015. The main goal of the study was to explore and understand the factors (individual, school, home, community and structural factors) behind significant differential educational achievement in areas of high deprivation within Northern Ireland (i.e., those within the top 20% for multiple deprivation according to the Northern Ireland multiple deprivation measure).

Previous studies carried out within the UK and globally have concluded that there is a positive correlation between deprivation and educational underachievement. Notwithstanding this correlation, a preliminary analysis of Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service data suggested that the factors involved in educational achievement within deprived areas may be more complex than is suggested by quantitative analysis - there are areas of high deprivation where achievement is higher than in areas of less deprivation, and there are areas of less deprivation where achievement is lower than areas of high deprivation. This study is timely and important in order to ensure targeted, informed, policy interventions, strategies and support measures at a time when the N.I Executive/OFMDFM are trying to consolidate a peaceful Northern Ireland in the context of cohesion, sharing and integration.

This research forms part of a programme of independent research commissioned by the then Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (OFMDFM) – now the Executive Office (TEO) - to inform the policy development process. Consequently, the views expressed and conclusions drawn are those of the authors and not necessarily those of OFMDFM / TEO.

(ii) Research objectives

The research adopted a case study approach to explore and understand the factors behind significant differential educational achievement:

- between Electoral Wards with high level deprivation who perform better educationally than Wards with lower level deprivation;
- between Catholic and Protestant deprived areas;
- between similarly deprived Catholic deprived areas;
- between similarly deprived Protestant areas;
- within areas of mixed housing.

Broader aims were to contextualise and contribute to a more holistic understanding of the relationship between differential educational achievement and multiple deprivation.

The study specifically aimed to investigate the following questions:

- Why do children and young people in some Wards with high level deprivation perform well educationally, relative to their counterparts in similar or less deprived Wards?

- How can differential educational attainment be explained between Wards that are very closely matched as regards multiple deprivation?
- What contributory factors can be identified to help explain why Protestant Wards appear to be over-represented within the top twenty Wards for educational underachievement, relative to their multiple deprivation ranks?
- Why do children and young people in high deprivation areas of mixed religion/shared housing appear to perform relatively poorly educationally?
- What contributory factors may be identified to help explain any differences in educational achievement across gender within areas of multiple deprivation?

(iii) Methodology and theoretical framework

The research was designed as a three-year case study, combining statistical and in-depth qualitative data. The approach was community-centred and, as such, was iterative and developmental. Thus, data derived in the early stages informed subsequent data collection among community participants and stakeholders. Each Ward area in the sample was investigated as an individual case study.

The design was novel within this topic of educational research as it combined statistical interrogation of exiting data sets with case study understandings at Ward level, in order to 'drill down', determine and map holistically what factors are seen as contributing to the various identifiable (statistical) patterns of achievement in these neighbourhoods, with a view to improvement. However, since qualitative, in-depth case study approach generates different kinds of insights from that of quantitative studies, no inferences or population-based recommendations are being made to other Wards or Northern Ireland as a whole. The aspiration was that the findings might be of interest to those concerned with understanding and improving educational achievement in other areas of high deprivation by offering some lessons on how certain Ward areas, despite adverse conditions, are managing to defy statistical expectations and improve the educational chances of many of their young people.

The seven case study Electoral Wards (and their composite Super Output Areas) chosen for the sample were:

- **Whiterock** (Whiterock 1; Whiterock 2; Whiterock 3)
- **The Diamond** (The Diamond)
- **Rosemount** (Rosemount)
- **Dunclug** (Dunclug)
- **Duncairn** (Duncairn 1; Duncairn 2)
- **Woodstock** (Woodstock 1; Woodstock 2; Woodstock 3)
- **Tullycarnet** (Tullycarnet)

The study began with the **analysis of existing secondary data** (Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service/Census/Department of Education data), including geo-social, community and educational services mapping to describe the characteristics of the target areas and to explore change over time in relation to education and a series of social and demographic factors.

The qualitative case study data were collected through a variety of fit-for-purpose methods. This mostly comprised **semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews and focus group interviews.** A purposive sample was chosen from key criteria for selection in an attempt to access a range of relevant stakeholder voices within the timeframe of the research. The sample comprised participants at the community and school-levels, including: children and young people; parents; teachers; principals; community leaders; education

welfare officers; and other stakeholders (e.g. members of residents' associations) in the case study Wards. **Creative methods** were also used to collect visual data (drawings) from young people during some of the focus groups, to stimulate discussion around education and community issues and aspirations for the future.

Social capital theory provided a theoretical framework against which to interpret and analyse the findings. The specific requirements of the ILiAD study dictated that the social capital theoretical framework should enable examination of:

1. Micro (immediate/grassroots), meso (school-level), and macro (structural/policy-level) social capital formations.
2. Cross cutting themes (across the seven Wards) such as: value placed on education; parental capacity; school-home-community engagement; academic selection.
3. The discourses regarding achievement, low attainment and appropriate interventions.
4. The enablers and inhibitors of academic achievement within each Ward.
5. The ways in which these enablers and inhibitors work themselves through micro, meso and macro levels in each Ward.
6. Trends, comparisons and contrasts within and between the Wards.

To meet these requirements, the framework developed for the ILiAD study (see Figure 6) adopts the key elements from the CENI (2003) model to categorise germane proxy indicators. In other words, the projected outcomes from the CENI model (i.e. empowerment, infrastructure, and connectedness (bonding); engagement, horizontal accessibility, and innovation (bridging); and resources, vertical accessibility, and influence (linking)) have being applied to the specific context of this study. For example, parental support is categorised within the bonding proxy of empowerment; and positive triangular relationship between school, home and community is categorised within the bridging proxy of engagement. The selection of these sub-proxies (as outlined below) was based on (a) the scope of this study; and (b) the broader literature on social capital and factors which impact educational attainment.

Bonding Social Capital (micro- immediate/ grass roots level)

- **Empowerment –** i.e. high local value on education; parental / familial / peer support; stable home environment; and individual resilience;
- **Infrastructure –** i.e. accessibility / visibility of schools / school seen as in and of community; effective local community and youth work input; and visible pathways to FE, HE, and work;
- **Connectedness –** i.e. positive community influences; a sense of community cohesion; and unifying factors and traditions i.e. role of the Church and other shared socio-political / cultural associations (e.g. sporting associations or flute bands).

Bridging capital (meso - school level)

- **Engagement –** i.e. positive triangular relationship between school, home and community; and effective school leadership re discipline, standards and expectations;
- **Accessibility (horizontal) –** i.e. effective and accessible home-school-community linkages; supportive teachers / pupil-centred schools / social mixing; and inter-school / inter-agency collaboration;
- **Innovation –** i.e. flexible curricula / alternative measures of success / vocational placement opportunities; opportunities for parental learning; and effective provision of SEN support, extended schools, pastoral care, and support during (primary to post-primary) transition.

Linking capital (macro - structural / policy level)

- **Resources –** i.e. relevant policies / power structures; and decision-making processes;
- **Accessibility (vertical) –** i.e. access to external institutions with power and resources; and access to decision making processes;
- **Influence –** i.e. ability to influence policy; and ability to affect decision-making processes.

However, to meet aims of this study, the negative consequences of social capital, or what Rubio (1997)[1] refers to as 'perverse social capital' also needed to be examined. To address these concerns, the social capital framework for the ILiAD study was also guided by Portes' (1998)[2] counter thesis on social capital, which encompasses the following three examples of negative social capital:

- **Exclusion of outsiders –** i.e. exclusionary processes tied to the bounded solidarity of the community. For example, in the case of this study, a perceived demographic 'threat' leading to distrust/hostility towards outsiders;
- **Restriction on individual freedom –** i.e. restricted personal autonomy caused by community demands for conformity. For example, in the case of this study, spatial mobility restrictions and class-based perceptions of test preparation, selection and primary to post-primary transfers, access to Higher Education (HE) and/or job market;
- **Downward levelling of norms –** i.e. narratives and perceptions of oppression, besiegement, stigma and discrimination, which result in limiting ambition downwards. For example, in the case of this study, the influence of negative role models e.g. their impact on young people in terms of the local 'reward structure'.

(iv) Key findings (1) Answering the research questions

Research question 1: Why do children and young people in some Wards with high level deprivation perform well educationally, relative to their counterparts in similar or less deprived Wards?

What has made this project different from other studies on successful schools in areas of disadvantage is the fact that we have differentiated between disadvantaged areas, and examined the different factors that combine to lead to some young people doing very well in school (by the current educational standards). We have also outlined inter-and intra-Ward differences. Some of the challenges (and drivers of achievement) are the same across all Wards, but some factors combine to lift young people and their families up. However, each community has a unique set of circumstances – and some communities are seen to have the resources to mediate the challenges that exist. This is offered as part explanation of how achievement was so high in some of the electoral Wards investigated (particularly the Derry/Londonderry Wards), relative to their counterparts in similar or less deprived Wards.

One example which can be used to illustrate how these different factors are seen to combine in unique ways is the comparison of the Rosemount Ward (in Derry/Londonderry, which is ranked 44th out of 582 for multiple deprivation under the Northern Ireland Multiple Deprivation Measure 2010 and in which 91% of young people achieved five or more GCSEs at A*-C in 2012/13) and the Tullycarnet Ward (in Belfast, which is not as highly deprived as Rosemount – it is ranked 109th in Northern Ireland for multiple deprivation, and 43% of young people from Tullycarnet achieved five or more GCSEs in 2012/13). Firstly, in terms of structural (macro-level) factors, there were several positive drivers of achievement identified

[1] Rubio, M. (1997) 'Perverse social capital – some evidence from Colombia', Journal of Economic Issues, 31 (3), 805-816.
[2] Portes, A. (1998) 'Social capital: its origins and applications', Modern Sociology Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 24: pp 1-24.

within Rosemount, which were absent from Tullycarnet. Within Rosemount, there was frequent reference to an enduring positive legacy of the 1947 Education Act, for Catholics especially, which includes an appreciation of the value of education and a belief in the Catholic education system. Furthermore, high-performing schools are located close to or within the Ward itself, which were reported to have a social mix within them; 30.6% of young people from the Ward attended grammar schools; and there is an effective youth service and education initiatives within the community. In contrast, within Tullycarnet, although the socially mixed composition of some of the schools that serve young people from the area was highlighted as a structural driver of achievement, there were many more inhibitors of achievement at the structural (macro) level; for example, only one in five young people attended grammar schools or schools with a grammar stream (19.3%), and only one of the nine post-primary schools serving Tullycarnet is within two miles of the Ward, making it difficult for young people to feel that their school is a part of their 'community' and viewed as reinforcing the idea that school is not a priority. There was also a reported lack of resources/inadequate provision for early years. At the meso (school) level, several enablers were identified in Tullycarnet around the recent (community-inspired) 'transformation' that has occurred in relation to improved triangular linkages between schools, the community, and parents. These enablers included the community representatives propounding an improved perception of education, along with higher expectations, increased levels of commitment on the part of teachers, new visionary school leadership locally, flexible pedagogical styles, effective transition support, and broader conceptualisations of achievement. However, it was also claimed that some schools serving this community continue to pursue inappropriate curricula, retain a 'silo' mentality, display negative teacher attitudes towards pupils from Tullycarnet, and have low expectations. In comparison, within the Rosemount Ward, the drivers of achievement at the meso/school-level have been long established, and are wide-ranging: there are close and long-standing school-parent and school-community relationships, with many young people and their families benefitting from the high-quality Extended Schools provisions and the effective school partnerships and inter-agency partnerships that have been fostered; the data also show that staff-pupil relationships are, in general, productive, friendly and respectful; pupils feel 'listened to'; and the ethos of schools combines pastoral care and academic success. In addition, the schools serving young people from the Rosemount area were found to have an average absenteeism rate of 10.2% during 2012/13, the lowest rate of the ILiAD sample Wards (in comparison, Tullycarnet had an absenteeism rate of 18.2% during 2012/13).

The micro-level (home and community-level) drivers and inhibitors of achievement that were identified from the data from both Rosemount and Tullycarnet were similar (drivers such as individual resilience, close-knit family and neighbour networks, and parental support, and inhibitors such as anti-social behaviour, low expectations, and a sense of hopelessness), although within Tullycarnet, there was the added inhibitor identified of extant negative norms around education and employment – it was frequently claimed that young people there are '*surrounded'* and influenced by a section of people, who view school as alien, secure employment as unattainable, and unemployment as inevitable.

The differences between the Wards, in terms of the factors perceived to influence achievement, we argue, have led to differences in the ways (educational) social capital is both created and utilised. The data from Rosemount provide evidence of: high stocks of bonding social capital (referring to positive familial and community norms around education, supportive and engaged parents, close-knit community networks, and a sense of community belonging); high stocks of bridging social capital in Ward (referring to schools' levels of engagement, accessibility, and innovation); and high stocks of linking social capital (referring to the structural factors, which can positively impact on attainment levels). Comparatively, within Tullycarnet, while there are substantial stocks of bonding social capital (as evidenced by the examples from the data of the community cohesively coming together to effect positive change, which has empowered people within the Ward and increased parental

support for education and young people's aspirations), bridging social capital in the Ward has only recently begun to emerge, in terms of improved school-community-home triangular relationships. The Tullycarnet data also evidence a key structural factor, which is perceived to impact negatively on local attainment levels - the lack of visibility of quality post-primary schools within the Ward. Young people are educated in establishments relatively far from where they live, and such schools are therefore generally not seen as in or of the community they serve.

However, it was also clear that Tullycarnet has, up until very lately, struggled to access and utilise the capitals, assets and resources in relation to education; and has featured regularly in the lowest deciles in the attainment indices. This has led to an intergenerational sense of hopelessness and low expectations and norms surrounding education and employment – but it was also evident that nascent community-led activism is beginning to address these concerns. This (historical) detachment from education may help explain why Rosemount has outperformed Tullycarnet despite having a higher level of deprivation. Moreover, the positive community-led response may help to explain why in Tullycarnet, there was evidence of a confidence in its future, which was less noticeable in other predominantly Protestant Wards.

Research question 2: How can differential educational attainment be explained between Wards that are very closely matched as regards multiple deprivation?

The Wards of Duncairn and The Diamond were chosen for the original sample as they gave the study predominantly Catholic and Protestant Wards which are very closely matched for deprivation but demonstrate differential performance educationally; The Diamond and Whiterock Wards were also chosen for the study as they showed substantially different educational attainment levels, yet were closely matched for multiple deprivation (and are both predominantly Catholic Wards). In both of these examples, the Diamond Ward out-performed both Duncairn and Whiterock.

Analyses of the data suggest that, in broad terms, there are two main reasons that contribute to an explanation as to why differential achievement exists between Wards that are closely matched for multiple deprivation. The first is to do with the impact of negative social capital and/or the absences of positive social capital stocks within a Ward; the second is to do with the positive influence of the 'Derry Effect' – the impact that attendance at schools in the Derry area has on key measures related to educational attainment.

Taking Duncairn and The Diamond as the first example of differential educational attainment, several key differences were found between the Wards in terms of the drivers and inhibitors of achievement that exist within them. The Diamond, a predominantly Catholic Ward (81.2% Catholic), had several drivers, which were not found to the same extent within the Duncairn Ward. These were: the high value placed on education and the Catholic school system, a legacy of the 1947 Education Act, which is linked to intergenerational engagement with schools; highly-resourced schools which are geographically close to the centre of the Ward; a high level of social mixing within the schools, and a high proportion (30%) of young people from the Ward attending grammar schools; schools characterised by high standards of pastoral care, transition support, inter-school cooperation, and high expectations; high levels of youth club involvement; and positive adult education experiences and young people's experiences of nursery and primary school. In contrast, particular barriers to achievement were found to affect the Duncairn Ward more greatly than was the case in The Diamond. These barriers were partly shaped by Duncairn's post-conflict transition: spatial mobility restrictions and insular attitudes were common; and the wider community continues to be characterised by intra- and inter-community divisions. Other barriers included the significant changes in Duncairn's demographic profile, which are seen as having created an unsettled community characterised by impermanence; a low percentage of grammar school

attendees (11.7%); the dispersed geography of the schools serving young people from the Ward (which compounds the detachment that some young people already feel towards their education); and a high absenteeism rate (16.3% on average amongst all schools serving the Ward during 2012/13).

Turning to the second comparison in the sample, The Diamond Ward and the Whiterock Ward, the macro and micrlevel drivers and inhibitors of achievement were found to be very similar. It was at the meso (i.e. school) level were the key differences emerged. Firstly, in The Diamond, approximately twice as many young people attended grammar school than was the case in Whiterock (14.1%).Secondly, notwithstanding the evident quality of many schools serving the Whiterock Ward, there were problems identified regarding the inappropriateness of the curriculum offered to many pupils; some schools and agencies were reported to be working in *'silos'*; and there were claims that some teachers are *'disinterested'* and struggle to manage classes with disruptive pupils. Meso level barriers to achievement were also observed within The Diamond Ward, although these were found to be more pronounced in the schools that served the Fountain area within the Ward. These findings, which clearly illustrate the positive impact that attending a school in Derry/Londonderry potentially has on achievement, go some way in explaining how The Diamond Ward (as one of the two Derry/Londonderry Wards in the sample) is outperforming Whiterock, one of the Belfast Wards in the sample, even though both Wards are within the top 5% of Wards in Northern Ireland for high multiple deprivation.

Research question 3: What contributory factors can be identified to help explain why Protestant Wards appear to be over-represented within the top twenty Wards for educational underachievement, relative to their multiple deprivation ranks?

The analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data presented within this report has suggested several contributory factors that help to explain the differentials in educational achievement between predominantly-Catholic and predominantly-Protestant Wards in areas of high deprivation.

Firstly, from a historical viewpoint, the political and policy context of the past century was identified as having left a positive legacy for education within the Catholic community. Evidence of this legacy was clear from many of the qualitative interviews conducted during this project. In both Rosemont and The Diamond Wards, participants spoke of the positive impact of the 1947 Education Act on the educational aspirations and attainment of the Catholic population. It was referred to as having benefited a significant number of working-class Catholics: where for the first time, a grammar school education, funded by the state, was a distinct possibility for those who passed the 11+ examination, and this in turn, opened the potential for university study. One principal of a Catholic maintained school, serving the pupils of Rosemont, spoke at length about the 'powerful' meaning of education for Catholics and the vital role this has played in promoting educational success. This principal also talked about the championing of education by nationalist leaders such as John Hume. Principals of a Catholic maintained school and a state controlled school serving the pupils of The Diamond also talked about the powerful meaning of education for Catholics living in Derry.

Historical legacy issues were also recognised in the mainly Protestant Wards. In Duncairn, one principal argued that the divergence between Catholic and Protestant communities in terms of the education-work nexus was linked to their schools' historical approaches to poverty and higher education: "*in the 1970's, when it came to poverty, the way out of it in the Catholic sector was they pushed their kids to go onto University ... here, they didn't need to because they were jobs for them. It was only when the jobs dried up that the Controlled side cottoned on to the fact that education really matters."* In Woodstock, it was also suggested by local community workers that a contributing factor to a lost sense of community was a

long-standing perception within loyalist communities about *"having their identity erased*". This discourse was contrasted with that of representatives of the Catholic community where, it was argued there is a *"clearer vision … about why you're doing things"; "an overarching ideology that underpins almost everything*."

Secondly a related theme in the data was the perceived problem of ineffective political representation. It must be stated that dissatisfaction with political leadership and/or a broader disengagement from politics was evident in most of the Ward areas investigated, both Catholic and Protestant, but this was more pronounced in the mainly-Protestant Wards. For example, several respondents in Duncairn claimed that community development was being hindered by ineffective political representation. Other community level respondents highlighted the contrast between some unionist politicians who were seen as *"detached"*, and nationalist politicians who were viewed as "*part of their community"*. Within Tullycarnet, one principal claimed that politicians need to properly engage with educationalists to discuss: the future of education in NI; appropriate policy interventions; and how best to develop a system that would be 'the pride of Europe'. Several principals and teachers also felt that a key factor behind underachievement and low aspirations in Tullycarnet, Woodstock and Duncairn was that: many Protestant working class boys feel very *"unconnected";* the flag protests of 2012/13 having "*deepened that feeling";* and that this disconnect intensifies perceptions of *"inevitable underachievement".*

Thirdly, there have been changes in demographics within predominantly Protestant Wards, which have led to a certain level of 'fracturing' within these communities, and a subsequent lack of community cohesiveness, which was not observed to the same extent in the data from the predominantly Catholic communities. For example, according to Census statistics, demographics within Duncairn have changed considerably over the ten-year period between 2001 and 2011, in terms of religious makeup, housing tenure, and the settling of new communities within the area. This perhaps implies that the potential for positive intergenerational influence on young people and social bonding within the community is not as likely as it is in other Wards (assuming that a settled demographic pattern enhances opportunities for this to occur). In Woodstock, similar demographic change trends were found, and the perceived loss of community cohesiveness was also observed. According to community workers and residents in Woodstock, demographic changes, which have happened over a relatively short period of time, have had a "*disruptive"* and *"unsettling"* impact, and as such have been an inhibitor of local educational attainment because such population changes indicate and promote fatalistic perceptions of *"encroachment"* and *"inevitable decline",* and that these notions are absorbed by young people who are then dissuaded from applying themselves in school. Community fracturing too had added to the notion of *"feeling hard done by"* and *"having their identity erased"*. There were also perceptions within the Tullycarnet Ward of a lack of community cohesiveness, and participants linked this to the fragmented nature of Protestantism. It was commonly reported that many Protestant communities, such as Tullycarnet are *"in drift",* primarily, because of an absence of unifying factors, such as the *"central connection of faith that binds people together".* In contrast, one resident noted that *"there are so many Protestant churches … the Catholic communities just have one which helps to hold people together."*

A fourth factor identified related to higher school absenteeism rates found within mainly Protestant areas. Secondary data analysis showed that the eight post-primary schools serving young people from Woodstock had an average high-absenteeism rate (defined as attendance below 85% during a school year) of 21.3% during 2012/13; the nine schools serving young people from Tullycarnet had an average high-absenteeism rate of 18.2% during 2012/13; and the eleven schools serving young people from Duncairn had an average high-absenteeism rate of 16.3% during 2012/13. These average high-absenteeism rates compared less favourably to the Catholic Wards within the ILiAD sample (the average high-absenteeism rates for 2012/13 in Whiterock, Rosemount and The Diamond were

13.3%, 10.2% and 11.5% respectively). This pattern suggested that differential levels of absenteeism must be factored into any explanation of why Catholic Wards of high deprivation are out-performing Protestant Wards of similarly high (or lower) deprivation.

A fifth difference between mainly Catholic and mainly Protestant Wards was the (perceived) levels of detachment or attachment of schools to the areas they served. As evidenced in the case study chapters, strong links between schools and families were consistently seen as having positive impact on a young person's academic progression. However, it is equally clear that in the absence of such links, many young people are inhibited from realising their full potential at school. Several parents spoke about some schools which serve pupils within mainly Protestant Wards as being detached from the realities of their pupils' lives, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds. The most frequently suggested reason for this detachment was that many teachers who work in the schools *"come from a middle-class type background"* and thus *"it's totally impossible for them to relate to what's going on"* in their homes or communities. In a focus group of recent school leavers in Duncairn, it was claimed that it *would "not matter if they were from a nationalist background*", but *"it would have been better if they were from a working-class area".* Again, these responses were commonly framed in contrast with the Catholic community, wherein, it was argued; *"nearly all*" of teachers are working class. Indeed, in the mainly-Catholic Wards, several of the principals interviewed had grown up in and/or continued to live in the local community around the school, and pupils spoke of the positive influence of teachers with whom they had good relationships – relationships which were fostered because these teachers had also lived locally, and as such, understood them and their needs. Furthermore, as will be further examined in the sections on social capital within the case study Wards, one of the contrasts between the Catholic and Protestant Wards was the notion of Catholic parents, the local community sector, and schools having a shared responsibility for the academic progression of local young people. In several predominantly-Catholic neighbourhoods, there are well-established, collaborative learning communities, with Catholic maintained schools at the hub of these learning communities. It was clear that most Catholic maintained schools investigated here were not 'stand-alone' entities in the community – their leaders have enhanced the connectedness between the school and the community. Families in such schools were encouraged to be active participants in their children's education. The data make clear that the strength of these triangular relationships (school, home and community) is a significant factor in terms of addressing the education needs of disadvantage young people.

A further point that emerged from the qualitative data was the twofold-issue of low expectations, the low self-esteem and lack of resilience of some young people. Whilst this issue did arise amongst all Wards investigated, many respondents in the Duncairn Ward contrasted the lack of aspiration in the Protestant community with the "*confident"* Catholic community. For example, a youth worker recalled that during the times of exams, almost no Catholic children attend youth clubs because *"their parents have them in the home"; "they're studying, they're revising";* and their "*parents are being supportive".* More broadly, there was also evidence of low expectations on the part of schools; this was an important meso-level inhibitor of educational attainment, particularly within the mainly Protestant Wards. Some young people and parents claimed that during primary school, there had been little expectation or drive to get pupils to sit the 11+ or transfer tests. A number of residents thought some teachers simply give up on weaker pupils. Some teachers, it was argued, too often conclude that if parents *"don't give a monkey's",* neither should they; and that, because they think *"the majority of those kids are on a road to no town",* there was no point in bothering. These views were reinforced by parents, who claimed that some teachers took the view that in the absence of individual aptitude and parental interest, there was little point in pushing a child to achieve academically.

Our qualitative data also highlight thematic explanations for the underachievement of Protestant working class boys – which is a key factor in terms of the over-representation of Protestant Wards within the top twenty Wards for educational underachievement, relative to their multiple deprivation ranks. Many within this group were identified commonly, as not having a family tradition of academic success and the accompanying positive family/community norms around education that are a feature of middle class families/communities; their families also do not have the means to avail of private tuition or the addition costs of attending a grammar school; and in terms of comparison with Catholic working class boys, they do not share the same levels of social mixing in schools and have not benefited from the successful models in several CMS schools and communities around raising attainment in areas of high deprivation.

Research question 4: Why do children and young people in high deprivation areas of mixed religion/shared housing appear to perform relatively poorly educationally?

Drawing from the data collected within the mixed-religion Ward of Dunclug (56.5% Catholic, 35.0% Protestant - Census 2011 figures) and a Ward with a clearly defined interface, The Diamond (81.2% Catholic; most Protestant residents (364) are located with the Fountain estate area of the Ward, making up 15% of the Ward's population), there are three key inhibitors that appear to contribute to a lowering of educational attainment in areas which are not predominantly Catholic or Protestant. These are: a fractured community identity; demographic change and resultant difficulties with educational provision; and continuing division and conflict.

A fractured community identity and a lack of community cohesiveness were viewed as diminishing the strength of the home-school-community links that were identified as so important to enhancing educational attainment elsewhere. Despite the fact that different communities might be facing the same social or educational problems, and even where there is recognition that working in an integrated, coherent fashion to tackle such problems might make a positive difference, there was some evidence across stakeholders that getting divided communities to come together (perhaps the umbrella of a local school) and apply for money to serve the needs of all is a difficult process to get off the ground. This issue, however, is not confined to mixed-religion areas – the same problems of community fracturing were sometimes idetified within predominantly single-religion areas too. However, Dunclug was described by community representatives and youth workers specifically as lacking meaningful community 'spirit'. An absence of social cohesion was evidenced via accounts of: local disputes over DSD funding; the residents group being beset with in-fighting; and community facilities being routinely under-used and/or vandalised. There was also a perceived hierarchy of residential areas, which divided notions of community further. Some areas were deemed as being more desirable (affluent) to live in than others, and each was associated with particular communities. Certain areas are associated with an increasing ethnic minority and settled Traveller population (and consequently as becoming predominantly Catholic), and least affluent. As a consequence, physical division compounds social segregation in Dunclug. The fact that movement between the different areas within Dunclug is, at times, made difficult by a lack of connecting pathways and/or roads adds to this (perceived) division. The divisions and tensions that are manifest in the community were also reflected in the social dynamics of pupil interaction in school, militating against positive class interaction and learning. Young people were further aware of the negative impact of the social and cultural 'environment' of Dunclug on their own learning and educational /career aspirations, and attributed examples of educational success mainly to other factors. Nonetheless, one of the meso-level drivers of achievement within Dunclug was found to be the inter-school cooperation that existed; several respondents highlighted the role of the Ballymena Learning Together Group, which involves grammar and secondary schools sharing access to A level subjects. Collaborative education processes led by visionary

educators was identified as one of the mechanisms by which the problems of wider community division might begin to be overcome.

The demographic histories of mixed-religion areas and more recent demographic changes were other common structural reasons provided for explaining the lower patterns of achievement in mixed-religion areas of the ILiAD study. For example, the history of the demographics on the west bank of Derry/Londonderry city were referred to as a contributing factor behind the differential achievement levels of children from The Fountain compared to other parts of The Diamond area and Derry/Londonderry more generally. Falling Protestant demographics have left one state-controlled secondary school serving the city (with enrolment numbers within that school falling too). The spatial detachment of this school from pupils from The Fountain has engendered several negative consequences, which have, in turn, impacted negatively on educational achievement. Young people (and their families) have had to travel long distances to their school; as such, their school is not where their community (and perhaps their identity) is, which again detracts from the home-school-community relationships that can be built. Distance (compounded by the fact that many parents from areas of high deprivation do not have cars) make it difficult for young people to stay for afterschool activities/revision clubs, and parents indicate that they not readily able to attend evening meetings/parent courses. In sum, it may be difficult for such a school to become a central part of the young person's (or their parents') life.

The Dunclug Ward has also experienced a rapid change in its population makeup over the past five years, with a significant outward movement of Protestants. This has contributed to clashes between Protestants and Catholics in the estate and generally poor community relations. However, the greatest focus was placed on division between the majority grouping of 'local 'Irish'/'British' and the more recent incomer population of Eastern Europeans. Some participants talked about the latter experiencing hostility, sometimes open abuse, from their fellow residents. Young people described classroom tensions between the majority NI pupil population and those from ethnic minorities. In part, these tensions were based on differences in the language spoken. Teachers also identified having to cope with increasing numbers of children whose first language is not English, and parents with language barriers or different expectations and experiences of school from their countries of birth. Settled Traveller families living in the area were discussed as having particular family structures and to be frequently distrustful of outsiders. They were also considered to have relatively low self-esteem, tending not to push themselves or their children into the limelight, instead relying on fellow Travellers for help and support. School attendance of Traveller children, although improved over the recent past, was still considered comparatively poor. Where relevant additional resources had enabled targeted interventions, meaningful improvements in pupil learning and achievement had occurred. Taken collectively, the evidence suggests that changes in the macro demographic make-up of different areas have the potential to impact negatively on the educational achievement of young people, both those who are longer-term 'local' as well as those from ethnic minority populations.

The third, related inhibitor of educational achievement in the mixed-religion areas under investigation was continuing division and conflict between the two main communities in NI. Pupils and principals gave multiple examples of continuing aggressive behaviour and sectarian tensions, particularly in and around the interface area of the Fountain. This included bomb-scares, petrol bombings, bricks and glass being thrown. The children also reported a fractured relationship with neighbouring nationalist communities. Some post-primary pupils reported being unbothered about or desensitised from these types of occurrences, but one pupil explicitly stated how the disruption had affected her schoolwork. It was clear that insularism and separation of the two communities is deeply embedded and continuing legacies of the recent conflict, thus, appear to place many local children at an educational disadvantage.

Research question 5: What contributory factors may be identified to help explain any differences in educational achievement across gender within areas of multiple deprivation?

Several factors at the macro, meso and micro levels emerged from the qualitative findings, which may also help to explain why females frequently outperform males. Firstly, there was the macro/structural impact of (high-quality) single-sex school provision. To use Whiterock Ward as an example (63.2% of females in Whiterock achieved any five GCSEs at A*-C, and half that figure (31.6%) achieved five GCSEs at A*-C including English and Maths; for males, the figure for any five GCSEs was 47.9%, dropping again by half (23.6%) with the inclusion of English and Maths), two secondary schools dominate the enrolment of young people from the area – one for males and one for females. The single-sex female school is frequently ranked as the top-performing non-selective school in NI at GCSE level. The school also has City and Guilds affiliation, and as such, the range of both academic and vocational subjects on offer is vast. Furthermore, this structural driver was linked to the high achievement of females through the presence of positive role models who raise their aspirations for pursuing careers in areas that would be traditionally male-dominated.

In contrast, there was also a very small variation in the performances of females and males from The Diamond across the period 2008-2012. Looking specifically at female school leavers, 62.5% achieved any five GCSEs at A*-C (the third highest amongst the ILiAD Wards, after Rosemount and Whiterock), and 50.0% achieved five GCSEs at A*-C including English and Maths. For males, the pass rate for any five GCSEs was 62.0% (the highest performance rate out of the ILiAD sample), dropping to 52.0% with the inclusion of English and Maths. An explanation provided for this was that an equal number of grammar school avenues exists for females and males: although L/Derry has a large number of single sex schools (which previously disadvantaged females who wanted a grammar education), both sexes are now offered the same number of grammar places.

At the meso (school) level, explanations for females' achievement included the formal structure of the educational system itself – some participants made comments that '*for some boys, just getting them to sit down with a pen and a book is a major achievement*.' Other principals alluded to males and females having different learning styles and learning motivations, which resulted in females being rewarded by the current system. There was also evidence that differences in cultural expectations between males and females in regard to achievement were viewed as a factor in females outperforming males*: 'I have always found that girls want to do it right, want to please, or want to be seen to be producing good work.'* Some pupils felt that boys who were capable but were not into sports were sometimes disadvantaged at school; it was the ones who were good at both, who were valued and pushed the most.

There was also evidence in secondary data analyses that absenteeism rates are higher in all-boys schools serving Ward areas of high deprivation in comparison to all-girls schools. This is also suggested as an explanatory factor behind the differential achievement rates of males and females from many of these Ward areas. Additionally, some interviewees suggested that teachers need extra support to know how to help pupils who are coming from particularly difficult backgrounds, specifically males with social problems or who are coming from adverse circumstances.

Lastly, there were some common micro-level inhibitors of achievement arising from the qualitative data that related directly to males. Some female young people were of the opinion that some male peers just '*didn't care'* which school they went to nor were motivated to engage in any school and community initiatives. Young males endorsed this view, indicating that much of education and schooling was all '*too boring'* and '*useless'.* A number of principals also pointed to the impact of low self-esteem (particularly since the ending of the conflict and a subsequent '*loss of status'* in the community) and a lack of local positive role

model for young males as being contributory factors in the lower attainment levels of males. While these patterns indicate gender divisions in the way that education is perceived and valued, a number of pastoral teachers highlighted that some young females are increasingly engaging in destructive, defiant behaviours in school that are effecting their schooling.

(v) Key findings (2) - Social Capital and the deprivation - low attainment nexus

The ILiAD social capital model developed for the study comprises four elements: bonding social capital to examine the (micro-level) individual-home-community factors which impact on educational achievement; bridging social capital to outline the school-level (meso) factors; linking social capital to determine the influence of policy/structural (macro-level) factors; and negative social capital to highlight the less desirable outcomes associated with the concept. The key findings in relation to these four social capital constructs are categorised below. This section concludes with some brief observations around the role of social capital in terms of addressing the deprivation – low attainment nexus. Please also note that in Chapter 5 of this report a more comprehensive overview of the social capital findings are presented and include some key messages and observations for policy, practice and future research.

