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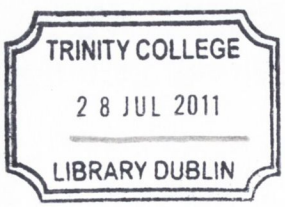
Struggles of Immigration at the Doorstep of Irish Education: The Historical Perspectives of Irish and International Pupils in Secondary Schools in Ireland.

University of Dublin, Trinity College

Submitted to the University of Dublin, Trinity College, 2008

Abstract

In recent years, due to economic prosperity and globalization, Ireland has experienced an influx of immigration. Not only have many Irish people returned, but a large number of immigrants from culturally and ethnically diverse countries have landed on Irish shores. This has transformed the cultural background, ethnicity and religion of the student body in many Irish schools and has the potential to change the national curriculum of many subjects at the primary and secondary level. One subject that is potentially affected by an increase of cultural, social and ethnically diverse perspectives is the teaching of history. A sociocultural perspective on learning history assumes that individuals actively engage in the historical practices of their society. Individuals engage with history through a variety of sources, such as family, local community and ethnic groups. Understanding how and why individuals engage with these and many other sources of history is important in understanding the social and cultural backgrounds of pupils in the process of everyday life. It points to the importance of understanding the social and cultural backgrounds of pupils in the process of better understanding how they think about history and, more importantly, how they use history as a cultural tool in their mediation in everyday life. This research included 372 secondary level pupils (n = 265 Irish pupils, n = 107 International pupils) in 7 schools in the greater Dublin city area. By gathering quantitative data through questionnaires and qualitative data through interviews, the research investigated the activities and attitudes of Irish and International pupils relating to formal and informal sources of history. Research found that both Irish and International pupils value, use and experience history in many similar and different ways. For example, both Irish and International pupils both saw their families as a very important source of historical understanding. On the other hand, research found that Irish pupils considered the history of Ireland as a very important whereas International pupils did not. This along with other findings, suggest that Irish and International pupils view and experience history differently inside and outside of school settings. These finding have possible implications to the content and methods in the teaching of history at the second level in Ireland.



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Declaration

This thesis has not been submitted for a degree at any other university and is, except where otherwise acknowledged, entirely my own work. The library may lend or copy this thesis upon request.

Mathew James Garrison

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List of Abbreviations

CSO	Central Statistics Office
DES	Department of Education and Science [Ireland]
EEA	European Economic Area
ESRI	Economic and Social Research Institute
EU	European Union
EUROCLIO	European Association of History Educators
GAA	Gaelic Athletic Association
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIST	History In-Service Team
IAIE	International Association of Intercultural Education
ICI	Immigrant Council of Ireland
IATSE	Irish Association of Teachers in Special Education
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
NAPAR	National Action Plan Against Racism
NAPS	National Anti-poverty Strategy
NCCA	National Council for Curriculum and Assessment
NCCRI	National Consultative Committee Racism and Interculturalism
NCHE	National Centre for History Education
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPS	Personal Public Service number
SESE	Social, Environmental and Scientific Education
SMI	Strategic Management Initiative
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
US	United States

Introduction

> *None of us would deny that the Spirit of Ireland has lived and will live; but we are by no means agreed as to which events and persons must be considered manifestations of that spirit. To be exact, whose history do we propose to teach? Should history of Ireland include all the people born within its four provinces, or who dwell therein? Are the Gaelic speakers not more important than the others? If so why omit the Gaels of Scotland? Does purity of race affect the question? Should we include Irish emigrants in America, and neglect the planters in Ireland? How long does it take to make a planter fit for nationalisation; five years or five generations? Should we include all who have willingly been called Irish, or confine our view to those who in some form or other have cherished political nationalism?* (Douglas, 1940)

Although writing about the dilemma of history education in Ireland in the early part of the twentieth century, Douglas' prophetic questions are as relevant in contemporary Irish society as they were almost seventy years ago. Today, in a so called 'globalised' world where national identities are becoming more blurred, where communication with cultures around the world is as easy as dialing the phone (or even easier), and where peoples of all societies are supposedly becoming citizens of the 'Global Village', what a geo-political nation-state 'is' is being questioned (Akinoglu, 2005). Although we are citizens of Ireland, the European Union (EU) and a 'globalised' community all at the same time, the history of Ireland as a nation and its culture is still deemed the most important source of how Irish people define themselves. Douglas' idea of the 'Spirit of Ireland' is still alive.

The dilemma that arises today, as it did in Douglas' time, is that although studying history is understood to be important, the question of what and whose history should be studied is difficult to answer. What and who should be included in curricula and why? For Douglas speaking a Gaelic language was a possible qualifier for being 'Irish', today the issue of English as a second language raises questions about

inclusion. Furthermore, should an individual's or a group's ethnicity (or as Douglas refers to it as 'race') determine whether their history is included? Will the history of ethnic minorities such as Africans and Chinese who have immigrated to Ireland in recent years gain inclusion in curricula? Douglas also addressed the issue of immigration. For him, over eighty years ago, it was the 'planters', for contemporary Ireland, it is the increase of new immigrant groups. How long will it be before these groups stop being 'immigrants' and start being 'Irish'? When will their history be a part of Irish history, if ever?

It is the goal of the present research to search for the contemporary answers to Douglas' older questions about not only history education in Ireland, but Irish society itself. To do this, this research is located within a sociocultural framework which maintains that the meanings that individuals use in society are derived from the interaction, or socialisation with their cultural and society surroundings. Part of that cultural knowledge comes in the form of historical knowledge and perception. Importantly, peoples' historical knowledge and understanding is learned from a variety of sources, two of which this research focuses on, the informal (outside of school) and formal (in school) sources. It is in these connections (pupils' connections with and perceptions of the informal and formal sources of history) that this research focuses on. If a clearer understanding of these connections is achieved, then a clearer picture of the implications of the increase of diverse cultural and ethnic groups in contemporary Ireland and the impact this may have on the teaching and learning of history at the second level might be achievable.

Rationale for Conducting this Research

Kelleher and Kelleher (2004) recommend that, due to the current influx of immigrants, research be conducted on change in Irish society. They state that a "range of research on the needs, work conditions and experiences of immigrants needs to be undertaken" and that "the extent to which issues of concern to ethnic minorities and immigrants are prioritised within the government departments and agencies, local authorities, and non-government organisations (NGO) should be monitored and assessed" and also suggest that research needs to investigate "immigrants' experience of and access to, state services such as social welfare, health, education and training and garda protection" (Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004:97). Kelleher and Kelleher (2004:97) make it clear that there needs to be an open and public debate on "diversity, on the role of immigration in Irish society and on the changing nature of Irish national Identity", and they call for the establishment of a national forum to facilitate these debates. Further research into the experiences of immigrants in Ireland will help increase Irish people's knowledge and understanding of these new groups. "It can be frustrating and hurtful for immigrants that Irish people lack the knowledge of the rich cultural heritages, histories and civilizations of their home countries" (Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004:xiii). They also point out that there is a deficit in data pertaining to immigration and cultural diversity, which leads to a fragmented and limited understanding of new cultures in Irish society. They call for the collection of data with regards to age, language skills, skill level of job, and education of workers.

In their overview of diversity of schools, equality policy and legislation in Ireland, Lodge and Lynch (2004) argue that in recent research, socio-economic status has overshadowed the impact of other differences within Irish education. In their estimation:

> *Other social differences have received relatively little research attention. The impact of statuses such as ethnicity (including membership of the Traveller community), family and marital status, sexual orientation and religion have been the subject or relatively little discussion and analysis* (Lodge & Lynch 2004:1).

They also point to a lack of data as an impediment to effective analysis of the quality of education of these groups. "The Department of Education and Science's annual Statistical Reports provide no systematic data on the social groups covered in the equality legislation with the exception of gender" (Lodge & Lynch, 2004:2). For them these factors limit research and analysis on the subject.

Recently, broader research on the effects of immigration on Irish society has been initiated. The *Trinity Immigration Initiative* (2007) began research in diversity, integration and policy, including studies focused on work place integration, career aspirations of migrants, and English language support programmes to name a few. This project is the largest research programme on immigration and integration and costs over six million euro.

It is the aim of this dissertation to add to this base of knowledge and to the public debate through researching the experiences of ethnically and culturally diverse pupils with regard to their connections to history inside and outside formal education in Ireland. Epstein argues that research in the area of history education in multicultural/multi-ethnic societies is called for. Although based in American discourses, Epstein's argument for research of this sort can be applied equally to Ireland:

> *There are no easy or definitive solutions to teaching about or discussing race relations in history or contemporary society, especially in racially and ethnically diverse classrooms. But at the very least, research on the relationship between students' racial/ethnic identities and their constructions of the national past should be as much as part of a history teacher's repertoire as is the knowledge of the subject matter itself* (2001).

Furthermore, Barton and Levstik (2004:2) argue that because formal history education is "beset by continual controversy," policy makers, teachers, and the public argue about what and how history should be taught. Research into the complexities surrounding history education provides vital information:

> *Research can provide evidence of what students think and how their ideas interact with the information they encounter both in school and out, and it can show how these ideas differ across contexts. Such evidence can provide a corrective to the untested assumptions that plague so many discussions of history education* (Barton & Levstik, 2004:ix).

Not only do Barton and Levstik believe research can improve assumptions, but that it will also improve practice. Research alone does not tell educators what to do, policy and practice will always be "bound up with underlying societal values (not to mention issues of power), and empirical studies cannot resolve such questions", but it can force us to think about "unquestioned assumptions that impede discussion" (Barton & Levstik, 2004:3).

Stearns, Seixas, and Wineburg (2000) point out that in the last decade, history teaching and learning has been a subject of considerable research that has brought to the forefront issues of culture and epistemology in the history classroom. This research has "sampled broadly from the available methodologies in the humanities and social sciences, from in-depth interviews to ethnographies of classroom life, from anthropological and psychological tasks on how students deal with historical evidence to field-base experimental research" (Sterns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000:ix). They point out that there have been three developments that prompted this expansion of research.

First, the cognitive purposes of learning and teaching history have shifted from a focus on behaviour in the first half of the twentieth century to "acts of meaning and sense-making" (Sterns, Sexias & Wineburg, 2000:4). This revolution problematised

the belief that learning automatically came from well planned lessons, lectures and textbook's narratives. Rather, this cognitive research focuses on the gaps between the teacher and the learner and the construction of meaning "in the face of incompleteness and uncertainty" (Sterns, Sexias & Wineburg, 2000:4).

The second development of research on learning and teaching history has focused on history itself as a discipline. Debates over the notions of nation, race, gender, culture and identity have abundant propositions on methodology and epistemology of teaching history in schools. The issues of inclusion, narrative theory, and feminist, post-colonial and cultural studies have gained supporters and critics on the debate over history education. This debate has not only highlighted the nature of historical knowledge, but also ask us to consider who in society gets to decide what is taught in history curricula.

According to Sterns, Seixas and Wineburg (2000:4-5), the third development is the "heightened interest in the problems of historical consciousness, collective memory, and the public presentation of the past." These three developments have led to the "recognition that the history curriculum is no longer the providence of any single group and that multiple constituencies must come together to address problems that are by definition beyond the capabilities of any single faction" (Sterns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000:4-5).

In an Irish context, much of the research and literature in recent years has focused on racism, discrimination, exclusion, language barriers, and labour issues surrounding immigration in Ireland (see Graham, 1997; Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2003; Ward, 2004; Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004), while little research has focused on the relationships that ethnic and culturally diverse pupils have with formal and

informal sources of history and the potential to affect this has on the history curriculum. In this respect then, this research seems to be unique and timely.

The present research takes place in a changing Ireland. Because of the increase of immigration, growth of the economy, change in the labour force and so called 'globalisation', Graham believes that there is a different Ireland emerging. In his book *In Search of Ireland*, 1930s travel writer H.V. Morton concluded that Ireland had not been "dehumanised by industrialisation" and that the eternal figure, the "man who guides the plough," represented the blending of past and present, north and south, Catholic and Protestant (Graham, 1997:1). For Graham, Morton's 'eternal figure' has "long since departed to the employment exchange and the suburban housing estate, while his plough has become an artefact is some museum or heritage centre" (1997:1). According to Graham (1997:1), Ireland now exists in a "post-industrial globalised economy, dominated by the new hegemony of capitalism and its dogma of free trade and competition, by supra-national political organisations such as the European Union." Yet the national state still exists in this 'global village'. Diverse cultures exist alongside each other and are coming into contact now more than ever. One merely has to look at the EU and the migration of workers to countries that offer jobs and economic stability to understand this. Graham points out that although this is occurring, the idea of the nation-state and national identity and indigenous dominant culture still exist. The research for this dissertation takes place against this background and is set within the framework of globalisation and international migration.

Statement of Purpose

The aim of this research was to investigate the activities and attitudes of Irish and International pupils at the second level relating to formal and informal sources of history and to map and understand the multiple ways these pupils value, use and experience history.[1] Furthermore, it asks the question: 'is there a difference between international and Irish pupils' perceptions and uses of history and if so, what implications might this have on how and why history is taught in schools?' Understanding pupils' connections with the past is a complex undertaking. Pupils are exposed to formal and informal sources of history. Potentially, these sources may not support the same historical perceptions and therefore individuals may not use these perceptions the same way in everyday life. Because of this, this research can be loosely described as *exploratory/descriptive* research: exploratory in that it attempts to get a sense of a new topic or phenomena in contemporary Irish society (i.e. increasing levels of international pupils in schools in Ireland). Descriptive in that it attempts to collect information about the characteristics of international pupils (i.e. their perceptions and uses of history inside and outside of schools) (Nardi, 2006).

At this point, clarifications of what 'formal' and 'informal' history mean is needed. Although 'official' sources of history such as museums and heritage sites could potentially be considered formal sources of education, for the purpose of this research, when the term *'formal history'* is used, it refers to history curricula used in studying the topic of history in secondary schools as outlined by a formal curriculum. For post-primary schools in Ireland, this consists of the Junior Certificate and the

[1] In recent years, there have been varying terms used to refer to immigrant children living in Ireland; these include 'non-Irish', 'non-national' and 'newcomer student'. The present research uses the term 'international' pupil which the NCCA adopts and defines as pupils "who arrive into a classroom from a country or background that is different from that of the majority of children in the classroom" (NCCA, 2005: 169). This term is based on a pupil's cultural and ethnic background rather than on legal citizenship.

Leaving Certificate syllabi, as prescribed by the Department of Education and Science (DES) and the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA). The term *'informal history'* refers to the sources of history that pupils may engage with outside school; this includes family, local community, and cultural, ethic, or religious groups, museums and heritage sites. This also includes sources of media such as the Internet, cinema and television. These concepts are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.

It was decided, after much research and review of the relevant literature that four areas of investigation would be used to better understand and organise pupils' activities and attitudes. Borrowing from Rosenzwig and Thalen's (1998, 2000) investigation of Americans' views of and connections with history, the four areas are activities related to the past, trustworthiness of sources of information about the past; how connected to the past pupils feel on certain occasions, and, the importance of various pasts.

This research is *not* an investigation of the level of historical facts or knowledge that pupils' possess, or the process which pupils construct historical meaning out of the content of history they learn in schools. Rather, this research attempts to gauge pupils' attitudes towards formal and informal sources of history and attempts to better understand what sources pupils connect and identify with. Furthermore, it investigates how pupils interact with history inside and outside of schools.

With the increase of immigration into Irish society, the potential for pupils with different cultural or ethnic backgrounds in secondary schools in Ireland to have different historical perceptions is greater. Does a dichotomy of different socio-cultural perspectives exist in secondary schools in Ireland? Ultimately, the goal of this

research is, as Epstein (2001:42) so plainly states, to help "build a bridge between the diverse knowledge and perspectives young people from different races and ethnicities have learned at home and in their communities on the one hand, and the knowledge and perspectives" history teachers and textbooks present in classrooms.

Research Approach

Although the methodology of this research is outlined in detail in Chapter Four, a brief introduction is in order. This research is set within a quantitative survey approach that employs mixed methods. This approach employs aspect of both the traditional qualitative and quantitative research methods; it is a "methodological pluralism... which frequently results in superior research" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:17). For the quantitative phase of the research, standardised, self-administered questionnaires were used, and the qualitative phase employed in-depth, semi-structured group interviews of international pupils.

Research Methods

In order to ensure reliability and to create a greater depth to this research, a form of research triangulation was employed. Bell (1999: 18) states that triangulation ensures that the research sees "the same thing from different perspectives and this to be able to confirm or challenge the findings from one method with those of another." This research adopts the concept of triangulation in its approach to gathering data. Multiple data gathering tools were employed (i.e. questionnaires and structured interviews), but also multiple sources of data (i.e. international pupils, parents, Irish pupils, teachers, and curriculum developers). It is understood that triangulation in the social sciences attempts to "map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint and, in

so doing, by making use of both quantitative and qualitative data" (Cohen, Manion & Morison, 2000:112).

Following a pilot study, the main phase of data collection involved pupil questionnaires which were distributed to seven schools in the greater Dublin area. These questionnaires, developed from a review of relevant international research and the pilot study, attempted to gauge pupils' attitudes towards formal and informal sources of history. In some instances, the questionnaires were administered by the researcher in the sample schools, and were personally collected, so as to ensure a high rate of return, in other instances, at the request of the school principals, the questionnaires were distributed and collected by a designated teacher.

Questionnaires were also sent to the parents of ethnically and culturally diverse pupils in the study in an attempt to gauge their attitudes towards formal and informal sources of history. These questionnaires were returned by addressed envelopes directly to the researcher. Also, surveys were distributed to history teachers in the corresponding schools in an attempt to reveal the attitudes of history education providers towards the influx of diverse cultures and ethnicity in classrooms in Ireland and the role that history education plays in contemporary Irish society.

The following phase consisted of follow-up, qualitative semi-structured group interviews which included culturally and ethnically diverse pupils. These interviews focused on gaining a deeper sense of these pupils' perceptions of history and employed a content analysis to evaluate the data collected from the interviews.

Sample

The primary target group of this research included 'international pupils' and pupils from cultural and ethnic backgrounds dissimilar to what is considered 'Irish'. Because this research attempted to investigate whether there is a difference between Irish and

international pupils' connections with sources of history, a sample of Irish pupils was also included. Questionnaires were distributed and returned by 372 pupils (Irish n=265 and international n=107). This research also included data from the parents/guardians of international pupils, post-primary level history teachers and educational professionals who are involved in the development of the history curriculum. It was hoped that the variety of methods employed and the multiple target groups would provide greater triangulation to the research, and in turn, allow for a more in-depth analysis of the research topic.

Dissertation Outline

The first chapter of the work sets out to give an historical overview of immigration in to Ireland and takes a closer look at the influx of immigration in the last fifteen years. Although a partial picture of this increase is talked about almost daily in newspapers' political and social commentary, it must not be assumed that the general public have complete and clear picture on the situation.

Since the potato famine, Ireland has largely been a country of emigration. Whether due to famine or unemployment prospects being better elsewhere, Ireland's sons and daughters have often been compelled to leave her shores. Although the majority of migration involving Ireland for the better part of the twentieth century was outward, there were still small groups that sought refuge within Ireland's borders. Groups of Jewish, Hungarian, Chilean, and Vietnamese refugees came to Ireland throughout the twentieth century. The discussion of these groups is important because they create precedents for contemporary immigrants in Ireland. It is the goal of this chapter to set the context of the current research.

Chapter Two outlines the theoretical underpinning of this research. This research investigated the connections and perceptions Irish and international pupils

have with formal and informal sources of history through a sociocultural theory. An important component of this view point is the understanding of culture and what implications this has on the formation of meaning. This discussion identifies history as an important part of an individual's culture. Furthermore this chapter attempts to outline what an imagined Irish culture 'is' and the implications of the increase of new ethnicities and cultures in recent years. It identifies an 'Irish' identity that is based in the ideals of ethnicity, Catholicism, nationalism, heterosexual gender roles, land ownership and social systems.

Chapter Three discusses the role of history education in Irish life and the goals that it seeks to accomplish in regard to the development of identity in students and promoting what it is to be 'Irish.' This section also discusses the role history education can play in the development of identity and address the contemporary debates over the purpose of teaching and learning history in classrooms. History in schools has been an integral part of education in Ireland as a means to the end of the formation of moral character, the inculcation of national or religious identity, and the development of skills. In recent years, the history curriculum has shifted towards an approach which aims to develop analytical skills and historical thinking. Influences on this shift can be traced to multicultural societies outside Ireland that have adopted this approach either as a means to develop pupils' skills, especially those valued in the workforce, or as a means of fostering multicultural values through the history curriculum. This section investigates the new history curriculum in Irish secondary schools, the goals of the curriculum and how they relate to the development of identity of non-Irish students. The ultimate question is, through history education, what kind of identity are non-Irish students developing? Do they identify more with

their ethnic or minority background, or do they relate closer to a 'common' Irish identity?

The fourth chapter describes the research methods and procedures, the population of the sample schools, and the design of questionnaires. It also describes the pilot study's methods. This included the administration of pupil teacher and parent/guardian questionnaires and semi-structured pupil interviews.

Chapter Five presents the analysis of data collected from each of the questionnaires and the semi-structured interviews. The final chapter presents the conclusions and discusses the current research's limitations and recommendations for further research.

Although every step was taken to ensure the validity and reliability of this research, it must be understood that this research was limited by many factors including time, funding and methodology, to name a few. Although this research offers the only systematic evidence on what international pupils in second level schools in Ireland think about formal and informal sources of history, it is by no means comprehensive, and it is hoped it prompts much needed further research into this topic.

The growing diversity of Irish society is a relatively new phenomenon and the impact of culturally and ethnically diverse pupils in the Irish education system is not yet fully known. Understanding the different perspectives of these pupils will better help education providers meet the needs of a multicultural, multiethnic society. In history education, in the near future choices of content and pedagogy in the curriculum will have to be made. It is hoped that this research will provide some guidance towards choices that will benefit pupils in the education system and Irish society as a whole.

Chapter One: Migration in Ireland

Introduction

The shifting demographics of Europe have pushed the issue of diversity and 'multicultural' society into popular debate. Kershen (1989:1) states "the changing nature of nation-states, regional demands for political autonomy, the spread of Islam, the creation of 'fortress Europe' and the desire for acknowledgement of, and respect for, ethnic minority groups has highlighted concerns about 'who' belongs 'where'." The following chapter provides a contextual framework of migration in Irish society. The initial sections discuss the historical background of Ireland being a net provider of emigrants to other nations, while the latter section demonstrates, in recent years, Ireland's shift to a country of net immigration. This chapter also discusses the significance of this shift on Irish society and its potential to change Irish culture.

Irish Emigration

Traditionally, Ireland has seen thousands of people leave her shores. Whether emigration due to the Famine or to search for work in England, the United States (US) or Australia in less pressing need, thousands of Irish people have found themselves leaving to look for a better quality of life. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1995:94) maintains that the "pattern of demographic change in Ireland has been very different compared with other countries in the Northern Hemisphere. Until relatively recently in its demographic history, Ireland was unique in that it was alone among European countries in experiencing almost continuous population decline through emigration over a long period." From the late nineteenth century Ireland was characterised as a land of emigration. For example, between 1871 and 1991, only the ten year span between 1971 and 1981 saw

net immigration (OECD, 1995). In recent years this trend has changed. Because of strengthening of the economy, the expansion of the EU and trends in globalisation, the door has swung the other way and an increase of peoples seeking a better life have reached Ireland's shores.

Mac Laughlin (1994) asserts that that because for much of its history Ireland's economy was marginal compared to major world economies, such as the US and the United Kingdom (UK), Irish people were forced to look for work outside Ireland. He states, "persistent and widespread Irish emigration is indicative of the peripheral *status*, and not just the peripheral *location* of the Irish state in the world economy" (Mac Laughlin, 1994: 2).

Emigration in nineteenth century Ireland can be attributed to the "disintegration of Irish peasant society, the modernisation of Irish agriculture and the development of bourgeois values and aspirations in rural Ireland" (Mac Laughlin, 1994: 3). For example, in the midlands and the south-east of Ireland, emigration was a response to the commercialisation of the Irish agriculture system and the structural alteration of the world economy which fuelled demand for migrant labour. During this period in Ireland, relatively smaller self-contained agrarian communities were transformed into reservoirs of "emigrant labour which supplied cheap and adaptable labour for the modern world system," many of whom migrated to Britain (Mac Laughlin, 1994: 3). Between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the establishment of the Free State, an estimated seven million people left Ireland for North America. Between 1851 and 1921, nearly four and a half million Irish emigrants settled in North America, Australia and New Zealand. Mac Laughlin (1994:4-5) argues that "given the size of the country, and the intensity of the exodus, Irish emigration was at least on a par with some of the greatest migratory movements

in modern history, including the shipment of approximately 9.5 million live African slaves to the Americas between 1450 and 1870."

There are several factors that led to the transformation of Ireland into a land of emigration in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Entry into a free-trade capitalist system with the US and the rest of the UK decelerated industrialisation in the south of the country due to the emigration of numerous "agricultural labours, artisans and craft-workers" (Mac Laughlin, 1994:6). International competition hastened the modernisation of agriculture in the south of the country and, as stated previously, encouraged landowners to combine small, traditional farms into larger modern ones. This had the knock-on effect of increasing the population of the landless and unemployed in the south of Ireland. At the same time, a concentration of industry developed in and around Belfast city. Although the north-east's industrial base was further diversified by the addition of shipbuilding, engineering and other industries, this did not mean that unemployed people from the countryside were automatically absorbed into Belfast's labour market. Furthermore the "heightened commercialisation and specialisation of Irish agriculture" changed Ireland into a land of emigration by exposing the "cottier class, middling tenants and larger farmers" to the hazards of redundancy (Mac Laughlin, 1994:7). Crop failures and declining prices, combined with a surplus of sons and daughters, forced many people to emigrate at an early stage. In the nineteenth century, the Irish were responsible for 'peopling' the frontiers of the world economy. They filled the gaps in labour markets, particularly in North America, Australia, South Africa and England.

One of the most significant events in the history of Ireland that had an effect not only on the migration of the Irish but Irish society as a whole was the potato famine of the 1840s. Ó Gráda (1999) maintains that although there are similarities

between modern famines and the Irish famine, the Irish famine set itself apart because it killed more people, almost one-eighth of the population. Nearly one million people died due to the potato crop failure in the 1840s, while modern third world death tolls of famines of the recent past are modest by comparison. The mortality rate of famine-affected areas in Ethiopia in 1973 is estimated to have been forty thousand and the total from 1972 to 1974 about two hundred thousand. Famine in the Shahel region of Chad in 1973-74 claimed an estimated one hundred thousand in an area inhabited by twenty-five million. Also, the famine in Darfu, Sudan in the 1980s killed only a few hundred people at most (Ó Gráda, 1999). This is not to say these famines of the latter part of the twentieth century were not tragic, by all means they were, the point is that the Irish famine, because of the extent of life lost compared to the total population, should be considered a "great famine" (Ó Gráda, 1999:4).

The period between 1847 and 1851 constitutes the bulk of crisis of the famine in Ireland (Donnelly, 2001; Ó Gráda, 1999). Although there were "regional variations in the incident of famine-related destitution, mortality and emigration," this period in Irish history has the character of a "national calamity" (Donnelly, 2001: 169). One only has to consider the combined effects of both deaths and emigration on the populations levels to see this. Between 1845 and 1855, no fewer than 2.1 million Irish people fled their homeland. Of this multitude of people, nearly 1.5 million made their way to the US; 340,000 sailed to Canada; between 200,000 and 300,000 settled in Great Britain; and thousands more went to Australia and elsewhere. "More people left Ireland in just eleven years than during the preceding two and one-half [sic] centuries" (Donnelly, 2001: 169).

The famine marked the beginning of Ireland as a land of emigration. Although initial emigration during and immediately following the famine was due to

crop failure, its "continuance thereafter can be attributed to economic and social causes" (OECD, 1995:94). Ireland was relatively untouched by the industrial revolution because of its peripheral location and because of its lack of natural resources necessary for economic growth. The OECD (1995:94) points out that decades after the famine Ireland "remained largely agrarian in character, with the result that the potential for employment expansion was quite limited. In conjunction with the high birth rate, this ensured a continuation of the population outflow." For the better part of the Republic's existence, it has been in a state of emigration. "It has varied in terms of intensity from decade to decade, but has always persisted as a necessary safety valve for a country that was incapable of creating enough economically viable jobs to absorb the natural growth in the labour force" (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2005).

Emigration also persisted in the early part of the twentieth century because of the solidification of Eamon De Valera's "rural fundamentalism which prioritised rural and small-town values over urban values" (Mac Laughlin, 1994:23). These values informed much of the economic policy in Ireland well into the 1960s, with farming (especially on family farms) viewed as the basis for national prosperity. The interests of farmers were held in high regard and influenced economic policy, while those of industrialist, the working class and fishermen were largely ignored. A demonstration of this, The *Minority Report to the Commission of Emigration* compiled in the 1950 by Bishop Lucey of Cork, called for a halt in the growth of Dublin, for the distribution of land amongst the people, for the rural home to be deemed the ideal place to raise a family, and for family farm holdings be kept between fifteen and twenty acres (Mac Maughlin, 1994). In Mac Laughlin's (1994:24) estimation, young Irish adults "voted with their feet in their thousands to abandon" de Valera's narrow nationalist dream.

As in the nineteenth century, the first half of the twentieth saw thousands of Irish people migrating to Britain and North America to fill the gaps in labour forces. Ireland's geographical location, along with de Valera's nationalist ideals, compounded emigration to Great Britain. Mac Laughlin (1994:24) further states:

> *Although its location relative to Britain did not inevitably cause the Irish Free State to function as an emigrant nursery for the British economy, it nevertheless compounded the process of peripheralisation in Ireland by relieving the Irish state of the responsibility for solving unemployment and lack of opportunity at home. This in turn was exacerbated by differentials in the level of development in Ireland, particularly the low level of urban development, and by levels of development in Britain and the United States. It was aggravated also by the fact that reductions in the relative cost of emigrating from Ireland from the late-nineteenth century onwards have always made it easy for Ireland's surplus workers to leave Ireland for Britain and North America.*

This relationship remained unchanged even after the granting of political independence to Ireland and the Second World War which only emphasised the need for an Irish migrant labour force in Britain. Although Ireland was neutral, Irish labour migration certainly supported Britain's war effort. "Thousands of Irish men and women from North and South of the border, joined the British Army. Many more left for Britain, directly recruited by British authorities to fill the gaps in the labour force" (Lennon, McAdam & O'Brien, 1998:65). The issuing of travel permits and passports, 213,400 to men and 149,600 to women between 1940 and 1951, demonstrates the number of Irish people who left to take up employment in Britain (Mac Laughlin, 1994).

The decades following the war saw the typical Irish migrant worker shift from being the unskilled labourer to one seeking more professional white collar employment. The traditional profile of an Irish migrant worker was a person who was unskilled or possessed only basic skills. The OECD (1995:96) maintains that until the mid-twentieth century, eighty per cent of Irish emigrant workers were "unskilled or

came from agricultural backgrounds." By the 1980s, non-manual and professional groups were over represented in emigration levels. This 'development' of Irish workers coupled with the more restrictive labour market in the US in the 1950s and 1960s, further confirmed Britain as a destination for Irish migrants. "By the '60s, Irish graduates with qualifications in engineering, medicine and law were probably regarding Britain and Ireland as an integrated labour market" (Mac Laughlin, 1994:28).

From the 1960s emigration began to take a down turn due to economic growth. During the mid-1960s, the "net outflow declined to a level less than the natural increase and the population began to rise…" and that "during the 1970s an inflow materialised as former emigrants began to return in substantial numbers" (OECD, 1995: 94). Although this economic rejuvenation slowed and even reversed emigration in Ireland, this did not alter the marginal position of the Irish state. The 1960s saw a shift of economic dependence on Britain with investments from the US and mainland Europe. By the mid 1970s, Ireland's economic growth was dependent on foreign owned firms, which employed nearly two-thirds of the Irish domestic manufacturing work force. The Irish economy was also dependent on technologically advanced and capital intensive industries which left the country as soon as tax benefits began to fade. This new labour force, which valued the high-tech industries created a false sense of autonomy. This suggested that industries involved with electronics, pharmaceuticals and computers legitimised Irish economic independence. Although Ireland had developed an image of a technologically advanced society, this economic growth did not absorb Ireland's large labour surplus and by the 1980s a 'new wave' of emigration coincided with an economic downturn. Ireland, like other

peripheral societies in Europe such as Greece, Scotland, Portugal and Spain, saw many of its sons and daughters leave (Mac Laughlin, 1994).

By the early 1990s emigration in Ireland began to slow down. The OECD (1995) attributes this to the deterioration of international labour markets, especially in the UK. This prevented many potential emigrants from leaving, and also persuaded many Irish people abroad to return home. This shift in migration caused minor population growth during the period between 1991 and 1993. During this time the population increased by 38,000 people to reach a total of 3,663,000 in late 1993.

Migration to Ireland in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Even in the relatively short history of the Republic, and before that of the Free State Irish people have emigrated to North America and the UK to fill gaps in the labour market and seek greater opportunities than those afforded them in their home land. Although the majority of the migration since the famine has been outward, there have been instances of inwards migration. The previous sections discussed the Irish returning home form time to time, but there were also instances of non-Irish groups immigrating to Ireland. For example, in 1922, under inherited British legislation regarding non-nationals, the number of aliens present in the country totalled 2,610. Many of these 'aliens' were from the US (1,297), while the rest were German (326), Italian (198), French (160) and Russian (126) (Ward, 1998). Before and after the establishment of the Free State, there were groups of immigrants coming to Ireland.

Jewish Immigrants

Mr. Deasy, the Protestant anti-Semitic character in Joyce's *Ulysses*, insists that Ireland is the only country that has never persecuted the Jews because she has never let them in. Mr. Deasy's argument is, at least for nineteenth century Ireland, partially

false in as much as there were Jewish communities then present in Ireland. There are reports of the Sephardi, descendants of Jews expelled from Spain in 1492, forming minuscule communities in Ireland prior to the nineteenth century. However, between 1800 and 1880, the majority of Jewish settlers were Ashkenazi, Jews who came from Northern or Eastern Europe. Jews also migrated from England, Holland, France, Germany, Poland, Galicia, Russia and Morocco, and settled in Ireland between 1820 and 1875. In the 1870s twenty-five young Jews from Lithuania also settled in Ireland. (Keogh, 1998)

Until 1880 the Jewish community in Ireland was small, but with the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in March 1881 by revolutionaries, the Jewish community grew. After the assassination, Russian anti-Semitic policy offered Russian Jews up as scapegoats which incited rioting throughout the south of Russia and into Poland. This manifestation of anti-Semitism in Russia and Eastern Europe led to mass emigration of Jews from the region. "Between 1880 and 1914, an estimated two million Russian Jews emigrated. Most left for the US, while some settled in Palestine, Canada, South Africa, Britain, and Ireland" (Keogh, 1998:9). By the turn of the twentieth century, Dublin had a Jewish population of 2,048, Belfast 708, Cork 359, and Limerick 171 (Keogh, 1998). The number of Jewish people in Ireland reached its peak in the late 1940s due to the Second World War, and as of the 2002 Census there were 1,790 members of the Jewish community in Ireland.

The Protestant Minority

Much like the Jewish minority in Irish society, a Protestant minority has existed for centuries. Following the Tudor attempts to establish English control in Ireland in the late sixteenth century under Henry VII, there has been a Protestant presence in Ireland. For example, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during the Plantation

of Ireland by Protestants from England and Scotland, lands were confiscated from Geilic clans, mostly in the provinces of Munster and Ulster. In 1641, for example, there were an estimated 22,000 Prodestants in Munster while in 1660 there were up to 30,000 (Barnard, 2003:2). In the Northern counties there were an estimated 50,000 – 80,000 Protestants in the 1690s and by 1732 they formed the majority in six out of nine counties in Ulster (Barnard, 2003:3). For the whole of the island of Ireland, in 1732, Protestants numbered 105,501 compared to 281,401 Catholic Irish (Branard, 2003:3). By the mid-ninteenth century at the height of Bristish rule, Protestants were on the island numbered an estimated 800,000 (Ferriter, 2004:338).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, this population was in decline. Acording to the 1926 Census, Protestants were almost 7 per cent of the pupultion in the Free State, which was an estimated decline of about one third since 1911 (Ferriter, 2004:339). Furthermore, between 1946 – 1961, the Prodestant poplution fell almost five times faster than the overall population of Irish people emigrating, and by the end of the 1960s there were an estimated 130,000 Protestants in Ireland (Ferriter, 2004:582). Accoding to more recent Census numbers, 1991 saw the lowest numbers of Protestants in Ireland at 89,187, while since then the numbers increased through the 1990s and in the early part of the twentyfirst century. As of the 2006 Census, there are 125, 585 Protestants in Ireland (Census, 2006).

Unlike the Jewish minority, who came to Ireland fleeing, for the most part, persecution in other countries, the Protestant migration to Ireland served a different purpose. English (2007) argues that Protestants came to Ireland to spread religion, where "dark Catholic influences would be replaced by Protestant light and civility" (Sir Thomas Smith quoted by English, 2007:58). Barnard (2003) also agrees that Protestants, for the most part, migrated to Ireland to bring the island closer to the

culture and character of England. During the Cromwellian interregnum of the mid seventeenth century, for example, much of the Protestent migration into Ireland served a clear purpose:

> Arguing that Ireland would be safe and prosper only when the Protestants were everywhere subsitited for incumbent Catholics. Most urgently, the social, religious and military leaders of the Catholic Ireland should be expropriated and expelled. Even the generality of the population, more hewers of wood and drawers of water, were best removed to distant and hospitable regions (Barnard, 2003:4).

This suggests a uninuqueness of the Protestant minority in Ireland. Because of the purpose of their migration and the status they held in comparision to, not only other mintories, but the Irish people themselves. They enjoyed, for a long period of time, a dominant postion in Irish society, while being a minority. For example, in the late eighteenth century Ireland was a "confessional state in which the denominational allegiance of the elite was shared only by a minority of the people" (English, 2007:74). In 1641, Catholics had owned 60% of land in Ireland and by 1776 Catholic land ownership in Ireland stood at only 5% (English, 2007: 78).The Penal Laws[2] during this time secured Protestant power and control in Ireland. English (2007:75) highlights Edmund Burke's concern with Protestant power in Ireland at that time:

> Concerned with social cohesion, order, justice and fairness, he [Burke] felt that the Protestant elite in Ireland and the system under which they flourished, were socially damaging and dangerously exclusive.

This brief effort of outling the Protestant minority's existence in Ireland is by no means the full Protestant/Catholic story. What should be taken from this is that

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[2] Penal Laws in the eighteenth century Ireland, for example, were passed in the Irish parliament, an assembly composed of Protestant lords, and of members returned for boroughs controlled by the crown or by patrons or by close corporations, and for counties dominated in election affairs by great proprietors of land. For the most part the Penal Laws restricted Catholics from sitting in parliament; from holding any government office; from voting; from entering the law profession, the army or the navy; from inter-marrying with Protestants and from holding firearms. For nineteenth century literature on the Penal Laws see Richard Robert Maddens (1847) *The History of the Penal Laws Enacted Against Catholics,* London: Thomas Richardson and Son. For a more contemporary work see Bew (2007), Kirkbend (1997), and Murphy (1997).

there has been a Protestant minority in Ireland for centuries and that this monority was and is unique in that they, for the most part, enjoyed a certain level of power, control and influence on the island of Ireland. In many ways, because of the intergration (and for much of the history, a domination), Protestants in Ireland, have in many ways, became a minority which 'hides in plain sight'.

Hungarian Refugees 1956

On October 23, 1956, up to 250,000 protestors gathered in Budapest, Hungary demanding democratic freedoms and real independence from the Soviet regime. According to Rainer (2002), this was the first modern anti-totalitarian revolution. Although the revolution only lasted two weeks, the effects could be felt for many years to come, one being the refugee situation that was created.

The first significant group of people that entered Ireland after the ratification of the UN Convention by the Irish state were 530 Hungarians in 1956. On 13 November 1956, the government agreed to grant asylum to 250 refugees and this number was soon increased to 1,000 by the Minister of Defence, then in charge of receiving refugees. Support for this policy can be attributed to the fact that Ireland was by then a signatory country of the UN Convention (1956) which represented Ireland as a member of the international community (Fanning, 2002; Ward, 2004).

Fanning (2002: 89) points out, because of the Catholic background of the Hungarians, there was popular support for their admittance. Catholic sermons speaking of the "anti-Communist Catholic martyrs in Hungary" were often reprinted in Irish newspapers to ignite support for the admittance of the refugees (Fanning, 2002:89). "A ground swell of public support of [sic] admitting Hungarian refugees was evident in the success of a church gate collection by the Irish Red Cross, which raised £170,000 for their care" (Fanning, 2002: 89). In spite of this initial response,

support soon began to wane. Although the initial response was shaped by Catholic social teaching, much of the enthusiasm faded when it was realised that many Hungarians did not fit into Irish institutions.

The conditions the Hungarians faced exposed the inadequacies of the Irish state in dealing with refugees. Accommodated in a disused army camp at Knocknalisheen, county Clare, refugees received meals and a small cash allowance, but in spite of Article 17 of the UN Convention (1956) which granted refugees the right to work, policies were put in place to keep them from working.

> *In effect, there was a policy of containment from the outset. Refugees were confined to the camp by the use of quarantine periods. When these elapsed, efforts were made to use the Gardai to illegally restrict their movements* (Fanning, 2002:88).

These restrictions along with the cold, damp and unhealthy conditions of the abandoned army barracks led to a hunger strike on 29 April 1957. A visit from the Department of External Affairs and the Department of Justice ended the strike. The Irish government moved to close down the camp and relocate the refugees to more suitable conditions, but by the beginning of 1959, the majority of the Hungarians had moved to Canada (Ward, 2004).

Fanning explains the situation of the Hungarians was due to a lack of resolve on the part of the Irish government. The Hungarians' desire to participate in decisions about their fate was met by Irish unresponsiveness. The Hungarian's "willingness to mobilise and seek participation was countered by a very different indigenous Irish culture where those in authority expected deference, where notions of rights and of entitlements to welfare goods and services were undeveloped" (Fanning, 2002:93). The conditions that the Hungarians experienced demonstrated the inadequacies of Irish policy towards refugees and in the following fifty years, those inadequate policies changed very little.

Chilean Refugees 1973

In 1996, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) closed its offices in Chile after twenty-two years of operations. Chile, in its estimation, is now a "country where you'll have a hard time finding any sign whatsoever of UNHCR. There are no huge influxes or repatriations, no refugee camps or reception centres, no aid convoys or airlifts, no warehouses, no 'safe havens,' no major protection problems" (UNHCR, 1996). But forty-three years ago, the situation in Chile was much more drastic for the UNHCR and for Chilean people.

On September 11, 1973, the four branches of the Chilean armed forces, led by Army Commander in Chief Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, began a violent and bloody *coup d'etat* that ended a long tradition of constitutional government in Chile. The former government, headed by the Popular Unity coalition which comprised Socialist, Communists, Radicals and dissident Christian Democrats, came into power in 1970 when Salvador Allende won a narrow victory in the presidential election. As the first Marxist elected chief of state in the Western Hemisphere, Allende initiated sweeping changes reforms. "His socialist government made drastic changes in economic policy, including agrarian reform and nationalization of banks and copper mines. When a series of strikes disrupted life, opposition from Chile's Congress and the middle and upper classes grew and Allende lost support of the military" (Washington Post, 2000). On September 11, 1973, the presidential palace was bombed and attacked by Pinochet's forces resulting in the death of President Allende, and his ministers and collaborators were either detained, committed suicide or disappeared.

Within a week of the coup, Pinochet and the Chilean military gained complete control of a country marked by fear, panic and brutality. The new military regime used raids, executions, arrest and torture to intimidate thousands of Chilean citizens.

Some 25,000 people were forced to flee the country (Dwyer, 2005). Because of its membership of the UN Convention (1951), Ireland had a responsibility to shelter a portion of the Chilean refugees. On February 20, 1974 the Minister for Foreign Affairs informed the Dáil that Chilean refugees would be admitted into Ireland. The first Chileans to be considered by the Irish government were thirteen families, consisting of thirty-one people and ten single adults. Thereafter, during 1974 and 1975, over one hundred refugees were admitted into Ireland. Nearly half of them settled in the Shannon area, while many others settled in Galway (Dwyer, 2005).

Although, at this time, refugees in Ireland had the right to work, access to employment, education and training was minimal. Many of the Chilean refugees found it difficult in obtaining jobs, receiving training or education in English as a second language. Subsequently, the majority of the 120 Chilean refugees whom landed on Irish shores in 1973 returned to Chile when conditions there improved.

Vietnamese Refugees 1979

One of the most significant groups of refugees to come to Ireland in the twentieth century were the 212 Vietnamese 'boat people' who arrived in Ireland in 1979. At the time, they were one of the larger groups to land in Ireland and unlike others, many of them remained in the country. Until recently, the Vietnamese were one of the largest Asian communities in Ireland numbering 824. But their experiences were not free from struggle and frustration (Ward, 2004:9).

Refugees began to flee Vietnam in large numbers after the withdrawal of American forces from South Vietnam and the declaration of the Independent Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1975. By 1978 refugees were fleeing Vietnam *en masse*, by both land and sea (hence the term 'boat people' in the latter case). In the initial phases of refugee migration, most found asylum in neighbouring Hong Kong, Malaysia and

Thailand, but as the numbers increased economic pressure forced UNHCR to appeal to Western countries to relieve some of the burden. Although the response of the West was slow, by July 1979, sixty-five countries agreed to resettle a majority of these refugees. The US, Canada, Australia, France and West Germany accepted the majority of the refugees, while the UK, Switzerland, Sweden, Demark, Belgium and Ireland accepted smaller numbers. From July 1978 to 1981, approximately 453,000 Vietnamese refugees were resettled in Western countries (McGovern, 1990:52).

Undoubtedly, the Vietnamese coming to Ireland entered what could be called a monocultural society in the 1980s. For example in 1985, of the approximately three and a half million people in Ireland, a mere 0.6 per cent were then not from European Economic Community (EEC) countries. As McGovern (1990:127) points out "[A] long history of emigration based on the economic conditions of the country has meant that Ireland [was] not an attractive country for migrants. This has resulted in Ireland having little experience in incorporating ethnic minority groups..." This was demonstrated by the slow naturalisation of the Vietnamese through the 1986 Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act, six years after their arrival. Before this legislation, the Vietnamese were seen as 'aliens' by potential employers, and found it very difficult to find work.

The monocultural nature of Irish society continually manifested itself through government policies. For example, by 1989 the Irish government had yet to become a contractual partner to the *International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination* which was adopted by the UN in 1965. But it was not until 1989 that the government enacted the Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act, and as of 1990, there was no further anti-discrimination legislation. McGovern (1990:128) argues that the government maintained an "official perception... that there is no

problem of racial discrimination here and that Ireland is a welcoming and tolerant country." However, there is evidence that racism permeated Irish society at the time of the Vietnamese refugees arrival. The legacy of racial discrimination through the development of an 'Irish' identity is discussed further in Chapter Two.

Although the initial public response to the Vietnamese refugees' arrival was inviting and compassionate, this welcome began to fade. According to a report from the Episcopal Church of Ireland, the refugees were "unprotected and undirected, were left exposed to various forms of racism and xenophobia" (McGovern, 1990:136). The experience of the Vietnamese refugees highlights the frustrations towards Irish immigration policies that many asylum seekers faced entering Irish society.

The Irish Traveller Community: The Forgotten Minority?

Although there have been small numbers of immigrants to reach Irish shores, for the most part, Ireland has been perceived as a monocultural society, but one group that has a differing culture than of dominant Irish society is the Traveller community.

Travellers, considered a minority ethnic group, have been documented as being a part of Irish history for centuries. Throughout those centuries, travellers developed a distinctly different culture to that of the 'majority culture' in Ireland. "Travellers have a long shared history and value system, their own language, customs and traditions. The distinctive Traveller lifestyle and culture, based on nomadic tradition, set Travellers apart from the sedentary population or 'settled people'" (Pavee Point Travellers' Centre, 2006). According to the 2006 Census, there are over 22,435 Travellers nationwide. This number may be even higher according to local authority estimates. In 2002 local authorities showed that there were 5,541 Traveller families. The CSO estimates that the average Traveller family size is five and one half people, which would put the number of Travellers closer to 30,000 nationwide.

Mac Laughlin (1995) agrees with McDonagh (2000) that it is a difficult undertaking to define Travellers within an Irish context:

> *Given the pejorativisation of nomadism, and the exclusion of Travelling people from nationalist history and political discourse throughout the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that the problem of defining Travellers in Ireland, as in other European societies, is almost as elusive as Travellers themselves* (Mac Laughlin, 1995:9).

He also points out that these difficulties are also aggravated by the fact that not only were Travellers ~~were~~ left out of Irish history and marginalised in Irish society, they were also viewed as a people without a history or a homeland. This solidified during the formation of the Irish republic and rise of Irish nationalism:

> *These were serious deficiencies indeed in a country where an ethnically-defined people, in their search for political recognition and respectability in the international community, were laying claim to national territory and justifying that claim partly on the basis that their historical pedigree was not tainted with racial inferiority through association with nomadism and Travelling people. Neglect of the nomad and the racialisation of the Travellers were not just features of nationalist historiography in nineteenth century Ireland. Travellers and Gypsies have long been buried beneath Western social and political discourse* (Mac Laughlin, 1995; 10).

Although Travellers have been a part of Irish history for centuries, their history has been largely ignored because it did not fit with the shared history of the dominant culture of Ireland. Rather it was the history of the 'Other'.[3] What must then be asked concerning the Traveller community, as well as other ethnic minorities that do not fit into a dominant Irish culture, is what effect has this had on their development of a shared identity? Could the marginalisation of Travellers in Irish historical discourse contribute to the marginalisation of Travellers in society today? If the Travelling community and settled people in Irish society do not share a common history, can they share a common identity? These are important questions with regard to, not only

[3] In the case of this research the 'Other' refers to cultural and ethnic minority groups who exist in a larger culturally dominant society. In Ireland, the Traveller community can be considered an 'Other'.

the situation of the Travelling community in Ireland, but also the new ethnic minorities that are emerging in Irish society.

Just as the history of the Travelling community has been seen as a different history, or a history of the 'Other' so too has their culture. The Travelling community in Ireland today, although in many ways share religious denomination and language, can be seen as markedly different as those of the settled, white, Irish majority, Travellers share many cultural patterns as people who are commonly referred to as 'gypsies'.[4]

McDonagh (2000) points out that although commonalities exist between 'gypies' and the travelling community in Ireland, it is difficult and, more importantly, wrong to pigeon-hole Traveller culture. Unlike Gypsies, Irish Travellers are an "endogenous, as opposed to an exogenous, social group" who have a far smaller geographic range (Mac Laughlin, 1995:14). Apart from small groups of Travellers of Irish decent in the US and Europe, most are limited to Ireland and the UK.

One important aspect of Traveller culture in Ireland is being part of a community. Although both 'settled' people and Travellers use the term 'traveller' to mean mobility, this, as McDonagh argues, is not what a Traveller 'is' rather it is an aspect of being a part of a larger community. "Being a Traveller means being a part of a community that has a shared history, shared culture and an understanding of what it is like to be a Traveller. It's having a family with a support mechanism there. It's a way of life" (McDonagh, 2000:29). The Travelling community, like many ethnic minority communities, has a common history which binds it together and supports a

[4] Some areas of commonality between the Traveller community and 'gypsies' often include: nomadism, the dominant position of the family and the extended family and respect for older members of the family, early and close kin marriage, work patterns, rituals surrounding death and marriage patterns, relationship with the dominant settled society, shared field of communication, subject to discrimination (McDonagh, 2000:28).

common identity. Although there are many Travellers in Ireland who are now settled, the heritage of being a nomadic people still shapes their identity.

At the centre of Traveller culture is the family. The events that shape a Traveller's life are family gatherings, weddings, birthdays, funerals, and christenings. Not only are immediate family members important, but also uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents and second and third cousins play an everyday role in the life of a Traveller. McDonagh (2000) makes the distinction that settled people arrange themselves within parishes and districts and have extended family members who live all over the country (and in many cases the world). While on the other hand Travellers arrange themselves around the family. This is why many Travellers share the same surname, such as Collins or Joyce. The immediate and extended family is important because families constitute the support structure for the entire Traveller community.

What can be taken from this discussion? First and foremost is that the nineteenth and twentieth century, refugee groups were not the first minority groups in 'homogenous' Ireland; rather Ireland has had a minority group (ethnic or not) within its society for centuries in the form of Travellers. The second point is that Travellers have been treated poorly by the majority of Irish society for the better part of the twentieth century. Mac Laughlin (1995) argues that an anti-Traveller outlook that is prevalent throughout the history of the Republic of Ireland and has manifested itself in contemporary hypocrisies in Irish society:

> *Ireland has regularly capitalised on its colonial past to enhance its standing with Third World countries. This has allowed Irish people to pride themselves on their record as supporters of anti-colonial struggles. It also meant they could be deluded into thinking that Ireland was a non-racist society. Irish political discourse today is littered with the language of accommodation which stresses good neighbourliness, charity, tolerance and respect for national differences. This is particularly noticeable in the 'politics of the high*

> *moral plain' and in political discussions on Northern Ireland which constantly ask 'why can't these people get along [sic] each other', while simultaneously ignoring the high degree of social and political intolerance in Catholic Ireland. The isolation of Travellers, their 'parcelling out' among deprived urban communities and the fragmentation of their world is reducing Travellers to the position of social outcasts in contemporary Ireland.* (Mac Laughlin, 1995:80)

Thirdly, if this is the result, in part, of marginalising a group's status not only in contemporary terms but also excluding their part in Irish history, what does the future hold for more recent minority groups in Ireland? Will they face the same social exclusion the Travelling community has?

Migration Turning Point in Ireland

Sanders (2002) reports that ethnicity relates to foreign origins, and that much of the recent research addressing the issues of ethnic boundaries involves countries that have a relatively large foreign born populaces. The rise of foreign-born populations not only has a transformative affect on the host societies, but also the migrants and their children. Martin (1998) reported that at least 140 million people worldwide live in countries that are not of their birth. The majority of this migration is leading to a mixing of ethnic groups and leads to greater "inter-ethnic contact" (Sanders, 2002:334). Countries such as the US, Canada, and Australia have faced dramatic demographic change in recent years due to the global migration trends. Several Western European societies such as the UK, France and Germany have also had significantly increased levels of migration which have given rise to social, economic and cultural change (Martin, 1998). In recent years, Ireland has also witnessed these trends.

The 1980s saw small groups of refugees come to Ireland, among them 26 Iranian Baha'is who were permitted to settle in 1985. Ward (2004) points out that the next noteworthy group to find asylum in Ireland, as well as remain in the country,

were 770 Bosnians in 1992. Many were medical evacuees from the conflict in the Balkans. Their treatment was considerably better than previous groups, and marked a handover of responsibility of programme refugees from the Department of Defence to the Department of Foreign Affairs. This led to the setting up of the Refugee Agency in 1991 which "was mandated to settle and support programme refugees" (Ward 2004:9). As of 2004, the Bosnian population had expanded through immigration and family reunification to about 1,200 (Ward, 2004).

It was not until the mid 1990s and the rejuvenation of the Irish economy that the current influx of immigration began (Devine, 2005). An increase might have been expected, as Punch (2004) maintains, that in Ireland, the direction of migration is influenced by economic and labour market:

> *For example in the late 1980's, when economic growth rates were depressed, the unemployment rate exceeded 16 per cent and the net outward migration was running at over 40,000 per annum. In more recent environment of high economic growth the unemployment rate has fallen to 4 per cent and net inward migration has been averaging around 30,000 annually* (2004:10).

Mac Laughlin has demonstrated that Irish emigration for much of the twentieth century was due to economic sluggishness, lack of industrial development and De Velara's nationalistic idealisation of Ireland. Simply stated, when the economy is bad and unemployment is high, people will migrate. When there is economic growth and unemployment drops, emigration slows. Furthermore, Punch (2004) suggests that when the economy strengthens and unemployment lowers enough, net emigration ceases and net immigration emerges (see also Mac Éinrí, 2001).

Causes of Contemporary Migration

In the case of Ireland in the past fifteen years, generally speaking, economic prosperity has grown. The 1990s saw the beginnings not only of an economic boom

but also a turning point in migration. Kelleher and Kelleher (2004) demonstrate that after 1994, Ireland's economy grew by leaps and bounds. Mac Éinrí (2001) highlights a key feature of change in the 1990s, the introduction of a successful policy of industrial relations and joint wage bargaining based in part on the German model. Also, the major investments in education in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s began to pay-off in the increasing numbers of better educated workers.[5] These elements of change led to the 'Celtic Tiger' boom and characterised Ireland as an attractive destination for people to seek work. From 1994 to 2002, Ireland's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rose an average of 8 per cent per year while the labour market grew by 4.5 percent. This had a direct effect on emigration, which was reduced to a historic low, and caused the unemployment rate to drop from 16 percent in 1994 to 3.7 percent in 2001. The 'Celtic Tiger' should be viewed as the main cause of a change in patterns of migration in Ireland.[6] Because of an increase in labour demands and an attempt to marshal sufficient labour for economic growth, Irish governments "pursued an active policy of encouraging immigration, and Irish state agencies established a programme to promote Ireland as a work destination abroad" (Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004, 27). In the light of this change, it is no surprise that immigration increased. In the period between 1995 and 2000, approximately a quarter of a million people migrated to Ireland. Nearly half were returning Irish, and the rest were either American or European. As the then Minister for Justice Michael McDowell pointed out; "Our small open economy has seen unprecedented growth and is still one of the fastest

[5] An example of a major investment in education was the introduction of free secondary education in 1967.

[6] For a more in-depth and markedly different points of view on the phenomenon that is the 'Celtic Tiger' see Allan, Kieran. (2000) *The Celtic Tiger: The Myth of Social Partnership in Ireland*, Manchester: Manchester University Press., and Sweeney, Paul (1999) *The Celtic Tiger: Ireland's Continuing Economic Miracle*. Dublin: Oak Tree Press.

growing economies in the developed world. People are being attracted to Ireland in great numbers" (*Monday Morning*, 2005).

Comparatively speaking, in recent years, Ireland has seen a high rate of immigration. For example the US accepts 700,000 legal immigrants a year. If the US had the same rate as Ireland in proportion to the population, it would accept over three million immigrants per year. This rate is also high compared to EU standards: only Luxembourg has a higher rate (Kennedy, 2003). "It is clear that Ireland has moved from being one of the most homogeneous countries in the EU to a country with a rate of change that is unparalleled in the speed and scale" (Kennedy, 2003: vii). Because of the growth of the economy, many Irish are returning to their homeland. For instance, in 1999, nearly 55 per cent of all migrants were returning Irish. Since 1999, however, this number has dropped because the available pool of potential returning immigrants had shrunk (Parkinson, 2003). The Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI) points out, "It seems reasonable to assume that most who might have wished to return and who had the possibility of obtaining employment in Ireland will already have done so. Future immigration is therefore likely to consist of a higher portion of foreign-individuals, the great majority of whom will have no previous ties to Ireland" (Parkinson, 2003:6).

It is important to note that the figures for immigration should be taken only as a guide to the increase of immigration in Ireland. The ICI suggest that the levels of immigration in recent years may have been higher. The Council provides an example:

> *We know, for instance, that the CSO* [Central Statistics Office] *data for immigration suggests that the January to December 2001 figure for immigration from outside the EU and the USA was of the order of 15,000 to 15,500. Yet in the same year more than 29,000 new employment permits were issued (excluding US citizens) and 10,325 persons applied for asylum. This is before foreign students, or spouses and children (neither category of whom has an independent*

> *right to work) of those admitted with employment permits, work visas or work authorisations. Therefore the true figure for immigration from the rest of the world (an outdated category anyway) must be considerably in excess of the CSO intercensal estimate and may have been closer to 40,000 than 15,000 in 2002* (Parkinson, 2003:6).

The Council goes on to point out that the CSO's data may be unreliable and the growth in immigration may be much higher. For present purpose, there is no need to go into detail about why there may be discrepancies, only to note that there is an increase of immigration into Ireland, and that this may be bigger than is often appreciated.

Asylum Seekers and Refugees: A Contemporary Perspective

Fairchild (2005) highlighted the fact that people who migrate are influenced by two main factors. One factor must be the attractive qualities and opportunities of another country (for example the recent low unemployment rate in Ireland), the second factor being the repellent conditions in people's home countries which compel them to leave (in some cases by force). In the instance of contemporary refugees and asylum seekers, Fairchild's theory of repellent conditions in a person's home country is the major cause of their migration.

The issue of refugees and asylum seekers is a growing problem in the contemporary world. Because of political, social, economic and religious persecution the number of refugees and asylum seekers around the world is growing. In the mid-1980s there were around eight million refugees; by the mid-1990s there were nearly fifteen million. According to the UNHCR, as of 2004, there was a population of 17,557,519 people who are either refugees or asylum seekers and in need of the protection of economically developed countries around the world (UNHCR, 2003). According to the UNHCR (2003), there are also an estimated twenty-five to thirty

million people that have been forced from their homes but who have not been able to cross international borders.

Ireland, as a member of the UN, has a legal responsibility to accept people who fall under the definition of refugee. In 1998 Ireland agreed to accept persons for resettlement under the Resettlement Quota Programme of the UNHCR.

Ireland's signing of the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and the 1967 Protocol, requires that Ireland accept applications by refugees. These protocols provide the foundation for the system of protection for refugees. The 1951 Convention traces its origins to the refugee situation that came about as a result of the Second World War. With the emergence of new refugees over the years, the provisions of the 1951 Convention had to be extended to apply to the new refugees. This resulted in the Protocol which was signed in New York in 1967. Ireland agreed to the 1951 Convention on 29 November, 1956, and to the Protocol on 6 November, 1968 (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2003).

Irish legislation for refugees takes the form of the Refugee Act (1996) and its amendment in Section 11 of the Immigration Act (1999). These pieces of legislation are the principal statutory mechanisms for defining the rights and status of refugees. Under this legislation, anyone is entitled to apply for refugee status. These applications are examined to determine if they are in accordance with the definition of a refugee as set out in section 2 of the Refugee Act (1996):

> *A refugee* [is] *someone who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owning to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself* [sic] *of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. Where it is established that a well founded-fear of persecution exists the applicant will be granted refugee status* (Government of Ireland, 1996).

Persons that fall into the scope of this definition are defined as *Convention Refugees.*

However, there is another definition that covers those refugees who do not fulfil the strict criteria laid out by section 2 of the Refugee Act (1996). These people are defined as *Programme Refugees.* These people are recognised in section 24 of the Refugee Act (1996) as:

> *... persons who have been granted leave to enter and remain in Ireland for temporary protection or resettlement as part of a group. Programmes refugees are invited to Ireland by the Government usually in response to a humanitarian crisis and at the request of the UNHCR* (Ward, 2004:14).

A third classification is *Asylum Seeker.* This is an individual who "arrives spontaneously in the state and asks to be recognised as a refugee under the 1951 Geneva Convention relation to the Status of Refugees and 1967 Protocol" (Ward, 2004:16). The only distinction between asylum seekers and program or convention refugees exists in their spontaneous arrival into the state.

The Refugee Act (1996) also outlines various other subgroups of refugees in Ireland. For example section 18 (1) of the Refugee Act (1996) permits unification of a refugee with members of his/her "immediate family such as a spouse, a child under the age of 18, and dependent family members including grandparent, a parent, a brother, a sister, a grandchild, ward or guardian of the refugee who are dependants of the refugee or is suffering from a mental or physical disability to such an extent that it is not reasonable for him or her to maintain himself or herself fully" (Government of Ireland, 1996). These people are termed *Persons Granted Family Reunification.* Under the Refugee Act (1996), persons who are granted permission to remain in Ireland based on family reunification have the same rights as refugees. Ward (2004) points out that as of 2001, there were one hundred and eighteen family reunification applications referred to the Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner, which

included two hundred and eighty-four family members. Most of these applications for family reunification were received from Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia and Algeria.

Separated Children/ Unaccompanied Minors are yet another category of asylum seekers. Unaccompanied Minors are "asylum seeking children and young people under the age of 18 who are separated from their parents/legal caregivers" (Ward, 2004:29). Section 8 (5) of the Refugee Act (1996) makes special provisions for any child under the age of eighteen who arrives in the state not in the custody of anyone he or she is referred to the appropriate health board, and care and protection is provided for that child where it is unlikely to be received. **Figure 1.0** shows the countries of origin of the separated children/unaccompanied minors who applied for refuge in the state from 1998 to 2002.

Figure 1.0: Applications taken from Separated Children by country of origin and gender 1998-2002.

Country of Origin	Male	Female	Total
Cameroon	17	13	30
DR Congo	16	21	37
Ghana	15	17	32
Moldova	39	12	51
Nigeria	304	236	540
Romania	63	31	94
Sierra Leone	51	17	68
Zimbabwe	15	10	25
Others	242	94	336
Total	762	451	1,213

Note: numbers found in Ward (2004:30)

The tragedy of refugees and asylum seekers is that they are either forced from their homelands, or their situations have become so grave that they make a decision to leave. As Amnesty International (1997:3) declares:

> *Refugees have been forced to abandon their homes, friends and livelihoods. Some have responded instinctively to an immediate and*

> *terrible treat. Others have taken the painful decision to leave their country after a long period of uncertainty, when other options have failed. All have had their lives overturned by forces beyond their control. Each would be at grave risk of human rights violations of returned home.*

According to Fairchild, there are groups of people who become dissatisfied with the political conditions in their home countries. This failure to "secure what is believed to be a rightful share in the control of the government, or in some positive repressive or persecuting measures on the part of the governing body toward some of its citizens" (Fairchild, 2005:7). Political disenfranchisement of certain peoples by home governments forces people to seek residence in foreign countries. Amnesty International (1997:40) points out that there is political repression occurring world wide:

> *Everyday in countries all over the world individuals make the agonizing decision to leave their homeland. They may be political activists who have discovered that the police are looking for them – and in their country suspected opponents of the government face torture or death. They may be members of a political, religious or human rights organization which has need targeted by the authorities. They may have received a death threat from an armed opposing group, and know that their time is running out.*

Fairchild also points out that social causes repel citizens from their home country. Dissatisfaction appears as the result of some fault in social organisation. Certain classes or individuals in that class feel inferior or subjugated by other classes or individuals. Fairchild (2005:17) states:

> *...a caste, or aristocratic, organization of society gives certain classes an advantage over others, and makes it impossible for the lower classes to rise to a higher level. In case [sic] people living under these conditions learn of another region where advancement is possible, migration may easily ensue.*

Another cause of migration is related to religion. Because of certain groups' religious beliefs and practices, restrictions and actual persecutions (although Fairchild believes that this is rare in contemporary times) are forced upon these groups. This

oppression may manifest itself in a variety of disadvantage that may be imposed for various reasons, but are mainly due to religious differences. Many of these causes overlap and affect a variety of aspects in the lives of the people forced to flee. Tragically these cases often lead to armed conflict (Amnesty International, 1997; Fairchild, 2005).

Migrant Workers

In a growing world economy, many immigrant workers come to Ireland from countries that are "economically excluded or marginalised within the global economy… [and] can earn a multiple of what they can earn in their home country" (Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004: 27). In 2002, there were 21 countries that had at least 500 or more workers in Ireland, and a further 113 countries sent workers in smaller numbers (see **Figure 1.1**). According to the International Labour Organisation (2005), a full sixty-one per cent of migrants were from central and eastern Europe. It is not difficult to understand why people from Eastern European countries invoke their EU citizenship rights. As of March 2005, Ireland enjoyed a 4.3 per cent unemployment rate (4.5 per cent lower than the Euro-Zone average), while many Eastern Europeans countries experience double that rate or more: Latvia 9.6 per cent, Lithuania 9.1 per cent, Poland 18.2 per cent and Slovakia 16.5 per cent (International Labour Organisation, 2005). Many of these countries were previously under Soviet influence, or as in the case of Latvia and Lithuania, did not establish their independence from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) until 1991. The economies of these countries collapsed after the fall of the USSR, and the transition to a free market economy has not been smooth. "[T]he liberalisation and privatisation of the economy, contrary to expectations, has led to a drop in Gross Domestic Product (GDP), a lowering of incomes, and an increase in incomes" (Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004:29).

According to Fairchild this collapse of eastern European economies is a typical cause of migration. He states, "serious underdevelopment of the industrial arts may make life difficult in a nation by limiting the productive power of its citizens or handicapping them in the struggle for trade" (Fairchild, 2005:6).

In Fairchild's (2005) estimation, economic causes of migration are by far the most influential. Overpopulation coupled with industrial conditions that cannot support the whole population force many to migrate to countries with economic stability.

Along with Polish people, many other Eastern Europeans have made their way to Ireland looking for economic prosperity. Many people from these countries have used their membership in the EU and their rights as EU citizens to migrate to other EU countries. These people are legally defined as *European Union Nationals* by articles 48-60 of the Treaty of the European Union, 1992.

> *The Treaty of European Union (TEU) established European citizenship in 1992. Consisting of 15 states, the Europeans Union (EU) Member States include: EU Citizens are the primary beneficiaries of European Community law, who because of their actions (for example, travelled to another Member State in search of work) have brought themselves into its scope* (Treaty of the European Union, 1992).

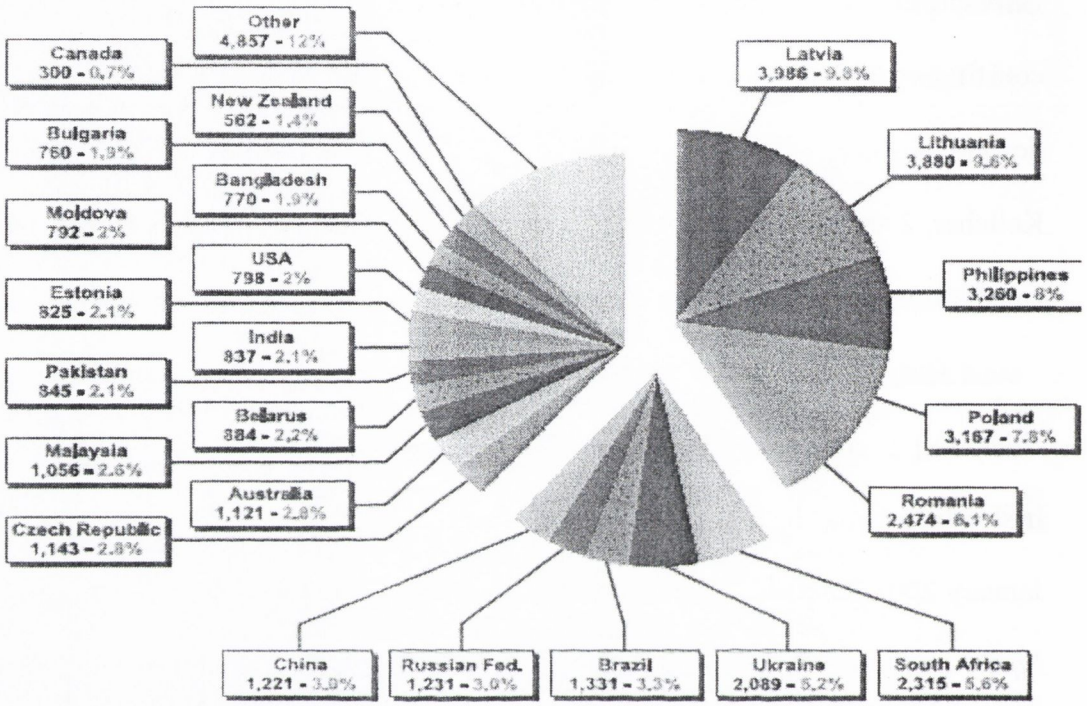
Under this treaty citizens from 15 EU states have nearly the same rights as Irish citizens. The right to seek and enter employment, access to social and tax advantages and access to third level education and local authority are only a few of the rights afforded to EU citizens who settle in Ireland. The European Economic Area (EEA) is comprised of the EU member states plus the members states of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) which are Iceland, Liechtenstein, Switzerland and Norway. Furthermore, as of 1999, there have been bilateral agreements between Switzerland and the EU which means that "all EFTA members now benefit from

virtually the same privileged relationship among themselves as they do with the EU" (EFTA, 2003).

The issue of gaining citizenship as a non-EEA national is important within the Irish context because the Irish government does not guarantee long-term status to non-EEA citizens. Traditionally, Irish citizenship was acquired in three ways: "a constitutional right to citizenship by birth in Ireland (*jus soli*); a legislative right by descent (*jus sanguinis*) and a legislative right to apply for naturalisation" (Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004:66). Following the referendum in 11 June 2004, which amended the constitution, the absolute right of citizenship of every child born in Ireland has ceased.

Only a child born to an Irish citizen or a parent with the rights to Irish citizenship is entitled to Irish citizenship. Children born after 11 June 2004 to non-Irish citizens, may have their citizenship restricted. This referendum follows the January 2003 Supreme Court case *Lobe and Osayande v. the Minister of Justice, Equity and Law Reform,* which held that non-national parents of children born in Ireland were not automatically granted the rights of Irish citizens. After this decision in 2004, there were an estimated 11,000 people who were waiting to hear whether they could remain in Ireland (Crickley, 2004).

Figure 1.1: Top twenty-tree nationalities to whom work permits were issued in 2002[7]



Again, the 'Celtic Tiger' and increased labour needs prompted the immigration of citizens of EU countries. For the present purposes, EU nationals falls under the term immigrant and are defined thus:

> *The Treaty of European Union (TEU) established European citizenship in 1992. Consisting of 15 states, the Europeans Union (EU) Member States include: EU Citizens are the primary beneficiaries of European Community law, who because of their actions (for example, travelled to another Member State in search of work) have brought themselves into its scope* (Ward, 2004:12).

Figure **1.2** demonstrates the numbers of EU nationals and UK citizens who have migrated to Ireland from 1996 to 2002. Kelleher and Kelleher (2004) suggest that the

[7] Original graph created by Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment found in Kelleher and Kelleher (2004:74).

'Celtic Tiger' drives Irish government policy on immigration. "Ireland's immigration policy is market-driven and seeks to attract temporary workers to fill skills and labour jobs" (Ward, 2004:x). Although many of these jobs are 'part-time' or 'temporary' they lead migrant workers to opt to remain in the country. "The renewal rate of work permits issued increased from 25 per cent (1,448) in 1999 to 53 per cent (25,039) in 2003" (Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004:75).

Figure 1.2: UK and EU Immigrants in Ireland 1996-2002[8]

Nationality	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
UK	83,000	82,000	83,000	79,000	71,000	70,000	51,000
Rest of EU	50,000	55,000	58,000	68,000	71,000	58,000	61,000

EU citizens are not the only people migrating to Ireland looking for work and better pay. There are a substantial numbers of non-EEA citizens migrating to Ireland. The vast majority of non-EEA nationals working in Ireland do so on temporary work permits of two main types:

> *A work permit holder is required by an employer to hire anyone from outside the European Economic Area (EEA). The Work Permit Section of the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment examines applications from employers and issues work permits where appropriate* (Ward, 2004:24).

A *work permit* is issued to an employer giving them permission to hire non-EEA nationals and these permits are non-transferable. These permits are issued for a maximum of one year, but are renewable. Spouses of these employees are not allowed to seek employment under this scheme. In 2003 47, 551 work permits were issued to employers to hire non-EEA nationals (Ward, 2004).

Another form of work authorisation for non-EEA citizens is the visa authorisation scheme. The working visa/working authorisation plan is highly

[8] Original figures from the Central Statistic Office. *Population and Migrant Estimates* sourced in Ward (2004: 12).

restrictive compared to the work permit scheme. This plan is reserved for occupations in areas such as technology, banking and medicine. This plan was introduced in 2000 in an attempt to speed up the authorisation to work of highly-skilled employees. The visas are issued directly to applicants and "unlike work permits, these visas allow the individual to work in any firm or organisation that would be considered an area where there are employment shortages" (Ward, 2004:26). As of 2004, spouses of these employees are allowed to seek employment. The number of these authorisations issued in 2001 was 3,749, falling to 2,610 in 2002, and 1,158 in 2003 (Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004).

International students are also allowed to seek part-time employment during their time of study. International students are persons from outside the EEA and are studying in Ireland, and must fulfil certain conditions.[9] In regards to work in Ireland non-EEA international students:

> *...cannot access free medical care and social welfare payments. In addition, non-EEA international students are expected to pay the full economic fee for adult/further and third level education. Non-EEA international students can seek and take up employment on a part-time basis for approximately 20 hours per week* (Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004:27).

This demonstrates the increase of labour migration from outside the enlarged EU. The economic growth of Irish society is one of the main attractions for EU and non-EU workers to come to Ireland. Although there is an economic slowdown and freer access to labour from new EU states, this may not necessarily lead to a decline in the demand for workers from outside the EU; foreign workers may have become embedded in the structure of the economy, and there may be a mismatch between the skills of workers from new member states and the skills needed. For example, the EU

[9] These conditions consist of the following: (1) provide an immigration history, (2) have a valid passport, (3) have details of their course and evidence of fees paid, (4) evidence of private medical insurance and self-sufficiency.

may not be able to replace the nursing skills of workers from the Philippines (Ruhs, 2003). The numbers also show that many of these workers are opting to stay in Ireland and maintain their jobs. This also demonstrates that non-EEA workers are needed. According to the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment the Irish government must ensure that employment is available for Irish and other EEA nationals and "employers who apply for work permits are generally required to establish that it has not been possible, in spite of reasonable efforts" to recruit anyone else (Ward, 2004:24).

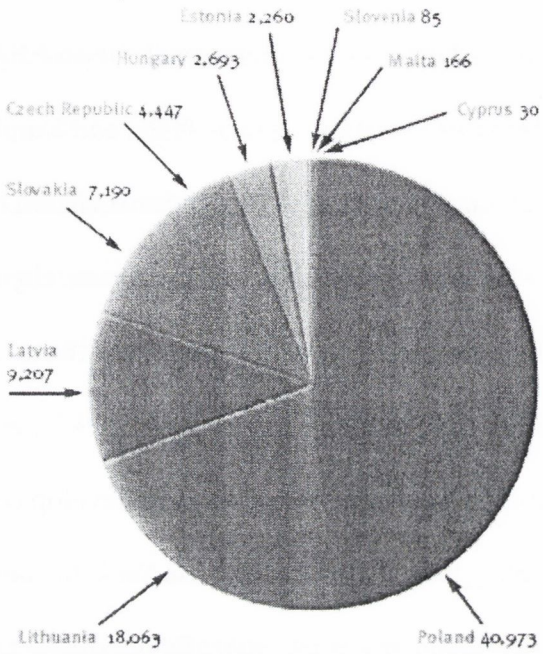
This has the potential to allow diverse cultures to develop communities in Irish society. The ICI argues:

> *Even if there is an economic downturn, substantial numbers of these immigrants will become long-term members of Irish society. People from a wide variety of societies and cultures are already working in virtually every sector of the economy and in all parts of the country, making a vital contribution to Irish society (Parkinson, 2003:ix).*

Furthermore the Expert Group on Future Skills Needs reports that Ireland will need 310,000 immigrants to continue economic growth (Myers, 2006).

With the expansion of the EU more and more immigrants from new EU countries entered Ireland. From May 2004 to April 2005 there was an increase of immigrants applying with the Department of Social and Family Affairs for their Personal Public Service numbers (PPS). **Figure 1.3** breaks down the numbers:

Figure 1.3: New EU Member State national who applied for PPS numbers between May 2004 and April 2005. (ICI, 2005)



These numbers demonstrate that, due to different forms of immigration there are distinctively different cultures and ethnicities in Irish society. **Figure 1.3** demonstrates that a large number of migrant workers originate from many of the newly admitted EU countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

In twentieth century Ireland, the majority of immigration comprised small numbers of refugees of whom the majority did not remain in the state. As Tracy (2000) points out, people of colour or ethnicity were kept out of the state while the majority of immigrants (although a small number) were from predominantly white cultures such as the UK the US, Australia and New Zealand. For example, the 1981 Census shows that the majority of foreign born nationals in Ireland (186,969 persons) were from the UK, while 16,386 were from the US (Tracy, 2000:29). This is an important point, because it demonstrates that for most of the twentieth century, the culture of the Irish people stayed 'white', Catholic, and 'western.' The majority of

immigrants into Ireland during this time came from countries with similar cultures and ethnicities. Simply stated, Ireland has been considered a 'monocultural' society (Tracy, 2000). An example of migration due to economic situations is the sheer number of Polish people that have migrated to Ireland in recent years (see **Figure 1.3**). What are more revealing are the reasons why these people came to Ireland. A recent study looked at, among other things, the reasons why people were moving from Poland to Ireland. Eight per cent of respondents cited 'lack of job opportunities in Poland', twelve per cent said it was due to a 'lack of development possibilities', twenty four per cent had a 'willingness to undertake a new challenge', twenty-nine per cent wanted to 'seek a better salary', thirteen per cent came to join a partner already in Ireland, eight per cent came for political situations, and seven per cent for other reasons (Meagher, 2006). It is plainly obvious that gaining employment, better economic opportunities, and higher wages are strong factors in prompting migration for many Polish people. It is clear that, in more recent years, Ireland has become an attractive destination for people who want to find work and earn a better living. Rafal Stepecki, a 29-year-old Polish banker and journalist summarises this phenomenon in simple terms:

> *Ireland's economy is famous throughout Europe not just Poland. There's this sense that Ireland is a place where people can come for a better life, to make good money. For many people Dublin is seen as the new Jackowo. That's the huge district in Chicago that's full of Polish people. Chicago was seen as the place of opportunity many years ago, now it's Dublin – and Ireland* (Meagher, 2006).

The Diversification of Ireland

On May 10, 2004, ten new member states were introduced to the EU, many of them Eastern European countries bringing with them "not only their economic, political and social heritage, but also their artistic, spiritual and moral baggage" (Gatalica, 2002).

In 2007 the EU expanded further to twenty seven countries with the introduction of Romania and Bulgaria. With the addition of these countries the EU is experiencing an expansion of ethnicity and culture. Factors such as EU citizenship and the adoption of the Euro as common currency have made not only travel within the EU easier for many of its members, but also migration from country to country. Although it is the primary responsibility of each members state to develop policies of integration of the rising numbers of migrants within the EU, the EU itself strives for a more effective strategy to "promote the economic, social, cultural and political integration" of migrants (Spencer, 2003). Expansion of ethnicity and culture in the EU not only originates from internal EU migration, but from migration from countries outside of the EU. As of 2003, there were an estimated 13-14 million third country nationals living inside of the EU, which constituted the largest component of population change. Today, these migrants "come from a far wider range of countries, and bring a greater diversity of languages and cultures" and are migrating to countries that formerly denied large numbers of migrants (Spencer, 2003). As the numbers demonstrate, the culture and ethnicity in Ireland is expanding.

In the 1996 Census, Ireland consisted of a population which could be considered largely homogenous. Except in the case of workers from the UK and the US (many of whom share a similar cultural background to members of the dominant group in Irish society) the number of non-EU citizens present at the time of the Census was small. Between 1996 and 2002 Ireland received nearly 147,000 immigrants, of whom 57,000 came from outside the EU. As discussed above, the census numbers may not demonstrate the true volume of immigrants between 1996 and 2002. The ICI maintains that the number of non-Irish immigrants was closer to 200,000, which is five per cent of the population (Parkinson, 2003). Nevertheless,

these numbers, inflated or not, point to the increase of foreign born persons living in Ireland. Furthermore, data from the 2006 Census on the ethnic or cultural background of persons present in the State on Census night demonstrates the diversity of contemporary society (see **Figure 1.4**).

Figure 1.4: Persons usually resident in the State on Census Night, classified by ethnic or cultural background. (Census, 2006)

Irish Traveller	22,369
Any other White background	289,041
African	40,525
Any other Black background	3,793
Chinese	16,533
Any other Asian background	35,812
Other including mixed background	46,438
Not stated	72,303

The ICI (2003) argues that there are concerns as to the number of "foreign-born persons who are actually the children of at least one Irish parent and at least ethnically Irish."

As of April 2005, the pattern of migration in Ireland showed a complete reversal from previous years. For example, in 1989, outward migration topped 70,000 while only 27,000 people came to Ireland. In 2005, Ireland gained 70,000 people through immigration while only 16,600 emigrated. Nearly thirty-eight per cent of these immigrants came from the ten new member states of the EU and a majority of those people came from Poland and Lithuania (Hourane, 2006). In the twelve months leading up to April 2006, net migration was estimated at 71,600 people (Meagher, 2006). One merely has to look at the top ten foreign national groupings resident in Ireland to see that thousands of people with different cultural backgrounds are coming to live and work in Ireland (see **Figure 1.5**).

Figure 1.5: Top Ten Foreign National Grouping Resident in Ireland as of May 2006[10]

Poland	150,000
China	60,000
Lithuania	45,000
Latvia	30,000
Nigeria	28,000
UK	25,000
US	6,000
Romania	5,000
Philippines	5,000
Pakistan	4,500

The numbers in **Figure 1.5** are only based on PPS numbers of foreign nationals working in Ireland and do not take into account numbers of asylums seekers, refugees, and people living and working here illegally.

Although there are concerns over the data, the numbers *do* demonstrate an increase in immigration. There are also signs that many of these immigrants are planning to remain in Ireland for long periods. A survey conducted by the Irish Mortgage Corporation found that one in five first time home buyers are non-nationals. Thirty-six per cent of these are from India, Pakistan, and the Philippines, twenty-one per cent are from Britain, and seventeen per cent are from other EU countries, half of which are from Poland (Meagher, 2006).

Polish immigrants make up one of the larger groups that have migrated to Ireland (see figure 1.6). But what are the demographics of this group? One characteristic is that that they are young. For example, fourteen per cent are between 18 and 23 years old, fifty-three per cent are 24-29 years old, and twenty-three per cent are between 30 and 35 years old (Meagher, 2006). Many of them are at the age where buying a new home and starting a family is an important issue. The question that arises is, how long are these immigrants prepared to remain in Ireland? Respondents

[10] Original data from Organisation for Migration, found in Gilmartin (2006).

to a recent study demonstrate a mixed result. When asked how long they intend to remain in Ireland, thirty-three per cent of respondents intend to stay 1-3 years, twenty-two per cent intend to stay 4-6 years, a mere five per cent intend to stay 7-9 years, while thirty per cent intend to stay more than 9 years (Meagher, 2006). Przemek Bogusz, a Polish immigrant, is not sure how long he will stay, "it depends on what happens in the next few years," but one thing is for sure "it's an exciting time to be here and hopefully people like Anna and I can make a positive contribution to Ireland and the community" (Meagher, 2006).

What can be taken from all this? First, that Polish immigrants in Ireland are at the age that marriage and children are a possibility, which means there will be an increase in Polish children, born in Ireland attending Irish schools in the near future. How will they 'fit in' to a dominant Irish culture? Zane Joyce, a thirty-one-year old Latvian married to an Irishman, and a mother of one, believes a mix of cultures is important for immigrant; "I am proud of where I come from. Multiculturalism enriches a country. Assimilation is important, but immigrants should not lose sight of their past either" (Meagher, 2006).[11] For her, at least, there is a need for a mix of old traditions and new culture in her life and the lives of her children. But what cultural amalgamation will her life in Ireland create? Furthermore, what culture will her daughter, who is born and raised in Ireland, but has Latvian 'roots' embrace? These questions and many more are raised by the increase of cultures in Irish society.

Conclusion

Throughout its history Ireland has been an 'emigrant nursery' for many parts of the world. Whether due to the Potato Famine or a poor economy and high unemployment,

[11] The housing and labor market are not the only aspects of Irish society reflecting the increase of immigration. For example 2007 saw the first 'foreign national' recruits to join the Garda Síochána and in 2008 the first two 'foreign nationals' will serve in the Irish Naval Service (McDonagh, 2008).

Ireland's sons and daughters have sought a better life on foreign soil. Although Irish history is marked by emigration, there have been a small number of groups that have sought refuge on Irish shores. The earliest of these were Jews from mainland Europe as far back as the fifteenth century. In more recent times many Jews seeking escape from persecution during the Second World War came to Ireland expanding Ireland's Jewish population into the thousands.

During the post war years Ireland's membership to the UN signified its responsibility as a 'first world' country. Part of this responsibility was to take in refugees from countries and regions in conflict. Throughout the twentieth century, Ireland 'paid up its membership' to the UN by accepting refugees from Hungary, Chile, Vietnam, and the Balkans. Although small groups of refugees were accepted into the country, their treatment while in Ireland can be considered poor at best. These few refugees became part of a minority group with different cultural backgrounds compared to that of a dominant Irish culture. What must not be forgotten is that they did not constitute the bulk of the minority groups. This role is reserved for the Traveller Community, whose presence in Ireland can be traced back centuries. Although their origins are unclear, Traveller culture can be seen as being distinct to the dominant Irish culture.

Up until the mid 1990s, these two groups, refugees and Travellers constituted a small minority in a country that many considered to be 'monocultural', but with the drastic improvement of the Irish economy and the expansion of the EU, Ireland shifted from being a country of emigration to a country of immigration. From the 1990s, Ireland has been a destination for people seek refugee from dire situation in their homeland, people who want to traveler and work freely under their rights as EU citizens, and people who move here seeking employment opportunities in a wide

range of fields. It is clear that Irish society has grown in numbers, not only from returning Irish people, but foreigners who come from diverse cultural backgrounds. Ireland is now a society of many cultures and ethnicities. This growth raises question for Irish society. What effect will these new cultures have on the dominant Irish culture? How will these new ethnicities and cultures 'fit in' with Irish society? Specifically, what will this mean for education in Irish society?

Chapter Two: Sociocultural Perspective – Culture and Identity in a Changing Ireland

Introduction

According to Bauer, Lofstrom and Zimmermann (2001:5), Ireland is a "new immigration country" accompanied by an expansion of ethnicity and culture. Gundara (2000) points out that as societies become more diverse, relationships between groups become more complex. "This complexity ranges from groups working out strategies to make cohesive and stable communities, to others where there are social, political and economic problems which leads to tensions and fragmentation of communities" (Gundara, 2000:vii). These complexities have the potential to transform Irish society, as Kelleher and Kelleher point out:

> *Ireland is undergoing a 'transformation of uncertainty'. It is experiencing rapid economic growth and cultural changes where old symbols of national identity – rural Ireland, Catholicism, and the traditional family structure – are fragmenting. Over the last decade, as immigration has increased, the changing nature of Irish national identity has been accompanied by increasing ethnic and religious diversity. Irish identity is being configured to reflect the changing view of what it is to be Irish* (Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004:5).

Gordon and Bhattacharyya (1992:407) see these differing views as a form of human diversity which are "not limited" in their estimation to "variations in national origin, religion, race and ethnicity; it also includes the diversity of gender, sexual orientation, caste, class and language." They argue that "each of these means by which persons identify themselves (or are identified) comes to be associated with specific belief systems, behavioral styles, mores and/or in-group characteristics which are the partial basis for identification" (Gordon & Bhattacharyya, 1992:407). At the present time, it is not absolutely clear what the total impact the increase of immigration is on Irish society. To give more clarity to this uncertainty of change in contemporary Ireland,

this research used a theoretical framework as a road map in which to better understand how international pupils view and interact with history and the potential impact this may have on the teaching and learning of history in secondary schools.

The Theoretical Frame of Reference

One of the foundational aspects of conducting social research is establishing a theoretical framework. This is how social scientists comprehend and explain the world; how they organise unsorted facts, laws and concepts into a meaningful and controllable structure. In this sense, theory is, as Kerlinger (1970) states "a set of interrelated constructs, definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting the phenomena" (cited by Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2003:11). Maxim (1999:26) maintains that theory in social science describes a behaviour of an individual, group or institution and allows for sufficient explanation to "allow us to understand 'why' those systems behave the way they do" while Grix (2004) asserts that "by abstract connection of theoretical concepts *with observation*, concepts gain an empirical meaning." In other words, to be able to understand data gathered by a social scientist, it needs to be informed by a theory and if that theory is to gain meaning, it needs to be supported by empirical data.

The theoretical framework which guided the formulation of the research question, shaped the review of literature and research, dictated which data and facts to collect and the organisation and interpretation of that data, was closely related to a *sociocultural* perspective on human learning applied to understanding pupils historical perceptions. Derived from the work of Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934), in the early part of the twentieth century in the Soviet Union, sociocultural theory maintains that human cognition and learning is a social and cultural rather than individual

phenomena. Vygotsky attempted to create a Marxist psychology which could explain how the mind and the world interact and the resulting transformations. His work focused on the cognitive and social contexts of applied psychology and the support of learning (Edwards & Daniels, 2004; Ratner, 1991).

Borrowing from the works of Janet, Piaget, Kurt Lewin and Heinz Werner, Vygotsky proposed that "human behaviour is too complex to isolate, dissect and study in a vacuum. It must instead be studied in the social and historical context within which it occurs" (Dixon-Krauss, 1996: 1; van Oers, 2004). His primary goal was to formulate a unified psychological science based on the concept of consciousness in a field dominated by behaviourism. According to behaviourism, human development is based on an individual's passive response to the environment, whereas Vygotsky believed that cognitive development was a process of an individual's social interaction with the environment (see also Kozulin, 2002; Vygotsky, 1930/1981; Vygotsky & Luria, 1930/1994).

There are those who suggest that human nature is inherently negative and therefore "selfishness, conflict and violence are so deeply embedded in human consciousness that education and other socialising influences have no role to play in changing patterns of behaviour and social relations" (Gundara, 2000:49). Nature and nurture give humans social as well as selfish instincts. Minds are able to "encode both personal and larger historical legacies which makes the issues of equitable socialisation very complex" (Gundara, 2000:49). In other words, humans have the capacity to be social beings and are able to respond to their surrounding social environment. This idea is paramount in Vygotsy's approach.

This interaction is based on the most fundamental concept of Vygotsky's theory, that the human mind is *mediated.* Mediation (*oposredstvovanie*) is the process

of individuals using tools (real and symbolic) in their interaction with their surrounding environment:

> *Humans do not act directly on the physical world but rely, instead on tools and labor activity, which allows us to change the world, and with it, the circumstances under which we live in the world, we also use symbolic tools, or signs, to mediate and regulate our relationships with other and with ourselves and thus change the nature of these relationships* (Lantolf, 2000:46).

In other words, mediation or mediated action is not isolated but takes place within a context, whether it is cultural, historical or institutional. Instead of merely receiving information from the outside environment, individuals *engage* with the environment. This engagement is the process of mediation. Pang (2001:4) points outs that socio-cultural background "shapes the way you see and interpret the world" that it is almost like "a pair of glasses" through which individuals view the world.

Vygotsky's work has been developed in a number of ways. In Russia, Luria and Leont'ev took Vygotsky's legacy forward. In North America, for example, the work of Jerome Bruner, Michael Cole and James Werstch have connected Vygotskian theory with disciplines of cognitive anthropology, sociolinguistics and developmental psychology. In more recent years, Vgotsky's theories have become increasingly popular in the theoretical explanations of development and learning in educational settings (Edwards, 2007; Edwards & Daniels, 2004). As Kozulin et al. (2003: 1) point out, Vygotsky "prompts us to inquire into the nature of knowledge used in the classroom, for example knowledge as information versus knowledge as concept formation."

In the framework of education, Vygotsky's theory maintains that the social interaction experienced is vital to 'building up' pupils. Tharp and Gallimore (1998) explain:

> *This view* [sociocultural perspective] *has profound implications for teaching and education. A key feature of the emergent view of human development is that higher order functions develop out of social interaction. Vygotsky argues that a child's development cannot be understood by a study of the individual. We must also examine the external social world in which that individual life has developed... Through participation in activities that require cognitive and communicative functions, children are drawn into the use of these functions in ways that nurture and 'scaffold them'.*

In other words, understanding not only the social interactions pupils experience inside the formal school setting, but also the social environment outside of schools, is important to a Vygotskian approach. This may be beneficial in that educators and researchers understand pupils as "culturally and socially situated learners" rather than defining them by "their age and IQ" (Kozulin et.al., 2004:2).

According to Vygotsky, when engaging in an activity, individuals utilise tools (or artefacts) that are that their disposal. Human action, in both social and individual contexts, is mediated by tools and signs (Wertsch, 1991: 19). These tools – whether physical objects such as a spade or a computer or "representational systems such as language or mathematics – shape how people perceive and engage with the world" (Barton, 2001:882), and are created by human culture over time and are not static in nature:

> *Physical as well as symbolic tools are artefacts created by human culture(s) over time and are made available to succeeding generations, which can modify these artefacts before passing them on to future generations. Included among symbolic tools are numbers and arithmetic systems, music, art and above all language* (Lantolf, 2000: 49).

The characteristics of a 'cultural tool' are defined by the context in which the tool is used. For example, the 'slang' shared by a small community or the language shared by an entire society or culture are tools used in the mediation process. Tools can be as narrow as rules used in a particular secondary school or as broad as formal greetings

used in a specific culture. Although very significant in how an individual engages with the world, cultural tools do not solely dictate how individuals act and think.

Individuals engage in activities using the cultural tools that are available to them (Wertsch, 1998; Barton, 2001). Some individuals may develop and use specific tools, while others may use differing sets of tools. These tools are used to understand experiences and solve problematic issues in everyday life, but at the same time they can limit they way an individual understands the world, how they act upon it and their ability to see alternative ways (Dixon-Krass, 1996; Lantolf, 2000; Barton, 2001; Kozulin, 2002; Werstch, 2003). According to this definition of cultural tools, history can be consider a tool used in the mediation process (Barton, 2001, 2005; Barton & Levstik, 2001).

A key feature of this emergent view of human development is that higher order functions develop out of human interaction. Pang (2001) points out that pupils enter school with different cultural backgrounds which are complex and are mixtures of a variety of subcultures. In recent years, much of the research regarding sociocultural theory in education has focused on psycholinguistics, and how the acquisition of language affects how individuals and groups in society develop symbolic cultural tools used in mediation. Until recently, little research had been conducted on how pupils from varied cultural, ethnic or national backgrounds think in historical terms. Recent studies include Angvik & von Borries (1997), and Cercadillo (2000).

Epstein (2001:42) maintains that a sociocultural approach to understanding historical perspectives of pupils must look at the ways in which children's and adolescents' social identities or their "racial, ethnic, gender and class identities—

shape their knowledge and perspectives on social studies [history] subjects." Epstein further explains the benefit of this approach:

> *By understanding how young people from different racial or ethnic groups interpret history and contemporary society, and by examining the effects of various pedagogies on young people's construction of knowledge, teachers and policy makers can more informed decisions about what and how to teach social studies subjects to diverse groups of students* (2001:42).

One of the more significant works which places historical thinking within the framework of a sociocultural perspective, mediated action and cultural tools comes from Barton and Levstik (2004). Writing in reaction to the 'culture wars'/ 'history wars' in the US in the 1990s, they believed that discourses about history education should not be about mimicry of academic discourse, but about how formal history education develops pupils' cultural tools. For Barton and Levstik, history is an important tool in the mediation process of being, a contributing citizen in a democratic society. Barton and Levstik (2004:6-7) explain further:

> *We believe that for history education, the most important implication of this approach is that is call attention to the socially situated nature and purpose of students' actions—what they do with history—rather that focusing on the knowledge assumed to exist in their heads or the skills they are believed to possess as individuals.*

History can have a variety of meanings. As Nic Craith (2002:30) points out "it can refer simply to former occurrences, but also apply to contemporary representations of those events." History can be an unofficial construction of a personal memory from the recent past, such as a regular diary or photographs taken to remember a birthday or holiday, to more authoritative representations constructed be historians such as textbooks, museum exhibitions, or monuments. From his work on the perception of pupils in Switzerland, Audigier (2005) gives one of the clearer explanations of the dichotomy between 'formal' and 'informal' history:

> *History with a capital letter refers to History of mankind* [sic], *i.e. the sum of experiences lived by generations of human beings for centuries. This History will never entirely be known. We have only access to it through pieces of it, but of it. Some are transmitted through oral tradition that modifies narratives at each transmission. Others bits are results of millions of amateurs who compile documents and traces of the past without always mastering the rules of historical critique. Some others parts mix reality and fiction in an inextricable tracery, i.e. novels, theatre plays, etc. Last, some traces are constructed by professional historians according to rigorous procedures that enable one to qualify those narratives as 'scientific'.*

There are many avenues for historical knowledge to reach individuals. People read, see, are told, and reconstruct historical knowledge. A socioculturural perspective on learning history assumes that individuals actively engage in the historical practices of their society. Individuals engage with history through a variety of sources including museums, historic sites, talking with grandparents and older relatives, watching documentaries and historical movies, working on historical hobbies or collections, researching family trees, studying history in school and even following their favourite sports teams. Understanding how and why individuals engage with these and many other sources of history is an important in understanding the mediation process of everyday life (Rosenzweig & Thalen, 1998; Barton & Levstik, 2004).

The question that this research attempts to answer, by using a sociocultural understanding of history education, is how do international pupils connect and view these varieties of sources?

The context in which individuals experience and connect with history is also an important part of Barton and Levstik's ideas about history education. Again, borrowing from Vygotsky's ideas, they assume that human thought and action are rooted in social contexts. Historical knowledge is not constructed by the individual, but as part of one or many social groups whether they are family, local community, or ethnic, religious or cultural groups. Barton and Levstik (2004:17) found in their

research that children were involved in "multiple communities of historical learning." Although few had any formal history education, the majority of pupils interviewed began constructing their ideas about history long before studying it in schools. Hobbies, family trips to historical sites, and speaking with older relatives, were only a few of the sources of history that pupils interviewed mentioned connecting with. This construction of history as a cultural tool in a social context reaching outside the history classroom means that, in Barton and Levstik's estimation, educators need to pay attention to not only to the history in schools, but also the history that pupils encounter in other settings that contribute to their ideas about the past. Cornbleth (2002) in her research into pupils' perspectives of history in the US, maintains that the mediation process is an underlying concept in the active process of creating and interpreting social environments and actions through history and culture. Cornbleth (2002: 522) explains further:

> *Students are not independent agents; they are shaped by history and culture, through prior personal experience in that history and culture (or cultures), and by the immediate social relations and practices of schooling. Students, like others, are situated agents. Their social locations are neither unidimensional nor mutually exclusive. They carry racial-ethnic, socioeconomic, gender and other addresses, each of which is more salient, or influential, in some situations than in others, and for some students more than others. The relationship of individual, history, and setting is a dynamic one that is neither mechanistic nor predetermining.*

Because of this, it is deemed important to look at pupils' connections with and perceptions of formal and informal sources of history.

The key tenet in sociocultural theory points to the importance of considering the social and cultural backgrounds of pupils in the process of better understanding how they think about history and more importantly, how they use history as a cultural tool in their mediation in contemporary every day life. Barton and Levstik (2004: 18) point out that "knowledge results from interactions between people and their

environment, we will make better sense of how students have developed their ideas only if we understand the setting in which they have encountered the past." To develop this understanding, a comparison of how different groups (for example, from different cultural or ethnic groups in the same country, in the case of this research, Irish pupils and International pupils) needs to be undertaken. If one assumes that different settings and sources for learning history influence how pupils think about the past, then one would expect to find different ideas among them as they have encountered history in differing settings. There are multiple ways of investigating this question, but Barton and Levstik (2004:18) emphasise the fact that "national citizenship and ethnic group membership are two of the most likely ways in which historical representation may differ." Ethnicity, in particular is such a considerable determinant of social experience and development of historical thought that "representations of the past are likely to differ substantially among the [ethnic] groups within the same country" (Barton & Levstik, 2004: 18).

Understanding where (or in what context) individuals connect with the past is important in understanding how history, as a cultural tool in mediation, is developed and utilised. The assignment of meaning to history is "assisted by cultural mechanisms such as socialisation," which is dictated by historical identities of family, community, ethic, and cultural backgrounds (Sarantakos, 2006: 37). This is what Stearns, Seixas and Wineburg (2000:7) call the 'identity project'. In other words, an individual's perceptions of history are influenced by his/her sociocultural background, while at the same time, individuals use these perceptions to justify contemporary points of view (see also Cornbleth, 2002; Epstein, 1997; Seixas, 1993). Wineburg (2000:310) points out:

> *Each of us grows up in a home with a distinct history and a distinct perspective on the meaning of larger historical events. Our parents'*

> *stories shape our historical consciousness, as do the stories of the ethnic racial and religious groups that number us as members. We attend churches, clubs and neighborhood associations that further mold both or collective and our individual historical senses.*

History plays an important part in the development of identity and cultural beliefs. "Without memory, individuals find great difficulty in relating to others, in finding their bearings, in taking intelligent decisions – they lose their sense of identity" (Marwick 2001: 31). Graham (1997:5), in agreement with Marwick, cites Duncan in pointing out the role of the past in the development of individuals identity:

> *A cultural – or – iconic landscape is a collage encapsulating a people's image of itself. It symbolises the particularity of territory and shared past which helps define a communal identity, and plays an active part in the reproduction and transformation of any society in time and space. History and heritage – that which we opt to select from the past – are used everywhere to shape the emblematic place identities and support particular political ideologies* (Duncan in Graham, 1997: 5).

Furthermore, Barton and McCully (2005b:85) maintain that "history plays an important role in the formation of individual and community identity, and when groups with differing historical experiences come into conflict, the past can be used to justify and perpetuate discord." Memory of the past is not only important for individuals in society, but for society itself. The notion of a 'collective' memory of any society is a doubtful notion since, as Marwick (2001: 31) points out, memory properly defined "is a faculty possessed by *individual* [original author's emphasis] human beings." Rather, a society without a sense of history would be like an individual without knowledge of the past. And just as the past shapes an individual's identity, so to does the metaphorical 'collective' memory of a society:

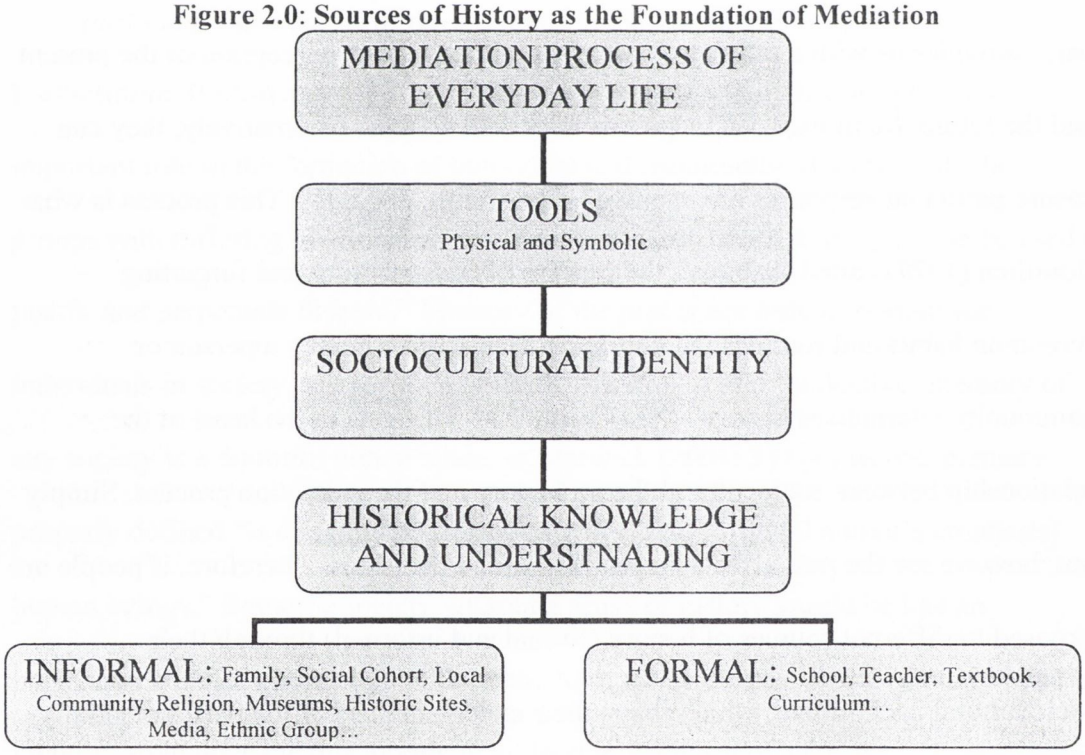
> *It is only through the sense of history that communities establish their identity, orientate themselves, understand their relationship to the past and to other communities and societies. Without history (knowledge of the past), we, and out communities, would be utterly adrift on an endless and featureless sea of time* (Marwick 2001:32).

For example, a pupil in Northern Ireland from a Unionist background may view people and events in history differently to a pupil from a Republican background. In the case of the Republic of Ireland (ROI), international pupils, because of the sources of history in which they connect, may not only view people and events in history differently, but also look to completely different histories than Irish pupils. Culture plays important roles in how an individual constructs the meaning and realties or objects in society. Individuals do not simply create and assign new meaning to objects on their own; rather they learn them from a collectively generated sociocultural meaning. Nic Craith (2002) describes this as a process of selection, where the actions of society reinforce the selection of what 'memories' are important and how they are interpreted. This interpretation or understanding of the past "provides us with a reference point that influences our perception of the present and the future. Memories can inspire us to certain actions. Alternatively, they can ensure particular responses are avoided" (Nic Craith, 2002:31). This process is what Bourdieu (1977) called 'habitus', the process of remembering and forgetting "common habits and routines the familiar social world whereby a person or community internalises history" (Nic Craith: 31). This gets to the heart of the relationship between sociocultural theory history and the mediation process. Simply put, how we see the past affects present and future decisions. Therefore, if people are exposed to different sources of history (formal and informal) through their sociocultural background, which shape their understandings of the past, potentially they may perform different actions than people with other socialcultural backgrounds who have different understandings of history.

This section has argued that pupils construct ideas about the past not only from what they learn in school, but also from the information that they encounter

from their families, their local and national community, their ethnic and cultural background and the media. The socio-cultural perspective applied to an educational context assumes that pupils do not passively absorb content, knowledge and ideas about the world around them, but develop their own perspective based on the influences inside and outside of school. **Figure 2.0** gives a visual representation of how sources of formal and informal history are part of the foundation of the development of a socoicultural identity, which is where people learn about and develop tools in the mediation process of everyday life. This figure shows how the mediation process is built upon a person's sociocultural identity, which is influenced, in-part, by formal and informal sources of history.

Figure 2.0: Sources of History as the Foundation of Mediation



For the teaching of history, this means that sources of history from inside and outside school influences pupils' historical perspectives (Barton & McCully, 2005b; Barton & Levstik, 2004). Scholars note that ideas about history are often shaped by the cultural content in which they are formed. VanSledright (1997/1998: 9), for

example, argues that even the most "naïve school-age thinkers" bring with them a wide range of cultural messages and experiences about that past which influence their bearings on studying history. Informal sources, such as family, peers and a local community may support certain perspectives, while formal sources, such as heritage sites and studying history in schools may support different perspectives of history. In some cases, these formal and informal perspectives may conflict with each other.

The emphasis of this theoretical approach is on better understanding the social, cultural and political positions from which pupils view historical knowledge and make sense of their present situation (Barton, 2001; Epstein, 1997). Because pupils' social contexts differ, so too will their views of the past and assuming that historical perspectives are cultural tools in the mediation process, pupils will use history in differing ways depending on their sociocultural background. This is significant in the context of contemporary Irish society, which has become more culturally diverse in recent years, with teachers teaching in ethnically and culturally diverse classrooms. "By understanding how young people from different racial or ethnic groups interpret history and contemporary society... teachers and policy makers can make more informed decisions about what and how to teach [history] subjects to diverse groups of students" (Epstein, 2001:42). Potentially, international pupils in secondary schools in Ireland construct a different reality, through their cultural background, experiences and sources of history, then Irish pupils. It is the goal of this research to better understand which sources of history (the formal and informal) are viewed as important to secondary pupils in Ireland.

According to a constructivist ontological view point the role of socialisation and culture, along with social actor, shape individual meaning. Sarantakos explains further:

> *Culture and society play an important role in constructing meanings through the process of socialisation. Put simply, subjects do not assign new names and give no new meanings to objects; meanings are generated collectively, are readily available, already constructed by and conveyed through the culture, and are shared and socially constructed, and also sustained and reconstructed through interaction* (2005:39).

This is important to the current research. Based on a sociocultural perspective, this research maintains that individuals derive meaning from their culture. Knowledge of culture comes in a variety of forms including history and historical perspectives. History and historical perspectives and understandings are learned from multiple sources (i.e. formal and informal sources). Because historical knowledge is an important component, in an individual's culture it is vital to understand the nature of culture itself.

The Implication of Culture

Delpit (1992:237) points out that "knowledge about culture is but one tool that educators may make use of when devising solutions for a school's difficulty in educating diverse children." In recent years, Irish society has seen more and more people from different backgrounds migrate to her shores. Many of these people have come from similar cultures while others come from backgrounds distinctly different to that of Irish people. Even though it is important to understand culture, it is important to understand that people are individuals and cannot always be made to "fit into a preconceived mould of how they are 'supposed' to act" (Delpit, 1992:237). Understanding what culture 'is' is one of the keys in recognising the potential problems and devising of solutions that comes with the growth of diversity contemporary Ireland.

Pang sees individuals as expressions of "several cultures that arise from different groups such as ethnicity, language, social economic status, neighbourhood,

generation, and religion" (2001:4). Whether an individual is raised in a family that is Samoan, German, Irish or a mix of numerous backgrounds, individuals are cultural beings.

In her work on the culture of the Traveller Community in Ireland, O'Sullivan (2000:14) defines culture as the "set of ideas that a particular group of people have in common" which influence individual's thoughts and behaviours. The results of this are the clothes people wear, what they eat and drink, music they listen to, and how they speak. O'Sullivan (2000:15) works with a classic anthropological definition of culture which states that culture "denotes a historically transmitted pattern of meaning, embodied in the symbols by means which men and women communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and their attitude to life." Moreover, these patterns of meaning, or sets of ideas, are particular to specific groups of people. They are the things that people have in common. From these commonalties people produce certain behaviors, i.e. "people 'do' something as a result of the way they think and believe" (2000:15). Beliefs and behaviors are manifest in material results such as clothes and jewelry (anything that is made). These behaviours also shape the non-material realm of culture which consists of symbols, myths, rituals and religion and "gives meaning to people's society and their life" (O'Sullivan, 2000:15).

For O'Sullivan, the essence of culture is that ideas are passed on from one generation to the next. These ideas are "very important because it determines the manner in which society adapts itself to the environment. The needs are determined by the environment but the way in which people adapt to these needs is determined by their culture and by the historic experiences of the group" (O'Sullivan, 2000:15). This demonstrates that people learn behaviour patterns from their surroundings (i.e. older generations such as grandparents and parents), rather than inherit them. A child learns

to love, to hate or to be prejudiced towards other cultures from his/her environment. Thus, people who come from different cultural backgrounds may behave differently. A simple example of this within an Irish context would be the difference of symbols and meaning between Irish Catholics and Muslims in Ireland. If Sharia law, which is strict Muslim law that dictates everyday life, were introduced for Muslims in Ireland, it may have little or no meaning for the majority of Irish people.

For Kershen (1998) culture is the sum of many parts of society which includes language, ideas, customs, codes, beliefs, rituals ceremonies, laws and so on. "A culture is something into which we are born, but at the same time, something to be learnt" (Kershen, 1998:15). In her estimation, in a liberal society, individuals are "free to adopt or shed some, or all parts at will"; while in a totalitarian society conformity may be mandatory in public arenas. Because of this fluid, multifaceted nature of identity, a person may identify with one culture, but because of the emergence of new cultures through immigration, for instance, may begin to demonstrate the traits of another. Kershen (1998:15) maintains that it is through this process that "cultural hybridity evolves." This demonstrates the potential complexity of culture and the construction of identity within its boundaries. Kershen uses the metamorphosis of Caribbean immigrants in Britain as an example of the complexities in ethnic and physical identity development. For example, for both immigrants and natives in Britain, there has been a change in the language and terms used in identification and description relating to 'black' immigrants. "In Britain, the designation of the Caribbean immigrant – West Indian – has metamorphosed from the language of the paternalistic, patronising coloniser, to the biologically self-determined, now race related 'Black', 'Black British' and 'African-Caribbean'" (Kershen,1998:16). Because of the lack of acceptance in British society in the late 1970s, Caribbean immigrants

identified with physical traits (in this case 'Black') to solidified group identity and set themselves apart from the rest of society. At this time, "a physical identity was perceived... to be one which most created and embraced commonality"; furthermore, in Kershen's estimation "its adaptation might also be interpreted as an attempt to confront and embarrass the colonist with a term which previously had been used by them as a pejorative" (1998:16).

Ottaway, (1970:21) views culture as "ways of behaviour associated with any permanent need or function in the social life." Society perpetuates cultural patterns to maintain the accepted cultural behaviours within that society. An example of this was the patterns that specific societies follow in the bringing up of children. A majority of people in Irish society, for example, emphasise the importance of Catholic upbringing for new generations such as Catholic confirmation, a milestone in the religious life of many children in Ireland. The preparation for this and many other aspects of growing up in Irish society creates patterns of learned behaviour through the transmission of specific cultural beliefs. Ottaway (1970:22) further explains the development of these cultural patterns:

> [Culture] *will be a complex of ways of behaviour associated with the universal needs of reproduction and the care of the young. The brining up of children is a permanent need of society. Other examples of cultural patterns would be: religious practices, methods of doing business and trade, ways of eating and drinking, or ideals of life, all of which may differ from one society to another. The whole culture is configuration of all its interacting culture patterns.*

According to this, culture is influenced by institutions, common ideals and behaviours that exist in any specific society. Churches, schools, governments, associations, and clubs are only some of the sources of cultural behaviour that is passed from one generation to the next. Ottaway (1970:22), like, Kershen (1998), O'Sullivan (2000) and Pang (2001) believes that culture is the "learned portion of human behaviour."

This definition differentiates cultural behaviour from "inborn instincts or other inherited traits"; in other words, culture could be called *social heredity*. Culture is also something that is shared among other people. It is a commonality that binds certain people together. "Culture is like a shared map, a mental map that people have which indicates to them how they are going to fit into society. It doesn't give all the details of how to achieve this, but it does give the main patterns to be followed" (Ottaway, 1970:16).

Furthermore, there are common cultural behavioural traits and values that certain subgroups in society identify with that may not mirror those of the dominant culture. An example of this is the culture of the Travelling community within the culture of Irish society. The Traveller community is an indigenous sub-group of Ireland that have developed different cultural behaviours compared to the majority of Irish society and "is a distinct cultural group with its own shared values, customs, language, and way of life" (O'Sullivan, 2000:17). Citing Gibson (2000), Pang (2001:3) believes that sub-cultures are "a far more accurate description of a person/group than a larger generalisation like the term African American culture." Cultural groups that exist in society can be further divided; Pang explains African American culture further:

> *There are African American industrial working class, African American labor union, African American Southerner land owner, and bourgeois African American cultures. Though these members of each of these groups may hold, as a collective, common elements of language, music, signs, and some understandings, their cultures are primarily taken from the contexts that are shaped by specific social class and labor values* (Pang, 2001:3).

Similarly, a breakdown can be seen in Irish society. Not only is there a Traveller culture, but also 'working class' culture in Ireland, which can be further broken down into rural and urban subcultures. Also, an individual

from an urban working class culture from Dublin may not share the same values as an individual from the working class culture in Limerick. Furthermore, individuals from a more traditional Travelling community may be distinguishable from the settled Traveller community. These cultural subgroups may also exist in the Polish, Chinese and Pakistani communities (to name a few) now present in Irish society.

Another important aspect of an individual's culture is the history of the cultural group(s) that members identify with and deem important to pass on from one generation to the next. Furthermore, because of the different subcultures, the historical perceptions promoted through the transmission of a certain culture, these groups may develop different identities. For example, if an individual in Northern Ireland may identify strongly with a nationalistic sub-culture, that individual may not only have a greater connection with events and people in history that a nationalist subculture values, but also may have a stronger connect to sources of this history. This idea can be applied to the ROI. Not only individuals from established sub-cultures in Ireland (e.g. Travelling community or Jewish community), but immigrant groups, may view history differently and connect with different sources of history as opposed to those who identify with a dominant 'Irish' culture.

This research assumes that there are certain characteristics of culture that must be understood. Firstly, the ideas of any contemporary society culture are based on the history and heritage of that society. Secondly, these ideas can be learned and therefore passed from one generation to the next. It is, as Hall (1980) describes it, a 'cultural circularity' where cultural meaning is both learned and taught. O'Sullivan maintains we do not inherit behaviour patterns from our parents as we do our hair colour, instead we learn them. She explains this idea further:

> *Although you have the capacity (i.e. the organs etc.) to speak a language, you don't automatically learn it, you have to learn how to speak from other humans around you. The child learns by observing, watching, listening and practising what they see going on in their culture. For example, different cultures have different ways of greeting; bow, shake hands, smile, wink, hug, kiss cheeks. Therefore, the way that we do things is the shared way of the group to which we belong and each person within the group has a similar pattern.* (O'Sullivan, 2000:16)

If we accept this explanation, then we must accept that there are common cultural concepts of a society that shapes an individuals' behaviour. Thirdly, according to Kershen (1998) cultures can change or transform.

It could be said that culture is something that is passed through the learning and knowing of the past or history. Knowledge of history can be learned through formal sources such as schools, whereas informal history can be learned through sources such as family, local communities or ethnic groups. The question that arises out of this discussion is: are the histories that young people learn in the formal settings the same as the histories they are exposed to in the informal settings? Depending on their sociocultural background, pupils from different subcultures in Ireland may learn different histories and therefore develop different behaviours and values based on their sociocultural backgrounds.

Identity as a Manifestation of Sociocultural Background

Within the framework of sociocultural theory, self-identity, for the purpose of this research, is seen as a potential manifestation or indicator of the sociocultural background of an individual. A sociocultural background is made up of multiple influences, e.g. local community, family, peers, church etc. which manifest themselves in multiple facets of an individual's self-identity (Hall, 1996). It is hoped that a better understanding of self-identity, will contribute to the better understanding

of the influence of sociocultural theory and the mediation process and the relationship between cultural background and the historical perceptions of individuals.

There are many approaches to understanding the concepts of an individual's identity. For example, Cassidy and Trew (1998) point out that research by social scientists who have endeavoured to map the socio-political identities in countries such as Northern Ireland, has been dominated by social identity theory. This theory proposes that identity is derived from "people's knowledge that they belong to a certain social group and the subjective meaning associated with this knowledge" (Cassidy & Trew, 1998:726). The status of a particular group within society may determine the level of association is valued. For example, if an individual finds him or herself associated with a group that is not positively valued in society, he or she may choose to leave that group, or in the case of ascribed categories such as ethnicity, reduce the association.

Within the tradition of social identity theory emerged the concept of self-categorisation (Truner et. al., 1987). This theory moves away from an inter-group comparison (the 'Us' v. 'Other') as a formulation of identity and is based on the concept of self-prototypicality. Individuals construct their identity through evaluation against a prototype which represents the best features which define the group. In other words, individuals evaluate themselves by comparing themselves with an ideal identity of a group and decided whether or not they fit into that group. A key feature of this is the idea of *self-evaluation*; the identification with a group is determined by the self rather than outside categorisation. Self-evaluation, it is argued, may "play a role in determining the importance the individual attaches to a particular group membership" (Cassidy & Trew, 1998:727).

Yet another theoretical perspective on determining the construction of identity, (with intellectual origins in symbolic Interactionism) comes from Stryker (1980, 1987) which assumes that self-concept is comprised of multiple identities. Stryker's theory focuses on the structure and organisation of these multiple identities and how individuals create a hierarchy of priority:

> [Stryker] *proposes that identities are hierarchically ordered into a structure of salience, defined as the likelihood of activating a particular identity in any of a variety of situations. Identities near the top of the hierarchy are more likely to be activated in a particular situation and hence are more self-defining than those near the bottom. Salience thus is defined behaviourally rather that psychologically* (Cassidy & Trew, 1998:727).

Again the importance of self-evaluation, or the self-defining of an individual's identity is a key point. Also, Stryker's theory incorporates social structure into an identity model. As the strength of one identity increases, the greater "its impact on what the individual thinks, feels and does" (Cassidy & Trew, 1998:728). This is closely related to Vygotsky's understanding of mediated action in the sociocultural framework in the sense that an individual's background, in this case identity, influences values, ideas and actions.

Castells highlights the pluralistic nature of identities. He believes that identities are formed from a variety of sources such as nation, religion, family, ethnicity and locality. "The construction of identities uses the building blocks from history, biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations" (Castells, 1997:7). The sources of identity are multiple and create many identities whether they exist with a single country, the EU, or the world.

Kershen (1989) maintains that there are four boundaries which outline a person's multifaceted identity. One boundary of identity is the geopolitical identity

which Kershen calls one's national identity. She maintains that a national identity is an imagined identity "to be found within a cartographer's boundaries whose population has a sense of peoplehood [sic]" (Kershen, 1998:2). Kershen uses the development of a British identity as an example. She argues that British identity is formed out of different aspects of British society and that people will identify with a variety of these different aspects at different times. Some times people will identify with their British identity but at other times they will identify with other aspects of their identity. For example, during the Olympic Games people will identify as Britons and support British sporting prowess, while at other times, the Six Nations Rugby Tournament for example, people will identify more with their regional nationalism, i.e. a Scottish identity, an English identity, a Welsh identity. This process can be seen as an example of Stryker's theory of identification. Kershen (1998) also believes that this leads to conflict between a British identity and a regional national identity, and that people are identifying more with their regional and local identities rather than a larger British one.

This multifaceted aspect of identity also exists in an Irish context. Individuals may identify with being Irish, but also adhere to a regional identity such as being from Dublin or Cork. Also, extended family identities and local community identities such as their home village or even their local Gaelic Athletic Association club may come into play for an individual's identity.

Kershen argues that superficial differences such as physical features provide the most evident and direct source of identification with or difference from. Gender, skin colour, physiological characteristics and even clothes "elicit the most immediate reactions of group or individual acceptance or rejection" (Kershen, 1998:16). Individuals who look a certain way whether by choice or by birth may identify with

certain groups based on exterior appearances, but this identification may be only superficial. The complexities of identification with its blurred boundaries makes it potentially difficult accept or reject an identity solely on physical appearance. Additionally, "physical and cultural identities merge once again when it comes to dress and diet. National dress and national diet act as a means of separation and as a threshold to rapprochement" (Kershen, 1998:19). Do these physical and cultural traits maintain boundaries between societies and 'outside' groups within societies or are they a means of creating a shared identity in a multicultural state? Kershen (1998:19) poses the question "by donning the kilt, the sari and the sarong, by eating chicken masala, haggis and chicken soup with *kneidels*, are outsiders acknowledging differences and at the same time, encouraging acceptance and, perhaps, eventual merger?"

In her discussion of the boundaries of identity, Kershen raises many important points. Firstly, that identity is a multifactited and complex process that has the potential to change over time and space. Secondly, that there are many sources in which people can build their identity upon. Kershen (1998:19) summarises the idea of identity thus:

> *There can be no doubt that every individual has his or her own collection of identities stored in an invisible omnipresent backpack, to be made available at will in whatever combination is deemed appropriate or necessary by the wearer. Choice may not always be easy or correct... the boundaries of identity are fuzzy and complex, part of a learning process from birth until death... familiar boundaries are changing, new political, social, religious and even geographical forms are emerging demanding a constant reassessing and restructuring of personal, political, social, economic and even gender identification. Fluidity is a constant for the individual, the institution, and even the nation-state.*

But does this fluidity of identity have any bounds? Can people identify with all the characteristics of their multi-faceted identities equally?

Castells (1997: 1) argues that our "lives are being shaped by the conflicting trends of globalization and identity" within what Castells calls a "Network Society":

> *It is characterized by the globalization of strategically decisive economic activities. By the networking form of organizations. By the flexibility and instability of work, and the individualization of labour. By a culture of real virtually constructed by a pervasive, interconnected, and diversified media system. And by the transformation of material foundations of life, space and time, through the constitution of a space of flows and of timeless time, as expressions of dominant activities and controlling elites* (Castells, 1997:1).

Castells (1997:1) argues that these widespread characteristics are creating a pervasive global form of social organisation which is "shaking institutions" and "transforming cultures." Within this globalisation of social organisations, there is an opposing rush of widespread expressions of collective identities that are challenging globalisation. Furthermore, "these expressions are multiple, highly diversified, following the contours of each culture, and of historical sources of formation of each identity" (Castells, 1997:2). The establishment of supra-national entities, such as the EU, and the formation of a 'European' identity in the last twenty years, assuming Castells is correct, has caused a reactionary strengthening of localised national identities within the EU. For example, although Ireland has benefited from its membership to the EU, as Mac Gréil (2001a, 2001b) and Tracy (2000) both point out, Irish people are strongly connected to an Irish identity over a European one. This runs parallel with Kershen's (1998:4) argument that, "what 'being British' really means is becoming more and more unclear" because regional-national identities, i.e. Scottish and Welsh, are strengthening. Kershen maintains that the empire is gone, and regional nationalism has become a reality. In Irish terms, the growth of immigration and the increase of cultural and ethnic diversity have provided a context in which the impact of Ireland historical sense of identity of various traditional minority groups, such as

Travellers (Ní Shúinéar, 2002) and more recently immigrant groups (Tormey, 2006). In other words, with the emergence of the 'Other' (i.e. groups not belonging to or identifying with a dominant Irish culture) the 'Us' (i.e. dominant Irish culture) may strengthen what it means to be Irish by comparing it to what it means not to be 'Irish'. Furthermore, because of the nature of culture, these new cultures in Irish society may impact on and change what it means to be Irish.

Castells proposes that the contact between the dominant 'Us' and the minority 'Other' in increasingly diversifying societies such as Ireland creates three distinct forms of identity. "In general terms, who constructs collective identity, and for what, largely determines the symbolic content of this identity, and its meaning for those identifying with it or placing themselves outside of it" (Castells,1997:7). This can be seen in the dominant Irish identity. For example, the Catholic Church in Ireland long had influence the collective identity, meanings and symbols. Those who identified with these collective identities were part of the 'Us' while those who did not, or were perceived as not identifying with the Catholic identity were the 'Other'. Other institutions such as schools have the potential to promote a collective identity within a social structure.

The three forms of identity building which take place within the 'Network Society' are as follows:

Legitimising Identity: *Introduction by the dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalize their domination vis à vis social actors, a theme that is at the heart of Sennett's theory of authority and domination, but also fits with various theories of nationalism.*

Resistance Identity: *Generated by those actors that are in positions/conditions devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination, thus building trenches of resistance and survival on the basis and principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of*

society, as Calhoun proposes when explaining the emergence of identity politics.

Project Identity: *When social actors, on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by doing so, seek the transformation of overall social structure. This is the case, for instance, when feminism moves out of the trenches of resistance of women's identity and women's rights, to challenge patriarchalism, thus the patriarchal family, thus the entire structure of production, reproduction, sexuality, and personality on which societies have been historically based.*
(Castells, 1997:8)

For Castells, each of these three constructions of identity leads to different outcomes within society. In his view, a *legitimising identity* generates a civil society "that is, a set of organizations and institutions, as well as a series of structured and organized social actors, which reproduce, albeit sometimes in a conflictive manner, the identity that rationalizes the sources of structural domination" (Castells, 1997:8). Mechanisms such as the Church, trade unions, associations and cooperatives protract the dynamic of the state while at the same time are "deeply rooted among the people" (Cestells, 1997:9). Furthermore, the characteristic of a shared identity within this type of identity formation is important in facilitating change in society:

> *The conquest of the state by the forces of change present in civil society, is made possible exactly because of the continuity between civil society's institutions and the power apparatuses of the state, organized around similar identity (citizenship, democracy, the politicization of change, the confinement of power to the state and its ramifications, and the like)* (Castells,1997:9).

Castells demonstrates the importance of a shared identity among people within a pluralistic democracy. Therefore, within geopolitical boundaries, there is a framework of what a legitimising identity 'is'. These characteristics are defined by multiple sources such as religion, culture, ethnicity, and politics.

In other words identifying with aspects of the dominant culture can have the potential to 'legitimise' different groups within a diverse society. If certain groups identify with the 'legitimate' identity, the potential for their success within that society will be greater that those groups that identify with something 'other'.

Furthermore, assuming Mac Gréil's (1996), Gilmartin's (2006), and Kershen's (1998) arguments are correct, the fact that a society has a dominant identity does not necessarily mean that people will assume a single identity. A person can have a strong connection with a local identity or an ethnic background and at the same time identify with civic duty as a citizen of a nation. The existence of pluralistic identities on the part of the people who share a common national identity is potentially crucial in a diversifying society such as Ireland.

Identity for resistance, on the other hand, leads to the formation of communes or communities. Castells (1997:9) maintains that this identity building is the most important within society:

> *it constructs forms of collective resistance against an otherwise unbearable oppression, [assuming that oppression exists] usually on the basis of identities that were apparently, clearly defined by history, geography, or biology. Making it easier to essentialise the boundaries of resistance.*

These groups reverse the exclusionary roles within the social dynamic, what he calls the "exclusion of the excluders by the excluded" (Castells, 1997:9). This role reversal while maintaining boundaries call into the question, in Castells' estimation (1997:9), the "reciprocal communicability between these excluded/exclusionary identities" which answer can only be "empirical and historical." The relationship between these identities may determine whether a society remains a society or fragments into "constellation of tribes" (Castells, 1997:9).

The third construction, the *project identity*, is a transformation of an identity, (for example, an oppressed identity) into behaviour as a social actor within society. These identities allow individuals to move from being excluded to being a social actor in the society. An example of this is the Irish and Italian immigrants in the US during the late nineteenth century where many were considered outsiders in American society, but over time a large number of people began to identify with being Irish or Italian-American. "In this case, the building of identity is project of a different life, perhaps on the basis of an oppressed identity, but expanding toward the transformation of society as the prolongation of this project identity..."(Castells,1997:9).

These forms of identity construction can be applied to the formation of a dominant Irish identity. For example, during English and British rule over Ireland until the early twentieth century, the dominant Anglican identity that was promoted through institutions such as schools, government, and the Church could be seen as a *Legitimizing Identity.* The founding of the Gaelic League, the GAA, and the promotion of the Irish language during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Ireland during English rule demonstrates the manifestation of a *Resistance Identity.* Furthermore, with the gaining of independence and the formation of the Free State, later the Republic of Ireland, the Catholic Church's control over Irish society for the better part of the twentieth century can be seen as a *Project Identity.* As Castells (1997:9) points out, "naturally, identities that start as resistance may induce projects, and may also, along the course of history become dominant in the institutions of society, thus becoming legitimizing identities to rationalize their domination."

Furthermore, in contemporary Ireland, a dominant Irish identity could now be considered the dominant or *legitimising* identity which has taken the place of a British

identity. The issue raised is: could there be a strengthening of *resistance* identities among new minority groups? Or could these groups begin to identify with the dominant Irish identity and initiate change within civil society? In addition, what role does the institutions of the dominant identity play in the formation of immigrant identities in Ireland? Will apparatuses such as schools, churches and government promote a dominant Irish identity in which both native and non-native people share a common civic identity, or will they promote a resistance to the dominant identity amongst the 'Other' in contemporary Irish society? Tormey (2006:213) points out that the "Irish case enables us to help make sense of how the state seeks to play a role in constructing a legitimising identity in an open and globalising context."

One of the stronger sources of identity development is an individual's home land. Mac Éinrí (2006) believes that because of the economic globalisation of world markets and development of technology, movement of people from one place to another is easier and more frequent. Now more than ever, people can have more than one 'homeland'. This does not mean that people are now post-modern, rootless travellers moving from one place to another, but, rather, they have more 'places' that can be considered home and influence and shape their identities.