Bonding social capital: conceptualisations of empowerment, infrastructure and connectedness

Empowerment

The data from the ILiAD case studies attest that immediate, home-based influences have a significant impact on a young person's education attainment prospects. Across the seven Wards, the most important of these micro-level factors were: a high local value on education; familial / peer support; a stable home environment; and individual resilience. However, the data also make clear that many young people from the most disadvantaged families are (often totally) bereft of these attributes and support structures and, as a consequence, are highly unlikely to flourish in the current education system without meaningful individual / family / area-specific interventions.

Infrastructure

The seven case studies evidence the importance of community infrastructure in terms of creating the conditions most conducive to raising local attainment levels. The data here highlight that the most significant of these relate to: the accessibility and visibility of schools; effective community and youth work; and the provision of visible pathways to Further / Higher Education and employment opportunities. The propinquity of high performing schools is a critical factor in terms of local attainment levels. In such communities: pupils face less logistical / transportation barriers; attendance is improved and more easily managed; parents are more likely to attend parents' evenings and other school-based events; and, crucially, the school is seen as in and of the community, education becomes seen as a community priority, and young people (literally) see learning as a constant in their lived environment. Similarly, the data are littered with positive examples of youth and community work interventions targeted at addressing the educational needs of the most disadvantage young people. This data show that local youth and community workers are trusted by and uniquely placed to engage positively with the 'hardest to reach' families; and that these interventions and the relationships developed and role models offered by workers are particularly important for the many young people who have little or no consistent parental / familial support. It is also clear from the data that young people respond positively when they can envision that their application at school can lead to college, university and/or employment opportunities.

Connectedness

The ILiAD data attest that, in many cases, positive community norms around education are contingent on: positive local influences (role models); a sense of community cohesion; and unifying factors and traditions such as the role of the Catholic maintained sector and other shared socio-political / cultural associations (e.g. the GAA or sports associations or dance groups or flute bands). Notwithstanding generalisations, the data suggested that there is a contrast between the connectedness evident in many Catholic communities and the fragmentation experienced in some Protestant ones. The relatively recent arrival of ethnic minorities also appears to have created more challenges for working class Protestant communities and schools than Catholic ones in the ILiAD study. It is also clear that the rapidly increasing private rented sector has caused difficulties in certain communities, where transitory tenures, perceptions of community as a 'dumping ground', and the creation of a 'landlord culture' (such as Duncairn, Woodstock and Rosemount) have done little to enhance community cohesion.

Similarly, many teachers in the Catholic schools (serving Whiterock, Rosemount and The Diamond) were born and continue to live locally. This perhaps explains, in part, the closeness of their relationships with pupils. However, this was not the case in some Protestant Wards where, it was claimed by parents and community representatives that some teachers are perceived as 'middle class', 'detached' and don't have the 'same connection' or, possibly, 'long-term commitment' to the community from which their pupils derive.

Bridging social capital: schools' levels of engagement, accessibility and innovation

Engagement

In terms of school level engagement, the ILiAD data show that the most important factors are: positive triangular relationships between school, home and community; inter-school and inter-agency collaboration and sharing (the provision of holistic support services between the school, the local community, and pupils' homes through integrated service delivery by schools, statutory agencies and local voluntary and community organisations); and effective (especially visionary and outward-looking) school leadership. Where this support was in place from the early years, the beneficial effects were most apparent – for example, pupils received support during key transitions; parents were provided with support not only in helping their child at school but in their own learning and development; and EWO officers helped to decrease levels of absenteeism; all of which combined to aid pupils' achievement.

Accessibility (horizontal)

Across the seven ILiAD Wards, schools' accessibility was seen as a significant factor in terms of raising pupils' aspirations and attainment levels; encouraging parental involvement; and allowing schools to develop a greater understanding of the challenges experienced by the most disadvantaged families and communities. These data also showed that young people are most likely to succeed in education when: they are taught by empathetic and supportive teachers; attend schools with a pupil-centred ethos; and learn alongside other young people from different backgrounds.

Innovation

The ILiAD data attest to the fact that innovative and practices on the part of schools are essential in terms of improving attainment and addressing underachievement. The most important of these practices were identified as: the adoption of flexible curricula and

alternative measures of success; monitoring of internal-school and individual-level data; the provision of vocational placement opportunities for young people; Extended Schools; programmes for parents around supporting their child's education and addressing their own learning deficits; imaginative, effective provision for SEN; bespoke pastoral care, and support during transition stages.

Linking social capital: structural factors such as education policy and the ability of schools and communities to access resources and affect decision making processes

Two important findings to emerge from the data in terms of linking social capital were that: (a) neighbourhoods with a vibrant community sector that are collaboratively engaged with schools and external agencies are significantly more successful at securing additional targeted support; and (b) the size, traditions, attainment performance and lobbying power of the Catholic and grammar sectors have created substantial stocks of social capital. Moreover, and in their own ways, this capital is seen to make a positive contribution to the educational prospects of each sector's pupils.

The ILiAD data also highlight a number of policy issues around: the need to redefine understandings of 'education' and 'achievement'; inter-school competition and a lack of collaborative practice; the need for outward-looking and transformative leadership; the problems associated with short-termism; a focus on literacy and numeracy at transition stages; early years provision; recognition of the continuing impact of the conflict; the indicators used around poverty and deprivation in Northern Ireland; and the negative impact of academic selection.

The data here evidence that GCSEs are perceived as a crude measure of achievement and there needs to be a more nuanced approach that recognises that an outcome that is minor for one child may be a huge achievement for another. Many educationists talked of the deep contradiction in our current system whereby children are assessed at 11 on academic standards, but still, even after they are deemed high performing (or not) in these academic standards, we assess and measure them by the same academic standards as each other at age 16. The current system is seen as privileging young people, who are academic by the standards being used; with its narrow focus, it does not recognise the gifts and talents of all of our children and young people.

Furthermore, this study highlighted that the focus on the GCSE Maths and English targets means that some schools may be leaving out 'borderline' students from higher-tier classes. In terms of inter-school competition, the data confirm a view that grammar schools, in particular, are, often, driven on an individual basis. In other words, there is competition to be the best, to have the highest academic results and league table position. As a consequence, the arguments go that there is little real incentive to work collaboratively with other schools. The ILiAD data also make clear that the funding for support programmes from government Departments (including the Department of Education) is often contingent on linear measurement and meeting numerical targets. This was widely felt by many secondary school sector and community representatives to be problematic as certain achievements are qualitative and very difficult to measure.

The final sub-theme in terms of structural (policy) factors relates to the processes and impacts of academic selection. To be clear, while it is obvious that academic selection and subsequent entry to a grammar school gives some young people in the Wards an opportunity to realise their educational potential, the same system often prevents the most disadvantaged young people (in terms of social class and positive familial traditions and norms around education) from realising theirs. Whilst some young people from these disadvantaged Ward areas do succeed against the odds, the percentage is small. The

current system does not work for many of the young people. Indeed, the current transition between primary and post-primary school is seen to create a range of problems, such as: a palpable sense of failure among those who fail or do not sit the test; perceived social hierarchies; and the fact that (due to falling enrolments) the grammar sector is viewed as increasingly 'creaming' pupils who would likely be high-achieving, positive role models in non-grammar schools.

Negative social capital: the wrong kind of capital and unproductive networks

Social capital produces negative outcomes as well as positive ones. In some ILiAD Wards, close-knit networks, a shared sense of adversity, and a shared experience of stigmatisation and besiegement have created strong immediate ties. However, these kinds of bonds often create the wrong kind of social capital and in some communities, these factors have conspired to engender: **bounded solidarity**; hostility towards outsiders; restrictions on individual freedoms; a downward levelling of social norms; and negative role models.

In other words, the bonding capital in some communities is, to an extent, informed by legacies of the recent conflict and hostility towards outsiders. In such ways, a form of negative social capital is created in these communities because this exclusion of 'others' dissuades the creation of inter-community bridging ties and reinforces inward-looking, and often fatalistic, tendencies.

Restrictions on individual freedoms were evident in some areas. For example, the disruption to schooling in some Protestant communities caused by young people participating, for example, in recent flag protests was, to an extent, due to community-level conformity pressures; the spatial mobility limitations experience by some young people are similarly informed by community norms; and negative attitudes towards 'out-groups' such as migrant workers can be seen as neighbourhood-level expressions of threatened homogeneity.

A downward levelling of norms and aspiration were also evident in some of the most deprived communities, particularly, those with historically low levels of attainment and those whose bonds have developed through collective experience of adversity.

In some Wards, individual success stories such as grammar school entry or University offers were 'unwelcome' because they are seen to undermine community solidarity. This is a common phenomenon in the most deprived communities because this solidarity is, often, premised on the 'alleged impossibility of such occurrences' and an 'acquired schemata' of continual 'shared adversity and inevitable collective failure' (Portes, 1998 p. 17-18)[3].

Many young people from the most disadvantaged communities perceive that the only individuals who do succeed do so through nefarious means. Criminal activity in some sections of the case study Wards have created negative role models and many young people interviewed indicated that they routinely witness individuals 'succeeding' outside the regular channels of education (Rubio, 1997)[4].

Socially unproductive networks are another aspect of negative social capital. According to Field (2010: 91-93), it is important to distinguish between 'productive networks' which generate 'favourable outcomes' to members and the wider community, and 'unproductive networks' which provide benefits for members but produce negative outcomes for the wider community. It was frequently argued in the case study transcripts that the policy of academic selection is seen to create 'socially unproductive networks' in the case study

[3] Portes, A. (1998) 'Social capital: its origins and applications', Modern Sociology Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 24: pp 1-24.

[4] Rubio, M. (1997) 'Perverse social capital – some evidence from Colombia', Journal of Economic Issues, 31 (3), 805–816

Wards. Within these areas, it was argued that: (a) the current transfer system creates a range of problems for those young people who fail or do not sit the test; (b) deprives non-grammar schools of positive role models and likely high achievers; and (c) that the actual benefits of the educational social capital created by academic selection are disproportionately accrued by the most privileged i.e. those families with positive educational norms, a family tradition of academic success and sufficient income (e.g. to pay for private tutors).

Social capital and the deprivation – low attainment nexus

The ILiAD data have shown that bonding, bridging, and linking social capital (as conceptualised above) can play a critical role in terms of educational attainment. In each form, the capital that is created is seen to make a significant difference in terms of: promoting the value of education; raising attainment levels; and widening the learning opportunities of young people. Furthermore, the data attest to the fact that appropriate interventions at individual, familial, community, or school-level, can replenish social capital stocks where deficits occur. Indeed, a persuasive case can be made that social capital (as conceptualised in this study) can help address the deprivation – low attainment nexus. However, this is entirely contingent on the kind of social capital that is created and its accessibility in the social structure. For example, some of the social capital that was identified in the most disadvantaged communities was of a negative variety and was seen to engender distrust of outsiders, a downward levelling of norms around education, and a host of negative role models. Similarly, the current primary to post-primary transfer system has created a situation where the distribution of the current system's resultant social capital (i.e. entry to the best schools) is, to a very large extent, determined by class, income, and family norms around education.

In conclusion, we argue that these conceptualisations of social capital can help us better understand and address the complex inter-play between social deprivation and low attainment. However, this can only be achieved if: there is an understanding that social capital engenders different impacts in working class communities than it does in middle class ones; there is cognisance that social capital produces negative as well as positive outcomes; there is an appreciation of the limitations of social capital in terms of addressing structural inequality; and, more broadly, there is a determined effort to address such structural inequality by, for example, explicitly linking the above outlined inequities in education and the equalising effect of appropriate interventions to the equality agenda. In other words, social capital may be part of the answer to underachievement in the Northern Ireland education system but inequality is the problem.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This report presents the findings of the 'Investigating Links in Achievement and Deprivation' (ILiAD) research study, which was conducted by a team of researchers from the School of Education and the School of Geography, Archaeology and Palaeoecology at Queen's University Belfast, Stranmillis University College, and with independent research consultants. The study was funded by the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (OFMDFM) between 2012 and 2015. The main goal of the study was to explore and understand the factors (individual, school, home, community and structural factors) behind significant differential educational achievement in areas of high deprivation within Northern Ireland (i.e., those within the top 20% for multiple deprivation according to the Northern Ireland multiple deprivation measure). The research took a community-centred case study approach, which combined statistical and in-depth, qualitative data. Methods included interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders and secondary data analysis of official data. Social capital theory provided a framework against which to interpret and analyse the findings. The aim was to produce research outcomes, which could subsequently stimulate thought that could inform policy development and strategic planning regarding educational performance, thereby reducing inequality and the gap between achievers and non-achievers in areas of multiple deprivation.

This introductory chapter provides:

1. A rationale for the research by showing the historical trends in the relationship between deprivation and achievement in Northern Ireland;
2. Aims of the current research and the research questions;
3. Relevant government policies that influenced the research design;
4. Short literature review of the different perspectives on the issue of educational achievement and associated factors. A full and detailed Literature Review is available)

1.1. Rationale for the current research

Previous studies carried out within the UK and globally have concluded that there is a positive correlation between deprivation and educational underachievement (e.g. Demie et al, 2002[5]; Cooper et al, 2003[6]; McNally & Blanden, 2006[7]; Cassen & Kingdon, 2007[8]; Raffo et al, 2007[9]; Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2009[10]; Welsh Assembly, 2009[11]; Campbell, 2010[12]; INTO, 2011[13]). Many of these studies have utilized large-scale, quantitative methodologies which have produced overall, 'broad brush', macro results.

[5] Demie, F; Butler, R & Taplin, A (2002): 'Educational Achievement and the Disadvantage Factor: Empirical evidence': Educational Studies: Vol. 28, Issue 2

[6] Cooper, M; Lloyd-Reason, L & Wall, S (2003): 'Social deprivation and educational underachievement: Lessons from London': Education and Training: Vol. 45 (2): pp.79-88

[7] McNally, S & Blanden, J (2006): 'Child poverty and educational outcomes': Poverty 123, Winter 2006: Child Poverty Action Group.

[8] Cassen, R. and Kingdon, G. (2007). Tackling low educational achievement. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

[9] Raffo, C; Dyson, A; Gunter, H; Hall, D; Jones, L & Kalambouka, A (2007): Education and poverty - A critical review of theory, policy and practice. Joseph Rowntree Foundation & University of Manchester.

[10] Department for Children, Schools and Families (2009): 'Deprivation and education: The evidence on students in England, Foundation Stage to Key Stage 4': Schools Analysis and Research Division, Department for Children, Schools and Families: March 2009.

[11] Welsh Assembly (2009): Working with children, young people and families – Tackling child poverty: Guidance for Communities First Partnerships: Welsh Assembly Government: http://www.childpovertysolutions.org.uk/UserFiles/file/Com1stguiden.pdf: Accessed 26th July 2011.

[12] Campbell, A. (2010). Correlation of Education Underachievement and Socio-economic Deprivation in the Greater Belfast Area, South Eastern Regional College and Land Property Services

However, notwithstanding the above correlation, a preliminary analysis of Northern Ireland NINIS[14] data suggested that the factors involved in educational achievement within deprived areas may be more complex than is suggested by quantitative analysis. From scrutinizing the existing data, various examples of significant anomalies and trends were identified which challenged existing assumptions and beliefs and which appeared to be counterintuitive. For example:

Although 70% of the top 20 most deprived Wards in Northern Ireland (NINIS multiple deprivation measure) are Catholic (20% are Protestant and 10% are mixed religion), the top 20 Wards for educational underachievement comprise 35% Catholic, 55% Protestant and 10% mixed religion.

The patterns identified suggested that there are influences on educational performance that go beyond multiple deprivation alone because:

- There are areas of high deprivation where achievement is higher than in areas of less deprivation
- There are areas of less deprivation where achievement is lower than areas of high deprivation

1.1.1 Aims of the current study

The research adopted a case study approach to explore and understand the factors behind significant differential educational achievement:

- between Wards with high level deprivation who perform better educationally than Wards with lower level deprivation;
- between Catholic and Protestant deprived areas;
- between similarly deprived Catholic deprived areas;
- between similarly deprived Protestant areas;
- within areas of mixed housing.

A broader aim was to contextualise and stimulate wider debate on the relationship between differential educational achievement and multiple deprivation in Northern Ireland. However due to the qualitative nature of case study research, based as it is on observations, secondary data analysis and stakeholders' perceptions, there was no intention of generalising findings to the wider population of Wards in NI.

1.1.2. Research questions

The study specifically aimed to investigate the following questions:

- Why do children and young people in some Wards with high level deprivation perform well educationally, relative to their counterparts in similar or less deprived Wards?
- How can differential educational attainment be explained between those Wards that are very closely matched as regards multiple deprivation?

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http://www.serc.ac.uk/downloads/General%20Downloads/Correlation%20of%20Education%20and%20Deprivation.pdf. Accessed August 2011.

[13] INTO (2011): Impact Report, March 2011: http://www.intouniversity.org/sites/all/files/userfiles/files/Impact%20Briefing%20March%202011.pdf

[14] Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service

- What contributory factors can be identified to help explain why Protestant Wards appear to be over-represented within the top twenty Wards for educational underachievement, relative to their multiple deprivation ranks?
- Why do children and young people in high deprivation areas of mixed religion/shared housing appear to perform relatively poorly educationally?
- What contributory factors may be identified to help explain any differences in educational achievement across gender within areas of multiple deprivation?

1.2. Government policy in relation to achievement and deprivation

This study was considered timely and important in order to ensure targeted, informed, policy interventions, strategies and support measures at a time when the N.I Executive/OFMDFM (now TEO) are trying to consolidate a peaceful Northern Ireland in the context of cohesion, sharing and integration. The ILiAD study aimed provide a greater understanding of why there are better outcomes for children and young people in some deprived Wards, as opposed to others. There are several government strategies and policies that this research might help inform, in terms of future development and strategic planning necessary to address particular challenges:

- The Executive's *10 Year Strategy for Children and Young People* which aims to deliver improved outcomes in six key areas, one of which is 'enjoying, learning and achieving'.
- '*Improving Children's Life Chances – The Child Poverty Strategy [NI Executive, 2011]* sets out the actions proposed by the Northern Ireland Executive to address the issue of child poverty, and it recognises that there are two strands of work relevant to breaking the cyclical nature of poverty: supporting parents into better paid work, and increasing future prospects for the child. Education is one of the strategy's priority policy areas; specific strategic priorities include 'ensur[ing], as far as possible, that poverty in childhood does not translate into poor outcomes for children as they move into adult life', and 'ensur[ing] that the child's environment supports them to thrive.'
- *Lifetime Opportunities [OFMDFM, 2007],* the N.I Executive's Anti-Poverty and Social Inclusion Strategy for Northern Ireland, aims to promote social inclusion and increasing the learning and skills of individuals. It recognizes that low educational attainment in mainly urban areas poses particular challenges for government and it sets, as one of its goals, that children and young people aged 5-16 can 'experience a happy and fulfilling childhood, while equipping them with the education, skills and experience to achieve their potential to be citizens of tomorrow'.
- *Every School A Good School [Department of Education, 2009]* - The proposed project focuses upon exploring and understanding the factors behind differential educational achievement within deprived Wards. The focus is designed to provide further understanding of "links between schools and their local communities", as identified within the key targets of the 'Every School A Good School' policy for school improvement.
- *Literacy and Numeracy Strategy [Department of Education, 2011]* - This strategy aims to raise overall standards in literacy and numeracy and to close the gaps in achievement between the highest and lowest achieving pupils and schools, between the most and least disadvantaged and between males and females.
- *Families Matter Strategy [Department of Health, Social Services and Public Safety, 2009]* – this strategy provides the recognised priority needed in respect of early intervention and prevention services to support all families to parent confidently and responsibly and help give their children the best start in life and to realize their potential.

- Within the *Government's Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy*, it is intended that Extended Schools "make a significant contribution to reducing differentials and improving the quality of life for children and young people particularly from disadvantaged areas".
- Draft Programme for *Cohesion, Sharing and Integration [OFMDFM, 2010]* - The aim of this programme is to bring about positive changes for people of all ages throughout Northern Ireland. These changes will include providing and expanding safe and shared spaces; creating a society where cultural diversity is celebrated; and tackling the conditions that lead to division and segregation. Empowering the next generation is a key aspect of the document and the Programme aims to address those issues that impact most on young people within the community.

Furthermore, the Department of Education's corporate plan sets out its key priorities and objectives during the period from 2012 to 2015; the two overarching goals are:

1. Raising standards for all – through high quality teaching and learning, ensuring that all young people enjoy and do well in their education and that their progress is assessed and their attainment recognised, including through qualifications.

2. Closing the performance gap, increasing access and equality – addressing the underachievement that exists in our education system; ensuring that young people who face barriers or are at risk of social exclusion are supported to achieve to their full potential; and ensuring that our education service is planned effectively on an area basis to provide pupils with full access to the curriculum and Entitlement Framework.

The ILiAD project has the potential to assist directly in understanding causes of educational inequality and failure and thus provide feedback and recommendations for these policies and concurrent actions aimed at improving educational opportunities for those affected.

1.3. Literature Review

The purpose of the literature review was to further inform the research design and to operationalise key constructs of the ILiAD study. An extensive literature review was completed by the research team (extending to over 28,000 words). This encompassed a range of important perspectives on the issue of educational achievement and the types of factors, which tend to make a difference as regards differential attainment. The review looked at individual, family and school factors, together with community-level influences and the concept of social capital. From this, the ILiAD research team developed a preliminary conceptual model to facilitate research design and data collection in the case study Wards (see Figure 1 below):

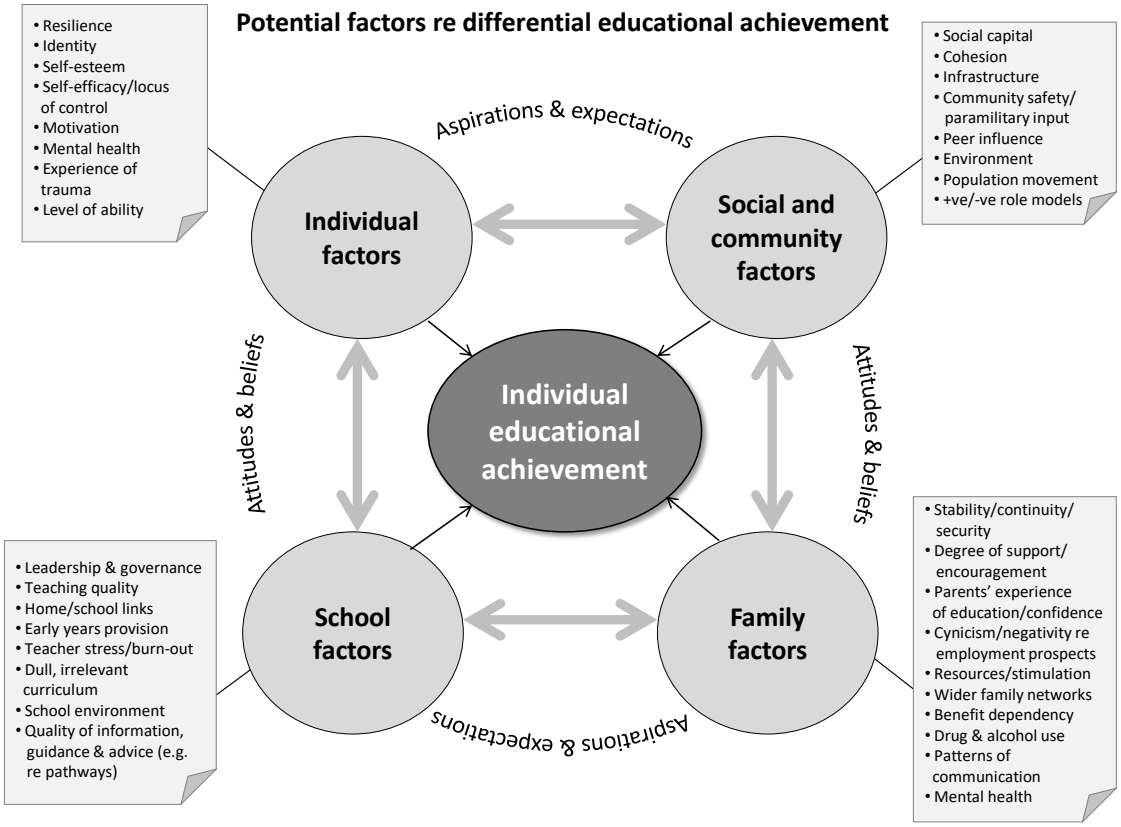

Figure 1: Mapping of potential factors influencing differential educational achievement

Below is a summary of the main, relevant issues arising from the literature. Each thematic area (individual, family, school and community factors) will be considered in turn.

1.3.1 Individual factors

- Alongside measures of intelligence, personality factors, resilience and wellbeing contribute strongly as determinants of academic achievement. Personality would appear to play a greater role in academic achievement by children than intelligence (Infante & Troyano, 2002[15]; Chamorro-Premuzic & Furnham, 2009[16]).
- Whereas cognitive ability reflects what an individual *can* do, personality traits reflect what an individual *will* do (O'Connor & Paunonen, 2007[17]).
- Non-ability, personality traits are most likely to be associated with: (a) the student's academic behaviours outside of the classroom (e.g., when completing independent study or doing homework); (b) in the decisions made by students about subject choice; (c) in the pursuit of academically oriented activities as a hobby or leisure activity (e.g., reading for pleasure or attending cultural/intellectual events); (d) knowledge accumulated over a

[15] Infante, M.M & Troyano, Y (2002): 'Psychosocial profile of unsuccessful university students – Personality and motivational factors revisited': Social Behavior & Personality – An International Journal: Vol. 3 (29): pp. 299-306.
[16] Chamorro-Premuzic, T., & Furnham, A. (2009): The psychology of personnel selection: New York: Cambridge University Press.
[17] O'Connor, M. C., & Paunonen, S. V. (2007): 'Big Five personality predictors of post-secondary academic performance': Personality and Individual Differences: Vol.43: pp. 971–990.

lifetime of school and non-school investment of time and effort; and (e) career choice and success after full-time education (Ackerman et al, 2011[18]).

- Pupil conscientiousness is a particularly important personality factor contributing to academic success and this is one of the things that differentiate achieving disadvantaged pupils from similarly disadvantaged peers.
- Pupil well-being is strongly linked with academic attainment (Quinn & Duckworth, 2007[19]; Payton et al, 2008[20]; Gullotta et al, 2009[21]; Dawson & Singh-Dhesi, 2010[22]).
- Aspects of well-being that impact positively on academic attainment include social-emotional competence (Ashdown & Bernard, 2011[23]); high life satisfaction (Gilman & Huebner, 2006[24]); hope, self-efficacy, self-esteem and optimism (Marques et al, 2011[25]).
- Emotional and social competencies have been shown to be more influential than cognitive abilities for educational attainment. Students who are angry, anxious or depressed do not learn and cannot take in/retain information efficiently when emotions overwhelm their concentration and their normal intelligent thinking is interrupted (Jackins, 1982[26]; Goleman, 1996[27]; Infante & Troyano, 2002; DfES, 2005[28]).
- Children with emotional problems will be prone to, among other things, low educational achievement (Ecclestone & Hayes, 2009[29]).
- Resilience has been defined as doing better than expected in difficult circumstances (Daniel & Wassell, 2002[30]); the ability to bounce back from adversity (Strand & Peacock, 2004[31]); competence and success despite adversity and disadvantage (Cefai, 2012[32]); higher self-efficacy (Borman & Overman, 2004[33]; Shumow et al., 1999[34]) and a greater sense of control over success and failure in school than non-resilient counterparts (Connell et al., 1994[35]).

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[18] Ackerman, P.L; Chamorro-Premuzic, T & Furnham, A (2011): 'Trait complexes and academic achievement - Old and new ways of examining personality in educational contexts': British Journal of Educational Psychology: Vol. 81: pp. 27–40.

[19] Quinn, P.D. & Duckworth, A.L. (2007). 'Happiness and academic achievement: Evidence for reciprocal causality': Poster session presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Psychological Science: Washington, DC.

[20] Payton, J. W.; Weissberg, R. P.; Durlak, J. A.; Dymnicki, A. B.; Taylor, R. D. & Schellinger, K. B. (2008): 'The positive impact of social and emotional learning for kindergarten to eighth-grade students: Findings from three scientific reviews': . Chicago, IL: Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning.

[21] Gullotta, T.P; Bloom, M; Gullotta, C.F & Messina, J.C [Eds] (2009): A blueprint for promoting academic and social competence in after-school programs: New York: Springer.

[22] Dawson, J & Singh-Dhesi, D (2010): 'Educational psychology working to improve psychological well-being: an example': Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties: Vol. 15 (4): 295-310.

[23] Ashdown, D. M & Bernard, M.E (2011): 'Can explicit instruction in social and emotional learning skills benefit the social-emotional development, well-being, and academic achievement of young children?': Early Childhood Education Journal: Vol. 39 (6): 397–405

[24] Gilman, R & Huebner, E.S (2006) 'Characteristics of adolescents who report very high life satisfaction': Journal of Youth and Adolescence: Vol 35 (3): 311-319.

[25] Marques, S.C; Pais-Ribeiro, J.L & Lopez, S.J (2011): 'The Role of Positive Psychology Constructs in Predicting Mental Health and Academic Achievement in Children and Adolescents: A Two-Year Longitudinal Study': Journal of Happiness Studies: December 2011: Vol. 12 (6): 1049-1062.

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[27] Goleman, D. (1996): Emotional Intelligence: Why it can Matter More than IQ: London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

[28] OfStED (2005): Healthy minds: promoting emotional health and well-being in schools: 21st July 2005: London: OfStED

[29] Ecclestone, K & Hayes, D (2009): 'Changing the subject: the educational implications of developing emotional wellbeing': Oxford Review of Education: Vol. 35 (3): 371-389: Oxford Brookes University.

[30] Daniel, B & Wassell, S (2002): The early years – Assessing and promoting resilience in vulnerable children: London: Jessica Kingsley.

[31] Strand, J & Peacock, T (2004): 'Nurturing resilience and school success in American Indian and Alaska Native Students': ERIC Digest: www.ericdigests.org/2003-4/native-students.html: Accessed 19th September 2012.

[32] Cefai, C (2012): 'Pupil resilience in the classroom – A teacher's framework': Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties: Vol. 9 (3): pp.149-170.

[33] Borman, G.D., & Overman, L.T. (2004): 'Academic resilience in mathematics among poor and minority students: Elementary School Journal: Vol.104: pp.177-195.

[34] Shumow, L; Vandell, D.L & Posner, J (1999): 'Risk and Resilience in the Urban Neighborhood - Predictors of Academic Performance Among Low-Income Elementary School Children: Merrill-Palmer Quarterly: Vol. 45 (2): pp. 309-331.

[35] Connell, J.P; Spencer, M.B & Aber, J.L (1994): 'Educational Risk and Resilience in African-American Youth: Context, Self, Action, and Outcomes in School': Child Development: Vol. 65: pp. 493-506.

- Resilience is important not only as an outcome in its own right but also as having a key role in promoting other outcomes such as improvements in behaviour, school attendance, learning, employability and wellbeing (DCSF, 2008[36]).
- The OECD has concluded that the factor which makes the biggest difference in terms of disadvantaged students who succeed and those that do not is resilience. About three out of every ten young people from poorer families are resilient. Resilient students are more motivated, more engaged and more self-confident than their low-achieving, disadvantaged peers. These are students who believe in themselves and who have a positive attitude towards school work (OECD, 2011[37]).
- Individual resilience is a dynamic process, changing over time and situations, teachers, and families alike have key roles in promoting the development of this quality in pupils (Cefai, 2012). Schools have an important opportunity to promote resilience and helping pupils to overcome their social disadvantage to become high performers, by developing activities, classroom practices and modes of instruction that foster disadvantaged students' motivation and confidence in their abilities (OECD, 2011).

1.3.2 Family factors

- Various studies have found that family background is the most important and most weighty factor in determining academic performance by students (Schiefelbaum & Simmons, 2003[38]).
- The influence of parental involvement largely transcends socioeconomic factors (Jeynes, 2007[39]).
- As correlates of positive academic outcomes for pupils, parental involvement takes many forms including the provision of a secure and stable home environment; parents' emotional responsiveness to children's developmental needs; intellectual stimulation/structure and support for learning in the home; parent-child discussion; good models of constructive social and educational values; high aspirations relating to personal fulfilment; contact with schools and teachers; participation in the work of the school and events (Fan & Chen, 2001[40]; Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003[41]).
- Many parents are not aware of the importance they play in their child's education and have a limited understanding of their role in supporting and promoting their children's learning (DCSF, 2009[42]; Kintrea et al, 2011[43]).
- Some parents in disadvantaged areas are put off by feeling 'put down' by schools and teachers (Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003[44]).

[36] Department for Children, Schools and Families (2009): 'Deprivation and education: The evidence on students in England, Foundation Stage to Key Stage 4': Schools Analysis and Research Division, Department for Children, Schools and Families: March 2009.
[37] OECD (2011): How do some students overcome their socio-economic background? PISA in Focus, 2011/5 (June). Available at http://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisaproducts/pisainfocus/48165173.pdf
[38] Schiefelbaum & Simmons (2003): 'Vinculacion familiar en el mundo': Revista Bordon: Vol. 50 (2): pp. 171-185.
[39] Jeynes, W H. (2007): 'The Relationship between Parental Involvement and Urban Secondary School Student Academic Achievement: A Meta-Analysis: Urban Education: Vol. 42 (1): pp82-110.
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[41] Desforges, C & Abouchaar, A (2003): The impact of parental involvement, parental support and family education on pupil achievement and adjustment: A literature review. DES Research Report RR 433.
[42] Department for Children, Schools and Families (2009): 'Deprivation and education: The evidence on students in England, Foundation Stage to Key Stage 4': Schools Analysis and Research Division, Department for Children, Schools and Families: March 2009.
[43] Kintrea, K; St.Clair, R & Houston, M (2011): The influence of parents, places and poverty on educational attitudes and aspirations: York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
[44] Desforges, C & Abouchaar, A (2003): The impact of parental involvement, parental support and family education on pupil achievement and adjustment: A literature review. DES Research Report RR 433.

- Parents' own experience of education, educational self-confidence, contact and engagement with teachers and schools, parental beliefs and attitudes about the value and utility of education are all important predictors of children's school attainment (Davis-Kean, 2005[45]; Brown & Iyengar, 2008[46]).
- Mothers' previous experience of education is particularly influential (Pishghadam & Zabihi, 2011[47]) as is maternal psycho-social health (Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003).
- Parental aspirations and expectations on their children's achievements have a strong impact on children's school results (Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003; Kintrea et al, 2011).
- Children from non-intact families reported lower educational expectations on the part of their parents and less monitoring of school. Children from single-parent families and stepparent families are more likely to exhibit signs of early disengagement from school and have lower academic achievement compared to children who came from two-parent homes (Schlee et al, 2009[48]).
- Even when single parents were enthusiastic about supporting their child's education, they were sometimes hesitant because they perceived that the teachers saw them negatively (Drummond & Stipek, 2004[49]).
- A useful conceptual model of the relationship between parental factors and academic outcomes for children has been developed by Taylor et al (2004)[50].
- Parental involvement is strongly and positively influenced by the child's level of attainment. In other words, this is a cyclical dynamic in which the lower the level of attainment, the less parental involvement ensues, leading to yet lower attainment (Desforges & Abouchaar, 2003).