> *Identities cling to us, or even produce us even though our 'pre-original space' may have disappeared. Place and space do matter in this perspective, just as myth does, even though we know the myths are myths. The important point has less to do with some idealized past... and more to do with our ability to historicise ourselves and out own various, multiple senses of identity* (Mac Éinrí, 2006).

The more 'homelands' that people have in their history, the more diverse influences there are on identities. Migrants do not have to throw off or get rid of the traditional identity that they bring with them for the sake of a new identity in a new country and culture. Instead, they can develop identity through interaction within new surroundings. Mac Éinrí (2006) explains further:

> *In a sense, it is the act of historicisation, the remembering, the performance that constitutes the identity. We make our own choices, but the circumstances are not entirely of our own choosing. There are multiple meanings, into our own landscapes of subjectivity. The self is thus constituted by an ongoing process of becoming, and an ongoing process of interaction. We cannot ignore the boundaries and formative factors, the past, our family, place and culture are relevant and constitutive of identity but there is not and cannot be closure – except in the grave.*

Potentially, this has great significance for contemporary Irish society and the debate over the situation of immigrants in a so called 'monocultural' society. According to Mac Éinrí, (2006) existing immigrant identities will change due to the experience of living in Irish society. This does not mean that they will totally lose or 'trade in' aspects of their existing identity, but that they will add aspects of an Irish identity to their lasting identities. By gaining aspects of the dominant culture in Irish society, some of the levels of exclusion that many immigrants and minority cultures face in Irish society may decrease. Furthermore, with the addition of new cultures to Irish society, the indigenous Irish identity, potential will change to include aspects of other cultures.

On the other hand, Gundara (2000: 189) argues that although multiple identities may exist, groups in society may fall back on their strongest affiliation:

> *While multiple identities may be the norm amongst societal groups of all backgrounds, they may still ascribe to one or other of the ethnicities. Alternately, where groups have been integrated or assimilated into dominated national norms, a more localised group identity may remain pervasive.*

To this end, groups may have a pool of many different identities such as religion, local community or nationality to draw upon, but out of those possible identities there is one that has the strongest connection. For instance, an individual can identify as being Irish, from Munster, from Limerick and being a part of an extended family all at the same time, but his/her strongest identity affiliation may be that of being from

Munster. Although a person's identity (based on their sociocultural background may be fluid and multifaceted) according to Gundara, when exposed to new identities, individuals potentially will fall back on their strongest identity. In the case of contemporary Irish society, the strengthening of the 'Us' (in this case dominant Irish culture) through greater exposure to the 'Us' (new minority cultures in Irish society) may occur. The 'Other' could be seen as a counterpoint to the Irish 'Us'.

Identity in Education

The concept of identity has become one of the key issues in the contemporary academic debate over education. Much of the recent research has focused on the construction of layered identities constructed from gender, sexuality, social class and ethnicity (Reay, 1998; Tormey, 2006). An example of this comes from Tormey (2006) who argues, that although the concept of a 'national' identity is a notable absentee from much of this discourse, "there remains a need to bring the nation, and the state, back in; to question the way in which 'national' identities are constructed." Although the idea of the 'nation' can run through many subject areas in a curriculum, history plays a key role in attempt to generate and preserve the boundaries of a 'national' identity. The role of history in this process cannot be understated. Phillips et al. (1999) argue that the concept of the nation often has key role in the teaching of history and in the attempt to maintain the boundaries of what it means to belong to a 'nation.' Furthermore, Anderson (1991) sees history education as a way of creating national memory which binds individuals in a diverse community or society. Although outsiders, such as immigrants, may not have a history located within the 'national history of their new country, through history education these individuals will develop a 'memory' which may bind them with the indigenous people of the nation.

Tormey (citing Giddens, 1991 & Jenkins, 1996) argues that identity construction in education "needs to be understood as and active process through which actors constitute their self-identity through reflexive ordering narratives of the self, rather than as something inscribed upon the *tabula rasa* of the new member of society" (Tormey, 2006:313). Much of the recent research in identity development in education has been undertaken within this later view point (see for example Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Fagan, 1995; Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 1996; Lynch & Lodge, 2002; Reay, 1998;).

Sociocultural theory assumes that pupils come into classroom with prior knowledge and cultural perceptions. Pupils will already have perceptions of history (based on their sociocultural backgrounds) before ever setting foot in a history classroom. If pupils have different connections and perceptions of what history is important to them, is this a signifier of identification with different cultural backgrounds and therefore different cultural behaviours and beliefs? If pupils identify with a different history (as part of their sociocultural background) will they have different mediation processes?

What can we take from this discussion? First and foremost, it is 'how' a person develops his/her identity and 'what' influences its development is an ongoing debate. What is clear is that an individual's identity is multifaceted in nature. A person can identify with a national, regional, and ethnic identity all at the same time. Furthermore, a person, at different times, can have a stronger identification with certain sources of their identity. During the World Cup for example, a person may have stronger ties to his/her national identity. Thus, an individual's identity is fluid in nature and has the potential to change. Because of the multifaceted and fluid nature of identity, many different identities can exist within one geopolitical body. The UK and

the US are examples of this. While a person's identity is multi-faceted and fluid in nature, it, according to Castells, exists within a structured framework. A legitimising identity within one society may or may not have the same characteristics as one in another society. For example, identifying with the Catholic Church may be part of a legitimising identity in Ireland, but may not be in Japan.

Also, inflows of immigration can bring new sources of identity to the indigenous population thus making for the existence of different identities in the same state. These new identities have the potential to change due to the influence of the dominant indigenous culture and have the potential to change the dominant identity. For Ireland, a country that has experienced an inflow of immigration in recent years, these are important and relevant issues to be debated.

The 'Us' in Irish Society

Understanding what an 'Irish' identity is comprised of is an important step in understanding non-Irish cultural backgrounds of pupils present in contemporary Irish society. It gives us a conceptual framework in which we can locate the relationship between different identities and cultural backgrounds. For this discussion, the concept of identity is understood, according to Graham, as being "about discourses of inclusion and exclusion - who qualifies and who does not", a concept that "is generally articulated by its contradistinction to a hostile Other" (Graham, 1997:5). Kershen (1998:1) supports this view by arguing that identification is the "means by which we, as individuals, have the facility to identify ourselves in relation to others and which others separate the 'insiders' from the 'outsiders'." She goes on to argue that identity is in a constant state of flux and "can never, nor will ever be static" and that identity is "multifaceted and variable" (Kershen 1998:2). This discussion of what is an Irish identity is relevant because although there always have been minority

ethnic groups present in Irish society (e.g. Travelling and Jewish communities) the "vast majority of population has traditionally been classified as white, sedentary and Roman Catholic" (Devine, 2005:50). This characterisation of 'Irishness' can be seen as the dominant group or the 'Us' in Irish society. The establishment of what the 'Us' is, is important in an Irish societal context that sees the growth of minority groups, or the 'Other', and the relation of power between them. In this sense, the 'Us' is seen as a legitimising identity.

As Divine (2005) points out, in an Irish context, much of the literature on the area of Irish identity locates it within the framework of the experience of colonisation (Gray, 1998; Lentin, 2002). One of the clear explanations of an 'Irish' identity comes from Tracy's (2000) study undertaken in the Department of Sociology at Trinity College Dublin. Tracy's study was a case-oriented cross national comparative analysis in relation to the complexities of Irish policy on immigration and racism. Jackson in Tracy (2000:15) maintains that many Irish immigration policies are discriminatory, and have "strong strands of racism." The study provides important information on the development of an ideal of Irish identity. The sociological viewpoint is important because it provides an interpretation of what it means to be Irish, in contemporary Irish society.

Since the time of independence in 1922, Irishness has been characterised as Catholic, white, settled and Gaelic/Celtic (Tovey & Share, 2003). In his study, Tracy agrees that these characteristics have long made up what it means to be Irish. That it is "in some part written in the history, the literature, and the Constitution... this 'official' culture was constructed before, during and after emancipation and continues to permeate Irish society. The 'official' culture was based on a construction of Ireland

as a homogeneous society" (Tracy, 2000:15). As recently as 1990, an Irish Member of the European Parliament (MEP) made the following statement about Irish society:

> *[Since] immigration has not been a reality at all [in Ireland] we do not have racial minorities... we have something in the region of 20,000 registered aliens in the country... we do not have problems such as are faced in other countries* (O'Connell, 1994:46).

The same MEP also made the following statements in a written submission:

> *Ireland is a racially homogenous country with no ethic minority groups. As a consequence there are no racial problems of the kind experienced in other countries with such groups. Neither is there a large presences of foreigners... the position could alter if the influx became sustained... there is, however, a minority group of travelling people giving rise to some problems associated with racism* (O'Connell, 1994:47).

This homogeneity has been increasingly challenged. In Ireland, the idea of an Irish 'national identity' has been an important issue in academic debates (for example, see Collins, 1999; Doak, 1998; Lentin, 1998a, 1998b, 2000; Lentin & McVeigh, 2002; Mac Lachlan & O'Connell, 2000; McVeigh, 1999; Ugba, 2004). In the public and political area this debate culminates in a 2004 referendum to limit the Constitutional understanding of Irish identity (Tormey, 2006).

Tracy recognises that for Ireland to presume homogeneity is false. How could a country that has been invaded by Celts, Saxons, Normans, Danes, and others assume a homogenous identity? Fanning concurs with Tracy on the point that it is a myth to considering Ireland a homogenous culture. Fanning (2002:3) states: "As such, it [the myth of Irish homogeny] produced what O' Connell refers to as one of the myths of Irishness; that Ireland has always been a homogenous society, and that Irish identity is something which remains fixed and unchanged." Mac Éinrí (2006) agrees with Fanning and Tracy:

> *As I have tried to suggest, there were in fact no truly homogenous societies. Traditional society was often organized on hierarchal lines which in reality excluded many. Nowadays, with the shrinkages of space and the time required to cross it, the globalisation of*

> *information and the erosion of nation-state sovereignty through supra-national entities like the EU, there are no isolated communities any more. In that sense, racism and xenophobia are not merely to do with a belief in the superiority of one's own group, as Áine Ní Chonaill*[12] *seems to think. A refusal to countenance the presence of the other is, in itself, a form racism and/or xenophobia.*

Although Ireland, in reality cannot be considered a homogenous society, there must be consideration of the implications of an *imagined* sense of homogeneity among the majority of Irish people. There are distinguishable groups within Ireland (Travellers are one example), but there is an ideal of what it means to be Irish that is the basis of the myth of a homogenous Ireland.

The WHISC Ideal: The Prototype for Irishness?

The critical point of Tracy's argument is that what people imagine themselves to be is as important as what they really are; it is what a nation and its people tell themselves they are is important (Mac Éinrí, 2006). The imagined identity that Tracy points to is summed up in the acronym WHISC, or **W**hite, **H**eterosexual, **I**rish, **S**ettled, **C**atholic. Tracy argues that the WHISC is not a singular Irish identity, but rather a national ideal of identifiable traits of 'Irishness.' This is what Anderson (1983) describes as the social creation of nation states as "imagined communities" which contemporary societies reinforce a sense of belonging. In the case of the formation of the Irish state, according to Hutchinson (1987) it was "cultural nationalists, rather than political nationalist who constructed the modern Irish nation-state" (Lentin, 1999:13). Lentin explains how the myths of Irish culture were used to secure what it meant to be Irish and the development of an imaged Irish identity:

> *Irish political elites mustered people for nation-building by mobilising powerful ethnic memories and self-actualising myths developed in the course of a successful war of independence, and by addressing a*

[12] Áine Ní Chonaill was a school teacher in Co. Cork, but in more recent years she has been the spokesperson for the anti-mass immigration group, *Immigration Control Platform (ICP)*.

> *homogenous people (after the succession of the Ulster Unionists) with a strong sense of a distinctive historic identity... This resulted in ethnic homogeneity and in a post-colonial re-imposition not of strict gender-roles, but also of the strict ethnicisation of a property-owning new bourgeoisie and land-owning from class, which left little room for Travelling people, or for other 'aliens', or as they are called these days, 'non-nationals'* (Lentin, 1999:13).

Defining the 'Irish' identity has become the "centre of debates relating to immigration, Europeanisation, refugee/asylum seekers and Irish Travellers." (Anderson, 1983). Identifying this 'Irishness' is important in the discussion of history education and international pupils because it gives us a basis of 'Us' (as it pertains to Irish identity) so that we can better understand the 'Other' (immigrant identities). Tracy points out that the 'Us' in the 'Us/Them' (or the 'Us'/'Other') argument should be understood to better comprehend the 'Other' in contemporary Irish society.

The WASP Influence: White and Western

Tracy's WHISC acronym is a contraction of Irish identity based on the prototypical American or English identity which took the form of the WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant). This construction of identity is based on an exclusive homogeneity.

Miles (1989), McVeigh (1996) and Tracy (2000) point to a racialisation of 'Irishness.' They maintain that Irish people were racialised, as Anderson (1983) states, "based on the same European trend that racialised the majority world during colonization." In other words, although Irish natives possessed many of the same traits as their English colonisers, they were defined as an ethnic group 'Other' by the English. Although the Irish were placed into a stereotype of the 'Other', their skin colour was still visibly white and this "had the effect of giving the Irish an ambiguous role in the British Empire as an ethnicity but privileged in relation to indigenous peoples around the world" (Tracy, 2000:17). This allowed the Irish to assume a 'white' and 'Western' identity. This "whitening" of the WHISC, as Tracy describes it,

was also propagated by the Catholic Church. Irish Catholic missionaries' construction of black people as poor and helpless increased the identification of an 'Irishness'. Goldstone (1999) in Tracy (2000:17) emphasises the point: "[t]hose images of Blacks in Irish missionary journals play up the superiority of the white priest and their Christian beliefs and also create dis-empowered images of black people always laughing and happy." Fanning (2002:15) argues that Irish missions were a form of colonisation; their work "aided the spread of empire with remorseless effectiveness. They convinced indigenous populations to abandon their own cultural systems and to embrace those of the conquering peoples." Like Tracy, Fanning cites the organisation of such missions as an integral part of Irish identity. He maintains that the rise in Irish Catholic missionary work coincided with the emergence of the Irish nation state:

> *In the early twentieth century the missionary magazines reflected the nationalistic sentiments in proclaiming the emergence of a 'golden age of Irish civilization.' National pride and religiosity were constructed in relation to each other. The extension of Ireland's spiritual glory in the missions was linked to the emergence of a Catholic Irish nation at home* (Fanning, 2002:15).

The construction of the 'Other' and the 'Us' occurred at the same time. "When the Irish were constructed by the English, the English, in turn, were constructing themselves. The same may be said for the Irish in their construction of the 'black baby'" (Tracy, 2000:18). The white of the WHISC was constructed based on the 'whiteness' of the English, and maintained by the favourable involvement with English society, the success of the Irish as a minority group in the US, and the establishment of the 'Other' in the form of black people involved with Irish Catholic missions.

Mac Laughlin (1994) attributes the 'whitening' of the Irish to the mass emigration that took place throughout modern Irish history. He maintains that it "contributed to the Anglicisation of Ireland by transforming the geolingustic map of

Ireland and greatly reducing the number of Irish speakers in the country" (Mac Laughlin, 1994:5).

The racilisation of the Irish as 'white and western' can be seen in the influence of British colonisation of Ireland itself and the societial influence of the Catholic Church and its missionary work. At home and abroad, the Irish developed an identity defined by what they were and what they were not. (See Balibar, 1991; Bauman, 1991; Hall, 1997; Miles, 1989)

Heterosexual Identities: Constructed Genders

Tracy's understanding of an 'Irish' identity also includes the inclusion of gender in the construction of the WHISC identity. Through its immense influence in Irish society, the Catholic Church has constructed much of the framework of gender identities. Examples of this come in the form of Catholic influenced doctrine in the 1937 Constitution, which codified women as helpless individuals. Gender structures were outlined in the "Constitution of the Irish State, the Catholic dominated educational system, and by the Catholic Church itself. Identity was sexualised by the nationalist debate; women were constructed as mothers and men as breadwinners" (Tracy, 2000:18). Tracy (2000:18) argues that the "heavily Catholic constitution constructed women as stay-at-home mothers, daughters and wives, and Catholic education system re-enforced this."[13] The Constitution itself outlawed, among other things, homosexuality. However, in recent years, the bans on homosexuality, distribution of contraceptives and divorce have been lifted.

[13] For more in the development of strict gender roles in the modern Irish nation-state see Meaney (1991); Nandy (1983).

An Irish Ireland

One of the more important components of Tracy's WHISC is the construction of the Irishness in an Irish identity. In Tracy's estimation the development of 'Irishness' was a necessity for de-Anglicising Ireland and was constructed by Irish nationalism. This nationalism emphasised the 'Us' by being constructed as something not British. This revivalist approach to nationalism was "mixed with a Galelic language revival as well as the institution of national parallelism and a conflation of Irishness and Catholic Irishness which directly affected the construction of the WHISC identity" (Tracy, 2000:18). Fanning (2002:8) again echoes Tracy's ideas about nationalism's role in the homogeny of an 'Irish' identity:

> *This notion* [homogeneity] *was itself an ideological construct. It was born, in part, out of nineteenth-century nationalist claims that there was such a thing as an Irish race. Nineteenth-century Irish nationalism, along with the nation-building ideologies of other European countries, emphasised the superiority of the Irish and the inferiority of the non-Irish. Irish identity was not just constructed in opposition to Britishness. It was expressed in a sense of national pride in Irish missionary efforts. Assumptions of Irish spiritual superiority combined with colonial ideologies of western superiority within enduring relationships between Ireland, as part of the west, and western colonies in Africa and Asia. Dominant constructions of Irishness also placed indigenous minorities outside the nation.*

This argument points to the two main influences in Irish society over the majority of the twentieth century; nationalism and religion.

For example, Fanning asserts that the manifestation of anti-Semitism in Ireland is a product of the formation of this Irish nationalism. In the nineteenth century, racial discourses were based in lineage and genealogy. These discourse of an 'Irish race' solidified within political and social terms. "Irish nationalism emerged through a process of social closure which culminated in an ethnic religious formation of Irishness. The ethnic component of this construction of national identity was bound with genealogical and biological claims" (Fanning, 2002:62). Fanning compares the

development of the 'ethnic Irish' identity with that of German anti-Semitism. Jews in nineteenth century German were seen as a different race to the Germans, and were conceived as a counterpoint to German nationalism. They were the 'Other' to the German 'Us'. This defence against the 'Other' was essential in the development of an ethnic homeland and German nation-building.[14]

Two manifestations of nationalism were the formation of the GAA and the Gaelic League. Fanning (2002:2) points out that these identities were "institutionalised and reproduced in the nation state." For example, within the educational system nationalism and the Catholic Church dominated educational theory. O'Donoghue (1997:22) points out, that history as a subject in Irish schools propagated these institutions:

> *History has had a chequered, often divisive, career in Irish schools. The twin pillars of nationalism and religion loom large therein. For too long history was not a subject but a creed, not a discipline but a weapon. Rather than history having the dual functions of enabling 'man to understand the society of the past and to increase his mastery over the society of the present', 'the Victorian mind' set great store in the power of teachers and school-books to mould mass mentality... This belief was widespread among... nationalist as well as loyalist.*

This promoting of Irishness included the revival of the Irish language. Through institutions such as schools, the Irish language was used a tool to define how Irish one was. For example "In 1975 75% of people believed that language was essential to Irish identity, while others believed that without a sound knowledge of Irish their children would only have a two-dimensional understanding of the national culture" (Tracy, 2000:20).

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[14] As the Jewish population grew during the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth, so to did anti-Semitism and racism in Irish society. These were manifested in the forms of religious, nationalist, and scientific discourses which attempted to legitimise nineteenth and twentieth century 'proofs' of the "biological inferiority of black people to white people and of the perniciousness of the Jews" (Fanning, 2002:61). During the 1920, and 1930s, anti-Semitism in Ireland followed the same pattern as in much of the rest of Europe.

A Settled Ireland

As Tracey points out that according to the WHISC identity, Travellers are not considered 'Irish.' He states:

> *There is much debate surrounding the origins of Travellers. Some maintain that they are one of several distinct Celtic groups, others say that they are an indigenous Irish pre-Celtic group, and a third theory suggests that the Travellers were nomadic Celtic craftsmen. Regardless of Irish Traveller origin, they are an ethnic group inside Ireland which differentiates itself from the WHISC and vice versa* (Tracy, 2002:20).

Owning land has had a marked importance in the Irish social system throughout history. Ties to the land for were enforced in Irish society's most basic structure by the Catholic Church. Groups such as Travellers were either forced to emigrate or create a separate social structure. Fanning points out that prior to the Famine, migrant workers were only one part of a diverse rural community, and it wasn't until the nineteenth and twentieth century when economic change exposed and marginalised travelling communities. In spite of this these communities "retained a distinct economic role within the rural society until at least the 1950s when their skills and trades became obsolete" (Fanning, 2002:49).

According to Fanning, Travellers, through their exclusion from Irish society, were constructed as an 'Other' to the dominant (imagined) Irish community (see also Hayes, 2006). Modern Irish Catholic nationalism excluded Travellers on the basis of language, landownership and their supposed racial similarities to gypsies. Because of the importance of settled life, Travellers were left out of the construction of the nation-state. Because of their classification as the 'Other' the past of the travellers was left out of the history of Ireland. "The extent of ideological and social marginality of the Travellers within the emerging nation can be seen from near total lack of references to them in mainstream histories and studies of nineteenth- and

twentieth-century Ireland. Travellers were, in essence, an invisible minority and a people 'without history' with in the nation of the dominant imagination" (Fanning, 2002:49). This demonstrates what Graham (1997:2) states is a failure on the part of Irish nationalism to included travellers as part of Irish culture: "Irish nationalism has failed to be inclusive of all the inhabitants of the territory which is claimed as congruent with its cultural aspirations." Could this be the same fate for new cultural and ethnic minority groups present in contemporary Irish society? Might they be left out of an Irish nationalism which is based more on an Irish cultural *identity* and less on legal Irish *citizenship*?

Fanning's argument of Traveller exclusion raises an important question for this research. If, like Travellers, immigrants become marginalised because they do not fit the ideal of 'Irishness' (i.e. WHISC), could their history be left out or marginalised in formal history education? Furthermore, what effect will that have on their development of an identity? Will a marginalisation of cultural and ethnic minority group's history lead to assimilation of the WHISC ideal or will immigrants further develop an 'Other' identity? Will an identity of resistance emerge in these new groups? As demonstrated later, ethnic minorities in other countries such as the US and Australia hold their family and ethnic group history higher than a national history. Could this become a trend as Ireland moves towards a more cultural and ethnically integrated society?

The Catholic Church: An All Encompassing Influence

Tracy maintains that the final aspect in the formulation of the WHISC is the Catholic Church. He argues that the Church is not confined to the religious aspects of life in Irish society and its role in developing Irish identity is immense:

> *The role of the Catholic Church in Irish society and in the formulation of the WHISC identity cannot be overstated. The Catholic Church is not confined to the religious sphere, but extends onto social, political, economic, educational and cultural spheres. In fact, the term used to describe Catholicism in Ireland in not Roman Catholic but Irish Catholic and is the largest factor in the WHISC identity* (Tracy, 2000:21).

Irish society has become synonymous with the Catholic Church. The Church influenced the emergence of Irishness during the postcolonial period as a reaction to Britishness in an attempt to de-Anglicise the Irish people. As discussed before the Church's influence did not only manifest itself the 1937 Constitution, but also in other aspects of Irish life. Tracy (2000:21) contends that the Church's weight in Irish society de-emphasised the individual in Ireland which led to a more group oriented identity which constructed the myth of homogeny and the 'Us/Other' discourses which typify the WHISC identity.

Again, Fanning's treatment of anti-Semitism in Ireland highlights the manifestation of an Irish Catholic identity through the development of the 'Other'. As discussed above, Ireland, like Germany, developed a nationalism that was based upon racial and genealogical discourses. A nationalism based on race also influenced what Fanning calls a "Christian anti-Semitic tradition" (2002:61). This Christian doctrine was an imaged relationship with the 'Other' as being dictated by religious transgression. This transgression could be forgiven or redeemed through religious conversions. If Jews converted to Christianity, they would stop being the 'Other'. But, in Germany for example, secular anti-Semitism, which was based on race, lineage, genealogy and biology began to replace Christian doctrine. Because Jews could not change their biologically defined race, "they never could be assimilated" into the German nation-state (Fanning, 2002:62). In this sense, religious conversion was seen as fraud. After 1935, and the passing of the Nuremburg Laws which deprived German

Jews of citizenship, Christian churches began excluding Jewish converts from their congregations. In this sense, the Christian churches adhered to the secular, biologically based Nuremburg laws. As Fanning (2002:63) argues, "blood won out over baptism." During the 1930s, the Catholic Church made concessions which acknowledged the racial distinction between Catholics from Jewish decent and Catholics. In Fanning's estimation, Irish refugee policies from 1938 to the end of the Second World War "similarly internalised the classifications of the Nuremburg laws" (2002:63). Fanning explains further:

> *In Ireland, Jews became understood as enemies of the nation within a nationalism which drew upon religious sectarianism. Irish-Ireland nationalism shared with German nationalism notions that nation was synonymous with race. Within Irish nationalism, as in German nationalism, identity was constructed in opposition to s specific non-national order. In the Irish case, Jews were understood as enemies of the Church and by implication enemies of the nation, even the sectarian 'other' against which the Catholic Irish nation was predominantly defined was Protestant rather than Jewish. Twentieth-century expressions of anti-Semitism in Ireland constructed the Jews as enemies of the Church and enemies of the nation; though perhaps here the distinction was a subtle and unnecessary one within the context of a hegemonically Catholic nation state* (2002:63-64).

Just as in many other European countries at the turn of the nineteenth century, in Ireland, there existed a Catholic anti-Semitism. Expressions of anti-Semitism in writings and sermons of Irish clergy that portrayed Jews as enemies of the Church and the State were common during this period. The Limerick pogrom in 1904 is one example of evidence of anti-Semitic beliefs within the Irish Catholic clergy. Fanning (2002:64) argues that "the justification and character of anti-Semitism within Catholic and nationalist discourses changed little in the decades after the Limerick pogrom, except to periodically update the precise nature of the conspiracies of moral corruption against the Catholic nation of which Jews were accused." Again, the

construction of an 'Irish identity' is based on the formation of the 'Other' in the case of the first part of the twentieth-century in Ireland, the 'Other' were Jews.

After the gaining of independence for the Irish state, "Irish Catholicism became intertwined with an isolationist nationalism to generally appose outside influences on Irish society" (Fanning, 2002:63). Conservative social and moral values bound up with Irish Catholic doctrine were widely promoted throughout the free-state, and were used to racialise the Jews and blame them for unwanted social change. This isolationist anti-Semitism Catholicism which lasted throughout the Second World War until the ratification of the UN Convention (1951) in 1956, manifested itself in government immigration policy and practice. While the immigration policy after 1938 was considered liberal when dealing with applications from Catholics abroad, there existed an overt discrimination against applications from Jews. Because of numerous request from Irish and foreign Catholics organisations for visas on behalf of Catholics, the *Irish Co-ordinating Committee for the Relief of Christian Refugees* became institutionalised within Irish immigration policy during the Second World War. Because of the Irish State's unwillingness to get involved with providing welfare for refugees, this committee was given responsibility for screening all refugee applications. In November 1938, the Department of Justice supported the views of the refugee committee by issuing a memorandum which stated that the state should only admit Catholic refugees who had converted from Judaism but not Jewish refugees (Fanning, 2002:77). This handing over of immigration to a Catholic committee and the policy of issuing visas to Catholic refugees demonstrates the solidification of the Catholic identity within Irish society at this time. Catholic refugees shared a common identity with citizens of an overtly Catholic nation-state and in turn were provided refuge. Jewish refugees, who were different and seen as the 'Other' to an Irish

Catholic identity, were discriminated against in through anti-Semitic immigration policy.

Although Irish society cannot be considered a homogenous, 'monocultural society' (the continuous presences of the Traveller community throughout Irish history is testament to that) it must be agreed that a dominant sociocultural background ideal exists and is a strong indicator of what it means to be Irish in Irish society. Tracy's WHISC identity (real or imagined) is a strong indicator of what could be considered a dominant sociocultural background in contemporary Irish society. The question that arises is what impact will the increase of ethnic and cultural diversity have on Irish society and what it means to be 'Irish'?

New Immigrants, New Cultures: The 'Other' in Irish Society.

Clearly, there is growth in immigration and non-native peoples in Ireland. According the then Justice Minister Michael McDowell "by the year 2030, our [Ireland] foreign national population could be almost one million, or 18 percent of the total" (Monday Morning, 2005). Ireland is truly on its way to being a diverse society.

These new groups' cultures are "manifest in the developments of churches, choirs, sports activities, food stores, restaurants, professional associations, community associations, national pageants, pre-schools and primary schools organized along ethnic lines" (Kelleher & Kelleher, 2004:23). This is, as Gordon (1964) points out, a form of structural pluralism and an indictor of their recognition in society. Some examples of this are the Islamic Centre in Clonskeagh, the establishment of a Sikh Temple in Dublin, *Metro Eirann*, a multicultural newspaper, *Nasha Gazeta* which is a newspaper published for the Russian speaking community, the *Polish Express*, one of two Polish papers published in Dublin, *Africans Magazine* which gives voice to

African communities in Irish society and promotes African culture, religion, music, and organisations due to what Koser (2003) refers to as a 'new African diasporas'. It is now not uncommon for Dublin pubs to offer Polish nights or venture into a market in the city centre and see the variety of 'ethnic' foods available. In the immigrant enclaves of Parnell Street and Moore Street in Dublin it is common to see African mothers with their babies on their backs coming in from of 'ethnic' shops, or to see an African at the wheel of a Dublin Bus or taxi (Ugba, 2004).

Furthermore, the number of languages spoken in Ireland is surprising, compared to the situation only a decade ago. Based on a study carried out in January 2006 by the Language Centre at National University of Ireland (NUI) Maynooth, there are at least 167 languages being spoken in Ireland. Some estimates put the number closer to 200 (Gallagher, 2006). The 2006 Census was available in several languages including Arabic, French, Polish, Russian, Czech, Latvian, Portugese, Spanish, Chinese, Lithuanian, Romanian, Estonian, Hungarian, Slovak, Turkish and Yoruba (CSO, 2006). Growth of new diverse religions is also changing the face of contemporary Irish society. [15]

Immigration has also lead to the increase of diverse religious beliefs in Ireland. For example, one of the largest religious groups outside of Catholics and Protestants present in Ireland are Muslims.[16] Over 26,000 Shia and Sunni Muslims live and work in Ireland (Qasim, 2006). Research conducted by Lansdowne Market Research (2006) on the growth of Muslims in Ireland found that, overall the Muslim

[15] One of the biggest concerns over the increase of immigration is the language barrier between native English speaking pupils and pupils who have English as a second language or who speak little or no English at all.

[16] According to data from the 2006 Census, Islam is only one of many religions in Ireland that have seen a significant increase (69.9%) since 2002. For example Orthodox (+99.3%), Apostolic/Pentecostal (+157.5%), Hindu (+96.3), and, although not a religion, Atheist (+85.8) have all seen significant increases in membership (CSO, 2007c).

community appears to "feel well integrated and accepted by society and to have a positive view of Irish democracy and diversity." Additionally, the majority of people surveyed felt that relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in Ireland are good, and that Islam is compatible with Irish life, but is this realy the case?

For example, many Muslim beliefs, while not at odds with a dominant Catholic ethos, certainly are different. Islamic prayer, religious celebrations, and educational content and pedagogies are, in some cases, distinctly different and may create a cultural divide between Muslims and non-Muslims in Ireland. As well as that, there are cultural separations between many Muslims and Irish people, the main one being the drinking culture in Ireland and the prohibition of alcohol by the Qu'ran.[17] Alcohol consumption and socialisation in pubs play an important role in Irish culture which has the potential to create divisions between 'native' or 'ethnic' Irish people and those from other cultural backgrounds. Asheen Qasim, an Irish-Muslim citizen, describes how an 'outsider' views Ireland's drink culture:

> *Take, for example, the reliance on alcohol for most of the cultural and social activities in Ireland. The majority of the Muslim community does not drink, and therefore can't join in the celebrations of, for example, Ireland has a sporting triumph, or when students celebrate their Leaving Cert. results. A clamp down on all pubs and clubs is not being called for, but diversity in the choice of recreation and a move towards a more encompassing cultural attitude that doesn't frown upon or ridicule abstinence is* (2006).

Qasim is not suggesting that cultural change must come from the Irish people alone. It must be a partnership between new and indigenous cultures in Ireland. In her estimation the Muslim community in Ireland needs to "grab the open hand their

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[17] For example, a study conducted by Stockholm University in Sweden determined that out of seven European countries surveyed (Ireland, Finland, Sweden, Germany, Britain, France and Italy) Irish people are the highest consumers of alcohol, at 14.2 litres per adult per week (the next closet was Britain at 9 litres per week). Since 1989, alcohol consumption has risen nearly fifty per cent, the highest rate in Europe (Helm, 2003). Furthermore, because of the increase of expendable incomes, Irish people spend more of it on drinks than any other European nationality. According to an EU study, Irish households spend an average of 1,648 Euros annually on alcohol which is more than triple the figure for Denmark whose households are the second-biggest spenders (Lavery, 2006).

adopted countries put forward" (Qasim, 2006). This difference in culture raises the issue of how Muslim pupils may fit into an Irish society that embraces a culture of drinking, especially the younger generations? If a majority of Irish youths centre their socialising on the consumption of alcohol, will Muslim youths create social bonds within their schools and social cohorts? This is just one of many issues that are raised with the expansion of diverse cultures in contemporary Ireland[18] (see also Flynn, 2006).

The Chinese population in Ireland also faces many challenges. A study conducted by Rebecca Chiyoko King-O'Riain and Ying Yun Wang for the *National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism*, suggests that the Chinese population in Ireland (numbering 60,000 – 100,000, the second largest minority new community behind the Polish) are facing many difficulties. For example, their research demonstrates that many Chinese pupils at third level (around 10,000) tend not to socialise in pubs which, in their estimation, "restricts their opportunities to interact with the Irish community at a social level" (Walsh, 2006). Again the 'pub culture' in Ireland could be seen as a hurdle to social interaction from immigrant groups whose culture does not embrace that form of socialisation. The study goes on to say that Chinese pupils are concerned by the amount of alcohol consumed by the youth of Ireland and that social isolation in a much larger problem for them than in other communities. Also, many of the respondents felt that racism exists in Ireland and over the last few years Irish people have changed their attitude towards immigrants; many believed "they [Irish people] were not as friendly as they used to

[18] The level of integration of the Muslim population in Ireland may have unique characteristics compared to other immigrant groups. For example in the Institute for the Study of Labour in Bonn produced a report from the UK Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities which claims that Muslims "integrate less and considerably less slowly that non-Muslims and a Muslim born in the UK and having spent more that 50 years there is likely to have a much stronger, separate identity than another non-Muslim immigrant who has just arrived" (McWillimas, 2008). At this point there is insufficient data on Ireland's Muslim population and there may be different findings if such a study was carried out.

be" (Walsh, 2006). This points to a separation between cultural characteristics of the dominant Irish culture and the newer diverse cultures in Ireland.

Mac Éinrí argues that in Ireland, as elsewhere in Europe, immigrants are often excluded:

> *European countries cling to place-based and often exclusive notion of identity, community and culture, which, sometimes intentionally and sometimes by less deliberate omission (but does that really excuse Polish Catholic anti-Semitism?), excludes those who do not belong to the mainstream nation-state. In subtle and not-so-subtle ways, there is a tendency to privilege those who were 'born into' a place, and its culture, over those 'blow-ins' who came from somewhere else* (Mac Éinrí, 2006).

If Irish people are willing to let in larger and larger numbers of immigrants, what does their presence mean for the construction of an Irish identity? Mac Éinrí (2006) asks; "Is there a way of 'becoming' Irish, or is it a genetic or place-specific inheritance?" Will these immigrants ever be considered Irish? Furthermore, will their children, who may be Irish citizens, accept an Irish identity or will they embrace their ethnic and cultural backgrounds?

The populist journalist Kevin Myers (2006) argues that Irish culture is at risk of being abandoned in favor of an open acceptance of every new culture coming into Ireland. Following President Mary McAleese's remarks, in which she stated that she would not be happy with a national debate about "multiculturalism versus integration" in Irish society, and that Ireland needs to welcome immigrants and not try to impose Irish culture upon them, Myers asserts that Irish society may fall victim to 'cultural relativism' (Myers, 2006). He states that "not merely are we going to impose 'shapes' on our 310,000 immigrants, we are not even going to have a debate on immigration, but instead will greet immigrants with a gushing mix of inquiry and welcome" (Myers, 2006). The potential danger, Myers points out, is that ideological

multiculturalism leads to a cultural relativism where immigrant groups in society will not have to adhere to, or follow codes of Irish culture.

Whether Myers' alarm at the possible cultural relativism is justified is unclear, but his discussion demonstrates that there needs to be a national debate about immigration and its impact on Irish society and culture. But "given the national cowardliness on all difficult questions, of course we haven't had debate in the Dail on immigration, even as Ireland undergoes the greatest demographic alteration since the Famine" (Myers, 2006). The change that Ireland is undergoing has the potential to create cultural clashes in a variety of areas in Irish society, which is all the more reason to initiate a debate. Gundara (2000:23) admits that "it is difficult in a society to accord each ethnic or nationality group an equal value"

Racism: The Contemporary 'Us' and 'Other' in Irish Society?

Ethnic and religious identity affiliations occur where there is more than one distinct group in society, in other words these groups compete with and compare each other (Nagata, 1976). These competitions and comparison between groups will potentially increase as the diversity of these groups increase in society. It is said that this religious and ethnic diversity can produce conflict, rather than consensus, depending on the prevailing social conditions (Blancarte & Verga, 2004; Cox, 1970). As the ethnic and religious groups (among others) in Irish society increase, the manifestation of conflict (e.g. racism) between groups may increase.

Devine (2005:51), drawing on the work of Foucault (1979, 1980) believes the manifestation of racism in Irish society needs to be seen in terms of the discourses of "normality and 'otherness', sameness and difference, which inform Irish people's understanding of their own and others' identities, in turn framing relations of power

between minority and majority ethnic groups."[19] These discourses can be viewed as discourses of power relations between the 'Us' and the 'Other' in which a commonsense view of the world is constructed and maintained. Foucault (1980:39), cited in Devine (2005), sees these discourses as "mechanisms of power" which "insert" themselves into the attitudes, actions, means of learning of every day life. Power in contemporary Irish society is employed through the ability to "define what is 'normal' and in the subordinate status typically accorded to those who are outside the 'norm'" (Devine, 2005:51). In the case of Irish society, the imagined ideal of the WHISC can be seen as the defining characteristics of what 'normal' (or the 'Us') is and more importantly is not. Ethnic and cultural minority groups can be put up to the 'measuring stick' of the WHISC and stereotyped into the 'Other' of society. Devine sees the exercising of power by the 'Us' in Irish society manifests itself in the form of racism:

> *Racism, which can take a number of forms, has its roots in discourses which defines those from minority ethnic groups as 'other', stereotyped according to a set of negative dispositions (lazy, volatile, strange, aggressive, etc), which appears to justify their exclusion from full participation within society* (2005:51).

For Devine, this is more than a distinction based on the colour of skin or outward appearance. Rather, this form of discrimination is "deeply embedded within the power of matrices of society and the systems of signifaction, legitimation and domination" (2005:51). Discrimination and racism in Irish society is not a mere individual ignorance, but, according to Devine (2005), embedded in the structures and frameworks of Irish society itself which values one view over another, which legitimises one national identity (in this case the WHISC) and includes some while excluding others.

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[19] Fanning defines racism as "negative attitudes and practices towards persons because of their membership of groups perceived to differ in physical or cultural characteristics from the perceiver" (2002:9).

Within an educational context (for example, Waldron, 2004; Waldron and Pike, 2005) investigated pupils' ideas about Irish national identity and its importance in citizenship and found that pupil's perceptions were close to that of a traditional ideal of Irishness. Pupils in this study indicated identification with product symbols and slogans associated with a dominant Irish culture. Another poignant finding is that, although a few pupils explicitly demonstrated an understanding of diversity in Irish society, overall there was little recognition of the growing diversity of cultures and ethnicities inside Ireland. From an analysis of pupils' drawings, Waldron and Pike (2005:247), found that the majority of pupils produced images that depicted Irish people as "able-bodied, sedentary (non-traveller), and white." This identification is close to Tracy's WHISC ideal. A notable difference was there were few mentions of religion in pupil's drawings. Although, Waldron and Pike (2005:247) point out that the "uncoupling of the dominant religion, Catholicism, from Irish national identity could be seen as an indication of a growing pluralism" it is clear that the pupils' concepts of what it means to be Irish are closely related to that of Tracy's WHISC ideal. Waldron and Pike (2005:248) explain further:

> *The majority of the children name what they see as distinctive cultural markers and suggest the existence of a dominant, authentic and unique cultural identity that they see themselves sharing. This essentialised and exceptional view of national identity is antithetical to the idea of cultural pluralism and the contradictions evident in children's discussions around immigration indicate that there are tensions, oppositions and ambiguities that need to be acknowledged and resolved.*

In light of Foucault's (1979, 1980) and Devine's (2005) view of power relationships in society, the findings of this study can be viewed as an indicator of the existence of a dominant ideal of Irishness in a diversifying society. The question that arises is what effect does this have on pupils who, although they may understand that these

traditional characteristics are what it means to be Irish, but they themselves do not identify with them?

Sinha (1998:21) argues that a national identity based on a dominant cultural ideal (e.g. Tracy's WHISC) "works against the notion of a multi-ethnic Ireland." She maintains that the characteristics manifested in Tracy's WHISC identity do not define the whole of an Irish national identity, but rather make up only a part of it. She re-examines the characteristics of 'Irishness' to highlight its flexibility rather than a rigid stereotype that has created 'exclusivity' within Irish society.

For Tracy, Irish identity is limited in nature and negates any diversity. Sinha (1998:21) points to the Irish Constitution positioning women in 'the home' and how "the national identity has worked to prevent full public participation of even those women granted membership within it." With such forces in place, Sinha argues that it is pointless to discuss a future multi-ethnic Ireland without re-examining current Irish national identity.

Today, Irish national identity is formed out of a "history of oppression and subsequent struggle for independence." Identities that are constructed in this way are more reactionary to their oppressors rather than as a liberating influence. Therefore exclusion is an inevitability. Sinha (1998:22) explains further:

> *With this, we can see that the roots of Irishnes lay not in particularities of culture and tradition, but in particularities of history and politics. It is characteristic of Irishness that makes it exclusive, and impossible for it to accommodate ethnic minorities, as other ethnic groups have their own history and politics. It is in reaction to the political and cultural oppression that 'Irishness' has been established, and that history cannot be removed from identity. In this way group identity extends beyond culture and tradition to a group's shared experience of history.*

From this Sinha argues Irishness is seen as an ethnic identity involving specific forms of culture, history and tradition. Furthermore, for Sinha (1998:22):

> *People of 'ethnic minorities', while they can learn to emulate 'Irish behaviour' (by speaking Irish, or even English with an Irish accent, and doing things in an 'Irish' way), specific to 'Irishness' is the experience and resulting impacts of their particular history of oppression which other ethnic groups cannot 'inject' into their cultural psyches. With this, I have chosen to extend the definition of 'ethnicity' to include common history and patterns of behaving that are the result of reacting and coping with that history. Thus, other ethnic groupings could never be 'Irish' (the ethnicity, not the nationality).*

Sinha's argument highlights several essential points. Firstly, the identity of a particular ethnic group is based upon the shared history of that group. Secondly, if a 'national' identity, is based on characteristics Tracy's WHISC, as those in it seem unlikely that minority ethnic groups in Ireland will be easily considered Irish or find connections with Irish culture.

It is interesting to note that in Irish society, 'Irishness' is no longer viewed as an ethnicity, rather it is seen as the dominant identity synonymous with the Irish nation-state. In Sinha's estimation, there was no "Irish ethnicity that sustained itself within the Republic" (1998:22). Having an ethnicity define membership of a national community demonstrates the notion of the right to Irishness which is claimed by indigenous peoples of Ireland, emigrants and their descendants living in the diaspora, while at the same time certain citizens of Ireland are not considered Irish because they are not 'ethnically' defined as Irish. Sinha points out that it is not wrong to assign exclusive membership to an ethnicity, in fact the very notion of ethnicity is based on the assumption that one group differs from another. In her estimation, the problem arises when aspects of citizenship and equality are gained through membership of a national identity which is founded in an ethnicity. "As 'Irishness' has become synonymous with the 'nation', so too has the national identity become synonymous with the Irish state" (Shinha, 1998:22).

To alleviate this situation, Sinha suggest the creation of a new Irish *state* identity based on the legal citizenship of its members. For her, this would render membership to the state based on ethnic, racial or gender criteria unnecessary. Gundara (2000) agrees with Sinha on the matter of acknowledging diversity in the public domain. For Gundara, the notion of one dominant ethos determining the identity of society such as the US (as English) or Canada (as French and/or English) must be replaced by "constitutional and democratic principles which can lead to the development of inclusive politics drawing on a more universal pool of knowledge and understanding" (2000:188). 'Irishness' would be seen as an ethnicity within a whole group of ethnicities that existed within an Irishness based within a legal framework. Sinha (1998:23) explains further:

> *What I am suggesting here is encouraging a new way of identifying in terms of the Irish state, where 'Irishness' is seen as membership and participation in a multi-ethic state. Simultaneously, I am suggesting de-centralising 'Irishness' as a national identity, but seeing it as an ethnicity and one of many in the Irish state... While 'Irishness' as an ethnicity may be recognised in Ireland, and thus join together with other ethnicities to form a state identity, we need to make sure we include the various ethnicities equally.*

Both Sinha and Gundara admit that deconstruction of the Irish identity and according each ethnicity and cultural group equal value is a difficult prospect.

The question that arises with regards to Sinha's suggestion for the development of an Irish state identity is what role will history play in the development or maintenance of this identity? Sinha points out that a common, shared history is an important foundation for an ethnic identity, so if many ethnicities were to share a common identity, what or whose history would or could they share? To answer this we must turn to the nature of history, but more importantly, the role that history education plays within society. This topic is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter Three.

Tracy's WHISC refers to an "invisible centre" in discourses of Irishness. By this, Tracy means the WHISC identity represents the most commonly recognised attributes of Irish identity which are taken for granted by the majority of Irish people. Irish people, whether they do so consciously or not, use the WHISC standard as a primer to gauge 'Irishness'. "Thus," as Tracy states "when 'Us/Them' debates occur in Irish society in relation to immigrants, Travellers, the EU, refugees or asylum-seekers, the 'Us' tends to refer to the WHISC" (Tracy, 2000:22).

For Gundara (2000:24), nation states such as Ireland and the UK are in fact "polyethnic states using a variety of mechanisms to maintain social and economic differentiation, usually presented with an accompanying rhetoric emphasising social cohesion." Lodge and Lynch (2004:3) agree that Irish society strives to maintain this homogeneity identity:

> *Even though Ireland has never been homogenous culturally or politically, there was a deep persistent attempt to create an image of cultural and political homogeneity in the post-independence years. A culture of manufactured homogeneity developed that became almost incontestable; daring to name differences was seen as a challenge to authority, a deviant act, rather than a statement of fact. Differences around disability, ethnicity, beliefs, etc. became subsumed and suppressed in a society in which all were deemed to be the same.*

In the case of Ireland, the state tends to adhere to the WHISC identity in the construction of institutions such as education, the church, and government to maintain this ideal. Historians such as Coolahan (1981) agree that the state's attempt at political and cultural cohesion manifested itself through education.

According to Gundara, this is a false representation of a homogenic state. "It is not surprising that the modern state is based on a fallacious ideal-typical model of a small-scale society. This is because the modern unitary nation state disguises its predatory origins by attempting to demonstrate a homogenic unity in terms of its citizens' allegiances and affiliations" (Gundara, 2004:24). This can be seen in the case

of Irish Catholic missionary work and the adhering to the imagined ideal of Tracy's WHISC, while excluding minority groups such as asylum seekers and Travellers.

Gundara (2000:24) argues that this 'unity' is a "codification of the dominant groups' social and economic arrangements." This codification by the dominant group constructs a model for membership of the nation. Accordingly, it requires: 1) "the capacity to operate within certain linguistic parameters, and, 2) acceptance of a common history, religion and other socio-cultural factors" (Gundara, 2004:24). If minority groups in Ireland, such as Travellers and immigrants, do not accept the common history, religion and socio-cultural factors that are manifested in the WHISC, what is their fate? Gundara believes that failing to accept these parameters makes "the individuals likely to be regarded as outsiders by the nation state or, more pejoratively, as 'alien'". Gundara (2004:25) further explains the fate of groups that do not accept this dominant ideal:

> *Groups that fail to meet these criteria are seen as 'the other' or 'alien' to the nation. By definition they lack cohesive capacity or positive identity and are seen as divisive element within the nation. Consequently they tend to be located at the periphery of the nation, not accepted, but tolerated, to a degree that depends on the economic and socio-political needs of the dominant groups. These groups see themselves as the legitimate constituted nation and use the 'other' as a means of maintaining this ideological fiction. Thus many ethnic and racial minorities are positioned at the periphery of the nation in cultural, political and economic, as well as spatial, terms.*

This can be seen in Irish society through the marginalisation of the Traveller community and the treatment of the refugee groups throughout the twentieth century.

Racism: Power Struggle in Irish Society?

Has the WHISC identity in an ethnically and culturally changing Irish society manifested itself in the form or racism towards the emerging 'Other'?

For example, the narrow construction of dominant Irish identity (i.e. WHISC) and the relative homogenous condition of Ireland for most of the twentieth century has been supported by a highly racialised policy on immigration (Loyal, 2003; Garner, 2004; Devine, 2005). The ratification of the UN Convention (1951) in 1956 by the Irish government ended anti-Semitic immigration policies in Ireland, but Fanning argues that the development of an Irish-Catholic identity through the construction of Jews as the 'Other' points to a legacy of racial discrimination within Irish immigration policy. Fanning (2002:83) states that "Racisms, including anti-Semitism, do not have to be formally articulated to have exclusionary impact. Institutional racism is the outcome of both stated and unstated racialised perspectives." An example of this is the unchanged refugee practices after 1956 that were not significantly altered until the 1990s. This also points to the existence of Tracy's WHISC identity in Irish society leading up to the twenty-first century.

The treatment of the many refugee groups that have made their way to Ireland in the past demonstrates that there has been some resentment or hostility towards an 'Other'. Cohen (1988:13), cited by Lentin (1999), maintains that societies which grow in diversity, and may eventually be considered a 'multicultural' society where a dominant and subordinate groups "learn how the other half lives, while leaving the structures of power intact" is a mere illusion. In this sense diverse ethnic, cultural and religious groups may be *present* in contemporary society, but they may not be *accepted.* Lentin (1999:17) explains this in the context of Irish society:

> *Irishness is not as homogeneously watertight as it was telling itself for centuries. However, although new cultural forms, new food shops, new musics, new restaurants, and new faces in the street, are changing the face of Irish life, let us not buy into the multicultural illusion that the unequal power relations between majority (white, Christian, Settled) Irish and minority ethnic people have been suspended in this exchange. Irish multicultures go hand in hand with Irish multiracisms, no longer hidden from view.*

With the addition of the 'Other' in Irish society, the characterisation of the 'Us' becomes clearer, and according to research, one of these qualities is racism.

Research demonstrates an increase of racial discrimination directed by Irish people towards there minority groups (Boucher, 1998; Collins, 1995; Mc Govern 1990; McVeigh & Binchy, 1998). For example, Casey and O'Connell (2000) conducted a survey of ethnic minorities (both refugees and immigrants status) to specifically investigate the experiences of racism and the possible mental health consequences. Assessing the ethnic minorities' psychological health, Casey and O'Connell (2000:37) found that a large proportion of respondents (48 per cent) were in need of further psychological assessment due to their experiences of racism in Ireland. According to their results, "ethnic minority individuals in Ireland are discriminated against in personal and institutional settings" and that the "Black group were the most frequent victims of racial abuse and discrimination. It seems that, in the Irish context, the darker one's skin, the more abuse one receives" (Casey & O'Connell: 2000, 38). Horgan (2000) researched the distinction between discriminatory acts towards forced immigrants (such as refugees) and voluntary immigrants. She found that forced immigrants faced more discriminatory acts than immigrants who choose to move to Ireland. Horgan's results were similar to Casey and O'Connell's in the majority of these acts were racially motivated and focused at African refugees who felt they were more easily identifiable because of the colour of there skin. Amnesty International's survey *Attitudes to Minorities* (2001) found intolerances towards minority groups specifically focused on Travellers. Furthermore, published in 2001, Amnesty International's *Report on Racism in Ireland* (2001) reports that 78 per cent of members of ethnic minorities had experienced racism. Over 80 per cent believed that racism was a serious problem in Ireland.

McGovern's research on the educational experiences of the Vietnamese refugees from 1979 to 1989 highlights this realisation of a WHISC identity and show that people who are not defined by this are often not considered Irish. Many of the Vietnamese recounted experiencing discrimination for not being Irish even though they are Irish citizens. One such example comes from a Vietnamese refugee who had to go to great efforts to get services installed in his home, when he was refused and used his brother (also an Irish citizen) as a guarantor, the reply that he received was "I know he is Irish, but not really Irish, you know what I mean... he is a different colour" (McGovern, 1990:25). Although McGovern's research was conducted in the 1970s and 1980s, the conclusions are still significant for the current discussion. There is an ideal of 'Irishness', even if it is an ideal instead of a reality, and it dictates how Irish people view themselves as well as people who are not 'Irish'. She also demonstrates that being an Irish citizen, as it is defined by Irish law, does not necessarily mean that a person is 'Irish' in the sense of sharing the WHISC identity.

Contemporary attitudes of Irish people towards non-Irish nationals reveal contradictions in Irish society. For instance, an IMS survey conducted for the *Sunday Tribune* (2005) found that although many people surveyed looked positively on the growth of new cultures in Ireland, many of the same people had reservations on the number of foreigners living in the country. Almost 80 per cent of respondents agreed that it is good that children in Ireland are growing up in a multicultural society, while eight out of ten Irish people believed that there should be restrictions on the number of foreigners allowed to live in the state. Furthermore, the study found that nearly two-thirds of Irish respondents did not have non-Irish friends, but only three out of ten said that "they would not want their son or daughter to marry a foreigner" (RTÉ, 2005). The latter statistic can be seen as an improvement towards attitudes towards

foreign people, but one must consider the context. For people who would allow their child to marry a foreigner this could mean someone from a similar Irish and white 'ethnic' background, such as someone from the US, Canada, or Great Britain, while at the same time a foreigner from a dissimilar background, such as African or Asian, may be unacceptable. Additionally, this statistic demonstrates that 30 per cent of people polled would not let their children marry a foreigner, no matter what his/her background.

The contradictions continue. Although more than half of the respondents agreed that "it was good having non-nationals living in their community", 43 per cent of respondents said they would reconsider buying a house in an area with a lot of foreigners (RTÉ, 2005). Again, the issue of 'where the foreigner comes from' could be a factor in the opinions of respondents. This study also highlights the strong connection that Irish people have with other Irish people. Some 77 per cent of respondents felt that the Irish people living illegally in the US should be allowed to stay, while on the other hand, only 66 per cent felt that non-nationals in Ireland should be allowed to stay while waiting for a decision on their residence applications (RTÉ, 2005). Further research conducted by Lansdowne Market Research (2006) found that 65 per cent of respondents disagreed with the statement that "Ireland was better off before foreign nationals come to this country." Furthermore, the research found that 59 per cent of respondents agreed that Ireland needs immigrants to sustain its prosperity. An interesting contrast to these finding is that in the same survey, 89 per cent of respondents agreed that racism is going to be a significant problem in Ireland in the future.

What this points to is that some Irish people are becoming accepting of the fact that Ireland is developing into a more culturally diverse society. What is not clear

is how these people feel about *all* 'non-Irish' people. Are they accepting of all foreigners regardless of whether or not they fit in with the dominant Irish identity (i.e. the WHISC), or are they only accepting of those foreigners who come from Western and white backgrounds who are seen as part of the 'Us', while non-white foreigners are viewed as the 'Other'? Could this be linked to, as Shinha suggested, the fact that a dominant Irish identity is based on an 'ethnic' ideal rather than the framework of legal citizenship? What is clear is that there are still people in Ireland who are not accepting of new cultures into Irish society, or at least they feel there needs to be greater limits on their entry. A prime example of wanting to curb immigration in Ireland comes from the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) which suggests that "immigration from Bulgaria and Romania should be restricted through a system of work permits when the two states join the EU next year..." (Colman, 2006). The ESRI calls for a pause in Ireland's liberal policy on EU immigration because of the change in the "economic context" and the potential loss of jobs in Ireland (Colman, 2006).

Understanding the work of Mac Gréil also helps us understand the WHISC identity, and groups whose members do not assume this identification. His research on prejudice in Ireland demonstrates the manifestation of an 'Irish' identity through the development of prejudice within the 'in' groups of Irish society against the 'Other'. In his book, *Prejudice in Ireland Revisited*, Mac Gréil outlines his survey conducted in 1988, and again in 1996, which researched intergroup attitudes in the ROI. The surveys dealt specifically with the attitudes towards the Irish Language, Education, Religious Practices and Attitudes, and Political Attitudes and Opinions. Mac Gréil points out that that the "utility of this study is its contribution to the understanding of intergroup relations in Ireland at a very important stage in its

development" (Mac Gréil, 1996:4). Mac Gréil (1996:5) points out that the issues of inter-group relations with in the historical sets of groups, i.e. "between Catholics, Protestants and Dissenters on the one hand and between Republicans, Loyalist, Socialist and Capitalist, on the other." Furthermore, he saw that Irish society was changing in the late twentieth century due to the "emergence of a certain degree of heterogeneity of our modern society which includes a growing diversity of ethnic, racial and social groups, especially in the larger towns and cities" (Mac Gréil, 1996:5). Even as early as the late 1980s, Mac Gréil understood that Ireland's shift from being a country of emigration to a country of immigration would have an effect on Irish society itself, "the opening up of Irish society to a more regular and intimate contact with the various European ethnic groups has important consequences for the people's attitudes towards members of such groups – as migrant pupils or workers abroad or as tourist/visitors, or new residents in Ireland" (1996:6). As demonstrated in Chapter One, Irish society has seen the numbers of these groups grow significantly in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Mac Gréil's research highlights the ethnocentrism that existed in Irish society in the late twentieth century. He maintains that the ethnic prejudices of Irish society are closely related to the ethnic self-identity of its people and are also related to Irish nationality. Mac Gréil (1996:96) points out that throughout the history of ethnic conquests, larger countries tended to be more nationalist at times and smaller countries tended to be more global in outlook, but in some cases, smaller countries can display "great nationalistic pride and ethnocentric bias."

From his definition of ethnic and national self identity, McGréil constructs a model of ethnocentrism which he divides into two separate forms: offensive ethnocentrism, and defensive ethnocentrism. This closely parallels Castells' (1997)

construction of identity in a network society. Offensive ethnocentrism is the result of ethnic expansionism, or the result of the belief that one way of life is the best and ought to be imposed upon another country. These constructions of identity are similar to those mentioned in Castell's discussion of identity formation. Defensive ethnocentrism on the other hand emerges in response to the "attempts to force assimilation on the people" (Mac Gréil,1996:97). It is when this nationality is threatened to be replaced by an offensive ethnocentrism that a surge in nationalism tends to occur. Mac Gréil (1996:96) points out that ethnocentrism in Ireland has been "largely a case of 'defensive ethnocentrism' and a response to a long history of colonial offensive ethnocentrism." In his survey, involving questions about ethnic self-identity, Mac Gréil (1996:97) asked "Which of these terms, i.e., Irish, Province/Country, Northern Irish, Southern Irish, Anglo-Irish, British, European, or other best describes the way you usually think of yourself?" His findings demonstrate that the majority of people surveyed see themselves as Irish, 96 per cent to be exact which supports Tracy's view of the ideal of Irishness in the WHISC identity. A further break down of Mac Gréil's finding shows a divergence between respondents' *national* self-identity and a *provincial* or *country* identity. Respondents from 'Dublin', 'Rest of Leinster' and 'town reared' see themselves more as being members of an Irish society (74 per cent). While in contrast, Connaught/Ulster respondents identified more with the local community. Again, these sub-sample findings demonstrate the pluralistic nature of the Irish identity; thus, although 96 per cent of the respondents identify with being Irish, they also identify with regional and community aspects of their Irishness. Mac Gréil's conclusions from his findings on ethnocentrism in Irish society clearly support Tracy's concept of the WHISC identity. "From the above findings on the responses to the question on perceived primary ethnic self-identity it is

overwhelmingly clear that Irish people see themselves as Irish as distinct from Europeans, British or even Anglo-Irish" (Mac Gréil,1996:101).

In his research, Mac Gréil also attempted to gauge the national patriotic esteem of the respondents. He maintains that understanding the level of patriotic esteem of a people is important in understanding the level of prejudice in a society. For example, an absence of national respect or patriotic esteem "could indicate a degree of self-denigration, which is to be found among colonised and oppressed minorities" (Mac Gréil, 1996:101). On the other hand a "xenophobic sense of superiority" may also be disguised as patriotic esteem or national pride (Mac Gréil, 1996:101).

Mac Gréil's overall findings demonstrate that that most of the respondents have a very positive view on Ireland. For example, a high percentage of respondents (73 per cent) agreed with the statement: "In striving for international cooperation we must take care that no typically Irish customs are lost" (Mac Gréil, 1996:101). This degree of support for the preservation of Irish customs, in Mac Gréil's view, "can only be explained by some degree of concern that the Irish way of life is in danger of being absorbed into an international super-culture. This also reflects a high esteem in the people for their uniquely Irish customs and rejection of transnational cultural homogenisation" (1996:101). In a time of the expansion of the EU and globalisation, Irish people deem it important to hold on to their customs and ethos. This raises the issue of the introduction of new cultures and customs into Irish society potentially changing traditional customs and culture that Mac Gréil's respondents support and preserve.

Another item dealing with ethnic self respect in Mac Gréil's (1996:101) study is the importance of history in Irish society. 75 per cent of respondents agreed with

the statement: "We, the Irish people, have reason to be proud of our history." These results not only demonstrate the level of pride that respondents feel about their history, but also the importance of history in the understanding of intergroup relations in Ireland. Mac Gréil explains further:

> *Politicians and other public commentators frequently criticise the Irish for being too conscious of their sad history which predominantly records a struggle for independence alternated by a succession of occupations by a foreign power and plantations. It should be noted that Ireland's major minority groups are historical because of the continuous emigration out of Ireland and very little immigration into Ireland since the 17th century. It is inevitable, therefore, that history is a very important dimension to the understanding of the intergroup relations problem in this country. Intergroup relations conflict in Britain, in the United States and in societies with recent inward migration, do not have to deal with the problems associated with a long history of relations between minorities and dominant groups* (1996:103-104).

What effects will the increase of immigrants into Irish society who do not share the same history as the traditional groups have on the view of the importance of history in Irish society? Where will their new histories fit in an Irish context? Furthermore, what effect will these new histories have on the content of history education in schools in Ireland? Mac Gréil believes that the importance of history to respondents is crucial in improving inter-group relations - "this finding is important for those engaged in working out a solution which, hopefully, will be one of 'integrated pluralism' and will make the basis of the next chapter in the 'history of Ireland'" (Mac Gréil, 1996:104). This begs the question: will and can there be an 'integrated pluralism' between native Irish and new immigrant groups?

A significant part of Mac Gréil's research looked at the attitudes of Irish groups towards twenty-one different nationalities and ethnic groups. Mac Gréil divided these groups into three categories: 1. Irish-British-North Americans 2. Continental Europeans and 3. Middle Eastern Ethnicities. Using the Bogardus Social

Distance scale to determine the level Irish people would accept a nationality as part of their family or kinship and denial of citizenship, Mac Gréil's results are clear.[20] "This kinship plus non-citizenship scale gives a clear picture at a glance of the range of ethnic preferences and prejudices of the total sample of respondents and through them the adult population of the Republic of Ireland in 1988-89" (Mac Gréil,1996:118). The top six ethnicities that his respondents would accept as kin and to whom they would not deny citizenship were English, White Americans, British, Canadians, Scottish, and Northern Irish. This data demonstrates that the Irish see themselves as 'white' identity more closely with British, American or Australian 'whites' and least with 'Africans', 'Asians', and 'black' Americans. The inclusion of white Americans and Canadians also demonstrates that Irish people see them as part of "White Anglo-Irish-Saxon" ethnic group (Mac Gréil, 1996:118).[21]

Following the top group of Irish-British-North Americans on the scale the acceptance as a family members and low denial of citizenship were Northern Europeans. Nationalities such as Dutch, German, French, Danes, and Belgians received 60 per cent approval rating and received a low denial of citizenship percentage (although this was twice as high as the Irish-British-North American group). Mac Gréil (1996:118) states that:

> [the] *fact that more than one third of the total sample are not willing to welcome the Northern (Continental) European Nationalities into their families through marriage does not leave much room for complacency in*

[20] The Bogardus Social Distance Scale is a psychological testing scale created by Emory S. Bogardus to empirically measure people's willingness to participate in social contacts of varying degrees of closeness with members of diverse social groups, such as other racial and ethnic groups, sex offenders, and homosexuals.

[21] According to MacGreil's (1996) study there are many groups that are not widely accepted in Irish society. For example of rankings of acceptable social groups on the Bogardus social distance scale, 'gay people' ranked fifty-fifth out of fifty-nine categories examined, 'Travellers' ranked fifty-fourth out of fifty-nine, while Catholics ranked first out of fifty-nine and Irish speakers ranked fourth out of fifty-nine. These findings not only point to what an 'Irish' identity is, but also demonstrate what it is not.

regard to the ethnic intergroup attitudes of Irish people towards this preferred sub-category of EU members!

When the remaining EU members and two non-members (at the time of the research) are considered, the situation begins to change. Russians (non-EU citizens), Poles, Italians, Spaniards and Greeks are all near the bottom of the scale for acceptance as a family member, and receive high per cent rating of denial of citizenship. Mac Gréil questions the source of this prejudice towards Southern and Eastern European Groups. Could this be a level of 'defensive ethnocentrism' because of a supposed danger to Irish values? Or is it due to the variation of certain anti-migrant groups in Britain and Ireland? Whatever the cause, Mac Gréil (1996:118) believes that these results leave much to be desired if "one hopes for an open tolerant society."

The final category of ethnicities that receives the most prejudice from the Irish respondents is the Middle Eastern category - attitudes towards 'Israelis' and 'Arabs' are negative and "contain a high degree of ethnic and religious intolerance" (Mac Gréil, 1996:119). Nearly one quarter of the respondents would deny people of this category citizenship, and put them at the lowest percentage for acceptance into their family. Mac Gréil explains this Irish prejudice as a manifestation of a larger Western attitude towards Semitic people of both Jewish and Muslim origins. Again, Mac Gréil's findings support Tracy's concept that Irish people have a self- identity that is based upon the WHISC identity which is considered the 'Us' group in Irish society. At the same time the WHISC ideal creates prejudice towards the 'Other' group inside and outside of Irish society.

Mac Gréil's research is significant in the fact that it demonstrates not only the ethnocentrism of Ireland's 'monocultural' society in the late 1980, but also highlights the potential for conflict when attempting to integrate different ethnicities. Mac Gréil explains the results of his study:

> *In summary, it can be said that the increase in ethnocentrism is widespread and real. It happened at a time when there have been moves taking place to integrate the nationalities of Europe more closely, i.e. leading up to the Maastricht Treaty. This bears out the lessons of history that when attempts are made to bring different nationalities closely together under single political structures, the phenomenon of 'defensive ethnocentrism' can arise. The Irish Act of Union in 1801 led to bitter ethnic prejudice against England in Ireland. The current very low level of ethnocentrism in relation to 'English' and 'British' may be because of the mutual dependence of the Republic of Ireland and Britain? The ethnic hostilities in the former U.S.S.R have only come to light once the centrist administration was relaxed. The challenge facing Europe in the future may well be to have inter-national cooperation that is genuinely pluralist in structure, i.e. void of 'offensive ethnocentrism' at the centre and 'defensive ethnocentrism' as a reaction to moves towards 'Fortress Europe'! (1996:130)*

This ethnocentrism in Irish society can be considered the cause of the problems that groups of refugees such as the Chilean, Hungarian and Vietnamese have faced in their settlement in Ireland. Because these groups were not identifiable by Irish people as having the qualities of Tracy's WHISC identity, they were largely not accepted as Irish, even though many of them were legally Irish citizens.

Not only does research point to a possible social distance on the part of the Irish people (the 'Us') towards immigrant and minority groups (the 'Other'), but the same may be said about the 'Other' towards the 'Us'. For example, Sheridan (1998) conducted a case study in the late 1990s which looked at psycho-social issues that pupils at the Vietnamese English Language Centre faced while living in Ireland. Although this case study focuses on the issue of English as a second language for the pupils, its findings are applicable to the current discussion because it demonstrates boundaries that exist in Irish society.

Sheridan's findings, based on qualitative results from interviews and questionnaires given to twenty-two Vietnamese and Vietnamese/Chinese pupils, who had recently migrated to Ireland because of family reunification, reveals a certain

amount of social distance between the respondents and the wider Irish society. The first significant finding was that even though six out of the twenty-twenty respondents "definitely wanted to leave their former country and become a part of Irish society" no one was prepared to sacrifice their language or culture to become a part of Irish society (Sheridan, 1998). Although there was a desire to belong to Irish society, there was a reluctance to lose identity for the sake of assimilation. When asked why they wanted to keep their language and their culture, respondents stated that they were expression of their national identity. It seems that these respondents did not see themselves as Irish or even Vietnamese-Irish, but rather, as a Vietnamese living in a foreign country. What is interesting to note is that among the respondents there were not only those resettled from Vietnam, but people who were also born in Ireland. The latter group was not raised in a foreign country in one sense and were Irish citizens from birth, but still faced social exclusion because of their cultural background (see also Maguire & Saris, 2007).

A majority of the respondents wanted to learn to speak better English, but apart from the teacher, they did not come into contact with any other English-speaking person. Ten of the respondents said that they did not have any ethnic Irish friends. This not only demonstrates the fact that these pupils do not get enough practise at speaking English, but it also shows that there are social barriers "regarding friendship and the subsequent socialisation which gives the opportunity to speak English" (Sheridan, 1998). It is clear that the respondent had little or no social interaction with Irish people. Sixteen respondents said that they never visit Irish friend or neighbours and fourteen of the respondents "never went out socially with Irish people" (Sheridan, 1998).

Why are there social barriers between these pupils and the majority culture? At first glance, the difficulties of speaking English could be seen as the biggest obstacle to socialisation, but in Sheridan's estimation, it is a much deeper issue and more unclear. One explanation could be that immigrant parents are fearful that if their children are exposed to the majority culture, traditional cultural values may erode away. Another explanation is that parents are trying to protect their children from racism in Irish society, though the two explanations are not mutually exclusive. Could this be Castell's 'exclusion of the excluder by the excluded' in action? The causes of social barriers are unclear. What is clear for Sheridan is that the Vietnamese community in Ireland does not face a "balanced set of group relations" and Chinese or Vietnamese find it difficult to function within the majority society (Sheridan, 1998).

Where do these barriers originate? From the work of Mac Gréil, we can see that Irish society has tendencies towards being ethnocentric and racist towards the 'Other'. Tracy's WHISC identity demonstrates that there is a dominant identity, although imagined, in Irish society. Could these barriers be constructed by the 'Us' of Ireland to protect the dominant culture? Could new immigrant cultures create these barriers to protect and promote their traditional culture within their minority communities? Could the threat of losing their culture to the dominant culture contribute to the construction of social boundaries? Or a third possibility is that *both* groups are responsible for creating social boundaries? When the majority culture is hostile or indifferent towards minority cultures, those minority cultures are less motivated to interact with the majority. Also, the majority group sees this lack of motivation as resistance to the indigenous culture and may become more hostile towards these minorities. Sheridan (1998) argues that it takes both groups to promote positive social interaction between groups; "A minority group has to make some

adjustments in order to survive and equally majority attitudes need to be accommodating." Responsibility for positive interaction between ethnic minority groups and the majority culture falls upon both groups.

Conclusion

Although it is clear that Ireland cannot be considered a 'monocultural' society (one merely has to look at the Traveller Community to see this), there is an identifiable 'official' identity even if it is imagined. As Tracy points out, identifying with this means identifying with the characteristics of being white, heterosexual, Irish, settled, and Catholic. It is also important to point out this identity is an imagined ideal within Irish society; it is what people think they should be, or are when they imagine what it is to be Irish. Along with this there exists the 'Other', i.e. people who do not identify with the dominant identity or are perceived to not being part of the dominant culture. For instance, an ethnically Vietnamese person who has lived in Ireland his/her whole life and is an Irish citizen may or may not identify with the dominant culture. Furthermore, he/she may or may not be considered part of the dominant culture, by the dominant culture.

With the growth of diverse culture and ethnicity working and living in Ireland, the 'Other' to the dominant Irish culture is growing and gaining a larger stake in Irish society. This raises questions about what it means to be Irish, as well as what it mean to be a foreigner living in Irish society. Akioglu (2005) highlights the issue of ethnic and cultural expansion in traditionally 'moncultural' societies in a more 'globalised' world:

> *Ethnic identities have begun to gain great importance and nation-states have begun to be questioned. Since traditional societies have had customs, everyone living in such a kind of societies has known who s/he is. Therefore there was no identity problem in these societies. Socio-cultural changes have led to the dominance of traditions and then,*

> *brought about be identity questionings. The identity became an issue and it seems that is will continue to be problematic issue later. The contemporary identity crisis is both a result and a product of the product.*

The level of racism and ethnocentrism that exists in Ireland could be seen as the manifestation of an attempt at dominance of traditional Irish cultural identity (i.e., the WHISC). Although at this point in Irish society it is unclear whether an 'Irish' identity is being questioned.

What is clear from the discussion on identity development, whether it is based on national or ethnic, history plays a large role. A person's self-identity is based on many things including one's past, ancestry and origins, in other words, their history. Whether this history is real or imagined, it is still a factor in the development of an individual's identity. However, with so many groups in a democratic society, many versions of history are bound to appear. Levstik (2000:285) explains:

> *In a multicultural democracy such as the United States, alternative histories also develop but they are more overtly disseminated through family and cultural and religious associations as well as though such public channels as museums and print and visual media. Because of the potential disparity between the version of history encountered in these context s and that disseminated in schools—a site where some form of overarching national history is explicitly introduced—students in multicultural societies may be faced with reconciling widely varied accounts of the past.*

Appleby agrees with Levstik on the claim that a democracy leads to different histories, she states that "Ethnocentrism is common to all folk. Nonetheless, it presents special problems to a pluralistic democracy like that of the US" (Appleby, 1995:307).

What impact does the control over power, or the ability of defining what is normal, acceptable or part of an imagined sameness of what it means to be Irish in contemporary Ireland when there are more and more ethnic and cultural minority groups in Irish society. Will these groups have to assimilate and take on the

characteristic of the 'Us' and no longer be the 'Other'? What does this mean for the education system in Ireland? Divine argues that "schools are embedded in this social context and are often positioned at the coal face of dealing with the shifting realities of life" (2005:52). Will pupils only be exposed to an education system influenced by the discourses of the dominant 'Us' of society, or will it change?

Chapter Three: History Education in a Diversifying Society

Introduction

The diversifying of cultures and ethnicities in Ireland raises many challenges for Irish society. The development of fair and just migration and employment policies, the combating of racism, and the challenging of what it means to be 'Irish in an Irish Ireland' are just some of the many issues that Irish society is facing.

One aspect of society that has been at the forefront of this is the education system. A system, which for much of the twentieth century has catered to a largely white, settled, Catholic pupil population, has been forced, in recent years, to accept changes in curriculum and methodologies to meet the needs of twenty-first century Ireland. As discussed in previous chapters, an individual's culture and identity can play a major role in how that person sees and acts in the world and a contributing influence of that cultural background is history. History of family, local community, religion and nation are a few sources of historical knowledge and understanding that influences a person's identity: an identity that is continually being developed and redefined. Studying history, within the curriculum and content set forth by the Department of Education and Science (DES), and implemented by teachers, pupils are exposed to a formal interaction with history, but interaction with history does not stop at the school doors. Pupils continue learning history from informal sources such as family, peers, television, the Internet, and books to name a few. Shaped by differing sociocultural backgrounds pupils may view and understand history in different ways.

New groups in Irish society (e.g. diverse ethnic, religious and cultural groups) may deem their histories more important than an established Irish history. In what context do these 'new' pupils enter the education system in Ireland? It is agreed that

Ireland has a dominant culture (although imagined) how will pupils who do not identify with this ideal fit into contemporary Irish society? Furthermore, how should education, specifically history education, change (if at all) to meet the needs of an ever changing pupil population made up of individuals who come from a variety of sociocultural backgrounds? Do these pupils view and connect with history differently? If so, how will this affect how and why history is taught in schools in Ireland? The following chapter attempts to answer these questions in the hope of better understanding the teaching of history in Ireland, the potential changes that may occur, and the problems that may accompany this change.

Education in Diverse Societies

The impact of globalisation and increased mobility in the world raises the debate over equality of education for all. Due to the recent trends in immigration and economic expansion, this issue has a particular relevance in Ireland (Waldron & Pike, 2006). Nelson, Carlson, and Palonsky (1993: 171) state "diversity of population suggests diversity of education... "; but what does this actually mean? [22]

Gundara (2000:vii) argues that "schools and educational systems have an important role to play in helping to create peaceableness [sic] and stability in socially diverse but unequally and divided communities." In this sense, education is seen as a tool in the development of shared and common values in the complexities that are created by the diversification of societies. Gundara also argues that the diversification of society raises the issues of inclusion of knowledge and the role of the curriculum. For example, Gordon and Bhattacharyya (1992) argue that social and cultural

[22] For a better understanding of diversification in society and the potential impact on education see Gordon & Bhattacharyya (1992) who investigated the impact of diversity of society in the US and how this diversity may impact the academic canon. Although this literature is set within the framework of education in the US, Gordon & Bhattacharyya's discussion could be one faced by educators in Ireland in the near future.

diversity challenges the foundations of the academic canon. For example, the perceived Eurocentric education in the US, with its "imposing of standards for knowledge content and validity that are associated with the cultures of northern Europe" has faced criticism by proponents of 'Afrocentric' education who believe that African American pupils should have the opportunity to be exposed to the "long and rich history of the peoples of Africa and their cultures" (Gordon & Bhattacharyya, 1992:405). These critics of an exclusive focus on Western civilization (Eurocentric knowledge) "argue that such a truncated approach to knowledge is a distortion of reality and must be corrected" (Gordon & Bhattacharyya, 1992:405).

Reakes (2007) points out that in the UK, a similar debate exists over the reception of asylum seekers and provisions for them in schools. Agreeing with Batty (2001) and Rutter (2001), Reakes suggests that the increased numbers of asylum seekers of school age in the UK have an impact on the social services, including the education system. He argues that the government's policy of dispersing asylum seekers to towns and cities through the UK has placed significant strain on educators who are unprepared to accommodate ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of these pupils. Reakes sees that the problems educating asylum seekers "stems from inherent weaknesses in the education system itself rather than the individual needs of this group of pupils" (2007:94).

Will these types of criticisms emerge in Ireland? With an Anglo-Irish preemption of the academic canon in Ireland (with a focus on Western civilization), could there be a call for a more African or Asian foci for academic study?

In Gundura's estimation, for diverse democratic societies; the "exclusion of knowledge from those civilisations, cultures, communities and groups cannot be simply represented by demands for political correctness" (2000:183). If democratic

societies like the US, Canada, the UK and Ireland are to develop shared and common values, the issue of what constitutes legitimate knowledge needs to be addressed ensuring "legitimate knowledge in society has the democratic consent and is representative of diverse sources of knowledge" (Gundara, 2000). It could be argued that the Irish academic canon is based upon Tracy's WHISC ideal of what it means to be Irish, in the sense that it develops common or shared values of what it means to 'be' and 'live' in Irish society.

Delpit (1992) argues that with the increase of culturally and ethnically diverse pupils in schools, many of these pupils are at a greater risk of being marginalised. For example she points out there is a potential cultural clash between pupils and schools. One way that this occurs is that teachers may "misread students' aptitudes, intent, or abilities as a result of the differences in styles of language use and interaction patterns" (Delpit, 1992:238). Furthermore, teachers may employ styles of instruction that may conflict with community norms. In an education system that is dominated by teachers who identify with a prevailing Irish culture and who are receiving teacher training within Ireland, the increase of diversity of pupils may bring about the actualisation of these risks. Delpit also warns of stereotyping of pupils by their ethnic group. For example, in the US, Asian American pupils are often regarded as 'perfect' pupils regardless of their academic achievement which has led to, in many cases, negligence of the academic needs of Asian American pupils. Although there are few long established minority groups in Ireland that can be stereotyped, Traveller children are often times stereotyped as 'academic under achievers', regardless of actual ability. This negative stereotyping can lead to child-deficit assumptions by teachers of diverse pupils. Delpit (1991:241) argues that teacher education "focuses on research that links failure and socioeconomic status, failure and cultural difference, and failure

and single-parent households." This type of teacher education can lead educators to look for the negatives in pupils from these categories rather than locating their strengths. Delpit maintains that along with this pattern of deficit thinking by teachers, there is ignorance in school systems of community norms. Cultural barriers between ethnic minority communities and school professionals (who are often white and from middle class backgrounds) may create problems. Teachers can be "appalled by what they see of poor parents" and fail to see past "surface behavior to the meanings behind parents' actions" (Delpit, 1991:243). These issues may lead to the 'invisibility' of pupils in the sense that well intentioned teachers ignore ethnicity or cultural background and 'just see pupils'. This may marginalise or completely disregard the many perspectives that exist in a diverse society. Delpit (1991) suggests that if one does not 'see colour' than one does not see children. Delpit, like many others, suggests that these issues can be overcome through change: change in teacher education, change in curriculum, and change of school ethos.

In any discussion of the role of education and the curriculum in culturally and ethnically diverse societies, the concept of multiculturalism is many times seen as a solution to many of the problems outlined above. In recent decades, there has been an inundation of literature written about multicultural education. Some authors cover the importance of social justice of various minority groups and challenge the deficit model in education. Others discuss teachers' integration of various customs, food, music and the dress of ethnic communities into their lesson plans.[23] Further literature "present[s] social categories like race, class, gender, sexual orientation, religion,

[23] Gitlen et al. (2003) conducted research into how institutional practices that simultaneously welcomed and 'unwelcomed' immigrants in schools. For example, practices such as 'multicultural days' which emphasises the traditional music, dress, language and food of the immigrant groups in schools, introduced the dominant white pupils to immigrant backgrounds, while at the same time stereotyping immigrant pupils as 'Polish' or 'Mexican' based on the traditional food, music, dress and customs of their former country.

disability, and ethnicity as separate categories" (Pang, 2001:3). The issue of diversity of language in the classroom and the issue of bilingualism and multiligualism has also prompted an expansion of research and literature. (For a further overview of multicultural education approaches, see McNamee, 1990; Minami & Ovando, 1995; Moran & Hakuta, 1995; Ovando et al., 1985; Pang, 2001) This section does not, however, attempt to add to the debate of the multiple arguments over multiculturalism or what a multicultural society is, rather it looks at multiculturalism as it applies to an educational context.

Although the Intergroup Education movement of the 1940s and 1950s in the US is sometimes regarded as the precursor to multicultural education, Banks (2001) locates the origins of multicultural education in the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, when ethnic and cultural minority groups began to question their place in educational systems. The results of the civil rights movement can be seen in the addition of multiculturalism in teacher education. In the UK, during the 1970s for example, the Inner London Education Authority took initial steps towards greater equality through policies put into effect by the Education Officer and the Inspectorate for Multi-ethnic Education. In 1979 the Centre for Multicultural Education was set up to "cut across the departmental and disciplinary structures" of the Institute of Education at the University of London, the largest teacher education institution in the country (Gundara, 2000:vi). At the national level, the centre's intention was to guarantee that issues of anti-racism and multiculturalism were highlighted in higher learning. Progressing into the 1980s, the centre began to establish international links seeing British agencies working in partnership with EU institutions. In recognition of broader European interest the center's name changed to the *International Centre for Intercultural Studies* and adopted a more international focus and shifted towards a

more intercultural aims in education. At a 1984 conference held at the Centre, which was attended by educators from Europe, the *International Association of Intercultural Education* (IAIE) was founded. The IAIE, in collaboration with the Centre was involved in established a network of institutional links and supported a variety of research in the area of interculturalism and anti-racism and established the journal *Intercultural Education.* The Centre has also strengthened its links with higher level institutions through the Erasmus and Socrates Programmes. The Centre was also commissioned by the Council of Europe to carry out projects and research into intercultural issues (Gundara, 2000).[24]

In more recent years, the discourse over multiculturalism has expanded its focuses on inclusion of not only ethnically and culturally diverse groups in society, but also includes more marginalised groups such as people with disabilities, special needs pupils, new ethnic minorities and gay and lesbian groups (see Banks, 2001; Banks, 1992; Sleeter, 1995; Sleeter and Grant, 1993; Sobel, 1990). As societies become more ethnically and culturally diverse, there is a potential for the modification of educational policies and pedagogies. One approach to education in diverse societies is a multicultural approach.

The concept of multiculturalism in education, as Burnett (1994) states "cannot be all things to all people." There are several educational strategies, polices, pedagogies that can fall under the broad umbrella of multicultural education.[25] Banks offers this basic definition of multicultural education:

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[24] Although these initiatives have expanded in recent years there is still limit research in the UK into certain areas such as educational needs of asylum seekers (Reakes, 2007) or schools interpretations of policies and guidelines concerning immigration (Mott, 2000).

[25] Pang (2001) points out that Multicultural Education is an academic discipline that has a wide range of views and ideas. For greater background on these ideas, Pang suggests reading the following authors: Banks 1981; Bennett 1995; Cajete 1994; Gay 1994; Gollnick & Chin 1990; Moll 1990; Nieto 1992; Pang 1994; Sleeter 1995; Sleeter & Grant 1987; Yeo 1997.

> [multicultural education] *incorporates the idea that all students – regardless of their gender and social class and their ethnic, racial or cultural characteristics – should have an equal opportunity to learn in school* (2001: 3)

Burnett (1994) developed three typologies to explain how multicultural education is implemented (see also Sleeter 1995). Based on the work of Banks (1994), and Sleeter and Grant (1993), Burnet (1994) presents three typologies aimed at educators, policy makers and others who are "just learning about multicultural education options." First are *content-oriented* programmess that aim to included material and content to increase pupils' knowledge of previously marginalised minority groups. Often called the "single-group studies" the goal of these types of programmes is to incorporate different view points and ultimately develop a new paradigm for the curriculum. The second are *pupil-orientated* programs that are specifically designed for the needs of clearly defined minority groups (often ethnic minority pupils) in an attempt to increase the academic achievement of these specific groups. Sleeter and Grant (1993) see these types of programmes as intended not only to transform the context of education, but also help, as Burnett states, "culturally or linguistically different students make the transition into the educational mainstream" (1994). The third programme aims to advance cultural and racial tolerance on a broad scale through increased social contact not only between different ethnic groups, but also between different genders, cultural backgrounds and linguistic ability. This type can be seen as having an anti-racism agenda. These three typologies facilitate, in Burnett's estimation, educational providers and policy makers a common framework within which to develop appropriate programs for diverse student populations.

Cuthbertson and Grundlingh (1995:22), much like Burnett, categorise multicultural education into distinct discourses which include "cultural understanding, cultural competence and cultural emancipation." Advocates of 'cultural

understanding' stress the importance of racial harmony through the development of "sensitivity and appreciation of cultural differences" within students through the curriculum (Cuthbertson & Grundlingh, 1995: 22). Supporters of the 'cultural competence' approach see the preservation of minority ethnic identities and languages the main objective of the curriculum. Through this development in all pupils, proponents believe the gaps between pupils of dominant cultures and minority cultures will be bridged through, what Gallagher (2004:112) calls a "contact hypothesis" of educational approaches. Proponents of 'cultural emancipation' suggest that not only should gaps between groups be bridged, but also that the curriculum should create more opportunities and access based on non-racialised approaches to the curriculum.

Cuthbertson and Grundlingh (1995) also highlight some of the distinctive characteristics of multicultural education in diverse societies. For example, a specifically, but not uniquely, American educational approach is based on the 'melting-pot' analogy where diverse cultures are "significant only in as much as they contribute to a national American culture" (Cuthbertson & Grundligh, 1995: 21). The second approach is intended to promote assimilation of minority groups into the more dominant culture and is seen as a characteristic of British education (see also Grovsenor, 1997). The third approach, which aims to eliminate ethnocentrism and a deficit model in education, is based on a 'liberal pluralist' approach and encourages acceptance of diversity of culture and ethnicity in society and has been broadly put into practice in Australia. The fourth approach, a form of cultural pluralism, attempts to promote the equality of all diverse groups within society through political power, preservation of languages and cultural identity. The fifth approach, education for cultural preservation, attempts to segregate ethnic groups to protect them from the

dominant culture.[26] Cuthbertson and Grundligh (1995: 21) maintain that "this approach insists on separate schools where the curriculum is designed to promote knowledge about the group" and should not be considered a form of multiculturalism in the strictest sense. The final form of multiculturalism in education highlighted by Cuthbertson and Grundligh is a form of 'bi-cultural' education that attempts to foster allegiances to two different cultures within the same society. For example, the promotion of English language in non-English speaking pupils, so that they may better adapt to the dominant culture, while at the same time recognising their native language in the curriculum. Cuthbertson and Grundligh (1995: 22) highlight a variety of multicultural approaches to education, however do not emphasise the importance of one discourse over any other; rather they make two underlining points: (1) that multicultural education has "essentially been applied in countries with well-developed democratic political systems as part of an egalitarian ethos", and (2) more importantly, that "multiculturalism is theoretically extremely complex; it means different things to different people."

The multicultural approach recognises that in a culturally diverse society, there are many voices that need to be heard. Perspectives based on ethnicity, gender, socio-economic and religious backgrounds are legitimised in a multicultural education where no view point should be dominant over any other. As Nelson, Carlson and Palonsky (1997:175) argue, "children who find themselves and their culture unrepresented in the school curriculum cannot help but feel lost and resentful." To avoid this, school curricula need to include these differing perspectives. This should

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[26] Mcdonough (1998:463) discusses in greater detail the issues surrounding minority groups, such as American Indians, African Americans and the deaf in the US and Canada, claiming the right to establish separate schools "whose educational aims and practices are designed to reinforce a particular cultural identity." Morgan (1995) documents research which demonstrates that African American pupils (specifically males) initiate action in classrooms differently than white pupils, which may be reasoning behind a movement towards creating schools specifically for African American males.

include not only long standing indigenous minority groups, but the views of new immigrants as well. According to the multiculturalists argument, new immigrants "need to know about their lands they left as well as their new home" (Nelson, Carlson & Palonsky, 1997:175). What implications might this have on history as a taught subject?

Educational systems in increasingly diverse societies struggle with a progressive approach to preparing pupils for life in a changing culture while maintaining a traditional content based curriculum measured by high stakes assessment. In other words, there are at least two perspectives present in curriculum planning which are, in many ways, are conflicting (Guidera, 2007). On the one hand, a progressive approach to planning a history curriculum may include a variety of historical perspectives which includes the histories of marginalised groups in society while a more traditional approach might plan for a grand narrative or one story that creates a common historical understanding between pupils.

Dolby (2000:164) suggests that history classrooms need to move away from a rigid structured and ordered "grand narrative" of history which ignores the "reality of conflicting views, of multiple perspectives and of the local specific conditions." Rather, a multicultural approach to history education should focus on individual groups' perspectives. The focus of narrative centered on battles, heads of state and government needs to be re-centered towards those individuals and groups who have been marginalised by a traditional monolithic narrative (Loewen, 1997). This refocusing allows pupils to create their own historical interpretations and their own meaning. This, as Dolby (2000) points out, renegotiates the teacher/pupil relationship. No longer is the teacher an authoritative source of historical knowledge, rather he/she

becomes a "facilitator of students' learning" (Dolby 2000:165). This is what Levstik (1997:50) calls "teaching perspectival [sic] history through an apprenticeship model."

The multiculturalists argument maintains that, in the US for example, the Eurocentric focus of history education is flawed and in many cases, is harmful to ethnic and cultural minority pupils; they believe that it should be a part of a wider curriculum which includes the view points of many cultures (see Loewen, 1997). In their estimation no cultural viewpoint should be any more important than any other:

> *The multiculturalist argument is not that Eurocentric view is wrong or evil or that children of Asian or African decent should not be taught about the European legacy found in American politics, in economics, and in the arts and sciences. The argument rests in the need to be more inclusive. Multiculturalism begins by recognizing the cultural diversity of the United States, and asks that the curriculum explore that diversity. A multicultural education does not concentrate on the accomplishments of one group of immigrants at the expense of learning about others. To be well educated, in a multicultural sense, means to learn about the history and literature and the contributions of the varied people who have fashioned the complex tapestry of American life* (Nelson, Carlson & Palonsky, 1997:177).

Grosvenor believes that multiculturalism in education, in the UK, through its perceived attack on a 'traditional curriculum' which teaches pupils to look through the eyes of the dominant class and culture, "constitutes a challenge to the status quo" (2000: 148). A multiculturalist approach to education takes into account and attempts to change the perceived ideas of racism, sexism and class privilege that is associated with a 'traditional' education. For history education to move forward, the inclusion of gender, ethnicity and social class in historical narratives is, in Grosvenor's estimation, "to court controversy" (2000:149). In an Irish context, controversy over history is clearly evident. The multiple historical perspectives creates a debate over how or why people and events in history are depicted, especially in the classroom setting where choices of who and want is included must be made. What does the increase of new historical perspectives based on diverse sociocultural backgrounds mean for debates

over history in Ireland? Writing about the late 1980s campaign for multicultural education in Britain, Gosvenor states that:

> *history is the most political of subjects, able to arouse the most fierce partisan voices and the call for multicultural and anti-racist history to be included in the National Curriculum for England and Wales generated fierce debate amongst historians, history teachers and in the press* (2000:149).

In other words, multiculturalism creates challenges for history education. In the debates in Britain in the late 1980s, for example, conservatives fought to protect socialisation through a common, national identity, while radicals confronted xenophobic content and stereotyping of minority groups and liberals sought esteem for all cultural backgrounds. Grosvenor and Myers (2001:287) point out that the reality is "history is always based on selection" and that because education does not exist in a vacuum, politics, culture and wider society will influence curriculum development and teaching. The more diversity within society, the more perspectives there are about what should and should not be included in the curriculum and the more sides there are to the debate over the rationale and aim of education.

Implicit to the selection of curriculum content is the issue of time; in other words, there is limited time in school day to cover content. In the US for example, the National Education Commission on Time and Learning (1994) published a report on the situation of available teacher/pupil time in secondary schools. The Commission laid out a few statistics explaining the situation for secondary schools:

- the average school day begins at 8.00 in the morning and finishes at 3.00 in the afternoon;
- most academic years last nine months;
- the average school offered a six-period day with about 5.6 hours of classroom time per day;

- no matter how complex the subject, from gym to physics, each received 51 minutes per class period no matter how well or poorly pupils comprehended the material.

Time constrains what content is marginalised and what receives more focus in the classroom, there for, as Grovsnor points out, educators are forced to make choices about 'what is in and what is out'. If, according to a multicultural approach, history educators are to included more content which reflects the diversity of not only the classroom but also society, what history is in and history is out and what is the criteria for those decisions? The limit of time forces educators to prioritise what is in and our based on the values and goals of the educators and the curriculum.

Grovsenor and Myers believe that if multiculturalism is the desired approach to history education, a "static and immutable sense of national identity and culture... must give way to a more flexible, plural and accurate" version of the past (2001:287). The nature of history education itself lends controversy to the debate. Agreeing with Zinn, Grosvenor (2000) believes that choices about what is important and what is not in history are made and that individuals and groups in society will make these choices based on what they think is important and what they value.

The question that arises is if this is the approach for history education in a multicultural society where choices must be made about who, what and how people and events in history are depicted, which history is chosen and why?

Ethnic and Cultural diversity in Education: An Irish Context

Much of the debate surrounding the increase of groups from different ethnic and cultural background in Irish society has focused on the potential transformation of Irish society itself. This includes the level of inclusion (or lack thereof) of these new groups and the distinction of Irish society as it becomes more diverse.

Eck (2006) argues that there are distinctions to the approaches that societies take towards the widening of culture, three of which are *exclusion*, *assimilation*, and *pluralism*. From the exclusionist perspective, the answer to the increase of cultures, religions and ethnicities in society that may seem to threaten the core of civilization is to employ a closed door policy against the entry of the 'Other'. Historically speaking, this can be seen as the approached employed for the majority of the ROI's existence. An assimilationist perspective, much like the vision of America as a 'melting pot' of cultures and religions, accepts the influx of immigrants, but demands that they must leave behind their differences and 'angularities' as soon as possible (Eck, 2006). This assumes that immigrants will absolutely immerse themselves in the new, dominant culture. In the case of Ireland, this would mean that new immigrants are welcomed, but must conform to the predominantly WHISC cultural ideal. From the pluralist perspective, immigrants are welcomed with no demands to throw off their traditional culture and conform to a dominant culture, only to adhere to the civic demands of citizenship of the new country.

Eck's argument is closely related to Pang's (2001) understanding of the *Cultural Identity Continuum* where different cultural groups adhere to either traditional, bicultural or assimilated identities. The traditional identity is characterised by following traditional beliefs, patterns and language of their cultural group. The bicultural identity (closely related to Eck's concept of pluralism) consists of members retaining parts of their traditional culture while adopting practices and beliefs of the host culture. The third identity consists of individuals who no longer identify with their ethnic or cultural groups and have assimilated into the dominant culture of society.

Eck (2006) points out that sometimes 'pluralism' and 'diversity' are used as if they were synonyms. Diversity is, according to Eck, the existence of multiple cultures, religions, ethnicities and so on existing in the same unit, whether it is a society, city or local community. Pluralism, on the other hand, is characterised by the engagement that creates a common society for all those groups. For example, in a suburb of Dublin there may be groups of Vietnamese, Polish and Irish families living in the same housing estate, which in itself characterises the local community as being diverse. But, according to Eck (2006), "without any engagement or relationship with one another, it may not be an instance of pluralism." It is the 'energetic engagement' with the diversity which constitutes pluralism in society. Pluralism is also distinguished by the seeking of understanding across lines of differences. This is not a form of tolerance which does not remove ignorance of other groups and is based of half-truths and stereo-types. Rather it is an attempt at true understanding between the 'Us' and the 'Other'. Also, pluralism is not the promotion of relativism; it does not require one group (whether they are dominant or in a minority) to abandon their identities to gain understanding of different groups. This is close to Berlin's (1998) concept of value pluralism where an individual can enter a foreign value system (e.g. an immigrant in a new society) but can, nevertheless, understand how that value system works and communicate within that system. Most important for Berlin (1998) is the fact that although there is a plurality of values, values are part of humanity and create a commonality: "for all human beings must have common values or they cease to be human, and also some different values else they cease to differ, as in fact they do" (see also Crowder, 2003; Hardy, 2000).

Ultimately, this bridging of differences is based on dialogue which, in Eck's (2006) estimation, is about both listening and speaking that "reveals both common

understandings and real differences" and that not everyone "at the table" will agree with one another. The true essence of pluralism is the commitment to being at the table. The distinctiveness of pluralism can be seen in recent strategic developments with regard to the increase of differing cultures, ethnicities and religions in Ireland and the issue of racism, equality and inclusion.

Inclusion and Anti-Racism Agenda in Ireland

Gundara (2000:65), like Grosvenor, argues that "education takes place within a broad societal and political context" and the education system in Ireland is no exception. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, there is a significant level of racism in Irish society, and in recent years the discourses surrounding immigration and the diversification of Irish society have been focused on racism and inclusion.[27] Just like traditionally diverse countries such as Canada and Australia which have developed national awareness programmes which address racism, Ireland has had to face the reality of racist acts and discriminatory views towards minority and immigrant groups (Monshengwo, 2001). This has motivated various organisations, headed by the government to provide a "strategic direction to develop a more inclusive, intercultural society in Ireland through reasonable and common sense strategies that have the potential to receive broad support across Irish society" (Gaffney, 2006). In recent years, there has been a large development of initiatives to tackle racism and that

[27] For a comprehensive overview of the education system in Ireland there is an abundance of literature available, a few suggestions are: Coolahan (1981) *Irish Education: History and Structure*; Drudy and Lynch (1993) *Schools and Society in Ireland*; and *Irish Education for the 21st Century*, edited by Noel Ward and Triona Doony (1999).

endorse equal status of marginalised groups (such as Travellers and more recently asylum seekers) in Irish society (Crowley, 2001; Farrel &Watt, 2001).[28]

As an EU and UN member Ireland is obliged to recoginise the rights and equal status of all groups in Irish society, and in recent years there has been legislation to deal with these issues. For example, the *Prohibition of Incitement of Hatred Act* (1989) was the first of its kind in Ireland, and was directed at acts that promoted hatred towards any particular group or individual. Although this Act was difficult to apply because it was difficult to produce proof of inciting hatred, it created further legislation (Mac Éinrí, 2001a). The *Equal Employment Act* (1998) focused on discrimination in regards to employment on nine distinct grounds such as gender, age, or race. This act dealt with discrimination in both private and public work related areas, access to employment and employment conditions. In a broader application of the Equal Employment Act (1998), the *Equal Status Act* (2000) "prohibits discrimination in the provision of goods services, disposal of property and access to education" (Mac Éinrí, 2001a).

In conjunction with this, there was the establishment of agencies to implement these new legislations. The Office of the Director of Equality Investigations and the Equality Authority were established as State agencies with a proactive approach to implementation of legislation. In 1998, the *National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism* (NCCRI) was established by the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform as a partnership between government departments, agencies, and non-government organisations, with an advisory role to the government regarding racism, interculturalism and promoting a more pluralist Ireland. Building on the work of the *Irish National Coordinating Committee of European Year Against*

[28] For the most recent overview of the improvement of government services for minority ethnic groups in Ireland, see the 2006 report *Improving Government Service Delivery to Minority Ethnic Groups: Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, Scotland*, ed by Phillip Watt and Fiona McGaughey.

Racism (1997) and the work of the Strategic Management Initiative (SMI), the work of the NCCRI focuses on the "government departments whose operations are likely to have the most obvious impact on Black and Minority ethnic groups" (NCCRI). These Departments include: Justice, Equality and Law Reform; Environment and Local Government; Social community Affairs; Education and Science; Health and Children; Enterprise, Trade and Employment; Department of the Taoiseach; and, Foreign Affairs.[29] In more recent years, the creation of the Reception and Integration Agency in 2001, which focuses in the integration of asylum seekers and refuges allowed to remain in the state, and the newly formed Minister for Integration in 2007, which Conor Lenihan was the first appointee, also demonstrates the governments push towards integration of immigrants in contemporary Irish society.[30]

Education is identified as one of the key areas of intervention for anti-racism and equality of status policies in Irish society (Monshengwo, 2001). Although O'Connell (1994) maintains that "issues such as multi-culturalism, non denominational schools and anti-racism have not featured very prominently past debates about the Irish education system," in more recent years the DES, within this larger framework, has identified relevant challenges with regards to ethnic and minority groups (including Travellers) in the education system.[31] These challenges

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[29] In recent years, in the area of immigration, Irish Government policy has come under considerable critique for furthering capitalists interests (Loyal, 2003), reinforcing certain stereotypes (Gillborn, 1995) and favouring the rights of employers over migrant workers (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2004). Many see these policies are created in line with the dominant groups' interest in mind (Devine, 2005).

[30] For recent and useful information on the integration policy in Ireland see the *Report on Migration and Integration Policy in Ireland* (2007) produced by the Houses of the Oireachts , Joint Committee on European Affairs.

[31] Recent public debate over the Catholic Church as the major provider of education in Ireland has emerged. This debate includes a variety of issues including the concern about Catholic pupils receiving school places over non-Catholic pupils, the increases of non-Catholic pupils, the lack of school places, and the ability of the Catholic Church as a provider of education in an emerging intercultural, integration framework. (See Burke-Kennedy, 2007; Collins, 2007; Faller, 2007; Flynn, 2007; McGrarry, 2007; O'Regan, 2007)

focus on providing equal access of all groups to the education considering the economic and social changes affecting Irish society. Also, the DES has identified the challenges of meeting the particular needs of specific groups including special needs, educational disadvantage and linguistic minorities.

In conjunction with the NCCRI and the SMI, the DES adopted numerous anti-racism principles established by the National Anti-Poverty Strategy (NAPS) which recognises that Travellers and many other minority groups in Ireland are in persistent poverty or are at risk of poverty (NCCRI).

Provision of equal status of marginalised groups is manifest in the passing of legislation such as the Education Act (1998), the Employment Equality Act (1999), and the Equal Status Act (2000). Furthermore, in 2005, the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform introduced the National Action Plan Against Racism 2005-2008 (NAPAR) which trumpeted the government's continued commitment to "developing reasonable and common sense measures to accommodate cultural diversity in Ireland" and building a more inclusive society (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, 2005:27). Again, within this framework of anti-racism strategy, education is seen as one of the essential ways in combating racism.

In coming to terms with the diversification of society and the growth in the number of minority groups, the Irish government has set about ensuring provision of equal access and the securing of individual rights in the education system through various forms of legislation and educational policy. The Education Act (1998), for example, clearly sets out provisions for inclusivity and equality of access, and the promotion of respect of diversity throughout the education system. The Education Act (1998) also states that the language and culture of all pupils needs to be catered for. Although 'Irishness' is perceived as the dominant cultural characteristic within

the education system, minority pupils have the right to maintain their diverse languages and cultures. The promotion of respect for diversity, also permeates the Revised School Primary School Curriculum (1999:28) which "has a particular responsibility in promoting tolerance and respect for diversity in both the school and the community." The National Children's Strategy (2000) and the Guidelines on Traveller Education in Primary Schools (2002) also adopt an anti-racism stance which supports the social and ethnic diversity of marginalised groups so that they may achieve their full educational potential.

The Intercultural Approach to Education

John Deasy, T.D., (2007) points out that the challenge facing the Irish government is "how best to ensure that these new workers and their families become truly integrated into Irish society if they are planning to remain in our country." But what does it mean to be truly integrated into Irish society?

Devine (2005:49) argues that how schools and the state deal with the "changed social context has important implications for the transition of Irish society to a more multicultural state, which values and respects cultural and ethnic diversity in all its forms." In an attempt to manage this change in social context and meet the goals of this anti-racism and equal access agenda, the DES has adopted an *intercultural* approach which is meant to underpin the various syllabi used in the educational system. A fusion of multicultural and anti-racism education approaches commonly used internationally from the 1960s to the 1990s, and based on the philosophy of exchanges between cultural groups which promotes a socialisation of individuals, interculturalism promotes "sharing and learning across cultures with the aim of promoting understanding, equality, harmony and justice in diverse society" (Loyola Marymount University, 2005). Interculural approaches should not promote a

'cosmetic' focus on ethic and cultural minorities in the curriculum which does not "enhance their critical faculties, or improve their self-image and self-concept", especially in a racist society (Gundara, 2000:185) (see also Gitlen et. al, 2003). Additionally, interculturalism does not promote the assimilation of the minority groups into the dominant culture, nor does it presume that cultural groups live along side one another in society with little or no interaction. Rather, interculturalism supports the interaction of different groups, through socialisation. It should lead to a refocusing of the curriculum towards a "universal intellectual potential" which should be learning about not only the contributions of diverse cultures and ethnicities to the arts and the humanities, but also the physical sciences and mathematics (Gundara, 2000: 186). In plain terms, the 'Us' and the 'Other' become more familiar with each other and all benefit equally (see also Bennett, 1998; Kohls & Knight, 1994; Storti, 1994).

Gallagher (2004:111) points out that "mass schooling generally acts as a mechanism for social integration, although often excludes minorities through assimilationist assumptions." For Gundara, (2000:186) educators who see themselves as "purveyors of received wisdom and common culture not subjected to scrutiny from contemporary perspectives" are failing future generations of pupils. Exploring the possibilities and potentials of intercultural approaches to education, in his estimation, has the potential of revitalising education "rather than reducing it to ritualistic modes" (Gundara, 2000: 186). Because of the change in Irish society and the growing number of minority cultures and ethnicities in schools in Ireland, interculturalism in the education system is seen as an important part of the development of an Irish society where minorities are not purely assimilated into 'Irish culture'. Although there are those that point out that Ireland has a long intercultural history, ranging from events

such as the Plantation of Ulster in 1609 to the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, it is only in recent years that there has been significant research resulting in legislation and policy development regarding intercultural education (O'Rourke, 2002). In 2003 the then Minister for Education and Science, Noel Dempsey (2003) maintained that "given that Ireland is evolving from a largely monocultural state into an increasingly multi-ethnic one, I believe it is important for the education system to play its role in shaping the values and practices of our 21st century society." Gundara (2000:67) emphasises the link between the role of the school in an intercultural framework and its promotion of attainment, access, and skills:

> *In today's society, with its diverse cultural groups the lack of a secure identity, knowledge, skills, and ability to see the world in complex ways can lead to a sense of displacement for young people. Schools have an important role in enabling young people to understand the social diversity around them... One of the real challenges for schools lies in developing cross-cultural peer group solidarities, and replacing negative aspects with a more constructive value system.*

In the contemporary education system in Ireland, what does an intercultural approach look like? O'Loingsigh (2001:119) defines intercultural education in Ireland as:

> *...an education for both the minorities and the majority community in Irish society. It is about realising that in society there is a culture and a set of values that belong to the majority, but other minority groups have a different culture and set of values; while they are not the same as the values of the majority they are equally important and valid. Intercultural education must aim to ensure the integration of ethnic minority children, while at the same time ensuring that these children do not lose their ethnic identity and cultural values.*

In this sense education should not only support established ethnic and minority pupils' cultural characteristics, but also insure that recently immigrant or 'newcomer' pupils become more integrated into Irish society. This approach seeks a balance in education between the traditional, established culture of society (the 'Us') and the new, diverse cultures (the 'Other') that now exist in Irish society.

This approach is not about absolute assimilation of ethnic and cultural minorities in to what is means to be 'Irish' or to make them follow an 'Irish' culture. Rather, it is about teaching both the 'Us' and the 'Other' about tolerance, democracy, equal rights and a respect for the differences between the various groups present in contemporary Irish society (see also Keogh, 2000). Through communication and socialisation, approaches to intercultural education hope to teach this to pupils. This is an application of Gallagher's (2004:112) idea of the "contact hypothesis in educational initiatives." From this point of view, intercultural education differs from a strictly multicultural approach in the fact that contact through socialisation for the betterment of all involved is valued. Noel Dempsey (2003) pointed out that interculturalism "differs from multiculturalism in that it emphasises dialogue, interaction and collaboration between different cultures, rather than simply having different cultural groups side by side with no one group participation in the culture of another." This is close to the characteristics of the multicultural approaches that Cuthbertson and Grundligh discussed above in the sense that education is about beneficial 'contact' between different cultures within the same society.

The Irish Association of Teachers in Special Education (IATSE) sees the functions of intercultural education as an underpinning of the Irish education system. In this foundational role, intercultural education has two major functions: "It promotes tolerance and respect for diversity" and "it provides equal educational opportunity" (IATSE, 2001). Again the themes of anti-racism and equality of access are present. The IATSE (2001) maintains that not only should an intercultural approach influence lesson plans and everyday content in classrooms, but it should also permeate all aspects of the education system such as administration strategies, research, ethnic equality monitoring, establishment of a resource library, curricular

resources, integrated schooling, teacher education and support structures for ethnic minorities.

The efforts of the government explicitly to introduce interculturalism into the education system manifested in the form of guidelines for intercultural education in the primary and post-primary schools. The primary schools guidelines, which were launched and distributed to every primary level teacher in the country in 2005, clearly demonstrated the core aims of interculturalism in Irish education. They state:

> *It is an education which respects, celebrates and recognises the normality of diversity in all areas of human life. It sensitises the learner to the idea that humans have naturally developed a range of different ways of life, customs and world views, and that his breadth of human life enriches us all* (NCCA, 2005:3).

The aim of the guidelines is to support education providers in developing Ireland into an intercultural society, where ethnic diversity is valuable and where there is a shared sense of language and culture. These guidelines were followed by the post-primary edition which was published and distributed in 2006. These guidelines echoed the attempt at inclusion of cultures and ethnicities and the combating of racism through the intercultural approach. The post-primary guidelines, like their predecessors, provide guidance for teachers and school management on:

- mediating the curriculum in a way that reflects cultural diversity;
- making the curriculum as accessible as possible for children from ethnic minority groups;
- enhancing the intercultural experience of all pupils; and,
- creating inclusive school culture.

(NCCA, 2006b)

It is clear that in recent years in Ireland there has been an anti-racism agenda affecting policy development and legislation in the public sectors. From immigration, to employment, and housing issues (to only name a few), there have been multiple

strategies developed to combat racism and to transform Ireland into an open and inclusive society that celebrates the increase of diversity that recent immigration has brought to her shores. Under intercultural policies, education is seen as a strong advocate for this change and the subject of history in secondary schools is seen as a vital tool in the implementation of this agenda. This change is marked by an attempt at balance between the dominant 'Us' and the minority 'Other' in the school curriculum. However, there is limited time available for teaching, which limits the amount of content that can be covered. Is the introduction of these intercultural guidelines an indication of a shift of a more balanced curriculum that introduces newer subjects while marginalising more traditional ones? Where does history education in Ireland locate itself within this context?

History Education

According to Cornbleth (2002), schools play a key, but not exclusive role in shaping pupils' knowledge and perception of the State. Through the school curriculum, images and version of the state are transmitted to pupils. "Schools as institutions mediate between local community and national preferences on one side and the daily curricular and other experiences arranged for pupils on the other" (Cornbleth, 2002: 522). The formal study of history in schools plays a role in imparting a particular vision of the state and what it means to one of its citizens.

History has an important place within society, it is, as Marwick (2001:31) states, a "social necessity." Without knowledge of the past, in his estimation, societies would barely survive. The past plays a major role in how we look at contemporary life, it has the power to "define who we are in the present, our relations with others, relations in civil society – nation and state, right and wrong, good and bad – and broad parameters" (Seixas 2000: 21). The recent expansion of culturally and ethnically

diverse groups in Irish society may bring into question not only the aims and role of history, but education itself. What implications does the growth of diversity in society have for the "treatment of cultural and ethnic identities and for the development of cultural and historical materials in the service of education"? (Gordon & Bhattacharyya, 1992:406).

Nelson, Carlson and Palonsky (1993) maintain that school subjects do not involve the study of neutral knowledge. Knowledge is bound up with political messages and purposes. For the subject of history, for example, this means that narrative pedagogies that tell a single story and often include only the positive history of the dominant culture in hope of creating common bonds between culturally and ethnically diverse pupils. A multicultural approach to history education supposes that a single dominant historical narrative presents a "unitary story that emphasizes origin myths over interpretation and consensus over controversy" (Levstik 1997:48). Pupils of minority groups are forced to study people and events they may not identify with. For example, African American pupils in the US may have to learn a great deal about dead white European males such as George Washington or Thomas Jefferson, while ignoring the contributions of blacks to American history. Indian immigrants may have to learn about the history of politics of the British Empire while ignoring the role of Indians in its formation. Levstik (1997: 48) argues that "pretending to a common cultural heritage may help tie the nation together, but it does so at the expense of the self-concept of each student whose identity is not recognized in the curriculum". In many cases, their story may only be included because it contributes to the grander story of American history, or it may on 'tacked on' for political correctness (Garrison, 2005). In many ways, the emphasis of the historical 'story' of the dominant culture

can be seen as the 'Us' in society maintaining 'power' or control over what it means to be a part of the dominant group in society. How does this relate to an Irish context?

Although Ireland has traditionally been viewed as a monocultural society, there have been small sub-cultural groups (Travellers, Jews, and refugees) in Irish society. Just as African Americans and American Indians have long established histories within the 'story of America', so have sub-cultural groups in Ireland. Travellers, in particular, have existed in Irish society for centuries (see Chapter One). But, as the discussion in subsequent sections point out, history education in Ireland in the twentieth century has tended to be patriotic and supportive of what it means to be Irish and establishing an Irish identity: an identity based on Tracy's WHISC ideal. Minority cultures and ethnicities, although long established in Ireland, may not have their histories included or their perspectives addressed because they may not fit into the cultural ideal and the 'story of Ireland', much like African Americans and American Indians in the US. Furthermore, with the increase of new cultural and ethnic groups which do not have histories located in the context of Irish history, where do their histories fit within the story of Ireland? If we assume that the sociocultural theory is correct, then these groups may view and connect with history differently than individuals who adhere to a dominant Irish identity, and therefore may become marginalised in the 'story of Ireland'.

Much of the recent literature and research pertaining to history education has focused on defending history's place in school curricula. While contemporary curricula are adding more and more subjects every year, such as citizenship, business, engineering and construction studies, there is no "obvious reason why schools should include the topic [history] at all" (Barton & Levstik, 2004: 27). Also, while maths and science education are held in high regards, history must prove its worth (see

Barton & Levstik 2004; Evans 2000; Loewen 1995; Nash, Crabtree & Dunn 2000; Ravitch & Finn 1987; Wineburg 2001). In Irish terms, the history Inspectorate argues strongly in support of all pupils studying history at the second level:

> *The need for students to study History, to acquire an understanding of the world and the skills necessary to navigate through has never been more obvious. The role played by the study of History in maintaining a balanced, liberal education as the mainstay of the Irish system has been and remains a central one* (2006:3).

The growth of immigration in Ireland has brought a growth in the diversity and background of pupils attending schools in Ireland: "although the migrant population is constantly changing, it is now also increasingly becoming an established population, with an emerging younger generation attending schools across the country and participating in Irish society" (Ní Laoire, 2006:11). With more histories and stories considered important by more diverse groups in Irish society, there is potential for change of content and pedagogy in the history curriculum in Ireland. Gundara (2000:198) outlines the complications of history curriculum development in, for example, the UK:

> *Do Scots, Welsh and English constitute nationalities or ethnicities or both? And what of those who get labeled as 'ethnic groups' – Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Chinese, Nigerians and Jamaicans? They certainly represent nationalities because each one of the nations they migrated from has ethnic groups. How are the histories of these peoples to be represented? Should each be taught only its own history? Or are there different and common, separate and shared, historical past which can be constituted in such a way that they enable young people to understand the story people of these islands?*

The same question must be asked of an Irish society that faces this level of diversity. With the expansion of religions what ethos, if any, will be represented in the curriculum. How will the histories of the established minority groups such as the Travelling community, Jewish community and the small number of asylum seekers that have made a home in Ireland over the decades fit into the

history curriculum? Furthermore, how will new groups be represented? Will a sense of a shared past be established through the study of history? Or will groups focus on their own histories in a bid to preserve their heritage in the face of assimilation into an Irish culture?[32]

History can be used as a powerful tool to legitimise and discredit political leaders or empower ethnic and cultural groups. It can be used to explain and understand present political, social and economic situations to name a few. It can support political parties or collapse them; it can shame individuals or unify a nation. It can be an agent for change or used to maintain the status quo, or to keep a dominant culture dominant. Because of the nature of history, it is based on the interpretation of available evidence. In this sense, what may be significant for one group may not be for another, different groups in society may interpret historical events and people differently (Levstik, 2000; Wineburg, 2000, 2001; Barton and Levstik, 2004).

Because individuals and groups in society can have different sociocultural backgrounds, they can develop different views of events and people in history. Political leaders and events may be perceived as important to one group, while at the same time be insignificant or even demeaning to others. These differing perceptions of the past have sparked debates about the depiction and importance of events and people in history in societies with diverse cultural and ethnic groups.

The debate (i.e. history wars) over the depiction of people and events in history was part of a larger 'culture war'[33] which saw the polarisation of issues over political correctness between conservatives and liberals in the early 1990s (Gundara,

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[32] Macuire and Saris (2007) conducted anthropological research on the manifestation of cultural background of Vietnamese living in Ireland. Their work focused on how the cultural history of Vietnamese people in Ireland produced representations of space (e.g. shrines created in the home to honour and remember their cultural heritage).

[33] For a small sample of the vast amount of literature produced on the 'culture wars' in the US see the following: Graff (1992), Gates (1993), Hunter (1991), Kelly (1998), Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn (1998).

2000). The opening salvos of the History Wars in the US occurred over a 1994 Smithsonian Institution exhibition that marked the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War (Hunter, 1991).

During the 1990s in Canada, the war raged over research which reported that Canadian youth had "truly lamentable ignorance of Canada's history" (Morton, 2000:51). Historians blamed politicians, bureaucrats and multicultural and feminist historians for replacing history education in Canada with 'social studies' which was likened to "kiddie sociology" (Morton, 2000:52). A call for a return to 'traditional' education was heard throughout Canada. J.L Granstein, director of Canada's War Museum and former professor at Toronto's York University, demanded a return to the "study of politics, battles, and heroes and federal intervention to rescue history from 'educational theorists and the timid provincial politicians'" (Morton, 2000:54). In Australia, the public debate over the interpretation of history has been present since the 1960s, when Professor W.E.H Stanner began to argue Australian history was depicted in a positive light and omitted any negative aspects. More recently, historians such as Keith Windscuttle (2002) have argued that conventional Australian history has been based on erroneous interpretations of historical evidence and questions whether the settlers of Australia committed genocide against indigenous populations.[34]

As mentioned above, Ireland, like many other societies, is not free from controversy over omissions and marginalisation of groups in its history. One example is the debate over the commemoration of the 1916 Easter Rising. Kettle (2005) believes, "Ireland is a country where history matters – and whose history inescapably

[34] For further background on the debate on the 'history wars' in Australia, see Keith Windschuttle (2002) *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History, Volume One: Van Diemen's Land 1803-1847.* Paddington, NSW: Macleay Press. Robert Manne (2003) *Whitewash. On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History.* and John Dawson (2004) *Washout: On the academic responses to The Fabrication of Aboriginal History*

involves Britain too. And there are few events more potent that those of 1916." Just as in the US, Australia and Canada, politicians, educators, historians, news columnists and talk radio hosts in Ireland debates over people and events in national history.

Of course the debate, in many ways, was not about the people and events of the past but about their representation in the present. It is about the situations in the North, about the UK's involvement in Iraq, and to some extent, the ROI's status as a 'neutral' country and its involvement with the US. Furthermore, it is about groups trying to gain a stake in major events in Irish history, not only because it may suit them politically but because potentially, it may legitimise their status within Irish society. In this sense, because of the potential affect they have, different groups debate not only how people and events are depicted, but also who and what is included in various depictions.

The history wars in the US are about cultural background and ethnicity. Different ethnic groups view history differently. What is historically significant to one group, may be irrelevant or insulting to another. Thalen (1998:190) points out that these battles over the 'ownership' of history have "subverted the development of a healthy, participatory, fundamentally historical culture because they have politicized history has a struggle among claims to authority." For Thalen, legitimate historical sources used in the argument over the Enola Gay or the 1916 Rising should be respected and seen for what they are: "different uses of the past introducing different perspectives and different individual voices" (1998:190).

What does the increase of diverse groups and cultural backgrounds in recent years mean for the war over what and who is important in history in the ROI? It is clear that there are already many groups inside and outside Ireland who feel strongly about events in Irish history, but what effects will the growth of ethnically and

culturally diverse groups in the ROI have on debates over history? These divisions demonstrate the influence of sociocultural backgrounds on how individuals and groups perceive history and how it should be depicted in contemporary society. As demonstrated above, the debate over history in culturally and ethnically diverse societies such as the US, Australia and Canada is not only fought in the political arena, but also in the ethnic and cultural arenas. Could the varying historical perspective add to the already multi-sided debate over the representation of history in Ireland? Also, will the increase of more diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds lead to a call for inclusion of new histories? At this point there is no answer, but it is clear that the debate will continue.

History Education in Ireland: A Brief Background.

> *One of the modern problems of subject selection in the curriculum is due to the fact that during the past two decades there has been what has been described as a "knowledge explosion", which continues to increase on an expanding rate. This development has reflected itself in an expanded curriculum with the introduction of "new" subjects such as statistics, economics, computer science, while "traditional" subjects, such as the classics and history, have had to justify their continued inclusion or face expulsion from the curriculum* (Holohan, 1981:60).

Although Holohan was writing about history education in Ireland prior to the 1980s, the above quotation demonstrates that dilemmas over history education are not new occurrences.[35] During the time of his research, Holohan (1981) found that conflict existed over whether or not history should be included in school curriculums. He brought attention to the fact that with new subjects being added, there was only a finite amount of time to teach these subjects; therefore choices had to be made. Holohan goes on to state that "since history as a subject in the curriculum has no

[35] Holohan's research into the influences on the status of history at the Leaving Certificate level in the early 1980s is based on his work for an unpublished M.Ed (1981) in Trinity College Dublin. For a more in depth, historical perspective on the role of history in Ireland see Holohan's (1988) doctoral research, which investigated the functions of history in Ireland and England between 1828 – 1962.

apparent value for those who advocate utilitarian criteria for subject selection and since it is, in general, not a required subject for entry into any university faculty, or career, the pressures facing its position in the curriculum are formidable" (1981:49). It is clear that in the past in Ireland, history as a subject faced an unsure future in the curriculum and there have been numerous debates over its rationale.[36]

Approaches to education are influenced by wider societal goals and in the case of Ireland, anti-racism, integration policy in the form of an intercultural approach to education as emerged as an influence in recent years. But what affect has this had on the teaching of history in Ireland? To begin this discussion, a brief overview of the history of history education in post-primary schools in Ireland must be undertaken.

It was not until 1878, and the establishment of the Intermediate Education Act, that secondary education had set courses and recognised subjects tested by examinations. Under this Act history, as a subject, did not gain autonomy, rather it was coupled with the study of the languages and literature of Greece and Rome to provide cultural and historical background. During the nineteenth century, educationalists saw history as an adjunct of the classics and language and the Intermediate Board agreed with this view. Teaching methods and standards at the turn of the twentieth century came under criticism by the examination boards. Examiners described pupils' essays as being "verbatim" from their textbooks and consisted of "mediocre quality," while history teaching was "singularly mechanical and unintelligent" (Holohan, 1981:61). The content of the history curriculum that was 'committed' to memory consisted of 'political matters' focusing mainly on sovereigns, dates, battles, and famous leaders while social, cultural and economic elements were marginalised. This would have been today's equivalent study of the

[36] There has been relevant literature that has specifically focused on the issue of Irish nationalism and the teaching of history in Ireland at the primary and second level. For a historical perspective on this issue, see Magee (1970), Callan (1980), Walsh (1982), MacSamhráin (1991) and Holohan (1994).

victories and successes of Dead European White Men in US history narratives (see also Loewen, 1997). Furthermore, according to Holohan (1981) under the Intermediate Board examination scheme, Irish history was almost completely overlooked. So much so that it led to criticisms of the educational system being 'unIrish'.

Another foothold for history in Irish education came in the form of The Palles Report (1899), which was a reaction to the numerous inadequacies of the Intermediate system. It recommended, among other things, that history should be a separate optional subject to be examined. It would stay in this form until a new secondary programme was introduced in 1924, which was to be a double-edged sword for the study of history. On one hand, history was legitimised as an autonomous subject, but because it was an optional subject and not included as an adjunct to mandatory subjects such as classics or languages, the number of pupils that took history dropped. Holohan points out that in 1907, over half of secondary pupils in Ireland either did not learn history or "learned it very badly" (1981:64). Moreover, these circumstances were compounded by the fact that the history courses were uninspired exercises in rote memorisation of political history, which ignored other discourses of Irish history. From this it is obvious that the position of history in the curriculum was fragile, and that Irish history, national, cultural or otherwise, became a marginal topic in the curriculum.

Another turning point in history education in Ireland was the establishment of the Provisional government of the Irish Free State, when the educational services passed into its control on February 1, 1922. Consequently, the status of history changed where there was a greater focus on history relating to Ireland and pupils had the option to answer exam questions in Irish, English, or partly in Irish and partly in

English. In the curriculum, history was assigned the role of "promoting fervent nationalism and asserting Irish Independence from British Rule" (O'Boyle, 2004:415). At this time, the content focused on military and political history that emphaised a Republican tradition and taught pupils what it meant to be a patriotic Irish citizen, with heavy anti-British themes. Much of the teaching and learning at this time was centered within the learning of facts about "great events and valiant rebels of Ireland's heroic past" (O'Boyle, 2004:415). O'Donoghue (1997:99) argues that "for too long history was not a subject, but a creed, not a discipline but a weapon." In other words the subject of history, in many ways was used to mould mass mentality.

By August 1924, a new programme replaced the Intermediate Board's Junior, Middle and Senior grade examinations. At the new Intermediate level, history and geography became one compulsory subject. Furthermore, to obtain a senior Certificate, pupils had to take five recognised subjects. At this level, history was a distinct subject, although an optional one. Under this arrangement the "status afforded to history under the new examinations was a definite enhancement from that which it had enjoyed under the Intermediate Board" (Holohan, 1981:66).

The new history syllabus shifted its focus to economic and cultural aspects within a greater framework of Irish history. This included historical aspects of the US, Great Britain, continental Europe and Australia, but only in the way they related to Ireland. Although the syllabus retained the study of the classics, such as Greek and Roman civilisations and the Renaissance, there was a distinct shift towards studying history through an Irish national lens. The significant development of the history syllabus at this time was the marginalisation of the English history as a studied topic. It was not only the case of replacing English history with more of an Irish focus;

education turned its back on the Anglicised world in favor of a continental Catholic tradition. Holohan explains further:

> *The new focus was in fact what many Catholic writers had advocated, i.e. not merely de-anglicisation, but a complete turning away from the whole Anglo-Saxon world, and the seeking of a renewed connection with the Catholic continental tradition. To this end they proposed the introduction of a course of scholastic philosophy in secondary schools and though history per se was not specifically enlisted, it is none the less obvious that such thinking influenced the content of the history syllabus* (1981:69).

This demonstrated how outside forces, namely the Catholic Church and the Provisional Government of the Irish Free State, influenced the rationale of history education. In this case, history shifted from being an adjunct to classical subjects that used rote learning to remember dates and monarchs under the Intermediate Education Act, to an autonomous subject which viewed history through Nationalistic Irish Catholic eyes. It is of no surprise that the Provisional government wanted to promote Catholic ideals and Irish patriotism in the wake of a war for independence and subsequent civil war. Moulding pupils into, patriotic, Irish Catholic citizens appeared to be a step towards uniting all Irish people.

Unfortunately, for the Provisional government, the new syllabus was not as successful as planned. For the first ten years of the syllabus, the examination papers that dealt with themes of Irish history were not as popular as expected, and when taken results were not desirable. Suggestions of lack of qualified teachers, shortage of relevant textbooks and poor library facilities for schools were the cause of failure of the syllabus. Consequently, in 1941, a new syllabus was introduced and was examined for the first time in 1943. The new syllabus "provided for four separate courses in history, each course comprised of roughly corresponding dates in Irish history and European history, to be examined in yearly rotation" (Holohan, 1981:71). For example in 1943, pupils had the choice of studying the history of Ireland (400-

1200 C.E.) coupled with European history (including England) (918-1273), or the history of Ireland (1477-1603 C.E.) coupled with European history (including England) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This syllabus was in place for nearly thirty years until it was finally replaced in 1969 because of the strain it put on teachers and the lack of any modern or European history in the syllabus. Holohan describes the period between the syllabus introduced by the Provisional Government and the Irish Free State to the new syllabus in 1969, as a period of "atrophication" in education. "Indeed, the decades before the mid 1960s, save for some minor changes such as the introduction of prescribed language materials, were decades of curricular stagnation in post-primary school" (1981:73).

In 1966, a group was formed on the teaching of history in Irish schools consisting of historians, teachers, parents and psychologist, published their findings in 1967. The report viewed history in high regard:

> *The role of history was seen, as developing mature, moral, and responsible members of a community, as broadening and humanising other groups, would be formed, and consequence creating a dual allegiance to the nation and to the community of the world* (Holohan, 1981:77).

For those reasons, the group contented that history must play a leading role in the Irish curriculum and furthermore, history should be a mandatory subject to be examined. They also suggested that the history curriculum should broaden its focus. By this, the history curriculum was to expand its emphasis from patriotic themes in military conflict and political struggle to include the deeds of ordinary people in Irish history and their contributions to the common good of Irish society. It is clear that furthering nationalism was a goal of second level history in Ireland at this time. In the same year as the formation of the review group, the history curriculum began yet another shift in emphasis where "no longer did its [the history syllabus] traditional

role of inspiring nationalist feeling remain unchallenged" (Holohan, 1981:78). It can be said that from the 1920s up to the 1960s, the Irish Free State (later Ireland) "placed a strong emphasis on developing a unitary nationalist consciousness through education" (Tormey, 2006: 318) (see also Akenson, 1975; Coolahan, 1981).

A new Intermediate course was introduced in 1966 and was first examined in 1969 which, among other things, allowed more freedom of choice between history and geography as examined subjects. There were three optional syllabuses which offered a variety of balance between the subjects. Furthermore, more social and economic history was included and greater recognition of different aspects of the Irish nation. For example, sections covering Presbyterian life in Ulster in the eighteenth century and the beginnings of Orangeism were included in the syllabus, but these changes of syllabus were short lived.

In his research, Tormey highlights the fact that although the 'Troubles' in the North gave rise to questions of the national self image of Ireland, the 1971 history curriculum was "quite explicit in its use of history as part of a cultural national project" (2006:318). He argues that the goal of the curriculum at this time was to foster an appreciation for individuals who served Ireland and develop a greater understanding of Irish cultural heritage. This theme of patriotic virtue was also imposed on the Civics syllabus, which included singing the national anthem, the promotion of learning the Irish language, and buying Irish made products and how to fill out income tax returns (Tormery, 2006). Tormey also maintains that through this curriculum, Irish children were defined as 'non-British' peasants that suffered under the oppressive rule of landlords and as Catholics under the Penal Laws. In other words, settlers such as the Normans, English, Welsh and Scots were not regarded as ever becoming part of the 'Us' because they were never part of the suffering Catholic

peasantry. This can be seen as the historical foundations of Tracy's WHISC ideal. During the 1970s, the outbreak of the 'troubles' in Northern Ireland spawned resentment towards the role of history and the nationalistic themes that were being taught in the history curriculum. Furthermore, the ROI's EU membership generated social and economic transformations that made the "Old History seem redundant and irrelevant in modern Ireland" (O'Boyle, 2004:415).

In 1973, a new course was announced by the DES. Content for the Intermediate pupils needed to learn for the examination was radically condensed. The study of early civilisations until about 1890 was divided into six sections which of only two were required (one from the first three and one from the second three). Also, a modern section 1860-1966 made up the new compulsory content. The most important development of the new curriculum was the treatment of Irish history:

> *A more important development, however was that each option together with the compulsory section, made no distinction between Irish and European history. In fact, all subsequent examination papers set have made it theoretically possible for a pupil to answer the required number of questions on the Intermediate Examination paper without reference to any question on Irish history. Thus, within one hundred years, the position of Irish history seemed to have returned to the position it had held under the Intermediate Board and which had drawn such loud condemnation from nationalist writers* (Holohan, 1981:80).