1.3.3 School factors

- Teacher characteristics influence student behaviour and learning only if and when they affect teaching performance or behaviour, and school conditions such as the school size or mean teacher salary can be expected to influence students largely through teacher characteristics, or through within-school conditions. Thus, the way in which teacher characteristics affect student learning is not to be presumed as constant across all school types (Aslam & Kingdon, 2008[51]).
- While much of the research on the effect of school or teacher factors on achievement focus on the acquirement of basic literacy and mathematical skills, it is likely that different teaching skills are required for different types of learning achievements – teaching self-reliance or empathy, for example (non-cognitive measures), is quite different from teaching mathematics (Centra & Potter, 1980[52])

[45] Davis-Kean, P. E (2005): 'The influence of parent education and family income on child achievement - the indirect role of parental expectations and the home environment': Journal of Family Psychology: Vol. 19 (2): pp. 294–304

[46] Brown, L & Iyengar, S (2008): 'Parenting Styles: The Impact on Student Achievement': Marriage & Family Review: Vol. 43 (1/2): pp. 14-38.

[47] Pishghadam, R & Zabihi, R (2011): 'Parental Education and Social and Cultural Capital in Academic Achievement': Intemational Joumal of English Linguistics: 1 (2): September 2011: pp. 50-57.

[48] Schlee, B.M; Mullis, A.K & Shriner, M (2009): 'Parents' social and resource capital: Predictors of academic achievement during early childhood': Children and Youth Services Review: 31: pp. 227-234

[49] Drummond, K.V. & Stipek, D (2004): 'Low-income parents' beliefs about their role in children's academic learning': The Elementary School Journal: Vol. 104 (3): pp. 197-212.

[50] Taylor, L.C; Clayton, J.D & Rowley, S.J (2004): 'Academic socialization - understanding parental influences on children's school-related development in the early years': Review of General Psychology: Vol. 8 (3): pp. 163–178.

[51] Aslam, M., and Kingdon, G. (2008) *Research Consortium on Educational Outcomes and Poverty WP19/08, RECOUP Working Paper No. 19: What can Teachers do to Raise Pupil Achievement?* Department of Economics University of Oxford.

[52] Centra, J.A., and Potter, D. A. (1980) School and Teacher Effects: An Interrelational Model. *Review of Educational Research, Summer 1980, 50,* pp. 273-291

- Teaching effectiveness is closely related to the issue of targets and what counts as 'achievement' in a school. Cassen & Kingdon (2007)[53] argue that for teachers working in areas of severe socio-economic deprivation, it is essentially unfair to judge their professional expertise against the standard government target of achievement, if, for them, a successful lesson is one in which none of the pupils walks out of the classroom.
- The consensus from the review of studies carried out by Aslam & Kingdon (2008) is that many teacher characteristics such as certification level, training or experience do not matter to pupil achievement, but other studies have found that years of experience, level of education and subject area knowledge has a positive effect on children's attainment during the upper years of their schooling (Ehrenberg & Brewer, 1995[54]; Ferguson, 1991[55]; PPIC, 2003[56]). Summers and Wolfe (1975)[57] found that high-achieving pupils do best with teachers who are more experienced, but that low-achieving students do better with relatively new, inexperienced teachers. The authors suggest that this pattern of results could be a result of newer teachers' fresh enthusiasm for teaching those who are less engaged in learning.
- Positive teacher reinforcement, higher-order questioning techniques, and productive pedagogies that include a supportive classroom environment, inclusivity, and a sense of connectedness of the learning to the outside world can facilitate achievement (Queensland School Reform Longitudinal Study, 2002[58]; Younger et al, 2005[59]).
- Individual target setting and peer mentoring can reap many educational benefits if it is done correctly, especially for boys and lower-achieving pupils (Younger et al, 2005).
- Larger school enrolments are associated with better outcomes, especially the presence of a sixth form in post-primary schools. This may be due to teacher effects or the positive peer role model effects (Borooah and Knox, 2014[60]; Eide & Showalter, 1998[61])
- The physical school environment can enhance students' engagement if they have been involved in the design of the space. Classroom layouts and furniture can also affect student engagement (Higgins et al, 2005[62]; Moore & Glynn, 1984[63])
- Well-organised teachers who have specific and consistent procedures for everyday tasks and who monitor their class regularly are more likely to produce learning gains (Younger et al, 2005[64]).
- Absenteeism is a strong negative predictor of a pupil's gain in achievement in mathematics and literacy (PPIC, 2003[65]; Wiley and Harnischfeger, 1974[66]).

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[53] Cassen, R. and Kingdon, G. (2007). Tackling low educational achievement. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
[54] Ehrenberg, R. G. and Brewer, D. J. (1995). Did teachers' verbal ability and race matter in the 1960s? Coleman revisited. Economics of Education Review, 14, 1-21
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[61] Eide, E. and Showalter, M. H. (1998). The effect of school quality on student performance: A quantile regression approach. *Economics Letters, 58* (1998) 345–350
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[65] Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) (2003). New Insights into School and Classroom Factors Affecting Student Achievement: Research Brief. San Diego: PPIC.

- Younger et al (2005) found evidence to support single-sex classes for some classes – boys were found to perform better in single-sex languages classes, while girls performed better in girls-only sciences and mathematics classes. Borooah and Knox (2014)[67] found that in Northern Ireland, female-only secondary schools perform significantly better than co-educational or male-only secondary schools. At the grammar level, male-only schools performed worse at GCSE achievement level than co-educational or female-only schools.
- Decentralised leadership systems have been shown to work well in areas of deprivation. Principals of inner-city schools mentioned teacher involvement in decision making as an important approach for increasing effectiveness in Seeley et al's (1990)[68] and Piontek et al's (1998)[69] studies.
- Gale and Densmore (2003)[70] argue that school leaders need to be politically informed leaders as well as educators, who can adjust, adapt and deal with the changing socio-economic conditions they face. The involvement of community members in school improvement decisions can also lead to lasting transformation.
- In their study of improving the effectiveness of schools in deprived areas of Massachusetts, Piontek et al. (1998) found that teamwork and positive communication were present in all effective schools. In areas of deprivation, staff turnover is often a problem, and has been associated with lower achievement rates and a negative impact on the development and maintenance of a school culture (Hughes, 1995)[71].
- There is documented success in the effectiveness of Catholic schools in terms of promoting educational attainment (Borooah and Knox, 2014; Sander, 1997[72]; Sander, 2000[73]).
- There are mixed results on the impact of pupil-teacher ratios and per pupil resources on achievement (Wilson, 2003[74]; PPIC, 2003; Eide and Showalter, 1998[75]).
- There is no evidence that GCSE or A Level grades are affected by the presence of children with special educational needs (Borooah and Knox, 2014[76]; Dyson et al, 2004[77]).
- There is evidence to suggest that less well-off families are particularly affected by the current school selection system; according to Atkinson et al (2006)[78] – children who receive free school meals (FSM) with the same Key Stage 2 scores as children from more affluent families are far less likely to be selected for grammar schools. Achievement is also affected by transfers and transitions between schools and year

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[66] Wiley, D. E., & Harnischfeger, A. Explosion of a myth: Quantity of schooling and exposure to instruction, major educational vehicles. Educational Researcher, 1974, 3, 7-12.

[67] Borooah, V. and Knox, C. (2014). Access and performance inequalities: post-primary education in Northern Ireland. Journal of Poverty and Social Justice, 22(2), pp.111-35

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[76] Borooah, V. and Knox, C. (2014). Access and performance inequalities: post-primary education in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice,* 22(2), pp.111-35

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groups (Galton et al, 1999)[79]; in Year 8 many schools put most of their energy and money into smoothing the transfer process, rather than ensuring pupils' engagement and progress.

- Extended school provision is viewed as desirable in many studies, with possible benefits including enhanced social cohesion and reduced vandalism (Younger et al, 2005)[80]. Others have found that increased parental involvement and extra-curricular activities were indicators of school success.

1.3.4. Community factors

- Rufrano (1999)[81] argues that the local community is a powerful influence and plays a major role in shaping what happens at the school. He further indicates that school failures and successes happen within the context of community standards and expectations, the uniqueness of each community's traditions, expectations and belief systems and that all these types of factors influence pupil achievement.
- The results of a study by Gibbons (2002)[82] show that neighbourhoods do influence outcomes, regardless of family resources, that the association between community attainments and child attainments is robust since children's educational achievement is sensitive to the adult educational composition of their neighbourhood.
- Jencks and Mayer (1990)[83] elucidate a contagion or epidemic model of neighbourhood effects which stresses the significant influence of peer group behaviour for sustaining community-wide norms that either fail to reward and reinforce, or completely devalue, educational and academic success. This is a view supported by others (Wilson, 1987[84]; Crane, 1991[85]; Jensen & Seltzer, 2000[86]; Biddulph et al, 2003[87]). In terms of improving educational outcomes for young people, South et al (2003: 32)[88] suggest that 'because youth tend to adopt the educational attitudes and behaviours of their peers, small investments in improving educational attitudes and behaviours are likely to reverberate throughout disadvantaged communities'.
- A variant of the contagion model described above which links community disadvantage to the educational attainment of young people emphasizes adolescents' educational aspirations formed by adult role models. In this regard, a specific issue is that 'in economically distressed and socially disorganised neighbourhoods, successful parenting is thought to be particularly difficult (South et al, 2003)[89]. For instance, in such economically distressed environments, children are more often exposed to opportunities that make parental supervision difficult and that conflict with educational success

[79] Galton, M., Gray, J., and Ruddock, J. (1999). *The impact of school transitions and transfers on pupil progress and attainment*. Homerton College, Cambridge.
[80] Younger, M. and Warrington, M. (2005). Raising Boys' Achievement. Cambridge: Department for Education and Skills.
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[88] Smith, T.J; Jacobs, K & Soares, M.M (2012): 'Integrating community ergonomics with educational ergonomics – designing community systems to support classroom learning': Work: Vol. 41, pp. 3676-3684.
[89] South, S.J; Baumer, E.P & Lutz, A (2003): 'Interpreting Community Effects on Youth Educational Attainment': Youth Society: Vol. 35 (3): pp.3-35.

(Connell & Halpern-Felsher, 1997)[90]. Wilson (1996)[91] claims that neighbourhoods where most adults have steady jobs foster behaviours and attitudes that are conducive to success in both school and work. Wilson (1991)[92] suggests that in neighbourhoods where many adults do not work 'life can become incoherent for youth because of the lack of structuring norms modelled by working adults'. As Kao and Tienda (1998)[93] argue, youth in these neighbourhoods have lower educational aspirations because they do not expect educational success to equate to economic success.

- Entwisle et al (1997)[94] suggest that higher rates of residential mobility and school changes among students in economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods might account for adverse educational outcomes in these communities; a perspective endorsed by many other studies (Hagan et al, 1996[95]; Teachman et al., 1996[96]; Pribesh & Downey, 1999[97]; Swanson & Schneider, 1999[98]). According to Coleman (1988)[99] these effects have been interpreted by some as evidence that residential mobility and migration detracts from the social capital available to children and adolescents. Coleman (1990: 300)[100] further asserts that social capital consists of connections between actors that 'inhere in family relations and in community organization and that are useful for the cognitive and social development of a child'. The closer-knit a community, the greater the social capital and therefore the greater the positive effect on educational outcomes (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987)[101].
- In reference to social capital, Israel and Beaulieu (2004: 283)[102] confirm that 'youths' academic success stands on a three-legged stool – families, schools and communities'. Stockard and Mayberry (1992: 74)[103] make an attempt at a definition of social capital by stating that 'the very essence of social capital is evident in relations that exist among people. It embraces obligations, behavioural expectations and trust that develop from strong ties among individuals in a group, channels of information that help individuals be more informed and norms and sanctions that facilitate and constrain certain actions'. Putnam (2000) reviewed the evidence on the impact of social capital on education in the United States and found a strong and significant correlation between measures of social capital and quality of learning outcomes. This view is echoed by various authors (Sun, 1999[104]; OECD, 2001[105]; Davis, 2004[106]; Green, 2006[107]; Woolley, 2008[108])

[90] Connell, J.P & Halpern-Felsher, B.L (1997): 'How Neighborhoods Affect Educational Outcomes in Middle Childhood and Adolescence: Conceptual Issues and an Empirical Example': Neighborhood Poverty: Vol. 1: pp. 174-199.
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[100] Coleman, J. S. (1990). Foundations of Social Theory. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
[101] Coleman, J. and Hoffer, T. (1987): Public and Private High Schools – The Impact of Communities: New York: Basic Books.
[102] Israel, G.D & Beaulieu, L.J (2004): 'Laying the foundation for employment – the role of social capital in educational achievement': The Review of Regional Studies: Vol. 34 (3): pp. 260-287.
[103] Stockard, J & Mayberry, M (1992): Effective educational environments: Newbury Park, CA: Corwin Press Inc.
[104] Sun, Y.M (1999): 'The Contextual Effects of Community Social Capital on Academic Performance': Social Science Research: Vol. 28: pp. 403–26.
[105] OECD (2001): The Wellbeing of Nations - The Role of Human and Social Capital, Education and Skills: OECD Centre for Educational Research and Innovation: Paris: France.
[106] Davis, E (2004): A National Approach to Measuring Social Capital: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australia: http://www.engagingcommunities2005.org/abstracts/Davis-Elisabeth-final.pdf: Accessed 22nd March 2013.
[107] Green, M (2006): When people care enough to act: Toronto: Inclusion Press.

- An investigation by Korbin and Coulton (1995)[109] concluded that not all poor neighbourhoods are alike and the features that characterise the neighbourhoods where better-functioning families reside are features of social capital, namely community investment, trust and organisational affiliation. Deprived communities do vary in the kinds of support they give their residents and supportive neighbourhoods characterised by strong social capital can mitigate the harmful effects of economic disadvantage on student achievement (Bickel et al 2002[110]; Holloway, 2004[111]).

Given that there have been relatively few useful theoretical lenses through which we might better understand the relationship between deprivation and various patterns of achievement and underachievement, social capital was chosen as the theoretical framework for conceptualising the ILiAD study, as it highlights the value of social relations and the role of cooperation, confidence and cohesiveness to attain collective, economic or educational results. This theoretical framework is presented in more depth in Chapter 3 of this report.

[108] Woolley, M.E; Grogan-Kaylor, A; Gilster, M.E; Karb, R.A; Gant, L.M; Reischl, T.M & Alaimo, K (2008): 'Neighborhood social capital, poor physical conditions, and school achievement': Children & Schools: Vol. 30 (3): pp. 133-45.
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Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter outlines the methods used in the 'Investigating Links in Achievement and Deprivation' study. The methods were chosen on the basis of the core aims and research questions of the study. Answering this range of research questions required a mixed-methods approach. The chapter will firstly present a detailed overview of the research design and methodologies employed.

2.1 Research design

The research was designed as a three-year case study, combining statistical and in-depth qualitative data. The approach was community-centred and, as such, was iterative and developmental. Thus, data derived in the early stages informed subsequent data collection among community participants and stakeholders. Each Ward area in the sample was investigated as an individual case study.

The design was novel within this topic of educational research as it combined statistical interrogation of exiting data sets with case study understandings at Ward level, in order to 'drill down', determine and map more holistically what factors are seen to be contributing to the various identifiable (statistical) patterns of achievement in these neighbourhoods, all with a view to improvement.

2.2 Methods: Case studies

The research team identified that the best approach to extending current knowledge and understanding of the complex relationship between educational achievement and levels of multiple deprivation in Northern Ireland was a case study approach. Case study is a form of qualitative research that refers to the collection and presentation of detailed information about a particular unit or small group, frequently including the accounts of participants themselves. Yin (1984, p. 23)[112] defines the case study research method as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. This is precisely why the method was chosen, in order to yield the best understandings of the factors contributing to differential educational achievement, especially when this approach incorporates a range of relevant statistical analyses, alongside in-depth, qualitative data relating to the identified geographical contexts.

Data types

The case studies provided three types of data, which were combined to contribute to a final synthesis of understanding of why significant differentials exist regarding educational performance and measures of multiple deprivation in areas of Northern Ireland, namely:

Interrogation and mapping of secondary data, including:

- Multiple deprivation 2010 domain statistics (such as crime, employment and so on) at Ward and lower spatial levels;

[112] Yin, R. K. (1984). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- 2001 and 2011 Census data, to explore the temporal continuity of these geographical areas over the decade and to examine change (e.g. in demographics and housing tenure) through time;

- Department of Education and Education and Library Board data at the Ward level, including data on enrolment (at nursery level through to post-primary level); achievement levels and destinations of school leavers; absenteeism; Free School Meals entitlement; Special Educational Needs registrations; and assessments of school provision based on school inspection reports from the Education and Training Inspectorate.

Interpretation of qualitative data which:

- Provided a synthesis of key stakeholder views and responses in relation to the issue of differential achievement specific to each of the case study locations;

- Provided in-depth, comparative, interpretation of experiences arising from consultation with groups of children and young people (at key educational, decision-making stages) in each of the case study areas, in relation to key indicators such as social capital, community cohesion and educational aspiration;

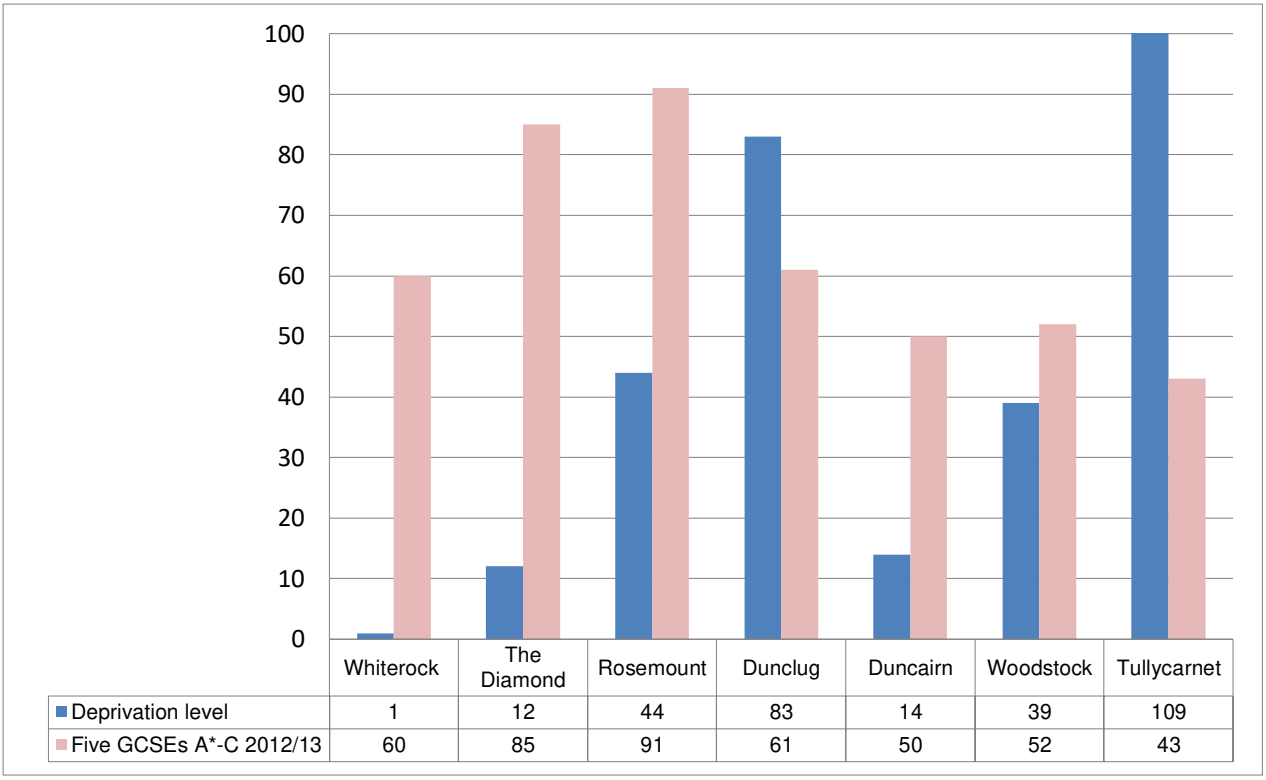
- Identified specific contributory indicators (historical and current) of the impact of structural factors, social and community issues, schooling, alternative education, youth and training provisions; and individual and family-level factors regarding differential educational achievement.

2.3. Case study sample – seven Electoral Ward areas

The study used a case study approach based on seven Wards (and their composite Super Output Areas). These were:

Whiterock	(Whiterock 1; Whiterock 2; Whiterock 3)
The Diamond	(The Diamond)
Rosemount	(Rosemount)
Dunclug	(Dunclug)
Duncairn	(Duncairn 1; Duncairn 2)
Woodstock	(Woodstock 1; Woodstock 2; Woodstock 3)
Tullycarnet	(Tullycarnet)

The Wards are illustrated in Figure 2 below, showing their ranking on the Northern Ireland Multiple Deprivation Measure 2010 by the percentage of school leavers who achieved five or more GCSEs at A*-C in 2012/13. Figure 3 below shows historical trends in relation to the percentage of pupils in each of the seven target Wards who achieved five GCSEs A*-C over the period 1996-2013.



	Whiterock	The Diamond	Rosemount	Dunclug	Duncairn	Woodstock	Tullycarnet
Deprivation level	1	12	44	83	14	39	109
Five GCSEs A*-C 2012/13	60	85	91	61	50	52	43

Figure 2: Percentage of pupils achieving 5 or more GCSE passes at Grade C or above (2012/13) by Multiple Deprivation Level 2010

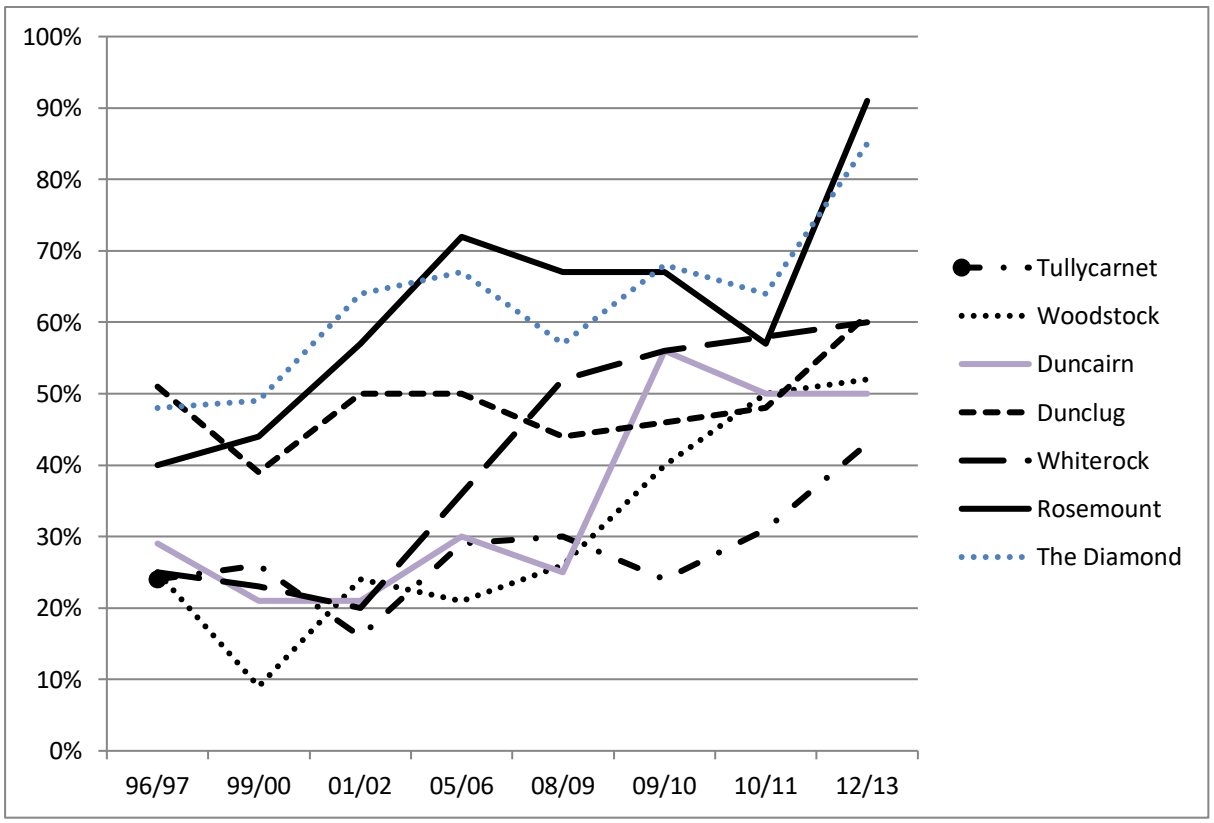


Figure 3: Historical trends in GCSE attainment (5 passes at A*-C) in each Ward

2.4. Sampling/selection of case study locations

The rationale for including these particular seven Wards in the study, as examples of differential educational achievement, was as follows:

- **Whiterock** because it is the most deprived Ward in Northern Ireland and it has significantly different educational achievement levels compared with **The Diamond** (which is also a predominantly Catholic Ward and closely matched for multiple deprivation).
- **The Diamond** and **Duncairn** because this gave the study predominantly Catholic and Protestant Wards which are very closely matched for deprivation but demonstrate differential performance educationally. Duncairn has experienced a spike in educational attainment since approximately 2008/09 (see Figure 2.2.), and is now performing at similar levels as **Woodstock**, another predominantly Protestant Ward, even though Duncairn is more highly deprived. Regarding the GCSE indicator, **The Diamond** appears to be a particular anomaly because it has high deprivation and strong educational performance.
- **Rosemount** and **Tullycarnet** because Rosemount provides a predominantly Catholic Ward with relatively high deprivation but good educational performance, whereas Tullycarnet, predominantly Protestant, provides the opposite profile (i.e. a Ward with relatively low deprivation and poor educational performance).
- **Woodstock** because it is more highly ranked for deprivation than **Tullycarnet,** and yet has better educational outcomes. Both are predominantly Protestant, so they offer a comparative view within the Protestant group.
- **Dunclug** because it is a mixed-religion Ward and it has an average GCSE performance level in the sample.

In terms of **symmetry**, 3 predominantly Catholic Wards, 3 predominantly Protestant Wards and 1 mixed Ward were chosen.

2.5. Methods of data collection

The study began with the **analysis of existing secondary data** (Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service/Census/Department of Education data), including geo-social, community and educational services mapping to describe the characteristics of the target areas and to explore change over time in relation to education and a series of social and demographic factors.

The qualitative case study data was collected through a variety of fit-for-purpose methods. This mostly comprised **semi-structured, individual, face-to-face interviews and focus group interviews.** A purposive sample was chosen from key criteria in an attempt to access a range of relevant stakeholder voices within the timeframe of the research. The sample comprised participants at the community and school-levels, including: children and young people; parents; teachers; principals; community leaders; education welfare officers; and other stakeholders (e.g. members of residents' associations) in the case study Wards (specific details are listed in Figure 4). Focus group and interview guides were developed for each grouping to explore their responses to a series of social and educational indicators. These schedules were designed to be used flexibly in order to allow specific issues of individual or local interest to arise spontaneously. **Creative methods** were also used to collect visual data (drawings) from young people during some of the focus groups, to stimulate discussion around education and community issues and aspirations for the future.

2.6. Data analysis

Quantitative analysis of secondary data was undertaken using SPSS software (version 19; IBM) and in consultation with the DENI. Qualitative data from the focus groups and interviews were transcribed and analysed through a two-step process:

(i) inductively analysed using an adapted form of thematic analysis, based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) approach to determine the key drivers and inhibitors to achievement for each Ward area followed by

(ii) analysis through a bespoke Social Capital analytic framework, based on the CENI (2003) model, Schuller's (2007) matrix, Portes' (1998) typology and Bourdieu's (1989) conceptualisations of capitals, field and habitus. (See Pages 21-26 for fuller explanation).

The full research team met on a regular basis thus enabling a comparative analysis of all qualitative data to reveal meta-themes, which were combined with the statistical analysis of secondary data to provide a more holistic picture of each case study site and ultimately a critical contrast of cases across the study sample, relevant to the research questions.

Figure 4: Specific details of the range of qualitative data collected within each case study Ward

Ward	Community-level data	School-level data
Whiterock	Education welfare officer focus group x1 Community representative interview x 1 Community partnership focus group x 1 Parents focus group x 1 Detached young people focus group x 2	Senior teacher interviews x 2 Education and Library Board representative interview x1 Nursery school principal interview x 1 Primary school principal interview x 1 Special school principal interview x1 Post-primary principal interview x 4 Post-primary pupil focus group x 2
The Diamond	Community worker interview x 4 Parent of high-achieving child interview x 1 Parent focus group x 2 Youth workers focus group x 1	Nursery school principal interview x 1 Primary school principal interview x 2 Post-primary principal interview x 4 Post-primary pupil focus group x 4 Primary pupil focus group x 1
Rosemount	Education welfare officer focus group x 1 Youth worker interview x 2 Young people forum focus group x 1 Parents focus group x1	Nursery school principal interview x 1 Post-primary principal interview x 4 Post-primary pupil focus group x 5
Dunclug	Education welfare officer focus group x 1 Community worker interview x 2 Community leaders focus group x 1 Youth workers focus group x 1 Young people focus group x 3 Parent interviews x 2 High achiever interview x 1	Nursery/primary school principal interview x 1 Post-primary principal interview x 3 Teacher interview x 2 Post-primary pupil focus groups x 4
Duncairn	Education welfare officer focus group x 1 Community representative interview x 1 Youth/community worker interview x 2 Young people's focus group x 1 Parents focus group x 1 Residents association focus group x 1	Nursery/primary school principal interview x 1 Post-primary principal interview x 4 Post-primary vice-principal interview x 1 Post-primary senior teacher interview x 2 Alternative education pupil focus group x 2
Woodstock	Education welfare officer focus group x 1 Parents focus group x 1 Community representative interview x 2 Youth and community workers focus group x 1 Residents focus group x 1 Young people focus group (residents) x 1 Neighbourhood Partnership personnel focus group x 1	Post-primary principal interview x 3 Post-primary vice-principal interview x 2 Post-primary senor teacher interview x 4
Tullycarnet	Education welfare officer focus group x 1 Community worker interview x 4 High achiever interview x 4 Parent focus group x 1 Neighbourhood forum focus group x 1	Nursery school principal interview x 1 Primary school principal interview x 1 Post-primary principal/teacher interview x 6 Primary pupil focus group x 1 Alternative education pupil interviews x 3

2.7. Ethical approval

The study was granted ethical approval by the Queen's University Ethics committee through the School of Education and the research team took guidance from the BERA Ethical Guidelines (2011)[113]. Particular ethical issues relevant to this study included voluntary informed consent; right to withdraw; entitlement to privacy and anonymity of participants' data; incentives; legal compliance; minimal bureaucratic or emotional burden and responsibility to the sponsor.

Various levels of informed consent were required for this research (individual, schools, organisations, children, and parents), which required developing and tailoring appropriate communications for the differing respondents to ensure clarity of expectations, forms of agreement and right to withdraw at any time. As with all forms of ethnographic studies with children and 'seldom heard' young people, the notion of informed consent can be problematic, but in former studies (Leitch et al, 2007[114], Leitch & Mitchell, 2007[115]) this process had been effective in a manner that is sensitive to children's rights, and this has included the use of creative and visual methods, such as those used in this study.

2.8. Advisory Group

An Advisory Group (AAG) was established at the outset of the inquiry comprising a broad range of representatives from the political, community, statutory and voluntary sectors, and its core membership (9 stakeholders) evolved through building new, and extending existing, relationships with key gatekeepers /community leaders for each neighbourhood area. The group met on six occasions, and gave the research team a strong platform on which to proceed, in terms of their connections within the case study areas and their experience and knowledge of relevant structural policies and initiatives. They also advised on the content and format of the research methodology, agreed on ethical protocols, and provided interpretations of emergent data and findings. The final meeting of the AAG was widened to include a larger group of stakeholders (36 in total) from the political, community, statutory and voluntary sectors, who had the opportunity to comment and give feedback upon the preliminary findings of the research. This final meeting therefore acted as both data collection and early dissemination of the results.

[113] The British Educational Research Association (BERA) Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research; available at: https://www.bera.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/BERA-Ethical-Guidelines-2011.pdf?noredirect=1

[114] Leitch, R. et al. (2007) Consulting pupils in Assessment for Learning classrooms: the twists and turns of working with students as co-researchers. *Educational Action Research*, Vol. 15, 3, 459-478.

[115] Leitch, R. & Mitchell, S. (2007) Caged birds and cloning machines: how student imagery 'speaks' to us about cultures of schooling and student participation. *Improving Schools*, 10(1), 53-71.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework of the ILiAD Study – Social Capital

3.1 Introduction

Put simply, social capital describes the quality and quantity of the connections within and between people, communities and social networks (Fine, 2010).[116] More generally, social capital is regarded as an important informer of policies which aim to minimise social exclusion. However, in more critical interpretations, the concept is viewed as little more than a 'convenient justification for a retreat from expensive welfare spending' (Campbell, 2000: 184).[117] Similarly, Field (2010:160)[118] argues that policy makers are keen to adopt social capital as a social panacea because the concept 'subordinates the social to the economic', justifies an increased role for the private sector and a decreased role for the state, and 'redirects civic activism into safe, depoliticised channels'. In the context of Northern Ireland's divided society, social capital has a particular draw for the potential it offers to strengthen the peace process and to bridge the societal divides that compelled the violence of the 'Troubles'. A number of government departments, statutory agencies and NGOs based in Northern Ireland have thus adopted the concept as a key indicator of societal progression by making explicit commitments to accrue and increase levels of social capital, the concept thus featuring in interventions around health (HPA, 2005),[119] the community and voluntary sector (CENI, 2003),[120] and housing (NIHE, 2008).[121]

In social capital theory, the role of education is seen as absolutely central. For example, Coleman (1988)[122] (whose academic background was the sociology of education) held that social capital was a significant enabler of a child's cognitive and social development. More broadly, he posited that a child's 'connectedness' to their family members, wider community, and school was an important precursor of higher academic attainment (Meier, 1999: 1-3).[123] In the context of the ILiAD study, i.e. Northern Ireland's deeply segregated school system, it is also necessary to examine the connections between religious commitment and academic achievement. Several international studies have reported a positive correlation between levels of 'religious capital' and educational attainment (e.g. Al-Fadhli & Kersen 2010).[124] Glanville et al (2008: 111)[125] argue that this positive correlation is due to the 'pro-education attitudes and resources' children in religious structures regularly come into contact with. In other studies, it is claimed that religious activity encourages 'conventional' behaviour that facilitates better integration into school systems (Gerwitz et al., 2005).[126] Moreover, it is further argued that the discipline provided by religious commitment boosts levels of individual resilience (Etzioni, 2004)[127] and encourages children to respect authority (Arum, 2003).[128]

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[116] Fine, B. (2010) Theories of Social Capital: researchers behaving badly, London: Pluto Press.
[117] Campbell, C. (2000) 'Social Capital and Health: contextualising health promotion within local community networks', in S. Baron, J. Field and T. Schuller (eds), Social Capital: critical perspectives, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[118] Field, J. (2010) Social Capital, (2nd ed) London: Routledge.
[119] Health Promotion Agency (2005) Connections for Health – A Report on the Social Capital Impact of the Ageing Well Initiative on Community and Older People's Health, Health Promotion Agency in partnership with Age Concern.
[120] CENI (2003), Report on Research into Evaluating Community-Based and Voluntary Activity in Northern Ireland, Belfast. Available from www.dsdni.gov.uk
[121] Northern Ireland Housing Executive (2008) Community Involvement Strategy 2008 – 2011, Housing Community Network.
[122] Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. The American Journal of Sociology, 94, pp. S95-S120
[123] Meier, A. (1999) 'Social Capital and School Achievement among Adolescents'. CDE Working Paper: 1–53. Accessed online on 12/02/15 at: http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/cde/cdewp/99-18.pdf
[124] Al-Fadhli, H.M. and Kersen, T.M. (2010) 'How Religious, Social and Cultural Capital Factors Influence Educational Aspirations of African American Adolescents', The Journal of Negro Education 79:3, pp.380-389.
[125] Glanville, J., Sikkink, D. and Hernández, E.I. (2008), 'Religious Involvement and Educational Outcomes: The Role of Social Capital and Extracurricular Participation', The Sociological Quarterly 49:1, pp.105-137.
[126] Gewirtz, S., Dickson, M., Power, S., Halpin, D. and Whitty, G. (2005) 'The Deployment of Social Capital Theory in Educational Policy and Provision: the Case of Education Action Zones in England', British Educational Research Journal 31:6, pp.651-673.
[127] Etzioni, A. (1994) The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society, New York: Simon & Schuster.
[128] Arum, R. (2003). *Judging school discipline: The crisis of moral authority*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

The specific requirements of the ILiAD study dictated that the social capital framework should enable examination of:

1. Micro (grassroots), meso (school-level), and macro (policy-level) social capital formations.
2. Cross cutting themes (across the seven Wards) such as: value placed on education; parental capacity; school-home-community engagement; academic selection.
3. The discourses regarding achievement, low attainment and appropriate interventions.
4. The enablers and inhibitors of academic achievement within each Ward.
5. The ways in which these enablers and inhibitors work themselves through micro, meso and macro levels in each Ward.
6. Trends, comparisons and contrasts within and between the Wards.