According to Holohan, the role of nationalism in history education was reduced; the aims and objectives shifted to focus on more analytical, skills based approach. For example, the aims of this syllabus state that pupils should be able to perform the skills used by an historian. These skills included being able to record historical information, and to critically examine statements and interpretations of historical issues inside and outside of the classroom. Along with an emphasis on skills, the aims also highlight the importance of developing pupils' attitudes. A feeling of responsibility towards being objective in historical interpretation, the development of rational explanations,

viewing events through other perspectives and the right of other people's point of view are the main aims of the syllabus. The aims also maintained that pupils should "value their heritage from the past," but did not specifically state that it should have been an Irish heritage (Holohan, 1981:81). Furthermore, Crowley (1990) argued in favour of this shift away from the traditional authoritarian model of the history curriculum in Ireland, and more towards a history methodology that emphasises the skills of the historian. Milne (1997), in agreement with Crowley, was also critical of the role of the history curriculum solely as a tool of support for Irish cultural heritage. In his estimation, history education should not be used to inculcate certain political views, rather, through the skills based approach, it should "create insight and understanding in political matters" (Milne, 1997:109). Furthermore, history education in Ireland within the context of the Social, Environmental and Scientific Education (SESE) was seen as:

> *more than the agreed (or, indeed, disputed) story of the past, but as a living field of enquiry, something that has evidence, and interpretation of that evidence. Children will be encouraged to look at the diversity of cultures and traditions throughout Ireland, Europe and the world, and encouraged to empathise with people very different from themselves* (Milne, 1997:110).

This approach of attitudes and skills resembles Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* and Coltham and Fines' (National Centre for History Education, 2002) objectives for the study of history, which Holohan points out, were readily accepted in the UK in the 1970s. This 'New History' was the underpinning of the History Curriculum and in 1989 the Junior Certificate curriculum was introduced for 13-16-year-olds and emphasised historical research, evidence based analysis, as well as content.

By the mid-1990s much of the dominant discourse of nationalism and the promotion of patriotism was being constantly questioned (Doak, 1998). The history

curriculum was re-imagined and reworked. For example, in 1996, the Junior Certificate (1989) was reviewed and much of its examinable content was revised.[37] In 1999, a new primary level history curriculum emerged from this re-thinking of what it meant to be Irish in what was perceived as a more globalised, European Ireland. There was an increased focus on local and global history which aimed at enabling the "child to play a responsible role as an individual, as a family member and as a member of local, regional, national, European and global communities" (the 1999 Primary School Curriculum cited in Tormey, 2006: 320). This approach to developing a multi-layered identity can be closely related to Kershen's concept of identity in the sense that individuals were no longer required to identify with a 'national' identity, rather they now have different components of identity ranging from their local community to being a citizen of a 'global village' (Green, 1997; Soudien, 2002). Tormey further explains this idea of a global citizen agenda in history education in the 1990s:

> *Irishness became an 'us' without a 'them', as who the 'us' became dependant on the shifting perspectives available. As such, the state moved from legitimising itself through it ownership of opposition to the 'other', to legitimising itself through its ownership of openness and tolerance and as a necessary part of a set of interlocking and layered local, national, European and global cultures, systems and histories* (2006:321).

Tormey argues that the skills based, analytical approach (prevalent in the Revised Leaving Certificate History Curriculum) lends itself to this deconstruction of a singular, national Irish identity. The aim of this approach was to enable pupils to become aware of historical perspectives that were not their own; to view history and the contemporary through different lenses, and, in turn, to create a multi-faceted identity. Agreeing with Giddens (1991), Tormey argues that this approach to identity

[37] For further critique of the Junior Certificate in History see O'Donoghue (1997).

development is problematic. For example "such self-therapies are related to the reflexivity of late-modernity that makes identities more fragile and more open to existential anxiety" (Tormey, 2006:321). An unbound sense of identity (especially in children) may increase uncertainty in a time when they may be better served by creating a more unified sense of trust and certainty. In a society such as Ireland, where there are multiple cultures, ethnicities, political groups, religions, and social class (identities that pupils may or may not use in their construction of a more 'globalised citizen identity'), there may be benefit in helping create a more unified idea of what it means to live in Ireland. As the History Working Group in Britain in the early 1990s suggested an "ethnically diverse population strengthens rather than weakens the argument" for including string elements of national history in the curriculum (DES, 1990:185).

Although Tormey's research focuses on the history curriculum at the primary level, he points out teachers may not actually employ these aspects of the syllabus anyway, efforts of moving the teaching of history towards a skills based, analytical approach which lends itself to the intercultural framework are evident.

Within this discourse, the NCCA continues to work on the content and structure of the Junior Certificate. Since 2004, the revised Leaving Certificate has been and with the first group of pupils having sat the first examinations in June 2006 (Inspectorate, 2006).

In Ireland, the Inspectorate argues that in voluntary secondary schools and schools derived from a voluntary background history is a core subject for the junior-cycle. Vocational schools and community colleges on the other hand may offer another subject in its place, with almost 89 per cent of these schools offering history in the junior cycle. In many cases smaller schools and a number of vocational schools

do not offer history, even as an option, at the junior cycle. As the Inspectorate points out "this almost inevitably means that history is not available beyond the junior cycle either and deprives second-level pupils of any study of History beyond their primary-school experience of the subject. This is unsatisfactory" (Inspectorate, 2006:6).[38] Although there has been progression in the teaching and learning of history in Ireland, these changes, as O'Boyle points out, "have done little to halt the relentless decline in the uptake of history as a subject (2004:415) (see also Crowly, 1990; NCCA, 1990).

The growth of diversity in more recent years, of the pupils in schools in Ireland has not only further raised the issue of where does history education fit in the overall curriculum, but also raises the question of whether these 'new' pupils will take up the study of history at the second level or will follow the trend of decline that has faced history as a subject in recent decades.

History Education in an Intercultural Framework.

Within the context of history education in Ireland, recent literature and research has focused on the role of history in the construction of a 'national identity' in a globalised context. For example, Doherty (1996:325) discusses the state of the Irish historical profession, and assessed the development of Irish national identity as "manifested in the teaching of History in primary and secondary schools in Ireland" during the twentieth century.

Waldren and Pike (2005) and Stearns et al. (2000) argue, for example, that debates over national identity in diverse societies will eventually focus on history education. Waldren and Pike (2005:249) state:

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[38] For a more complete break down of the provisions of history in the second level in Ireland, see the Inspectorate (2006) report on the teaching and learning of history at the second level. Derived from whole-school evaluations and specific subject inspections, this report goes into detail about, among other things, the study of history in programmes such as the Junior Certificate Schools Programme (JCSP) and Environmental and Social Studies (ESS).

> *The creation of a history curriculum that is multicultural in perspective and that recognises the multiplicity of curriculum that is multicultural in perspective and that recognises the multiplicity of identities as well as the common bonds of human experience is an important step forward. If it is to fulfill its potential, however it needs to be set within an overall problematising framework which is robust enough to enable children to challenge the myths and stereotypes of popular history and to recognise and critique relation of power in Irish society.*

Token gestures to include a few texts of excluded or new groups in the history curriculum would, in Gundara's estimation, "in no way meet the type of critical appraisal and rational that would develop and intercultural curriculum" (2000:191).[39] But how easy is genuine inclusion of all histories that are potentially represented in society, if possible at all?

One of the challenges for history curriculums for many diverse societies is correcting omissions and distortions of the past, especially in regards to marginalised and minority groups. In the US, for example, African Americans have had difficulties with sharing history with white Americans. Glazer (1997) in Gundara (2000) argues that in Europe, that there are few possible comparisons of subservient stories in the history of societies other than the Saxons in England, or the Gauls of France. Gundara (2000:191) disagrees with Glazer about the lack of splits of history in Europe:

> *For instance, in Britain the Scots and the Welsh have only just acquired the right to establish parliaments in Edinburgh and Cardiff. In Spain the Basques and Catalans have long been fighting for their rights from the Madrid government. In France the Bretons and Corsicans still battle for their rights.*

One may say that Gundara's approach may not be as easily applied to an Irish context because of a perceived monocultural history and the diversification of society is due to recent immigration of groups that have no vested history in Ireland, but the continual existence of the Traveller, Jewish and Vietnamese communities in Ireland

[39] For example, Garrison's (2005) research in to the treatment of the American Revolution in five second level American history textbooks found, generally speaking, that the inclusion of people representing minority groups in American history (e.g. women, African Americans, and Latinos) was included in a token and 'tacked on' way.

and their marginalisation in the overall history is proof otherwise (see Chapter One). As the discussion of the 'history wars' demonstrates, debates about how people and events in Irish history are depicted and perceived; whether they are celebrated or marginalised is a reality.

Gundara (2000) points out those curricular developers face a very complicated undertaking. On the one hand, the history curriculum needs to engage the different identities of the many groups in society while on the other developing a logical inclusive history of the nation. "The question is what aspect of these differing histories to select and on what principles to make that selection" (Gundara, 2000:198). It is important to understand that a selection must be made within the curriculum. Not all histories can be included, nor can all the aspects of those histories included be explored. For Gundara, a history curriculum within an intercultural framework must tell the story of a society so that "friendships, intercultural understandings and inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness" is achieved between the many groups, whether recent immigrants or established minority groups in society (2000:199). History curricula also need to address the impact of stereotypes and try to include insight to groups formerly marginalised whether women, ethnic or cultural minorities. For Gundara (2000), an intercultural approach to a history curriculum is about being as inclusive as possible and establishing a voice of the those groups in society that have either exist on the margins of the history of society or have been completely ignored. The introduction of such a curriculum also means developing history teachers' critical understandings and developing appropriate methods based on relevant research.

In Ireland, the *Guidelines for Intercultural Education in Post-Primary School* (2006b:67) recognise a "substantial correspondence between the aims and objectives

of the history course and those of intercultural education." Just as the broader agenda demands inclusion and equality within society, so too does it demand it of history education in secondary schools. Taking a cue from the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers recommendations for the teaching of history in twenty-first century Europe (2001), the guidelines maintain that History syllabi should help pupils develop tolerance and respect for "values, beliefs and traditions of others" (NCCA, 2006b). Not only is the recognition of the 'Other' important within history education but also an acceptance that historical understanding is "always enhanced by our ability to empathise with the perspective with 'the other'" (NCCA, 2006b). This stresses the inclusion of the histories of the diverse cultures and ethnicity that are present in Irish society, regardless of whether or not these groups are represented in classrooms.

A method of approach to teaching and studying history in classrooms in Ireland that accommodates multiple historical perspectives and interpretations is the *analytical* approach. Unlike the narrative method of teaching, which attempts to tell the 'grand story' of the nation's history, which is commonly used in classrooms in the US (See Barton, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c), the analytical approach allows different perspective to be addressed and allows pupils to develop their own interpretations of history based upon available evidence. As Gundara points out, pupils need "broadly based knowledge about the histories" of theirs and other cultures so that they can "critically appraise prospects and advantages as well as the problems raised in socially diverse polities" (2000:191). An analytical approach to history education accommodates a criticality of multiple historical sources and perspectives.

The Analytical Approach to History Education

Within the framework of an intercultural approach to education, in recent years in Ireland, the approach to teaching history in secondary schools has shifted from a narrative approach to an analytical approach. This approach not only looks at the creation of historical documents but also the context in which these documents were created. According to Bloom's Taxonomy, analysis is one of the higher levels of competence in educational settings. Seeing patterns, organising parts, recognition of hidden meanings and identification of components are some of the skills that pupils demonstrate when they reach this level. This level of competence in history education requires that pupils not merely develop mastery of facts such as dates and events, but investigate where and how they gained this information (Bloom, 1981).

This approach is not a new phenomena in school history. It can be traced back to the New Social Studies movement which became prominent in the US in the 1960s and 1970s, and the retooling of the history curriculum in Britain around the same time. An example of the pedagogical and epistemological discourse of 'new history' comes in the form of the *New Social Studies in Secondary Schools: An Inductive Approach*, a teacher education textbook used in the 1960s. According to this approach history is a supplement to the broader curriculum of 'social studies' which strives to help "young people to discover themselves, the nature of the society in which they live, and the significance of their heritage" (Fenton, 1966:3). Another example comes from Rodgers's (1978) pamphlet *The New History: Theory into Practice,* where he suggests that pupils investigate the different kinds of historical evidence that exist and how individuals construct 'historical knowledge' from them. For him, there are different kinds of evidence that need to be investigated with different types of enquiry strategies. In many ways New History is congruent with an *Affirmative Post-*

modernist viewpoint.[40] As Rosenau (1992) points out, post-modernist critical thought on history attempts to deconstruct 'traditional' meta-narratives through subjective interpretation and the symbolic construction of reality. New History, like post-modernists approaches:

> *seeks to unravel texts, raise questions about meaning in the text, and invent micro-narratives as alternatives to history...* [new history] *is populist, emphasizing ordinary people rather than the elite; it privileges the point of view of the victims rather than the victimizers* (Rosenau, 1992:66).

This epistemological approach to history emphasises individual's subjective interpretations of historical evidence; evidence that is not only centred on 'great men, battles and politics' but also around the 'common man'. Rote learning of content has given way to subjective historical inquiry. Simply stated, the question shifted from 'what' to learn to 'why' we should learn it.[41]

Again, based on the cognitive and affective domains found in Bloom's Taxonomy, this approach offers many educational objectives. According to Bloom and Krathol (1966:23), knowledge is a taxonomic category in the sense that it ranges from the simple to the more complex or concrete and tangible to the abstract or intangible, and is gained as the result of "some historical, experiential, or pragmatic test." For example, knowing that Dublin is the capital of the ROI is basic, concrete knowledge, whereas the theory of evolution is more abstract. Also how knowledge is obtained is specific to the context of the subject being studied:

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[40] Rosenau (1992) also discusses the *Sceptical Post-Modernist* view of history, which, in many cases, doubts the existence of anything that might be called history, rather they relegate it to the periphery whereas *Affirmative Post-Modernist* attempt to revise or salvage it rather than abolish it.

[41] It must be made clear that New History is not a singular school contained by clearly defined boundaries. For example New History includes black history, feminist history, social historians, neo-Marxist, post-Marxist, psychoanalytical historians and post-modernist. Rosenau (1992:66) points out that "neo-Marxists criticize the post-modernist for eliminating class and state from history" while the "feminists say New history forgets male dominance" whereas "black historians argue it overlooks the white oppressor."

> *Thus, historical information is known as the result of a number of observations which are in agreement or which satisfy particular historical tests of their authenticity. Scientific information is known as a result of some observation, experiment, or test which meets the canons of scientific methodology* (Bloom & Krathol, 1966:29).

The development of the analytical approach to history education is not based on one authoritative source, rather on the methodological approach or interpretation of many used by historians. Bloom and Krathol (1966), much like the Affirmative Post-Modernist viewpoint (Rosenau, 1992), make the point that knowledge is relative in relation to time, geography and culture. For example, scientific knowledge of the atmosphere in 1860 has undergone some changes in the last century. Also, what is "known to one group is not necessarily known to another group, class, or culture. It must be clear from this, that knowledge is always partial and relative rather than inclusive and fixed" (Bloom & Krathol, 1966:25). Barton and Levstik see the analytical approach in history education as a way for pupils to search for connections among historical events, to develop trends, patterns of causation and arguments for or against certain historical perspectives.

In past decades in diverse societies, there have been many schemes in history curriculums to better incorporate an analytical approach to teaching and learning history. An example of an analytical approach supported by the state government of California, the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians and the National Council for the Social Studies is the *California Framework* first published in 1987 and again in 1997. This curriculum requires teachers to present controversial issues in history accurately to their pupils:

> *The Framework requires that students be given the opportunity to view historical controversies through multiple perspectives representing conflicting viewpoints. It envisages students using a variety of original documents such as personal letters, diaries, government records, photographs, maps, artifacts, buildings, etc., to decide for themselves the*

> *strength of the various arguments and interpretations. In this way they will quickly learn that a single source is only part of the puzzle, that it must be analyzed for bias, that secondary accounts written by historians represent interpretations based on the evidence available, which is inevitably incomplete, and that the same set of documents can be interpreted in many different ways. Working with primary sources brings home to students, in direct contrast to a textbook, that there can be no single, final interpretation of the past. Students soon discover that they too are free to formulate their own interpretations of the past, as long as they support their arguments with sound evidence* (Bloom & Krathol, 1996:25).

According to the National Centre for History Education (NCHE) in Australia, another curriculum initiative that applies the analytical approach to history education, the analysing of historical evidence in history is one of the most authentic learning experiences in history education:

> *Students who have the opportunity to analyse and interpret evidence, generate hypotheses and contrast history – that is, engage with the processes of historical reasoning – develop a clearer understanding of the differences between learning content, and learn how to reason historically with content. They also learn how to differentiate between simple historical stories and ones that are complex, puzzling and problematic* (NCHE, 2002).

Through this approach pupils have the opportunity to 'do' and 'make' history which resembles the craft of a historian. In Holt's (1995) estimation the study of history is not about memorising 'facts', especially someone else's facts, but about the experience of problem-solving. Giving pupils the capabilities to develop their own interpretations of history better prepares their critical faculties. He believes that pupils must piece together their own unique narrative about people and events in history, based on a careful investigation of the available evidence.

Dickson, Lee and Gordon believe that the analytical approach is essential to developing what they call "the methodology of historical thinking" (2001: 80). This standard of thinking is essential in the different stages which "historians interpret the evidence available and generate historical inferences" (Dickson, Lee & Gordon,

2001:81). This historical thinking is closely related to the skills involved in the work of the historians. Observation, questioning, use of historical notions, comparing sources and understanding the limits of historical evidence are but a few of the skills developed through the analytical approach to history education. Learning the skills that a historian uses is essential in the analytical approach. Seixes argues that:

> *This orientation toward school history provides students with active exercise in building historical knowledge and criticising others' historical accounts. Rather than promoting identity fissures in a multicultural, multinational, and multiply gendered world, it offers the promise of deliberative distance, which only a broad historical view can achieve* (2000:25).

In many ways, this approach assumes that pupils have the capability to leave out their contemporary influences in the formation of their opinions. Influences such as ethnicity, culture or gender should not be deciding factors in how pupils view historical events and people. Assuming pupils have this capacity, their backgrounds should not influence their decisions and opinions as participating citizens in a liberal democracy. But is it possible for pupils at the secondary level to be objective and suppress historical influences outside the classroom in their development of historical interpretations and perceptions? Can bias be held back? Post-modernists and critical theorists would argue no, that bias and a subjective view point are the bases of construction in historical 'storytelling'. History is constructed through the contextualisation of the individual who constructs it. In this sense there is no historical 'truth', rather a contextualised "mico-narratives" (Rosenau, 1992: 66).

It is easy to see the relationship between an intercultural approach and the analytical approach to history education. In the analytical approach, there is no single narrative, rather pupils investigate events and people in history through the critical evaluation of evidence. Pupils are given the opportunity to develop their own opinions about these people and events based on their own research of many different and

sometimes contradictory sources. This fits in with the interculturalists' point of view which believes "schools should be the place where the stories of many different groups are heard" (Seixes, 2000:25). Pupils' historical knowledge is constructed through their own examinations of evidence and just like the historian; pupils formulate their own interpretations of the past.

Wineburg (2001) maintains that there is a possible breach between the school history and academia, that pupils in most history classes do not practice the trade of the professional historian. Instead, pupils are at the mercy of historians' interpretations of history and are not given the tools to develop their own interpretations. According to Wineburg's findings, an analytical approach to historical texts, including history textbooks, is essential for pupils to develop an understanding of the subtextual motives of not only texts of the past, but also issues in contemporary democratic society. As Wineburg states, "this is a crucial understanding for the reading of the newspaper, for listening to the radio, for evaluating campaign promises," or reading history textbooks (2001: 83). The analytical approach replaces much of the singular narrative like those in many history textbooks. The focus on a single narrative becomes less important to the learning of skills such as analysis, critical thinking, and research methods.[42]

An important aspect of this discussion in Seixes's estimation, is the understanding what the study of the past is, 'history' or 'heritage'? 'Heritage', as Lowenthal (2000) points out, is the use of the past to deny or support present interests. It is not questioned or critiqued, rather it is held as a faith that "established the rights of one group or another" and weaponises history (Seixes, 2000:24). In some ways, the

[42] There are many examples of teaching methods that employ the analytical approach to studying and teaching historical evidence in history classrooms. For example, Drake and Brown (2003) incorporate, what they term 1st, 2nd and 3rd order primary sources, which are used to develop pupils' analytical and evidence based skills that are employed by historians. Boxtel & Drie (2004) suggest an approach that employs six related components of historical reasoning in contextualising historical sources.

approach to history education in the past in Ireland could be categorised as an exercise in 'heritage' education. 'History' on the other hand is impartial and universal. No one group can have a monopoly on 'truth'. In this sense 'history' is "public, subject to debate, and falsifiable. Its truth claims rest on historical method and the historical record through documentary and artifactual sources" (Seixes, 2000:24).

If history in schools is closer to Lowenthal's (2000) concept of 'heritage', with pupils spending most of their time learning a singular 'story' or narrative on a national, ethnic or gender theme, is there any room for an analytical approaches that calls for an investigation of multiple sources of evidence in the development of a personal interpretation of history? "Only marginal attention, if any at all, is devoted to learning how to question a historical account, understand the evidentiary base upon which it rests, and to assessing it in relation to competing accounts" (Seixes, 2000:24). The analytical approach attempts to achieve these things and strives for objectivity in historical inquiry. Because pupils' formulations are solely based on the available evidence, pupils would not "superimpose late-twentieth-century notions of racism on nineteenth-century actors, who lived with different assumptions" (Seixes, 2000:24). Rather, pupils would be asked to see the distinctiveness of the past without relation to present contentious political and social issues. This would, therefore, allow pupils to understand what happened in the past. Again the question of whether pupils are able to put aside their personal backgrounds to achieve the level of objectivity that the analytical approach requires must be dealt with.

Barton and Levstik believe that the analytical approach is essential in understanding the causes and consequences of events in history and how things have changed over time. Analysis is also important when working with historical evidence and constructing explanations or accounts. "In each case, history consists primarily of

the use of analysis to identify the connections, relationships, and structures that tie together individual events or pieces of evidence" (Barton & Levstik, 2004:69). This approach is vital to historians and scholars alike. It emphasises logical and rational elements in history which protects against 'abuses' of history. For Barton and Levstik (2004:70), examining causes and consequences in history is a more attractive prospect than "hard-nosed alternative to the more emotive history sometimes emphasized in other stances."

One adaptation of the analytical approach which attempts to provide pupils with the skills and tools of the historian is the one that looks at *how* historical accounts are created and how they are grounded in historical evidence. Barton and Levstik summarises this approach:

> *From this perspective, the purpose of history education is not to learn a particular set of substantive propositions about the past (although it will necessarily include such learning) but rather to learn how knowledge about the past is arrived at in the first place. At the risk of oversimplification, this approach can most easily be equated with learning about the process of historical research rather than the specific content that such research produces. As such, it focuses on the disciplinary nature of the academic subject of history and is frequently justified by pointing to the necessity of acquainting students with the unique "way of knowing" that characterizes history as an academic subject. From this perspective, the purpose of learning history is not to retain specific interpretations constructed by historians or found in textbooks but to understand the process of developing historical accounts* (2004:82).

The importance of analysing primary sources to construct individual historical interpretations in the history classroom is obvious. Although Barton and Levstik claim that the analytical approach is the standard for the best academic approach to history education, it is not without its detractors.

The Analytical Approach: An Irish Perspective

Although elements of an analytical approach to history at the second level began to appear in the 1970s, the first significant manifestation of the analytical approach to history education in Ireland was in the form of the *Revised Guidelines for Teachers* (1996). These guidelines, which were developed to revise the *Junior Certificate History Syllabus* (1989), emphasise a method of teaching and studying history as well as the content that is included. The introduction to the guidelines states, "when students gain an understanding of how we find out about the past they can then approach historical knowledge in a more enlightened and critical way" (NCCA, 1996). A wide span of content, chronology and local history are also emphasised as important themes in the revised guidelines but the development of an analytical approach to history is seen as a foundational step in studying history at the post-primary level. [43]

The analytical approach is again exhibited in the form of the *Revised Leaving Certificate History Syllabus* (2004). This new syllabus was introduced in September 2004 by the DES and the NCCA and was first examined in 2006. According to the guidelines, history "involves an investigation of the surviving evidence..." (NCCA, 2006b). Through this investigation, pupils develop critical thinking skills and skills for independent learning.

The History In-Service Team (HIST), which was formed to support the revised syllabus and is seen as an important mechanism for the development in teaching history, points out that the key elements of the new syllabus are enquiry, evidence and exploration. The enquiry approach maintains that historical

[43] For a better understanding of how the history curriculum in Ireland compares to those curricula from around the world see Nichol & O'Connell's (2001) research into history curricula of thirteen different countries.

interpretation is based on available evidence and that with the emergence of new evidence, potentially those interpretations can change. "The past does not yield its secrets of its own volition: the sources on which our knowledge of the past depends must be interrogated by historians before they can provide evidence of past events and past societies" (HIST, 2003). Because of this characteristic, pupils studying history should be taught the skills to interpret historical evidence in the same way historians do. From this approach, according to the HIST (2003), pupils will develop their own historical conscience and which "makes them less susceptible to the wiles of propaganda."

Historical evidence in the form of primary sources is an essential part of the *Revised History Curriculum.* No longer are pupils required to study a single, authoritative interpretation of an historical event or person, rather pupils are required to use evidence to develop their own interpretations. For pupils, this means rather than simply accepting assertions and interpretations about people and events in history that they encounter, they need to understand how these assertions and interpretations were formed. This level of understanding goes beyond what the teacher, historian or textbook 'tell' pupils about history.

John Dredge, an education officer for history at the post-primary level for the NCCA who was involved with the creation on the Revised History Leaving Certificate, stated that one of the main influences of the curriculum revision was the desire to take pupils "closer to the raw material of history in terms of sources and so on" which, in his estimation was the NCCA's attempt to broaden a history education which moved past a focus on the political (Interview, 2007). This indicates that not only should the curriculum include more marginalised aspects of Irish history, but also include the histories of new groups in Ireland. Mr. Dredge was aware that

although the revised curriculum was purposefully broaden, "no syllabus can contain everything". One of the key elements of the revised curriculum which, in Mr. Dredge's estimation, lends its self to the increase of cultural and ethnic diversity in classrooms and the different histories which come along with this change is the research study portion of the syllabus. The research study allows pupils to research and write a fifteen hundred word project which makes up 40 per cent of the final mark:

> [The research study] *allows students, it allows all students considerable freedom in choosing a subject for research study, as an ongoing feature of the syllabus, I think it is a valuable thing. That they are undertaking some study of aspects of Irish history and European history, but they [international pupils] also have the opportunity to undertake the study of an aspect of their own history even if it is outside the bonds of European history... I think as the complexion of our society changes we clearly need to keep our syllabus on the revision* (Interview, 2007).

This raises the issue of whether or not teachers are qualified to assess the possibly broad topics of research studies or the available resources to teach new content in the classrooms. This broadening of the syllabus may bring into question the qualifications of teachers and teacher training itself in Ireland.

The nature of historical interpretation is not based on the authority of those providing it, instead it is based on evidence; evidence that is not only open to inspection by historians and authors, but pupils as well. This is the cornerstone to this approach to history education. The fact that evidence about the past, in the form of documents, pictures, speeches, films, artefacts and so on is not the exclusive domain of the historian is essential for pupils to develop their own opinions and interpretations about history. "If students," according to Barton and Levstik, "simply remember a body of information, and they think that information is true because someone in a position of authority said is was, then from a disciplinary standpoint,

they don't actually have any knowledge, only a memory of baseless assertions" (2004:63).

As Wineburg maintains, the analytical approach develops the ability of understanding bias in written texts. In addition, making decisions in a democracy requires knowledge; intelligent decisions are based on an understanding of background knowledge of issues that surround decisions. Furthermore, this approach helps pupils distinguish between historical interpretations based on viable evidence and those that are not, such as legend, myths and lies. This approach is closely related to Lowenthal's distinction between history and heritage education in schools. For Barton and Levstik this aspect of this approach is essential in sustaining a participatory democracy because pupils will be less susceptible to any story that they may be told. Understanding claims based on the most reliable evidence is the best way to develop pupils' historical knowledge and ability to make sound, rational decisions. The competing claims and points of view about history present pupils conflicting information about the past which has the potential to drive pupils away from history inside and outside school. According to the HIST, pupils enquiry into the available evidence leads them to explore historical evidence. Because there can be more than one interpretation, more than one question, more than one controversy surrounding events and people of the past pupils should "encounter a range of historical interpretations encompassing areas of consensus as well as areas of controversy" (HIST, 2003). Accordingly, the HIST points out that The *Revised Leaving Certification History Syllabus* is based on these principles:

- learning about the past involves a process of enquiry;
- the results of our enquiry will depend upon the available evidence;
- historical study needs to consider different interpretations of the evidence in an open-minded spirit of exploration. (2003).

In their report on the teaching and learning of history at the post primary level, the Inspectorate (2006:3) points out that this shift in emphasis towards documents and research, and the flexibility of choice and the varying features of study "have been well received." However, the Inspectorate is concerned with the difficulties in covering syllabus content and "dealing with documents and research work within the expected time limits" (2006:3).

The *Intercultural Education in Post-Primary School* (2006b) guidelines also demonstrate the link between interculturalism in education and the analytical approach to studying history. The guidelines explain that this relationship should encourage pupils to strive for objectivity and fair-mindedness and develop the ability to detect bias and forms of propaganda. Furthermore, the guidelines recognise that "history is always mediated through human perspectives" and many accounts of history exist therefore pupils need to develop the analytical capacity to understand how these sometimes differing accounts of history are created (NCCA, 2006b:67). Encountering diverse aspects of the human experience in history should not only be done through an analytical lens, but should also highlight the role of history as a promoter of a shared identity:

> *Students too can be helped to see the relationship between history and identity and the role of history providing people with a shared story and collective memory of the past. Such an understanding is critical in fostering an appreciation and understanding for diversity* (NCCA, 2006b:67).

The question that arises is: can an approach that values the inclusion of multiple perspectives of people and events in history and promotes the individual interpretation of historical evidence promote a shared identity and a common story? As discussed above, great debates over the depiction of history occur in an Irish society that has been, until recently, considered 'monocultural'. With the addition of

new diverse cultures and ethnicities, many of which that do not have historical connections to Ireland, will a common story be achievable? Will pupils who study one history in a classroom in Ireland but go home to a family or community that identifies with a completely different history be able to develop common historical perspectives with their fellow pupils?

Issues with the Analytical Approach

These are issues that are raised by the analytical approach to history education. Barton and Levstik (2004:63) state that "there is no single way of studying history analytically..." Educators (teachers and administrators alike) may agree that the analysing of historical evidence is the best approach, but may disagree on the content that is used. This raises the issues of an intercultural approach to history education. If an analytical approach is appropriate, then what content will be chosen, and whom will it benefit? Whose history will get the greatest attention and whose history will be marginalised?

Although in many countries there are standards that teachers must follow in teaching history, often standards are not specific also to the type of content that is used. In the case of text books, treatment of a certain event or person may differ from one book to another (Garrison, 2005).[44] Teachers also bring bias into their classrooms and may unconsciously focus on certain things over others. As the NCHE in Australia points out "the teacher brings personal and professional histories, knowledge about subject matter and pedagogy, beliefs about pupils, their families and communities, and ideas about the purposes of teaching history" into the classroom (NCHE, 2002). Furthermore, not all pupils are given the same learning opportunities in the history

[44] The term 'standard' is a term used in the US which refers to what may be called syllabi, outlines, guidelines or curricula in other countries

classroom. A simple example is the difference between pupils in 'well to do' schools who have access to many different historical sources, whether it be through the Internet, a school library, videos, or field trips, and pupils in a socially disadvantaged school where the teachers rely on a single textbook, chalk and a blackboard as their resources. According to the analytical approach outlined by the Junior and Leaving Certificate, pupils are required to develop analytical skills through the study of historical evidence, but access to primary and secondary sources creates a potential problem for one pupil to comprehend historical accounts while others cannot (Garrison, 2005).

Barton and Levstik also maintain that very little research suggest that pupils view history's purpose in terms of how historical accounts are formed. They state that they "have never heard U.S. students explain history's significance in terms of familiarizing them with the structure of the discipline" (although they interviewed many pupils who studied according to an analytical approach) (Barton & Levstik, 2004:64). Furthermore, they have not seen such evidence in any of their colleagues' research. Research in Britain, where an evidence-based approach is common, demonstrates that pupils do not talk about the past in terms of its construction, but rather the content of the subject (Barton & Levstik, 2004).

Seixes suggests that politically committed advocates believe history education should promote a collective memory, whether ethnic, national or other, and see the analytical approach as "a distraction at best and a threat to the efficacy of the project at worst" (2000:25). If the goal of history is to promote a unified, national history for example, what rationale is served by presenting conflicting interpretations of history? Seixes (2000) points out that in the analytical approach, which emphasises historical methods, sidelines the importance of content. Pupils understand what it means to be

historians, before they understand history itself. In an ever more 'globalised' Ireland characterised by diverse ethnic, cultural and religious groups, there may be benefit in promoting a common identity through history education.

Another related criticism is that pupils will be lost in a quagmire of relativism when they are told that history is more than just facts.[45] According to this, pupils will not develop common historical knowledge. Seixes points out that pupils are already exposed to conflicting histories through popular culture, and should be able to distinguish between legitimate histories and unfounded conspiracy theories about past events and people. From an epistemological standpoint, the analytical approach to history appears to be "unsophisticated" (Seixes, 2000:25).

A final criticism concerns whether or not the analytical approaches can "consciously excise identity issues from the study of history" and "satisfy the deeply felt needs that lead people to learn history in the first place" (Seixes, 2000:26). Does the valuing of a skills based development of historical methods over that of a narrative/content based history curriculum provide the opportunity to foster a common identity? Seixes poses the question, "how much support will be forthcoming for a history project that does not make a central concern people's drive for connections to their roots, their quest to define a common identity forged in the vicissitudes of a common past, or the need to bring historical perspective to their understanding of current struggles for social justice" (Seixes, 2000:26)?

In an Irish context, there are potential issues with an intercultural approach to teaching history. There may be tension between the intercultural emphasis and what can be seen as a more traditional goal to education in Ireland. For example, the White Paper on Education (1997) clearly states:

[45] For more literature on the debate over the method in which pupils interpret historical evidence in classrooms see Ashby (2004a, 2004b), Lee & Ashby (1987), Lee, Ashby & Dickinson (1996), Shemilt (1980), Wineburg, (1994).

> *Ireland has a rich cultural heritage. The education system has an important role to play in its conservation and development. Education can do this by inculcating a strong sense of pride in being Irish and by emphasising the Irish language and traditions, Irish literature, music and other cultural activities.*

As Tormey points out, there has been a shift in the approach to history education in Ireland in recent years. If it is agreed that there is only a limited amount of time in the education system to teach limited content, could traditional aspects of the curriculum which promote Ireland's 'rich cultural heritage' become marginalised in favour of more inclusive content and methodologies which reflects the diverse cultural and ethnic groups present in Ireland?

Furthermore, the ultimate goal (whether implicit or explicit) for the Revised History curriculum is the achievement of points in the form of the special project and in sitting the Leaving Certificate Examination.[46] Although the analytical approach may accommodate varying perspectives and interpretations of people and events, these perspectives must be assessed by educators who may be limited in their backgrounds and therefore limit what can be assessed. How many educators are academically prepared to teach about varying perspectives of Nigerian or Chinese national history let alone formulate assessments for these varying histories? Even if there were a cohort of teachers qualified to teach about the varying perspectives of the varying histories of the variety of ethnicities and cultures in Irish society, the majority of those teachers would have been educated within an Irish, White and Western educational context.[47] Although the analytical approach requires pupils to question of history authorities (e.g. historians), at the end of the day, these pupils face assessment

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[46] When pupils apply for admission to higher education in the ROI, their Leaving Certificate results are converted into points which are totaled to established their overall academic achievement.

[47] Although there is little research into the cultural, ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds of teachers in Ireland, personal experience of lecturing on undergraduate and post graduate education courses suggest that the majority of pupils studying to become teachers come from this background.

which is marked by an 'authority' whether it is the teacher, the curriculum developer or the individual marking the exam and these authorities are not or cannot be questioned by pupils.

Recent Research into History Education

Due to the increase ease of migration, the make-up of educational systems around the globe have faced many changes. In recent years, for example, there has been well-documented research into the intensification of the working lives of teachers to keep up with the increasing demands put on educational systems (Blair et. al., 2002; Codjoe, 2001; Connolly, 2002; Gillborn, 2004; Sewell, 1997; Wright et. al., 2000). Devine (2005) points out that teachers in Ireland are no exception. Research has also focused on the perceptions of an ever increasing diverse student body. For example, Koester (1997) and Shine Thompson (2005) researched how national images inserted into childhood memory play a part in the construction of national identity. Further international research looked at the experiences of children with regard to ethnicity and race (McLeod & Yates, 2003; Okely, 1997; Van Ausdale & Feagan, 1996), while there has been vast international research into children's construction of national identity (Anderson, 1999; Barret, 2000; Carrington & Short, 1995, 1996, 1998; Docket & Cusack, 2003; Gill & Howard, 2001; Gullestad, 1997; Hengst, 1997; Holloway & Valentine, 2000; Hart, 2002; Scourfield & Davies, 2003; Zevin, 2003).

In an Irish context Devine (2005) points out that there has been little published research to date on issues related to race, ethnicity, and schooling. Kenny (1997), for example, focused on the marginalisation of Traveller pupils in schools in Ireland. Devine, Kenny & MacNeela (2004) have also highlighted the experiences of racism in primary level schools. Research concerning post primary schools in Ireland also demonstrates a tendency among teachers to consider pupils population as one

homogenous group, marginalising the differences of culture, ethnicity, sexuality and religion, among other identities that may exist (Lynch & Lodge, 2002). As discussed in the previous chapter Waldron (2004), Waldron and Pike (2006) investigated pupils' perception of 'Irishness' at the primary level.

In recent decades, there have been some salient themes in research into the teaching and learning of history in Western society. For example, one theme in research into history education has focussed on what historical knowledge pupils posses and their performance in schools, or as Peck points out, "how much could students remember (or forget) from their encounters with history" (2005). In the last decades of the twentieth century in the US and Canada, much of the public debate about school history has focussed on the issue of national standards, with great emphasis on the content of state history curricula (Francis, 1998; Poole, 2002). In the 1980s, for example, education faced a major reform movement. Groups such as the Council for Basic Education, the American Federation of Teachers, and the National Endowment for the Humanities (Jackson et al., 1988:1; Jackson, 1989: 74) produced literature which suggested pupils in American schools, compared to other nations, were under performing and educators were wasting their human talent. National consensus believed that American children were "deficient in problems solving, in writing ability, in scientific concept, and in geographical understanding" among other inadequacies (Jackson, 1989:74). Much of this research looked at pupil's knowledge historical content.

Research into the state of history and history education in the US during the 1970s/1980s conducted by Ravitch and Finn, Jr. (1987) was an outgrowth of the *Foundations of Literacy* research in 1981, and a series of education conferences in 1983 and 1984. This research focussed on the challenges of educators of history,

literacy and foreign languages, investigated what young people know about history and literacy (Ravitch & Finn 1987: 2-3). The rationale behind this study came from the belief that, although there was a great deal of "educational activism" and reform movements in the area of science and mathematics in the early 1980, little attention was given to history education (Ratvitch and Finn 1987: 5). This research concentrated on the content of history, or body of knowledge that pupils had obtained.

Piloted in 1985 and administered to 8,000 seventeen-year-old American pupils representative of a national sample in 1986, the study sought to asses pupils' basic historical knowledge and what they knew about major authors and works of literature. One goal for Ravitch and Finn (1987:43) was to produce "reliable national information about the present condition of basic knowledge" of history and literature. Ratvitch and Finn (1987) found interesting results when they looked at the different ethnicities of pupils and how they viewed history. For example, African American pupils had a higher average of correct responses on questions pertaining to their ethnic background such as the Civil Rights movement, black historical figures and black authors. The results of this study points to the trend that African American pupils' ethnicity plays a role in what history they deem important or have a greater connection with. This connection could potentially be fostered by family members who feel that understanding the history of their ethnicity within the frame work of an American history narrative is important.

Barton (2001) points out that although this research focused on variety of issues and used an array of methods in these investigations, there are two salient findings. Firstly, that although pupils' historical knowledge may vary, young people know and think about the past, specific historical events and how things change over

time. Secondly, the way pupils think about history (the way they analyse evidence, or construct meaning) is not always congruent with the work of historians. Barton further outlines the importance of these findings:

> *These findings have important instructional implications, for, by taking accounts of students' prior knowledge, teachers can more effectively build on what children already know or address the misconceptions. In addition, by becoming aware of the patterns in children's thinking – such as how they respond to multiple sources to reach conclusions about the past – educators can design instruction which promotes more complete and sophisticated understandings of the past* (2001:90).

But research on pupils' historical knowledge is not the full story. Barton (2001) argues that researchers, as well as educators, must take into consideration the context in which this historical understanding is developed. In other words these historical perspectives must be situated within the social and cultural contexts in which they occur. "Children from different economic, ethnic or geographic backgrounds bring distinct bodies of knowledge to school, along with their own ideas about the nature and purpose of education—ideas shaped by their families and communities. To understand how children learn educators must recognise the influence of these wider contexts" (Barton, 2001:91).

Coming up to the twenty first century in North America, the UK and on the European continent, the focus of research on educational standards and the level of knowledge that pupils hold shifted towards looking at pupils' historical understanding. As Barton (2001c) points out, this work has produced a more complex and optimistic view of pupil's historical thinking than the Piagetian studies that dominated research prior to the 1980s.[48] This research not only looked at what historical content pupils understood, but also the nature of their thought process as they worked with the historical information including, "their ideas about time,

[48] See Booth (1984) on the limitations of Piagetian studies; see also Geman & Bailargeon (1983) on the shift of cognitive theory from global to domain–specific.

evidence, causation, perspectives and significance" (Barton, 2001c:90); (see also Barton, 1996, 1997; Barton & Levstik, 1996; Brophy & VanSledright, 1997; Carretero *et al.*, 1994; Levstik & Barton, 1996; Seixas, 1993, 1994; VanSledright, 1997; VanSledright & Kelly, 1997; Wineburg, 1991)

Within a European framework, there has been a focus of research into the role of teaching and learning of European history in schools across the continent. In broad terms, the European Association of History Educators (EUROCLIO) has investigated how heritage and national identity are used in European history education across Europe and its contribution to the education of responsible citizens (Leeuw-Roord, 2000). They found among other things that in most European countries national identity through heritage education (such as visiting museums and heritage sites) played a large role in history classrooms. Furthermore, the research demonstrated that, although there is a shift towards including a more inclusive and international approach to history education, heritage education in history classrooms could be hardly classified as multicultural and international. "Most lessons referring to heritage underline the episodes and processes of national history and tend to strengthen national identity and pride while ignoring the European dimension. It is merely focused upon the national heritage of the dominant community" (van Wijk, 2005); (see also Kostense, 2004; Leeuw-Roord, 2004a, 2004b; Quaedvlieg-Mihailovic & Graf Strachwitz, 2004; Trigt, 1999;).

Congruent to this research into heritage education in Europe, there also has been a focus on the role of history education and the shaping of national identity. In the UK, Samuels (2003) argued that, since the 1980s, the debate over cultural and national identity has made history a frontline subject. For example, Wood (2003) contends that the diversity of people that live in the UK stimulated debate over the

nature of national identity and history education as one of the key features in the formation of attitudes towards a national identity. Wood's research of pupils' perception of national identity in Scotland revealed that, although pupils put an emphasis on their Scottish identity over their British identity, due to the "rather patchy historical education" in Scotland, "pupils conveyed little sense that they felt that Scottish history really mattered, whilst their ignorance of events, people and circumstances in Scotland's past was profound" (Wood, 2003) (see also Wood & Payne, 1999).

Wren (2003) writes about the tension between 'black' identities and the development of British and English identity in the history curricula in England. He argues in favour of inclusion of proper black history which, in his estimation has been long ignored. Wren also supports an analytical approach to history education because "how much better to teach about the past, but also equip children with the cultural awareness to deconstruct any interpretation for themselves. Within the scope of school history teaching, there is every reason to present varying historical interpretations, not [original author's underlining] as though they were equally valid but as subject to the same analytical framework as rival historical points of view" (2003:45). Adding to the national identity debate of history education in the UK Low-Beer (2003), agreeing with Lowenthal's (1997, 2000) 'history v heritage' dichotomy in history education, contends that the conception of school history as a meaning of "fostering a sense of national identity, or teaching civics, or handing on a heritage" needs to transform (Low-Beer, 2003). In her estimation, government controlled school history is vulnerable to being turned into nationalist propaganda. A sense of identity is something that pupils forge for themselves.

In Ireland in recent years, research and literature has focused on the many issues surrounding migration and the increase of cultural and ethnic groups. A majority of this (much of which has been discussed in previous chapters) has focused on racism in Irish society and its impact on the integration of immigrants.[49]

In an educational context, there has been research that focused on the impact of immigration and the diversifying of the pupil population in schools. For example, Shine Thompson (2005) conducted research on how national images inserted into childhood memory play a part in the construction of national identity. Waldron & Pike (2006) investigated pupils' depictions of what it means to be Irish through analysing drawings. But, as Devine (2005:5) points out, "within the Republic of Ireland there has been little published research to date on issues related to race, ethnicity, and schooling." Kenny (1997), for example, focused on the marginalisation of Traveller pupils in schools in Ireland. Devine, Kenny & MacNeela (2004) have also highlighted the experiences of racism in primary level schools.

Keogh (2000) not only researched secondary school pupils' attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers in Ireland, but also why they had these attitudes, what knowledge they used to form these attitudes and where they got this knowledge. In an attempt to better understand the level of pluralism in schools in Ireland, Keogh argued that because asylum seekers and individuals from ethnic minority groups "be", "do", and "know" differently to Irish people, there is a perceived threat to cultural continuity and what it means to be Irish. Keogh found how that the majority of pupils investigated constructed their attitudes towards diverse groups in society is embedded deep within their own conceptions of an Irish identity. Furthermore, pupils

[49] A good source of varying perspectives on the change that has taken place in recent years in Ireland, refer to *Cultivating Pluralism: Psychological, Social and Cultural Perspectives on a Changing Ireland* edited by Malcolm MacLachlan and Michael O'Connell (2000). It addresses a variety of groups from asylum seekers, to the Travelling community to economically and socially disadvantaged.

find their sources on ethnic minorities and asylum seekers in the media (e.g. newspapers and television) and in the education system. Because of this she called for a greater investigation into how the education curriculum and media sources construct Irish identity. This research demonstrates that pupils utilise their own identity (in this case an Irish identity, or the 'Us' identity) to construct there attitudes and views of ethnic and cultural minorities (the 'Other') in Irish society.

Research of this nature was not restricted to gauging the attitudes of pupils. An investigation into teacher's attitudes towards the increase of ethnic diversity in schools across Ireland by Divine (2005:64) found that while teachers "spoke positively about their experiences of working with migrant children... both classed and radicalised perceptions were evident in their views." Positive views of pupils were located in the assumption that migrants come from middle class backgrounds, which provided positive role models, especially in working-class schools. Furthermore, perceptions of pupils were also set within a racialised framework where pupils from Eastern European origins received more positive acceptance, while teachers had a more cautious view of other migrant groups (i.e. African, Muslim, Asian and Romany migrants) who are, in Divine's (2005:64) view "positioned more clearly outside the Irish norm."

Divine's research also revealed the priority accorded to English language instruction for the purpose of integration of migrant pupils with their Irish peers. Teaching pupils to speak English was as more important than the cultural recognition of migrants, anti-racism policies or "any challenge to dominant conceptions of what it means to be 'Irish' in a rapidly changing society" (Divine, 2005:65). Again, the idea of what it means to be Irish plays an integral role in the perception of the 'Us'

towards what is considered the 'Other'. In the case of this research, the 'Other' is defined as an ethnicity that is perceived as not being Irish.

In the context of history education in Ireland, recent literature and research has focused on the role of history in the construction of a 'national' identity' in a globalised context. For example, Doherty (1996:325) discusses the state of the Irish historical profession and assessed the development of Irish national identity as "manifested in the teaching of History in primary and secondary schools in Ireland" during the twentieth century.

There also has relevant literature into the change in the history curriculum. For example, Crowley (1990) argued in favor for a shift away from the traditional authoritarian model of the history curriculum, towards a history methodology that emphasises the skills of the historian. While Milne (1997), in agreement with Crowley, is critical of the role of the history curriculum as tool of support for Irish and cultural heritage.

Further research has examined the subculture of history educators (O'Boyle, 2004) in secondary schools and how there has been an attempt to shift this subculture from a traditional, authoritarian methodological approach, to a more skills based, active methodology. In reality, research has shown that because of the "lack of resources, impracticality of field trips and pressure of coverage have contributed to a transmission model of teaching geared towards examination requirements" (O'Boyle, 2004:426).

Unfortunately there is little research in Ireland focused on pupils' (especially international pupils') perceptions of history inside and outside schools. The reason for this lack of research could be because of the deficient of funding in this area, or because of an absence of an educational research discourse focused on

this issue. The most obvious explanation could simply be that the large scale presence of international pupils in schools in Ireland is a new phenomenon. Regardless of the reason, one is forced to look internationally for research into pupils' perceptions or understanding of history based on their sociocultural backgrounds.

Pupils Perspectives of History: The Formal and Informal Dichotomy.

Research into history education has shifted towards investigating pupils' perceptions of history inside and outside of school. For example, in Europe, research has focused on pupils perceptions of learning and teaching history in school. In Switzerland, Fink (2004) for example, investigated 15 year old pupils' ideas about the uses of learning history and what part of studying history in schools was important to them. The majority of pupils understood that the study of history was important in their overall general education, but, for most of them, it was difficult to think of concrete value of studying history. Fink found that, although most pupils in the research understood what was expected of them in order to get a good mark on the exam, "the importance of historical knowledge doesn't go far beyond the classroom, which means that they have a somewhat remote relationship with history (as a school subject)" (2004). There is some research that suggest that on the one hand pupils from different backgrounds may share basic characteristics of historical knowledge (how they use evidence, understanding of historical change and the role of individuals is history) (Barton, 1997; Brophy & VanSledright, 1997), while other research points out that the perspectives of history of pupils from varying ethnic backgrounds can vary significantly from those of their peers (Barton, 2001).

On of the larger studies into people's understandings and perceptions of sources of history inside and outside of school was conducted in the US by

Rosenzweig and Thalen (1998, 2000) on the popular uses of history supports the notion that family history plays a major role in shaping historical understanding. Influenced by Ravitch and Finn's (1987) study and based on a sociocultural theory in history education, Rosenweig and Thalen set out to understand how Americans connect and understand the past. Using telephone interviews, they gathered information from over eight hundred Americans and compared the results based on age, gender, income and education. Rosenzweig and Thalen also included three minority group samples of African Americans, Mexican Americans and Sioux Indians. Although hindered by the limitations and bias of the telephone survey, Rosenzweig and Thalen point out that their research "offers the only existing systematic evidence on what a cross-section of Americans think about the past" (2000: 264).

One of the more salient features of the data collected is that the majority of those surveyed felt most connected with the past when they encountered it with people that mattered to them, namely friends and family (informal), while at the same time respondents felt the least connected to the past when they encountered it in books, movies and in the classroom (formal). When respondents were asked to "name a person, either a historic figure or someone from your personal past who has particularly affected you," 52 per cent named a family member[50] – while 36 per cent named public or historical figures (Rosenzweig & Thalen, 2000: 266). Furthermore, when asked which past was more important to them - their family, their ethnic or racial background, their community, or the US - 66 per cent named their family as the most important. Regardless of which subgroup in the study was analysed (male/female, young/old, rich/poor, white/black, or Indian), all groups cited family

[50] A further break down of the 52% who named a family member as important historical figures is thus: 29% parents, 14% grandparents, 9% other family members.

history as the most important. Rosenzwieg and Thalen (2000: 266) sum up these results by saying, "almost every American deeply engages with the past, and the past that engages them most deeply is that of their family." All groups that took part in the survey demonstrated engagement with history and research found that participation in historical activities or having a sense connectedness to the past are not tied to any particular social groups or backgrounds. In other words, regardless of group identity (white, African American etc.) individuals find stronger connections with the past outside (informal) of studying history in school.

Although all groups surveyed demonstrated a high level of connectedness to history (specifically when looking at family history) distinctions between sub-groups in the study becomes evident when analysing where the connections lie (Rosenzwieg & Thalen, 2000). Differences emerge among ethnic lines. For example, African Americans were six times more likely to choose the history of their racial or ethnic group as most important to them as Whites. Sioux Indians were ten times more likely to make the same choices. Furthermore, while White Americans talked about their family history using a narrative of national history, ethnic minorities discussed their history in terms of ethnic group within a national narrative framework. African American respondents cited historical people and events that were related to their ethnic or racial background which supports the finding of Ravitch and Finn (1987). [51]

Rosenzwieg and Thalen's (1998) research demonstrates significant characteristics about how Americans connect with the past. Firstly, Americans do care about the past and are connected to history. Secondly, the majority of people surveyed, regardless of background, felt disconnected from the 'formal' history

[51] African American respondents talked about Martin Luther King's Birthday, civil rights museums in Atlanta and Birmingham, and historical sources such as *Roots* and *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. These events, although significant parts of American history, are also important aspects of African American cultural heritage.

taught in schools. For example, when respondents were asked to identify how connected to the past they felt in seven different settings, classrooms ranked lowest. Furthermore, when asked to choose one word to describe their experiences in history classrooms, "boring" was the most common word offered (Rosenzwieg & Thalen, 2000:273). Although there were many negative responses about classroom-based history, not all were in reference to the role of the teacher. The feeling of trust was a big influence on how respondents viewed their experiences with history teachers. Individuals who responded positively about their history teachers valued them as highly as family members, and believed teachers who lived through the historical events they taught had authority. These conclusions support the notion that individuals trust the historical information gained from sources they feel connected with, whether this connection is based on family relation or similar ethnicity.

In the case of negative responses about teachers, individuals felt content was controlled by "remote bureaucrats" and lacked any connection to their interests (Rosenzwieg & Thalen, 2000:275). Respondents also raised issues over the pedagogical approaches of teachers. They felt that rote memorisation and regurgitation of pointless details of textbook diminished their connection with the content they studied:

> *Respondents recalled with great vehemence how teachers had required them to memorize and regurgitate names, dates, and details that had no connection to them. They often added that they forgot the details as soon as the exam had ended* (Rosenzwieg & Thalen, 2000:275).

Rather, respondents wanted to engage with history on their own terms and confront historical accounts that ran counter to their own stories and connections with the past. This may be a indication that there may be a shift towards a more ananlytical approach to history education in American schools. According to Rosenzwieg &

Thalen, this "privatized" version of history can "reinforce rather than break down barriers between people" and "resist rather than promote change" (2000:278). They also suggest that Americans find the most powerful meaning of history in the "dialogue between the past and the present, out of the ways the past can be used to answer pressing current questions about relationships, identity, morality and agency" (Rosenzwieg & Thalen, 2000:280). Because of the ways in which individuals connect with history, curricula and teachers need to allow pupils to identify and empathise with alternative points of view and connect with "imagined communities."[52] (See also Ashby & Lee, 1987; Foster & Yeager, 1998).

Rosenzwieg and Thalen's research demonstrates that the family, regardless of cultural, ethnic, or economic background, is a potent resource for understanding history and for "coming to terms with personal identity and of gaining personal autonomy" (2000:279). This research also demonstrates that distinctions exist between racial or ethnic groups in the case of the sources of historical understanding. Data suggest that ethnic minorities in America most often connect, after family history, with the history of their racial or ethnic group. While White Americans construct their history more through their family experiences within the context of a national narrative. This suggests that trust in and connections to sources of history are shaped by socio-cultural experiences.[53]

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[52] Rosenzweig and Thalen borrow this phrase, "Imagined Communities", from Benedict Anderson (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.*

[53] In 1998, the NCHE in Australia, taking a cue from Rosenzweig and Thalen, and influenced by the public debate over the depiction of history began to look at the "significance of history in schools as the main agent for developing historical consciousness" (Aston et. al. 2000). Its findings are almost identical to those of Rosenzweig and Thalen's in that Australians found their closest connection to history through family and felt a disconnection with school history. The NCHE are currently conducting an online survey which intends to gain data of people's historical understandings in Australia.

Epstein's (1998; 2000; 2001) research into how African American and European American pupils constructed their views on US history supports the findings of Rosenzweig and Thalen (1998, 2000). Epstein's research study took place in a secondary school in the mid-west US in an urban, working class community which was 43 per cent African American and 56 per cent European American. Epstein's study specifically looked at one history teacher's classes and demonstrated that African American and European American pupils constructed different explanations of US history. Epstein (1998: 397) states that:

> *The two groups also constructed conflicting beliefs about the credibility of secondary historical sources. Representative of more substantive difference in the perspectives that the adolescents brought to historical inquiry, the differences in adolescents' historical understating arose from race-related differences in the lived experiences of the adolescents themselves and their family members.*

Epstein's research assumes a dichotomy of different sociocultural views exists in US history classrooms. Should the historical experiences of African Americans, Asian Americans, Latin Americans and Native Americans receive emphasis because of their contribution to the nation's development or should these experiences be highlighted because of the oppression that ethnic minorities faced throughout American history? Epstein (1998:398) maintains that this dichotomy exists, in part, because pupils' perspectives on ethnicity are a major factor in how pupils construct "connections among past experiences, contemporary circumstances and future possibilities" and how they evaluate "primary and secondary historical sources and integrate new knowledge into existing frameworks." Simply stated, pupils' perspectives on history, like those of historians, are based in part on cultural and ethnic identities (Cronon, 1992; Holt, 1995; Epstein, 1998). These perspectives are the "assumptions, knowledge, and values that shape" a pupils' judgement about "the meaning and

significance of historical actors, events and institutions and processes" (Epstein 1998:398). This view point is closely related to the sociocultural concept of mediated action (see Chapter Two).

Epstein's (1998, 2000, 2001) research also showed that different historical perspectives exists for pupils based on their culture and ethnic backgrounds, (in the case of her research it is between African American and European American). When Epstein (1998) posed the question 'Who are the three most important people in US history?' to respondents, the top three responses for European American pupils were George Washington (22%), John F. Kennedy (21%), and Martin Luther King Jr.(18%). The African American pupils' responses were Martin Luther King Jr. (33%), Malcolm X (17%) and Harriet Tubman (13%).[54] While Malcolm X and Harriet Tubman were the second and third most frequent answers for important persons for African American pupils, not a single European American pupil cited either of these choices. Furthermore, African American pupils cited the civil rights movement (25%), the Civil War (15%), and slavery and emancipation (15%) as the top three most important events in US history. European American pupils cited the Civil War (18%), the Declaration of Independence/Constitution (16%) and both Twentieth-century wars and American Revolution (12%). Not one African American respondent cited the American Revolution as an important event in US history. It is clear that there are significant differences in the historical perspectives of these pupils:

> *Although African-American and European-American students selected some of the same people and events as significant, differences in the frequency of selection were significant. African-American historical figures constituted 75% of the African-American students' selections; European- American figures constituted 82% of*

[54] Harriet Tubman was a black slave who became an abolitionist, humanitarian and a Union spy during the US Civil War.

> *the European-American students' selections. Events commonly associated with African-American history equalled 68% of African-American students' responses and 33% of European-American responses. Conversely, traditional historical documents like the constitution or events like the American Revolution constituted 37% of European-American students' responses; the same events totalled only 15% of African-American students' responses* (Epstein 1998: 404).

When pupils were asked to explain their selections ethnic group differences were apparent. For example, 10 of the 16 African American pupils' explanations for the selection of Martin Luther King, Jr. referred to him as a 'black man' or as a leader who worked for equality and freedom for the 'black race'. 10 pupils reported that "family members had talked about King's role in creating greater equality for African Americans," whereas, none of the European American pupils' explanations of the importance of King included his racial identity. Also, none reported family members mentioning King in the home (Epstein, 1998:404). This occurrence was not isolated to the treatment of Martin Luther King, Jr. African American pupils' explanations of their citing John F. Kennedy were based on his relationship to the African American community. African American pupils' explanations of the Civil War were also based on how it affected African Americans. It is clear in this study that ethnic background is an important element in a pupils' historical perspective. "Differences in African-American and European-American adolescents' explanations of historical and contemporary actors and events reflected more substantive differences in the two groups' perspectives on racial groups' experiences in US history and contemporary society" (Epstein, 1998:407).

Another important aspect that the study looked at was the pupils' beliefs about the credibility of secondary historical sources. Again the perspectives of African American and European American pupils shaped what they viewed as credible secondary sources. Of the African American pupils' responses to the question about

the credibility of historical sources, family members comprised one-third of the total, followed by teachers and, television, movies and video for the second most credible sources. For European American pupils, textbooks represented the largest number of first and second ranked responses, followed by the teacher and library books. In interviews, African American pupils explained that family members "filled in facts" about African American history that were either missing from school history or misrepresented in textbooks and the media. Furthermore, many pupils reported that at home with their family they watched television programmes and documentaries about the experiences of African Americans and discussed them with their friends in school. European American pupils viewed teachers and textbooks as more credible sources than family members because they are view as authorities on history, while family members were not (Epstein, 1998:408).

The socio-cultural context shapes how African American and European American pupils develop their historical perspective on US history. According to Epstein's (1998) findings, for African American pupils, there is a conflict between the 'formal' history that they are exposed to in schools and the 'informal' history that they learn from the family. Most European American pupils saw little difference between the history they learned in school and the history they were exposed to at home. It is clear that many African American pupils not only use their ethnic background as a framework for their historical perspectives (Epstein, 2000), but also their own and family members' race related experiences (Epstein, 2006) (see also Gwaltney, 1993; Terkel, 1992; Turner, 1993).

Significant research on how pupils' historical understanding is shaped by school and family comes from Seixes (1993) who investigated, through interviews and observations, pupils' historical understanding in a multicultural setting in Canada and

the interaction of family and school as sources of historical understanding. This research took place in a multicultural, urban, secondary school. While investigating pupils' historical understanding with a focus on historical significance, historical evidence and authority and historical agency, empathy and moral judgment, Seixas (1993:301) found that family experiences and other sources of history outside school "strongly influence the way in which students understand and use history." Furthermore, in a multicultural setting, divisions between 'formal' or school history and 'informal' or family history begin to appear:

> *In a multicultural school population, with students whose families do no share a common historical experience, these disjunctions at best render school history less meaningful, and at worst pose an impediment to student's construction of any meaningful frame of historical reference* (Seixas 1993:302).

For the majority of the pupils involved in Seixas' study, sources outside formal education, such as family, media, and popular culture shaped their historical thinking. Again, the family influence on how individuals view the past is evident (see also Carroll, 1990; Ignatieff, 1987; Conway, 1989; Hoffman, 1989; Aldrich, 1988). Seixas (1993) suggests that this distinction arises because formal history education fails to include stories related to pupils' family histories.

The significance of this research is obvious in contemporary Irish society. Assuming Tracy (2000), and Tovey and Share's (2003) theories are a correct representation of contemporary Irish culture, coupled with Mac Gréil's (1996) findings which present Irish society as being ethnocentric, (see Chapter Two) could a new dichotomy (much like the one in the classrooms Epstein investigated) emerge in history classrooms in Ireland? This dichotomy may mean that, on one hand, a focus on traditional Irish history education which concentrates on the main events and people in the history of Ireland and promotes an Irish heritage through the selected

content. On the other, because of an increase in the numbers of cultures and ethnicities found in Ireland, there may be a demand for inclusion of minority groups' histories, which includes more content based on cultural and ethnic criteria. Or possibly, because many of the ethnic and cultural minority groups in Ireland are new immigrants and have little or no historical roots here, could more European and world history be included in the curriculum?

Perspectives on History in Northern Ireland

There is neither the time or the space to go into any in-depth discussion of the history of the conflict in Northern Ireland, the current political and social situations, different groups' perspectives or to scrutinise the "Troubles"; there is a significant literature that address these topics (see Cairns & Mercer, 1984; Whyte, 1990; Cassidy & Trew, 1998; Crisp et. al., 2001; Smith, 2003). Rather, this section discusses the recent literature and research which is concerned with the role of history education and the historical perspectives of pupils in Northern Ireland.[55] Much of the literature and research has been driven by the view that Northern Ireland has been a country "affected by communal division and conflict" and because the Northern Irish education system is still highly segregated (McCully, Hartop & Barton, 2003).[56]

This discussion of Northern Ireland is deemed relevant to the current research in the ROI based on the following assumptions:

- Increasing diversity and pluralism, prompted by inward migration, requires attention be given to representing minority perspectives of history inside and outside of classrooms (Education and Training Inspectorate, 2006). This is important where a dominant community exists such as Afrikaaners in South

[55] For an in-depth discussion of the politics of cultural traditions in Northern Ireland, Nic Craith (2002) analyses the way history has been used as a resource in cultural politics and the development of plural identities in a two traditions paradigm.

[56] As of 2004, there were just over 1,100 schools in Northern Ireland, 50 of which are religiously integrated and an additional 40 that have a diverse student population (Gallagher, 2004).

Africa or Unionists in Northern Ireland or, in the case of the ROI, the dominant cultural identity. (See Tracy's WHISC identity in Chapter Two).

- Although the ROI has not faced the same level of conflict and division as Northern Ireland, the diversity of historical events and people in shaping contemporary views in both countries is evident. Also the different political, ethnic, cultural and religious points of view in Irish society are growing. (See Chapter Two).

- The core of the history curriculum in school in the ROI has shifted to a skills-based, enquiry approach much like the teaching approaches encouraged in the United Kingdom since the 1970s and Northern Ireland history curriculum since 1990. By adopting these 'new' history principles, teachers no longer needed to tell a 'national story' which was highly contested, rather they pursued learning outcomes that emphasised applying critical thinking and enquiry to aspects of Irish history. Furthermore, teachers are required to present conflicting and controversial topics in their history courses. (See Barton, 2001; McCully, 1997; McCully, Hartop &Barton, 2003; Barton & McCully, 2005; Phillips et. al., 1999).

There have been two major themes that have characterised the literature and research in recent years in Northern Ireland. The first theme was what role did teaching history play in a society that is emerging from conflict, or "where there are strongly contested allegiances that make the teaching of the subject particularly problematic" (McCully & Hartop, 2004)? Much of the research and literature was based on the assumption that history education had a role in developing shared national identities within the diverse sociocultural perspectives that exist in Northern Ireland. McCully, Hartop and Barton (2003) point out that The Northern Irish History Curriculum has been held up as "an exemplar for other educational systems seeking to respond to divisions in society through the formal education." The second theme focused on empirical research of pupils' perspectives of people and events in history and the teaching of history. Much of this research investigated the level of success of recent cross-curricular educational policies (e.g. Education for Mutual Understanding and Cultural Heritage) that are geared towards preparing pupils to become citizens in Northern Irish society and their impact on the teaching of history in post-primary

schools. In other words, how pupils learn to fit into a modern, pluralist democracy through studying history. This research looked at curriculum development, whole school planning, teachers' lesson plans, teachers' attitudes and pupils' perceptions. Much of this research on pupils was conducted in close relationship with the first theme and had close ties to the discussions over the aims of the history curriculum.