To meet these requirements, the framework developed for the ILiAD study (see Figure 6) adopted the key elements from the CENI (2003) model to categorise germane proxy indicators. In other words, the projected outcomes from the CENI model (i.e. empowerment, infrastructure, and connectedness (bonding); engagement, horizontal accessibility, and innovation (bridging); and resources, vertical accessibility, and influence (linking)) have being applied to the specific context of this study. For example, parental support is categorised within the bonding proxy of empowerment; and positive triangular relationship between school, home and community is categorised within the bridging proxy of engagement. The selection of these sub-proxies (as outlined below) was based on (a) the scope of this study; and (b) the broader literature on social capital and factors which impact educational attainment.

Bonding Social Capital (micro / grass roots level)

- **Empowerment –** i.e. high local value on education; parental / familial / peer support; stable home environment; and individual resilience;
- **Infrastructure –** i.e. accessibility / visibility of schools / school seen as in and of community; effective local community and youth work input; and visible pathways to FE, HE, and work;
- **Connectedness –** i.e. positive community influences; a sense of community cohesion; and unifying factors and traditions i.e. role of the Church and other shared socio-political / cultural associations (e.g. the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), or flute bands).

Bridging capital (meso / school level)

- **Engagement –** i.e. positive triangular relationship between school, home and community; and effective school leadership re discipline, standards and expectations;
- **Accessibility (horizontal) –** i.e. effective and accessible home-school-community linkages; supportive teachers / pupil-centred schools / social mixing; and inter-school / inter-agency collaboration;
- **Innovation –** i.e. flexible curricula / alternative measures of success / vocational placement opportunities; opportunities for parental learning; and effective provision of SEN support, extended schools, pastoral care, and support during (primary to post-primary) transition.

Linking capital (macro / policy level)

- **Resources –** i.e. relevant policies / power structures; and decision-making processes;
- **Accessibility (vertical) –** i.e. access to external institutions with power and resources; and access to decision making processes;
- **Influence –** i.e. ability to influence policy; and ability to affect decision making processes.

However, as indicated earlier, to meet the specific aims of this study, the negative consequences of social capital, or what Rubio (1997)[129] refers to as 'perverse social capital' also needed to be examined. To address these concerns, the social capital framework for the ILiAD study was also guided by Portes' (1998)[130] counter thesis on social capital which encompasses the following three examples of negative social capital:

- **Exclusion of outsiders –** i.e. exclusionary processes tied to the bounded solidarity of the community. For example, in the case of this study, a perceived demographic 'threat' leading to distrust/hostility towards outsiders;
- **Restriction on individual freedom –** i.e. restricted personal autonomy caused by community demands for conformity. For example, in the case of this study, spatial mobility restrictions and class-based perceptions of testing, selection and primary to post-primary transfers;
- **Downward levelling of norms –** i.e. narratives and perceptions of oppression, besiegement, stigma and discrimination which result in limiting ambition downwards. For example, in the case of this study, the influence of negative role models e.g. their impact on young people in terms of the local 'reward structure'.

3.2. Optimal forms of social capital

To supplement the ILiAD framework and to examine the interplay between bonding, bridging and linking capital, Schuller's (2007)[131] matrix (see Figure 5) was also applied to the seven Wards. Notwithstanding the difficulties in distinguishing between the bonding and bridging forms, it is important that a complementary balance between the two forms is achieved (Field, 2010). Defining such a balance is both highly problematic and entirely dependent on the context in which the social capital is generated. However, Schuller (2007: 16) has helpfully constructed a simple matrix, which serves to illustrate how the forms interact with each other to create networks and influence dynamics of social units:

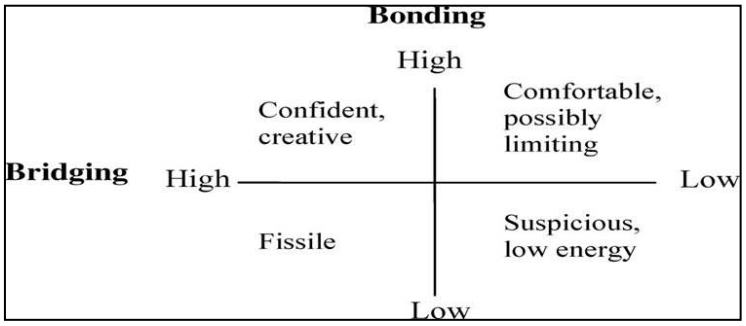

Figure 5: Schuller's (2007) Matrix of Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

In this model, a social unit or community with high bonding and bridging is confident in its own identity, enjoys internal cohesion, but is also open and acceptant of outside ideas and values. Schuller (2007:11-17) offers, by way of example, the idea of communities, which embrace immigration while retaining 'strong historical norms'. Conversely, a community with low levels bonding and bridging capital are likely to develop 'untrusting' and 'xenophobic' traits and become characterised by anomie, and/or intolerance as it would not be able to draw on either internal or external resources.

The third category is a well-bonded community with low levels of bridging, particularly those communities whose bonds are based on 'suspicion and hostility towards outsiders' (ibid: 17). In such social units, communities may appear internally cohesive, but be exclusionary in

[129] Rubio, M. (1997) 'Perverse social capital – some evidence from Colombia', Journal of Economic Issues, 31 (3), 805-816.
[130] Portes, A. (1998) 'Social capital: its origins and applications', Modern Sociology Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 24: pp 1-24.
[131] Schuller, T. (2007) 'Reflections on the use of social capital', Review of Social Economy, 65: 1, 11 — 28

terms of outside opportunities, unable to adapt to broader social changes and, therefore, prone to isolation and detachment. In the context of post-conflict Northern Ireland this particular blend of social capital is, often, the most prevalent (Shirlow and Murtagh, 2006).[132]

The fourth category in Schuller's matrix, high bridging with low bonding would, generally, refer to groups or communities whose members do not see this 'association' as their 'primary social referent of identity'. Such a blend would be typical of a group of otherwise well-connected people who are, nonetheless independent of each other and are 'together' only in 'temporary or loose connections'. Consequently, these types of social units would be characterised by 'transiency' and impermanence (Schuller, 2007: 14-17). In the contemporary context of ever-more flexible labour markets and increased inward economic-migration, an example of this fourth categorisation could be a 'community' of otherwise transitory individuals, such as short-term residents with privately rented tenures (Syrett and North, 2008).[133]

3.3. Capitals, 'Fields', and 'Habitus'

To further complement the ILiAD social capital framework (see Figure 6), it is also important to examine the (inter-dependant) relationship between the 'objective social structures' of the Wards / communities (fields) and the 'subjective dispositions' of individual residents (habitus). These interrelationships are central to our understanding of how 'class, space and relationships' affect the 'construction of an individual's social world' (Houston, 2002: 159-164).[134]

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu made a significant contribution to the social capital discourses via his conceptualisations of capitals, field and habitus. In the context of this study, the heuristic of 'field' allows for an analysis of each Ward as a socio-spatial entity; 'habitus' helps us explain the dynamic forces of the different dispositions of agents therein; and Bourdieu's third heuristic, 'capitals' facilitates an understanding of such assets as both 'weapons' and 'stakes of struggle', which 'allows its possessors to wield a power, an influence ... in the field' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 114).[135]

Several communities in the ILiAD study remain (to varying degrees) characterised by the recent conflict. Given that the habitus of individual residents has been formed through a 'multitude of past/present social engagements', their habitus is 'fluid, rather than fixed' and 'remains strongly influenced by historical, social and cultural contexts' (O'Brien and O'Fathaigh, 2005: 67-68).[136] This 'non-static' nature of habitus means that the social 'field': is only 'activated via the agency of individuals'; can never be considered as 'completely stable'; and has a bi-directional relationship with habitus. In other words, the existence of the 'field' is contingent on agents and their 'dispositions and acquired schemata', for it is the habitus of agents that 'constitutes the field' and 'imbues it with meaning' (ibid: 68-70). Concomitantly, by engaging in the 'field', people adapt their habitus to include the dominant norms that will enable profitable engagement in the 'field' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Two examples relating to a downward levelling of norms and the impact of the recent conflict highlight the heuristic qualities of Bourdieu's model. In the framework developed for the ILiAD study, one of the proxy indicators of negative social capital relates the limiting of

[132] Shirlow, P. and Murtagh, B. (2006). Belfast: Segregation, Violence and the City. Dublin: Pluto Press.
[133] Syrett, S. and North, D. (2008) *Renewing Deprived Neighbourhoods*, Bristol: Policy Press.
[134] Houston, S. (2002) 'Reflecting on habitus, field and capital: towards a culturally sensitive social work', Journal of Social Work, Vol. 2: pp 149-167.
[135] Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992) An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
[136] O'Brien, S. & Fathaigh, M. (2005) 'Bringing in Bourdieu's theory of social capital: renewing learning partnership approaches to social inclusion', *Irish Educational Studies*, Vol. 24 (1) 65-76.

ambition. Bourdieu (1998)[137] himself accepts that habitus is a key factor in the social reproduction of disadvantage. One of the field's most important effects on habitus is to limit the variation between an individual's actions and the constraining norms of their own social group. For example, in a community with low academic attainment and high levels of unemployment, it is likely that the affected habitus of local young people will persuade some to view further or higher education as unattainable and minimum-wage work, precarious zero-hour contracts or unemployment as inevitable (Portes, 1998).[138] In such ways, their 'affected habitus dictates to them what is considered achievable and worth aspiring to' (Oliver and O'Reilly, 2010: 51).[139]

Similarly, Bourdieu's model is particularly useful in terms of explaining the impact of inter-community conflict and extant paramilitarism on individual residents. Although, habitus relates to an individual's internalised dispositions, they are equally influenced by the individual's desire to conform to (local) dominant norms (O'Brien and O'Fathaigh, 2005). In other words, an individual's habitus is, in general, 'typical of one's social groups, communities, family, and historical position' (Oliver and O'Reilly, 2010: 56-57). In such ways, individuals (often unconsciously) 'accept and reproduce the field-specific norms' and hierarchies of their communities, i.e. sectarian identifications and the legitimacy of paramilitaries, as 'self-evident' (ibid).

Figure 6 below shows the final version of the social capital framework developed by the ILiAD team, which reveals the indicators that were used to demonstrate how social capital (including negative social capital) operates in the case study Ward areas.

[137] Bourdieu, P. (1998) *Acts of Resistance: Against the New Myths of Our Time,* (Translated by R. Nice), Cambridge: Polity Press.
[138] Portes, A. (1998) 'Social capital: its origins and applications', Modern Sociology Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 24: pp 1-24.
[139] Oliver, C. and O'Reilly, K. (2010) A Bourdieusian analysis of class and migration: habitus and the individualizing process. *Sociology*, 44: 49–65

Figure 6: Social Capital framework for the ILiAD study

Capital	Proxy indicators		
Bonding Micro level (grass roots)	**Empowerment** (1) High local value on education (2) Parental / familial / peer support (3) Stable home environment (4) Individual resilience	**Infrastructure** (1) Accessibility / visibility of schools / school seen as in and of community (2) Effective community and youth work (3) Visible pathways to FE, HE, and work	**Connectedness** (1) Positive community influences (2) Sense of community cohesion (3) Unifying factors and traditions i.e. role of the Church and other shared socio-political / cultural associations (e.g. GAA)
Bridging Meso level (school level)	**Engagement** (1) Positive triangular relationship between school, home and community (2) Effective school leadership re discipline, standards and expectations	**(horizontal) Accessibility** (1) Effective and accessible home-school linkages (2) Supportive teachers / pupil-centred schools / social mixing (3) Inter-school / inter-agency collaboration	**Innovation** (1) Flexible curricula / alternative measures of success / vocational placement opportunities (2) Opportunities for parental learning (3) Effective provision of SEN support, Extended Schools, pastoral care, and support during transition
Linking Macro level (policy)	**Resources** (1) Historical and demographic context (2) Relevant policies / power structures (3) Propinquity of local schools (4) Financial incentives/ investments/ pump-priming	**(vertical) Accessibility** (1) Access to external institutions with power and resources (2) Access to decision / policy making processes (3) Positive (community-level) perceptions of 'spatial self'	**Influence** (1) Ability to influence education policy (2) Ability to affect political decision-making processes (3) Ability to secure financial support
Negative outcomes of Social Capital	**Exclusion of others** (1) Exclusionary processes tied to the bounded solidarity of the community (2) Perceived demographic encroachment i.e. distrust / hostility towards outsiders	**Restrictions on individual freedom** (1) Restricted personal autonomy caused by community demands for conformity. (2) Spatial mobility restrictions (3) Negative impacts and class-based perceptions of testing, selection and primary to post primary transfers	**Downward levelling of norms** (1) Narratives and perceptions of oppression, besiegement, stigma and discrimination which result in limiting ambition downwards. (2) Influence of negative role models e.g. their impact on young people in terms of the local 'reward structure'.

Chapter 4: Summary results of the seven ILiAD case studies

This chapter presents a summary of the key drivers and inhibitors of achievement in each of the seven ILiAD case study areas (Whiterock; The Diamond; Rosemount; Dunclug; Duncairn; Woodstock; and Tullycarnet) as identified from document review, secondary data analysis of official statistics, and qualitative interviews with community representatives, education welfare officers, parents from the Ward, principals of schools serving children and young people from each area, and young people themselves. The drivers and inhibitors will be presented as macro-level (structural) factors, meso-level (school) factors, and micro-level (individual/family/peer/immediate community context) factors, firstly in a force-field analysis diagram, followed by a broader explanation of the factors that have impacted on achievement in each Ward.

Each summary of the drivers and inhibitors of achievement within each Ward is followed by an analysis of the social capital (including negative social capital) within each Ward, as demonstrated through analysis of the data collected. The social capital model developed for the ILiAD study comprises four elements:

Bonding social capital to examine the (micro-level) immediate, familial factors which impact on educational achievement;

Bridging social capital to outline the school-level (meso) factors;

Linking social capital to determine the influence of structural (policy-level) factors such as the Ward's history, demography and access to decision making processes; and finally,

Negative social capital to highlight some of the concept's less desirable outcomes.

Note 1: The full results for each case study Ward are available to view in Volume 2 of the ILiAD final report.

Note 2: In the ILiAD Final Summary Report (Volume 3) the terms, Micro, Meso and Macro, have been replaced with: Immediate (Individual- Home- Community), School and Structural/Policy levels for readability and ease of explanation.

4.1. Case study 1: Whiterock

4.1.1. Force Field Analysis of drivers and inhibitors of achievement in Whiterock

Drivers	Present situation – 60% five GCSEs A*-C (2012/13); 1st Multiple Deprivation 2010	Inhibitors
Macro-level a) Inter-agency & school cooperation b) High-performing education institutions are situated within the local Ward area c) Substantial, high-quality early years provision d) Social mixing in grammar schools e) High attainment performance of grammar sector		***Macro-level*** a) Felt effects of Academic selection b) Pressures on SEN and EWO support & insufficient resources c) Lack of political representation and feelings of disempowerment to participate in local political structures d) School closures and amalgamations e) Poor physical environment
Meso-level a) Parental involvement in schools b) Good leadership in schools c) Facilitative teacher skill-set and positive teacher behaviour & attitudes d) High expectations of schools e) Transition support – from nursery school to careers advice f) Provision of academic and vocational choice h) Monitoring individual progress and use of school data i) Combining an academic definition of success with a pastoral definition to heighten aspirations j) Advantage of single sex schools – for females		***Meso-level*** a) Inappropriate curriculum and school structure b) Schools and other agencies working in silos c) Deficits in teaching – disinterested teachers and teachers struggling to manage classes
Micro-level a) Resilience and self-motivation of high achievers against the odds b) Parental support, encouragement and high expectations c) Positive intergenerational influences d) Identification with macro-level structures		***Micro-level*** a) Class division, anti-social behaviour and the creation of 'no-go' areas b) Mental health issues and adverse circumstances at home c) Young people's lack of confidence & internalising a sense of being a 'problem' or failure d) Poor parental support & skills (particularly low literacy) e) Intergenerational lack of aspiration/ low expectations of school & education

4.1.2. Summary of the findings from the Whiterock Ward

A range of macro, meso and micro-level factors are seen to impact on the educational attainment of young people from Whiterock. Across these three levels, it is clear that a number of these factors enable academic achievement in the Ward and others are seen to inhibit young peoples' progression through school. In terms of the macro-level drivers of attainment in Whiterock, the data evidence that there is a long-standing culture of collaboration and cooperation between schools and other agencies involved in the educational welfare of young people. This culture may help to explain the reasons why the most deprived Ward in Northern Ireland performs significantly better in terms of the proportion of young people (58%) who attain five GCSEs.[140] It is also clear that an important element of this culture is that there are several high-performing education institutions situated within the local Ward area. Indeed, more than half of Whiterock's school-age population attend schools less than one mile away; and out of a total secondary enrolment of 572, only 15 pupils attend a school which is three miles away. Moreover (and uniquely within the ILiAD Wards), Whiterock has: two grammar schools; a FE campus; a HE institution; and a designated Specialist School for Performing Arts very close to the geographical centre of the Ward. These highly regarded community resources were seen by many local residents as having a wholly positive influence on young peoples' aspirations. There are also multiple nursery schools and Surestart programmes within the Ward which are fully integrated into partnership arrangements with community groups and statutory agencies. Additionally, nursery place uptake for children born in Whiterock has not fallen below 75% in the last four years (higher than the other ILiAD Wards). Moreover, the quality of this provision is also very high and recent inspections have ranked the quality of education and pastoral care within these nurseries as 'very good' or 'outstanding'. The final macro-level driver was based on the claim that many young people from Whiterock benefit from the social mixing which is said to be a feature of the Ward's grammar schools.

Several macro-level inhibitors were also identified. The most significant of these related to the issue of academic selection where, it was argued, that the process typically creates upward mobility for the few and a sense of failure for the many. Here the Whiterock data are seen to concur with the other Wards in the ILiAD study which attest that the impact of this 'failure' can often have a pronounced and long-term effect on the self-esteem of young people. A further significant macro-level inhibitor is the pressure created by (a) the high numbers of local young people who require additional educational support; and (b) the under-resourcing of SEN and EWO provision. According to the data, 45% of Ward's school-aged population have been 'statemented' of are in receipt of additional educational support; the phenomenon of recurring family distress patterns is highly evident; and a lack of resources is preventing proper assessments, supportive interventions, and the effective diagnosis of SEN. Other macro-level inhibitors concerned: school closures and amalgamations; the poor physical environment of parts of the Ward; and the accusation among some residents that, notwithstanding high levels of connectedness in the Ward, it was sometimes difficult to participate in local political structures.

In terms of the school-level (meso) drivers of attainment, the data here also concur with the other Wards in the ILIAD study and suggest that the most important enablers are: schools' capacity to encourage and maintain parental engagement; strong leadership as evidenced by e.g. high expectations and discipline standards; the provision of vocational opportunities and transition support from nursery school to careers advice; and a staff cohort which is empathetic to the young people in their charge. The quality of the schools which serve the Ward was further highlighted in recent ETI inspection reports which claimed that leadership in the two most attended non-selective schools was 'outstanding' and 'highly effective'. Similarly, the capacity of local schools to encourage high levels of attendance is evident in

[140] However, when English and Maths are included, this figure drops to 25.7%.

the education indices which show that, despite being the most deprived Ward, the nine schools serving young people from Whiterock has an average high-absenteeism rate. Arguably, these factors can be, at least in part, attributed to: (a) the centrality of schools in the wider learning community; (b) the standard of education provided with the CMS; conceptualisations of holistic pastoral care in schools therein which are further strengthened by (broad) community identification with this ethos. It is also clear from the Whiterock data that Extended Schools programmes and Full School Community Networks are making a substantial contribution, particularly, for pupils with limited parental support, and parents who want to become more involved in their child's education but are prevented from doing so on account of their own essential skills deficits. Notwithstanding the evident quality of schools in Whiterock, several meso-level inhibitors were also identified around: the inappropriateness of the school curriculum, particularly for less academically-minded pupils; the accusation that some schools and other agencies continue to work in *'silos'*; and the claim that some teachers appear *'disinterested'* and often struggle to manage classes with disruptive pupils.

According to the data, the key micro-level drivers of attainment in Whiterock are similar to the other ILiAD study areas. The individual resilience and self-motivation of high achievers; high expectations of parents; and parental capacity to support and encourage their children's education were frequently highlighted as significant enablers of academic achievement. Indeed, one of the distinguishing features of the Whiterock Ward is the familial commitment among many parents to schools and education. Two other drivers were identified around positive familial / intergenerational influences and (individual) identification with macro-level structures, for example, the phyco-social connections of the Catholic Church in schools and communities.

As evidenced in other ILiAD Wards, many inhibitors of attainment are simply the flip-side of specific drivers. Notwithstanding the above comments, many young people from Whiterock have a distinct lack of self-motivation and have instead internalised a sense of failure. Many school-aged residents have little self-confidence, aspiration or, indeed, expectations that they will succeed either at school or within the labour market. Similarly, many parents in the Ward have literacy and numeracy challenges which prevent them from providing the necessary level of support for their children. Further barriers to local attainment levels were identified around: poverty; mental health issues; adverse circumstances at home; anti-social behaviour; and the creation of 'no-go' areas. Violence, anti-social behaviour, and the misuse of drugs and alcohol in the Ward were reported by some respondents as having worsened since the ending of the recent conflict.

4.1.3. Social capital in Whiterock

The social capital model developed for the ILiAD study comprises four elements: bonding social capital to examine the (micro-level) immediate, familial factors which impact on educational achievement; bridging social capital to outline the school-level (meso) factors; linking social capital to determine the influence of structural (policy-level) factors such as the Ward's history, demography and access to decision making processes; and finally, negative social capital to highlight some of the concept's less desirable outcomes. In this theoretical framework, bonding capital relates to community-level conceptualisations of empowerment, infrastructure and connectedness. The data attest that there are high levels of bonding capital in Whiterock as evidenced by accounts of: a close-knit community; long-term tenures; high levels of community participation; and reliable networks (familial and community) of support. It is also clear that parental commitment and positive community norms around education are common among large sections of the Ward. Parental involvement with schools is seen as the norm among many families in the Ward; and many of the Whiterock parents interviewed had no difficulty imagining their children at third level education. However, there

are clearly comparisons with the Protestant Wards in terms of deprivation, sections of disaffected youth, and pockets of weak parental support.

In terms of bridging social capital (conceptualised here as schools' levels of engagement, accessibility and innovation), the Whiterock data make clear that the schools which serve the Ward have in place effective strategies to encourage parental involvement, inter-school cooperation, and collaborative practices with external agencies. This reinforces the wider claims made in a recent ETI report that, across West Belfast, collaboration between primary schools and nurseries, in addition to the sustained commitment of local business and community networks, are key aspects of strategic education planning in the area. Two other (meso-level) contrasts with the Protestant Wards in the ILiAD study were apparent. Firstly, a large number of principals and teachers of the schools which serve the Ward are former pupils who grew up, and in many cases, continue to live in West Belfast. In the Duncairn, Woodstock and Tullycarnet data, the middle-class backgrounds of some school teaching staff and the perception that few of them lived locally were viewed as significant inhibitors to educational achievement. However, in Whiterock, the perception of young people is that the teachers at *their* schools are from *their* community. The second key contrast relates to levels of absenteeism. The latest indices (2012-2013) show that in the nine schools which serve Whiterock there is a high absenteeism rate of 13.3%. This compares favourably with Duncairn (16.3%), Tullycarnet (18.2%) and Woodstock (21.3%).

The third element in the ILiAD framework is linking social capital and relates to the structural factors seen to impact on local attainment levels. Although deprived communities in West Belfast were, arguably, at the epicentre of the recent conflict, the data suggest that Whiterock has mediated its post-conflict transitions more successfully that some of the urban-based Protestant Wards. Intra-community tensions did not, to any extent, feature in the data; conflict-related spatial mobility restrictions were similarly absent; nor was there any sense of defeatism, abandonment, or perceived ethno-religious encroachment. Similarly, Whiterock has a young, expanding and settled demographic profile: 25% of the Ward is under the age of 15; and only 1.1% of the Ward was born outside the UK or Ireland compared to a Northern Ireland average of 7.1%. Moreover, Whiterock has an equally settled residential structure and only 8.9% of houses in the Ward are private rentals compared with 21.1% in Duncairn and 28.3% in Woodstock. With specific reference to educational factors, it is clear that stocks of linking social capital in Whiterock are increased via: high levels of inter-agency / inter-school cooperation, substantial provision of pre-school programmes, and perhaps most importantly, the propinquity of high-performing education institutions. The fact that the Ward has so many quality schools, literally, within walking distance from pupils' homes has important and positive consequences such as: (a) these schools being seen as assets of the community; (b) young people having a constant reminder that education is an integral part of their lives and living environment; (c) schools being accessible to parents and more able to also involve the community in events and initiatives; and (d) reduced transportation costs and journey times for pupils thus encouraging higher levels of attendance.

Looking at bonding, bridging and linking social capital together, it is clear that Whiterock faces many of the same barriers to attainment as found in the other ILiAD Wards. For example, there are: acute budgetary pressures for both schools and support services; local legacies of the recent conflict; a section of young people who are bereft of confidence, ambition, or parental support; and high levels of poverty and deprivation. However, the data also make clear that the Whiterock community has a range of 'critical assets' (Lochner et al, 1999)[141]. These critical assets are best understood in relation to the World Bank's (2011)[142]

[141] Lochner, K., Kawachi, I., & Kennedy, B.P. (1999) Social capital: a guide to its measurement. Health and Place, 3: 259-270. (TS, AS)
[142] World Bank (2010) 'WDR Development Report 2010' accessed online on 16/10/10 at: http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/EXTWDRS/EXTWDR2010/0,,contentMDK:21969137~menuPK:5287816~pagePK:64167689~piPK:64167673~theSitePK:5287741,00.html

six dimensions of social capital i.e. networks, norms, reciprocity, trust, pro-activity, and collective efficacy. Social capital can only be generated through voluntary, equal and lateral associations. It is clear from the data that such networks in Whiterock are cemented by the Ward's psycho-social connections to unifying forces such as the Catholic Church, Gaelic sports, and the Irish language. The interplay of these forces, all of which, crucially, have a distinct presence in the school-lives of Whiterock's young residents, are seen to engender, certainly among sections of the Ward, what Portes (2010)[143] describes as 'value introjection' - the internalised norms which inform e.g. young people's attitudes to education and obligate their behaviour in school. Similarly, reciprocity and trust are important facets of neighbourliness and familial bonds which were also evident in Whiterock. Moreover, previous studies have established that the maintenance of social capital requires active citizenry within a participative community. In contrast to some sections of the predominantly Protestant Wards, pro-activity and grass-roots participation in Whiterock are visible community norms. The final dimension of collective efficacy was also highlighted in Whiterock where there is clearly a shared sense of 'collective competence' among residents, schools and community workers which encourages them to act in an 'integrated and concerted' fashion to 'meet the broader need' (Lochner et al., 1999: 264).

The final element in the ILiAD framework highlights the impact of negative social capital. The data suggest a higher value placed on education in Whiterock than was found in the predominantly Protestant Wards. However, the data also show that the academic progression of many young people in Whiterock is inhibited by area-based factors such as unemployment, poverty and deprivation which are seen to limit their aspiration and expectations. Although many disadvantaged young people in Whiterock are cognisant of broader opportunities, in some cases, their aspirations and expectations are suppressed by a depressed environment and a 'moral imperative' to 'maintain solidary bonds' with the people they live amongst. In such ways, negative social capital lowers their ambition because their individual aspirations and expectations are 'not universal' but are, to an extent, 'constrained by the limits' of their own community (Portes, 2010: 42-43). The data here evidence that Whiterock may indeed have substantial stocks of bonding, bridging and linking social capital; and these stocks, in all probability, help to explain the unaligned nature of local deprivation and attainment levels. However, despite these social capital and educational 'achievements', the Ward remains the most deprived in Northern Ireland. This highlights the limitations of social capital, particularly, in working class communities. For example: bonding social capital may be apparent in Whiterock but poverty and material insecurity are known to adversely affect social norms of reciprocity (Das, 2006);[144] bridging social capital in the Ward has clearly promoted outward-looking tendencies, however, deprived neighbourhoods tend to have networks which are spatially and socio-economically limited; and linking social capital in Whiterock may provide 'access to decision making processes' but this should not be 'conflated with a capacity to obtain resources in the social structure' (O'Brien and Fathaigh, 2005; 68-71).[145] In other words, there are manifest formations of bonding, bridging and linking social capital in Whiterock but these are often significantly constrained by the context of socio-economic disadvantage.

[143] Portes, A. (2010) Economic Sociology: a systemic inquiry, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
[144] Das, R. J. (2006) 'Putting social capital in its place', Capital & Class, Vol. 30: pp 65–92.
[145] O'Brien, S. & Fathaigh, M. (2005) 'Bringing in Bourdieu's theory of social capital: renewing learning partnership approaches to social inclusion', Irish Educational Studies, Vol. 24 (1) 65-76.

4.2. Case study 2: The Diamond

4.2.1. Force Field Analysis of drivers and inhibitors of achievement in The Diamond

Drivers		Inhibitors
Macro-level a) Historical legacy of the Education Act 1947 (for Catholics) b) Inward investment and resources c) Social mixing in primary /post-primary schools d) Equal number of grammar avenues for males and females e) Recession as a driver f) High attainment performance of grammar sector ***Meso-level*** a) Transition support between key educational stages b) Good pastoral care and close relationships with teachers c) High discipline standards and academic expectations of the part of the schools d) Rewarding effort and success in areas other than academics e) Cooperation and links between schools f) Monitoring individual needs, using school data & target setting g) Intergenerational engagement with schools h) School-community collaboration i) Pupils feeling listened to in school j) Breadth of curricula and interactive teaching styles k) Low rates of high-absenteeism ***Micro-level*** a) High levels of youth club involvement (Fountain area) b) Individual resilience and motivation c) Family support and high expectations of parents d) Positive adult education experiences of parent/mother are changing norms e) Feeling connection to a community f) Positive early education experiences of nursery and primary school	Present situation – 85% five GCSEs A*-C (2012/13); 14th Multiple Deprivation 2010	***Macro-level*** a) A lack of community cohesiveness and a fractured community identity for Protestants b) Continuing division/conflict between communities c) Felt effects of Academic selection d) Current culture of education policy – perfectionism in a time of cutbacks e) Official statistics hiding key issues f) Recession and poverty – role models not coming back to the area g) Unstable or inadequate funding for early years, youth and community providers ***Meso-level*** a) Belief in a finite, 'natural' ability level of a child b) Overuse of IT c) Schools struggling to engage with parents d) Historically, schools that served children from the Fountain had a negative reputation e) No transition support f) Boys feeling pressured into doing STEM subjects g) 'Average' children falling through the cracks at school ***Micro-level*** a) Anti-social behaviour in the Fountain b) Adverse circumstances at home c) Intergenerational 'switching off' from education within the Fountain

4.2.2. Summary of the findings from The Diamond Ward

The data evidence a range of macro, meso and micro-level factors which impact on attainment levels in The Diamond Ward. Some are seen to enable achievement and others are seen to inhibit school progression. In terms of the structural (macro-level) drivers of educational success in The Diamond, it is clear that, certainly for the Ward's Catholic population, the key historical legacies of the Education Act (1947) are a widely held belief in the value of education and qualifications in general and in the Catholic education system in particular. This legacy is also reflected in the secondary data which indicate that, similar to the Whiterock Ward, The Diamond performs significantly better in terms of educational attainment than its deprivation rank would suggest. Although The Diamond is the 12th most deprived Ward in Northern Ireland, the latest indices (2012-2013) show a five GCSEs pass rate of 85%. Moreover, the proportion of school leavers in the Ward who entered Higher Education was 36% - more than double the corresponding figures for Tullycarnet (12%), Whiterock (17%), and Woodstock (14%).

There are several high-performing schools located within the Ward (some of which are new-builds). The seven schools which serve the Ward (including three grammars schools) are all within 2.6 miles of the Ward's geographical mid-point: five of these schools have a five GCSE pass rate of over 90%; and several have been given specialist status and, accordingly, receive additional financial support. Other macro-level drivers were identified around: the *'rich tapestry'* of social mix that characterizes many of the Ward's schools; and the equal number of avenues to grammar school education that are now available to girls in the Ward. This parity is also reflected in the attainment data which show that The Diamond is the only Ward in the ILiAD study where females and males perform at approximately the same levels.

However, the data also highlighted a number of structural inhibitors to educational attainment in the Ward, some of which specifically relate to the relatively small Protestant population. For example, the fractured nature of their community identity; their lack of community cohesiveness, particularly, in contrast with the Catholic community; continuing inter-community division and conflict as evidenced by sporadic sectarian tensions around the Fountain area; and the fact that there is only one controlled secondary school serving the Ward. Indeed, it was accepted by several respondents that: the demographic profile of the Ward (i.e. 81.2% Catholic) presents a structural barrier against Protestants in the education system. More broadly, the issue of academic selection was also seen as a barrier to local attainment levels. It was commonly reported that: the *'pressure'* of the transfer test prevents many from attending grammar schools; a number of these pupils do not realise the impact of the transfer test till after they reach secondary education; the test itself creates opportunities for some but frequently serves to reinforce privilege; and that social cleavages have been created between transfer test *'doers'* / grammar attendees and *'non-doers'* / secondary school attendees. It is also clear that, in addition to inadequate funding for Early Years, youth and community provision, there are concerns around some official statistics, in particular: the neglect of value-added in inspection reports; and the Free School Meal (FSM) entitlement measure masking poverty and distorting Extended Schools funding criteria.

In terms of the school-level (meso) drivers of academic achievement, the data evidence that high standards of pastoral care, transition support, inter-school cooperation, and equally high expectations in terms of attainment and discipline are common characteristics of the schools which serve the Ward. In the Catholic schools, pastoral care and transition support were seen as integral elements of their holistic Catholic ethos. In terms of inter-school collaboration, the data outline the positive impact made by the Foyle Learning Community which: involves 14 post-primary schools; engenders effective cross-school linkages; opens up vocational opportunities for grammar school pupils; and provides a wider range of academic subjects for pupils in the non-grammar sector.