In recent years, significant dialogue, over teaching history and the functions of history educators in a Northern Irish society that was emerging from a long period of conflict and division came in the form of international seminars aimed at bringing together educators from divided societies and creating a discourse about teaching history in a "situation characterised by contested national identities, each supported by selective and partisan versions of past events" (McCully, Hartop & Barton, 2003).[57] Initiated by the UNESCO Centre at the University of Ulster, and similar European conferences such as the one conducted by the Council of Europe entitled *The Teaching of History in a Divided Community* in 1997, the first seminar was held in September 2002, and was supported by UNESCO and the Nuffield Foundation. This international seminar, headed by Alan McCully, Brenden Hartop and Keith Barton (2003) focused on the dilemmas of teachers who used an enquiry based curriculum while faced with "competing—and often conflicting—historical narratives prevalent in divided societies." In other words, the main aim of this conference was to debate the usefulness of history education in the process of creating greater social cohesion with society. Participants in this seminar agreed that if history has a role to play in the resolution of conflict, whether it is at a sectarian level of violence or disagreements between two groups in society, it must have a social function:

[57] Research conducted by Smyth & Scott (2000) found that 14-18-year-olds in Northern Ireland identified themselves as Irish 42%, British 23%, and Northern Irish 18%. Research conducted by Cassidy and Trew (1998) into the identities of 284 first year psychology undergraduates in Northern Ireland revealed that national and religious identities accorded a low centrality relative to other identities such as friends, boy/girlfriend, university and family.

> *Recognising the 'values' dimension is crucial. There is a relationship between historical awareness and cultural identity and history teaching has the potential to influence young people's developing social consciousness... History teaching can make a contribution to the resolution of larger social and political issues* (McCully, Hartop & Barton, 2003).

The participants also outline potential characteristics of history curricula promoting greater social cohesion, which included agreements being reached across ethnic, cultural and political lines about the aims of teaching history. Furthermore, the seminar stated that the curriculum should promote a cohesive national pride while at the same instance recognise that pupils have multiple identities based on ethnic, cultural, religious or political backgrounds and must be included in the curriculum (McCully, Hartop & Barton, 2003). It is clear that contributors were looking to history education as a tool to ease social and political tension and create cohesiveness in Northern Irish society. But, as was suggested above, can the simple addition of everyone's story into the history curriculum lead to the creation of a cohesive society and a shared national identity? One merely has to look at the issue of the limited time in the classroom to understand that simply adding more content creates issues of choice: choice of who and what is included in the curriculum and who and what is discarded.

This issue was brought up again in an education seminar in April 2004, supported by the Nuffield Foundation, and headed again by Alan McCully and Brendan Hartop, where the current policies and practice of history education in Northern Ireland were brought into question. McCully and Hartop (2004) raised the issue of the skills-based, analytical approach to history education in the UK Although McCully and Hartop agreed that the analytical approach enabled pupils to "examine multiple perspectives and reach individual interpretations of the past", while at the same time creating a standard history programme across a divide education system,

but unlike the previous seminar, they felt that there were limitations to this approach (McCully & Hartop, 2004). They felt that the enquiry-based approach in place was insufficient to impact contested situations. "In societies where there are deep ethnic or religious divisions, historical events are vested with strong emotional associations that prove resistant to rational educational approaches" (McCully & Hartop, 2004). The analytical approach in the history classroom did not confront deeply held community identification with historical events and people. Pupils, in their estimation, were not developing a shared national identity based on a shared historical understanding. Participants at the 2004 seminar felt that further exploration into history education's role as part of a citizenship programme was needed.

This shift of support away from the analytical approach that was in place in Northern Ireland could be due to the empirical research conducted on pupils' perceptions toward identity and national history. Barton, McCully and Conway (2003) conducted two empirical studies that investigated the perceptions of identity and national history of pupils in Northern Ireland. Their findings indicated that pupils identified with a "wide range of historical topics and that they considered school the most important influence on their understanding of national history" (Barton, McCully & Conway, 2003). These findings are interesting when compared to the research conducted in the US. Rosenzwieg and Thalen's (2000) research found that respondents, regardless of ethic or cultural background, considered history in school and teachers were not considered reliable sources of history compared to family members. Furthermore, Epstein's (1998) research into history in multicultural settings found that, generally, ethnic minorities (namely African American pupils) tended not trust or connect with sources of history in school. These distinctions are interesting; however, Barton, McCully and Conway's (2003) research also found that pupils'

identifications began to narrow, "increasingly focused on Protestant/Unionist or Catholic/Nationalist heritage" as they progressed in their education. These findings are similar to those of Rosenzwieg and Thalen (2000) and Epstein (1998), in the sense that pupils' backgrounds influenced what history they focused on. In the case of the research in the US the backgrounds were ethnic (e.g. African Americans focused on black historical events and people) while in Northern Ireland pupils where influenced by their political/cultural/religious backgrounds. These findings demonstrate that sociocultural backgrounds are a major influence on the historical understanding of pupils. In other words, influences outside of the school walls are crucial.

Their research also highlighted that many teachers avoided covering controversial or conflicting topics in their history classes. Teachers usually did not "address historical aspects of contemporary or controversial issues directly during required coursework," and furthermore, many teachers disavowed the "attempt to make history directly relevant to contemporary concerns, either because of perceived community pressure or because of their own belief that academic subjects should be removed from current societal concerns" (Barton & McCully, 2005). These findings are supported by Kitson (2004), and the Education and Training Inspectorate (2006), which focused on the teaching of the history curriculum in Northern Ireland. Kitson's (2004) study found that while trying to be balanced in their presentation of history, many teachers have avoided controversial topics and did not always "actively encourage their pupils to consider conflicting interpretations and standpoints." Her research shows that in non-selective high schools (where about 70 per cent of children are educated in Northern Ireland) teachers are less likely to explore these controversial issues. Kitson suggests that this is creating blandness in the history curriculum. Additionally, Kitson points to the segregation of schools in Northern

Ireland as a potential influence of this avoidance. 95 per cent of pupils either attend schools that either practice Catholicism or Protestantism. "Creating a balanced view is most difficult in non-mixed schools, as segregation means that it is difficult to discuss differing perspectives"[58] (Kitson, 2004). The survey by the Education and Training Inspectorate (2006) suggests that many pupils are unfamiliar with knowledge and understanding of division in Northern Ireland. Based on their first three or four years of post-primary history education, 60 per cent of respondents felt that they were not "sufficiently well informed about historic and current patterns of division and difference in Northern Ireland" (Education and Training Inspectorate, 2006:12). These results suggest that teachers may not provide substantial content of controversial topics or avoid them completely (see also Gallagher, 2004).

Further research into Northern Irish pupils' perspectives on teaching history demonstrated the strong impact of community influences, especially family members, on pupils' ideas about history (Barton, 2001; Barton & McCully, 2005b; Education and Training Inspectorate, 2006). Barton and McCully's (2005a, 2005b) research found, much like their previous research, that pupils looked to history education in schools to "provide alternatives to those influences." The participants in this study were 253 pupils between the ages of 11-14-years-of-age selected from Controlled (Protestant), Maintained (Catholic), and Integrated schools, as well as selective, nonselctive schools and comprehensive schools. Many of the schools selected were in areas that had experienced significant levels of sectarian violence in the past.

One aspect of the research focused on what sources outside of school provided pupils' with informal opportunities for learning history. Generally, the main sources that were cited by respondents were heritage sites, media and printed sources and

[58] In 2001, only 42 per cent of all state schools in Northern Ireland had more than a 10 per cent mix of pupils (Kitson, 2004).

local community influences including family and peers. Public sites mentioned by respondents included folk parks, museums and heritage centres which are seen as "vehicles both to encourage tourism and to foster a common understanding of the past" (Barton & McCully, 2005a). Although many of these sites were visited on official schools trips, many pupils referred to visits made with families. Barton and McCully (2005a) point out that the majority of these sites were non-controversial in nature, and much of the learning associated with them may be regarded as partisan in tone. Media sources also featured in pupils' responses, television being of particular importance as in informal way of obtaining historical knowledge. Television documentaries and drama (especially ones concerning the two world wars) were seen as important sources about the past. Also, pupils referred to "programmes relating to the 'troubles' as useful in broadening their knowledge and understanding of Northern Ireland conflict" (Barton & McCully, 2005a).

When analysing the pupils' responses regarding local community, family and peers as an informal source of history, Barton and McCully (2005a) found that they were "much more likely to reflect the religio-cultural differences in society" than other sources of history outside of schools. The majority of responses indicated that political and cultural values had an impact on what history the understood and deemed important. "Most students who drew on family and community sources of learning did so in a way that mapped on to the dominant division within Northern Irish society" (Barton & McCully, 2005a). For example, pupils from the controlled schools (Protestant) cited King William's victory at the Battle of the Boyne and the siege of Derry in 1688. Furthermore, pupils also cited wall murals, organisations and events linked with the Orange marches. Although these were deemed important sources, Barton and McCully's (2005a) research points out that pupils had only "hazy

knowledge" of their historical significance prior to covering them in school. Rather, pupils saw these sources as existing expressions of political stances. Pupils from Maintained schools (Catholic) referred to Bobby Sands and the hunger strike as significant in their learning. Once more murals, stories, and commemorations were cited as significant sources of historical understanding (although they referred to Catholic/Republican positions). These findings point to the importance of a socio-religious-cultural background of pupils as an important influence in what history they feel is important. Compared to public, or 'official' sources of history outside of school such as museums, heritage sites and television documentaries which can be considered partisan in nature; communities, families and peers as sources of history seem to emphasise the sociocultural backgrounds of pupils and the divisions that exist in Northern Irish society (see also Education and Training Inspectorate, 2006).

Barton and McCully (2005b) also investigated how pupils felt about the use of history outside of school, although, as they note, it was sometime difficult to differentiate how pupils believed others used history and what they themselves considered to be important. A number of pupils viewed history as a leisure activity including holiday experiences or answering quiz questions. Research also demonstrates that pupils felt that history played an important role defining contemporary situations:

> *History has an important function for people in locating them in time – tracing their ancestry, 'what we are' and 'where we come from', as family members and, collectively, as communities, recording pat achievements and hardships and ensuring that the past is not forgotten. Remembrance of past sacrifices featured frequently. This sometimes referred to past economic hardships or, or course, relatives and members of the wider community who died in the wars* (Barton and McCully, 2005a).

Again, the significance of historical events and people for pupils exists at a local level, e.g. local community, family and peers. From this research it appears that

history is used to shape a local identity. Barton and McCully's (2005a) research suggest that "heritage, remembrance and a sense of identity then were all perceived as ways in which people incorporated history into their everyday lives." Furthermore, they point that in divided communities, this use of history has a particular significance and, not surprisingly, "many pupils interpreted them in this context."

Barton and McCully believe that, from the perspective of teaching history, encouragement and caution should be taken from these findings. Encouragement being because, although many pupils views were based in the most partisan of positions they understood that the views "they were receiving about the past were travelling through the filter of the present and at best were partial and mono-perspective" (Barton & McCully, 2005a). Caution because past events were seen in the light of contemporary rationalisations.

When asked why the subject of history was important, pupils in Barton and McCully's study highlighted a variety of answers which fell into three main themes: societal relevance, academic relevance and personal relevance. Over 50 per cent of pupils viewed studying history in school as tool to better understand contemporary society in Northern Ireland, (specifically the origin of the Troubles, or of community division). Additionally, a large portion of pupils understand that school history was important in expanding the views of pupils by providing multiple perspectives on Northern Ireland and local communities. These findings raise interesting points. If the core aims of the history curriculum in Northern Ireland are to expose pupils to a multitude of perspectives (in some cases conflicting) and to create a shared understanding within a society emerging from conflict, and, if a majority of pupils also agree with these aims, then Kitson's (2004) research which demonstrates that many teachers are reluctant to include controversial topics in their lessons (either

because of personal choice or community pressure) and expose pupils to different perspectives, there seems to be an obvious flaw in the history curriculum. Although the curriculum may set these lofty aims, the reality may not meet the policy. This also illuminates the important role of the teacher in how pupils engage with and understand the past.

Academic relevance was viewed by 34 per cent of pupils as an important role of schools history, "with no direct connection to current issues or societal concerns" (Barton & McCully, 2005a). These pupils understand history as a way to study the past for the sake of knowing historic events and trends. A smaller proportion of pupils' responses (one-seventh of the total in the category of academic relevance) linked the study of history as a way to understand the modern world but with no specific reference to Northern Irish society. Understanding their own religion was also cited as an important role of history education, but again, with no reference to the contemporary issues in Northern Ireland. The smallest group of response to the role of history in school was personal relevance at 12 per cent of all response. A variety of the responses include knowing history for preparation for getting a job and learning history to learn more about oneself.

This study discovered that secondary pupils in Northern Ireland identify with the past in more various and complex ways than was generally believed, and that they were exposed to different historical perspectives through the analytical study of multiple sources of evidence. It is also suggests that this complex identification may narrow because as "students move through the required curriculum, their identification with Unionist or Nationalist history actually intensifies and they appear to draw selectively from the school curriculum in order to bolster their developing understanding of partisan historical narratives" (Barton & McCully, 2005b:111). This

is a process where people use certain historical facts, outside of their historical context, to support or defend a contemporary understanding "as it seems appropriate for them" (Nic Caith, 2002: 32). Not only do pupils' identifications narrow, they also become more detailed and explicit. This suggests that pupils may be selective in the historical knowledge they take from the curriculum. Pupils use selective historical knowledge to reinforce sectarian perspectives (see also Barton, 2001b; Barton, 2005; Barton & McCully, 2004; Fenton, 1999).

Additionally, Barton and McCully maintain that if the use of history to support ongoing conflicts, educators may need to provide historical perspectives that challenge pupils' views and also provide clear alternatives to histories they encounter from other sources. These findings point to the great importance of the role of the teacher. Barton and McCully, (2005b:111) suggest that "history educators need to examine more closely the unintended consequences of their choice of content, particularly in the way in which pupils from diverse backgrounds may interact differently with the same curriculum." They also believe that these findings are not only relevant to a Northern Irish situation but also may have implications in other societies. Will the topics while studying history appeal to some pupils more than others even though the curriculum attempts neutrality and inclusiveness? As demonstrated above, in the US history curriculum, presenting a national narrative may alienate certain groups (e.g. potential alienation of African American pupils while studying dead European white males). If the goal of the curriculum is to develop the analytical skills of pupils in the hopes of preparing them as contributing citizens of society, will pupils from different backgrounds identify with different histories?

Conclusion

There are clear implications from all of the above for Irish society due to the increase in the number of immigrants and the diversifying of cultural and ethnic groups. The first implication can be seen not only in migration and economic policies in recent years, but also in the approach to integration of these new groups into Irish society, based on anti-racism and inclusion ideas the Irish government has taken an intercultural approach to integration. Ireland's government and society has to face the reality that these groups are here to stay and the Ireland is now and will be a multicultural society.

A second implication is for the education system. The profile of classrooms has changed, and education providers face issues ranging from dealing with language barriers, finding physical space in outdated school buildings to understanding the diverse cultural background of their pupils. Within the framework of education, immigration has potentially had an impact on the teaching and learning of history. First and foremost, to put it simply, the probability that pupils from different countries and different cultures will have different histories and historical perspectives is high. The issue that arises is, what history should be taught in school? Will the curriculum stay the same or will new content be added? If new content is added, whose content and why? Do teachers have the skills/knowledge to teach these new histories? Will the aims of the history curriculum change? If so, how, and for what reason? These questions are merely the tip of the educational iceberg and are not easily answered.

The question that this research does try to answer is where and how do international post primary pupils connect with history and how does this compare with Irish pupils? International research clearly demonstrates that in societies where there are different sociocultural backgrounds, there is a diversity of perceptions of

history inside and outside of school. These findings may have a significant impact when applied to an Irish context, in the sense that individuals from ethnically and culturally minority groups may not connect with sources of history (e.g. teachers, textbooks) which may represent the dominant culture (e.g. the WHISC). Rather they may find connections with sources of history which represent their sociocultural background. In other words pupils who are 'Irish' may have a stronger connection with 'Irish' sources of history, and 'non-Irish' pupils may connect with 'non-Irish' sources. Because of the importance that history plays in the formation of identity and culture of individuals, and how they participate in and view contemporary society, could a division between how and where Irish and international pupils connect with history create cultural divisions in Irish society?

Chapter Four: Design and Administration of the Research Project

Introduction

The research design chosen and the rationale for choosing the methodology is presented in this chapter. The choice of research methodology is justified in terms of the research question: 'What are Irish and international pupils' perceptions and uses of history inside and outside of school?' Do they perceive and use history in the same ways? If they do not, what is the potential impact on how history is taught at the second level?

In order to give a complete and clear picture of the methodology that was employed, the following will be discussed: research paradigm, sample size, methods of data collection, ethical considerations and data analysis. This research employed a mixed methods approach for gathering and analysing data. However, the research did not adopt a mixed paradigm approach.

When attempting to understand the attitudes and beliefs of human beings, it is important to develop a conceptual framework within which a study can take place. Mac Gréil (1996) argues that in the study of human sciences, key concepts and terms are defined. He states "the function of a precise conceptual framework is to provide the reader and the researcher with a coherent set of terms which enable the accurate diagnosis of phenomena and provided the basis of research and categories for empirical measurement. Adherence to more precise use of the concepts selected is also essential for the validity of the findings" (Mac Gréil, 1996:17). Essential to this framework are ontological and epistemological approaches to the research and the relationship between them. As Grix (2004) points out, a researcher's ontological and

epistemological understandings are the foundations on which the methodology and data gathering methods are built (see also Bell, 1995; Flick et. al., 2004; Sarantakos, 2005). Therefore, it is important that the theoretical research position is discussed. It must also be clear that, although this research takes a certain approach to this research, it is understood that there are multiple theoretical and methodological approaches that could have been used.

A Research Paradigm

For over a century there have been two main approaches towards conducting social research, *qualitative* and *quantitative*, and over the years, advocates of both have engaged in fervent debates over which produces the best research results. Although these two 'traditions' in many ways are idealised and often simplified in literature, as one becomes more familiar with these two approaches, it is apparent that they are not unproblematic and do not fit into clearly defined frameworks. As Holliday (2007:2) points out, "social research is a complex area, and attempts to divide it into hard categories will always suffer from over simplification." Furthermore, Guba and Lincoln (2004) argue, the terms *qualitative* and *quantitative* are many times used as umbrella terms that are superior to the term *paradigm.* In their estimation, the terms should be reserved for a description of types of methods.

Although within the literature varying terms are used to describe the foundations of social research, the current research views the debate in terms of a *quantitative* and *qualitative* continuum on which the various approaches to conduction social research lie.[59] Although using these terms may simplify the varying

[59] In much of the literature there are varying terms used to define and discuss traditional approaches to conducting social research. For example Grix (2004) uses the terms *positivist, post-positivist* and *interpretisvist* in describing the traditional approaches. Robson (1993) views the methodological issues in terms of *survey, case study, post-positivist* and *feminist* research methodologies. Cohen, Manion and

perspectives towards research traditions, it is felt this is the clearest way to label the two sides of the debate. This research deals with issues beginning at the foundations of a research paradigm (this includes ontological considerations) and the moves towards the discussion of methodology and methods used in gathering data.

For the purpose of this research, a research paradigm is viewed as a basic belief system (or as Guba and Lincoln (2004) refer to it, a 'metaphysics') based on ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions. This research agrees with Guba and Linclon's (2004:22) opinion that:

> *Any given paradigm represents simply the most informed and sophisticated view that its proponents have been able to devise, given the way they have chosen to respond to the three defining questions [ontological, epistemological and methodological]. And, we argue, the set of answers given are in* ***all*** *cases* ***human constructions****; that is, they are all inventions of the human mind and hence subject to human error. No construction is or can be incontrovertibly right; advocates of any particular construction must rely on* ***persuasiveness*** *and* ***utility*** *rather than* ***proof*** *in arguing their position* [original author's emphasis].

This research recognises that other paradigms and approaches to educational research exist and may have value. Having said this, the current research is based on the best insight available at the time of its construction and implementation and although it was constructed through human inquiry, which can never be error free, every effort was taken to limit inaccuracies. Also, this research agrees with Guba and Lincoln (2004:23), from the point of view that besides positivism, paradigms used in social research are still in formative

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Morrison (2000) divide the debate between *positivism*, *interpretivism* and *critical theory*. Crotty (2004) uses the terms *positivism, constructionism, interpretivism, critical inquiry, feminism* and *postmodernism* to describe the theoretical foundations in which research approaches are founded whereas Flick et. al. (2004) simply divides the debate between *qualitative* and *quantitative* terms of approaches. Maxim (1999) uses the terms logical *positivism* and *neopositvism* to describe a quantitative approach to research. Moreover he refers to methodology as the "underlying approach or philosophy" while using the term techniques in reference to "specific tools and procedures" while carrying out social research (1999:2). Furthermore while some literature concentrates on methodologies and methods used to gather data, others approach the debate through a more ontological, epistemological discussion with reference to paradigms. To say the least, there are numerous ways in which researchers can deal with and discuss these issues.

stages; "no final agreements have been reached, even among their proponents, about their definitions, meanings, or implications." At this point, a basic discussion of the quantitative and qualitative paradigms is needed.

The Qualitative Paradigm

On one side of the 'paradigm debate' is the qualitative research tradition. As with the quantitative tradition, there is no single, correct approach to qualitative research, but generally speaking, this tradition is orientated towards the understanding that the social world is seen from the perspective of the individuals or groups being studied. Qualitative research studies look into the real word social perceptions that in many cased defies quantitative research (Holliday, 2007). The qualitative tradition is comprised of many different elements from varying schools of thought. Flick et. al. (2004:3) maintains that qualitative research approaches "contribute to a better understanding of social realities and to draw attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural features."

The qualitative tradition(s) maintain that individuals construct their reality (i.e. subjectively).[60] This reality is subjective, varied and diverse, and it is the job of the researcher to describe, contextualise, generalise and construct a depiction of individuals' everyday experiences. Qualitative research delves "deep into the subjective qualities that govern behaviour" (Holliday, 2007:7). Qualitative researchers attempt to interpret the subjective perceptions of participants and recognises that the researcher brings with him/her a wealth of social knowledge from "previous experiences of how people behave in all institutional situations" (Holliday, 2007: 11).

[60] Holliday (2007) argues that a post-modern paradigm, or *methodological anarchism* (Sarantakos, 2005) has emerged out of the post-positivist, naturalism approaches to qualitative research. While post-positivist believe that a meaningful social world can be discovered, this post-modern approach maintains that social worlds do no exist until they are constructed through the interpretations of researchers. (See also Gubrium & Holstein, 1997, Hall, 2007).

Through social research, researchers attempt to view the world (as far as possible) through the eyes of the individuals and groups and discover their meanings. The qualitative researcher seeks to measure what lies beneath the surface. Guba and Lincoln (2004:19) believe that "human behavior, unlike that of physical objects, cannot be understood without reference to the meaning and purposes attached by human actors to their activities. Qualitative data, it is asserted, can provide rich insight into human behavior."

Although qualitative research has its strengths over quantitative traditions, it is not without weaknesses. In many instances, for example, qualitative research focuses on small samples and may not produce results which are representative of the larger population. Also, the researcher's interpretations may not properly capture the meanings of the respondents. This also brings into question the objectivity of the research. Holliday (2007) points out that qualitative research needs to manage subjectivity through rigorous writing procedures and a judicious balance between creatively exploring the subjective social world and maintaining the principles of social research. Furthermore, issues surrounding data and data collection arise such as validity, reliability, time and high costs. Saratakos (2005) argues that a common response to these criticisms is that they are more characteristics of qualitative research rather than faults and should be viewed as differences rather than inferiorities. Although qualitative research is not without its critics, Flick et. al. (2004) believe that it has not achieved the level of a 'normal science'.

The Quantitative Paradigm

Quantitative research on the other hand, based on the theoretical underpinnings of positivism, and influenced by a realist and objectivist ontology (Saratakos, 2005) which maintains that "social observations should be treated as entities in much the

same way that physical scientists treat physical phenomena" and that the "observer is separate from the entities that are subject to observation" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:14). Often referred to as positivism,[61] this paradigm is characterised by a number of distinct commitments which include: the use of empirical methods, value neutrality, objectivity, a commitment to inductivism through rigorous observation and verification and a strict research design construction (Bryman, 1994; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Saratakos, 2005). This is, as Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2003) maintain, the nature of science. It is deterministic, in the sense that results have causes and causal links can eventually be uncovered. In other words, there are 'laws' that can be formulated through an investigation of the world which may lead to a firm basis of prediction and control.

Empiricism is also a foundational assumption of a quantitative (positivist) approach to social research.[62] Empirical evidence is what it verifiable by observation (through the gathering of data) and data is proof or confirmation of a theory or a hypothesis. "In practice, therefore, this means scientifically that the tenability of a theory or hypothesis depends on the nature of the empirical evidence for its support" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2003:10). This is what Barratt (1979) sums up as 'scientific faith'. This research used a quantitative approach of gathering empirical data to demonstrate the Irish and international pupils' perspectives and uses of history inside and outside of school.

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[61] Although positivism has been a recurrent theme in Western though as far back as the ancient Greeks, Auguste Comte was the first thinker to use the word as a philosophical position (Beck, 1979; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000), while Crotty (2004) argues that positive science and positive philosophy date back as early as the writings of Francis Bacon (1561-1626).

[62] The concept of empiricism goes back to writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and can be directly linked to the work of Francis Bacon (1562-1626), John Locke (1632-1704) and David Hume (1711-1776) (Sarantakos, 2005). It must also be noted that not all empiricisms are positivistic. For example, Skinners questioning the value of theory in psychology, Samuelson's 'operationalist agenda in economics (Barnov, 2004; Maxim, 1999).

Ontologically speaking, a researcher employing a quantitative approach assumes that reality is objective; it exists outside the mind of the researcher, and can be studied objectively by a researcher who is detached and independent from the subject being studied. In other words, reality is objective, simple and fixed. For the quantitative approach, the aim is to classify features, calculate them and then construct statistical models in an attempt to explain what is observed. Furthermore, researchers use tools such as questionnaires and structured interviews to gather data that is in the form of numbers and statistics.

Methodology: A Survey Approach using Mixed Methods.

Unlike ontology and epistemology, which form the philosophical foundations of how a researcher sees the world and how knowledge is gained from understanding reality, methodology as part of a research paradigm is, as Crotty (2004:3) explains, "the strategy, plan of action, process of design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to desired outcomes." Although there are a variety of methodologies that can be employed when conducting social research (e.g. case studies or life histories), because of the positivist/quantitative stance this research takes, a survey methodology was deemed the most appropriate.

The discussion above highlights the fact that quantitative and qualitative research models "rest on different assumptions about the world and therefore use different approaches to social reality," but are researchers left with an either/or choice (Saratakos, 2005:47)? The initial research design was intended only to include data from international pupils, but following the suggestion of advisors in the School of Education, Trinity College Dublin, the inclusion of data from secondary level history

teachers, history curriculum policy makers and parents/guardians was included in the research. It is hoped that this creates a rich and more in-depth depiction. Therefore, the discussion must address the concept of a mixed methods approach.

Within educational research, there is no one approach that is best; rather a pragmatist would argue that the integration of approaches is need to best fit the aims of a study. As Robson (2002:72) points out "there is no rule that says that only one method must be used in an investigation. Using more than one can have substantial advantages, even though it almost inevitably adds to the time required." Sarantakos (2007: xix) agrees with Abbott (1990) in that qualitative and quantitative approaches to research "have not been Cartesian opposites, but interpenetrating fractals." From Guba and Lincoln's perspective, "both qualitative and quantitative methods may be used appropriately within any research paradigm" (2004:17). Given the exploratory nature of this research, a combination of qualitative and quantitative data gathering methods were deemed necessary to provide greater insight into the research question.

During the twentieth century, although there was an emergence of mixed methods, social and psychological research became primarily quantitative in nature. In reaction to this, many qualitative approaches emerged resulting in the dominance of the qualitative paradigm in the 1980s and 1990s. In reaction to this polarisation of these two 'traditional paradigms'; an intellectual movement towards a mixed method approach occurred (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007). A mixed approach is viewed as a third-paradigm which moves beyond the qualitative v. quantitative research debate and recognises that both these approaches are important and useful in social research.

The mixed method approach or pluralistic methodologies has many different definitions.[63] Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007:118) point out that "*mixed methods research* has become the most popular term used to describe the movement [original authors' emphasis]." They believe that a broad interpretation allows for inclusion of issues and strategies surrounding methods of data collection. This mixed methods approach to research can be defined as, "the class of research where the research mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into the study" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004:17). Also, a mixed method approach was used because previous sociocultural research into individuals' perceptions of history (namely, Rosensweig & Thalen's significant work in the US) used a mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches to create a richer and more in-depth depiction.

According to recent literature, there are many broad purposes or rationales for conduction mixed methods research. For example, Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989) identify five purposes to using a mixed methods approach including: triangulation, complementarity, development, initiation and expansion. The current research accepts Sechrest and Sidana's (1995) reasons for using a mixed methods approach: "for verification purposes, to provide some basis of estimating possible error in the underlying measures, to facilitate the monitoring of data collected, and to probe a data set to determine meaning" (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007:17). Sarantakos (2007) and Coviello (2005) argue that, for instance, a qualitative approach to data collection with qualitative and quantitative data analysis leads to more meaningful research than a purely qualitative approach. And although there are a variety of contemporary work which are critical of a mixed methods approach:

[63] For a better understanding of the amount of 'blended' research approaches; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007) give a comprehensive overview of the current perspectives on the subject, (see also Chapter 8, in Sarantakos, 2005)

Giddens (2006) for example sees the mixed methods as a continuing dominance of the positivist tradition and imposition of quantitative standards in qualitative approaches, Greene et. al. (2001:41) as cited by Sarantakos (2007:78) notes that mixed methods "increased validity, more comprehensiveness of findings, more insightful understandings and greater value consciousness and diversity."

Although there are a variety of understandings and approaches to the aims and goals of a mixed methods approach (for example, Lee, 1991 discusses the process of *mixing paradigms*) this research is set within a mixed methods data gathering and analysis approach. Rank (2004) outlines four advantages of mixing or combining methods in social research. For him, quantitative and qualitative are *complementary* in nature because they generalise while adding richness and depth. Blending these methods also creates *additional insight* because they take different perspective on the same topic. The *increase of validity* is also an advantage, while the process of combining quantitative and qualitative results *pushes the researcher* further through exploration and probing the possible discrepancies between the forms of data.

The quantitative phase of this research employed a survey questionnaire to gather data and used statistical analysis to describe and interpret the data. The review of relevant research and literature was used to develop interview questions which were used in the qualitative phase of the research. This mixed methods approach was also conscious of the multiple ways that pupils express their ideas and adds to the richness of research which avoids the ambiguity of basing research solely on quantitative data. Guba and Lincoln (2004:19) refer to this as the "nomothetic/idiographic disjunction" where quantitative generalisations are

statistically meaningful, but may have "no applicability in the individual case." [64] For this research statistical data is important, but it does not provide the 'whole picture'. The following is an outline of the mixed methods approach used in the current research:

- **Mixed methods**: 1) quantitative survey conducted concurrently with; 2) qualitative semi-structured interviews.

- **Mixed data analysis**: quantitative data (i.e. numerical data) analysed through quantitative analysis using statistical software (SPSS). Qualitative data (i.e. interview transcripts) analysed through qualitative directed content analysis.

- **Mixed reporting of results**: presentation of data through descriptive statistics (replying on numbers and percentages to convey meaning) and narrative presentation of qualitative data.

Triangulation

Triangulation, or "the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study in the aspect of some human behavior," attempts to eliminate researcher bias and myopic or distorted interpretations of the reality being investigated (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000:112). Denzin (1978) was the first theorist to outline the concept of triangulation in research.[65] His definition, "the combination of methodologies in the study of some phenomenon" (1978:291) is manifested in four types of triangulation:

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[64] The fact, say, that the reason seventy-five per cent of pupils study history is because they think it is easy to get a high mark is incomplete evidence that a particular pupil studying history does so because he/she feels he/she will get a high mark.

[65] There is a fair amount of literature present that highlights the advantages of triangulation in research (For example see Bell, 1995; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000; Flick, 2004; Jick, 1979; Morse, 1991).

data triangulation (i.e., use of a variety of sources in a study): investigator triangulation (i.e., use of several different researchers): theory triangulation (i.e., use of multiple perspectives and theories to interpret the results of a study); and, methodological triangulation (i.e., use of multiple methods to study a research problem) (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007). Denzin also makes the distinction between *within methods* triangulation (which means using either multiple qualitative or quantitative approaches) and *between-methods* triangulation (this involves using both qualitative and quantitative methods in a study) (See also Nardi, 2006; Rossman & Wilson, 1985; Sieber, 1973). The current research utilises two of Denzin's forms of triangulation within a between-methods framework (i.e., using qualitative and quantitative approaches):

- **Methodological triangulation**: using different methods on the same object of study. This research employs survey questionnaires (quantitative) and semi-structured groups interviews (qualitative).

- **Data Triangulation**: focusing not only on data from International pupils, but also parents and guardians of International pupils, Irish pupils, history teachers at the second level and individuals involved with the development of the history curriculum in Ireland (i.e. NCCA interview).

Although triangulation is not without its critics (Silverman (1985), in Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000), argues that it is too positivistic in nature) it is believed that through these two forms of triangulation, a more holistic and comprehensive view of international pupils' perceptions of history was achieved. Using multiple methods creates greater confidence in the data collected.

In many instances in social science research, the questionnaire and the interview, together make up a survey approach to gathering data which may be based in a qualitative or quantitative methodology (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006; Sarantakos, 2005). The current research, however, separates the two methods into quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (interviews) approaches, and therefore it is possible to consider this research to be an example of a mixed methods approach. Consequently, this research is divided into two phases. The first phase was quantitative and took a survey approach and questionnaires to gauge the attitudes of Irish and International pupils, history teachers, and the parents/guardians of international pupils. The second phase consisted of qualitative semi-structured group interviews focused on a selected sample of international pupils who had completed the initial survey questionnaire. In summation, the current research utilised the quantitative phase to *measure* international pupils' varying perspectives of history inside and outside of schools, and the qualitative phase to add narrative, (i.e. words) to compliment the statistical data.

Data Analysis

Quantitative Analysis

The analysis of quantitative data can be diverse and complex in nature. Analysis of the quantitative data gathered and began after the completion of the questionnaires and followed a systematic process. This process included data preparation along with checking editing and coding data; data entry into a computer; development of graphic presentations (i.e. charts and graphs); data process and analysis using statistical techniques; interpretations of the findings; and the formulation of conclusions (Sarantakos, 2005).

Because the questions sought categorical and nominal/ordinal data non-parametric methods of analysis were employed to delve beyond standard descriptive

statistical analysis. The data were examined first from the point of view of the whole sample and then are subdivided in terms of gender, ethnicity (Black/White) and Irish/international. The software programme Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS) allowed for the use of non-parametric statistical techniques to compare groups within the sample and to assess the impact of a set of predictors on a dependent variable. [66] The statistical techniques used in this analysis included the *chi-square test for independence* through cross tabulation which was used to explore the relationship between two categorical variables (e.g. male/female; international/Irish pupil; black/white; years living in Ireland). This technique compares the frequency of cases that occur in each of the selected categories. For example, the chi-squared test for independence was used to indicate whether there was an association between being and international or Irish pupil and whether respondents kept a regular diary.

When testing for significance the research used the standard of the probability value (p) to determine whether to reject or accept the null hypothesis (H_0). The null hypothesis (that there is no difference between groups being tested) was rejected or accepted on the bases of the highest p value (or the alpha or $\acute{\alpha}$) the researcher was willing to reject H_0. As Wright (1997) points out, the typical maximum allowable $\acute{\alpha}$ level is .05 to reject the H_0. The critical level of significance was never less stringent than .05. It must be said that the p values used in this research are understood as not being absolute or, as Wright (1997:40) states, not "handed down by God." There is always the possibility that data can be extreme by chance and there was a mistake rejecting the H (or a Type I error).

The *Mann-Whitney U* test was also employed to test for differences between groups. This non-parametric alternative to the t-test for independent sample compares

[66] Non-parametric test are so named because they intervals measurement in not on an equal level; they are not based on a precise for of distribution; and the variances of both variables do not have to be equal (Bryman & Cramer, 2005).

medians between two groups, and evaluates whether the ranks between the two groups differ significantly. This non-parametric technique was used to investigate the possible difference between groups responses to questions (12) (13) and (18) which sought to gauge pupils' attitudes on ordinal data scales (e.g. 0-5) (Bryman & Cramer, 2005).

To asses the impact of a set of predictors on a dependent variable, the process of Logistical Regression was used which allows a researcher test "test models to predict categorical outcomes with two or more categories" and can provide "an indication of relative importance of predictor variable or the interaction among your predictor variables" (Bryman & Cramer, 2005:166-69). This research used *binary* regression techniques (see also Miller et. al., 2002; Pallant, 2007; Wright, 1997).

Qualitative Analysis

When handling the data from the semi-structured interviews the research employed what Hsieh & Shannon (2007) refer to as *directed content analysis*. This form of content analysis utilises existing theory and prior research in the process of analysing data gathered to "validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2007:66). In directed content analysis, existing theory and research helps focus the analysis of the data.[67] In many instances in social research, this method is employed to analyse existing documents such as journals or newspapers, but in the case of the current research, a qualitative analysis of transcribed words from the digitally recorded semi-structured interviews with international pupils was employed. While content analysis may have its disadvantages (i.e. documents can be incomplete, it can only analyse what has been recorded and

[67] The history of content analysis dates back to the eighteenth century in Scandinavia and was first used in the US at the beginning of the twentieth century (Hsieh & Shannon, 2007).

susceptibility to recorder bias), Robson (1993) and Sarantakos (2005) point out that the advantages of this form of analysis are that data is in a permanent form and can be re-analysed. There is significant advantages to accessibility of the research material (i.e. interview transcriptions), there is less bias in the fact that text offers a neutral form of data, it is a low-cost method compared with other methods and importantly, existing theory and research can be supported and extended (see also Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006).

The initial step in analyzing qualitative data began with the *informal* phase. Because this research developed categories for coding prior to the interviews taking place, as the research had a rough outline of categories in mind when listening to the responses to the questions during the interview. Listening to the interviews during transcription, reading through the completed transcriptions and writing down notes and memos also allowed for some level of informal analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2007). This informal phase of analysis became the foundation for the formal phases of analysis which began with the developing of categories for the coding process.

One of the important aspects in *formal* content analysis is constructing (or defining) categories which relate to the research topic and are clearly defined. These categories allow the researcher to formally investigate the data with the context of the research taking place. The goal of coding in qualitative analysis, according to Maxwell (2005:96) is to rearrange data into "categories that facilitate comparison between findings in the same category." The codes and keywords are defined before and during analysis and are derived from theory (i.e. sociocultural) and relevant findings from prior research. This research employed the conceptual framework of two main categories of analysis which included: *organisantional* and

substantive/theoretical categories (Maxwell, 2005). Organisational categories (or topics) are ones that are established prior to interviews (Maxwell, 2005) and:

> ...can provide predictions about the variables of interest or about the relationships among variables, thus helping to determine the initial coding scheme relationships between codes. This has been referred to as deductive category application (Hsieh & Shannon, 2007:67).

Substantive (or theoretical) categories (sometimes considered subcategories, see Hsieh & Shannon, 2007; Maxwell, 2005) provide further insight into the organisational categories and are formulated through the review of prior research into pupils historical perspectives as influenced by their sociocultural backgrounds (see Chapter Three). These categories are primarily descriptive in that they include participants' concepts and beliefs, they are closely connected to the data and do not imply a more abstract theory (Maxwell, 2005). Because of the exploratory nature of this research and the qualitative approach to this phase of gathering data and its analysis, categories that were not developed prior to analysis (i.e. themes that appeared during analysis of the interview transcripts that were unknown prior to the analysis) were included. In the study of international pupils' uses and connections with history, the research developed the following substantive categories:

- Self-identity of pupils
    - No connection with Irish Identity
    - Partial connection with an Irish Identity
    - See themselves as Irish
    - Change of Identity of time living in Ireland

- Perception of and connection with history outside of school (informal)
    - Family

- Former country

- Perception of and connection with history inside school (formal)
  - Studying history at the second level
  - Irish history
  - History of former country
  - Studying history at the Third Level

The research was also cognisant of any themes that were not developed prior to the qualitative phase that appeared during the interviews.

Ethical Considerations

This research was conducted adhering to appropriate ethical standards. Murphy & Digwall (2001:339) emphasise both the *consequentialist* approach, which focuses on whether or not participants have been harmed by the research and asks if this harm outweighs the results of the research and the *deontological* approach which focuses on "the inherent rights of the research participants, such as the right to privacy, the right to respect or the right to self-determination" (Murphy & Digwall, 2001:339). They maintain that these two approaches are not necessarily in competition with each other and address dual concerns for researchers. The following list of principles constructed by Beauchamp *et. al.* (1982) cited in Murphy and Digwall (2001:339) demonstrates a combination of these approaches and is the basis for this research:

- *Non-malfeasance*: that researcher should avoid harming participants.
- *Beneficence:* that research in human subjects should produce some positive and identifiable benefit rather than simply carried out for its own sake.
- *Autonomy* or *self-determination*: that the values and decisions of research participants should be respected.

- *Justice*: that people who are equal in relevant respects should be treated equally.

This research strives to adhere to these rules of ethics in the goal of treating the participants in a just and fair manner.

Ryan also outlines an ethic in regards to research of various aspects of minority communities in Ireland. Ryan (1997) highlights the importance of ethical research:

> *Essentially, research ethics refer to the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that the participants (the subjects) of the research are not harmed by the research. Hence, it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that she or he has fully explicated the possible intent and unintended consequences of the research being carried out.*

Because minority groups in Ireland are increasingly becoming the subject of research (this dissertation included) it is important that ethics for research are outline from the beginning. She also argues that participants in research are not merely subjects but rather, people with real lives and that the results of research have the potential to affect those lives. Ryan (1997) continues:

> *research findings matter – policy makers and those designing and delivering services use research findings (albeit sometimes selectively) in their work. It is also important to remember that so-celled research 'subjects are real people, experiencing all aspects of the human condition – researching their lives means that the researcher is intervening, to a greater or lesser extent, and this fact alone has implications for ethics.*

To ensure that the research does not manipulate or harm the subjects that it focuses, Ryan suggests the following guidelines.

Informed consent, which simply means any research carried out on individuals should only be done with their permission. This includes the requirement that researchers inform the individuals of the purpose of the study and do so in a way which "makes the research meaningful to the respondent" (Ryan, 1997). A researcher

should make sure that every individual participant is aware of the aims of the study and that their participation is "entirely voluntary and can be terminated at time" (Ryan, 1997). This demonstrates the importance of informed consent. Written consent was sought from principals and parents alike (See Appendix A for consent forms).

Another aspect of ethical research standards is *doing no harm* to the participants. What Ryan describes as 'harm' is any injury or trauma that may be inflicted on the participants. This trauma can range from the fear and pain expressed by terminal cancer patients over the course of research to the potential alienation of minority pupils within classroom or school research. Ryan (1997) argues that it is the duty of the researcher to recognise that the "nature of the research questions may produce a response from participants which is considered 'traumatic'". In these instance the potential harm that the research may cause, must be weighed against the benefits of its findings.

In ensuring that no 'harm' was done to participants, the importance of confidentiality cannot be overstated. Empirical research must strive to ensure that the presentation of the research maintains the anonymity of the participants. "This means, for example, ensuring that there are no identifiable markers on completed questionnaires or on interview transcripts" (Ryan, 1997). Furthermore, if participants understand that their responses are protected by their anonymity, they are more likely to answer honestly. Therefore it was made absolutely clear to participants that their names would not be used at any time. Names of schools, principals, parents/guardians, teachers and pupils in the final dissertation are pseudonyms (unless consent was given to use a participant's real name). Trinity College Dublin ethical guidelines for post-graduate research were also adhered to (see also Bell, 1999;

Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000; Denscombe, 2002; Devine & Heath, 1999; May, 2001).

The Sample

The target population for the current research was Irish and international pupils attending some form of second level institution in Ireland. Because of the concentration of numbers of varying nationalities, ethnic and cultural backgrounds the current research focused on the greater Dublin area. For example, according to the 2006 Census, the number of people resident in the greater Dublin area classified by nationality showed that there were 148,739[68] non-Irish present at the time of the census, compared to the combined numbers in Cork city, Limerick city, Galway city, and Waterford city which totaled 48,164 non-Irish (CSO, 2007b). Another example shows that in the greater Dublin area at the time of the census there were 172,897[69] people who classified themselves as having an ethnic or cultural background other than Irish (CSO, 2007a). Again, compared with the total of the four other cities which had a combined number of 55,957 people who classified themselves as not Irish, it is clear that the greater Dublin area has far larger diverse population (CSO, 2007a). Also, because of time, funding and the lack of clear data on the location and concentration of International pupils nationwide, it was decided that the main focus of this research would concentrate in the greater Dublin area.[70]

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[68] A further break-down of the 148,739 non-Irish is as follows: EU: 69,163; rest of Europe: 11,681; Africa:14,356; Asia: 26,266; America: 5,951; not Stated: 15,430 (Census, 2007b)

[69] A further break-down of the 172,897 non-Irish ethnicity or culture is as follows: Irish Traveller: 4,253; any other White background: 81,889; African: 16,673; any other Black background: 1,273; Chinese: 9,785; Any other Asian background: 18,691; other including mixed background: 15,199; Not stated: 25,134.

[70] The 2006 Census does break down age-groups and nationalities, for example in the 15-19 age classification there were 2,722 individuals who were classified as African present in the state, but the Census does not clarify what provinces or counties they are resident in.

One of the larger stumbling blocks in the methodological planning of the current research was finding where international pupils were attending secondary school. Because the presence of international pupils in second level schools in Ireland is a relatively new development, there is no source of reliable data on the numbers of pupils, and where they are attending school.[71] It became difficult to pinpoint which schools should be included in the sample and the practice of probability (random) sampling was therefore deemed insufficient. It must be noted that in future research in this area, a reliable source of statistics on the number of international pupils in school would be an invaluable resource to researchers.

The non-probability sampling method of purposive sampling which allows the researcher to "choose subjects who, in their opinion, are relevant to the project" had the best criteria for targeting international pupils attending second level schools in the greater Dublin area (Saratakos, 2005:164). This sample included International and Irish pupils, second level teachers, parent/guardians of International pupils and one individual involved in working with the NCCA and the development of the revised leaving certificate history curriculum. In the researcher's view, these people offered adequate and useful information that gave a clearer picture of International pupils' perception of history inside and outside of school.

The initial attempt to determine the location and amount of numbers of international pupils in the greater Dublin area was met with disappointment. The researcher began by telephoning local second level school and asking for estimated numbers of international pupils they had on role at the time, but found it difficult to

[71] Even when solid numbers of international pupils in a specific school were obtained, they were not always reliable. As an administrator who was responsible for the international pupils in a particular school pointed out, the school must keep pupils on its roll for up to one year even if the pupil is no longer attending the school. In the case of this administrator's school, the actual number of international pupils attending the school was less than what was calculated through the official roll of the school because many international families had migrated or changed schools.

contact principals and was refused any information about pupils. It was suggested by more than one administrative staff member to post research proposals and request the information that was needed formally from principals. Therefore, formal research proposals were developed and posted to five different schools in the greater Dublin area in April 2007.[72] (See **Appendix B** for Principal Request Letter and Permission form). Unfortunately, there were no replies to any of the proposals. It was then suggested to the researcher by a colleague to use the resources of the school of education in Trinity College Dublin to obtain contacts in schools which could lead to access. Two principals of second level schools in the Dublin area, who were studying for a higher degree were contacted and sent research proposal packets. One of the principals agreed to allow the research to take place in the school. Once granted access to the school, a teacher who assisted with the research put the researcher in contact with a colleague working in a different school in the Dublin area that had a high level of international pupils attending. This snowball sampling method of gaining access to schools was an invaluable resource. Furthermore, the researcher also used the students of the Post Graduate Diploma to gain access to the school they were performing their teaching practice in at the time of the research. This method also proved to be a valuable tool.[73] It must be clear that gaining access to these schools was accomplished while adhering to ethical standards of educational research and with full permission from principals.

Schools

[72] The five schools consisted of two in south Dublin, two in west Dublin and one in north Dublin.

[73] It must be noted that, during this research, the largest obstacle in gaining access to second level school in the greater Dublin area were the principals. It was not the case that principals refused access; it was simply common not to receive a reply to the research proposal at all.

The sample was taken from seven second level schools in the greater Dublin city area. **Figure 4.0** shows the characteristics of the schools that were included in the research.

Figure 4.0: Post Primary Schools Included in the Sample

School	Area	Structure[74]	Fee	Sex	Approx. Population
A	North Dublin	Secondary	Non-fee paying	All Girls	731
B	North Dublin	VEC	Non-fee paying	All Girls	219
C	South Dublin	Secondary	Non-fee paying	All Girls	502
D	South Dublin	Secondary	Non-fee paying	All Boys	700
E	West Dublin	VEC	Non-fee paying	Co-ed	483
F	North Dublin	VEC	Non-fee paying	Co-ed	438
G	South Dublin	Secondary	Non-fee paying	All Girls	350

Parent/Guardian

Unfortunately, the return rate for the parent/guardian questionnaires was quite low. Out of the 120 questionnaires sent out, only 13 parents/guardians returned the questionnaire. These parents/guardians represented 10 different countries.[75] Also, the average number of years that parents/guardians had been living in Ireland at the time of the research was 4.2 years.

The possible reasons for this low rate of return could have been because parents/guardians did not receive the questionnaires; they may received one but chose not to fill it out, or forgot to post it back to the researcher. One of the more probable causes for such a low return could have been that the parents could have had a problem with the language of the questionnaire. In other words, they may not have been efficient in English to understand or complete the questionnaire. This was not an

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[74] Schools at the second level tend to be divide between secondary, comprehensive, community, and vocational schools, with secondary schools focusing on a more academic curriculum while vocational schools tend to use a more practical vocational curriculum. (See Canning, 2007).

[75] The countries represented in the parent/guardian sample were: Poland, Algeria, Angola, Somalia, Cameroon, Latvia, Iraq, Nigeria, Slovakia and South Africa.

issue in the pilot study, but this does not mean that this could not have been an issue in the larger study. At one point the research did consider having the questionnaires translated into a variety of languages, but it would have been extremely difficult to determine the native languages of over one hundred people then have them properly translated. It would also have been difficult to make sure the proper questionnaire got to the right parent or guardian. In future research, interviews would probably be needed to be used to get significant data from parents/guardians of international pupils; although the issue of the language barrier would still come into play.

Although the numbers of parent/guardian questionnaires was too small to conducted any in-depth statistic analysis or to infer any assumption about the larger population, the research used to the results of the questionnaire to add a bit more depth to the research.

Teachers

This research also included second level history teachers in the survey to provide multiple dimensions of the formal setting of study history. Unfortunately, much like the parent/guardian questionnaire, the return rate for teachers was also quite low. Out of thirty-five questionnaires sent to teachers, only ten were returned. Although the teacher questionnaire was piloted in two phases to over thirty teachers, the data from the pilot studies was not included in the main survey because the piloting process focused more on the structure and content of the questionnaires rather than gathering data from teachers. It was felt that this data would not be accurate. The results from these questionnaires are discussed, but in no way were the numbers large enough for any real in-depth statistical analysis. Of the ten teachers who returned the questionnaire all had been teaching history at the second level at the time of the survey. The average time they had been a qualified practicing teacher was 5.2 years.

All ten of the teachers had at least five or more international pupils in total in their classes and all the teachers had been teaching history for at least one full academic year.

Pupils

Questionnaire Sample

The quantitative survey phase of the research included a sample of 372 pupils from the above schools in the Dublin area (see **Figure 1.7**). The sample included pupils studying for the Junior Certificate and Leaving Certificate. The mean age of the total sample was 15.5 years-of-age with a standard deviation of 1.6 years. There were a total of n = 265 Irish pupil respondents and n = 107 International pupils.

Interview Sample

The qualitative interview phase of this research included a sample of n = 24 international pupils (males = 11, females = 12). The age range was 14 – 18 years, with a mean of 15.6 years. The ethnic make-up of the sample was Black pupils = 15, White pupils = 7, and Asian pupils = 2. The average length of time that these pupils had lived in Ireland at the time of the study was 3.6 years. The pupils also represented a combination of both the Junior and Leaving Certificate level. At the time of the interviews the pupils were in the following class levels: 6^{th} year = 4, 5^{th} year = 7, and 3^{rd} year = 12.

Quantitative Phase of the Research – Questionnaires

In preparation of the initial stage of the study involved a review of relevant research into economic, cultural and immigration change in Ireland; the development of multicultural and intercultural framework for education and pupils perceptions of formal and informal sources of history were all considered. Research literature relating to research methodology was also examined together with current methodology used in relevant research into peoples' socio-cultural understanding of history (see Rosensweig & Thalen, 2000). It was decided to use a broad research strategy (i.e. survey) initially for the following reasons.

A survey approach is the most appropriate research mode in obtaining "information which can be analysed and patterns extracted and comparisons made" (Bell, 1999:13) (see also Maxim, 1999; Nardi, 2006). This should have a wide and inclusive coverage, which allows the research to illicit data through a standardised questionnaire from Irish and international pupils, parents/guardians of international pupils and history teachers at the second level. The use of questionnaire as a method of gathering data also produced quick results, allowed for greater assurance of anonymity, promoted less opportunity for bias, offered a more stable and consistent form of measurement and allowed a wide range of coverage at lest of an expense than other data gathering methods (Saratakos, 2005) (see Appendix B for samples of questionnaires used in the research).

Design – Pilot Study – Validity

It was identified from the initial stages of research that if structured questionnaires were to be used, than the questionnaires needed to be piloted, analysied and refined so that the final versions were as straight forward and problem free as could be reasonably have been foreseen. The goals of the pilot studies were to test the suitability of questionnaires as a research method, estimate the level of response,

familiarise the researcher with research environment, test for possible weaknesses, inadequacies, and ambiguities in structures, language and question formation, and estimate the overall cost and duration of the main phase of the quantitative phase of the study. The ultimate goal of the pilot studies was "principally to increase the reliability, validity and practicability of the questionnaire" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000:261). The current research used the guidelines and suggestions offered by Saratakos (2005:239-266) as a guidepost in creating, piloting and finalising the questionnaires used to collect data.

Irish and International Pupil Questionnaire

Between December 2006 and January 2007, twenty-five Irish and fifteen international pupils, from three second-level schools in the Dublin area, who would not ultimately be part of the main sample, were asked to read a draft of the Irish pupil questionnaire. The aims of the research project and the pilot study were extensively explained to post-graduate teaching students, who then in turn delivered letters to their principals in their teaching practice schools explaining the aims and procedures of the pilot study and asking for permission for the post-graduates to carry out the pilot studies in their classroom. In the case that permission was given, the first phase consisted of the distribution of parent/guardian permission slips (see **Appendix A**). When appropriate permission was gained, the post-graduate students explained the objectives of the pilot study, and then distributed the questionnaires which were completed and returned to the post-graduate teacher in the same class period. These completed questionnaires were then returned to the researcher.

- The pilot consistent of nineteen items which had been developed to measure specific aspects of the objectives of this study, the majority of questions were pre-coded. Only a small number of questions were open ended such as questions (1) –

(5) and (7) – (9) which required respondents to fill in information where coding was not possible or needed (i.e. date of birth, sex, country of origin). Furthermore, a number of questions allowed for an 'other' option in the coding of possible answers so that respondents were able to include data that may not be included in the pre-coded responses. It was felt that pre-coded questions were the most appropriate option over open-ended question format for a standerised questionnaire for pupils because they were: less time consuming, allowed for accurate comparisons through the used statistical analysis, respondents may have had a problem articulating their answers, and limited irrelevant data (Saratakos, 2005).[76] The qualitative phase of the research (group interviews) allowed pupils to further articulate their attitudes and perceptions.

- Questions (1), (2), (4) and (5) related to concrete data regarding, date of birth, class in school (i.e. 6th class), name, sex, and date taking the survey.

- Questions (7), (8) and (9) ask pupils not only to identify their origin of birth, but also their parents/guardians origin of birth. Question (7) also asked pupils who were not born in Ireland the year that they migrated to Ireland.[77] These questions did not ask the citizenship status on the basis that legal citizenship is outlined by

[76] It was felt because the questionnaires were aimed at pupils at the second level there may be discrepancies between the levels of articulation of pupils. Also because international pupils were a part of the survey, the issue of a language barrier was considered. If open ended questions were used, international pupils make not have been able to: 1) read and understand the question, and 2) articulate their responses in English. At one point, the researcher considered translating the questionnaires, but decided not to on the basis of the cost and finding individuals to translate the numerous languages represented in the international pupil sample. In the case that the pupil(s) had little or no English, a teaching assistant who spoke their native language was asked to translate the questionnaire.

[77] Understanding how recently a pupil has migrated to this country is important. For example, a pupil who was born in England to Irish migrants and moved back to Ireland soon after his/her birth could be considered 'Irish' because he/she spent the majority, if not all, of his/her upbringing in Ireland. In contrast, a pupil from Kenya who migrated to Ireland two years ago may be considered less Irish, even if that pupil was by law, an Irish citizen.

government law and is an identifier that is prescribed from an *outside* body rather than a part of self-identity (see Chapter Two).

- Question (10) sought to provide data on the historical activities that pupils have participation in during the previous twelve months. It was deemed that this data signifies not only the level of engagement with *informal sources* of history, but also the types of *informal sources* they are interacting with. The pre-coded choices were developed out of the review of relevant literature (see Chapter Four).

- Question (11) sought to provide data on what history pupils deem the most important. This question is similar to the question used in Rosensweig & Thalen's (2000) research and was deemed important as a signifier of which history is the most important to pupils and to gathered data to highlight Irish and International pupils' possible distinction between importance of history.

- Based on the research conducted by McCully, Hartop and Barton (2003), McCully and Hartop, (2004) and their findings that point to the distinction between a history that pupils are engaging with inside (formal) and outside (informal) schools question (12) sought to gather data on Irish and International pupils' perspectives of their level of connection during activities in which they are exposed to informal sources of history (i.e. watching television or reading about history on the Internet). Question (12) also required pupils to respond numerically to a response category which included a continuum (0) – (5) with two opposite adjectives at reach end of the scale (Saratakos, 2005). In this case (0) represented no connection while participating in a historical activity, whereas (5) represented a

strong connection. This ordinal scale, a conventional approach to survey research, allowed the research to compare the intensity of connection pupils had when exposed to informal sources of history.

- Question (13), again based on the research of Rosensweig & Thalen (2000), sought to seek the levels of 'trust' about sources for information about history.[78] This research used the level of trust in a historical source as an indicator of whether or not the source was considered an 'authority' of history. Just as question (12), this question employed a numeric scale where (0) represented no trust and (5) represented strong trust in historical sources. There are many different interpretations of the concept of 'trust'. Hardin (2002, 2006) maintains that there are two ways of thinking towards trust: the *behavioral* and the *cognitive*. The *behavioral view* sees trust as a choice over the doubt we have about an individual or organisation: Person A trusts that a mechanic (person B) will repair a car to the highest quality even though person A may have doubts as to the mechanic's abilities. The *cognitive view* estimates the level of trust to be congruent to the amount of favourable knowledge an individual has about a person or organisation. If the mechanic has preformed favourably in the past, than person A has more trust in the mechanic. If the mechanic has preformed unfavourably in the past, than the level of trust that person A has in the mechanic is reduced. Lewis and Wiegert's (1985) sociological conception of trust sees it a property of collective units and not isolated to individuals. Therefore, trust is a main component, or collective attribute, of the relationships among people rather than a psychological state of individuals. In this sense trust is a faithfulness or

[78] From their piloting, Rosenzweig and Thalen (1998) determined that the word 'trust' was more likely to evoke a sense of respondents' ideas about value of authority.

attitudinal loyalty towards individuals that are a part of a collective unit (e.g. family). For Giddens (2006:122) "trust refers to the confidence we have either in individuals or in institutions." The concept of 'trust' for this research exists between these ideas. Pupils' trust in a source of history is seen as a level confidence they have in the legitimacy of their historical interpretation (whether the interpretation is valid, compared to 'traditional' authorities of history, i.e. historians or teachers). This research also understands that pupils may trust a source on the basis of Lewis and Wiegert's concept of social relations. For example, a pupil may trust their parents as a legitimate source of history, because parents are often viewed as legitimate authoritative figures. Furthermore, pupils may trust teachers or textbooks as legitimate sources of history, because, traditionally, they are seen as authorities on the subject.

- Question (14), acted as a filter question directing respondents who were currently studying history in school to continue on to questions (16)-(19) which sought to gather data about pupils perceptions of school history (formal) and the reasons behind their choice to study history in school, whereas pupils who were not studying history were finished with the questionnaire.

- The aim of questions (15) – (19), based on the research of Rosensweig & Thalen (2000), was to better understand pupils' perceptions of studying history at school (formal). Focused on the pupils studying history in school at the time of the study, these questions sought data on pupils' perceptions of studying history at the second level, their attitudes towards continuing to study history at the third-level, and the level of connected ness they felt while participating in activities in a

formal setting (i.e. in the classroom or work for the classroom but conducted outside of the schools setting such homework or research for a school related project). Question (18) comprised pre-coded options to which pupils responded on numerical continuums and specifically focused on the connections with aspect of formal history education. These pre-coded options were not only based on Rosensweig & Thalen's (2000), Seixas' (1993, 1994, 2001) and Wineburg's (2001) work, but also the aims and objectives outlined in the Junior Certificate History Guidelines for Teachers (1999) and the Revised Leaving Certificate History Guidelines for Teachers (2004). These options were also formulated out of the debate between the analytical and traditional approaches to history education at the second level. (See Chapter Four).

- Question (19) sought to gather data on the reasons why pupils chose to study history at the second level was put in place as tertiary question to establish a context or framework for the main study. The options of choice were based on the Holohan's (1981) research into factors influencing the status of history at the second level in the 1970s and, more recently, the History Inspectorate's (2006) report. (See also Crowly, 1990; NCCA, 1990; Coombes 1999) Question (20), which focused on pupils who were not studying history at the second level at the time of the study and was based on the above research and literature, sought data on the factors influencing pupils not to study history.

Analysis of the Irish and International Pupil Questionnaire Pilot

An analysis of the pupil questionnaire was conducted following their completion and return in January 2007 and identified the need to refine the structure of the order of

questions, the language of some items, further development of categories of responses of a number of questions and the general layout and presentation including font style, numbering and general formatting. The following are modifications made as a result of the pilot phase:

- Seeking the self-identity of the pupil was at the core of question (6). In the pilot study, this question was left blank to allow pupils to fill in an option of their choice. Methodologically, this was done for two reasons: 1) to allow pupils to identify what they believe is their ethnic or cultural background (i.e. self-identification) without limiting the responses to a set of responses, and 2) to explore the variety of response that may be given. Unfortunately, the completion rate of this question in the pilot study was low, either because pupils did not understand what was asked of them or the concept of ethnicity or cultural background was beyond many respondents. It was therefore decide to change the format of the question. Based on question 14 on page 4 of the 2006 Census in Ireland, this question gave pupils the option to identify their ethnic or cultural background.[79] In review of recent research and literature regarding census questions which ask respondents to identify their ethnicity or culture it was found that there is no 'perfect' question to illicit this information. Therefore it was determined to use the question format that not only the Irish government, but also the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in the US, which sets out the Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting, employs

[79] The OMB (1997), with the support from the American Anthropological Association (AAA), maintains that "the racial and ethnic categories set forth in the standards should not be interpreted as being primarily biological or genetic in reference. Race and ethnicity may be thought of in terms of social and cultural characteristics as well as ancestry." Therefore, at least for the current research, ethnicity and culture are interchangeable terms. In this sense, ethnicity can be viewed as a representation of pupil's socio-cultural background.

in Censuses. [80] The OMB's (1997) definitions of ethnicity "underscore that self-identification is the preferred means of obtaining information about an individual's race and ethnicity, except in instance where observer identification is more practical (e.g., completing a death certificate)." According to the OMB how a person perceives his/her own identity based upon, social, cultural and historical aspects of their ethnicity is a more accurate gauge of identity than using an 'outsiders' perspective of their identity based on biological and genetic make-up. Because of this, this dissertation uses self-identification as its standard and it was therefore deemed important to allow pupils and parents/guardians to choose their own description of their ethnicity or culture. Furthermore, as Rosensweig & Thalen's (2000) and Epstein's (1998; 2000; 2001) research highlights (see Chapter Three), in the US there tends to be a correlation between culture and ethnic background and the history an individual identifies with.

- The filter question (15) in the pilot study, (14) in the main study, was amended and located prior to section three rather than included in this section. This was to ensure that the sections 'pupils taking history' and 'pupils not taking history' were clearly separate in the eyes of the pupils. There were a few instances in the pilot study in which pupils who were not studying history began to answer question in the 'pupils taking history' section.

[80] There is great debate over not only the method in which survey questions ask respondents to identify their ethnicity, but also the concept of ethnicity itself. For example, De Vos (1995:41) contends that group boundaries are "basically psychological in nature, not territorial", and ethnicity has become an important, pluralist aspect of an individual's self-identity. De Vos also admits that the concept of identity is continually changing and is vague. It has become what Hall (1997) refers to as a "floating signifier." The biological and genetic signifiers of specific 'races' is secondary to the *meanings* that are ascribed to them. (See also the Government Statistical Service (GSS) and the Office of National Statistics (ONS) in the UK)

- No cognisance had been taken in the pilot questionnaire of the need to understand the influences on pupils for choosing (or not) to study history. It was therefore deemed important to included a question which sought data related to this. Question (14) directed pupils who were not studying history at the time of the main study to question (20) which allowed respondents to indicate reasons for not studying history in school. Question (19) which sought to gather data on the reasons why pupils chose to study history at the second level was put in place as tertiary question to establish a context or frame work for the main study. The options of choice were based on the Holohan's (1981) research into factors influencing the status of history at the second level in the 1970s and, more recently, the History Inspectorate's (2006) report (see also Coombes 1999; Crowly, 1990; NCCA, 1990). Question (20), which focused on pupils who were not studying history at the second level at the time of the study, based on the above research and literature, sought data on the factors influencing pupils' choice not to study history. It was felt that understanding the possible distinctions between pupils studying history and pupils who are not may give clearer insight into pupils' perceptions history and if there were distinctions between influences from inside and outside of school on the decision not to study history.

- The 'blank spaces' where pupils were required to tick their selection of answers were replaced by squares and the instruction for each question that required pupils to use the tick method of response included a tick symbol. It was felt that these changes would make the response format clearer to pupils (especially pupils whose first language was not English) and improved the overall presentation of the questionnaire and a higher response rate.

- Final minor structural changes, such as font sizes, left and right indenting and margin formatting were conducted to ensure the best presentation possible.

Parent/Guardian Questionnaire

Rosensweig & Thalen's (2000) research demonstrates that regardless of ethnic or cultural back ground, family history and family members were the most important influence. This current research could have potentially surveyed not only parents/guardians, but also siblings and grandparents, but because of time and funding for this research, parents/guardians of international pupils were deemed them most appropriate representation of the family influence and perspective.

After the initial development of the parent/guardian[81] questionnaire, it was piloted to a class of in-service teachers in July 2007 during a research methods lecture at Trinity College Dublin. Although this phase of piloting was useful because many of the teachers were parents with children attending second level schools, only one of the teachers was non-Irish (she was born and lived in Germany, but had been living in Ireland the past five years). It was therefore deemed necessary to pilot the questionnaire to immigrant parents. This was accomplished in two ways: questionnaires were distributed through the researcher's post-graduate students who had international pupils in their classes and volunteered to distribute the questions to those pupils; and the individual who participated in the pilot interview (see below) completed a questionnaire along with comments regarding any changes.

- The pilot tool for parents/guardians consisted of eighteen items which had been developed to measure specific aspects of the objectives of this study, the

[81] Parent/guardian was used because there was the possibility that pupils may have not been in the care of their biological parent(s) at the time of the research.

majority of questions were pre-coded. These questions were developed closely along with the questions of the pupil questionnaire. Only a small number of questions were open ended such as questions (1) – (2) and (5) – (7) which required respondents to fill in information where coding was not possible or needed (i.e. date of birth, sex, country of origin). Furthermore, a number of questions allowed for an 'other' option in the coding of possible answers so that respondents were able to include data that may not be included in the pre-coded responses. Again, just as in the pupil questionnaire, it was felt that pre-coded questions were the most appropriate option over open-ended question format for a standerised questionnaire for parents/guardians because they were: less time consuming, allowed for accurate comparisons through the used statistical analysis, respondents may have had a problem articulating their answers, and limited irrelevant data (Saratakos, 2005).