One of the most striking features of these data was the close relationships some schools, particularly those in the Catholic sector, have with pupils, their families and the wider community. Several principals: highlighted the value of a Catholic ethos in schools; claimed that teacher interviews are increasingly based on relationship-building qualities; and argued that faith, relationships, and educational attainment were inseparable. It was commonly recounted that, particularly in the Catholic schools: teachers demonstrate '*love'* towards their pupils; there are high levels of intergenerational engagement with schools; and a culture of collaboration exists between schools and the communities they serve. Several secondary schools encourage former pupils to address assemblies around career advice; secondary pupils *'coach'* primary pupils in (after-school) literacy and numeracy programmes; and many teachers *'go the extra mile'* by staying on to help out in such initiatives. Similarly, a number of Catholic parents spoke about the open-door policy in their child's school and claimed that getting an appointment to see teacher or principal was a straightforward process; community workers highlighted that school facilities were widely used by the community; and principals recalled well-attended parents' evenings, *'packed grandparents' days'* and that many former pupils and family members have continuous engagement with schools as classroom assistants or dinner ladies. Other enablers of local attainment included: conceptualisations of achievement beyond the academic; the breadth of curricula and interactive teaching styles; and the effective monitoring of individual needs.

However, several meso-level inhibitors were also identified. Again, these barriers were seen to have a more pronounced effect in the Protestant schools. For example, it is clear that schools which serve children from The Fountain have a historically negative reputation. Moreover, parental engagement in these schools is significantly weaker than the Catholic schools. The data suggest two reasons for this lack of engagement: firstly, negative familial norms around education - informed by e.g. their own, often unhappy and unproductive, school experience; and secondly, that many young Protestants in the west bank of the city have to attend a secondary school which is located in the Waterside. Several parents from The Fountain also claimed that some teachers were detached, unapproachable and *'disinterested'* with low expectations for the young people in their care. More broadly, the data from across the Ward suggest that in some schools: there is inadequate transition support; many, boys in particular, are pressured into doing STEM subjects for which they are ill-suited; and that '*average'* children are '*falling through the cracks'* at school.

The data from The Diamond also identified a number of micro-level enablers of attainment in the Ward. Similar to other Wards in the ILiAD study, the individual resilience and self-motivation of young people to succeed against the odds; and familial support / high parental expectations were seen as the most important. Among large sections of the Ward, there is parental cognisance of their (pro-active) role in their child's education and a general acceptance that '*no one opts out'*. The data also highlight nascent attitudinal changes among some Protestant parents which are beginning to be reflected in terms of increased engagement. Other micro-level drivers were identified around: high levels of youth club involvement; the impact of positive adult education experiences; notions of connectedness to the wider community; and young peoples' enjoyment of their time at the local nursery and primary schools.

Three micro-level inhibitors of attainment in the Ward relate to: adverse circumstances at home; negative community norms and anti-social behaviour; and intergenerational disengagement from education. A section of young people in the Ward live in home environments which are unsupportive, chaotic, and unconducive to their learning – commonly related to poverty, family breakdowns or mental health issues. Principals spoke about three generations of unemployment and that many young people from the Ward enter primary school with weak language development, poor health, and a complete absence of listening skills. It was also highlighted that across the Ward young people who do succeed at school tend to leave the area and not return. This, of course, deprives such communities of

visible successes and positive role models and creates a situation where, in some parts of the Ward, '*drug dealers with lots of money and flash cars'* become the only role models young people can aspire to.

The data from The Diamond Ward highlighted some anti-social issues, which were also indicative of weak school-community linkages. For example, in response to persistent bullying in the park in the Fountain area, a principal recalled that his intervention was rebuffed because parents told him it was out of school hours, not on school premises, and therefore, none of the school's business.

4.2.3. Social capital in The Diamond

In the ILiAD model, bonding social capital relates to conceptualisations of empowerment, infrastructure and connectedness. The data confirm the central role of parental support in a young person's academic progression and indicates that many parents in the Ward have high expectations for their children's education and play a positive and pro-active role therein. For example, it was commonly claimed that getting to grammar school is as much about parental expectation as it is about individual aptitude. Related to these parental expectations, another important indicator of social capital in the Ward is the high percentage of young people who go on to University. These proxy indicators align with the wider social capital literature. For example, Putnam (2002)[146] saw education as a key factor in creating social capital, and higher educational attainment as one of the concept's most important outcomes.

Similarly, youth and community workers in the Ward are seen to make an equally consistent contribution in terms of instilling within many young people cognisance of education's value and a sense of confidence that application will lead to success; and several parents from both Catholic and Protestant backgrounds argued that they were driven to more fully engage by a desire to ensure that their child did not share their experience of lower streams and subsequent educational failure. Many Catholic parents, in particular, appear to have utilised any negative experiences constructively. Many of these parents are actively engaged with the education system and see themselves as equal players in their child's education. However, some parents from the Fountain area continue to harbour a sense of resentment and are noticeably less engaged in the school lives of their children. There were similar differences in terms of community-level bonding capital. Of course, The Diamond Ward is not one unified socio-spatial unit and instead encompasses a number of satellite communities each with their own unique characteristics. Close-knit communities and settled family networks are a feature of The Diamond Ward and the impact of these ties is seen to make these satellite communities, particularly the Ward's Catholic ones, stronger, more confident and inter-dependant. However, the data suggest that some young people from the Fountain have a different set of connections to and perceptions of their community. A siege mentality pervades sections of the Fountain community; positive role models are thin on the ground and some families have completely disengaged from education.

Bridging social capital in the ILiAD framework relates to schools' levels of engagement, accessibility and innovation. The data show that many schools which serve the Ward have forged: loving and committed relationships with their pupils; trusting engagement processes with parents; meaningful school-community linkages; and effective inter-school and inter-agency collaborations. These schools are seen, even among those parents with limited academic capacity and negative school experiences, as approachable and understanding.

[146] Putnam, R.D. (2002) Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society, Oxford: University Press.

Moreover, a range of innovative practices have been adopted to sustain and further improve schools' relationships with young people, their families and their communities. The data also attest that a critical factor in these relationships is the commitment of teachers and principals who, it was claimed: knock on doors to introduce themselves to parents prior to enrolment; invite pupils to their house during holidays for extra tuition; and, more broadly, demonstrate explicitly that they genuinely care about the young people in their schools. It was also claimed that this commitment was, at least in part, due to the Catholic ethos which was said to: provide a (psycho-social) unifying force in the community; frame the setting of school values; and imbue teaching practice. However, the data also highlight factors which are likely to diminish stocks of school-level bridging capital and suggest: ridged pursuance of STEM subjects can create difficulties; and that many middle-band pupils are neglected as teachers concentrate on the highest and lowest achieving students.

Linking social capital concerns structural factors such as history, demography, and access to political decision-making. While it is clear that the recent conflict has impacted both sections of the Ward, the data suggest that the Catholic community has mediated its post-conflict transition more successfully than their Protestant neighbours. Similarly, demographic shifts in the Ward have affected the two communities in different ways. For example, the Catholic community (in general) perceives itself as confident and in control of its own destiny. However, sections of the Protestant community, particularly in and around the Fountain area, sees itself as isolated, in decline, and subject to political, cultural, and demographic forces over which it has little or no influence.

According to Savage, Warde and Devine (2005)[147], stocks of social capital in a community are informed by the Capitals, Assets and Resources (CARS) at its disposal. The propinquity of high-performing schools is a salient example of CARS in the Ward. The spatial relationship between these schools and the communities they serve: is an important factor in the valuable triangular linkages that exist between schools, families and the community; and, at least in part, explains the high attainment and low absenteeism levels in the Ward. However, these CARS do not inform the social capital of young people from the Fountain: there is no visible presence of high-performing schools in their lives; it is considerably more difficult for their parents to engage with schools; and more broadly, learning is seen as something that happens beyond the confines of their community. In such ways, the social capital value of these CARS (i.e. centrally located, high-performing schools) in the Ward is, to an extent, diminished because the 'capital' created is not entirely inclusive.

More broadly, it is clear that the Ward has benefited from its capacity to secure macro-level support such as Neighbourhood Renewal, City of Culture designation, and regeneration initiatives. However, these funding streams, cultural programmes, and planning interventions appear to have had little impact on the ethno-religious separation which remains a feature of many working-class communities in Derry/Londonderry. Two other macro-level issues are seen to weaken linking capital in the Ward. Firstly, sections of the Ward are characterised by acute poverty and unemployment which has been compounded by the latest recession. As Portes (2010)[148] has argued, even limitless supplies of social capital are rendered if there are no resources to share and no jobs. Secondly, although academic selection may indeed give the most privileged and able children in the Ward the chance to realise their potential, The Diamond data show it also causes: social cleavages among young people and their families; and a sense of failure among those who either fail or do not sit the transfer test.

The final element in the ILiAD framework relates to indicators of negative social capital and the data from The Diamond Ward highlight three specific examples relating to bounded

[147] Savage, M., Warde, A. and Devine, F. (2005) 'Capitals, assets and resources: some critical issues, The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56 (1) pp 31–47.
[148] Portes, A. (2010) Economic Sociology: a systemic inquiry, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

solidarity, negative role models and an absence of collective efficacy. Firstly, the data have outlined innumerable examples of neighbourly bonds and a strong sense of community belonging. However, in sections of the Ward these bonds interplay with notions of besiegement, demographic fatalism, and stigmatisation. And, as a consequence, a bounded solidarity is created which engenders hostility and distrust of outsiders, insular tendencies, and a community outlook which supposes only continual and unstoppable decline.

Secondly, it was also clear from the data that in the most deprived areas of the Ward it is common for young people who do succeed at school to leave the area and thus deprive the community of positive role models. In parts of the Ward, the absence of these positive role models is compounded by the presence of negative ones who have been 'successful' in criminal enterprises. The social capital literature attests that the signals produced by such individuals have a profoundly negative effect on local young peoples' conceptualisation of achievement and personal fulfilment (Portes, 2010).

Thirdly, according to Halpern (2005),[149] an important element of social capital is the 'collective efficacy' of a community which emboldens them to pull together to, for example, lower crime in their neighbourhood by discouraging drug use or general anti-social behaviour amongst local teenagers. However, in sections of the Ward: there is little evidence of this collective efficacy; criminality and anti-social behaviour are recurring features; and the community's inability to address such problems is obvious. Previous examinations of negative social capital have shown that communities characterised by deprivation, besiegement and stigmatisation are likely to lack: the confidence to personally intervene; faith in the criminal justice system to protect them; and the levels of aspiration required to envision themselves living in a substantially improved environment (Das, 2006).[150]

[149] Halpern, D. (2005) Social Capital, Cambridge: Polity Press.

[150] Das, R. J. (2006) 'Putting social capital in its place', Capital & Class, Vol. 30: pp 65–92.

4.3. Case study 3: Rosemount

4.3.1. Force Field Analysis of drivers and inhibitors of achievement in Rosemount

Drivers

Macro-level

a) Effective youth service and education initiatives in the community

b) Inward investment

c) Physical locations of schools and educational institutions

d) Historical legacy of the Education Act 1947 for Catholics

e) Huge early years provision nearby

f) Recession as a driver

g) High attainment performance of grammar sector

Meso-level

a) Community-school linkages and Extended Schools

b) Warm ethos of school, combining pastoral care and academic success

c) Close relationships with teachers

d) Provision of flexible curricula and alternative qualifications

e) Measures to ease transition

f) School leaders' understanding of local needs

g) Schools and community workers promoting the voice of young people

h) Individual needs of pupils are considered

i) Peer role models in schools

j) Primary school expectations of and support for pupils sitting the transfer test

k) Low rates of absenteeism

Micro-level drivers

a) Family support and high expectations of parents

b) Intergenerational closeness and close-knit area

c) Feelings of connection to a broader community

d) Family connection to schools

e) Individual resilience

Present situation – 91% five GCSEs A*-C (2012/13); 44th Multiple Deprivation 2010

Inhibitors

Macro-level

a) Impact of Academic selection

b) Community resources lacking for older teenagers

c) Changes in demographics

d) The lack of jobs in Derry

Meso-level

a) Curriculum (statutory and local) and school structure

b) Balancing 'labelling' and support in school

c) Poor relationships with teacher

d) Education system failing to pick up underlying issues early

Micro-level

a) Anti-social behaviour and negative peer pressure

b) Low self-esteem, low expectations, and sense of hopelessness

c) Adverse family circumstances

d) Low parental expectations or engagement with schoolwork

4.3.2. Summary of the findings from the Rosemount Ward

The data has identified a range of macro, meso and micro-level issues which impact on the educational attainment of young people from Rosemount. Across these three levels, a number of issues were seen to enable academic achievement in the Ward and others were seen to inhibit school progression. In terms of structural (macro-level) factors, it is clear that enduring legacies of the Education Act (1947) include appreciation of education's value and a patent belief in the Catholic education system amongst large sections of the Ward's population. Indeed, similar to other Catholic Wards in the ILiAD study, Rosemount performs significantly better in terms of education than its deprivation rank (44th) would suggest. For example, on the specific domain of education and skills the Ward is ranked 236th most deprived; and the latest statistics (2012-2013) show that 91% of the Ward's school leavers attained 5 GCSEs which was the highest proportion across the seven ILiAD Wards.

Educational attainment in the Ward is also enabled by the propinquity of high-performing schools. Of the seven schools which serve Rosemount, five are within 1.6 miles of the Ward's geographical mid-point; and the three main secondary schools are all within 0.5 miles. Other macro-level drivers were identified around: effective youth service and education initiatives in the community; extensive inward investment in the Ward, such as, new and improved school buildings; substantial provision of Early Years and other pre-school programmes; the social mix which is said to exist in the Ward's schools; the benefits of co-education for boys, particularly around addressing aggressive behaviour; and the argument that the recession and lack of jobs has, paradoxically, provided '*incentives'*.

However, a range of macro-level inhibitors were also identified in the Rosemount data. The most significant of these related to the issue of academic selection which, it was claimed: creates an implied hierarchy and social cleavages among grammar and secondary school pupils; engenders negative self-labelling as *'non-achievers'*; and, as a consequence of falling rolls and 'creaming' processes, deprives local secondary schools of likely high-achievers. Other structural barriers in Rosemount concern: changes to Ward's demographic profile which, it was claimed, has made the community more '*transient'*; the scarcity of employment opportunities in Ward; and a lack of community resources for older teenagers. Moreover, a series of additional, albeit less significant, inhibitors were identified around: the poor physical environment in the Ward; changes in Exam Board standards; and the skewing effect of official statistics e.g. the suggestion that schools are *'unfairly'* compared with each other in attainment statistics.

In terms of school-level (meso) factors in Rosemount, the data show that staff-pupil relationships are, in general, productive, friendly and respectful; the individual needs of pupils are considered; pupils feel *'listened to*'; the ethos of local schools combines pastoral care and academic success; and, in furtherance of this ethos, schools have in place flexible curricular, broad conceptualisations of achievement, and effective processes to support transitions. Similarly, the Rosemount data evidence: close and long-standing school-parent and school-community relationships in the Ward; and that the Extended Schools programmes has been a critical factor in terms of improving pupil performance, parental engagement and schools' understanding of local needs. For example, many young people have benefited from revision, homework, and breakfast clubs; many parents have participated in programmes around essential skills, parenting, and supporting their child's education; and effective partnerships have been fostered and improved around school-community linkages and inter-agency support.

The data also highlight: that schools and community workers consistently promote the voice of young people; the valuable contribution made by peer role models in schools; and that within many of the Ward's primary schools there is an expectation of and support for pupils sitting the transfer test. These enablers, in addition to the above outlined macro-level drivers,

e.g. the propinquity of high-performing local schools, are seen as important factors in the Ward's low absenteeism rate of 10.2%, again, the best in the ILiAD study.

However, the data highlight that, in some instances, educational attainment in Rosemount is inhibited by: an often overly rigid adherence to the curriculum and school structure; the complex balance between providing additional education support and the labelling of young people as deficient; the poor relationships that are said to exist between some teachers and their pupils; and the frequent claim that, too often, the education system fails to pick up underlying issues early enough.

In terms of the micro-level influences, which impact on the academic progression of young people from Rosemount, a series of factors were identified relating to the level and consistency of parental support. The data make clear that many parents in the Ward are *'academically orientated'*, routinely involved in their child's education, and are demonstrably engaged with the schools their children attend. These parents, some of whom did not themselves achieve at school, also hold high expectations for their child's education and are keen to ensure that: (a) their child apply themselves; (b) the school pushes their child towards realising their academic potential; and (c) that they, as parents, do everything they can to fulfil their *'obligations'* in terms of providing support and creating a home-regime which is conducive to their learning.

Three other inter-related micro-level drivers to emerge from the Rosemount data concerned: the close-knit, intergenerational bonds which were seen as a feature of the Ward; the feelings of connection to a broader community (geographical and psycho-social); and the long-standing family connections to schools which were equally typical. The final micro-level driver of educational attainment in Rosemount was the individual resilience and self-motivation of certain young people, many of whom have little parental support and live in adverse home environments. This resilience is seen to encourage them to resist any negative influences; to avail of the learning and support opportunities that initiatives such as Extended Schools offer; and, subsequently, succeed against the odds.

However, a number of micro-level inhibitors were also identified. Anti-social behaviour in the Ward and (associated) negative peer pressure were seen as the most significant of these barriers. According to the data, the key sources of this anti-social behaviour were: the influence of *'outsiders'* from neighbouring Wards; an acute lack of youth resources and venues; and that many young people from the Ward, some as young as 12, frequently consume alcohol and drugs. It was also commonly reported that some young people in the Ward: engage in destructive and defiant behaviour; and often perceive getting into trouble and being suspended from school as a form of *'achievement'*.

It is also clear from the Rosemount data that some young people in the Ward harbour low self-esteem, low expectations, and sense of hopelessness. These pessimistic outlooks, it was claimed, are primarily informed by family histories of academic failure, negative peer influence, and the fact that because many of these young peoples' focus is on the weekend, they are, often, *'not remotely interested'* in school.

The last two, albeit less frequently cited, micro-level inhibitors relate to: the adverse family circumstances many young people from Rosemount endure; and, notwithstanding, the high levels of parental engagement as outlined above, a number of parents in the Ward have low expectations for their child's education and equally low engagement with schools.

4.3.3. Social capital in Rosemount

In terms of bonding social capital, conceptualised here as empowerment, infrastructure and connectedness, the Rosemount data evidence that: positive familial and community norms around education; supportive and engaged parents; close-knit community networks; and a widely held sense of community belonging are common features of the Ward. Rosemount is also characterised by high levels of community activism and a confident identification with the broader Derry/Londonderry area. Moreover, it is clear that these immediate, neighbourhood bonds are, in many ways, cemented by the interplay of psycho-social connections between families, schools and the Catholic Church. For example, principals and teachers in the Ward spoke about the positive impact of the 'Service of Light' where year 8 pupils, their parents and their form teacher participate in a simple religious service and light a candle to (a) symbolise the beginning of these tri-partite relationships; and (b) commit to themselves and each other to sustain these relationships. In such ways, many young people in Rosemount come to see: their community as a supportive learning hub; their school as the focal point of this hub; and their family as active agents in their learning.

However, a section of the Ward's young people, particularly those from the most disadvantaged households have a completely different perception of their families, schools and community. Among this group: adverse home circumstances, the inter-generational transmission of educational failure, and the spectre of inherited welfare dependency conspire to limit their ambition. For some: school attendance is seen as *'pointless'* because attainment is *'impossible'*; the prospect of well-paid employment is equally bleak; and conceptualisations of community are framed around notions of poverty and decline.

Bridging social capital refers to schools' levels of engagement, accessibility and innovation. The data make clear that: schools which serve Rosemount have successfully fostered and sustained high levels of engagement with pupils, their families and the wider community; many teachers were born and raised in the local communities and, thus, have a deep emotional connection and commitment to the young people in their care. Again, the role of the Catholic schools in terms of facilitating this engagement and formalising this ethos cannot be overstated. Several teachers and principals spoke about: their professional practice as a *'vocation'*; school values being informed by a belief that every child is created in God's image; and that pastoral care, particularly for the most marginalised pupils, is a key priority. Stocks of bridging social capital in Rosemount are further increased by innovative practices on the part of local schools. For example, homework and revision clubs are fully integrated into 'Extended Schools' programmes; parents are routinely texted by schools to e.g. remind them of upcoming exams; and during the Easter holidays, a three-day course was provided to help pupils prepare for the forthcoming exam season. This initiative was seen as particularly successful because: (a) the learning setting was informal and relaxed (e.g. no-uniform); and (b) the pupils were engaged and wanted to be there. Importantly, these programmes were also said to create a socio-economic *'equalising effect'* for young people whose parents, unlike their more affluent counterparts, are unable to hire private tutors.

However, the value of these bridging capital stocks in Rosemount is undermined by issues such as: the (unintended) labelling of struggling students; the inflexibility of some school structures; the prohibitive cost of third-level education; the insufficient number of places in Higher Education; and that demoralising impact on young people who miss out on such a place having to watch other people access a University which is, literally, on their doorstep. Linking social capital relates to structural factors such as the Ward's history, demographics, and physical assets. Although the recent conflict has impacted the Rosemount community, few respondents highlighted its legacies as specific barriers to attainment. Similarly, demographic change does not appear to have affected the Ward in the same way as others in the ILiAD study. However, the increased proportion of houses in the private rented sector

has, according to some, created transitory residential tenures and a *'landlord culture'*. In terms of Rosemount's physical assets, the Catholic schools which serve the Ward are high-performing, well-led, and populated by teachers who are empathetic and committed. Moreover, these schools are also: highly visible; an integral part of the Rosemount community; and, thus, serve to reinforce notions of education as a community priority and schools as an important identity referent for local young people.

However, the negative impacts of academic selection were seen as a significant inhibitor of educational achievement in the Ward. While the data make clear the many benefits of a grammar school education, they equally highlight pronounced disadvantages for those who either fail or do not sit the transfer test. Resultant social cleavages, negative self-labelling, and perceived hierarchies were frequently evidenced. For example, several secondary school pupils spoke about feeling *'second class'* and some grammar pupils argued against mixed ability classes claiming that they simply *'wouldn't work'* because *'less capable'* pupils would hold them back. Therefore, looking at bonding, bridging and linking capital together, it is clear that Rosemount has substantial stocks of each; and that, in general, they combine effectively to ensure that the education of many young people in the Ward is effectively supported. However, the distribution of these 'capitals' is, on many levels, framed by issues such as social class and family norms around education. Thus, somewhat predictably, the impact of these 'capitals' on local young peoples' academic prospects are, often profoundly, uneven.

In terms of negative social capital, the data reveal two examples relating to orthodox interpretations of the concept which assume universal benefits. While Rosemount has formations of social capital at familial, school, and structural level, it is clear that many of the Ward's most socio-economically disadvantaged school-aged residents have: less parental support; weaker connections to schools; and, notwithstanding the propinquity of a University campus, little prospect of accessing third level education. In such ways, their utilisation of the social capital created within their community is constrained by the socio-economic context of their lives. According to Rubio (1997),[151]a community's social capital should not be regarded simply as the presence of opportunities but rather their accessibility in the social structure. In other words, a community can only sustain (positive) social capital stocks if the benefits created are shared and available to all. More recently, Field (2010: 91-93)[152] has shown that associations such as price cartels may indeed encompass cooperation and accrue benefits for members, but the social capital thus produced does not benefit wider society. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between 'socially productive' networks which generate 'favourable outcomes' to members and the wider community, and 'unproductive networks' which provide benefits for members but produce negative outcomes for the wider community (ibid). According to the Rosemount data: processes associated with academic selection have created networks in the Ward patently more related to this second category: and, it was further claimed, the political will to identify and develop a fairer education structure is absent because many of those in positions of influence are product of the system that was seen to work well for them.

[151] Rubio, M. (1997) 'Perverse social capital – some evidence from Colombia', Journal of Economic Issues, 31 (3), 805–816.
[152] Field, J. (2010) *Social Capital,* (2nd edn) London: Routledge.

4.4. Case study 4: Dunclug

4.4.1. Force Field Analysis of drivers and inhibitors of achievement in Dunclug

Drivers

Macro-level

a) Youth groups actively supporting young people towards self-development and educational achievement
b) A local school embedded in a local community (Extended Schools)

Meso-level

a) Providing and validating academic and vocational choice
b) A culture that prioritises the pursuit of excellence
c) The pursuit and provision of teaching excellence
d) Demonstrably engaged, committed and supportive teachers
e) Securing the circumstances in which learning can take place - the need to attend to the social and emotional welfare of pupils
f) Establishing a stimulating, creative and responsive learning environment
g) Ongoing pupil assessment, streaming and target setting
h) An examination system incorporating modular teaching, coursework and final exams
i) Effective transition: supporting pupils in their movement through education to career

Micro-level

a) A home environment in which education is explicitly valued and promoted

Present situation – 61% five GCSEs A*-C (2012/13); 83rd Multiple Deprivation 2010

Inhibitors

Macro-level

a) Impact of Academic selection
b) Population flux and fracture
c) Lack of social cohesion and effectiveness
d) Social deprivation and disadvantage
e) Limitations in inter-agency communication and cooperation

Meso-level

a) Institutional and personal deficits in teaching: a missing impetus for pupil attainment
b) A 'writing off' of pupils based on negative stereotyping
c) Manifold pressures on schools

Micro-level

a) (Felt) stigma and marginalisation
b) Adverse circumstances in the home environment
c) Alienation from the value or 'point' of education

4.4.2. Summary of the findings from the Dunclug Ward

The data demonstrate that a range of structural, school-level and familial factors have a significant impact on the learning and subsequent attainment levels of young people from Dunclug. Across these levels, there are factors which are seen to enable academic achievement in the Ward and others which appear to inhibit such progress. In terms of macro-level influences, i.e. those factors relating to historical, demographical, and policy considerations, two specific macro-level drivers of attainment in Dunclug were identified around: local youth groups actively supporting young people; and the embedded nature of the relationship between local schools and the communities they serve. The Dunclug data suggest that local youth groups enhance the educational achievement of young people by: providing young people with a safe space and alternative opportunities for learning; supporting them in the context of formal education; demonstrating an active interest in their welfare; and encouraging them to believe in themselves. The data also highlight the value of schools being located in the local community. For example, it was frequently cited that: young peoples' school choice and attendance was often premised on opportunities for peer interaction; the embeddedness of schools means they can more easily engage with the communities they serve; and because successive generations have attended the same school, local educators have a robust knowledge of pupils and their family circumstances.

However, several macro-level inhibitors of attainment in Dunclug were also identified, the most significant of which related to the issue of academic selection. Although only 17.5% of young people in the Ward attend grammar school, the Dunclug data concur with the other ILiAD Wards that the selection process is '*divisive'* because it separates children into categories based on privilege (educational and socio-economical); and thus, serves to reflect and perpetuate social hierarchies. Of course, the argument that academic selection reinforces socio-economic privilege and disadvantage is hardly new. In a major study on the effects of the selective system of secondary education in Northern Ireland, Gallagher and Smith (2000)[153] claimed that: (a) the importance attached to passing the transfer test results in parents feeling obliged to pay for out-of-school tutoring; and (b) many families on low income are simply unable to afford this extra expenditure. Educators in Dunclug also argued that academic selection: creates significant pressure and stress around the transfer test (which some pupil-respondents claimed they struggled to cope with); sets young people on fixed trajectories; causes many young people to be labelled as under-achievers; and means that secondary schools often struggle to restore the confidence of pupils who either failed or did not sit the test. Moreover, recent reports indicate that increasing occurrences of exam stress, frequently cited in Dunclug data, are a UK-wide phenomenon. According to the NSPCC, the number of young people in Britain seeking counselling over exam stress has increased by 200% in recent years (Guardian, 2015).[154]

The data also show that, in addition to social deprivation, population flux and fracture are (increasingly) common characteristics of the Ward. Sectarian polarisation continues and recent arrivals, particularly those from Eastern Europe, have presented a range of challenges (perceived or otherwise) for the community. Perhaps relatedly, a lack of social cohesion was evidenced via accounts of: local disputes over DSD funding; the residents group being beset with in-fighting; and community facilities being routinely under-used and/or vandalised. It was also argued that inter-agency cooperation in the Ward is limited and that schools' consequential lack of insight into a pupil's problematic home circumstances encourages the perpetuation of such disadvantage.

[153] Gallagher, T. and Smith, A. (2000) The Effects of the Selective System of Secondary Education in Northern Ireland, Bangor: Department of Education for Northern Ireland.

[154] "Surge in young people seeking help for exam stress", by Richard Adams, The Guardian Newspaper 14-05-15 [online]. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/may/14/calls-to-childline-over-exam-stress-break-records

In terms of the meso-level factors, the data from Dunclug show that schools which serve the Ward: provide a range of academic and vocational choices, effective transition systems, and responsive assessments; and promote a culture that prioritises the pursuit of excellence. The data suggest that inter-school cooperation is a further feature of the Ward. For example, several respondents highlighted the role of the Ballymena Learning Together Group which involves grammar and secondary schools sharing access to A level subjects. Similarly, many teachers in these schools are demonstrably committed and supportive of the young people in their care; and it is common for teachers and classroom assistants to undertake voluntary work *'above and beyond normal hours'*.

However, three meso-level inhibitors were identified. There were accounts in the data of deficits in teaching which were seen to compromise young people's potential for academic attainment; and several young people spoke about *'bad teachers'* who were sullen, easily annoyed, and overly authoritarian. It was also claimed that many pupils are *'written off'* because of negative stereotyping. Several respondents claimed that: many young people experience *'educational discrimination'* because they are labelled as coming from a socially deprived area; and that such class-based differentiations further deepen their marginalisation from education. The Dunclug data also make clear that local attainment levels are negatively impacted by the manifold pressures on schools around, for example: league tables and composite achievement targets; and class sizes of more than 30 with one teacher having to deal with different ranges of abilities.

In terms of the micro-level influences on a young person's academic attainment, the Dunclug data concur with the other Wards in the ILiAD study and highlight the importance of a supportive home environment. According to both school and community-level respondents, creating such an environment was contingent on parents proactively encouraging and enabling their children to do well at school.

However, three micro-level inhibitors of attainment were also identified. Firstly, several respondents spoke about the *'felt stigma'* and marginalisation experienced by local young people. One effect of this stigmatisation is that some of Dunclug's younger residents reported being *'ashamed'* of where they were from and highlighted: entrenched anti-social activity, including crime, vandalism and drug and alcohol abuse; and a very poor local physical environment with burnt out and boarded up housing and streets full of litter. Secondly, it was claimed that the academic progression of young people from Dunclug is inhibited by adverse circumstances in the home environment. The data here make clear that: many families in the Ward are characterised by unemployment and poverty; the learning of local young people is negatively impacted by resultant financial shortages; and that such problems are commonly compounded by parental ill health, alcohol or drug abuse, physical and/or emotional neglect, and familial norms which place little value on education. Thirdly, it was argued that many local young people feel alienated from education and see little point in applying themselves at school. The two most frequently cited reasons for this lack of belief in young people around the value of education were: the inter-generational transmission of school failure; and the distinct lack of visible employment opportunities – made all the more pronounced by the latest recession.

4.4.3. Social Capital in Dunclug

In terms of bonding social capital, the Dunclug data make clear that: close-knit networks of support are a feature of the Ward; and that the educational achievement of many young people is enabled through a supportive home environment and encouraging parents. Moreover (and somewhat paradoxically), divisions in the Ward between the satellite communities e.g. the Dunclug, Dunvale and Millfield estates, have, in many cases, served to strengthen these immediate bonds and associated cultural identifications. However, local

stocks of bonding capital are, to an extent, diminished because many young people are impacted by (area-based) stigmatisation, adverse home circumstances, and a sense of alienation from the value of education.

The second category in the ILiAD social capital framework relates to bridging capital and concerns schools' levels of engagement, accessibility and innovation. The Dunclug data show that: the propinquity and embeddedness of the two main schools, in addition to the patent commitment of school staff, have markedly increased accessibility; and that Extended Schools programmes have made a significant contribution in terms of encouraging the engagement of young people and their parents. Moreover, these schools have clearly adopted innovative initiatives to foster positive attitudes among young people and their families around education and its value. For example, several principals and teachers spoke about: broader conceptualisations of achievement; a wider range of vocational A level subjects; lunchtime activities; the learning benefits of a six-period school day; and organising their school into 'houses' to encourage involvement in school activities. More broadly, these schools seek to provide, concomitantly, ambitious academic targets for higher achieving students and tangible pathways to e.g. technical college for the less academically minded. Schools in the Ward also have high expectations in terms of quality of teaching, individual attainment, and standards of discipline. It is also clear from the data that the schools which serve the Ward: have forged meaningful linkages with the local communities; have in place effective engagement systems for young people and their parents; and have clearly embraced the opportunities provided by the Extended Schools programme.

The third element of the ILiAD framework is linking social capital and refers to structural factors such as demography, statutory youth provision, physical assets, and the impact of education policy. Although Dunclug is a mixed-religion Ward, residential segregation is still evident. Moreover, it would appear that new social divisions have been created with the arrival of migrant workers. There were accounts of hostility and abuse being directed towards these new arrivals and acknowledgements from residents (young and old) of the resentment they harbour around, for example, these new arrivals taking up employment and educational opportunities. It is also clear that schools, teachers, and indeed some pupils, have been challenged by the increasing numbers of children whose first language is not English. There is also a large Travelling community in the Ward and several principals and teachers outlined: the additional support required for pupils and parents with severe literacy limitations; and the need for such interventions to be sensitive to this community's cultural norms around e.g. gender, education and community participation.

In terms of statutory youth provision, the data attest that: youth groups in the Ward provide a safe and welcoming environment and stimulating opportunities for learning; and youth workers are expressively supportive, help young people chose subjects GCSE, and signpost Further and Higher Education opportunities. Moreover, this provision is underpinned by a philosophy that the most effective learning environments are ones which are enjoyable, sociable and interactive. In addition to the patent benefits of this youth provision, academic attainment in Dunclug is further enabled by the propinquity and embeddedness of the local schools. This spatial attachment between communities and schools: increases parental involvement; widens access to school facilities; and, more broadly, contributes to the local-level service infrastructure. Moreover, and importantly, many young people in the Ward thus come to see their school as an integral part of their lives and an important referent in their social world. Consider together, these factors, at least in part, explain why rates of high absenteeism within Dunclug are the lowest in the ILiAD sample.

It is also clear that Dunclug has the required linking social capital to secure significant funding, for example, through the DSD 'Areas at Risk' Programme. However, these extra resources seem to have had little effect in terms of addressing the lack of community cohesion, the insufficient provision of youth facilities, and existing (ethno-religious and class-

based) social cleavages. According to the data, academic selection is a source of social division in Dunclug. Although initiatives such as the Ballymena Learning Together Group have successfully brought grammar and secondary pupils together, negative self-labelling and a form of educational hierarchy are evident in the Ward. It was also frequently cited that children whose parents could afford private tutoring in subject specialisms and exam techniques were at a distinct advantage in terms of accessing a grammar school education.

Looking at the three levels together, it is clear that the close-knit networks in Dunclug are based on familial and geographical factors rather that, as was found in several other ILiAD Wards, a shared sense of adversity. However, although many parents actively support their child's education, many young people in the Ward live in adverse home conditions, routinely experience stigmatisation and feel disengaged from education. Similarly, bridging social capital is generated via the local schools' capacity to engage and be accessible and innovative in their teaching practice. However, the value of this capital is undermined by, for example: divisions between the Ward's satellite communities; and classist attitudes which unfairly label young people because they come from deprived communities. Linking social capital is evident in the Ward's physical assets – the popular schools which are seen as both in and of the community. Moreover, the interplay between the bonding, bridging and linking forms is clear, for example: the immediate (micro-level) bonds i.e. familial connections to schools and neighbourhood friendships have, in all probability, improved and sustained (meso) school attendance levels; and the propinquity of local schools (macro) enables higher levels of parental engagement (meso) which, in turn, increases levels of aspiration and self-belief in young people (micro).