- Questions (1), (2), (3) and (4) related to concrete data regarding, date of birth, sex, and date completing the survey.

- Questions (5), (6) and (7) ask parents/guardians to identify their country of birth. Question (5) also asked respondents to identify the year they migrated to Ireland. These questions did not ask the citizenship status on the basis that legal citizenship is outlined by law and is an identifier that is prescribed from an *outside* body rather than a part of self-identity.

- In a similar vein as the pupil questionnaire, question (8) sought to provice data on the historical activities that pupils had participation in during the

previous twelve months. It was deemed that this data signifies not only the level of engagement with *informal sources* of history, but also the types of *informal sources* they are interacting with. The pre-coded choices were developed out of the review of relevant literature (see Chapter Three).

- Because the review of literature highlighted the fact that parents/guardians are an important source of historical knowledge for pupils, question (9) sought to provide data on what history parents/guardians deem the most important.

- Because parents/guardians are seen as important influences on the shaping of perspective of history, highlighting parents/guardians level of trust in sources of history was deemed an important theme to explore. Therefore, question (10) employed a numeric scale where (0) represented no trust and (5) represented strong trust in historical sources.

- Questions (11) – (18) sought data regarding parents'/guardians' attitudes towards the teaching of history at the second level in Ireland. Because the DES (following the Constitution) sees parents/guardians as having the final say in pupils' educational lives, it was deemed important to gauge their attitudes. Also, as the review of literature points out, the possibility that what the point of view of the history pupils are exposed to in school (formal) may be different, and sometimes at odds with parents/guardians points of view (see Chapter Three).

- Question (11) asked parents/guardians to identify whether or not they felt that all pupils should study history at the second level in Ireland.

- Question (12) asked parents/guardian to identify what goal of history education they felt to be the most important. Based on the goals outlined by the DES, the NCCA and the HIST, this question present six possible goals of formal history education at the second level in Ireland and asked respondents to chose the one they felt to be the most important.

- Question (13) sought parents'/guardians' attitudes towards the impact of the increase of cultures and ethnicities may have on the content used in the teaching of history at the second level in Ireland.

- The aim of question (14) was to gauge the level of importance parents/guardians believed the history of their former country had in the content of history education at the second level in Ireland. This question required parents/guardians to respond numerically to a response category which included a continuum (0) – (5) with two opposite adjectives at reach end of the scale (Saratakos, 2005). In this case (0) represented the inclusion of the history of their former country in the teaching of history in schools not important, whereas (5) represented the inclusion of those histories to be very important.

- Questions (15) and (16) sought information on the background of parents'/guardians' formal education with regards to history education. The

question asked whether they had studied history at the second and third level. Parent/guardian participation in history classes at the second and third level is seen as an indication of their level of the understanding of the importance of history education.

- The final question asked parents/guardians to indicate if their child/children were studying history at the second level in Ireland at the time of the research.

Analysis of the Parent/Guardian Pilot

One issue that concerned the researcher about the parent/teacher questionnaire was the language barrier that may exist (i.e. parents/guardians may not have the level of proficiency in English to complete the questionnaire). The researcher considered having the questionnaires translated into different languages but difficulty arose when trying to determine the native languages spoken in each individual home and acquiring individuals who could translate the questionnaire into the various possible languages spoken in the pupils' homes. Parents/guardians in the pilot had little or no problems with the English of the questionnaire. It was therefore decided to administer the main questionnaire in English.

- Over all there were only minor problems with the pilot questionnaire (e.g. two spelling mistakes in two of the questions).

Parent/Guardian Main Study

The main questionnaires were sent out at the same time as the forms asking parents'/guardians' permission for their child/children to participate in the main study (see **Appendix A** for Parent Permission Form). All of the pupils that were asked to be

in the study received a packet which contained a cover letter addressed to parents/guardians that explained the aims of the research and asked permission for their child/children to participate in it. It also asked parents/guardians to fill out the questionnaire (which was also included in the packet) and return it via the addressed envelope that was also included in the packet (postage was also included on the envelope). It was decided that giving parents/guardians the option of mailing the question directly to the researcher would give the best possible response rate. In total, 120 questionnaires (as a part of the research permission packets) were sent home through 'book bag mail'. Unfortunately the response rate was considerably lower than expected; only 13 questionnaires were returned.

Possible explanations considered for this low response rate were that, although the pilot sample did not have issues with English, the larger sample may have had problems with the language of the questionnaire. Also, although the cover letter confirmed the anonymity of the parents/guardians and the pupils who participated in the research, parents/guardians may have been reluctant to 'voice' their opinions on the questionnaire. Because of the low response rate, the data collected through the parent/guardian questionnaire was not analysed in the capacity or the depth that was indented, but rather to develop better understanding of parents/guardians of international pupils' attitudes towards history education. It must be absolutely clear that this data, in no way, can be taken as a representation of a larger population, rather it is a glimpse of what future, more in-depth research into the attitudes of parents/guardians may reveal.

Teacher Questionnaire

After review of further literature and consultation with supervisors in the school of education, it was deemed important to include data regarding the perceptions of

history teachers at the second level in Ireland. It was felt that this data added to the richness of the main study and gives a better context to pupils' views of history. Furthermore, the data gathered by this questionnaire is a representation of the formal sources of history for pupils. Through this data, a comparison was made with informal sources of history for pupils (e.g. data from parent/guardian questionnaires and pupil questionnaires). Based on Rosensweig & Thalen's (2000) findings that for many Americans, teachers played a role (positive or negative) in how they viewed the study of history. Furthermore, research conducted by Barton and McCully (2005), Kitson (2004) and the Education and Training Inspectorate (2006) in Northern Ireland, highlighted the central role that history teachers play in the pupils perspectives of history in the classroom (formal).[82] It was, therefore, deemed important to include teachers in the quantitative phase (see Chapter Three). This questionnaire sought data about teachers' perceptions of the aims of history education at the second level in Ireland, what history is the most important, and what impact they believe the increase of immigration in recent years may have on the teaching of history in second level schools in Ireland.

This questionnaire was piloted in two phases. The first phase occurred in November 2006. The questionnaire was distributed to fifteen primary and secondary level teachers in a Master in Education research methods lecture at Trinity College Dublin. The students were informed about the aims of the questionnaire and the pilot study, and were given ample time to complete the questionnaire and make notes on possible changes. Finally, a discussion period occurred after the completion of the

[82] As Wineburg (2001) highlights, since the 1950s, there has been expanding research into the role of teachers in classroom teaching. For example from the 1950s to the mid-1970s, research followed a behaviourist discourse. In the 1980s the issue teaching content (or lack there-of) and knowledge growth became the focus in which cognitive principles first reached the practice of teaching. The current researcher understands the importance of this research, but it must be clear that the data sought from teachers is to add to the depth and contextualisation of the current study, and is not the main focus of the quantitative phase of this research.

pilot questionnaire where the respondents offered constructive feedback about possible adjustment to the questionnaire. The second phase of the piloting of the teacher questionnaire took place in July 2007, in a teacher in-service research methods lecture at Trinity College Dublin. The same procedures as in the previous piloting were followed. This pilot group of twenty-three not only consisted of primary and second level teachers but also head principals and teaching principals.

- Questions (1) – (4) sought to gather concrete data about the number of years the respondent has been actively teaching, how many pupils are in their classes and how many international pupils were in their classes at the time of the questionnaire. It was felt because of the potential bias that history teachers have towards their subject of practice, this questionnaire also included teachers of different subjects. Therefore question (2) asked teachers to identify if they taught history and if they did not to identify what subject(s) they taught.

- Question (5) provided an indication of which aims of history are the most important to second level teachers. Using a rank order format, this question forced respondents to rank ten different aims of history education at the second level (1 = the most important and 10 = the least important). The aims provided in a pre-coded format, were developed out of and a representation of the analytical and 'traditional' approaches to teaching and study education. Aims that represent the aims of a more analytical focuses approach were taken from the aims outlined in the Junior Certificate History Guidelines for Teachers (NCCA, 1990), the Revised Leaving Certificate History Syllabus (NCCA, 2003) History Leaving Certificate Guidelines for Teachers (NCCA, 2004) and the History In-service Team and relevant literature related to the analytical approach to history education. (See also

Seixes, 2000; Wineburg, 2001; Ashby, 2004a, 2004b) For the current research, 'traditional' aims of history education refers to the aims if history education in the past in Ireland (i.e. nationalism, patriotism) (see Holohan, 1981). The aims related to the more 'traditional' approach to history education were also derived from the review of relevant literature including Appleby (1995), Levstik & Barton (1996), Levstik (2000), Barton (2001b), Garrison (2005), Tormey (2006).[83] Although teachers may perceive numerous aims to history education as being important, the rank-order approach to this question required respondents to answer using all responses which gave greater focus to the question.

- Question (6) (similar to question (11) in the pupil question), sought to understand what history should receive the most attention at the second level in Ireland. Because teachers are a representation of the formal source of history in the life of pupils, it was deemed important to understand their perspectives on what and whose history should receive the most attention. This data relates closely to the concepts of multiculturalism/interculturalism in history education along with the increase of pupils from culturally and ethnically diverse backgrounds in schools in Ireland. This data, along with data from question (11) in the pupil questionnaire and question (9) in the parent/guardian questionnaire, was used to determine if there was distinction between perspectives of what history is the most important (i.e. do parents see one history as the most important, while teachers deem a different history more important In other words a formal v. informal dichotomy).

[83] It is understood that a 'black and white' distinction does not exist between what is referred to as analytical and 'traditional' approaches to history education. It is also understood that an analytical approach is not necessarily at odds with a traditional approach and that an overlap of aims and pedagogy may exist. This distinction is made in the methodology of the current research between aims that are traditionally associated to these particular approaches according to relevant literature and policy, and to give a clearer picture of where the pre-coded choices of question (5) were derived from.

- Further understating of teachers perspectives towards the aims of history education was sought in question (7) which asked teachers whether they believed that all international pupils should study some form of Irish history education. The genesis of this question can be attached varying influences. The first influences was Lowenthal's (1997, 2000) history v. heritage debate. The second influence was the analytical and 'traditional' discussion outlined in chapter four, and the final influence came from discussion surrounding multiculturalism is society, specifically Eck's (2006) distinctions to the approaches that societies take towards the widening of culture, three of which are *exclusion*, *assimilation*, and *pluralism*. Should international pupils be required to study the history of the country that they are now living in? If so, why?

- Question (8) sought to gather data on teachers' perspectives of the potential change in education at the second level due to the increase of culturally and ethnically diverse pupils in schools. This question is specifically focused on the possible addition and shift of content covered. In close relation, question (9) delved deeper into the issue by asking if teachers felt that they had the historical background and education to teach the histories of newer ethnicities or cultures represented in their class rooms (e.g. Muslim history or African history). Although these questions are in the form of pre-coded yes or no answers, adequate space was given to allow teachers to explain further their responses.

Analysis of the Teacher Questionnaire Pilot

The first phase of analysis of the teacher questionnaire was conducted following their completion and return in November 2006, and identified the need to refine the language of some items, further development of categories of responses of a number of questions and the general layout and presentation including font style, numbering and general format. After these changes were made the questionnaire was piloted again in July 2007 to confirm the validity of the changes made, re-analyse the unchanged questions and search for any further mistakes or ambiguities. The level of feedback which was received from respondents in the pilot phase was highly valuable and beneficial in the modifications of the final draft of the teacher questionnaire. The following are modifications made as a result of the two pilot phases:

- The only major modifications occurred in the wording of question (3), which was slightly ambiguous in the sense that a significant number of teachers were unclear if "total amount of pupils" meant a single classroom or all the classes added together. Therefore, it was re-worded to emphasise the total number of pupils in all their classes that were teaching at the time of the survey. All other modifications concerned font size, indentations and spacing.

Main Teacher Survey

The main teacher questionnaire was distributed to one hundred second level teacher working in the seven sample schools at the time of the research (see **Appendix E** for Teacher Questionnaire). This distribution occurred alongside the distribution of the main pupil survey. The questionnaires were distributed by teachers assisting in each of the schools. Teachers were requested to return the questionnaire to their colleague who was assisting with the research at any point after its completion. Regrettably, the return rate of these questionnaires was not as high as expected. Seventeen out of one

hundred questionnaires were returned. Some speculative reasons for the high-level of non-response were teachers were unwilling to take part in the research, did not have time to respond or did not receive a questionnaire (Sarantakos, 2005). Some possible measures that could have been taken to ensure a higher response rate could have been: meeting with teachers, either one-to-one or at staff meeting, to explain further the goals of the research and the significance of data gathered from teachers; including an addressed envelope with postage so that teachers could have posted the questionnaire directly to the research; and the researcher could have sent reminders to the teachers in the form of letters (although the assisting teachers in each of the schools did do this verbally).

Although there was a low response rate, the data collected was analysed to develop a sense of teachers' attitudes, but with a cautionary note. In no way should this data be considered a representation of the larger population of teachers in Ireland: rather, it was used to get a sense of what teachers' attitudes towards immigration and its impact on teaching history at the second level in Ireland and the possibilities for further in-depth research into. Unlike the main pupil survey, in-depth statistical analysis was not used to analyse this data. Rather, descriptive statistics were employed to develop a better understanding of teachers' attitudes in this small sample.

Qualitative Phase of Research – Interviews

Why Interviews?

Just as there is diversity in the form, content and purpose of questionnaires, so too does that diversity exist in the approaches to interviews which "differ also in purpose, the role of the interviewer, sample size and presentation" (Sarantakos, 2005:268).

There are three main approaches to the structure of interviews, *structured, semi-structured and unstructured*, which shift depending upon the methodological approach (i.e. qualitative/quantitative) of the researcher.

For example, a *structured interview* employs the same degree of structure as a standardised questionnaire, but are verbally presented to respondents. Strict adherence to the order, wording and the instructions of questions must be followed. This means that the role of the interview is highly structured and neutral, and at no point should the researcher probe for further information or show personal interest. Question responses are all pre-coded and standardised for each person which, along with the rigid structure of the interview, serves to "reduce interviewer bias to a minimum and achieve the highest degree of objectivity and uniformity in procedure" (Sarantakos, 2005:268). Data analysis of highly structured interviews is simple and can be easily aggregated, but a fault is that respondents must fit their views and experiences into the structured, pre-coded set of responses.

Unstructured interviews, on the other hand, employ an unstructured interview schedule which contains a number of open ended questions, flexible wording and order which can reflect the will of the interviewer. In the framework of this interview approach, the interviewer had the freedom to act on the basis of certain research points that are being investigated. Questions are guidelines, rather than rules. This approach increases the relevance of questions and can be matched to the individual(s), but is less systematic and data analysis can become difficult (Bell, 1999; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000; Sarantakos, 2005).

Between the structure and unstructured types lie *semi-structured interviews*. These exist somewhere on a continuum between what Patton (1980) describes at the interview guide approach and standardised open-ended interviews. The interview

schedule for this type contains elements of both, and is determined by the topic of research and methodological approach. This approach can be employed in both quantitative and qualitative approaches. For the current research, a semi-structured interview schedule which sought qualitative knowledge expressed in normal language. Semi-structured interviews were employed to allow for flexibility and exploration and to facilitate the materialisation of qualitative data (See also Hopf, 2004; Miller & Glasner, 2004).

Pilot Interview

As Sarantakos (2005) points out that not all researchers inherently posses top quality interviewing skills, and therefore must train so as to encourage clarity, accuracy while eliminating errors, and certain bias. Understanding the sources of errors, and the strengthening of interviewing skills which lead to successful completion of interviews, was deemed an important segment in the methodological development of the current research. Therefore, a methodological pilot interview with a member of the immigrant community and a parent with children studying history at the second level was conducted on 27 July 2007. This interview, which lasted forty minutes and took place in the participant's office, served a threefold purpose. First, it allowed the research to go through the logistical process of scheduling an interview. This included contacting the individual, obtaining permission, organising an appropriate time and place to conduct the interview, and establishing transparency of the research (i.e. making sure the individual understands exactly what the research is about). The second purpose was the practice of conducting face to face interviews with an individual. The third, and final, purpose was to better understand the perspectives of a parent of pupils of a different cultural or ethnic background other than 'Irish' towards history inside and outside of schools. The participant interviewed requested that

his/her identity would not be revealed and that any direct data not be used in the final dissertation of this research. It can be said that the interview helped the researcher's understanding and shaped the direction in which the qualitative aspect of this research progressed.

NCCA Interview

As the quantitative phase sought data from history teachers' perspectives, the qualitative phase sought data with regards to the development of the history curriculum at the second level. The obvious source of this perspective came from the NCCA, which developed the curricula used in schools in Ireland.

The researcher contacted the NCCA offices in Dublin and spoke with an administrative assistant about conducting an interview regarding the history curricula at the second level and the potential impact of immigration on how and why history is taught at the second level in Ireland. The researcher was given the name of John Dredge[84], the education officer for history at the post-primary level for the NCCA who was involved with the creation of the Revised History Leaving Certificate. Mr. Dredge acted as the secretary to the course committee where he prepared documentation, wrote up minutes of meetings, and compiled documentation based on the deliberations based on the committee. Mr. Dredge was contacted through an e-mail which outlined the aims of the research and the interview. The interview took place on at 15.00 in the lobby of the Spa Hotel in Lucan on Thursday 2, August 2007. After the initial greetings and explanations of the interview procedure, where Mr. Dredge agreed to have the interview digitally recorded, the interview lasted almost twenty minutes. Also, the transcription of the interview was emailed to the Mr.

[84] Mr. Dredge gave written permission to use his name and quote him directly in this dissertation.

Dredge to allow him to proof read his responses and to add and further comments or suggestions.

This semi-structured interview sought data on specific themes. First, the respondent's role and background in the NCCA and the development of history curricula in Ireland. Second, further insight into the development of the analytical approach to history education at the second level as seen in the revised curriculum. Third, what potential impact new cultures and ethnicities may have on the teaching of history in Ireland?

International Pupil Interviews

For this phase of the research, 24 international pupils were interviewed. Although there are a variety of approaches to interview in social research it was felt that a qualitative, semi-structured approach to international pupil interviews was the most appropriate. As Sarantakos (2005:270) highlights, the following characteristics were deemed invaluable to the current research:

- *Primacy of the respondent*: The respondents are experts who provide valuable information. They are as important as the researcher and not just a source of data. (In the instance of this research, international pupil are considered 'experts' because of their situation as being 'non-Irish' pupils in schools in Ireland)

- *Openness:* Qualitative interviews do not use a strictly standardised approach. Rather they employ a readiness to change, correct and adjust the course of study as required by the research. Interviewers are expected to engage in open discussion with the respondent, and to maintain a stimulating, but not dominating, role.

- *Flexibility*: The qualitative researcher follows the course that emerges through the interviews.

- *Life as process*: Qualitative interviews ascertain aspects of personal experience as displayed in everyday life.

Although the themes of the interview questions were developed, through the review of relevant literature and the development of the questionnaires (e.g. informal/informal sources of history dichotomy), prior to the interviews, the qualitative approach allowed the interviewer a level of flexibility to probe pupils' perceptions, attitudes and opinions within the frame work of the established themes. This is why the semi-structured approach was adopted for this phase of the research.

It is clear that the interview method of gathering data is not without its faults and limitations. For example, the logistics of setting up an interview such as appropriate time and date, and appropriate location. Also, bias due to the presence of the interviewer may affect the data. The lack of anonymity may also affect individual's responses. Errors in recoding and evaluating responses are also limitations that must be avoided.

Because of the possible limitations in the interview approach, significant measures were employed to nullify (as much as possible) these limitations and errors. Logistically speaking, all the interviews took place in the pupil's school, in either an available classroom or meeting room within the school building. This was done because it was the most convenient for the pupils, it was a familiar place for pupils and therefore they were more comfortable, more likely to be open. Furthermore, a

teacher was present during the interviews. Recoding errors were avoided by digitally recoding all the interviews and then transcribing them at a later date.

The International pupil interviews were conducted as group interviews. The advantages of this approach include the "potential for discussions to develop, thus yielding a wide range of responses" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000:287). Through this approach, pupils introduced new ideas into the discussion which prompted other pupils to add significant information that they may not have added if it had been a one-to-one interview. Furthermore, as Simons (1982) and Lewis (1992) argue, group interviews with pupils may be more beneficial because they may be less intimidating than individual interviews.

Although every effort was taken to ensure that the interviewer provided a comfortable environment for pupils to be as open as possible which, in turn provided the interviewer with significant and relevant data, in hindsight there could have been improvements in the interviews. For example, the interviews where limited by the time available either because of the pupils' school schedule, the interviewer's schedule or the availability of appropriate interview space in school. Future research which adopts a purely qualitative approach may devote significant time focusing on in-depth interviews with pupils.

Conclusion

The researcher understands that although there are a multitude of research designs and methodologies that could have been employed in this research, the methodology chosen was deemed the most appropriate at the time of construction. This is not to say

that other approach would not have been valid and in future research may be employed and because of the relative newness of the research topic, there will be a continuation of this research's initial glimpse at immigration's impact on the teaching of history in second level schools in Ireland.

Although every effort was made to ensure that the methodology and implementation of this research was developed and conducted at the highest standards, it is recognised that social research is constructed and conducted by human beings who are fallible. Although the research attempted flawlessness in its design, mistakes were made. More importantly, though, the research understood the mistakes and learned from them so that future research will be conducted more efficiently. The research used the best information available at the time to develop the methodology, construct appropriate data gathering methods, implement those methods and analyse and interpret the data gathered.

Chapter Five: Analysis and Presentation of the Data

Introduction

There is considerable evidence from international research (see Chapter Three) that demonstrates pupils from different sociocultural backgrounds tend to view, interpret and engage with history differently. For example, according to research in the US, a dichotomy of historical perspectives exists between pupils from different ethnic backgrounds. Ethnic minorities such as African Americans connect with and trust sources of history that are associated with African American culture whereas white pupils tend to associate with more a national historical narrative. The data found in this research tends to support the findings of prior research in some ways. For example, pupils with different sociocultural backgrounds tend to view history in different ways. Although data shows that history plays an important part in both Irish international pupils' lives, there are some distinct differences in which history they feel is important, what sources they find trustworthy and where they connect with the past.

The results of this study also differ from previous related research in the sense that international pupils see themselves as being different from Irish pupils in some ways based on their country of origin rather than their ethnicity, religion or economic background.

The following chapter discusses the significant findings of the pupil, parent/guardian and teacher questionnaires and the in-depth interviews conducted with international pupils. The findings presented in this chapter are not as straight forward as they seem. Although they do give a glimpse into how Irish and

international pupils interact and view formal and informal sources of history, it must be remembered that they are just that, a glimpse. Although some assumptions are made in this research, it is understood that a great deal more research needs to be conducted on the experiences and understanding of pupils in second level schools in Ireland. It is to be hoped that the data shown here are a solid starting point for other researchers.

Country of Origin

Identifying what country international pupils were born in was the first step in deconstructing pupils' self-identity and sociocultural background. Question (7) asked pupils if they were born in Ireland: if their response was 'no', then a space was provided for them to fill in what country they were born in. The research was also congnisant of the length of time pupils have lived in this country and what impact this had on their identity. For example, a pupil born in Australia, but who lived in Ireland the majority of their life, could see themselves as Irish. Having said that, not one pupil who was born in another country, indicated that he/she were in any way Irish, regardless of the length of lived in Ireland. Interviews with international pupils also demonstrated that for the most part pupils saw themselves belong to a group outside of 'Irishness'. This highlights the importance of country of birth (or country of origin) for international pupils and this research discovered that their former country was an important element in pupils' understanding of historical sources and how they saw themselves as individuals living in Irish society.

The results show that international pupils in the sample represent 39 different countries. These countries included: The Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Armenia, Australia, Bangladesh, Cameroon, Chechnya, China, Congo, England, Ethiopia, Ghana, Georgia, Iran, Indonesia, Kenya, Latvia, Libya, Lithuania, Nigeria, Mauritius,

Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Portugal, Russia, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Syria, Slovakia, South Africa, Sudan, Switzerland, Ukraine, andZimbabwe. **Figure 5.0** shows the top ten countries of origin represented in the sample. The average number of years that international pupils have lived in Ireland at the time of the study was 3.7 years (SD 2.5).

Figure 5.0: Top Ten Countries of Origin (International Pupils) (n = 107)[85]

Country of Origin	Percentage
1. Nigeria	20.2
2. Poland	13.5
3. Romania	4.8
4. Lithuania	4.8
5. Somalia	4.8
6. Congo	4.8
7. Angola	3.8
8. Georgia	2.9
9. England	2.9
10. Portugal	2.9

These numbers show that the majority of pupils immigrated from an Eastern European country or an African country. The fact that pupils from Poland represented the highest percentage of pupils from an EU country was no surprise since a range of statistic including the number of citizens from EU member states who applied for PPS numbers between 2005-2005 and the 2006 Census show that there have been a high number of Polish people who have migrated to Ireland in recent years (see Chapter One). The majority of pupils in the sample who are originally from non-EU member states migrated from sub-Saharan African countries. Again, this is no coincidence since the majority of refugees and asylum seekers in recent years have originated from these same countries (see Chapter One).

[85] The each of the remaining 29 countries in the International pupil sample had less than 2 per cent representation in the sample (n=107)

Although the research did not seek out data on the causes of migration of international pupils' parents, some simple assumptions about the causes of migration can be made. For instance, economic conditions in Ireland and in many Eastern European countries may have forced parents to use their rights as EU citizens and, we can assume that many parents migrated to Ireland for better employment opportunities. Parents from African countries on the other hand could have migrated to Ireland as refugees or asylum seekers because of conditions in their home country and therefore are living in Ireland under different rules to EU citizens. There is great potential for further research into the impact that this difference has on not only parents but also pupils.[86]

Ethnicity

The research also inquired about the ethnic backgrounds that pupils identified with. Again, self-identification of ethnic background is an important part of the deconstruction of pupils' sociocultural background. Question (6) on the questionnaire asked respondents: 'what ethnic group do you belong to?' It is clear from the survey that the majority of pupils' (Irish and international) came from a white ethnic background (see **Figure 5.1**).

[86] There is potential research on pupils that came to Ireland as unaccompanied minors. Anecdotally speaking, the interview sample included at least two pupils who had come to Ireland as unaccompanied minors and had not been reunified with their parents at the time of research. Because of ethical issues, the research did not probe deeper during the interviews when this came to light. Also, one of the teachers who assisted in the research explained that it was a "touchy subject" for the pupils and teachers alike, therefore the topic was disregarded.

Figure 5.1: Ethnic Background of Pupils (n = 372)

Of the pupils who identified themselves as being 'white', 86 per cent identified themselves as being 'Irish', while 12 per cent identified themselves as an 'other white background' and 1 per cent chose 'Irish Traveller' as their background. In the 'Black or Black Irish' category 100 per cent of respondents who identified themselves as part of a black ethnic background identified themselves as 'African'. Of the pupils who identified themselves as part of the 'Asian' ethnic group, 83 per cent chose the 'Other Asian' subgroup while 17 per cent identified themselves as 'Chinese'.[87] The fourth category, 'Other, including mixed background', was the least identifiable group for respondents. This group was included an option for those pupils who saw them as

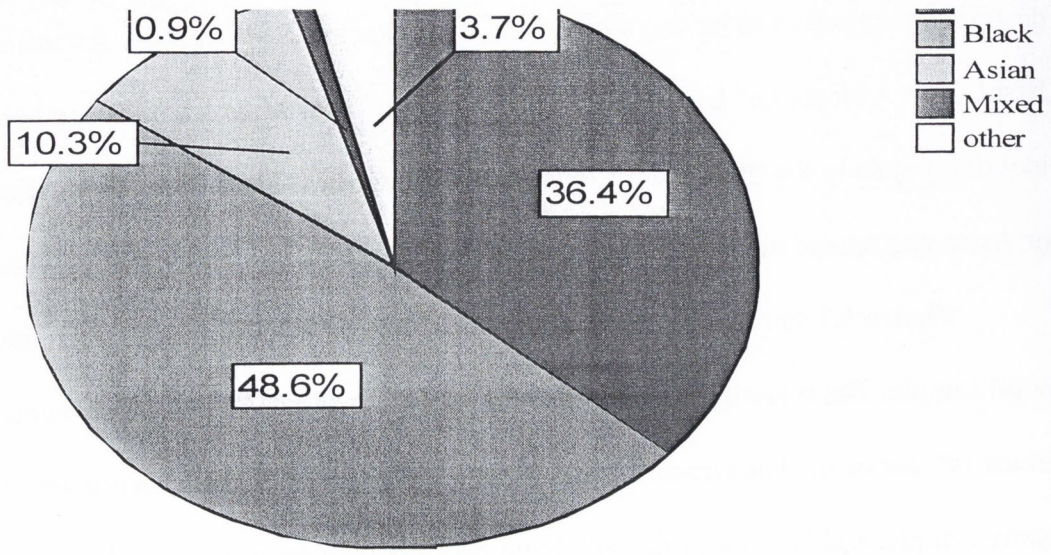
[87] These numbers are interesting when compared to the results of the same question in the 2006 Census which demonstrate almost the same percentage breakdown between current research numbers and Census numbers of the 'white' subgroups and 'Black' subgroups. For example Census numbers show that out of the two subgroups (which excludes the 'Irish' option), 7.1% of respondents identified themselves as 'Irish Travellers' and 92.8% as 'Other white background'. These numbers are almost identical to the pupils' responses (7.5 % 'Irish Travellers and 92.5% 'Other white background). This congruence can also be seen in the breakdown of the 'Black' subgroups. The Census numbers were 91.4% 'African' and 8.5% 'any other black background', while 100% of the pupils that identified themselves as 'Black', chose the 'African' subgroup. Only in the numbers of the 'Asian' category were differences in the percentages between the Census and the current study noticeable. For example Census numbers were 31.5% 'Chinese' and 68.5% 'Other Asian' while pupil numbers show that 16.6% identified themselves as 'Chinese' and 83.3% as 'Other Asian'. Although 'Chinese' is the largest Asian subgroup in the 2006 Census results, it does not seem to be represented as numerous in the sample of this study.

something different than the first three categories in other words a mixed ethnic background. Out of the total respondents (n = 372) only three pupils (.8 per cent) described themselves as having a mixed ethnic background which were: Asian/Irish, Irish/Asian/African, and Irish/Thai.[88] This data shows that when it comes to ethnic identity, pupils in the study tended to work in singularities. They were White, Black or Asian and tended not to uses mixed ethnic backgrounds to identify themselves.

Figure 5.2 shows a further breakdown of the ethnic backgrounds international pupil sample. The majority of pupils saw themselves as either White (36 per cent) or Black (49 per cent). The remaining ethnic groups constituted less than a quarter of the entire sample, and because of the small numbers any data analysis beyond descriptive regarding ethnicity was limited to the black and white sub-samples. This demonstrates that the majority of international pupils saw themselves as one ethnicity rather that a mix (e.g. African American or Black-Irish).

[88] These three mixed ethnic backgrounds were taken directly from what pupils filled in themselves in the description option of the 'Other, including mixed background' category.

Figure 5.2: Ethnic Background of International Pupils (n = 107)



One of the clearest possible explanations for this is that the majority of the international pupils are relatively new immigrants to Ireland; the average time international pupils have lived in Ireland at the time of the study was 3.7 years (SD = 2.5). Compare this to African American, Irish-American, or Italian-American pupils who may be able to trace their families or ethnicity back hundreds of years in the US. International pupils in Ireland have been here a relatively short period of time and may have not had the chance to establish historical 'roots'.

How Pupils Felt About Their Identity

Through the interviews, the research tried to better understand how pupils saw themselves in terms of their identity within the context of Irish culture and what connection they might have with an Irish identity. When asked "do you feel in anyway Irish?"; the majority of pupils, regardless of country of origin, ethnicity or

how long they have been living in Ireland, did not believe that they were in any way Irish or connected with parts of an Irish identity. Rather they saw themselves as being part of an immigrant group, or outsiders living in Ireland.

For example, Brian[89], a sixth year from Rwanda, who had been living in Ireland for four years at the time of the interviews stated "I don't feel Irish, I feel very Rwandan... to be honest I don't think that I will feel entirely Irish, I feel like a Rwandan living in Ireland" (Interview). For pupils, their country of origin, more than ethnicity or religion, was the most important part of their identity and how they saw themselves. Rich, a fifth year from Nigeria, who had been living in Ireland for four years also expressed that he was somewhat of an 'outsider':

> *...we still have a same culture going on. Obviously we hang out with Irish people and everything, but you still know like, because I came here when I was 12 so I know where I am from and I know everything about myself... like you are from a different country just living in Ireland* (Interview).

Although the majority of pupils sympathised with Brian and Rich's view point, a small number of pupils did feel that they were is some way part Irish. For example, Brandon, who was born in Afghanistan, but lived the majority of his life in Pakistan before moving to Ireland six years ago, understood his unique situation with regards to what culture he identified with:

Interviewer: *So you would consider yourself half Irish, like Afghan-Irish?*

Brandon: *I might consider myself Afghan-Irish.*

Interviewer: *is there any part of Irishness you might identify with? What parts do you consider your Irish half?*

Brandon: *like well, I know more about Irish culture than my own,* [laughing] *I do, because I was ten when I came here so I lived in Pakistan for nine years so I was only a little baby when I moved to Pakistan, so I barely consider myself Afghan, but...*

[89] To protect the anonymity of the pupils who took part in the interviews, all of the names used are pseudonyms.

Interviewer: *but you know where that is where you are from?*

Brandon: *Yeh, I know that I am from there.*

(Interview)

Although Brandon only spent a short time in Afghanistan, a period that, he himself admits he was too young to even remember, his country of birth plays a significant part in how he sees himself. Later in the interview, he expressed his desire to return to Afghanistan to visit family still there. This emphasises the importance of international pupils' former countries and the family that they have left behind. Brandon, who has no memories of the country of his birth or his family, views it and them as a central part of who he is. What was also interesting was that Brandon did not see himself as Pakistani in anyway, again demonstrating the importance of the place of birth in pupils construction of their identity and how they saw themselves. This was a theme that reoccurred throughout this research.

There were, however unique exceptions to this. For example, Andy, who had been living in Ireland for two years and had been born in France, considered himself Congolese, because his parents were from the Congo. Andy did return to live in the Congo for a short period before migrating to Ireland, but had spent the majority of his life living in France. As the interview progressed, Andy did mention that he had some 'Frenchness' to him, but for the most part, he saw himself as Congolese.

Brandon was not the only international pupil who indicated that they felt part Irish in some way. When Lauren, a Fifth year from Nigeria who had been living in Ireland for six years, was asked if he consider herself Irish in any way:

> *yeh, right now I feel that I am part Irish and part Nigerian because right now I am beginning to develop the accent and the accent in Ireland is different than the one in Nigeria. Yeh that is one and secondly although I have not stayed here for a long period I believe that my mentality, the*

way that I think, the way that you think in Nigeria is different than how you think in Ireland and I think that will change over time (Interview).

Lauren's understanding of this change exemplified how many pupils saw their situation as an immigrant in Ireland. Although the majority of pupils in the interviews indicated that they did not see many connections with Irish culture, many pupils were cognisant of the possibility of their identity changing or shifting to become more Irish the longer they lived in Ireland. The idea of shifting identities kept appearing in what pupils were saying about how they saw themselves. Adam, who emigrated from Georgia over two years ago and was in Sixth year, could see the differences from when he first came to Ireland. He believed he was beginning to see the positives of living in Ireland and was beginning to like living in Ireland. Although he believed in the future he might consider himself partially Irish, he will always be from Georgia. Even Brian from Rwanda felt that, over time, he may feel somewhat Irish, but would still be Rwandan at the core.

Numerous pupils felt they were an outsider living in Ireland and believed that they were losing touch with the culture of their former countries which many believed was changing while they were away. As Rich, a Nigerian Fifth year living here the last four years stated "time, time, time is like… time is the answer to what I wanted to say. The longer that you are in somewhere the more acclimatised you get to the place you know what I mean…" (Interview).

Even though change over time was a theme the continually appeared in many of the interviews. There were pupils who did not see any connection with Irish culture now or in the future. Troy from Nigeria and Katie from Pakistan, both third years and who had been living in Ireland for three years at the time of the interviews made this clear:

Interviewer: *ok, the first questions that I have for you guys are dealing with your identity, what you guys see yourselves as, so what do you see yourself as Irish –Lithuanian or Congolese/French/Irish or something else? If somebody else asked you what you are, what would you say?*

Troy: *I would say that I am a Nigerian.*

Interviewer: *Nigerian, not Irish?*

Katie: *No, because your identity will never change so you have to tell the fact that your identity is where you are from.*

Interviewer: *so you say that you are Nigerian, so why do you say that 'I am all Nigerian and no Irish'?*

Troy: *it's just like, ya know. I don't think that there is that much reason to say that I am Irish.*

Interviewer: *why don't you think so?*

Troy: *I don't I am actually saying I am Irish, because I am obviously not, I wasn't born here so...*

Interviewer: *so because you weren't born here, and you don't identify with the Irish culture?*

Troy: *No, and the thing about this culture is getting drunk, this is the culture and I don't drink so...*

Interviewer: *so you think drinking is a big part of Irish culture?*

Troy: *yes.*

(Interview)

Like other pupils in the interviews, Troy and Katie were quite adamant about not changing over time. Troy indicated that even if he could gain Irish citizenship and an Irish passport he would still make sure people would know that he was a Nigerian even though he might be an Irish citizen. This shows that citizenship may play less of a factor than cultural background in how pupils see themselves. Troy's mentioning of cultural differences (drinking for example) may be a possible cultural differences between Irish and international pupils. For example, Lindsay, a Sixth year from the

Congo who had been living in Ireland for two years, did not feel Irish and mentioned that she did not socialise with many Irish pupils, "I will always feel Congolese and I like being here and it is a good and people are just… because I don't even have any Irish friends… I don't know many Irish except in school" (Interview). Unfortunately, Lindsay was apprehensive about discussion further why she did not have Irish friends, but the possible cultural differences could be at the heart of the situation for many international pupils as well as the language barrier between Irish and international pupils. When the interviewer asked Lauren, Toni, and Mike about how they saw themselves fitting into Irish society, they were clear about their position:

Interviewer: *Is it important to remember where you came from?*

All: *yes.*

Interviewer: *ok, why?*

Lauren: *First off, no home is Irish home.*

Toni: yeh.

Lauren: *basically when you think of your friend's home you think of around Nigeria, you see the importance and culture of Nigeria.*

Interviewer: *do you think Nigerian culture and Irish culture are different?*

Lauren: *most definitely. They are really different.*

Toni: *yeh.*

Interviewer: *what differences are there?*

Lauren: *first in Nigeria they have different tribes, there are 36 different tribes and different languages. But in Irish, I really don't know, but I think there is just one Irish speak, but in Nigeria there are different people with the different languages.*

Toni: *yeh.*

Interviewer: *so it much more diverse than Ireland?*

Toni and Lauren: *yeh.*

Interviewer: *so do you think Romanian culture is different than Irish culture?*

Mike: *yeh.*

Interviewer: *what about it is different, is there any thing that really jumps out?*

Mike: *just the people are different.*

(Interview)

Pupils also talked about the differences of food and the way they talked when they discussed why they felt different from or not a part of Irish culture. When asked if they though their cultures were different, Lauren, from Nigeria, said:

> *First in Nigeria they have different tribes, there are thirty-six different tribes and different languages. But in Irish, I really don't know, but I think there is just one Irish speak, but in Nigeria there are different people with different languages* (Interview)

The issue of speech and language was a reoccurring topic throughout the interviews as well. For example, a group of pupils discussed how they felt that some international pupils were beginning to speak with, in their opinion, fake Irish accents which they felt was wrong to do just to fit in. During a discussion with Andy, Troy, Katie and Ellen, this issue came up:

Katie: *I don't think that you should change your accent.*

Interviewer: *well sometimes that happens without the person really knowing it.*

Troy: *yeh if you try and hang around a lot of Irish people.*

Katie: *but sometimes people try to act like Irish...*

Ellen: *sometimes people, they want to act like the Irish...*

Andy: *they want to be like them...*

Interviewer: *why do you think people do that?*

Katie: *they want to be cool, they are going to be cool of they talk the same way...*

Troy: *yeh...*

Katie: *when I am talking with an Irish person, maybe they are going to laugh at me because I am talking with a different accent*

Interviewer: *do you think that in Ireland if you act the way you are and you speak with your accent that somebody might look at you as if something is wrong with you?*

Katie: *no not everybody.*

Andy: *no not all the time..*

Troy: *firstly, if you are talking to somebody and they don't understand you can just, you can leave.*

Interviewer: *do you think it is a problem, that people are prejudice against you?*

Katie: *I think of only one person that does that...*

Troy: *sometime when I am speaking they may say that you are not speaking English, but I say 'you are not speaking English' I don't count your English as an English.*

Katie: *they don't think, because of they go to America they will have a different accent than them, so they don' think before they speak...*

Interviewer: *yeh, they may be used to hearing everyone they are around speak the same way.*

Katie: *we are their peers and we don't speak with an Irish accent we are all together, we speak the same the way we are...*

Andy: *yeh the same...*

(Interview)

Having an accent was a big part of the pupils' identities. Many pupils who spoke with an Irish accent were at times embarrassed to draw attention to their changing accent, regardless of whether it was genuine or not. Brian form Rwanda shared Lauren's sentiments: "for me it is the total opposite. I feel that the Irish culture is the total opposite from my culture, it is different, too different" (interview). Lauren and Brian's comments above also reflect how international pupils in the interviews viewed Irish culture. For the most part, they saw Irish people as having a monoculture

identity, where everyone who was Irish spoke the same, ate the same food, and participated in the same activities.

Again, in many ways these pupils saw themselves as distinct from Irish people; they spoke about "being like them" and "acting like the Irish" (Interview). On the other hand, these pupils also recognised that they were the same in the sense the spoke the same language and that it was Irish pupils that saw them as being different because of their accents. They did hint at a level of prejudice towards them. The interviewer asked if anyone had been discriminated against or had been a victim of racism and most pupils said no; but there seemed to be lingering awareness of some forms of discrimination. This was the only instance in the interviews that this emerged, but it might be a possible concern hindering the inclusion of international pupils in schools in Ireland.

One unique aspect that came out in the interviews was international pupils' perceptions of Irish pupils. Several pupils talked about how the Irish pupils they went to school with were "rude", and that all Irish pupils want to do is "do drugs and get drunk" (interview). Many pupils felt the same as Jeff, an Armenian, about Irish pupils they went to school with; "The way young people are thinking, those people down there are thinking much different. There is a big difference" (Interview). Many pupils also talked about how Irish pupils had misconception about where they came from. A conversation with Jeff, Brian, Lindsay and Adam exemplifies this sentiment:

Jeff: *or example like these Irish guys right, ask like 'where are you from?' and you say Armenia and they don't know where it is.*

Interviewer: *how does that make you feel*?

Brian: *say for example when I ask you, they think some people I mean most people think that Africa is just a bush and two little houses here and there.*

Adam: *that is what I think before I came here.*

Lindsay: *I think you know a lot of people think Africa is just like a village and stuff is tiny.*

Adam: *I came here when I was 13 or 14 and I thought in my early years that Africa was just one country.*

(Interview)

This is not to say that all the pupils in the interviews viewed Irish culture and people in this way, but there was little contrary evidence to suggest otherwise.

From these interviews, it was clear that international pupils saw themselves as immigrants from a different culture rather than a difference based on ethnicity or race. For the most part, White, Black and Asian pupils discussed their identity as an 'Other' to the Irish 'Us' based on their country of origin rather than their ethnicity. There was a sense that White international pupils in the interviews identified more with the Black international pupils they went to school with rather than White Irish pupils. Very rarely did these pupils talk in terms of ethnicity; rather, they saw themselves as part of a group of immigrants living in Ireland. In this sense, international pupils saw a tangible Irish/international dichotomy, based on a person's country of birth or origin rather than on their ethnic background.

Although many pupils talked about a possible identity change, the longer they lived in Ireland, several pupils talked about a fear of losing their cultural identity from their former country. When asked about this possibility, many pupils understood the unique situation that they were in as immigrants. They were not only afraid of losing the traditions and culture that they have grown up in, but they were also wary of the fact that their former country may change while they were away, and, they would not fit it there either. Adam, from Georgia, gave a good example of how many of the pupils felt about this situation:

> *you get used to living in Ireland and you still think 'I am not in my own country' right and you think 'I will go back to Georgia and I will feel as*

> *more at home. And you might go someday back there and things are totally changed and you don't even feel at home, so you might feel more in Ireland more at home than in your own country, so that is kind of scary, when you think of it* (Interview).

Not only did pupils see a distinction between their identity and an Irish identity, they were also fearful of the changes in their former country and that when and if they returned, their former culture would be unrecognisable. Jeff, an Armenian pupil in Sixth year who had been living in Ireland for two years, expressed a clear understanding of this, "I think it is like our own countries are going forward as well and you know, most of things is changing and when we are over here we don't know what the changes are" (Interview).

There were a few pupils that did not fear the loss of their culture while living in Ireland, not because they were ready to embrace Irish culture, but rather because they were adamant about not losing their cultural identity. For example, Rich from Nigeria believed that "it is not really a fear for me but more like… you are not scared of losing it because you know that it is going to always be there" (Interview). Troy, a fellow Nigerian, also felt strongly about not losing his identity "I am not afraid, because I know whatever happens, I will always be Nigerian;" while Katie, a third year from Pakistan who had been living in Ireland for three years, believed "it is strong, you cannot change it ya know" (Interview).

Although the majority of the pupils saw little or no connection with Irish culture, they did demonstrate an understanding that living in and being exposed to a different culture than their own was a positive thing. The discussion below exemplifies the general feeling that several pupils had about living in a different culture. When the interviewer asked a group of fifth years from Afghanistan, Nigeria and Ghana about how they felt about living in a White, Irish dominated society, this was their response:

Rich: *I think it is ok to be honest because like knowing about cultures is very, very healthy...*

Allison: *yeh.*

Rich: *like you cannot just stay dull minded, you cannot just stay one background ye know, just one thing about something... you have to be diverse.*

Allison: *yeh, to know more things.*

Rich: *yeh know like right know to know about religions, to know about cultures, know about every other thing, I think ye know living where people, living in Ireland where most of the people are white it is cool.*

Interviewer: *what do you think [to Brandon]?*

Brandon: *I don't think that there is any problem, but it is different, it is, like when I came here, it was, I wasn't used to being around so many white people. When I came here, it was, it was just totally different...*

Interviewer: *are you used to it now after living here?*

Brandon: *yeh.*

Interviewer: *what about you guys?*

Allison: *the same as he said.*

Ashley: *no, no problem.*

(Interview)

This demonstrates pupils' positive attitudes towards living in a new culture and society and that, even though many pupils talked about a fear of losing their own identities, it is safe to say that many of the pupils interviewed are not afraid of changing or adapting to Irish culture.

What can be taken from what international pupils said about their identities? First, international pupils saw themselves as part of an 'Other' made up of diverse cultural backgrounds different than that of a stereotypical Irish cultural identity. Pupils could plainly see a difference between their cultural backgrounds and Irish culture (although many times their understanding of Irish culture was limited and was

based on a stereotypical construct based on language, accent and food, rather than by ethnicity). Also, the issue of differences in ethnicity rarely if ever came up in the conversations with these pupils. This is not to say that these pupils have never faced forms of racism while living in Ireland, just that it was not a topic that they felt was important or were willing to discuss.

Additionally, although the majority of pupils did not believe they had a connection with an Irish identity, many were mindful that the longer they lived in Ireland; they may begin to pick up traits of Irishness. Along with this awareness of possible change or shift in their identity was a fear of losing parts or all of their former identity and losing their cultural connections with their former country. This last point is the most poignant; the pupils that participated in the questionnaire and the interview demonstrated that they had very strong connection with the countries they were born in (and in some cases they don't even remember). This point comes through not only in the pupils' view of what identity they find the strongest connection with, but also as we will see, their interaction with history.

Historical Activities

What History Related Activities have Pupils Participated in Over the Last 12 Months?

The first phase of uncovering pupils' connections and relationship with sources of history was to identify what activities related to history they participated in. The preliminary analysis of the data demonstrated a wide variety nature of pupils' engagement with history (regardless of whether they are Irish or international). Results of Question (10) give an overview of the extent of pupils' historical activities.

Figure 5.3 summarises the percentage of pupils' engagement in each of the thirteen past-related events that question (10) enquired about.

Figure 5.3: Percentage of Pupils Who Have Done the Following in the Past 12 Months (n = 372)

Taken any photographs so that you can remember an occasion	89%
Watched movies or television programs about history	70
Looked at any photographs of friends that were taken in the past	69
Looked at old family photographs with your family	53
Attended a gathering to see family members that you have not seen in some time	44
Visited a history museum or historic site	40
Read any fiction books about history	34
Looked into the history of your family or worked on a family tree	33
Read any non-fiction books about history	30
Participated in any hobbies or worked on any collections related to the past	21
Keep a regular diary	19
Attended a gathering of a club or group that you used to belong to in the past	14
Belong to a group inside or outside of school that studies, preserves, or presents things in history	5

Both Irish and international pupils in the sample demonstrated a high level of participation in the same five past-related activities: Taking photographs to remember an occasion, watching movies and/or television programmes about history, looking at photographs with friends, looking at old family photos with family and attending a reunion or party to see family. The lowest level of engagement in a past-related activity, for the total sample, was participating in group inside or outside of school that studied, preserved or present things in history. Almost no respondents reported that he or she had done none of these thirteen activities.

From the data two themes appeared regarding what activities pupils participated in the most. First, pupils tended to participate in activities related to people that were close to them in some way (i.e. friends or family). Second, these activities tended to be visual representations of the past (either in the form of photos or moving media, i.e. movies). Activities that were participated in less by pupils tended to be activities that lacked interaction with a person close to pupils and activities associated with formal organisations such as clubs.

This research also asked pupils who had participated in taking photographs so to remember an occasion or event to identify the type of event or events that were photographed. Out of the four options provided in the questionnaire, the photographing of a family outing or holiday occurred most often (65 per cent) followed by photographing the birthday of a grandparent or older relative (48 per cent). The remaining two types of events photographed, religious events and sporting events, compromised 40 per cent and 28 per cent of events photographed respectively. Again, although pupils engaged in a variety of past-related events in the last twelve months data demonstrates that the majority of pupils (Irish and international) engaged with the past through familial settings. Again the themes of personal association and visual representation appear in the types of activities that pupils tended to participate in.

Irish/International Pupils

Although the initial analysis found that pupils, regardless of gender, ethnicity, or whether they are Irish or International, participated in historical activities in the last twelve months, the research explored the data in more depth by comparing the groups involved in the main study to determine whether there was a difference in the activities that these groups participated in.

Figure 5.4 compares the participation levels in history related activities in the past twelve months between Irish and international pupils' data.

Figure 5.4: Percentage of International Pupils Who Have Done the Following in the Past 12 Months

	Irish Pupils (n = 265) %	International Pupils (n = 107) %
Looked at old family photographs with your family	57	42
Looked at any photographs of friends that were taken in the past	57	53
Taken any photographs so that you can remember an occasion	90	84
Watched movies or television programs about history	75	56
Attended a gathering to see family members that you have not seen in some time	50	40
Attended a gathering of a club or group that you used to belong to in the past	14	14
Visited a history museum or historic site	46	24
Read any non-fiction books about history	30	27
Read any fiction books about history	37	27
Participated in any hobbies or worked on any collections related to the past	19	25
Looked into the history of your family or worked on a family tree	39	19
Keep a regular diary	14	31
Belong to a group inside or outside of school that studies, preserves, or presents things in history	5	7

The most participated in activity for Irish (90 per cent) and international (84 per cent) pupils were taking a picture to remember an occasion. These high percentages of participation could be due to the availability of technology to pupils (e.g. camera phones, digital cameras, and digital video recorders) pointing to the role of technology and how pupils interact with the past. Furthermore, the second most participated in activity for both Irish (75 per cent) and international pupils (56 per cent) was watching movies or television programs about history. These findings point to pupils' interaction with history through technology and forms of visual sources of the past. In relation to movies and history, Vidal (1992) suggests that historical perceptions in contemporary society are shaped, in large part, by the images presented in films. Seixas (1994) believes that young people may read film as windows to events and people of the past. These results suggest that pupils have strong connections with informal sources of history they create, such as diaries or photos.

The activities that international parents/guardians participated in the most also showed a tendency towards visual representation of history and creating personal historical sources. For example, all thirteen parents indicated they had taken photos to remember an occasion and a family outing or holiday was the occasion that pictures were taken most often. This was the number one activity followed by watching movies or television programmes about the past (ten out of thirteen parents) and looked at family photos and looked at photos of friends (nine out of thirteen parents). The questionnaire numbers are too low to make any substantial assumptions about international parents/guardians' participation in past-related activities, but with further research, an indication that parent/guardian activities may have an influence on what activities pupils participate in.

Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not ask pupils to identify through what medium they watched the movies or television programs (e.g. the Internet, satellite television, digitally recording, DVD, Ipod), or in what manner they captured or viewed photographs, but a possibility of future research may explore the relationship between the use of personal technology and the interaction and creation of sources and representations of history.

This connection with visual sources and representations of history also came through in the discussion with international pupils during interviews. Many pupils talked about how, when they were in their former country, they often watched TV shows about the history of their country. When pupils were asked about what sources out side of school they participated in the most, watching TV and movies related to the past or about historical figures and events were mentioned the most often. Lauren, from Nigeria, talked about how she learned from watching TV; "like in Nigeria there is this TV programme that talks about the Nigerian culture and different things that

happened so most times you get information from watching TV. So even if you don't study from a book..." (Interview). Mike, from Romania, also talked about a similar programme he used to watch with his father before he migrated to Ireland. Pupils did indicate that they did watch some documentaries and TV programmes about the past since they have moved to Ireland, but there was limited time to probe further into what type of content was contained in these programmes (e.g. were they about Irish, European, or Ancient history?) Further research into the types of media sources pupils are engaging with is needed to better understand the dynamics of the relationship that pupils have with movies and TV programmes about the past.

Pupils also talked about learning history from their parents, but again they did not discuss this in any real depth, rather many pupils just mentioned that their parents talked about what it was like in their former country. A discussion between the interviewer and Katie, Andy and Ellen is a good example of how pupils understood parents as sources of history:

Interviewer: *what about your family or your parents?*

Andy: *yeh we learn from them as well.*

Katie: *yeh I learn from my dad.*

Andy: *yeh they tell us stuff about the past.*

Interviewer: *do you think it is important to learn from them?*

All: *yeh.*

Interviewer: *why do you think it is important?*

Katie: *because you should know what was your country and how it is now.*

Ellen: *it is interesting to know what happened...*

(Interview)

Katie also talked about how if she lived in Ireland long enough, and had children, she would, as a parent, make sure that her children learned about her former country;

"they would have to know or they won't know anything about it, they will forget about it" (Interview). This shows that pupils are somewhat aware of parents as sources of the past.

Although these discussions were somewhat limited, as the interviews progressed, pupils' understanding about parents and family as sources of history became clearer.

Unfortunately, pupils in the interviews either found it difficult to think about or were reluctant to talk about what activities related to history in any great detail. Because of the widespread nature of activities that pupils indicated participating in on the questionnaire, it is more likely that pupils did not think about or were cognisant of the connection to the past they are engaging with while participating in activities. This is not to say that pupils did not develop connections with history while participating in these activities, rather these activities were viewed as something in themselves, and were not seen as vehicles for gaining historical knowledge or developing a connection with the past. These connections are, most likely, by-products of this participation. Again, from what was found from the questionnaire data and the discussions with the international pupils, it is clear that visual representations of history, especially movies and TV programmes and activities tied to people they have a connection with were activities that many pupils often participated in.

Another theme that arose out of the analysis between Irish and international pupils' activities over the past twelve months was that Irish pupils tended to have higher levels of participation in a majority of activities than international pupils. **Figure 5.4** demonstrates that in the past twelve months prior to the completion of the questionnaire that a higher percentage of Irish pupils in the sample participated in nine out of thirteen activities related to history then international pupils. International

pupils showed a higher percentage of participation in four activities related to history (gathering with a former club or group, participating in hobbies dealing with the past, keeping a regular diary, and membership to a group that preserves or presents things in history). In general, the international pupil sample participated less in activities regarding history than the Irish pupil sample.

A Chi-squared test for independence used to explore the relationship between Irish and international pupils and levels of participation indicated a significant[90] association between being an Irish or international pupil and participating in six out of the thirteen activities: Looked at old family photos with family, χ^2 (1, n = 372) = 5.22, p = .022, phi = .118; Looked at any photographs of friends that were taken in the past, χ^2 (1, n = 372) = 16.92, p = .000, phi = .213; Watched movies or television programs about history, χ^2 (1, n = 372) = 13.04, p = .000, phi = .187; Visited a history museum or historic site, χ^2 (1, n = 372) = 15.04, p = .000, phi = .201; Looked into family history, χ^2 (1, n = 372) = 13.56, p = .000, phi = .191; and Keep a regular diary, χ^2 (1, n = 372) = 13.44, p = .000, phi = -.190.

Out of the six activities that showed a statistical significance between being either Irish or international, keeping a regular diary was the only activity that international pupils demonstrated a higher percentage (31 per cent) than Irish pupils (14 per cent). On the other hand, looking into family history and visiting a museum or historical site were two activities that the percentage levels of participation were almost double for Irish pupils (40 per cent, 46 per cent) than for international pupils (18 per cent, 24 per cent). This could be due to numerous factors such as international pupils may have limited access to records or documents regarding their family

[90] Wright (1997) argues that the terms 'significant' and 'non-significant' have different meanings when used inside and outside of the social sciences. He argues that the terms 'effect detected' and 'effect not detected' are more appropriate, but because of their wide spread usage, the former, traditional terms are deem acceptable. This research tends to agree with Wright and uses the more traditional terms.

history; because they are living in a foreign country they may not have the same level of contact with family members or simply they have greater connections with their family history and there has been no need to seek out a better understanding of the history of their family. Also, international pupils lower levels of visiting museums or historic site may be because these representations of history are concerned with Irish history and Irish culture and international pupils may not have an interest in visiting them. There may be a relationship between the possible low levels of parental or guardian interest in Irish history (specifically in museums and historic sites) and the level of participation of pupils. The research did attempt to gauge international pupils' parents' and guardians' perceptions of sources of history, but regrettably, the return rate of parent/guardian questionnaires was poor. Numbers from the parent/guardian questionnaire demonstrates similar results: 4 out of 13 parents/guardians indicated visiting a museum or historic site in the last twelve months and only 1 out of 13 parents/guardians said that they looked into their family history in the last twelve months.

Additionally, although looking at photographs of family and friends were both activities that Irish and international pupils participated in at a high level, international pupils may not have the same level of access to photographs of friends and families from their former country as Irish pupils. Photographs may have been left behind, destroyed or never existed depending on the level of poverty or situation in which some immigrant families may have left their former country.

Gender

The research also investigated Irish and international pupils' participation in activities relating to history with regards to gender (male/female). **Figure 5.5** shows the breakdown of Irish and international boys and girls in the sample.

Figure 5.5: Gender of Irish and International Pupils (n = 371)

	Male	Female
Irish Pupils	34% (90)	66% (175)
International Pupils	39.6% (42)	60.4% (64)

To no great surprise, activities linked to personal association and visual representations were the activities most participated in for both males and females (see **Figure 5.6**). Although in different order, Irish and international males and Irish and international females participated in the same four activities the most: looking at photos with family members, looking at photos of friends, taking photos to remember an occasion and watching movies or TV about history. It seems that family and friendship associations along with visual representations of the past tended to be the activities that pupils participated in moat often regardless of gender. Although, generally speaking males and females tended to participate in the same activities at the same level, some differences did appear.

re 5.6: Percentage of International and Irish Pupils Who Have Done the Following in the Past 12 Months by Gender

	Males		Females	
	Irish	Int.*	Irish	Int.
ed at old family photographs with your family	59%	33%	56%	50%
ed at any photographs of friends that were taken in the past	53	45	86	59
ı any photographs so that you can remember an occasion	86	83	94	84
hed movies or television programs about history	76	67	75	48
ded a gathering to see family members that you have not seen in some	43	21	53	36
ded a gathering of a club or group that you used to belong to in the past	14	17	13	13
ed a history museum or historic site	46	31	46	20
any non-fiction books about history	37	33	27	23
any fiction books about history	42	31	34	25
ipated in any hobbies or worked on any collections related to the past	30	31	14	22
ed into the history of your family or worked on a family tree	30	19	43	17
a regular diary	4	12	19	44
ıg to a group inside or outside of school that studies, preserves, or nts things in history	9	5	2	8

ndicates International Pupil,
ı = 372

To further explore the possibility in the difference between Irish males and Irish females in the participation in activities regarding history a Chi-squared test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) was used to indicate a significant association. Out of the thirteen activities the test indicated a statistical difference in five activities: looked at photos of friend from the past χ^2 (1, n =265) = 34.5, p = .000, phi = -.361; Taken photos to remember an occasion, χ^2 (1, n =265) = 4.80, p = .028, phi = -.135; participation in hobbies, χ^2 (1, n =265) = 10.14, p = .001, phi = .196; keep a regular diary, χ^2 (1, n =265) = 10.86, p = .001, phi = -.202; and attended a gathering of a club, χ^2 (1, n =265) = 5.99, p = .014, phi = .150. Out of these five activities Irish males demonstrated a higher percentage of participation in belonging to a history groups and participating in a hobby or collection regarding the past.[91]

The Chi-squared test for independence indicated a significant statistical difference in only one of the thirteen activities for international males and international females: keeping a regular diary, χ^2 (1, n = 106) = 12.0, p = .001, phi = -.336. Percentages show that international females participated in keeping a diary at the highest level of any group in the study.

Further analysis of the possible significance between Irish and international male pupils demonstrates a statistical difference in two activities: looked at old family photos, χ^2 (1, n= 132) = 7.48, p = .006, phi = 238; and attended a gathering to see family members, χ^2 (1, n = 132) = 5.94, p = .015, phi = .212. For both of these activities, Irish males demonstrated higher participation levels than international pupils. Again, a possible explanation for the lower level of participation of international male pupils in attending family gatherings may be that they migrated to

[91] Of the Irish males that indicated what hobby they were involved in, 13 out of 18 indicated a hobby that was sports related.

Ireland with only their immediate family and are unable to return to their former country because of political or economic situations.

Analysis showed a statistical difference, on a wider variety of activities Irish and international female pupils participated in. Chi-squared test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) was used to indicate a significant association in seven out of thirteen activities the questionnaire inquired about. These included: looked at photos of friends, χ^2 (1, n = 239) = 20.51, p = .000, phi = .293; watched a movie or TV program about history, χ^2 (1, n = 239) = 14.98, p = .000, phi = .250; take photos to remember an occasion, χ^2 (1, n = 239) = 5.10, p = .024, phi = .146, attended a gathering to see family members, χ^2 (1, n = 239) = 5.19, p = .023, phi = .147; visit a museum or historical site, χ^2 (1, n = 239) = 13.25, p = .000, phi = .235; looked into family history, χ^2 (1, n = 239) = 13.41, p = .000, phi = .237; keep a regular diary, χ^2 (1, n = 239) = 14.30, p = .000, phi = -.246; and belong to a history group, χ^2 (1, n = 239) = 3.95, p = .047, phi = -.129.

Irish female pupils demonstrated higher percentages of participation in five out of the seven activities that showed a statistical significance. Only belonging to a history group and keeping a regular dairy were activities that international female pupils showed a higher percentage. Although there was statistical significance for belonging to a history group, this activity ranked last for both Irish and international female pupils. On the other hand keeping a regular diary ranked ninth in participation for Irish females (19 per cent), whereas it ranked fourth overall for international female pupils (44 per cent). Furthermore, out of all of the sub groups that were used in the analysis of the statistics, international female pupils showed the highest percentage of participation for keeping a regular diary.

Ethnicity: Black/White

To find out more than just the possible differences between Irish and international pupils the research also analysed the data gathered in terms of ethnicity, specifically the possibilities of differences between black and white respondents. **Figure 5.7** compares the participation of Black and White pupils in the sample of the thirteen activities the research inquired about. Over the past twelve months white pupils in the sample showed a higher level of participation in nine out of thirteen activities related to history then international pupils.

Figure 5.7: Percentage of Pupils Who Have Done the Following in the Past 12 Months.

	Black	White	$p =$
Taken any photographs so that you can remember an occasion	75%	91%	.001
Watched movies or television programs about history	54	73	.007
Looked at any photographs of friends that were taken in the past	48	73	.000
Looked at old family photographs with your family	40	56	.042
Attended a gathering to see family members that you have not seen in some time	23	48	.001
Visited a history museum or historic site	17	44	.000
Looked into the history of your family or worked on a family tree	15	35	.004
Read any fiction books about history	29	35	NS
Read any non-fiction books about history	27	30	NS
Participated in any hobbies or worked on any collections related to the past	21	20	NS
Keep a regular diary	37	16	.000
Attended a gathering of a club or group that you used to belong to in the past	15	14	NS
Belong to a group inside or outside of school that studies, preserves, or presents things in history	6	5	NS

Note: p results from χ^2 test for independence, Black = 52, White = 302, NS = no significance.

The analysis through Chi-squared test for independence for black and white pupils shows much the same results as the Irish/international pupils. This may be due to the fact that all of the pupils that identified themselves as 'black' (n = 50), were international pupils and the majority of Irish pupils identified themselves as being 'white' (n=257). In fact the only ethnicity other than white that Irish pupils identified themselves as was Asian (n = 1) and Other (n = 2). This shows that ethnic lines for the sample of pupils in this research can be closely drawn with the boundaries of being an

Irish or international pupil. It must be noted that two activities showed a statistical significance in the analysis between ethnic groups that did not in the Irish/International pupil analysis. These activities were attending a gathering to see family, χ^2 (1, n = 354) = 10.90, p = .001; and taking photos to remember an occasion, χ^2 (1, n = 11.42), p = .001.

Furthermore, the potential reason for the exclusion of the Polish pupils causing a statistical significance in the Chi-squared test could be that Polish immigrants, logistically speaking, may have an easier time connecting with a larger group of relatives. For example, Poland is geographically closer to Ireland and is an EU member state and therefore travel between the countries may be easier (i.e. no visas are required and shorter travel time); this may have lead to more members of Polish families to move to Ireland, therefore there may be greater opportunity for contact with family members (immediate and extended).[92]

These numbers also raise the point that white international pupils may participate and identify closer with Irish pupils because of their shared ethnicity (i.e. white) than black pupils.

Length of Time Living in Ireland

Because the sample included international pupils who have lived in Ireland for varying periods of time, the research investigated if there were differences between pupils who had been living in Ireland for a short period and those would had lived in Ireland longer. The research broke down international pupils into two sub-groups defined by the years they have lived in Ireland: 0-2 years (n = 40) and 3-5 years (n =

[92] African countries represented six out of the top eight countries of origin of separated children who applied for asylum from 1998-2002. This demonstrates that some black children from African countries may not have the family structure or support that many white immigrant children migrating from inside the EU may have. Poland was not in the top eight countries.

45).[93] For connivance, the pupils in the 0-2 years group are referred to as 'New' pupils and the pupils in the 3-5 years group are referred to as 'Old' pupils. Over all pupils who have lived in Ireland longer showed higher levels of participation in activities than pupils who have lived in Ireland for shorter periods.

Figure 5.8 shows the percentages of participation in activities regarding history and the results of the Chi-squared test for independence.

Figure 5.8: Percentage of International Pupils Who Have Done the Following in the Past 12 Months by Years Living in Ireland.