The Dunclug data highlight a number of examples of negative bonding, bridging, and linking social capital which is seen to impact the educational attainment of young people, particularly those from the most disadvantaged backgrounds. Firstly, immediate bonds in the Ward are limited by peripheral spatiality, and ethno-religious segregation. The social capital literature attests that, particularly for the most disadvantaged families, the interplay of these factors with weak familial norms around education and employment have a constraining effect on young peoples' educational ambition (Dika and Singh, 2002).[155]

Secondly, the data make clear that bridging ties in the Ward are weakened by ethno-religious residential segregation. According to Putnam (2000: 22),[156] networks within spatial concentrations of deprivation 'provide crucial social and psychological support'. However, he also cautions that when this bonding is framed by competing homogeneities, the social capital created tends to be 'inward-looking and exclusive'.

Thirdly, the Dunclug data make equally clear that the actual benefits of the educational social capital created by academic selection are, commonly, disproportionately accrued by the most privileged i.e. those families with positive educational norms, a family tradition of academic success and sufficient income (e.g. to pay for private tutors). This uneven distribution of the concept's benefits highlights a central criticism of orthodox interpretations of social capital which are, essentially, premised on the belief that social networks engender economic opportunities. Li et al. (2008: 406)[157] argue that this proposition ensures that advantage and disadvantage are 'simply reproduced' because those who are 'already privileged' are 'best positioned to take advantage' of such networks.

The debates around the strengths and weaknesses of academic selection, in many ways, are seen to mirror the dichotomy between orthodox interpretations of social capital and more radical interpretations which argue that socio-spatial and socio-economic networks have

[155] Dika, S. L. and Singh, K. (2002) "Applications of social capital in educational literature: a critical synthesis", *Review of Educational Research.* Spring 2002, 72(1), 31-60.
[156] Putnam, R. (2000) Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community, New York: Simon & Schuster.
[157] Li, Y. Savage, M. and Warde, A. (2008) 'Social mobility and social capital in contemporary Britain', The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 59 (3) pp 392–411.

entirely different impacts in working class communities than in more affluent ones. Here again, Pierre Bourdieu's heuristics of 'field' (social arena), 'habitus' (individual dispositions) and 'capitals' (assets and resources) are particularly useful. The Dunclug data evidence that academic selection creates a 'field' wherein: the most valuable 'capitals' are income and positive familial norms around education; and class differentials are seen to be a significant informer of 'habitus' for pupils and their parents. In such processes: young people from middle class families invariably succeed (in the selection/transfer process) and get the opportunity to attend a high performing school with other likely achievers; and the most disadvantaged pupils invariably either fail or do not sit the transfer test and are, thus, denied the same opportunity. According to Portes (2010: 75),[158] neglecting the 'underlying class structure' in analyses of social processes (in this case, academic selection) creates a 'classless fallacy' which 'wrongly assumes that such processes occur evenly across the population'.

[158] Portes, A. (2010) Economic Sociology: a systemic inquiry, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

4.5. Case study 5: Duncairn

4.5.1. Force Field Analysis of drivers and inhibitors of achievement in Duncairn

4.5.2. Summary of findings from the Duncairn Ward

The data evidence that a range of structural, school-level and familial/neighbourhood factors, (and the interplay between these factors) have a significant impact on the learning and subsequent attainment levels of young people from Duncairn. It is equally apparent that, across these levels, there are factors which are seen to enable academic achievement in the Ward and others which appear to patently inhibit such progress. In terms of macro-level factors, i.e. those informed by historical, demographical, and policy considerations, a range of issues have been identified as significant barriers to educational success. For example, the Ward's history has clearly been shaped by the recent conflict and, as a consequence: spatial mobility restrictions and insular attitudes are common; paramilitary groups retain an influence, particularly amongst young people; and more broadly, the wider community continues to be characterised by both intra and inter-community divisions. Similarly, significant changes to the Ward's demographic profile have occurred such as: a falling number of Protestant school-aged residents; the near quadrupling of the Catholic community within the past decade; the steep rise in (often transitory) private rented sector tenures; and the fact that over 10% of the Ward's population were born outside of the UK and Ireland. For some residents of the Ward, this has created an unsettled community characterised by impermanence. Related to these demographic changes, it is also clear that the learning of local young people is inhibited because there are no secondary schools located in the hub of the Ward and as a result, the detachment many local young people already feel in terms of education is further compounded by (a) the invisibility of structured learning in their communities; and (b) the distances they now have to travel to the nearest available schools.

Despite the fact that only 11.7% of local secondary pupils attend grammar school (the lowest in the ILiAD study), the Duncairn data make clear that the policy of academic selection and the inter-related issue of the grammar school sector not contracting in line with demographic changes are having a negative effect on local attainment levels. The data here further evidences that the most important aspects of this impact are that: those who fail or do not sit the transfer test are routinely labelled as deficient; grammar schools are encouraged to 'cream' higher performing pupils from the non-selective sector; such processes make these non-grammar schools vulnerable to closures and amalgamations; and deprives these schools of positive role models / likely high achievers.

The Duncairn data also highlight several (structural) macro-level factors which enable academic attainment. Firstly, although it is clear that a number of young people and parents in the Ward are acutely disadvantaged, school collaborations with external agencies such as Barnardos, Parenting NI and SureStart have made a substantial and positive contribution in terms of addressing their needs. Secondly, improvements and renewals of school premises and facilities have affected positive change and confirmed that young people are more likely to succeed if their learning environment reflects aspiration and not decline. Moreover, it is indicative of the broader economic context that a further structural driver was the current recession and the argument that this has encouraged many young people to stay on at school. While this is positive, it needs to be remembered that many are only doing so because they are, often deeply, pessimistic about their labour market prospects.

In terms of the meso-level factors, a range of both positive and negative influences were identified around schools' levels of engagement, accessibility and innovation. Young people in Duncairn are encouraged to learn and attain qualifications because many schools which serve the Ward now have in place meaningful and effective engagement processes with communities and parents. Whilst it is clear that this has not always been the case and many parents recalled very different levels of engagement during their time at school, these schools have patently adopted a more collaborative and outward-looking approach in recent years. It is also clear that these relational changes have been mirrored by similar improvements to: school regimes which are seen to have engendered higher expectations

and discipline standards; and teacher attitudes which are seen as markedly more committed and empathetic.

These schools have also sought to become more accessible to pupils and their families, particularly those who are disadvantaged and/or require additional support. Perhaps the most salient example of this relates to the provision of Extended Schools programmes in some of the schools which serve the Ward. In addition to improving attainment and attendance levels, these initiatives have created: *'a level playing field'* for young people with weak parental support; and opportunities for parents to address their own essential skill deficits and become more involved in their child's education. Schools which serve the Ward have also adopted innovative practices which are seen to have had a positive impact on the educational outcomes of local young people. For example, many of the schools which serve Duncairn now have in place: flexible curricula; a wider range of vocational placements; alternative measures of success; effective support packages during transition(s); as well as higher standards of SEN support and problem behaviour management. There were, however, a number of school-level factors identified which were seen to inhibit academic progress. The most important of these concerned: schools which continue to adhere to inappropriate and inflexible curricula; some teachers who display negative attitudes and behaviour management techniques; the stubbornly high levels of absenteeism in the Ward; and more broadly, community-based perceptions of some teachers in Protestant working class schools as '*middle class'* and *'detached'*.

In terms of micro-level factors, i.e. those informed by familial and neighbourhood influences, the inter-related issues of parental support and home/community environment were the most important. Many young people in Duncairn have the parental support and stable conditions at home which are long known to be most conducive to their learning and development. However, many others have a distinct lack of either. Moreover, the parents of this less supported group, commonly, have a range of disadvantages themselves, primarily related to their own time at school, including: essential skills deficits; a lack of confidence; and an, often acute, aversion to engage with schools. In addition, but in all likelihood related, to weak familial support, many young people in Duncairn have very low self-esteem and equally low expectations for their future. Of course, the current recession has done little to raise these expectations and the latest indices show that youth unemployment in the Ward which stood at 7% in 2001 had risen to 22% by 2011. Moreover, their self-esteem and expectations are further depressed in two important ways: firstly, rightly or wrongly, they routinely contrast their own pessimistic outlook with what they perceive as an increasingly confident Catholic community; and secondly, many young peoples' academic aspirations are dampened by peer, familial, and community dissuasion. For many young people from Duncairn, considering a grammar school means contemplating being separated from friends and being the *'odd one out'*; the negative attitudes of some parents convinces their children that school is a waste of time; and community norms around education, often, dissuade academic success because it is such an unusual occurrence. In other words, although there would appear to be an *'awakening'* among some young people of the value of education, in other sections of the Ward's population a pervading sense of pessimism exists.

There were a number of micro-level factors which were seen to enable educational achievement in the Duncairn Ward. However, in terms these immediate influences, the primary drivers were limited to: the resilience and self-motivation of individuals, many of who view education simply as a means to leave the community; some young people becoming more cognisant of the value of education and potential career pathways; and finally, local community and youth work interventions, particularly those which (a) divert young people attention away from conflict, paramilitaries, and interface violence, and (b) provide out-of-school guidance for the section of young people in Duncairn with little or no parental support.

4.5.3. Social Capital in Duncairn

It is clear that within the Duncairn Ward there are high levels of bonding capital. Indeed, respondents presented a variety of examples which showed disadvantaged residents in Duncairn sticking together and being united by a shared sense of adversity. Similarly, many young people in Duncairn have the necessary levels of parental/familial support, community encouragement, and individual resilience to allow them to succeed at school. However, as evidenced in the data, many other young people from Duncairn have significantly lower levels of these attributes. Therefore, these 'absences' conspire to diminish local stocks of bonding social capital.

In terms of bridging social capital, analysis of the Duncairn data show that many schools which serve the Ward have recently: established/renewed effective tri-partite relationships between school, home and the community; adopted flexible curricular and higher expectations; and put in place targeted support mechanisms, particularly around transitions, and addressing the needs of those pupils with SEN. However, this is not the case in all schools and, in other schools, negative teacher attitudes, high levels of truancy and community perceptions of schools as *'detached'* remain prevalent. Moreover, in a broader context (and primarily related to the recent conflict), insularity and spatial mobility restrictions are seen to seriously inhibit: (a) the formation of bridging ties with neighbouring communities; and (b) perceptions of *'safe passage'* to the city centre which, although within walking distance, commonly entails transiting through 'the other' community.

Linking social capital refers to the structural factors which are seen to impact on local attainment levels. In the context of Duncairn, the Ward's history, geography, and demographic profile appear to also conspire against educational achievement. Corrosive legacies of the conflict such as extant paramilitary influence and sectarian polarisation interplay in complex ways with Duncairn's geographical realities and current demographic patterns to foster increased levels of insularity, distrust of outsiders and fatalism. As Evans (1997) has noted, in communities which are characterised by conflict, the nature, meaning and utility of social capital becomes more complex. Moreover, recent demographic changes have contributed to the closure of local schools and the subsequent need for young people to attend schools which are neither located in nor seen as part of their communities. It is important to note here that in another ILiAD Ward (Whiterock) the local (visible) provision of quality schools was identified as perhaps the most significant driver of attainment. This again highlights the somewhat obvious point that the absence of social capital indicator, in this case, good schools located in the Ward, tells us as much about local social capital formations as presences do.

Considered together, therefore, it is clear that although there are a number of *presences* of bonding, bridging and linking social capital indicators in Duncairn, across all three levels there are, arguably, a greater proportion of significant *absences* which at best diminish and at worst completely negate any positive outcomes, particularly for those local young people from the most disadvantaged backgrounds.

The final and perhaps most telling element of the theoretical framework adapted for the ILiAD study concerns the development of negative social capital. As outlined earlier, many of the community bonds which have been created in Duncairn are based on shared experiences of adversity, besiegement, and external stigmatisation. However, the social capital literature consistently shows that these types of bonds often create the wrong type of social capital. Fukuyama (2001),[159] for example, claims that in such environments, a form of negative social capital is created because this type of group solidarity is commonly purchased at the price of hostility towards out-group members. This phenomenon is clearly apparent in Duncairn where high levels of inclusionary bonding social capital can, to an extent, be attributed to exclusionary process linked to historical ethno-religious divisions. In

[159] Fukuyama, F. (2001) 'Social Capital, Civil Society and Development' Third World Quarterly, 22, 1, 7-20.

other words, the bonds created in certain parts of the Ward are restrictive in terms of the community developing the more outward looking bridging bonds which are seen to counter the effects of 'bounded solidarity' (Portes, 1998).[160] A host of previous social capital analyses have shown that bounded solidarity is a common feature of communities who have endured the collective 'experience of adversity and opposition to mainstream society' (ibid: 17). Moreover, it is claimed that the interplay between bounded solidarity, external stigmatisation, and embedded fatalistic tendencies, commonly, engenders restrictive processes and a downward levelling of social norms (Harper, 2001).[161]

Three examples from the Duncairn data around neglect of the positive, accentuation of the negative, and undesirable role models ably demonstrate this phenomenon. There were several accounts in the data (i.e. around successful transfer tests, high achieving school leavers, and University offers) which showed that narratives of individual success were, occasionally, actively dissuaded at peer, familial, and community levels. Portes (1998: 16-17) argues that this is a regular feature of communities whose bonds have developed through a 'narrative of oppression and besiegement'. Such communities, he concludes, have 'no place for individual success stories' for they undermine community solidarity, especially where this solidarity is 'premised on the alleged impossibility of such occurrences'.

Similarly, many community level sources offered profoundly pessimistic overviews and prognoses of Duncairn and the Ward's social, economic, and educational challenges. In a later publication, Portes (2010)[162] argues that emphasising the plight of a community or neglecting to highlight a community's positive assets become important 'methods of cementing' such bonds, because these bonds are premised on 'acquired schemata' of continual 'shared adversity' and 'inevitable collective failure'.

It is also clear that a perception exists among a number of Duncairn's younger residents that: education is a waste of time; achievement is beyond them; worklessness is a feasible option; and the only local people who seem to '*really succeed'* tend to be those who do so through nefarious means. This, according to the literature, has serious implications for local social capital formations. For example, if young people increasingly come to see unemployment benefit or criminal enterprise as viable strategies in the 'field' they occupy, some are likely to adjust their 'habitus' to suit these specific conditions (Moser, 2006).[163] In other words, while habitus relates to an individual's 'internalised structures' and dispositions, they are 'equally influenced' by the individual's 'desire to conform to prevailing and dominant norms' (Oliver and O'Reilly 2010: 56-57).[164]

[160] Portes, A. (1998) 'Social capital: its origins and applications', Modern Sociology Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 24: pp 1-24.
[161] Harper, R. (2001) Social Capital: A Review of the Literature. London: Social Analysis and Reporting Division, Office for Nati onal Statistics.
[162] Portes, A. (2010) Economic Sociology: a systemic inquiry, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
[163] Moser, C. O. N. (2006) Reducing Urban Violence in Developing Countries, Washington: The Brookings Institution.
[164] Oliver, C. and O'Reily, K. (2010) A Bourdieusian analysis of class and migration: habitus and the individualizing process. Sociology, 44: 49–65.

4.6. Case study 6: Woodstock

4.6.1. Force Field Analysis of drivers and inhibitors of achievement in Woodstock

Drivers

Macro-level

a) New and improved school buildings and facilities

Meso-level

a) Positive triangular relationship between school, home and community
b) The raising of discipline standards and expectations on the part of the schools
c) New, younger and more empathetic teachers
d) Schools' provision of vocation opportunities and visible progression routes
e) Alternative measures of success and the rewarding effort and achievement
f) Strong, visionary school leadership and a pupil-centred ethos
g) An effective pastoral care system
h) The provision of effective support during transition
i) The adoption of inter-active learning strategies
j) Appropriate SEN support in schools

Micro-level

a) Parental support and encouragement

Present situation – 52% five GCSEs A*-C (2012/13); 39th Multiple Deprivation 2010

Inhibitors

Macro-level

a) Legacies of the recent conflict
b) Schools attended by young people not located in the Woodstock community
c) Felt effects of Academic selection
d) Demographic change and a perceived 'loss of community'
e) High levels of deprivation, insularity, and benefit dependency
f) Lack of inter-agency collaboration, school closures and inter-school competition
g) Influx of non-English speakers to local schools
h) Lack of resources in schools

Meso-level

a) Low attainment expectations on the part of schools
b) High levels of absenteeism
c) Disruptive classmates and peer dissuasion
c) Weak linkages between schools and the community
d) Inappropriate curricula / GCSEs as only indicator of achievement

Micro-level

a) Parents' incapacity and/or unwillingness to support their children's education
b) Youth disaffection and lack of ambition amongst young people
c) Culture of alcohol and drugs and mental health issues

4.6.2. Summary of the findings from the Woodstock Ward

The data show that there is a range of structural, school-level, and familial factors which impact on the learning and attainment of young people from Woodstock. Some of these factors are seen to enable academic achievement and others create significant barriers to such a goal. In terms of summarising these factors, it is important to note that there were substantially more barriers identified in the Woodstock data than there were enablers.

The structural (macro-level) drivers of educational attainment in Woodstock i.e. those related to policy inputs and the Ward's history and demography, appear to be limited to the improved learning environments which have been created by recent investment in new buildings and facilities in the schools which serve the Ward. The data here make clear that young people from Woodstock have responded very positively to such improvements and appear more willing to apply themselves in newer learning environments that are designed to meet their educational needs.

However, a far wider range of structural inhibitors to educational attainment in the Ward were apparent. Similar to the Duncairn findings, the complex interplay between Woodstock's recent history and their demographic trajectory seems to have had a negative impact. East Belfast's monotonous slide from industrial heartland to industrial wasteland, broader shifts to a more skills-centric economy, and the latest recession have, collectively, created sizable pockets of acute deprivation in the Ward. It is also clear that the economic cleavages both within Woodstock and between the Ward and its more affluent neighbours have created a *'tale of two cities'* microcosm.

The lives of many local young people and their families also continue to be effected by legacies of the conflict, such as: *'conflict-era'* political representation; a continuing paramilitary presence; ongoing inter-community tensions; and sporadic incidents of civil disorder, most notably evidenced during the recent 'flag protest'. These findings are in line with previous studies on educational underachievement in loyalist communities. For example, Purvis (2011) found that the 'impacts of these historical failings' around education and accelerated forms of deindustrialisation are routinely compounded by conflict legacies. In the context of Woodstock, one such legacy relates to the impact of negative role models which offer to young people 'status and income through illegal activity' (ibid).

Of course, other studies (e.g. Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006)[165] have shown that a further pervasive legacy of the recent conflict for many working-class communities is the restricted spatial mobility of residents, particularly those who live in and around the interface communities which straddle Belfast's many peace-lines. The Woodstock data were littered with references to this phenomenon which was consistently described as one of the most debilitating features of the community.

Significant changes to the Ward's demographic profile have seen the Catholic population of the Ward increase three-fold from 6.2% in 2001 to 19.4% in 2011; the number of residents born outside the UK or Ireland increase to 14.7% (more than double the Northern Ireland average); and the percentage of privately rented housing rise 10% in the last decade to 28.3%, the highest in the ILiAD sample and nearly double the Northern Ireland average. Of course, such shifts are mirrored in many other areas of the UK with little local concern, particularly in terms of attainment levels. However, in (post-conflict) Woodstock they are, among some respondents, seen to represent unstoppable decline and a lost sense of community. These perceptions are reflected in contemporary demographic patterns across Belfast which depicts an aging and declining Protestant population and a young and

[165] Shirlow, P. and Murtagh, B. (2006). *Belfast: Segregation, Violence and the City*. Dublin: Pluto Press.

expanding Catholic community. Moreover, these perceptions also mirror the literature around Protestant working class communities which suggests that these population changes tend to engender high levels of insularity which are reinforced by perceptions of fatalism, defeatism and demographic encroachment (McKay 2000;[166] Hall 2007).[167]

The policy of academic selection was widely seen as an important structural barrier to local attainment levels. It is clear from the Woodstock data that the grammar sector views selection as an opportunity for pupils with high ability (and a privileged background in terms of e.g. familial education norms) to leave school having achieved their potential. However, it is equally clear that the same process, commonly, prevents pupils from less privileged backgrounds from doing likewise and, thus, simply reinforces pre-existing disadvantage. While it may be argued that academic selection is not the primary cause of social division in the Ward, the Woodstock data concur with Purvis et al (2011)[168] in that it accentuates it.

Two further macro-level inhibitors related to demographic change in the Ward were identified. Firstly, the secondary schools attended by young people from Woodstock are located outside the Ward. In addition to creating logistical/transportation challenges for pupils and their parents, the invisibility of post-primary learning in the Ward has the predictable consequence of further supressing educational aspirations. Secondly, the reported '*influx'* of foreign nationals into the local primary sector has clearly created extra pressure for schools already struggling to mediate reduced budgets and resources.

In terms of the school-level factors which are seen to enable academic progress. The data make clear that several schools which serve the Ward have, in recent years: fostered new and improved relations between school, home and community; significantly raised both their expectations and standards of discipline; provided alternative measures of success and a wider range of vocational opportunities; and enhanced their provision of SEN, pastoral care, support during transition, and inter-active learning strategies. In addition, principals with visionary leadership qualities and a pupil-centred ethos have been seen to make a substantial difference, even in previously 'failing' schools; and a new generation of teachers in the schools which serve the Ward are seen to be markedly more empathetic and committed to the young people in their charge.

However, several meso-level barriers were apparent in the Woodstock data: many parents, for example, believe that the issue of low expectations on the part of schools has not been completely resolved; and some young people continue to be inhibited by disruptive classmates and dissuasive peers. Moreover, and in all probability related to spatial detachment of schools from the communities they serve, high levels of absenteeism in the Ward remain a regular feature of the indices.

The most important micro-level influencer of local attainment levels is the level and consistency of parental support and encouragement. The data here confirm the long-established maxim that the most significant differentials in academic performance are commonly found outside of schools and classrooms. Many parents in Woodstock provide such support and thus increase their child's academic prospects. However, others, for a variety of reasons, do not and their children begin and progress through school with a distinct disadvantage. Many of this latter group, somewhat predictably, make up the significant proportion of local young people who, as the data here patently evidence, have become increasingly disaffected and are often bereft of aspiration or ambition.

[166] McKay, S. (2000) Northern Protestants: An Unsettled People, Belfast: Blackstaff Press.
[167] Hall, M. & Conflict Transformation Initiative (2007) Is There a Shared Ulster Heritage? Belfast: Island Publications.
[168] Purvis, Dawn; Shirlow, Peter; Langhammer, Mark (2011) Educational Underachievement and the Protestant Working Class: A Summary of Research, for Consultation (Belfast: Dawn Purvis MLA Office).

4.6.3. Social Capital in the Woodstock Ward

In terms of bonding social capital and the immediate factors which impact on local attainment levels, the data present mixed messages. The consistent provision of parental support for one section of the Ward's young people stands in stark contrast to the abject absence of familial encouragement experienced by another. The incapacity of some parents in Woodstock to have a positive involvement in their child's education is perhaps the most significant inhibitor of academic achievement in the Ward. Similarly, but in a broader context, the Woodstock community clearly has substantial stocks of bonding capital as evidenced by innumerable examples of close-knit ties and local people sticking together during times of adversity. However, the data also indicate that many of these internal bonds were, to an extent, informed by the recent conflict and are thus, at least in part, based on suspicion and hostility towards outsiders.

Formations of bridging social capital are also problematic in the Ward. A range of positive school-level (meso) influences around improved relationships (with families and communities), a raising of standards, and the adoption of flexible and empathetic approaches have clearly encouraged many young people from Woodstock and their parents to take a greater interest in their education. However, weak linkages between some schools and the community were also commonly reported and it is clear that the task of addressing this sense of detachment is significantly hampered by historical norms, contemporary levels of absenteeism, and the future envisioning of many young people which supposes a pointless engagement in the labour market. In a broader community context, forming bridging ties with other communities is evidently inhibited by, for example, the (wider) area's sectarian geography.

In terms of linking social capital in Woodstock, a series of structural factors, primarily around demographic change and the recent conflict are seen to further inhibit academic achievement. As outlined earlier, the interplay between these factors has: made the community more insular; sustained intra and inter-community divisions; created tensions between the community and its political representatives; and engendered a host of negative role models and influences.

Looking at these three levels of social capital together, it is clear that in the Woodstock Ward there are: pockets of bonding capital which are, to an extent, diminished by low parental capacity; an acute shortage of bridging social capital, notwithstanding recently improved school-level influences; and a near complete absence of linking capital, made infinitely more pronounced by the economic cleavages which are an increasing feature of the Ward. The broader social capital literature confirms that communities with high bonding capital and low bridging capital are commonly characterised by an appearance of internal cohesion and a persistent distrust in relation to external entities (Schuller, 2007)[169]. It is clear from the data that the recent conflict had the effect of cementing the bonds of solidarity within the Woodstock Ward by harnessing the commonalities of shared adversity and ethnic homogeneity. It is equally clear that Woodstock has, for a variety of reasons, been unable to create sufficient stocks of bridging capital or, indeed, adapt to broader social and demographic changes. According to Shirlow (2006)[170], working class communities with these characteristics are, as a consequence, more prone to isolation and detachment, particularly, if their residual structure remains connected to the trauma of violence.

The final element in the ILiAD social capital framework relates to the negative outcomes of the concept, which Portes (1998)[171] categorises as: the exclusion of outsiders; restrictions on individual freedoms; and a downward levelling of norms. It is clear that the internal bonds created in Woodstock during sustained periods of conflict and adversity has produced a

[169] Schuller, T. (2007) 'Reflections on the use of social capital', Review of Social Economy, 65: 1, 11 — 28
[170] Shirlow, P. (2006) 'Belfast: The 'post-conflict' city', Space and Polity, Vol. 10: 2: pp 99-107.
[171] Portes, A. (1998) 'Social capital: its origins and applications', Modern Sociology Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 24: pp 1-24.

'bounded solidarity'. This has engendered, paradoxically, high levels of both community spirit and insularity in the Ward. For example, the exclusive nature of bonding in some sections of the Woodstock Ward has reinforced the importance of homogeneity at the very time that homogeneity is challenged by demographic change. It is also apparent from the data that an additional consequence of bounded solidarity in these areas of Woodstock is that many young people endure significant restrictions on their individual freedom. For example, young peoples' participation in the recent flag protests was, at least in part, driven by a desire to conform to community influences; and their spatial mobility restrictions are, to an extent, similarly guided by neighbourhood demands.

However, the most salient examples of negative social capital relate to a downward levelling of norms. The Woodstock data are littered with references to this phenomenon where narratives and perceptions of oppression, besiegement, stigma and discrimination are seen to have two particularly negative impacts. This first of these concerns the influence of negative role models and their impact on young people in terms of aspiration. Some young people spoke about: individuals in the Ward who have failed at school, *'never worked'*, but, nonetheless, *'seem to survive'*; and others in the community who have achieved *'success'* via criminal enterprise. According to Rubio (1997: 810-812),[172] the signals which these survival strategies and 'successes' produce have a negative effect on the 'local reward structure'. This is clearly evident in Woodstock where some young people don't see the point in applying themselves at school because they see a route to survival/success which: (a) involves extra-legal activities; and/or (b) does not entail educational achievement. Therefore, the type of social capital they seek to build and invest in is informed by such pathways (ibid).

A second downward levelling of norms example relates to the limited ambition of many of the Ward's younger residents. The data have highlighted a host of factors which are seen to have depressed the aspirations and ambition amongst large sections of the Woodstock community. Moreover, the data attest that there are dissuasive forces at familial, peer, and community-level which sustain such tendencies. In terms of trying to understand these processes, Bourdieu's (1998)[173] conceptualisations of 'field' (social arena) and 'habitus' (an individual's subjective dispositions) are particularly useful. If we imagine the 'field' as the Woodstock community and its influences, and the 'habitus' as the personal inclinations of its residents, a central tenet of Bourdieu's thesis becomes apparent. Namely, that one of the field's most important effects on habitus is to 'limit the variation' between an individual's actions or choices and the 'constraining norms' of their own social group. In such ways, the bounded solidarity of a community contributes to a downward levelling of ambition among its members. In the context of Woodstock, the consequence of this process is that some young people absorb the 'field's' many 'pessimistic influences' (i.e. high unemployment, low attainment levels, and negative role models) and are persuaded to envision further or higher education or a successful engagement in the labour market as 'unattainable' and minimum-wage work, precarious zero-hour contracts or 'unemployment as inevitable'. In other words, 'their affected habitus dictates to them what is considered achievable and worth aspiring to' (Oliver and O'Reilly, 2010: 54-61).[174]

[172] Rubio, M. (1997) 'Perverse social capital – some evidence from Colombia', Journal of Economic Issues, 31 (3), 805-816.
[173] Bourdieu, P. (1998) Acts of Resistance: Against the New Myths of Our Time, (Translated by R. Nice), Cambridge: Polity Press.
[174]Oliver, C. and O'Reily, K. (2010) A Bourdieusian analysis of class and migration: habitus and the individualizing process. Sociology, 44: 49–65

4.7. Case study 7: Tullycarnet

4.7.1. Force Field Analysis of drivers and inhibitors of achievement in Tullycarnet

Drivers	Present situation – 43% five GCSEs A*-C (2012/13); 109th Multiple Deprivation 2010	Inhibitors
Macro-level a) Socially-mixed schools serving the area ***Meso-level*** a) Improved community-school links b) Increasing levels of parental and familial engagement with schools c) Strong school leadership and high expectations by the school d) Staff commitment to local schools and community e) Adaptation of school structures, policies and pedagogical styles to suit local pupil needs f) Support for pupils during transitions g) Broader conceptualisations of achievement (on the part of schools) ***Micro-level*** a) Parental support and encouragement b) Individual resilience and self-motivation of high achievers against the odds c) Close social networks and positive community influences		***Macro-level*** a) Schools closures and falling enrolments b) Spatial detachment of schools from the communities they serve c) Unreliability and skewing effect of official statistics d) Unsuitable facilities, lack of resources, and inadequate provision of Early Years e) Lack of joined-up education strategy (i.e. between DE & CCEA) ***Meso-level*** a) Inappropriate teacher skill-set/negative teacher attitudes, behaviours and expectations b) Inappropriate curriculum and learning strategies c) Schools and other agencies working in silos ***Micro-level*** a) Lack of aspiration and sense of hopelessness amongst young people b) Low parental expectations and engagement regarding education c) Negative community norms d) Mental and physical health issues

4.7.2. Summary of findings from the Tullycarnet Ward

There are a range of factors which are seen to impact on educational attainment in the Tullycarnet Ward. The data here show that across micro, meso, and macro levels, there are a number of issues which are seen to enable academic achievement and others which create significant barriers.

In terms of the macro-level factors, i.e. those informed by policy and the Ward's history and demography, the only driver highlighted was the socially mixed composition of some of the schools which serve young people from the estate. This factor, it was claimed: (a) gave local young people the opportunity to learn alongside pupils from different social backgrounds; and (b) consequently, raised their aspiration levels and broadened their horizons. However, a number of macro-level inhibitors to educational attainment were also identified, primarily, related to the Ward's demographic realities. In 2011, it was reported that Tullycarnet had only 109 young people at post-primary schooling (one of the smallest in the ILiAD study). Similar to the other predominantly Protestant Wards in the study, these falling enrolments have: (a) heralded a spectre of school closures; and (b) accentuated the spatial detachment of schools which serve the Ward.

There are nine post-primary schools which serve the Ward and only one is located within two miles of the estate. Indeed, almost half of the 109 post-primary pupils in Tullycarnet attend Newtownbreda High School which is some 4.3 miles away. These distances serve to reinforce the idea that the education of local young people is not a priority and make it difficult for young people to feel 'their school' is in any way part of 'their community'. Moreover, it can also be argued that the significantly higher than average absenteeism levels at Newtownbreda (32.8%) and Dundonald High (36.5%) can, at least in part, be attributed to this spatial detachment and the, consequential, invisibility of post-primary education in the estate.

On a policy level, other inhibitors of educational attainment were identified around: (a) the unreliability and skewing effect of official statistics, for example: Key Stage target levels; the neglect of value added and progression; and the inappropriateness of Free School Meals (FSM) as a measure of socio-economic need; (b) lack of resources / inadequate provision of Early Years; and (c) an apparent lack of strategic collaboration between the Department of Education and the Curriculum, Examinations & Assessment (CCEA).

In terms of meso-level factors, several enablers were identified around the recent (community-inspired) *'transformation'* that has occurred in relation to improved triangular linkages between schools, the Tullycarnet community and local parents. The data make clear that two key factors in this transformation were, firstly, the *'wake-up call'* engendered by the proposed closure of the local primary school; and secondly, the role of the Tullycarnet Action Group Initiative Group (TAGIT). The campaign led by this group has clearly galvanised the wider community and increased levels of parental and familial engagement with schools. It is also apparent that the community's improved perception of education has been matched by the schools which serve the Ward in terms of: higher expectations; increased levels of commitment and empathy on the part of teachers; flexible policies and pedagogical styles; effective support during transition; and broader conceptualisations of achievement.

However, several school-level inhibitors of achievement were highlighted. Some schools which serve the Ward, it was claimed, continue to pursue inappropriate curriculum and learning strategies and retain a *'silo'* mentality in terms of engaging with external agencies. Similarly, some of the teachers working with young people from Tullycarnet occasionally display negative teacher attitudes, and hold low expectations for their pupils.

In terms of the micro-level factors which are seen to impact on attainment levels in Tullycarnet, three drivers were identified. Similar to several other Wards in the ILiAD study, the most important of these immediate enablers to academic achievement was the support and encouragement young people receive from their parents. It is also important to note here the cross-over between the meso factors and the micro factors. The TAGIT group has played a significant role in increasing both the local value placed on education and levels of engagement between schools and families. These improvements have, in turn: raised the confidence levels of local parents; addressed some of their essential skills deficits; made them more cognisant of their role in their child's education; and, thus, enabled them to provide effective support.

The second micro-level driver relates to the individual resilience and self-motivation of high achievers. The data make clear that, despite a range of barriers, several young people are seen to succeed at school. Amongst this group there was an important commonality – a perception that effort was more important than ability. In other words, these high-achievers concurred that someone with ability will nonetheless fail without effort but that someone with limited ability will nonetheless succeed with effort. The data also show that many residents who achieved very little at their time at school have subsequently gone on to succeed in further and higher education settings. It is clear, therefore, that the academic potential of a proportion of the Ward's population was not realised during their mainstream schooling. The final micro-level driver of educational attainment is the close social networks and positive community influences that exist within the Tullycarnet estate. Notions of neighbourliness and *'pulling together'* were apparent throughout the data in addition to a host of accounts highlighting the contribution of positive role models such as voluntary youth workers and TAGIT committee members.

However, several micro-level inhibitors of educational attainment in Tullycarnet were also identified. Despite the aforementioned *'transformation'*, it is clear that an acute sense of pessimism pervades in sections of the Ward. The data are littered with references to a distinct lack of aspiration and sense of hopelessness among some young people. There are, it was claimed, two key contributing factors at play here. Firstly, many parents in the estate, primarily in account of their own unhappy experience at school, have little or no engagement with schools and equally low expectations for their children's education. Secondly, there remain, despite the best efforts of TAGIT and others, extant negative community norms around education and employment. Young people from Tullycarnet, it was frequently claimed, are *'surrounded'* and influenced by people who view school as alien, secure employment as unattainable and unemployment as inevitable.

Moreover, these perceptions are indicative of and reinforced by the indices which show that while Tullycarnet is the 109th most deprived Ward it is regarded as the 14th most deprived in terms of the education and employment domain. Similarly, across the seven Wards in the ILiAD study, Tullycarnet has the lowest rate of 5 GCSEs and the lowest percentage of young people who go on to Higher Education. In addition, the data also highlight the issue of mental health as a significant barrier to attainment in Tullycarnet. Self-harming, drug use and depression among teenagers is increasingly prevalent and it is clear that the community and several schools which serve the Ward are keen to secure increased provision of effective support mechanisms to address such problems. These schools also report that the number of pupils with SEN is rising year on year. These claims are clearly supported in the indices which show that Dundonald (52.8%), Newtownbreda (46%), and Orangefield (52.8%) have markedly higher SEN proportions than the Northern Ireland average of 30.8%.

4.7.3. Social Capital in Tullycarnet

The data make clear that within the Tullycarnet estate there are substantial stocks of bonding social capital as evidenced by micro-level conceptualisations of empowerment,

infrastructure, and connectedness. There were innumerable examples in the transcripts of a cohesive, united community pulling together and affecting positive change through collective action. As Field (2003)[175] has argued, such social interactions enable residents to: build communities; commit themselves to each other; and create a cohesive social fabric. Perhaps the most salient example of this cohesion relates to the community inspired campaign against the proposed closure of the local primary school. Although this campaign was ultimately unsuccessful[176], this campaign seems to have galvanised the wider community to take a renewed interest in in education.

On a more individual level, this transformation translates into increased parental support and is seen to raise aspiration amongst local young people. However, it also needs to be noted that, in addition to these nascent changes, the data evidence that many young people from Tullycarnet are inhibited from realising their academic potential because they: (a) lack such parental support; (b) remain influenced by (historical) negative community norms around education; and (c) consequently, harbour a sense of hopelessness. These findings further highlight the long-established correlation between social capital and school success and are aligned to the broader literature. For example, the World Bank (1999)[177] claims that teachers are more committed, pupils attain higher grades, and better use is made of school facilities in communities where parents are actively engaged in the education of their children. Similarly, Putnam (2000)[178] has shown that local norms and networks have far reaching effects on young peoples' educational choices, behaviours, and development.

Bridging social capital in the framework designed for the ILiAD study refers to schools' levels of engagement, accessibility and innovation. The Tullycarnet data make clear that the schools which serve the Ward have sought to foster new and improved relationships with the community and local families. As evidenced in this and several other Wards, community perceptions of schools as *'middle class and detached'* are perhaps the most significant barrier to such triangular relationships. It is equally apparent that to address this detachment schools and teachers need to explicitly and empathetically demonstrate an understanding of working class communities and families. For example, in recent years, a school serving young people from Tullycarnet appointed as principal a former pupil who continues to live locally. Under his leadership: parental engagement was increased; effective community linkages were established; and the proportion of their pupils attaining 5 GCSEs doubled in the space of two years.

In terms of linking social capital in Tullycarnet, it is clear that the Ward's history and demographic development has not engendered the same inter and intra-community divisions as the other predominantly Protestant Wards in the ILiAD study. Local legacies of the recent conflict and demographic change appear significantly less pronounced than in Duncairn or Woodstock. For example, although extant paramilitary influence was reported in Tullycarnet, this influence was seen as *'diminishing'*, and considerably *'less of an issue'* than in the other two Wards. Similarly, although these three Wards share a sense of spatial detachment: Tullycarnet does not interface with the 'other' community; sectarian violence is not a feature of the estate; and conflict-related spatial mobility restrictions are similarly absent. Moreover, three examples from the indices show that Tullycarnet appears to have a more settled demography and residential tenure. Firstly, unlike Duncairn and Woodstock, there is no sense of ethno-religious encroachment and the Ward remains predominantly (86%) Protestant. Secondly, only 2% were born outside the UK and Ireland which is less than a third of the Northern Ireland average. Thirdly, the percentage of private rented housing (7.2%) is the lowest amongst all the ILiAD Wards.

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[175] Field, J. (2003). *Social Capital*, London: Routledge.

[176] Tullycarnet primary school was closed in 2017 – primarily because it filled only 46 of its available 552 places (2016-2017).

[177] The World Bank (1999) 'What is Social Capital?' Available online at: http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/whatsc.htm

[178] Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone. The collapse and revival of American community*, New York: Simon and Schuster.

However, the Tullycarnet data evidence several structural factors which are seen to impact negatively on local attainment levels. Across all the Ward examinations in the ILiAD study, there is an attempt to identify and measure what Savage et al (2005)[179] have described as a community's capitals, assets and resources (CARS). While the primary foci of these examinations were on relational, and often intangible, aspects of social capital such as empathetic teachers, parental capacity, and familial / community norms, it is also important to explore the impact of the more palpable factors. Indeed, a century ago, Hanifan (1916: 130)[180] first used the term social capital to refer to rural school community centres which he described as 'those tangible substances … that count for most in the daily lives of people'. Hanifan's views on tangibility are supported in the data from across the seven ILiAD Wards which show that the most significant of these 'tangible substances' relates to the visibility of quality schools located in the Ward. However, in Tullycarnet, there is no visible representation of post-primary learning and young people are thus educated in establishments which, despite the best efforts of some schools, are neither seen as in or of the community they serve.

In terms of the inter-play between bonding, bridging and linking social capital in Tullycarnet, several clear causal linkages are apparent. For example, the data attest a transformation has taken place amongst significant sections of the Ward around education. A host of community-inspired initiatives to address underachievement in the Ward have been developed and the role of the community sector in general and TAGIT in particular cannot be overstated. Here, social capital can be seen to produce virtuous circles across bonding, bridging, and linking levels. For example, the bonding capital which encourages local people at a micro-level to organise and become more engaged with local schools is further reinforced via the new (meso-level) fora and engagement processes thus produced. In turn, these initiatives create new (macro-level) structural linkages to decision making process.

As stated earlier, the recent conflict does not seem to have created the same formations of negative social capital as where apparent in Duncarin and Woodstock. The internal bonds in Tullycarnet appear more organically informed rather than shaped by a shared sense of adversity; there was little in the data to suggest that the community is untrusting and/or hostile towards outsiders; and respondents routinely highlighted the influence of positive role models (including ex-combatants) rather than the impact of negative ones. More broadly, the community perceives no external or internal threats and, as a consequence, has a confidence in its future which was noticeably absent in the other predominantly Protestant Wards. However, it is clear that deeply embedded community norms around education and its value continue to lower the ambition of many of the estate's younger residents.

Of course, this analysis of Tullycarnet is a snapshot in time and it is often more valuable to examine trajectories. The nascent attitudinal changes within the community regarding education are slowing being reflected in the most recent indices. Furthermore, even though the community-inspired campaign to retain the local primary school was ultimately unsuccessful, the galvanising effect of this campaign has encouraged the local community sector and parents to sustain their engagement and address the above mentioned barriers to educational attainment in the Ward. It is clear that Tullycarnet has featured regularly in the lowest deciles of the education indices for some time. However, it is equally clear that the community is, perhaps more than ever, effectively marshalling the capitals, assets, and resources at its disposal. Moreover, the Tullycarnet data concur with the broader social capital literature and attests that when this is done and when these efforts are supported at the macro policy-level, such communities can begin to mobile the concept of social capital to example a more positive trajectory of change.

[179] Savage, M., Warde, A. and Devine, F. (2005) 'Capitals, assets and resources: some critical issues, *The British Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 56 (1) pp 31–47.
[180] Hanifan, L. J. (1916). 'The rural school community center', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 67: 130-138.

Chapter 5: Towards policy and practice - some considerations

Findings from the ILiAD case study Wards are qualitative and not generalizable to other ward areas or N. Ireland as a whole. Nevertheless, common themes identified offer a number of important insights for policy and practice consideration. The following section provides summaries of key aspects of young people's experiences that can help or hinder their educational pathway and point to some implications for policy and practice for these Wards.

Only by understanding the various immediate (micro), school (meso)and structural/policy factors influencing differences in education outcomes at local levels will it be possible to design effective responses in policy and practice that improve the educational outcomes for all young people in these deprived Wards.

Given the qualitative nature of the ILiAD study, there is no suggestion that the factors identified are in any way causal but rather, taken in the round, they illustrate the delicate balance of interrelated factors seen to persist for many young people in these areas. Supporting and investing in the aspects that are viewed as enhancing educational success and reducing or minimising the negative impact of those that delimit educational possibilities, may shift the balance of opportunity in a positive direction.

In this chapter, each of the original research questions will be addressed individually. This is followed by an analysis of the ILiAD findings in relation to the social capital theoretical framework developed for this study. The final section of this chapter will present the key messages from the research and key observations around policy, educational practice, and future research.

As stated earlier in this report, the full results for each case study Ward are available to view in Volume 2 of the ILiAD final report.

5.1 Answering the Research Questions

5.1.1 Research question 1: Why do children and young people in some Wards with high level deprivation perform well educationally, relative to their counterparts in similar or less deprived Wards?

What has made this project different from other studies on successful schools in areas of disadvantage is the fact that we have differentiated between disadvantaged areas, and examined various factors that combined seem to lead to some young people doing very well in school (by the current educational standards). We have also outlined inter-and intra-Ward differences. Some of the challenges (and drivers of achievement) are the same across all Wards, but some factors combine to lift young people and their families up. However, each community has a unique set of circumstances too – and some communities have the resources to mediate the challenges that exist. This is partly why achievement was so high in some of the electoral Wards investigated (particularly the Derry/Londonderry Wards), relative to their counterparts in similar or less deprived Wards.

One example which can be used to illustrate how these different factors combine in unique ways is the comparison of the Rosemount Ward (in Derry/Londonderry, which is ranked 44th out of 582 for multiple deprivation under the NIMDM (2010) and in which 91% of young people achieved five or more GCSEs at A*-C in 2012/13) and the Tullycarnet Ward (in Belfast, which is not as highly deprived as Rosemount – it is ranked 109th in Northern Ireland for multiple deprivation, and 43% of young people from Tullycarnet achieved five or more GCSEs in 2012/13). Firstly, in terms of structural (macro-level) factors, there were several positive drivers of achievement within Rosemount that were observed as absent from

Tullycarnet. Within Rosemount, there is an enduring positive legacy of the 1947 Education Act, for Catholics especially, which includes an appreciation of the value of education and a belief in the Catholic education system. Furthermore, high-performing schools are located close to or within the Ward itself, which were reported to have a social mix within them; 30.6% of young people from the Ward attended grammar schools; and there is an effective youth service and education initiatives within the community. In contrast, within Tullycarnet, although the socially mixed composition of some of the schools which serve young people from the area was highlighted as a structural driver of achievement, there were many more inhibitors of achievement at the structural (macro) level; for example, only one in five young people attended grammar schools or schools with a grammar stream (19.3%), and only one of the nine post-primary schools serving Tullycarnet is within two miles of the Ward, making it difficult for young people to feel that their school is a part of their 'community' and reinforcing the idea that school is not a priority. There was also a reported lack of resources/inadequate provision for early years. At the meso (school) level, several enablers were identified in Tullycarnet around the recent (community-inspired) 'transformation' that has occurred in relation to improved triangular linkages between schools, the community, and parents. These enablers included the community having an improved perception of education, along with higher expectations, increased levels of commitment on the part of teachers, flexible pedagogical styles, effective transition support, and broader conceptualisations of achievement. However, it was also claimed that some schools continue to pursue inappropriate curricula, retain a 'silo' mentality, display negative teacher attitudes towards pupils from Tullycarnet, and have low expectations. In comparison, within the Rosemount Ward, the drivers of achievement at the meso/school-level have been long established, and are wide-ranging: there are close and long-standing school-parent and school-community relationships, with many young people and their families benefitting from the high-quality Extended Schools provisions and the effective school partnerships and inter-agency partnerships that have been fostered; the data also show that staff-pupil relationships are, in general, productive, friendly and respectful; pupils feel 'listened to'; and the ethos of schools combines pastoral care and academic success. In addition, the schools serving young people from the Rosemount area were found to have an average absenteeism rate of 10.2% during 2012/13, the lowest rate of the ILiAD sample Wards (in comparison, Tullycarnet had an absenteeism rate of 18.2% during 2012/13).

The micro-level (home and community-level) drivers and inhibitors of achievement that were identified from the data from both Rosemount and Tullycarnet were similar (drivers such as resilience, close-knit family and neighbour networks, and parental support, and inhibitors such as anti-social behaviour, low expectations, and a sense of hopelessness), although within Tullycarnet, there was the added inhibitor of extant negative norms around education and employment – it was frequently claimed that young people there are '*surrounded'* and influenced by people who view school as alien, secure employment as unattainable, and unemployment as inevitable.

These differences between the Wards in terms of the factors that influence achievement have led to differences in the ways (educational) social capital is both created and utilised. The data from Rosemount provide evidence of: high stocks of bonding social capital (referring to positive familial and community norms around education, supportive and engaged parents, close-knit community networks, and a sense of community belonging); high stocks of bridging social capital in Ward (referring to schools' levels of engagement, accessibility, and innovation); and high stocks of linking social capital (referring to the structural factors which can positively impact on attainment levels). Comparatively, within Tullycarnet, while there are substantial stocks of bonding social capital (as evidenced by the examples from the data of the community cohesively coming together to affect positive change, which has empowered people within the Ward and increased parental support for education and young people's aspirations), bridging social capital in the Ward has only recently begun to emerge, in terms of improved school-community-home triangular

relationships. The Tullycarnet data also evidence a key structural factor that has impacted negatively on local attainment levels - the lack of visibility of quality post-primary schools within the Ward. Young people are educated in establishments relatively far from where they live, and such schools are therefore generally not seen as in or of the community they serve.

However, it was also clear that Tullycarnet has, up until very lately, struggled to access and utilise the capitals, assets and resources in relation to education; and has featured regularly in the lowest deciles in the attainment indices. This has led to an intergenerational sense of hopelessness and low expectations and norms surrounding education and employment – which nascent community-led activism is beginning to address. This (historical) detachment from education may help explain why Rosemount has outperformed Tullycarnet despite having a higher level of deprivation. Moreover, the positive community-led response may help to explain why in Tullycarnet, there was evidence of a confidence in its future, which was less noticeable in other predominantly Protestant ILiAD Wards.

5.1.2 Research question 2: How can differential educational attainment be explained between Wards that are very closely matched as regards multiple deprivation?

The Wards of Duncairn and The Diamond were chosen for the original sample as they gave the study predominantly Catholic and Protestant Wards which are very closely matched for deprivation but demonstrate differential performance educationally; The Diamond and Whiterock Wards were also chosen for the study as they showed substantially different educational attainment levels, yet were closely matched for multiple deprivation (and are both predominantly Catholic Wards). In both of these examples, the Diamond Ward out-performed both Duncairn and Whiterock.

The results showed that, in broad terms, there are two main reasons as to why differential achievement exists between Wards that are closely matched as regards multiple deprivation. The first is to do with the impact of negative social capital and/or the absences of positive social capital stocks within a Ward; the second is to do with the positive influence of the 'Derry Effect' – the impact that attendance at schools in the Derry area has on key measures related to educational attainment.

Taking Duncairn and The Diamond as the first example of differential educational attainment, several key differences were found between the Wards in terms of the drivers and inhibitors of achievement that exist within them. The Diamond, a predominantly Catholic Ward (81.2% Catholic), had several drivers, which were not found referenced to the same extent within the Duncairn Ward. These were: the high value placed on education and the Catholic school system, a legacy of the 1947 Education Act, which is linked to intergenerational engagement with schools; highly-resourced schools which are geographically close to the centre of the Ward; a high level of social mixing within the schools, and a high proportion (30%) of young people from the Ward attending grammar schools; schools characterised by high standards of pastoral care, transition support, inter-school cooperation, and high expectations; high levels of youth club involvement; and positive adult education experiences and young people's experiences of nursery and primary school. In contrast, particular barriers to achievement were found to affect the Duncairn Ward more greatly than was the case in The Diamond. These barriers were partly shaped by Duncairn's post-conflict transition: spatial mobility restrictions and insular attitudes were common; and the wider community continues to be characterised by intra- and inter-community divisions. Other barriers included the significant changes in Duncairn's demographic profile, which have created an unsettled community characterised by impermanence; a low percentage of grammar school attendees (11.7%); the dispersed geography of the schools serving young people from the Ward (which compounds the

detachment that some young people already feel towards their education); and a high absenteeism rate (16.3% on average amongst all schools serving the Ward during 2012/13).

Turning to the second comparison in the sample, The Diamond Ward and the Whiterock Ward, the macro (structural/policy) and micro-level (immediate- family) drivers and inhibitors of achievement were found to be very similar. It was at the meso (i.e. school) level where the key differences emerged. Firstly, in The Diamond, approximately twice as many young people attended grammar school than was the case in Whiterock (14.1%). Secondly, notwithstanding the evident quality of many schools serving the Whiterock Ward, there were identified problems regarding the inappropriateness of the curriculum offered to many pupils; some schools and agencies were reported to be working in *'silos'*; and there were claims that some teachers are *'disinterested'* and struggle to manage classes with disruptive pupils. Meso-level barriers to achievement were also observed within The Diamond Ward, although these were found to be more pronounced in the schools that served the Fountain area within the Ward; and lastly, young people attending schools in Derry/Londonderry also had significantly higher levels of aspirations and expectations and placed a higher value on education for the future than respondents who attended schools in Belfast.. These findings, illustrate the positive impact that attending a school in Derry/Londonderry potentially has on achievement and goes some way in explaining why The Diamond Ward (as one of the two Derry/Londonderry Wards in the sample) is outperforming Whiterock, one of the Belfast Wards in the sample, even though both Wards are within the top 5% of Wards in Northern Ireland for high multiple deprivation.

5.1.3 Research question 3: What contributory factors can be identified to help explain why Protestant Wards such as Duncairn, Woodstock and Tullycarnet, appear to be over-represented within the top twenty Wards for educational underachievement, relative to their multiple deprivation ranks?

The analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data presented within this report has suggested several key factors that help to explain the differentials in educational achievement between the predominantly-Catholic and predominantly-Protestant Wards in areas of high deprivation.

Firstly, from a historical viewpoint, the political and policy context of the past century has left a positive legacy for education within the discourses of the Catholic community. The 1947 Education Act (Northern Ireland) benefited a significant number of working-class Catholics: for the first time, a grammar school education, funded by the state, was a distinct possibility for those who passed the 11+ examination, and this in turn, opened the potential for university study. The first generation of beneficiaries of this legislation left school in the 1950s with raised hopes for social mobility and career development. Community activity became an important characteristic of many Catholic neighbourhoods in the decades ahead and these helped to facilitate important social bonds. In the 1960s, community leaders also pointed to the issue of educational inequalities caused by the limited access to funding for Catholic schools (McGrath, 2000); they did this by pointing to the fact that by 1966, voluntary schools in England and Wales were eligible to claim for 80 per cent of all capital costs. In response to this campaigning the government issued a White Paper which, according to an *Irish Times* report from the time, proposed that 'in return for representation by the local Education Authority on governing boards, the schools would receive capital grants of 80%', whilst the authority would also 'be responsible for maintenance, equipment and day to day running costs.' At the time, church authorities continued to have '*grave misgivings'* about the new set-up, but they were under growing pressure to accommodate change that would be of benefit to the wider Catholic community, even if that meant losing some of their previously unchallenged authority. This pressure is an indication of the strong sense of value that was

placed on education within the Catholic community and this was further reflected in the fact that the majority of Catholic schools proved willing to accept maintained status.

Evidence of this legacy was clear from the qualitative interviews conducted during this project. In both Rosemont and The Diamond Wards, participants consistently spoke of the positive impact of the Education Act on the educational aspirations and attainment of the Catholic population. One principal of a Catholic maintained school serving the pupils of Rosemont spoke at length about the 'powerful' meaning of education for Catholics and the vital role this has played in promoting educational success. This principal also talked about the championing of education by nationalist leaders, such as John Hume. Principals of a Catholic maintained school and a state controlled school serving the pupils of The Diamond also talked about the powerful meaning of education for Catholics living in Derry. This was linked to past experiences of discrimination, as well as a transgenerational norm that began with the Act and has been thereafter championed by nationalist politicians.

This historical legacy was also recognised in some of the discourse of the mainly Protestant Wards. In Duncairn, one principal argued that the divergence between Catholic and Protestant communities in terms of the education-work nexus was linked to their schools' historical approaches to poverty and higher education: "*in the 1970's, when it came to poverty, the way out of it in the Catholic sector was they pushed their kids to go onto University ... here, they didn't need to because they were jobs for them. It was only when the jobs dried up that the Controlled side cottoned on to the fact that education really matters."* In Woodstock, it was also suggested by local community workers that a contributing factor to a lost sense of community was a long-standing perception within loyalist communities about *"having their identity erased*". This was contrasted with the Catholic community where, it was argued there is a *"clearer vision … about why you're doing things"; "an overarching ideology that underpins almost everything*."

This issue relates to a further observation in the data, which is the problem of ineffective political representation. It must be stated that dissatisfaction with political leadership and/or a broader disengagement from politics was evident in the data of most of the Ward areas investigated, both Catholic and Protestan. Nevertheless, this was more pronounced in the mainly-Protestant Wards. For example, several respondents in Duncairn claimed that community development was being hindered by ineffective political representation. Other community level respondents highlighted the contrast between some unionist politicians who were seen as *"detached"*, and nationalist politicians who were viewed as "*part of their community"*. Within Tullycarnet, one principal claimed that politicians need to properly engage with educationalists to discuss: the future of education in Northern Ireland; appropriate policy interventions; and how to develop a system that would be '*the pride of Europe'*. Lastly, several principals and teachers felt that a key factor behind underachievement and low aspirations in Tullycarnet, Woodstock and Duncairn was that: many Protestant working class boys feel very *"unconnected";* the flag protests of 2012/13 have "*deepened that feeling";* and that this disconnect intensifies perceptions of *"inevitable underachievement".*

Thirdly, there have been changes in demographics within predominantly-Protestant Wards, which have led to a certain level of 'fracturing' within these communities, and a subsequent lack of community cohesiveness not observed to the same extent within the predominantly-Catholic communities. For example, according to Census statistics, demographics within Duncairn have changed considerably over the ten-year period between 2001 and 2011, in terms of religious makeup, housing tenure, and the settling of new communities within the area. This perhaps implies that the potential for positive intergenerational influence on young people and social bonding within the community is not as likely as it is in other Wards (assuming that a settled demographic pattern enhances opportunities for this to occur). In Woodstock, similar demographic change trends were found, and the perceived loss of community cohesiveness was also observed. According to community workers and residents

in Woodstock, demographic changes, which have happened over a relatively short period of time, have had a "*disruptive"* and *"unsettling"* impact, and as such have been an inhibitor of local educational attainment because such population changes indicate and promote fatalistic perceptions of *"encroachment"* and *"inevitable decline",* and that these notions are absorbed by young people who are then dissuaded from applying themselves in school. Community fracturing too had added to the notion of *"feeling hard done by"* and *"having their identity erased"*. There were also perceptions within the Tullycarnet Ward of a lack of community cohesiveness, and participants linked this to the fragmented nature of Protestantism. It was commonly reported that many Protestant communities such as Tullycarnet are *"in drift",* primarily, because of an absence of unifying factors such as the *"central connection of faith that binds people together".* In contrast, one resident noted that *"there are so many Protestant churches … the Catholic communities just have one which helps to hold people together."*

A fourth observation was the higher school absenteeism rates found within mainly-Protestant areas. Previous research has shown that absenteeism in particular is one of the strongest negative predictors of a pupil's gains in achievement in mathematics and literacy (Public Policy Institute for California, 2003). This finding is substantiated by Wiley and Harnischfeger's work (1974) on the number of hours of schooling and the effect on student achievement – they analysed between-school attendance differences and found that where students receive 24% more school hours, their average gain in literacy was two-thirds and one-third in mathematics. Within the current study, secondary data analysis showed that the eight post-primary schools serving young people from Woodstock had an average high-absenteeism rate (defined as attendance below 85% during a school year) of 21.3% during 2012/13; the nine schools serving young people from Tullycarnet had an average high-absenteeism rate of 18.2% during 2012/13; and the eleven schools serving young people from Duncairn had an average high-absenteeism rate of 16.3% during 2012/13. These average high-absenteeism rates compared less favourably to the Catholic Wards within the ILiAD sample (the average high-absenteeism rates for 2012/13 in Whiterock, Rosemount and The Diamond were 13.3%, 10.2% and 11.5% respectively). The results suggested that differential levels of absenteeism must be factored into any explanation of why Catholic Wards of high deprivation are out-performing Protestant Wards of similarly high (or lower) deprivation.

A fifth difference between mainly-Catholic and mainly-Protestant Wards was the (perceived) levels of detachment or attachment of schools to the areas they served. As evidenced in the case study chapters, strong links between schools and families were consistently seen as having positive impact on a young person's academic progression. However, it is equally clear that in the absence of such links, many young people are inhibited from realising their full potential at school. Several parents spoke about some schools which serve pupils within mainly-Protestant Wards as being detached from the realities of their pupils' lives, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds. The most frequently suggested reason for this detachment was that many teachers who work in the schools *"come from a middle-class type background"* and thus *"it's totally impossible for them to relate to what's going on"* in their homes or communities. In a focus group of recent school leavers in Duncairn, it was claimed that it *would "not matter if they were from a nationalist background*", but *"it would have been better if they were from a working-class area".* Again, these responses were commonly framed in contrast with the Catholic community, wherein, it was argued; *"nearly all*" of teachers are working class. Indeed, in the mainly-Catholic Wards, several of the principals interviewed had grown up in and/or continued to live in the local community around the school, and pupils spoke of the positive influence of teachers with whom they had good relationships – relationships which were fostered because these teachers had also lived locally, and as such, understood them and their needs. Furthermore, as will be further examined in the next section of this chapter on social capital within the case study Wards, one of the contrasts between the Catholic and Protestant Wards was the notion of Catholic

parents, the local community sector, and schools having a shared responsibility for the academic progression of local young people. In several predominantly-Catholic neighbourhoods, there are well-established, collaborative learning communities, with Catholic maintained schools at the hub of these learning communities. It was clear that most Catholic maintained schools investigated here were not 'stand-alone' entities in the community – their leaders have enhanced the connectedness between the school and the community. Families in such schools were encouraged to be active participants in their children's education. The data make clear that the strength of these triangular relationships (school, home and community) is a significant factor in terms of addressing the education needs of disadvantage young people.

A further point that emerged from the qualitative data was the twofold-issue of low expectations and the low self-esteem of some young people. Whilst this issue did arise amongst all Wards investigated, many respondents in the Duncairn Ward contrasted the lack of aspiration in the Protestant community with the "*confident"* Catholic community. For example, a youth worker recalled that during the times of exams, almost no Catholic children attend youth clubs because *"their parents have them in the home"; "they're studying, they're revising";* and their "*parents are being supportive".* More broadly, there was also evidence of low expectations on the part of schools; this was an important meso-level inhibitor of educational attainment, particularly within the mainly-Protestant Wards. Some young people and parents claimed that during primary school, there had been little expectation or drive to get pupils to do the 11+ or transfer tests. Some residents thought some teachers simply give up on their children. Some teachers, it was argued, too often conclude that if parents *"don't give a monkey's",* neither should they; and that, because they think *"the majority of those kids are road to no town",* there was no point in bothering. These views were reinforced by parents who claimed that some teachers took the view that, in the absence of individual aptitude and parental interest, there was little point in them pushing a child to achieve academically.

Our qualitative data also highlight possible explanations for the underachievement of Protestant working class boys – which is a key factor in terms of the over-representation of Protestant Wards within the top twenty Wards for educational underachievement, relative to their multiple deprivation ranks. Firstly, many within this group do not, commonly, have a family tradition of academic success and the accompanying positive family/community norms around education that are a feature of middle class families/communities; secondly, their families do not have the means to avail of private tuition or the additional costs of attending a grammar school; thirdly, and in terms of comparison with Catholic working class boys, they do not share the same levels of social mixing in schools and have not benefited from the patently successful models in several CMS schools and communities around raising attainment in areas of high deprivation.

5.1.4 Research question 4: Why do children and young people in high deprivation areas of mixed religion/shared housing appear to perform relatively poorly educationally?

Drawing from the data collected within the mixed-religion Ward of Dunclug (56.5% Catholic, 35.0% Protestant - Census 2011 figures) and a Ward with a clearly defined interface, The Diamond (81.2% Catholic; most Protestant residents (364) are located with the Fountain estate area of the Ward, making up 15% of the Ward's population), there are three key inhibitors that appear to contribute to a lowering of educational attainment in areas which are not predominantly Catholic or Protestant. These are: a fractured community identity; demographic change and resultant difficulties with educational provision; and continuing division and conflict.

A fractured community identity and a lack of community cohesiveness were found to diminish the strength of the home-school-community links that were found to be so important to enhancing educational attainment elsewhere. Despite the fact that different communities might be facing the same social or educational problems, and even if there is recognition that working in an integrated, coherent fashion to tackle such problems together might make a positive difference, there was some evidence that getting divided communities together to come under one umbrella (perhaps the umbrella of a local school) and apply for money to serve the needs of all is a difficult process to get off the ground and come to fruition. This issue, however, is not confined to mixed-religion areas – the same problems of community fracturing were sometimes found within predominantly single-religion areas too. However, Dunclug especially was described as lacking in meaningful community 'spirit'. A lack of social cohesion was evidenced via accounts of: local disputes over DSD funding; the residents group being beset with in-fighting; and community facilities being routinely under-used and/or vandalised.

There was also a hierarchy of residential areas, which divided notions of community further. Some areas were deemed as being more desirable (affluent) to live in than others, and each was associated with particular communities. Certain areas are associated with an increasing ethnic minority and settled Traveller population (and consequently as becoming predominantly Catholic), and least affluent. As such, social segregation in Dunclug is compounded by physical division. The fact that movement between the different areas is, at times, made difficult by a lack of connecting pathways and/or roads adds to this (perceived) division. The divisions and tensions that are manifest in the community were found to be reflected in the social dynamics of pupil interaction in school, militating against positive class interaction and learning. Young people were further aware of the negative impact of the social and cultural 'environment' of Dunclug on their own learning and educational /career aspirations, and attributed examples of educational success mainly to other factors. Nonetheless, one of the meso-level drivers of achievement within Dunclug was found to be the inter-school cooperation that existed; several respondents highlighted the role of the Ballymena Learning Together Group which involves grammar and secondary schools sharing access to A level subjects. Collaborative education processes are thus one of the mechanisms by which the problems of wider community division might begin to be overcome.

The demographic histories of mixed-religion areas and more recent demographic changes were other common structural reasons provided for explaining the lower patterns of achievement in mixed-religion areas of the ILiAD study. For example, the history of the demographics on the west bank of Derry/Londonderry city were referred to as a contributing factor behind the differential achievement levels of children from The Fountain compared to other parts of The Diamond area and Derry/Londonderry more generally. Falling Protestant demographics have left one state-controlled secondary school serving the city (with enrolment numbers within that school falling too). The spatial detachment of this school from pupils from The Fountain has engendered several negative consequences that have, in turn, been seen to impact negatively on educational achievement. Young people (and their families) have had to travel long distances to their school; as such, their school is not where their community (and perhaps their identity) is, which again detracts from the home-school-community relationships that can be built. Distance (compounded by the fact that many parents from areas of high deprivation do not have cars) may make it difficult for young people to stay for afterschool activities/revision clubs, and parents may not be able to attend evening meetings/parent courses. In sum, it may be difficult for such a school to become a central part of the young person's (or their parents') life. A reduction in the number of Protestants in the area and the resultant provision of only one state-controlled secondary school for the city also gives little choice to parents and pupils from The Fountain. In this situation (and in other similar situations around Northern Ireland) children from feuding

families and 'problem families' (as indicated by the data) may be taught in the same class, and that this, in turn, can be very disruptive for whole class.

The Dunclug Ward has also experienced a rapid change in its population makeup over the past five years, with a significant outward movement of Protestants. This has contributed to clashes between Protestants and Catholics in the estate and generally poor community relations. However, the greatest focus was placed on division between the majority grouping of 'local 'Irish'/'British' and the more recent incomer population of Eastern Europeans. Some participants talked about the latter experiencing hostility, sometimes open abuse, from their fellow residents. Young people described classroom tensions between the majority Northern Irish pupil population and those from ethnic minorities. In part, these tensions were based on differences in the language spoken. Teachers also have to cope with increasing numbers of children whose first language is not English, and parents many have language barriers or different expectations and experiences of school from their countries of birth, which may make communication with their child's school difficult. Settled Traveller families living in the area were discussed as having particular family structures and to be frequently distrustful of outsiders, making it important to place an effort on building effective partnerships (in relation to their children's education). They were also considered to have relatively low self-esteem, tending not to push themselves or their children into the limelight, instead relying on fellow Travellers for help and support. School attendance of Traveller children, although improved over the recent past, was still considered comparatively poor. Where relevant additional resources had enabled targeted interventions, meaningful improvements in pupil learning and achievement had occurred. Taken collectively, the evidence indicates that changes in the macro demographic make-up of different areas have the potential to impact negatively on the educational achievement of young people, both those who are longer-term 'local' as well as those from ethnic minority populations.

The third, related inhibitor of educational achievement in the mixed-religion areas under investigation was continuing division and conflict between the two main communities in Northern Ireland. Pupils and principals gave multiple examples of continuing aggressive behaviour and sectarian tensions, particularly in and around the interface area of the Fountain. This included bomb-scares, petrol bombings, attacks, bricks and glass being thrown. The children also reported a fractured relationship with neighbouring nationalist communities. Some post-primary pupils reported being unbothered about or desensitised from these types of occurrences, but one pupil explicitly stated how the disruption this caused had affected her schoolwork. It was clear that insularism and separation of the communities is deeply embedded. One principal of a Catholic maintained school reported having 'no' Protestant children in the school: '*we would be very welcoming, but they just don't want to come here'*; another principal of a controlled school said that some pupils from the Fountain '*had never been on outer Bishop Street … they had never been beyond the school … Going back to what it was like 1980-1990'*. The historical context of the Ward and continuing legacies of the recent conflict, thus, place many local children at an educational disadvantage.

5.1.5 Research question 5: What contributory factors may be identified to help explain any differences in educational achievement across gender within areas of multiple deprivation?

Several factors at the macro, meso and micro levels emerged from the qualitative findings which may also help to explain why females frequently outperform males. Firstly, there was the macro/structural impact of (high-quality) single-sex school provision. To use Whiterock Ward as an example (63.2% of females in Whiterock achieved any five GCSEs at A*-C, and half that figure (31.6%) achieved five GCSEs at A*-C including English and Maths; for males, the figure for any five GCSEs was 47.9%, dropping again by half (23.6%) with the inclusion

of English and Maths), two secondary schools dominate the enrolment of young people from the area – Corpus Christi for males and St Louise's for females. St Louise's is frequently ranked as the top-performing non-selective school in Northern Ireland at GCSE level. In 2006, St Louise's was designated a Specialist School for Performing Arts, which included funding of £100 per pupil for four years and an additional support grant to enhance provision in this specialist area. The school also has City and Guilds affiliation, and as such, the range of both academic and vocational subjects on offer is vast. Furthermore, this structural driver was seen as linked to the high achievement of females through the presence of positive role models who raise their aspirations for pursuing careers in areas that would be traditionally male-dominated.

In contrast, there was also a very small variation in the performances of females and males from The Diamond across the period 2008-2012. Looking specifically at female school leavers, 62.5% achieved any five GCSEs at A*-C (the third highest amongst the ILiAD Wards, after Rosemount and Whiterock), and 50.0% achieved five GCSEs at A*-C including English and Maths. For males, the pass rate for any five GCSEs was 62.0% (the highest performance rate out of the ILiAD sample), dropping to 52.0% with the inclusion of English and Maths. An explanation provided for this was that there exists an equal number of grammar school avenues available for females and males: although Derry has a large number of single sex schools (which previously disadvantaged females who wanted a grammar education), both sexes are now offered the same number of grammar places.

Other macro-level drivers of females' achievement included the formal structure of the educational system itself – some participants who were interviewed made comments such '*for some boys, just getting them to sit down with a pen and a book is a major achievement*.' Other principals alluded to males and females having different learning styles and learning motivations, which resulted in females being rewarded by the current system. There was also evidence that differences in cultural expectations between males and females in regard to achievement were a factor in females outperforming males*: 'I have always found that girls want to do it right, want to please, or want to be seen to be producing good work.'* Some pupils felt that boys who were capable but were not into sports were sometimes disadvantaged at school; it was the ones who were good at both who were pushed the most.

At the meso (school) level, there was evidence that absenteeism rates are higher in all-boys schools serving Ward areas of high deprivation in comparison to all-girls schools. This is also perhaps an explanatory factor behind the differential achievement rates of males and females from many of these Ward areas. Secondly, some interview respondents suggested that teachers need extra support to know how to help pupils who are coming from particularly difficult backgrounds, particularly males with social problems or who are coming from adverse circumstances and who may have learning difficulties.

Lastly, there were some common micro-level inhibitors of achievement from the qualitative data that specifically related to males. Some young people were of the opinion that some males just '*didn't care'* which school they went to, including disengagement from school and community initiatives. While this indicates gender divisions in the way that education is perceived and valued, but it was also pointed out that some young females are also engaging in destructive, defiant behaviours in school. A number of the principals also pointed to the impact of low self-esteem (particularly since the ending of the conflict and a subsequent '*loss of status'* in the community) and a lack of local positive role model for males as being contributory factors in the lower attainment levels of males.

5.2. Social capital and the deprivation - low attainment nexus

This section of the report provides a broad overview of the ILiAD findings in relation to social capital. This will be achieved by using the ILiAD data to examine conceptualisations of social capital in terms of the addressing deprivation - low attainment nexus. In orthodox interpretations of social capital, the concept is seen as a 'latent resource' which is 'costlessly mobilised' and, typically, produces universal benefits (Daly & Silver, 2008: 562).[181] It is, therefore, unsurprising that a range of diverse policy initiatives around seemingly intractable social problems have been keen to embrace the concept as something of a policy elixir. Moreover, the explicit relationship between social capital and education has consistently been highlighted by the concept's most influential proponents. James Coleman (1987)[182] used the concept to explain how family and other networks affect schooling and concluded that social capital is a prerequisite in the promotion of educational success. In response to Coleman's work, Pierre Bourdieu (1989)[183] argued that social capital in the field of education is a critical factor in the reproduction of middle class privilege. More recently, Robert Putnam (2002)[184] posited that education is a crucial component in social capital formations and that access to a high-quality education is one of the concept's most important outcomes.

The seven ILiAD case studies confirm two important principles: firstly, formations of social capital can have negative as well as positive outcomes; and, secondly, that orthodox social capital theory is seemingly undermined by the concept's neglect of class and political economy. Therefore, the first part of this section examines the positive social capital to emerge from the data. The second part provides examples of negative social capital from the data which are related to the concept's dark side and class-blindness. The section concludes with a series of observations around the role of social capital in terms of addressing the deprivation-low attainment nexus.

5.2.1. Positive social capital: educational attributes and effective interventions

In the social capital framework designed for the ILiAD study, examples of positive social capital were categorised as bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Analysis of emergent themes provided useful insights in three important areas. Firstly, the specific educational attributes of each social capital form were highlighted and their value in terms of improving attainment demonstrated. Secondly, absences of and deficits in such attributes (and their negative impact on attainment levels) were also identified and explored. Thirdly, in terms of addressing these deficits, the most effective interventions around addressing underachievement were illuminated; and it was further shown that many of these interventions can themselves, if properly supported, create and/or increase local stocks of social capital.

5.2.2. Bonding social capital

In terms of bonding capital, the ILiAD data show that educational attainment is encouraged when young people are empowered by: parental support; a stable home environment; positive familial norms around education; and individual resilience. Across all seven Wards in the study, it is clear that many young people have these critical attributes and are, commonly, seen to succeed at school. Moreover, there are also a section of young people who lack some or all of these favourable circumstances who, nonetheless, succeed against

[181] Daly, M. and Silver, H. (2008) 'Social exclusion and social capital: a comparison and critique', Theory and Society, Vol. 37: pp 537–566
[182] Coleman, J. S. (1987) Public and Private High Schools, New York: Basic Books Inc.
[183] Bourdieu, P. (1989) 'Social Space and Symbolic Power', Sociological Theory 7: 14–25
[184] Putnam, R.D. (2002) Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

the odds because they have benefited from effective interventions. Indeed, there are a significant number of young people in the seven Wards who routinely defy the deprivation-low attainment nexus because their schools and other relevant agencies mediate the absence of such attributes via the provision of: high quality and empathetic teaching; holistic interpretations of pastoral care; and additional support mechanisms such as homework clubs, revision clubs and Extended Schools programmes.

Formations of bonding capital are also informed by the education infrastructure of the local neighbourhood, for example: the propinquity, accessibility, and visibility of high-performing schools; effective local community and youth work interventions; and the visibility of realistic pathways to Further / Higher Education and employment. The ILiAD data highlight the significant and positive impact of schools, particularly high-performing ones, which are located within communities and widely viewed as an integral part of the local area. For example, much of the social capital that has been created and sustained in the Whiterock, Rosemount and Diamond Wards is due to the visibility, permanence and propinquity of high-performing schools. Moreover, the data also show that that this socio-spatial relationship is a significant contributor in terms of young people from these Wards performing considerably better at school than other Wards ranked lower in the deprivation indices. A second important element of the education infrastructure, particularly in the most deprived areas, is the wholly valuable contribution made by effective local community and youth work interventions, many excellent examples of which were evident in each of the Wards. Again, these interventions are seen to ameliorate the impact of weak familial support networks and/or other adverse home and/or school circumstances.

The third element of bonding capital relates to perceptions of 'connectedness', which the ILiAD data show is fostered by: positive community influences and role models; a sense of community cohesion; and unifying factors and traditions and other shared socio-political / cultural associations. The data also attest that positive neighbourhood role models around education are an important source of social capital, particularly in terms of raising the aspiration of disadvantaged young people. In the Catholic Wards in particular, there were innumerable accounts of: young people being taught by teachers who 'belong' to and continue to live in the community. More broadly, there were also examples of: former (high-achieving) pupils addressing 5th and 6th form assemblies to give career advice; and secondary pupils revisiting their primary schools to ease any anxiety primary 7 pupils may have as they prepare to transition to secondary education.

Across these data, notions of connectedness were informed by perceptions of community cohesion and unifying factors. For example, several respondents within the Diamond, Rosemount and Whiterock Wards highlighted the significant impact of: the role of the Catholic Church which has a distinct and fixed presence in the school lives of many local young people; and the resultant phyco-social connections engendered within and between local families, schools and communities. The data shows that these connections serve a critical function in terms of: maintaining a sense of community connectedness (which was less evident in the Protestant Wards); giving young people (many of whom are disaffected) an important identity referent at a sensitive stage in their emotional and cognitive development; and further elevating the status of the local schools as shared community assets.

Two, fairly obvious, conclusions can be drawn here. Firstly, bonding social capital (as conceptualised above) can have a significant and wholly positive impact on the learning of young people from deprived backgrounds. Secondly, even when certain social capital attributes are missing or inadequate, effective (individual, family and community-targeted) interventions can mediate such deficits, both on a practical (i.e. supporting learning) and a conceptual (i.e. increasing bonding stocks) basis.

5.2.3. Bridging social capital

In the context of the ILiAD study, bridging capital is conceptualised as schools' levels of engagement, accessibility, and innovation. The data here has highlighted that stocks of bridging capital (individual and community) are enhanced when schools engage effectively by: creating and sustaining positive triangular relationship between school, home and community; and having effective school leadership. Although the data attest that many families from both communities are, to varying degrees, disengaged from education, it would appear that many Catholic schools have prioritised these triangular relationships more effectively than some of their Protestant counterparts. The role of the Catholic ethos in fostering close and trusting connections between schools, communities and local families was frequently aired in the data. Indeed, one of the contrasts between the Catholic and Protestant Wards was the notion of many Catholic parents, the local community sector, and schools having a shared responsibility for the academic progression of local young people. Notwithstanding, pockets of deprivation, disengagement from education, and underachievement comparable with the most disadvantaged Protestant areas, several Catholic neighbourhoods perform, and are widely viewed as learning communities. Many Catholic schools are seen as the hub of these learning communities; and, according to the data, families in such schools are encouraged to be active participants in their children's education. The data also make clear that the strength of these triangular relationships (school, home and community) is a significant factor in terms of addressing the education needs of disadvantage young people. In such ways, the contribution of the Catholic Maintained Sector, in terms of encouraging such learning among disadvantaged families and communities, can be seen, certainly within sections of these Wards, as a (highly effective) systemic intervention.

On a smaller scale, nascent attitudinal change in the (Protestant) Tullycarnet community in terms home-school-community linkages have been seen to make a significant difference in a Ward which has featured regularly in the lowest quintiles of the attainment indices for some time. Importantly, these early improvements are, in no small measure, due to the intervention of the local community sector and their (ultimately unsuccessful) community-inspired campaign to save a local primary school which was earmarked for closure.

Bridging social capital stocks are also enhanced when schools engage effectively with each other and with other relevant external agencies. Inter-school and inter-agency collaboration were common features of the best performing schools in the ILiAD study. The two most important aspects of such collaboration were identified as: improved lines of communication i.e. between schools and social services, and primary and post-primary transitions; and the inter-school sharing of learning resources such as making certain courses / subject specialisms available to pupils from other schools.

The data also highlight the need for schools to be as accessible as possible, particularly in terms of: effective home-school linkages; supportive and empathetic teachers; and a commitment to encourage social mixing in schools. Effective and accessible home-school linkages are a feature of many schools in the ILiAD study. However, it is fair to say that the best examples were more commonly found in the Catholic schools. The data evidence many examples of teachers therein: inviting pupils to their home during holidays for extra tuition and revision; routinely exhibiting a genuine 'love' for the young people in their charge and a patent commitment to see them achieve their academic potential; and proactively reaching out to parents and encouraging them to engage more in their children's schooling and address any of their own learning deficits.

While it was claimed in the data that such levels of commitment were unlikely to be replicated in some schools in the controlled sector (where some teachers, it was suggested, were less likely to be from, reside in, or have the same long-term commitment to the area), there were several excellent examples of schools serving disadvantaged Protestant

communities where effective policies around access and the need for some teachers to adopt a more empathetic and supportive style are key priorities.

In terms of addressing the diverse and complex educational needs of young people, particularly those for the most disadvantaged backgrounds, the ILiAD data attest that innovation on the part of schools is a critical factor. For example, flexible curricula, alternative measures of success, vocational opportunities, appropriate SEN support, quality pastoral care provision, and support during transition were highlighted as ways schools could shape internal policies around a pupil-centred ethos. However, the most effective example of this innovation is the Extended Schools initiative. These programmes have created a host of educational benefits and some spectacular successes, particularly in the most deprived communities. Indeed, in terms of addressing the educational needs of disadvantaged young people, the ILiAD data make clear that many of the most effective interventions have been encompassed within the Extended Schools-type initiative. Where such programmes are delivered: many pupils with weak support networks have made significant progress; many parents with limited capacity to support their children's learning have becoming considerably more engaged with the schools their children attend; and many local communities (several of which had, hitherto, negative norms around education) are now confident and equal partners in the (perceived or otherwise) 'learning communities' which Extended Schools have engendered.

All the examples in this section, in their different ways, demonstrate the educational value of bridging social capital and indicate that bridging capital deficits can also be addressed when effective, and properly funded, interventions are put in place.

5.2.4. Linking social capital

Linking social capital concerns the ability of schools and communities to access power and resources; and their capacity to influence policy and affect decision-making processes. In terms of promoting education, the ILiAD data evidence that many working-class neighbourhoods have benefited from their access to power and resources. These data attest that neighbourhoods with a vibrant community sector collaboratively engaged with schools and external agencies are significantly more successful at securing additional targeted support. Similarly, it is stating the obvious to say that the Catholic and grammar sectors have significant access to resources and decision-making processes. The size, traditions, lobbying power, and attainment performance of these sectors have created substantial stocks of social capital. Moreover, and in their own ways, this capital is seen to make a marked contribution to the educational prospects of each sector's pupils.

Looking at these conceptualisations of bonding, bridging and linking social capital together, the capital that is created is seen to make a significant difference in terms of: promoting the value of education; raising attainment levels; and widening the learning opportunities of young people. Moreover, it is equally clear that where deficits exist, gaps can be identified and addressed, and each social capital form can, in the right circumstances, be created and/or recreated.

5.2.5. Negative social capital: class-blindness and the dark side of social capital

The idea that social capital is an easily created or readily deployable asset, which can solve most, if not all, of Northern Ireland's educational issues is a very attractive one. There are, notwithstanding high levels of academic achievement in many schools, particularly in the grammar and Catholic Maintained sectors, a host of significant (and seemingly intractable) problems needing to be addressed. For example: high levels of underachievement,

particularly among Protestant working class boys; a lack of parental capacity among some to support their children's education, particularly in the most disadvantaged households; and a sense of disconnect between many families/communities and the schools which serve them. More broadly, the ILiAD data attest that the current education system which, as evident from the league tables and indices, is high on excellence and low on equity is a contributing factor in terms of the reproduction of educational disadvantage in the case-study Wards.

However, as attractive as social capital may seem in terms of remedial processes, the ILiAD data have highlighted that some social capital formations are constrained by the context of class disadvantage and others, far from being the solution to educational disadvantage, are, in many ways, significant contributors. For example, in some of the case study Wards there was ample evidence in the data to suggest that stocks of bonding capital were very high. Close-knit networks, a shared sense of (historical and conflict-related) adversity, and an equally shared experience of stigmatisation and besiegement have created strong immediate ties in these communities. However, the ILiAD data concur with the social capital literature to show that these kinds of bonds have, in some communities: created the wrong kind of social capital; engendered a 'bounded solidarity'; and produced distrust towards outsiders and a downward levelling of aspiration (Portes, 1998)[185].

Class blindness

One of the key criticisms of orthodox social capital theory is its failure to recognise that the concept tends to have a different impact on working class communities than it does in middle class ones. For example, bonding (education) social capital is the utilisation of (familial) educational attributes and the pulling and sharing of immediate resources. However, in the most deprived communities many families lack these educational attributes and there are fewer resources to share. Similarly, bridging and linking social capital is about utilising horizontal and vertical connections to secure valuable assets. However, the socio-spatial realities of these working-class communities mean that they have less opportunities to develop/deploy such useful relationships. In other words, social capital in its orthodox form fails to properly address issues of class and political economy; and, in so doing, 'obviates examinations' of how social capital is 'constrained by the context of class disadvantage' (Das, 2006: 79-82)[186].

For example, in each of the ILiAD case studies Wards, many young people and their families endure: social deprivation, financial hardship and unemployment which have been compounded by the latest recession and cuts to social services and welfare provision. Although there is social capital in their communities which provides a degree of social protection, the value and utility of this resource is, to varying degrees, determined by its class dimension and the vagaries of a challenging labour market. In other words, all the social capital in the world is rendered if there are 'no jobs and no resources to share' (Portes, 1998: 18).

The dark side of social capital

It would be somewhat naïve to assume that simply creating social capital will engender positive and universal educational benefits in Northern Ireland, or anywhere else for that matter. As Field (2010: 92)[187] argues, capitals are 'resources which are just as likely to be used for destructive purposes as constructive ones'; the same social mechanisms which enable strong ties and networks to develop and provide privileged access to resources for

[185] Portes, A. (1998) 'Social capital: its origins and applications', Modern Sociology Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 24: pp 1-24.
[186] Das, R. J. (2006) 'Putting social capital in its place', Capital & Class, Vol. 30: pp 65–92.
[187] [187] Field, J. (2010) Social Capital, (2nd edn) London: Routledge.

some, concomitantly, prevent others from obtaining the same assets; and the social networks which encompass social capital are just as likely to be socially 'unproductive networks' than productive ones. For example, paramilitary influence was seen as a feature of some communities in the case study Wards. Membership of such groups creates a form of social capital in the same way that a price cartel operates by providing benefits for its members whilst creating problems for wider society.

Similarly, the 'social capital' of academic selection highlight important discourses around class differentials, the reproduction of disadvantage and privilege, and the creation of 'socially unproductive networks'. In the case study Wards, the ILiAD data show that the current system significantly favours those with: positive family norms around education, for example, academically successful parents, older siblings etc.; and the financial capacity to afford, for example, private tutors around subject specialisms and examination techniques.

In other words (and in Bourdieusian parlance), the 'field' (the current system) is structured in a fashion, which, in many ways, best suits the 'habitus' of middle class families. The data also make clear the significant benefits of a successful transfer test and subsequent entry to a grammar school education, such as, the opportunity to attend a high-performing school alongside a cohort of other likely high achievers. Access to a grammar school provides pupils from these Ward areas with distinct opportunities for success in terms of attainment, and access to Higher Education; however, many of those who fail or do not sit the transfer test are considered likely to experience: a sense of failure; a perception that they and their schools are inferior; and, particularly in some of the most disadvantage schools, a learning environment which is, often, disruptive and limited in terms of peer aspiration and opportunities.

Across the seven Wards, a host of negative social capital outcomes were highlighted. Perhaps, the most significant of these were as a consequence of the bounded solidarity that the recent conflict and demographic change have engendered in some communities and relate to: the exclusion of outsiders; restrictions on individual freedoms; and a downward levelling of norms. Firstly, in some communities in the ILiAD study, the bonding capital that does exist has, to an extent, been 'purchased at the price of hostility towards out-group members' (Fukuyama, 2001: 8).[188] In such ways, a form of negative social capital has been created in these communities because this exclusion of others has dissuaded the creation of inter-community bridging ties and reinforced inward-looking, and often fatalistic, tendencies. Secondly, social restrictions on individual freedoms were an additional common feature of these communities. For example, the disruption to schooling in some Protestant communities caused by young people participating in the recent flag protest was, to an extent, due to community-level conformity pressures; the conflict-related spatial mobility limitations experience by many young people who live in or around interface areas are similarly informed by community norms; and negative attitudes towards 'out-groups' such as migrant workers can be seen as neighbourhood-level expressions of threatened homogeneity.

Thirdly, a downward levelling of norms and aspiration were evident in many of the most deprived communities, particularly those whose bonds have developed through outside discrimination, stigmatisation, and a collective experience of adversity. Moreover, this process has clearly engendered internalised stigmatisation among many residents who routinely accentuated negative aspects of their community and minimised positives ones. For example, it was frequently cited in some Wards that individual success stories such as grammar school entry or University offers were 'unwelcome' because they are seen to undermine community solidarity. The social capital literature argues that this is a common phenomenon in the most deprived communities because this solidarity is, often, premised on

[188] Fukuyama, F. (2001) 'Social Capital, Civil Society and Development' Third World Quarterly, 22, 1, 7-20

the 'alleged impossibility of such occurrences' and an 'acquired schemata' of continual 'shared adversity and inevitable collective failure' (Portes, 1998: 17-29).

Moreover, in several disadvantaged communities in the ILiAD study, many young people perceive that the only individuals who do succeed do so through nefarious means. Criminal behaviour in some sections of the case study Wards have created a preponderance of negative role models in some working-class communities; and that many young people routinely witness individuals 'succeeding' outside the regular channels of education (Rubio, 1997).[189] It is also clear that these 'role models' have, in some cases, had a negative effect on local young peoples' perceptions of achievement routes to follow and personal fulfilment.

5.2.7. Social capital, deprivation and educational attainment

The ILiAD data have shown that bonding, bridging, and linking social capital (as conceptualised above) can play a critical role in terms of educational attainment. In each form, the existence and effective utilisation of educational attributes are seen to make a significant and positive impact on learning and academic achievement. For example, in each of the case studies, positive education outcomes were likely in the presence of: a stable and supportive home environment; positive triangular relationships between schools, communities and families; and their ability to access resources and decision-making processes. Moreover, the data also attest to the fact that in the absence of such attributes, effective interventions can address such deficits and, in some cases, even replenish local stocks of bonding, bridging and linking capital.

Nevertheless, the ILiAD data make equally clear that whether such conceptualisation of social capital can help to address the deprivation and attainment nexus is entirely contingent on the kind of social capital that is created and its accessibility in the social structure. For example, some of the social capital that was identified in the most disadvantaged communities was of a negative variety and was seen to engender distrust of outsiders, a downward levelling of norms around education, and a preponderance of negative role models. Similarly, the negative consequences of academic selection have created a situation where the distribution of the current system's resultant social capital (i.e. entry to the best schools) is, to a very large extent, determined by class, income, and family norms around education within these Ward areas. Moreover, the realities of Northern Ireland's segregated school system, in terms of both religion and social class, means that the social capital of many of the best schools is beyond the reach of many young people, particularly those from Protestant working class backgrounds.

The underachievement of Protestant working class boys is a common topic in the contemporary discourses around the education system in Northern Ireland. This has led some to frame their understanding of Protestant working class underachievement in a deficit model where this social group are, essentially, blamed for their own predicament. Moreover, this conceptualisation of the problem is seen to mirror one of the most troubling aspects of orthodox social capital theory where the blame for poverty and other forms of social inequality is implicitly apportioned to the dispossessed themselves. For if social capital is indeed a 'latent resource, costlessly mobilised' then it follows that its absence is 'due to the failings of those without it' (Daly and Silver, 2008: 562).

This study has highlighted the potential that for both communities, but for the Protestant community in particular, social class and positive family norms around education, to a very large extent, determine the distribution of social capital benefits in Northern Ireland's current education system. The ILiAD data have equally shown that, notwithstanding comparable

[189] Rubio, M. (1997) 'Perverse social capital – some evidence from Colombia', Journal of Economic Issues, 31 (3), 805–816

levels of deprivation, many Catholic schools are: high-performing; well-led; populated by empathetic and supportive teachers; accessible to parents; embedded in local communities; and are seen to encourage the creation of cohesive learning communities, even in some of the most disadvantaged areas. While it is important to state that educational disengagement and underachievement are persistent features for many working class Catholic families, the data have highlighted many examples where the Catholic 'holistic' ethos of local schools and their relationship with the local community has been seen to make a significantly positive impact on the learning of socially disadvantaged young people and the engagement levels of their parents and wider community. In such ways, the function of the Catholic ethos and the positive psycho-social connection thus engendered (within and between schools, families and communities), can be seen as a systemic, and in places, effective intervention in terms of addressing the deprivation-low attainment nexus.

In other words, the social capital findings of this study suggest that the problems associated with Protestant working class underachievement (compared to Catholic or middle-class pupils) needs to avoid deficit model analyses and instead be contextualised in a way which recognises: Firstly, they have not benefited from the (effective and successful) systemic intervention (in schools and communities) which has been seen to make such a positive impact on the academic prospects of many young Catholics from disadvantaged backgrounds. Secondly, they commonly, do not have positive family/community norms around education (i.e. academically successful parents/siblings and a local community 'tradition' of academic success) or sufficient income (i.e. to pay for private tuition and the associated additional costs of attending a grammar school) which are: (a) a feature of many middle class families/communities; and (b) seen as the most valuable forms of social capital, under the current system, in terms of accessing the best education.

The logical conclusions that can be made here are: (a) attempts to address underachievement, in both Protestant and Catholic working class communities, are likely to fail in the absence of a fairer education structure in terms of access to the best schools; (b) models of shared and integrated education should be actively encouraged to encourage social mixing; and (c) in the meantime (and in lieu of the radical review of the local education system which this study suggests), schools (in all sectors) have much to learn from each other in terms of mediating the impact of deprivation on educational outcomes.

More broadly, and in both communities, despite its limitations, this study is suggesting that, left unattended, educational failure at individual, familial, school and community levels will not be rectified. Rather, such problems will intensify; the life chances of young people, particularly those from the most disadvantage backgrounds, will be reduced; and the Northern Ireland education system will remain characterised by inequality.

However, there are, as evidenced in the ILiAD data, patently effective interventions (such as Extended Schools and inter-agency working), in addition to valuable and tested models of best practice (particularly in some schools in the Catholic Maintained sector) around addressing the education needs of disadvantaged young people, which have been widely seen to successfully mediate such inequities. The important questions here are: (a) does the political will exist to fully support these initiatives? And (b) can the Controlled sector embrace some of the key learnings from Catholic Maintained sector in terms of holistic understandings of socially disadvantaged young peoples' cognitive and emotional development?

Similarly, the data from the ILiAD case studies reflect a series of concerns around the impact of the two-tiered system that academic selection creates. These data also evidence broad support for the current (primary to post-primary) transfer system of Academic Selection to be replaced by a system, which serves the many and not the few. In other words, as highlighted across many case study transcripts, there is a desire for a primary to post-primary transfer system that embraces the principle of fairness and delivers an education system which

works for all young people and seeks to create an education system which is high on excellence and equally high on equity

In conclusion, social capital (as conceptualised above) can indeed help to understand and address the deprivation - low-attainment nexus. However, this can only be achieved if: there is an understanding that social capital produces different outcomes in working class communities than it does in middle class ones; there is cognisance that social capital produces negative as well as positive outcomes; there is an appreciation of the limitations of social capital in terms of addressing structural inequality; and, more broadly, there is a determined effort to address such structural inequality by, for example, explicitly linking inequities in education and the equalising effect of appropriate interventions to the equality agenda.

In other words, social capital may be part of the answer to underachievement in the Northern Ireland education system, but inequality is the problem. The ILiAD data have shown: the positive effects of social capital in terms of addressing the deprivation-low attainment nexus; the corrosive consequences when social capital stocks are diminished or the wrong kind of capital is created; and that educational social capital is only truly social when the benefits which are engendered are shared and available to all sections in the social structure.

5.3. Key messages and observations for policy, practice and future research

Drawing together all of the findings (both qualitative and quantitative) from this ILiAD study, the key messages and observations for policy, practice and future research have been subdivided into the following seven thematic areas: empowerment, infrastructure, connectedness, engagement, accessibility, innovation, and structural factors. These thematic areas are aligned to the social capital theoretical framework developed for this study. However, it must be remembered that these messages and observations are based on area-specific data, and as such, may not apply to all areas. Notwithstanding clear overlaps, the first three of these themes relate to community level issues; themes 4-6 relate to school level issues; and the final theme addresses structural issues such as education policy. Each of these will be addressed in turn.

5.3.1 Empowerment

The data from the ILiAD case studies attest that immediate, home-based influences have a significant impact on a young person's education attainment prospects. Across the seven Wards, the most important of these micro-level factors were: a high local value on education; familial / peer support; a stable home environment; and individual resilience (including good mental health). However, the data also make clear that many young people from the most disadvantaged families are (often totally) bereft of these attributes and resources and, as a consequence, are highly unlikely to flourish in the current education system without meaningful individual / family / area-specific interventions.

5.3.2 Infrastructure

The seven case studies evidence the importance of community infrastructure in terms of creating the conditions most conducive to raising local attainment levels. The data here highlight that the most significant of these relate to: the accessibility and visibility of schools; effective community and youth work; and the provision of visible pathways to Further / Higher Education and employment opportunities and good Early Years opportunities for all.

The propinquity of high performing schools is a critical factor in terms of local attainment levels. In such communities: pupils face less logistical / transportation barriers; attendance appears to be improved and more easily managed; parents are more likely to attend parents' evenings and other school-based events; and, crucially, the school is seen as in and of the community, education becomes seen as a community priority, and young people (literally) see learning as a constant in their lived environment. Similarly, the ILiAD data are littered with positive examples of youth and community work interventions targeted at addressing the educational needs of the most disadvantage young people. These data show that local youth and community workers are trusted by and uniquely placed to positively engage with the 'hardest to reach' families; and that these interventions are particularly important for the many young people who have little or no parental / familial support. It is also clear from the data that young people respond positively when they can envision that their application at school can lead to college, university and/or employment opportunities.

5.3.3 Connectedness

The ILiAD data attest that in, many cases, positive community norms around education are contingent on: positive local influences (role models); a sense of community cohesion; and unifying factors and traditions such as the role of the Catholic maintained sector and other shared socio-political / cultural associations (e.g. the GAA or flute bands) as well as arts and broader sporting activities. Notwithstanding generalisations, it was suggested in the case study data that there is a contrast between the connectedness evident in some largely Catholic communities and the fragmentation in some largely Protestant ones. The recent arrival of ethnic minorities also appears to have created more challenges for working class Protestant communities and schools than Catholic ones in the ILiAD study. It is also clear that the rapidly increasing private rented sector has caused difficulties in certain communities, where transitory tenures, perceptions of community as a 'dumping ground', and the creation of a 'landlord culture' (such as Duncairn, Woodstock and Rosemount) have done little to enhance community cohesion.

Similarly, many teachers in the Catholic schools (serving Whiterock, Rosemount and The Diamond) were born and continue to live locally. This was seen to explains in part the closeness of their relationships with pupils. However, this was not the case in the Protestant Wards where, it was claimed, some teachers are perceived as 'middle class', 'detached' and don't have the 'same connection' or, possibly, 'long-term commitment' to the community.

5.3.4 Engagement

In terms of school level engagement, the ILiAD data show that the most important factors are: collaborative, visionary leadership; positive triangular relationships between school, home and community; inter-school and inter-agency collaboration and sharing (the provision of holistic support services between the school, the local community, and pupils' homes through integrated service delivery by schools, statutory agencies and local voluntary and community organisations); and effective school leadership. Where this support was in place from the early years, the beneficial effect was most apparent – for example, pupils received support during key transitions; parents were provided with support not only in helping their child at school but in their own learning and development; and attendance officers helped to decrease levels of absenteeism; all of which combine to aide pupils' achievement.

5.3.5 Accessibility

Across the seven ILiAD Wards, schools' accessibility was seen as a significant factor in terms of raising pupils' aspirations and attainment levels; encouraging parental involvement; and allowing schools to develop a greater understanding of the challenges experienced by the most disadvantaged families and communities. These data also show that young people are most likely to succeed in education when: they are taught by empathetic and supportive teachers; attend schools with a pupil-centred ethos; and learn alongside other young people from different backgrounds.

5.3.6 Innovation

The ILiAD data attest to the fact that that innovative practices on the part of schools are essential in terms of improving attainment and addressing underachievement. The most important of these practices were identified as: the adoption of flexible curricula and alternative measures of success; monitoring of internal-school and individual-level data; the provision of vocational placement opportunities for young people; Full- Service /Extended Schools; programmes for parents around supporting their child's education and addressing their own learning deficits; the effective provision of SEN support; pastoral care, and support during transition stages.

5.3.7 Structural (policy) factors

The ILiAD data highlight a number of policy issues around: the need to redefine understandings of 'education' and 'achievement'; inter-school competition and a lack of collaborative practice; the need for outward-looking and transformative leadership; the problems associated with short-termism; a focus on literacy and numeracy at transition stages; recognition of the continuing impact of the conflict; the indicators used around poverty and deprivation in Northern Ireland; and the negative effects of academic selection.

The data here evidence that GCSEs are viewed by many as a crude measure of achievement and there needs to be a more nuanced approach that recognises that an outcome that is minor for one child may be a huge achievement for another. Many education stakeholders pointed to what is seen as a deep contradiction in our current system whereby children are assessed at 11 on academic standards, but still, even after they are deemed high performing (or not) in these academic standards, they are assessed and measured by the same academic standards as each other at age 16. The current system privileges the children who are academic by the standards being used; with its narrow focus, it does not recognise the gifts and talents of all of our children and young people. Furthermore, this study has highlighted that the focus on the GCSE Maths and English targets means that some schools may be leaving out 'borderline' students from higher-tier classes. In terms of inter-school competition, the data confirm that grammar schools, in particular, are, often, driven on an individual basis. In other words, there is competition to be the best, to have the highest academic results and league table position. As a consequence, there is no real incentive to work collaboratively with other schools. The ILiAD data also make clear that the funding for support programmes from government Departments (including the Department of Education), is often contingent on linear measurement and meeting numerical targets. This was widely felt to be problematic as certain achievements are qualitative and significantly more difficult to measure.

There also needs to be a discussion at the policy level of the indicators used around poverty and deprivation in Northern Ireland. A lot of emphasis has been placed on measuring deprivation at the local or geographical level, but our qualitative research revealed that many people do not conceptualise their community in these specific, bounded ways – they

frequently see the geographical boundaries as more fluid, or even more particular; or, they do not agree with the label of 'high deprivation' used to describe their local area.

The final sub-theme in terms of structural (policy) factors relates to the processes and impacts of academic selection. To be clear, while it is obvious that academic selection and subsequent entry to a grammar school gives some young people from these Ward areas an opportunity to realise their educational potential, the same system often prevents the most disadvantaged young people (in terms of social class and positive familial traditions and norms around education) from realising theirs. Whilst some young people from disadvantaged areas do succeed against the odds, the current system does not work for many young people. Indeed, the current transition between primary and post-primary school is seen to create a range of problems, such as: a palpable sense of failure among those who fail or do not sit the test; perceived social hierarchies; and the fact that (due to falling enrolments) the grammar sector is increasingly 'creaming' pupils who would likely be high-achieving, positive role models in non-grammar schools.

Under the present system, access to the best education is too often determined by socio-economic status; and the current achievement-underachievement spectrum, by and large, reflects the social class structure. In such ways, privilege and disadvantage are simply reinforced and reproduced. Therefore, a radical review of education in Northern Ireland should be considered, with a view to moving away from a two-tiered education system; thus, ensuring that Northern Ireland has an education system where academic excellence can be achieved without a long tail of underachievement.

5.4. Future research ideas

(1) Notwithstanding the significant barriers to attainment outlined in this report, The ILiAD study has also highlighted a range of interventions at familial, school and community level (such as Full Service and Extended Schools programmes and other school-home-community initiatives) which have been seen to make a considerable and positive impact particularly for the most disadvantaged families. Resources need to be made available to research and properly evaluate this impact and to capture and disseminate the many models of excellent practice.
(2) More efforts should be made to understand the conditions of successful school-to-school and school-community collaboration. There is a need for further understanding, perhaps through case study research, of areas where successful shared education, area learning communities, and/or integrated support-community services have been set up successfully in order to better understand the processes by which collaborative working and student mixing can be achieved and rolled out into other areas.
(3) The findings from this study indicate that one potential avenue for future research is a focus on non-selective schools across the UK, Ireland, Europe and beyond to identify the most high-performing schools and most effective transfer models. The key aim here would be to create a typology of the different models of non-selective education available, to enable a more fruitful interrogation of how unregulated testing at 11 might be ended and more equal access to a quality education might become available for all.
(4) It would also be valuable in terms of best practice and the knowledge base to examine models of parental engagement in schools at the primary and post-primary level. The central focus here would be to discover the most effective ways of sustaining parental engagement in upper primary school and into post-primary.
(5) Given the importance of school leadership in building successful schools in areas of high deprivation, it would be useful to understand in more depth the necessary qualities and skills required for managing schools in this new era of education,

including the skills and qualities required for promoting inter-agency and inter-school collaboration.