	0-2 years	3-5 years	p =
Taken any photographs so that you can remember an occasion	70.0%	88.9%	.030
Watched movies or television programs about history	47.5	64.4	NS
Looked at any photographs of friends that were taken in the past	47.5	53.3	NS
Looked at old family photographs with your family	40.0	37.8	NS
Attended a gathering to see family members that you have not seen in some time	25.0	28.9	NS
Visited a history museum or historic site	12.5	31.1	.040
Looked into the history of your family or worked on a family tree	15.0	20.0	NS
Read any fiction books about history	15.0	28.9	NS
Read any non-fiction books about history	20.0	31.1	NS
Participated in any hobbies or worked on any collections related to the past	10.0	35.6	.006
Keep a regular diary	17.5	42.2	.014
Attended a gathering of a club or group that you used to belong to in the past	17.5	11.1	NS
Belong to a group inside or outside of school that studies, preserves, or presents things in history	2.5	8.9	NS

Note: p results from χ^2 test for independence, 0-2 years = 40, 3-5 years = 45.

The Chi-squared test indicated a significant association between being a New or Old pupil and participating in the following activities: Taking photos to remember an occasion, χ^2 (1, n = 85) = 4.72, p = .030, phi = -.236; visiting a history museum or historic site, χ^2 (1, n = 85) = 4.23, p = .040, phi = -.223; participating in hobbies to do with history, χ^2 (1, n = 85) = 7.69, p = .006, phi = -.301; and keeping a regular diary, χ^2 (1, n = 85) = 6.10, p = .014, phi = -.268.

[93] It must be noted that there were pupils in the study that have been living in Ireland for longer than five years but the numbers were not significant enough to use in any greater form than descriptive statistical analysis.

To further investigate the relationship between these categories (gender, ethnicity, Irish/International), the research used non-parametric binary logistical regression to test models to predict categorical outcomes. Although there is a large family of logistical regression procedures available, the researcher used a Forced Entry Method of logistical regression with dichotomous dependent variables (e.g. yes or no). The activities that demonstrated statistical significance in the Chi-squared tests above were used in the predictive models used in logistical regression. Answering yes or no to participating in the activity in the last twelve months was used as the dichotomous dependent variable (e.g. have you visited a museum or historical site in the past twelve months?) while gender, ethnicity and being Irish or international were used as independent variables. In general, Irish pupils showed a stronger likelihood of participating in the activities investigated than international pupils. The only exception to this was keeping a regular diary.

For example, a Direct Logistical Regression model which contained three independent variables (gender, ethnicity and Irish/International) was statistically significant, indicating that the model was able to distinguish between respondents who reported and did not report keeping a regular diary in the past twelve months. Only two of the independent variables (gender and Irish/International) made a unique statistically significant contribution to the model. Gender was the strongest predictor reporting keeping a regular diary, which indicates that female pupils had an increased probability of keeping a regular diary over male pupils. The other significant categorical variable (Irish/International) showed that international pupils are more likely to answer yes to the question of whether they keep a regular diary or not than Irish pupils. These findings along with the Chi-square analysis above demonstrates that international female pupils tended to keep a regular dairy more than any other

group surveyed. Keeping a regular diary was the only activity in which international pupils showed a statistically significant higher participation rate than Irish pupils.

Further logistical regression models, which were statistically significant, indicated that that Irish pupils had a higher likelihood of indicated they participated in a variety of activities over the past twelve months. For example, the model indicated that Irish pupils were over two times more likely to indicate that they watched a movie or TV programme about history than international pupils. A further model also indicated that Irish pupils were over two times more likely to indicate that they had visited a history museum or historic site in the last twelve months than international pupils. Even more significant was that Irish pupils were four times more likely to indicate they had gathered with family members that they had not see in some time than international pupils and four times more likely to indicate they looked into the history of their family or worked on a family tree. This suggests that Irish pupils have more opportunities to interact with their extended families.

Further models demonstrated that gender as a predictor was a significant factor in the likelihood of participating in an activity. For instance, a model showed a strong indication that female pupils were more likely to indicate they looked at any photographs of friends that were taken in the past in the last twelve months than male pupils. Also, the likelihood of indicating that they looked at photos of friends was over two times greater for Irish pupils than for international pupils. In other words, Irish female pupils had the strongest likelihood of indicating they looked at photos of friends than any other group in the research. Gender as an indictor also arose in the regression model which found that male pupils were two and a half times more likely to indicate that they participated in any hobbies or worked on any collections related to the past.

The only activity where ethnicity of the pupils indicated a statistical significance was in taking photographs to remember an occasion. According to the model, White pupils were four times more likely to indicate that they took photos to remember an occasion than black pupils. This may be because the majority of White pupils in the study were Irish.

Over all there can be some basic conclusions that can be taken from the analysis of the activities of pupils. First, for the most part, pupils did engage with history through a variety of activities ranging from taking photos to keeping diaries. Also these activities involve not only the engagement with existing representations and sources of the past (e.g. looking at photos and watching movies), but also with the actively creating and preserving representations of the past (e.g. taking photos, keeping diaries, working on collections). Second, the activities that pupils participated in the most tended to relate to people that they have a personal connection (e.g. family and friends) and visual sources and representation of the past. Finally, distinctions between pupils depended on, for the most part, whether pupils were Irish or international. Although gender and ethnicity were significant determinants in the level of participation in a few activities, over all Irish pupils showed statistically significant higher levels of participation in the most activities than international pupils. Again, the only activity that international pupils showed a higher level of participation according to statistical significance, was keeping a regular diary. This points to a possible dichotomy between Irish and international pupils and the activities related to history they participate in.

Most Important History

What was the Most Important History for Pupils?

The research also wanted to investigate what history pupils felt was the most important to them. Question (11) attempted to get at how pupils thought about history by asking them which history was most important to them: that of their family, the history of Ireland, of their racial or ethnic group, of their local community or village, of their religion, the history of Europe or the history of another country. **Figure 5.9** shows that 46 per cent of pupils named the history of their family most important; 25 per cent named the history of Ireland, and 9 per cent named the history of Europe (the remaining histories recorded < 7 per cent of the total).

Figure 5.9: The Most Important History for Pupils (n = 372)

Family History

Regardless of gender, ethnicity, or being Irish or International, family history was named as the most important history. To put it simply, almost half of the pupils in the study indicated the importance of the history of their family. This is congruent with Rosenzweig and Thalen's (2000) and Epstein's (2000) research in to pupils perspectives in the US which found that respondents found, overall, family history to be more important than national history, history of ethnic or racial group or history of ones religion. This level of importance may indicate a relationship between activities related to history and what history is the most important. For example, pupils may deem family history the most important because they participate in activities with their family where they develop connection with the history of their family. Assuming this is true, this points to the significant influence family may have on what activities pupils may or may not participate in and what histories might influence how they mediate their everyday lives. This also indicates the importance of a pupil's sociocultural background in shaping their identity and how they view history.

Figure 5.10: Most Important History

History	Total Sample	Irish	Int.	White	Black	Male	Female	New	Old
Family	46%	49%	37%	47%	40%	34%	54%	22%	38%
Ireland	25	34	0	30	0	30	23	0	0
Race/Ethnicity	2	2	3	2	8	2	2	6	3
Locality	3	2	4	2	10	4	2	6	5
Religion	4	3	9	3	15	7	2	9	8
Europe	9	6	18	9	10	12	8	12	24
Former County	6	-	23	5	8	6	7	42	14
Other	4	4	6	4	10	6	3	0	8

Although family history was seen as the most important for both groups, Irish pupils demonstrated a higher level of naming family history as the most important (49

per cent) than international pupils (37 per cent). A Chi-squared test indicates that that there is a significant association between being either an Irish or international pupil and naming family history as the most important χ^2 (1, n = 372) = 7.53, p = .006, phi = .143. These numbers indicate the deep connection that pupils have with sources of history outside of the school walls (i.e. informal history).

The research also investigated the naming of a history as important based on the gender of pupils. **Figure 5.10** shows that 54 per cent of females named family history while only 34 per cent males named family history. A Chi-squared test indicates that there is a significant association between gender and naming family history as the most important; χ^2 (n = 372) = 8.80, p = .003, phi = -.154.

Out of all of the sub-groups, 54 per cent of females (the highest percentage) named family history as the most important. Furthermore, 52 per cent of Irish females (91) named family history whereas 34 per cent of international females (23) name family as the most important. A Chi-squared test for independence (including Cramer's V for effect) indicated a significant association between Irish females and international females and naming family history as the most important, χ^2 (n = 239) = 4.85, p = .028, phi = .142. On the other hand, only 34 per cent of males named family history as the most important; 34 per cent of Irish males and 24 per cent of international males, (χ^2, $p > .05$).

Direct statistical regression was also performed to assess the impact of a number of factors on the likelihood that respondents would name family history as the most important history. The model indicated that female pupils were more likely to name their family history as the most important history than male pupils. Also, the model showed that Irish pupils were two and a half times more likely to indicate family history as the most important history than international pupils. In other words,

Irish females tended to be the most likely to indicate an importance their family history.

Data from the questionnaires showed that the majority of pupils found that their family history was, for the most part the most important to them. This also came through in the discussions with pupils in the interviews. For example, Lauren, from Nigeria, talked about the importance of knowing your family history:

> *it is good to know the history of your family; you know the history of those around your family you will learn about the place you are staying yourself. So it is like if you don't know your family it is of no use learning the history of things. Something like that* (Interview).

For pupils in the interviews, parents were a 'gateway' to learning about other histories. When asked about the importance of learning history, Megan, Jason and Sean, Second years from Nigeria who had been living in Ireland for three, five and four years, talked about how they learned about history from the parents:

Sean: *it is to know more about your parents.*

Jason: *or more about other generations, about old people who went before, or people who went since the old days before my mum.*

Interviewer: *so you think your family history is important?*

All: *yes.*

Interviewer: *why do you think so?*

Jason: *I don't know much about my family, so how things work, how they are living, just about other things.*

(Interview)

It is quite possible that many of the pupils interviewed had limited contact with older generations of their family still living in their former countries. Also, they may have been too young to remember much of their extended family prior to migrating to Ireland. This may indicate the importance of parents as the main source of historical knowledge about their family heritage. Some pupils were more explicit about the

level of importance of their family history than others. For example while Adam, from Georgia, believed that "out of any history, my family history is 99 per cent important"; Jeff, from Armenia, viewed it differently. While he talked about his grandfather who fought in the Second World War, where he lost his leg, he did not indicate the same level of importance in the history of his family as Adam. Jeff did know about older generations, but for him it was more subtle, it was not something that he shared with everyone:

> *sometimes you get to speak with intelligent people and that is the kind of conversation that you have so that is when it becomes really important to a person. Like on the street you would not say for example you would not say 'oh, my grandfather was in the war'* (Interview).

It is possible that family history was as important for Jeff as if was for Adam, but just in a different way. Jeff may not have thought or talked about the history of his family on a regular basis, but this does not mean that it influenced his life any less than other Adam, for example. This may highlight the manner in which pupils understand and view history, especially family history. Some pupils may wear their history 'on their sleeve' as it were, explicitly thinking and talking about it on a regular basis; defining who they are based on this history. Other pupils may know a lot about their family history, but not see it as the defining influence of who they are which does not mean it is not important; rather it has a more subtle affect on how pupils see who they are and how they moderate their everyday life.

There was also an indication that pupils not only learned about the history of their family and past generations but also the history of their former country from their parents. For example, many pupils talked about asking their parents about the history of their former country. In many cases this was the only historical information pupils would get. For example, Toni and Lauren, both from Nigeria, said that their families were their only source of Nigerian history. As they both explained "it is just

what my family says" (Interview). Mike, from Romania, believed it was important that he spoke with his father about the history of his family and the history of Romania, so that he could remember the history of his former country.

From what the pupils discussed and the results from the larger survey, it is safe to assume that family history is an important part of international pupils' lives. For many of them it is the only familiar connection with the history of their family. This is also significant in the sense that if international pupils' sources of informal history are limited to their parents or guardians who, for the most part, come from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds other than a 'Irish' identity, this may have an impact on international pupils' understanding of the past and their mediation process. Simply put, international pupils may have a different mediation process than Irish pupils.

National History

Figure 5.10 also shows that national history also played a part in pupils' connection with the past. National history was ranked second only to family history as the most important for every group excluding 'New' pupils which ranked national history at 42 per cent and family history at 22 per cent. Although a national history was second only to family history for both Irish and international pupils, it was which national history makes these findings significant. A Chi-squared test for independence indicated a significant association between being an Irish or international pupils and naming the history Ireland as the most important history; χ^2 (1, n = 372) = 44.48, p = .000, phi = .346. Simply put, Irish pupils found the history of Ireland more important than international pupils do.

A breakdown of those pupils who named Irish history the most important shows that 41 per cent of Irish male pupils named the history of Ireland as the most

important, while only 27 per cent of Irish female pupils named Irish history as the most important. A Chi-squared test for independence indicated a significant association between being an Irish male or Irish female and naming the history Ireland as the most important history; χ^2 (1, n = 265) = 5.11, p = .024, phi = .139.

While 23 per cent of international pupils named the history of their former country as the most important, not a single international pupil, regardless of ethnicity, gender, what country they immigrated from, whether they were studying history in school or the amount of time they had lived in Ireland, named the history of Ireland as the most important to them. The history of their former country was the second most important history based on percentage choosing for all international sub-groups; male/female, Black/White and Old. They only sub group that named the history of their former country as the most important were the 'New' group, or international pupils who have lived in Ireland for two years or less. This may point to the fact that recently arrived international pupils into Ireland may still have stronger connection with the history of their former country; whereas international pupils who have lived in Ireland for a longer period named their family history as the most important, and may find less connection with the history of their former country. A Chi-squared test for independence indicated a significant association between being a New or Old pupil and naming your country of origin as the most important history; χ^2 (1, n = 85) = 6.96, p = .008, phi = -.286.

Although the history of their former country ranked second based on percentages choosing for the remaining sub-groups of international pupils, there were some indications of difference. For example, 36 per cent of white international pupils named the history of their country of origin as the most important, while only 6 per cent of black international pupils named their country of origin as important. A Chi-

squared test indicated a significant association between ethnicity of international pupils and naming one's country of origin as the most important; χ^2 (1, n = 91) = 13.32, p = .000, phi = -.383.

To further explore any relationship between international pupils and the history of their former countries, a logistical regression model was employed. The strongest predictor naming the history of one's former country as the most important, indicated that white international pupils were 16 times more likely to indicate history of their former country than black international pupils. Furthermore, the New/Old predictor indicated that 'New' international pupils had an increased probability of naming the history of their former country as the most important history than 'Old' international pupils. Based on this analysis, it could be said with some confidence that white international pupils who have lived in Ireland for two years or less tend to have a strong connection to the history of their former country than white international pupils who have lived here between three to five years. This may indicate that pupils newly arrived to Ireland may still deem the history of their former country as the most important. Reasons for this could range from that they were recently learning about their national history in their former school or while living in their home country exposed to sources of national history, ranging from museums, monuments, and historic sites to books, movies and TV programmes about their former countries history. The research did not investigate international pupils' prior experiences with formal history education in their former counties. They may be a connection between how and why national history was taught in their formal schools and what history they feel is the most important.

The results of the interviews also pointed to the high level of importance pupils placed on the history of their former country. When they talked about learning

history from their parents, many pupils mentioned that they often talked about the history of their former country and what it was like to live there. Jason and Sean, Nigerians in Second year who had lived here for two and four years respectively, talk about how they would ask their parents about the history of Nigeria and that this history was very important to them, even though they were not living there and that they may never go back. Adam, from Georgia, spoke about a relationship between family history and national history:

> *When you are in your own country you represent your own family, and if you are out of your country you represent your own country. So that makes you think about how you represent your country. If you are touch with your own country people, how polite or how gentlemanly you are, you know you represent your family* (Interview).

Adam saw himself as a representative of his family when he was in his former country and a representative of his country while he was living in Ireland. This may suggest that national and family histories are intertwined. Pupils may see national celebrations or memorials to an event or person in national history as a part of family history. For example in the US, remembering Independence Day may involve gathering with family, pupils may view the family gathering to be more important than remembering the national history. They may also link the two together and not see them as separate histories, one may not be any less important than the other.

Like Adam, many pupils displayed a sense of pride in being from another country whether they were from Eastern Europe or Africa, and remembering their national history was part of keeping a connection with their former country. For Adam, the history of Georgia was what reminded him that he was Georgian; "it is the thing that keeps pulling back and keeps reminding me that I am Georgian and stuff because it is my history" (Interview). It was clear that he had pride in the history of both his family and country. There was some irony in the sense that no pupils spoke

negatively about their former country; they did not talk about why they were forced to leave their countries. Most pupils had a high level of pride in being from their country, and were in no way critical of the situations in their former countries which may have forced them to migrate to Ireland. This is not to say that a criticality was absent from how international pupils viewed their former country, rather it did not come up in the discussions in the interviews.

Ashley, a Fifth year from Ghana, who had been living in Ireland for just over a year, also talked about how the history of Ghana was important to her; "because like in some past years Ghana was in slavery and then they got their independence and you know there was gold and now there is not much gold there, so I think that it is more personal..." (Interview). Lauren, from Nigeria, felt the same way about the history of her former country: "it is important because it makes you enlightened and gives you the knowledge of what happened before" (Interview). Pupils also saw that the history of their country was going to be important for them as they grew older. For instance, several pupils talked about if they stayed in Ireland it would be important that their children knew about the history of their former country and, not only that, they believed that their traditions and cultures must also be passed down to the next generation, much the same way they were being passed to them.

The research also wanted to better understand international pupils' view of Irish history. In the interviews, when asked what they thought about knowing the history of Ireland, the majority of pupils were aware of the importance of learning and understanding Irish history. Many pupils viewed Ireland as their new home, and they believed it was important to know the history of their new home. For example, Brian, from Rwanda, illustrated this understanding:

> *I know that I am not totally Irish, but say that you go to another country and they say 'where are you from?' and you think 'okay, where is home,*

> *where am I from? Okay, Ireland.' You might think Ireland is not your home but it is your home in a way* (Interview).

Lindsay, from the Congo, talked about how she was unable to return home, and that Ireland was her new home, and therefore she should know about its history if she was going to be a part of society. For her, knowing the history of the place one lives is important:

> *tomorrow for example, if you are living in Paris or the UK and you have been living here for maybe six years and people can ask you some stuff about Ireland and you don't know and you have no idea that's just sort of... I think it is good to know* (Interview).

Although Lindsay and Brian both understood the importance of knowing Irish history, their understanding of *why* they should know the history was not any more refined than this. They understood that if you live in a country, you need to know its history, but they did not talk about why or how you use this history. This was the general understanding of most of the pupils in the interviews. Knowing Irish history while living in Ireland was what you 'just did'. It would be safe to say that if this research took place in Australia or Canada, international pupils might have said that learning Australian or Canadian history was important; simply because that was the country they were living in. Only a small number of pupils offered a deeper explanation of knowing and understanding the history of Ireland. Troy, from Nigeria, explained it in these terms:

> *I think it is important, you know, because like no matter like what they are doing to you, if we can know history we can do better and say 'oh maybe that is the reason why they are acting like this'. They know what they are doing back and what they are doing now* (Interview).

Troy saw knowing Irish history as a means to better understand Irish culture and society. He understood that knowing the past may better help explain the situations in contemporary Irish society. Allison, a Fifth year from Nigeria who had lived in Ireland for two years at the time of the interviews, believed that knowing more about

Irish history would allow her to fit with Irish society, "because I want to live here so it is important to know. So like you are adapting to the system of Ireland..." (Interview).

Additionally, several pupils saw the learning of Irish history in practical terms. For example, Jason, from Nigeria, believed that it would help him with employment in the future: "you need to know about Irish history because when you go and get a job it might be about history or something. They might ask you a question about Irish history" (Interview). Many pupils understood knowing Irish history as a way to fit in, to know the history that Irish people know. If they didn't know it, then they may be excluded in some way. Brian from Rwanda, talked about understanding the present situation of Ireland as a country by understanding its past; "I think it is good to know all the history of the country [Ireland]. I think when you study history you understand the country's relationships more better" (Interview). Brian was one of the few pupils that understood that knowing the history of Ireland may enable him to better understand Irish culture as a whole and the present situations Ireland faces as a society. Also, there was no indication of learning Irish because it was a attractive in its own right.

European History

Figure 5.10 demonstrates that European history ranked third in the level of importance based on the percentage choosing for the following groups of pupils: Irish, international, white, males, females and 'New'. It ranked as the second highest based on the percentages choosing for the 'Old' group and ranked fourth overall for black pupils along with the history of locality and Other history. The history of Europe seemed to be more important for international pupils than for Irish pupils. For example, 18 per cent of international pupils and 6 per cent of Irish pupils named the

history of Europe the most important. According to a Chi-squared test there is a significant association with being either an Irish or international pupil and naming European history as the most important; χ^2 (1, n = 372) = 8.62, p = .003, phi = -.152. The most interesting statistic was that out of the 18 international pupils who named the history of Europe as the most important, half were from non-EU countries, and out of that half 4 (one-quarter of the total) were from African countries.

In the interviews, there were several pupils that said that they felt a certain level of 'Europeaness'. For example, Brian from Rwanda, Adam from Georgia and Lindsay, from the Congo, saw themselves in a broader context of being European. It may be quite unique for Brain and Lindsay to feel this way because they were originally from African countries, but they were both from former European colonies and they explained that they learned a lot about Europe when they were in school; "in my country we would study many countries. When I was 13 I knew Europe" and "yeh, in Africa we studied a lot about Europe and America, but we don't do Africa here" (Interviews). This may explain why many African pupils indicated the importance of European history in the larger survey. Many of the African pupils talked about how schools in Ireland were structured in the same way as schools in their former country.

Statistical regression was performed to assess the impact of a number of factors on the likelihood that respondents would name European history as the most important history. The full model indicated that international pupils have an increased probability of naming European history as the most important over Irish pupils. For the other significant categorical variable (ethnicity: Black/White) showed that White pupils are more likely to answer yes to the question of European history being the most important. Furthermore, the ethnicity predictor indicated that White pupils were

over four times more likely to indicate that the history of Europe was the most important than Black pupils.

This suggests that White international pupils may have a stronger connection to European history than other pupils represented in the research. This comes as no surprise; the majority of the White international pupils in the study were from eastern European countries. It is not hard to believe that the history of their country would be part of a larger European history narrative. This may also suggest the importance of national history in the sense that European history is a 'vehicle' in which to learn about their national history. The presence of a large number of eastern European pupils in schools in Ireland might indicate a need for a possible shift towards including more European history in history curricula.

History of Religion

The history of religion was ranked fifth out of all possible histories based on the percentage choosing it as the most important for the total sample. International pupils showed a higher percentage of choosing it (9 per cent) than Irish pupils (3 per cent). The group that showed the highest percentage for naming the history of religion the most important were black pupils (15 per cent), while females exhibited the lowest percentage of naming it as the most important (2 per cent) along with race or ethnicity (2 per cent) and locality (2 per cent). The relationship between pupils, religion and history is unclear. For the most part, pupils may not get exposed to the history of their religion, rather to religion itself (i.e. its teachings, organisations and rituals); pupils may implicitly learn about through their religious experiences. They may deem it important simply because religion itself is important. It is not hard to understand that in societies such as Northern Ireland or Israel for example, where conflict and religion can be good bed-fellows, pupils are often influenced by 'socio-religious' ideas. But

what was unclear was what role historical content of religion have in shaping the mediation process of pupils.

A Chi-squared test of independence found a statistical association between the following variables and naming the history of religion as the most important: being an Irish or international pupil χ^2 (1, n = 372) = 4.61, p = .032, phi = -.111; ethnicity (Black/White), χ^2 (1, n = 354) = 9.23, p = .002, phi = .162; and gender, χ^2 (1, n = 372) = 5.23, p = .022, phi = .119. Furthermore a direct statistical regression model indicated that male pupils have an increased probability of naming the history of religion as the most important over female pupils. Also, the gender predictor indicated that male pupils were over 4 times more likely to indicate that the history of their religion as the most important history than female pupils.

In the interviews, not one pupil talked about the history of their religion. This may not be an indication that religion was not an important part of international pupils' lives; rather their interaction with religion may work on a different level. It is possible that pupils don't think about or understand religion historically, rather it is a part of their present. Pupils may know the day to day, contemporary rituals of their religion, but may not have learned the actually history of their religion. Furthermore, pupils' historical understanding of their religion may be tied in with other histories, for example, events in the history of their family may have involved their religion (e.g. weddings, funerals, and so on). Pupils may see these as part of family history, rather than religious history. Just as national and family history may be linked, religion may exist in this constellation of histories. In Ireland, for example, the predominant role that the Catholic Church has played throughout Irish history, may mean that Irish pupils may blur the lines between the histories of religion, Ireland and family.

History of Race or Ethnicity

Figure 5.10 shows that the history of race or ethnicity was named the least important history for the total sample (2 per cent). It was also the least important history for Irish pupils (2 per cent) (along with the history of the local community or village, 2 per cent). This was also the ranking for white pupils. A Chi-squared test for independence found no significant association between being an Irish or international pupils and naming race or ethnic history as the most important.

Although international pupils ranked Irish history as the lowest, the history of race or ethnicity was ranked second to last for all sub-groups of international pupils; White (0 per cent), Black (6 per cent), Female (3 per cent), Male (2 per cent), New (5 per cent), and Old (2 per cent). A Chi-squared also showed no significance of association between any of these sub-groups of international pupils and the naming of race or ethnic history as the most important, which points out the potential low level importance ethnic history plays in the lives of pupils.

In the interviews, there was little indication that the history of ethnicity was an important part of international pupils' identity. For example, Rich, from Nigeria, was the only pupil in the interviews who saw the history of his ethnicity as the most important:

> *yeh like you have to know your past to know your future. If I know about my past I know how to tackle things in the future , I know how to break down obstacles. So ya know I would say my ethnicity because it's... it's kind of my past in a way. You have to know where you are coming from to know where to go* (Interview).

He spoke about obstacles that he faced; and, although, he was not specific about what these were, he may have been referring to some form of racism. Some caution must be taken when talking about ethnicity with Nigerian pupils. Many pupils talked about

how in Nigeria there are many different tribes and languages and the issue of ethnicity may be a part of this diversity. It was unclear of what ethnicity Rich was referring to, was it that he was Black living in a predominately White society or was he referring to an ethnic group unique to Nigeria? Unfortunately, when asked to explain his ethnicity further, Rich was unclear.

Again these result may be a clear indication that pupils interact and understand history in terms of Irish/international (or in other words as either an immigrant or a native) rather than in ethnic terms. If this is the case, this indicates the somewhat uniqueness of the situation in Ireland and how education (especially history education) handles the influx of new peoples. Unlike the US, for instance, where black history is part of a larger national history which is based in large part on ethnic background, the place of the history of international pupils in Ireland may be based more on national histories.

History of Local Community or Village

The history of pupils' local community or village was also given a low rank based on the percentage of pupils naming it as the most important history. **Figure 5.10** shows that it ranked second to last in level of importance (3 per cent) just about race or ethnic history for the total sample. For the majority of groups regardless of being Irish or international, male or female, and white pupils, the history of local community or village demonstrated a low percentage.

Although it was afforded a low ranking there are some interesting results from the statistical analysis. While a Chi-squared test for independence showed no statistical significant association between being an Irish or international pupil, Male/Female, or New/Old ($\chi^2, p > .000$), there was, however, statistical significant association between ethnicity (black/white) and naming local community or village

history as important, χ^2 (1, n = 354) = 6.53, p = .011, phi = .136. Out of all the groups Black pupils ranked the history of locality highest (10 per cent) equal to the history of Europe (10 per cent) and Other (10 per cent). Couple this with the Chi-squared significance, and the fact that all of the Black respondents were international pupils, and one might be able to say that international Black pupils may have a stronger connection to local community history than other groups of pupils. This may occur because immigrant groups in general tend to live in closer communities (geographically or otherwise) and African communities may have even closer associations. This might point to the importance of history of the local *Black* or *African* community which is more recent, rather than a white and Irish history. There is the possibility for future research into this.

Pupils' Connection with History

How Connected to the Past do Pupils Feel?

To find out more than just the frequencies of activities of pupils in the past twelve months, or which history was most important to pupils, respondents were asked to use a 6-point scale (0-5) to describe the strength of their engagement with the past. The majority of respondents had no trouble in assigning a level of connection to they felt when engaged in past-related activities, ranging from talking with family members and gathering with family, to reading books and learning history on the Internet. If we decide that a choice of 4 or 5 indicates a close connection with the past, and a choice of 0 or 1 indicates little or no connection with the past, then more than half of all respondents in the study felt a strong connection with history when talking with family members, studying history in school and gathering with their family (see **Figure 5.11**).

Figure 5.11: Rank Order of Responses to the Question '*How connected to the past do you feel?*'

		Percent choosing	
	Mean	0-1	5-4
Talking with a family member about what life was like when they were young	2.52	10%	63%
Studying history in school	2.39	14	55
Gathering with your family	2.37	16	54
Watching a movie or TV program about the past	2.28	16	44
Celebrating a religious holiday	2.27	21	48
Reading about history in a history textbook	2.18	19	37
Reading a fiction book about the past	1.78	45	22
Learning about history on the Internet	1.76	45	22
Reading a non-fiction book about the past	1.70	48	18
Visiting a history museum or historic site	1.68	48	16

Note: 0-5 scale, N=372

Although pupils indicated that they were connected to the past in various settings, some of the strongest connections occurred in familial settings. Almost two-thirds of pupils indicated they felt a strong connection when taking to a family member about the past. Furthermore, more than half of the pupils in the total sample felt a strong connection when gathering with their family. At the same time, more than half of the pupils indicated a strong connection when studying history in school.

Pupils felt most unconnected to the past when they encountered it on the Internet, reading non-fiction books and visiting a history museum or historic site. In fact, the five lowest connections with the past are related to presentations or interpretations of history by 'authorities' of history; textbooks, fiction and non-fiction books, Internet and museums or historical sites. Although pupils indicated a strong level of connection when studying history in school, the indication of low levels of connections with activities associated with the methods of teaching history at the second level such as using textbooks and web based sources raises interesting issues. Is it possible that pupils may develop stronger connections with history if it is presented by a teacher they feel connected with?

Irish/International

Figure 5.12 shows that Irish and international pupils demonstrated differences in the level of connection to history. For example, over all, international pupils showed higher mean scores than Irish pupils in every category save only visiting a history museum or historic site. Furthermore, while studying history in school ranked second for Irish pupils according to mean score, it ranked fourth for international pupils; talking with family members, gathering with family and celebrating a religious holiday all ranked higher. Although there was a variation of where Irish and international pupils found strong connection with the past, reading fiction, non-fiction and history textbooks, learning about history on the Internet and visiting history museums were the bottom five activities that both Irish and international pupils indicted having weak or no connections to history.

Figure 5.12: Connections with History by Irish/International Pupil Group

	Irish	Int.	p =
Talking with a family member about what life was like when they were young	2.39	2.65	NS
Studying history in school	2.38	2.44	NS
Gathering with your family	2.31	2.56	.001
Watching a movie or TV program about the past	2.25	2.37	NS
Celebrating a religious holiday	2.20	2.46	.005
Reading about history in a history textbook	2.17	2.22	NS
Reading a fiction book about the past	1.76	1.82	NS
Learning about history on the Internet	1.72	1.88	NS
Reading a non-fiction book about the past	1.70	1.79	NS
Visiting a history museum or historic site	1.67	1.63	NS

Note: Mean scores, p score is result of Man-Whitney U Test. N=372

To further explore the possibility in the difference between Irish and international pupils in their connections with history, a Mann-Whitney U test was used to test for differences between two independent groups on a continuous measure. In this instance, the test was used to see if Irish and international pupils differ in terms of

their connection to history while participating in activities. A Mann-Whitney U test revealed a significant difference in the connection levels to history of Irish pupils (*Md* = 2.00, *n* = 264) and international pupils (*Md* = 3.00, *n* = 99), *U* = 10779, *z* = -2.8, *p* = .005, *r* = .15, while celebrating a religious holiday. In this instance international pupils showed a higher median score than that of Irish pupils.[94] A Mann-Whitney U test also revealed a significant difference in the connection levels of Irish pupils while gathering with family of (*Md* = 2.00, *n* = 262) and international pupils (*Md* = 3.00, *n* = 91), *U* = 9508, *z* = -3.2, *p* = .001, *r* = .17. Again, international pupils demonstrated a higher median score than Irish pupils. This data provides enough evidence to allow the research to accept that there is a difference between the connection levels to history of Irish and international pupils when they are celebrating a religious holiday and gathering with their families. We may be able to assume that international pupils have a stronger connection to history while participating in these activities.

Ethnicity (Black/White)

The independent variable of ethnicity (Black/White) demonstrated that the top 50 per cent of activities which pupils found a connection with history based on their ethnic background were similar to Irish/International variable: talking with family members, studying history in school, gathering with family, watching movie or TV program about the past and celebrating a religious holiday. Furthermore, just as the Irish/International variable, the bottom five activities for Black and White pupils were reading history textbooks, fiction and non-fiction books, learning history on the Internet and visiting a history museum or historic site (see **Figure 5.13**).

[94] The data analysis Cohen's (1998) criteria of .1 = small effect, .3 = medium effect, and .5 = large effect to gage the *r* value in the Mann-Whitney U tests.

Figure 5.13: Connections with History by Ethnicity (Black/White) Pupil Group

	White	Black	p =
Talking with a family member about what life was like when they were young	2.51	2.44	NS
Studying history in school	2.39	2.39	NS
Gathering with your family	2.31	2.69	.001
Watching a movie or TV program about the past	2.25	2.47	.031
Celebrating a religious holiday	2.21	2.51	.018
Reading about history in a history textbook	2.16	2.30	NS
Reading a fiction book about the past	1.76	1.85	NS
Learning about history on the Internet	1.73	2.02	.023
Visiting a history museum or historic site	1.70	1.50	NS
Reading a non-fiction book about the past	1.68	1.72	NS

Note: Mean scores, p score is result of Man-Whitney U Test. n = 354

Although Black and White pupils both identified having strong connections with history in some of the same situations, further analysis identified a large difference along ethnic lines. For example **Figure 5.13** also shows that, through a Mann-Whitney U test, significant differences in the level of connections to history were indicated between White and Black pupils for four out of ten activities. For example a Mann-Whitney U test revealed a significant difference in the connection levels to history while celebrating a religious holiday, while watching a movie or TV program about the past; while gathering with their family; and while learning history about history on the Internet. In all activities accept 'learning about history in the Internet', Black pupils showed higher median scores than White pupils.

Trust in Sources of History

What Level of Trust Do Pupils Have Sources of History?

This research also felt it necessary to gauge pupils' level of 'trust' in sources in which they interact or exposed to perceptions of history. Pupils had no trouble indicating what level of trust on a 6-point scale (0 – 5). If we decide that a choice of 4 or 5 indicates a strong level of trust in the source about the past, and a choice of 0 or 1

indicates little or no trust in the source about the past, then more than half of all respondents in the study felt a higher level of trust in grandparents and museums or historical sites as sources of history (see **Figure 5.15**). Furthermore, out of the top six sources, five were in relation to a person or people, indicating that pupils may have a stronger trust in people that they feel close to or they have regular interaction with. What was also interesting was that although museums or historical sites ranked second as the most trustworthy source of history, it ranked last in the level of connection with history for pupils (see **Figure 5.12**). This may indicate that while pupils trust museums and historical sites as accurate, authoritative sources of history, because the lack of a bond with a person that is close them, pupils may not have a high level of connection with history while at museums or historic sites.

Figure 5.15: Trust in Sources of History

		Percent choosing	
	Mean	0-1	5-4
Grandparents	3.73	7%	64%
Museum or historical sites	3.39	14	55
Parents/guardians	3.28	12	47
Conversation with someone who was there	3.23	13	47
History Teachers	3.09	16	46
Personal accounts of a historical event	2.85	18	34
Movies/TV	2.85	17	33
Internet/Websites	2.71	20	31
Non-fiction books	2.53	26	28
News paper/magazine	2.47	24	24
Older Brother/Sister	2.27	35	25
Your friends	2.20	37	23

Note: Mean scores, n = 360

Figure 5.15 also shows that the bottom five sources of history which showed a low level of trustworthiness were the Internet and websites, non-fiction books, news papers and magazines, older brother or sister and friends. Although, in general pupils indicated higher levels of trust in people they felt closer to, the fact that older siblings

and friends demonstrated low levels of trust may indicate the age of the individual(s) may play a role in how trustworthy pupils find them. For example, older figurers in pupils' lives such as parents or grandparents are seen as trustworthy, while brothers and sisters may not be seen in the same way.

Irish/International Pupils

Figure 5.16 shows that Irish and International pupils were most likely to trust information about the past from people close to them. For example, the top five most trustworthy sources for Irish pupils were: grandparents, museums or historical sites, conversation with someone who was there, parents or guardians and history teachers.

Figure 5.16: A Comparison between Irish/International Pupils' Level of Trust in Sources of History

	Irish	Int.	p =
Grandparents	3.62	4.01	.003
Museums or historical sites	3.50	3.11	.044
Conversation with someone who was there	3.28	3.10	NS
Parents or guardians	3.16	3.64	.004
History teachers	3.12	3.01	NS
Personal accounts of a historical event	2.82	2.93	NS
Movies or TV	2.71	3.25	.001
Internet/Websites	2.58	3.07	.003
Non-fiction books	2.53	2.52	NS
News papers/magazine	2.44	2.55	NS
Older brother/sister	2.05	2.89	.000
Your friends	2.02	2.71	.001

Note: Mean scores, p score is result of Man-Whitney U Test. n = 354

Further analysis through a Mann-Whitney U test revealed a significant difference (see **Figure 5.16**) in the level of trust in sources of history between: Irish pupils (Md = 4.00, n = 264) and international pupils (Md = 3.00, n = 94), U = 10717, z = -2.0, p = .044, r = .11, in history museum and historic sites; Irish pupils (Md = 3.00, n = 263) and international pupils (Md = 3.00, n = 93), U = 9474, z = -3.3, p = .001, r = .17, in

movies or TV programs about history; Irish pupils (Md = 3.00, n = 263) and international pupils (Md = 3.00, n = 93), U = 10054, z = -3.0, p = .003, r = .15, in the Internet and websites; Irish pupils (Md = 3.00, n = 264) and international pupils (Md = 4.00, n = 96), U = 10237, z = -2.9, p = .004, r = .15, in parents or guardians; Irish pupils (Md = 2.00, n = 261) and international pupils (Md = 3.00, n = 96), U = 9052, z = -4.1, p = .000, r = .21, in older brother or sister; Irish pupils (Md = 4.00, n = 263) and international pupils (Md = 4.00, n = 98), U = 10387, z = -2.9, p = .003, r = .15, in grandparents; and Irish pupils (Md = 2.00, n = 264) and international pupils (Md = 3.00, n = 95), U = 9685, z = -3.3, p = .001, r = .17, in friends.

Out of the seven sources which showed a statistical significance between Irish and international pupils according to the Mann-Whitney U test, Irish pupils only showed a higher level of trust according to mean score in museums and historical sites, this may suggest that Irish pupils view museums or historical sites as authoritative sources of history while international pupils do not. International pupils demonstrated higher levels of trust according to mean scores in movies and TV programmes about history, the Internet and websites, parents or guardians, older brother or sister and friends and grandparents. These numbers show that international pupils may find more trust in familial sources of history than Irish pupils.

Ethnicity: (Black/White)

Pupils' level of trust in sources of history was also examined using ethnicity (Black/White) as an independent variable in an attempt to find any significant difference between these groups of pupils. **Figure 5.17** shows the levels of trust Black and White pupils indicated they had in a variety of sources of history. White pupils, for example, demonstrated high levels of trust in grandparents, museums or historical sites, conversation with someone who was there, parents or guardians and history

teachers. Black pupils on the other hand indicated high levels of trust in grandparents, parents or guardians, movies or TV programs, older siblings and the Internet or websites.

Figure 5.17: A Comparison between Black/White Pupils' Level of Trust in Sources of History

	White	Black	p =
Grandparents	3.64	4.15	NS
Museums or historical sites	3.46	2.70	.001
Conversation with someone who was there	3.31	2.79	NS
Parents or guardians	3.20	3.76	.011
History teachers	3.09	3.02	NS
Personal accounts of a historical event	2.86	2.64	NS
Movies or TV	2.78	3.37	.006
Internet/Websites	2.65	3.07	NS
Non-fiction books	2.50	2.64	NS
News papers/magazine	2.45	2.65	NS
Older brother/sister	2.06	3.33	NS
Your friends	2.06	2.93	NS

Note: Mean scores, p score is result of Man-Whitney U Test. White = 302 Black = 52

A Mann-Whitney U Test indicated a statistical difference between the levels of trust Black and White pupils indicated for three sources of history. There was a difference in level of trust for White pupils ($Md = 4.00$, $n = 298$) and Black pupils ($Md = 4.00$, $n = 43$), $U = 4433$, $z = -3.4$, $p = .001$, $r = .18$, in museums or historical sites; White pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 296$) and Black pupils ($Md = 4.00$, $n = 43$), $U = 4743$, $z = -2.8$, $p = .006$, $r = .16$, in movies or TV programs; and White pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 297$) and Black pupils ($Md = 4.00$, $n = 46$), $U = 5283$, $z = -2.5$, $p = .011$, $r = .13$. White pupils indicated a higher level of trust according to mean score in museums or historical sites than Black pupils while Black pupils showed higher level of trust according to mean scores in movies and TV programs and parents or guardians as sources of history. Furthermore, Black pupils indicated higher levels of

trust based on mean scores in familial sources of history (parents or guardians, grandparents and older siblings) than White pupils.

Gender

The level of trust in historical sources was also examined to consider differences between male and female pupils. Further analysis found that, regardless of gender, grandparents afforded the highest level of trust, with international female pupils indicating the highest level according to mean scores (see **Figure 5.19**). Following grandparents, male pupils indicated high levels of trust in parents or guardians, museums or historical sites, history teacher, conversation with some who was there, and movies or TV programs about history. Female pupils demonstrated higher levels of trust in museums or historical sites, conversation with someone who was there, parents or guardians, history teacher, and personal accounts of a historical event. A Mann-Whitney U test indicated a statistically significant difference in the level of trust of female pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 226$) and male pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 130$), $U = 12445$, $z = -2.5$, $p = .014$, $r = .13$, in having conversation with someone who was there. Additionally, female pupils showed a higher mean score (3.38) than male pupils (2.97) which may indicate, along with the Mann-Whitney U test results that female respondents had a statistically higher level of trust in talking with people about experiences in the past.

Figure 5.19: Trust in Sources of History by Gender Groups.

	Males		Females	
	Irish	International	Irish	International
Grandparents	3.67	3.85	3.60	4.11
Museums or historical sites	3.46	2.53	3.51	3.55
Conversation with someone who was there	2.94	3.03	3.45	3.13
Parents or guardians	3.33	3.73	3.06	3.58
History teachers	3.24	2.82	3.06	3.11
Personal accounts of a historical event	2.61	2.78	2.92	3.04
Movies or TV	2.71	3.40	2.72	3.10
Internet/Websites	2.62	3.05	2.56	3.09
Non-fiction books	2.29	2.35	2.66	2.64
News papers/magazine	2.11	2.70	2.60	2.44
Older brother/sister	1.86	2.63	2.14	3.07
Your friends	1.93	2.77	2.06	2.62

Note: Mean scores. n = 372

Further analysis into the level of trust found potential differences between Irish and international male and female pupils. For example, a Mann-Whitney U test indicated a statistical difference between international male pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 40$) and international female pupils ($Md = 4.00$, $n = 53$), $U = 660$, $z = -3.2$, $p = .002$, $r = .13$, in their levels of trust of museums and historical sites. Coupled with international female pupils' mean score (3.55) for level of trust in museum which was the highest in the gender variable demonstrates the international female pupils had a high level of trust in history museums or historical sites.

Irish male and female pupils also demonstrated a statistical difference in levels of trust in sources of history. For example, according to a Mann-Whitney U test, Irish male pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 90$) and Irish female pupils ($Md = 4.00$, $n = 173$), $U = 6237$, $z = -2.7$, $p = .007$, $r = .17$, indicated a difference in the level of trust in a conversation with someone who was there and; Irish male pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 89$) and Irish female pupils ($Md = 2.00$, $n = 175$), $U = 6358$, $z = -2.5$, $p = .0013$, $r = .15$, also indicated a difference in their level of trust in newspapers or magazines.

Additional analyses established that there was a statistical difference between Irish male pupils and international male pupils. A Mann-Whitney U test indicated a statistically significance difference between Irish males and international males in five sources of history which question (13) inquired about. There was a difference in the level of trust between Irish males ($Md = 4.00$, $n = 89$) and international male pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 40$), $U = 1147$, $z = -3.3$, $p = .001$, $r = .30$, museums or historical sites; between Irish males ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 90$) and international male pupils ($Md = 3.50$, $n = 40$), $U = 1292$, $z = -2.6$, $p = .011$, $r = .23$, in movies or TV programs; between Irish males ($Md = 2.00$, $n = 89$) and international male pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 40$), $U = 1362$, $z = -2.2$, $p = .030$, $r = .19$, in newspapers or magazines; between Irish males ($Md = 4.00$, $n = 89$) and international male pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 40$), $U = 1147$, $z = -3.3$, $p = .001$, $r = .30$, in older siblings; and between Irish males ($Md = 2.00$, $n = 89$) and international male pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 39$), $U = 1248$, $z = -2.6$, $p = .010$, $r = .23$, in friends. International male pupils showed higher mean and median scores than Irish male pupils in their levels of trust in all four of these categories.

According to a Mann-Whitney U test, Irish female pupils and international female pupils showed significant difference in their levels of trust in sources of history. There was a difference in the level of trust between Irish female pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 175$) and international female pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 54$), $U = 3626$, $z = -2.6$, $p = .008$, $r = .17$, in the Internet and websites; between Irish female pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 174$) and international female pupils ($Md = 4.00$, $n = 55$), $U = 3810$, $z = -2.3$, $p = .020$, $r = .15$, in parents or guardians; between Irish female pupils ($Md = 2.00$, $n = 173$) and international female pupils ($Md = 3.00$, $n = 56$), $U = 3316$, $z = -3.6$, $p = .000$, $r = .24$, in older siblings; between Irish female pupils ($Md = 4.00$, $n = 174$) and international female pupils ($Md = 5.00$, $n = 57$), $U = 3716$, $z = -3.0$, $p = .003$, $r = .19$,

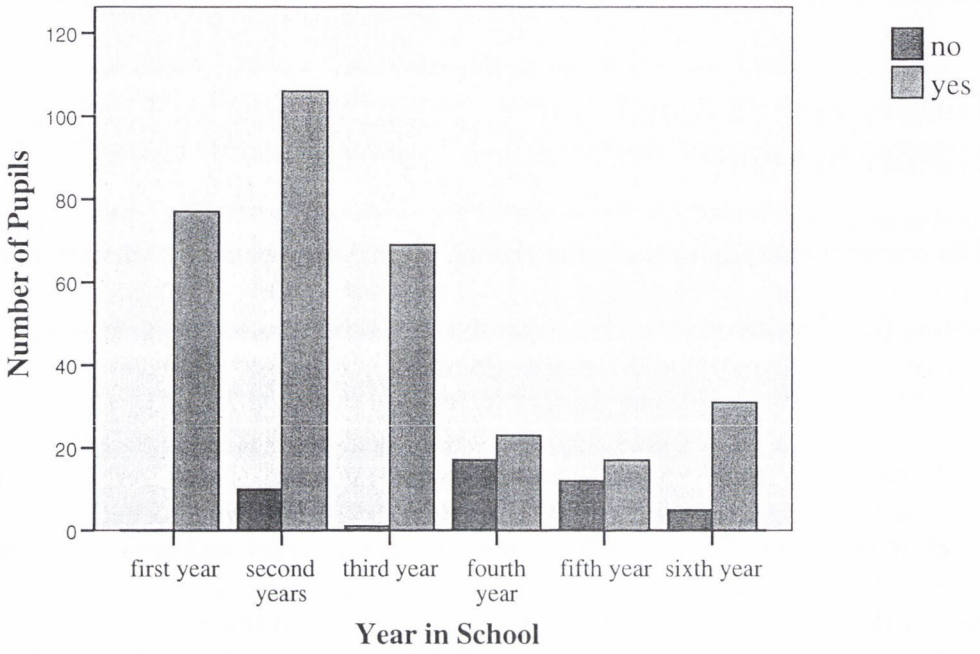
in grandparents; and between Irish female pupils ($Md = 2.00$, $n = 175$) and international female pupils ($Md = 2.00$, $n = 55$), $U = 3927$, $z = -2.1$, $p = .036$, $r = .13$, friends.

History in the Formal Setting: Pupils' Attitudes Towards History in School.

The research also attempted to understand pupils' perspectives of history in the formal setting (i.e. the classroom). The questionnaire asked a variety of questions, including whether pupils were studying history at the time of the study, their reasons for studying history at the second level, if they wanted to study more history at the second level, their intentions of studying history at the third level, and how interested in history they felt when participating in a variety of activities in class.

In the questionnaire survey, 324 pupils indicated that they were studying history while 46 pupils indicated that they were not studying history in their school at the time of the study, while 2 pupils did not indicate whether or not they were studying history. **Figure 5.20** shows the numbers of pupils indicating yes or no to the question of whether they were studying history in their school broken down by what year in school they were in a the time of the research.

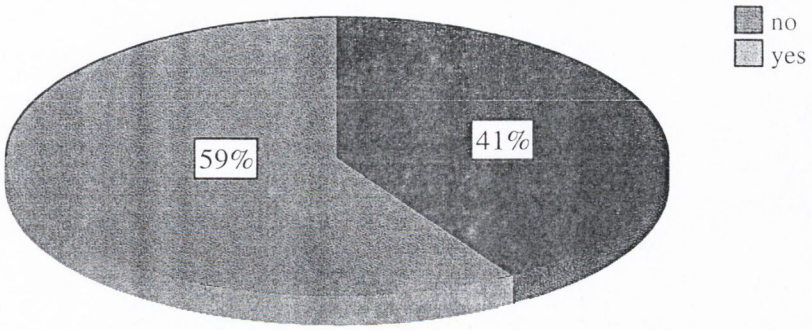
Figure 5.20: Pupils' Responses to the Question "Are you studying history in school?" Broken Down by School Year (n = 372)



The higher number of pupils studying history in the lower level grades is because at the Junior Certificate level history is a required subject of study. As pupils move into the Leaving Certificate, the numbers of pupils studying history were lower; this could have been due to the fact that at the Leaving Certificate level, history is an elective subject of study.

Figure 5.21 shows the percentage of international pupils who indicated whether or not they were studying history at the time of the study. Close to sixty per cent of international pupils who participated in the study indicated they were studying history at the time of the study. Out of the international pupils studying history 8 were in First year, 14 were in Second year, 16 were in Third year, 10 were in Fourth year, 5 in Fifth year, and 8 were in Sixth year.

Figure 5.21: **International Pupils' Responses to the Question "Are you studying history in school?" (n = 107)**



Broken down by ethnicity (Black/White), 28 out of 51 (55%) of Black pupils indicated they were studying history, while 286 out of 302 (94%) of White pupils indicated they were studying history.

Data from the teacher questionnaire suggest that all international pupils should take some form of Irish history, regardless of whether they were in the junior or senior cycle at second level. Eight out of ten teachers believed that all international pupils need to take some form of Irish history. When asked to explain their answer, the majority of teachers believed that study Irish history would help pupils better understand Irish society and culture and would help them fit in. The two teachers who felt that international pupils should not have to study some Irish history believed that many international pupils already struggle with subjects such as maths and English because of the language barrier and that adding more history would add to their struggles in school.

Reason for Studying History in School

For the pupils who have the option of studying history at the Senior Cycle,[95] further analysis showed that 74 per cent of fifth and sixth year pupils were studying history at the time of the research.[96] Analysis showed that 43 per cent of the international pupils in the senior cycle indicated that they were studying history while 100 per cent of Irish pupils indicated studying history at the Senior Cycle. There must be a note of caution about these last numbers, because there may be an over representation of Irish pupils studying history at the Senior Cycle in the sample.

The research also investigated pupils' reasons for study history for the Leaving Certification in the Senior Cycle. **Figure 5.22** show that almost half the pupils indicated a preference of the subject of history over other subjects offered for their reason for studying history in the Senior Cycle. Over one quarter indicated a positive prior experience with history at the primary level as being a reason for studying history for the Leaving Certification.

Figure 5.22: Pupils' Reasons for Studying Leaving Certificate History (n = 65)

	Percentage Choosing
I prefer history to other subjects offered	46%
I liked history in primary school	28
I had no other option from which to choose	22
History has a high educational value	22
History is valuable for career opportunities	22
I like the history teacher at the second level	20
I believe it is easy to get a good grade in history	12
I intend to study at third level	9
My parents advised me to take history	8
My history advised me to take history	5
Many of my friends decided to take history	5
My principal advised me to take history	2

[95] The term Senior Cycle can be interchanged with Leaving Certification. The Senior Cycle consists of Transition Year, 5th and 6th year pupils studying for the Leaving Certification examinations at the end of the Senior Cycle.

[96] There were 35 Irish and 30 international pupils in the 5th and 6th year sub sample, (n = 65).

On the other hand, pupils indicated that advice from teachers, principals and parents had little influence on their decision on studying history. Viewing history as an easy subject to obtain a good mark in and intentions to study history at the third level, also afforded low indication of influence of subject choice.

Further analysis of the difference between Irish and International pupils' indications of why they were studying history for the Leaving Certificate showed that almost three–quarter of Irish pupils studying history for the Leaving Certificate indicated a preference of history over other subjects offered as the reason for deciding to study it (74%), followed by a like of history at the primary level, viewing history as a valuable subject for career opportunity, and liking their second level history teacher. For International pupils reasons for studying history for the Leaving Certificate were less clear. One-fifth of International pupils studying history in the Senior Cycle indicated that liking history in primary school, having no other option, liking the teacher at the second level, and belief in earning a good mark as the main influences on why they decided to study history. For both Irish and International pupils, personal advice from a teacher, parent or principal received low indications of influence. A Chi-squared test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant statistical difference between Irish and international pupils indicating a preference of history over other subjects offered as the reason for studying history for the Leaving Certification, χ^2 (1, n = 65) = 24.25, p = .000, phi = .610.

Figure 5.23: Pupils' Reasons for Studying Leaving Certificate History (Irish/International)

	Irish	Int.	$p =$
I prefer history to other subjects offered	74%	13%	.000
I liked history in primary school	34	20	NS
I had no other option from which to choose	23	20	NS
History has a high educational value	23	17	NS
History is valuable for career opportunities	29	13	NS
I like the history teacher at the second level	26	20	NS
I believe it is easy to get a good grade in history	6	20	NS
I intend to study at third level	9	10	NS
My parents advised me to take history	9	7	NS
My history teacher advised me to take history	9	0	NS
Many of my friends decided to take history	3	7	NS
My principal advised me to take history	0	3	NS

Note: p results from χ^2 test for independence

When speaking with pupils about what they thought about studying history in school in Ireland, three main themes emerged. First, pupils indicated that they wished to study more about the history of their former countries. The majority of pupils in the interview spoke with indicated that they rarely got to study about their former countries, if ever and that the content needed to be change to include a wider variety of histories. The second theme which emerged was that there were mixed opinions of the difficulty of studying history at the second level, either for the Junior Certificate of the Leaving Certificate. Some pupils believed it was difficult to remember the dates and people while other pupils indicated that studying history was easy. Finally, although some pupils did indicated some difficulties studying history in school, overall, most pupils in the interviews said that they enjoyed studying history, even if it was a difficult subject.

From the interviews, the majority of international pupils were adamant about studying more history of their former country. They believed that the content of the curriculum should change to include more history in which they felt a close connection with. Many pupils also talked about the history of their culture and former

countries were either not included or only covered as part of a larger historical narrative. A conversation with Lindsay, Jeff, Brian and Adam is a good example about how many international pupils felt about the content of history they covered while in school:

Lindsay: *they do not talk about Africa.*

Brian: *there is nothing on our syllabus that has to do with Africa.*

Interviewer: *so you don't get study African history?*

Jeff: *they just mention our countries because they are starting to talk about the Soviet Union.*

Interviewer: *but nothing in-depth?*

Adam: *they just mention Georgia as a part of Russia.*

Interviewer: *do you think it is fair that you guys don't get to study your history?*

Lindsay: *I do not.*

(Interview)

Some pupils were aware of the fact that there could only be so much that they can learn about in their history classes. Lindsay, from the Congo, when asked if she would like to see more of her former country's history included in her history classes she was unsure if this was possible:

> *I don't know because we are coming from different countries that cannot be talking about. I am from the Congo, Brian is from Rwanda, Adam is from Georgia and Jeff is from Armenia. It is just too much* (Interview).

Lindsay has pinpointed the problem that may face the history curriculum as a whole. She was aware that it would be quite difficult to simply add more history to the curriculum and that because of the diversity of cultural backgrounds and counties of origin, there would be too much content to cover. Brian, from Rwanda saw that there was too much focus on the history of Western countries like the US. He suggested

that maybe there needed to be less focus on US history and a shift towards the histories of the countries of many on the international pupils in schools in Ireland:

> *I think they should include Asia in a way. You like the continent like Africa, Europe, America. I think America should go onto the North American South America as one thing... and they just do the continents' history... the American history that we do is too long, the whole book is American history, I think it is way too long to be studying those... I don't want to know what Eisenhower ate on Tuesday night... I know about Marilyn Monroe, she is famous, but would rather do something from Africa* (Interview).

This suggests that a possible shift from a focus on the histories of Western nationals and cultures towards an inclusion of African and Asian countries.

Results from the parent/guardian questionnaire indicated that parents and guardians also felt that the history curriculum should expand to include the cultural backgrounds of recent immigrants to Ireland. For example, eleven out thirteen parents/guardians believed that wider history content is needed at the second level in Ireland. Furthermore, when asked to indicate the level of importance that the history of their former country is included in teaching of history in Ireland on a six point scale (0-5), eleven out of thirteen parents/guardians indicated a (3) or higher.[97] Although this data is not large enough to consider this to be the case for the wider international parent/guardian population, there is a possibility that parents/guardians have strong feeling about the history of their former country and what historical content their children are studying in school.

Teachers' Viewpoints

Teachers' responses to the question of whether they felt the expansion of culturally and ethnically diverse groups in Ireland should lead to the broadening of the history curriculum at the second level were mixed. Six teachers believed that the historical

[97] On this scale 0 or 1 was considered little or no importance and 4 or 5 was considered important and very important.

content of these new groups should be included in the curriculum. Most of these teachers believed that it would help the international pupils feel more at home in Ireland, while at the same time it would help Irish pupils develop some understanding of these new groups. On the other hand, four teachers believed that the curriculum is already too broad to include more content. One out of four teachers believed that International pupils are already under too much stress learning European and Irish history, that adding more history would create an overload situation. Teachers may support a shift towards a more general curriculum which sets the history of Ireland in a larger European framework. When asked which history should receive the most attention in the curriculum (the history Ireland, family history, the history of racial or ethnic groups, local community or village history, history of religion or the history of another country) nine out of ten teachers believed that the history of Europe should receive the most attention in the curriculum. The curriculum may shift towards more of a European emphasis because it not only includes Irish history, but will also include many of the histories of international pupils who migrated from EU countries. This shift may not however address the issue of pupils from outside Europe or the EU.

John Dredge from the NCCA, believed that the Revised Leaving Certificate lent itself to this expansion in the sense that pupils can decided what topics to study for the research projects and that the content of the Leaving Certificate can develop year to year to include new content. This seems to be a strong attribute of the revised curriculum but what is unclear is whether teachers have qualified backgrounds to teach and mark an exam on the vast historical content that maybe included? Eight out of ten teachers felt that they were qualified to teach new content that may possibly be included in the curriculum, but many indicated that they would have to do research to gain better knowledge and that their understanding of these histories was based on an

interest they had rather than qualified study at the third level. What is clear is that more research into what teachers believe should be included in the curriculum and what they are professionally qualified to teach needs to be undertaken.

Pupils Intentions of Studying History at Third Level

Not only did the research investigate pupils' perceptions of formal history at the second level, but was also interested in pupils prospect of continuing to study history at the third level. Out of all pupils who were studying history at the second level (n = 320), 61 per cent indicated that they planned to study history at the third level. The percentages of Irish and international pupils indicating their intention to study history at the third level were almost identical, 39 per cent for the former and 40 per cent for the later.

Analysis along gender lines showed a different story. While 34 per cent of female pupils studying history indicated a desire to study history at the third level, 48 per cent of male pupils showed their intention of studying history in higher education. A Chi-squared test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant statistical difference between male and female pupils indicating their intention of studying history at third level, χ^2 (1, n = 320) = 6.25, p = .012, phi = .140.

Difference along ethnic lines also emerged when considering pupils intentions to study history in higher education. Over half of the black pupils who were studying history indicated they wanted to study history at the third level while, 39 per cent of White pupils indicated their intentions to study history at the third level.

For further analysis, a Direct statistical regression was performed to assess the impact of a number of factors on the likelihood that respondents would indicate they wanted to study history at the third level. The full model containing all predictors was statistically significant χ^2 (3, N= 310) = 9.29, p = .026, indicating that the model was

able to distinguish between the respondents who reported and did not report wanting to study history at the third level. The model as a whole explained between 3 per cent (Cox and Snell R square) and 4 per cent (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in naming history of religion as the most important and correctly classified 61 per cent of cases. The only one of the independent variables which made a unique statistically significant contribution to the model (gender) recorded a B value (.629), which indicates that male pupils have an increased probability of indicating wanting to study history at the third level than female pupils. Furthermore, the gender predictor recorded an odds ratio of 2.0 which indicated that male pupils were over 2 times more likely to indicate that they wanted to study history at the thirds level than female pupils. From this a reasonable assumption could be made that male pupils show a stronger tendency towards wanting to study history at university or some other third level institution than female pupils in the study.

The majority of pupils in the interviewers did talk about how they enjoyed history, but that they were not going to study history at the third level. For example, Jeff, Lindsay and Brian, who were all studying history for the Leaving Certificate, indicated that they were going to study different subjects at university such as law, business administration or French. Lindsay, for example, was not sure what she wanted to study at third level, but she knew it would not be history because it was "too hard" (Interview).

Lauren, from Nigeria, who was not studying history for the Leaving Certificate, talked about how she enjoyed studying history for the Junior Certificate, but believed there was not enough time to study it for the Leaving Certificate. She was looking forward to what she was going to study at third level, and history was not part of her plan:

> *as for me the subjects that I am studying here determines what I am going to do in college I think that the space for history, I was thinking about another subject that is very important to me so that is why I did not try to take history* (Interview).

She wanted to study accounting, and nothing else and she did not believe history could help here get into an accounting course at university or help her to get a job. This was a re-occurring theme in the interviews with the international pupils. The majority of pupils viewed studying history in terms of employment. Some pupils indicated it would be beneficial to know some Irish history because it could help them with a job interview while other pupils did not see the benefit of studying history at the senior cycle or at third level because it would not help them with employment in the future.[98]

What was significant about these discussion was that not one pupil in the interviews indicated that they want to study history at the third level. This suggests that what pupils decide to study for the senior cycle and at university is based on the idea of gaining employment in the future and that history, although enjoyable study, is not seen as a subject that will help them with getting a job. Also, this may not be a unique phenomenon for international pupils; Irish pupils may also have the same views about studying history.

Pupils' Interest in the History Classroom

The research wanted to get to the heart of how pupils felt about their day-to-day experiences in the history classrooms; at what level of interest in history did pupils have when participating in the classroom interactions with the teacher, textbook, and fellow pupils etc? To investigate this, pupils were asked to identify their level of interest they felt in seven different situations that may occur in the history classroom

[98] For the most part, when asked why they were not going to study history at third level, pupils talked about getting jobs such as working in a bank, construction, or in business.

on a six point scale (0-5). If we consider 0 or 1 to indicate little or no interest and 4 or 5 to indicate strong interest, **Figure 5.24** shows that pupils ranked watching movies about history the highest, while ranking reading from the textbook dead last.

Figure 5.24: Pupils' level of Interest When Participating in Activities in the History Classroom

		Percent choosing	
	Mean	0-1	5-4
Watching movies about history in class	3.87	7	68
Investigating original documents from history	3.20	17	48
Working in groups in class	3.09	16	45
Listening to your teacher	2.85	19	35
Discussion with the rest of the class	2.82	22	39
Researching historical topics on the Internet for class work	2.72	21	32
Reading from the textbook	2.27	29	19

Note : n = 326

More than two-thirds of respondents reported a feeling of very interested to history when watching a movie in the classroom (by giving that activity a rank of 4 or higher), while almost half of the pupils indicated strong interest in history when investigating original documents and working in groups.

The research also asked respondents, using one word, to "describe how you feel about studying history in school" which uncovered mix of negative and positive descriptions. 'Interesting' was the most frequent word offered to describe pupils' feelings about studying history in school, whereas 'boring' was the second most frequent offered to describe pupils' feelings. This clear dichotomy between positive and negative feelings towards history in the classroom may be due, in part, to the varying experiences pupils have with different teachers and methodologies they are exposed to. Although this survey is limited, it is useful to speculate on what the data might demonstrate about the teaching of history in schools. For example, it is possible that teachers who rely heavily on using textbooks and 'chalk-talk' in their lesson plans may have pupils who are less interested than pupils who participate in varying

activities in class. Also, regardless of what activities pupils may participate in, they may find history in classrooms boring for the simple fact that it is a compulsory subject for pupils in the Junior Cycle. Again, further research into the pedagogical practices of history teachers at the second level in Ireland would need to be conducted to investigate this possible relationship.

Further analysis of pupils who described their feelings towards history in school as 'interesting'; compared with pupils who described it as 'boring', uncovered some interesting data. For example, a Mann-Whitney U test indicated a statistical difference between the levels of interest between pupils who described history in school as 'interesting' and pupils who found in 'boring' in all seven classroom situations the questionnaire inquired about. The 'bored' pupils indicated lower levels of interest in history (according to mean scores) in all situations than pupils who found history in school interesting. Do pupils who see schools history as boring have low level of interest in history when in the classroom, or have their experiences in the classroom led them to view history as a boring subject? At this point, the data from this research cannot pin point the source of these feelings towards history in school, but it does assume that a relationship exists.

The boring/interesting dichotomy may also be a strong indicator to whether pupils intend to study history at the third level. For example 51 per cent of pupils (n = 85) who described history in school as 'interesting' indicated they wanted to study history at third level, while only 7 per cent of pupils (n = 56) who felt history in schools was boring indicated a desire to study history at higher levels. Furthermore, a Chi-squared test for independence (with Yates Continuity Correction) indicated a significant statistical difference between 'bored' pupils and 'interested' pupils and intentions to study history at third level, χ^2 (1, n = 141) = 31.42, p = .000, phi = -.472.

International/Irish

As **Figure 5.25** shows, the visual representations and interpretations of history through visual sources, in this case, movies shown in classrooms, were cited as the activity when both Irish and international pupils are the most interested in history. Out of the seven activities inquired in the questionnaire about International pupils showed higher levels of interest, according to mean scores, than Irish pupils in three activities: investigating original documents, listening to the teacher, and reading from the textbook.

Figure 5.25: Pupils' level of Interest When Participating in Activities in the History Classroom (Irish/International)

	Irish	Int.	$p =$
Watching movies about history in class	3.89	3.76	NS
Investigating original documents from history	3.16	3.37	NS
Working in groups in class	3.18	2.71	.016
Listening to your teacher	2.70	3.43	.000
Discussion with the rest of the class	2.85	2.68	NS
Researching historical topics on the Internet for class work	2.77	2.48	NS
Reading from the textbook	2.14	2.83	.000

Note: Mean scores, p score is result of Man-Whitney U Test. (n = 326)

As **Figure 5.25** shows, according to a Man-Whitney U test, there was a significant statistical difference between Irish and International pupils for three of the classroom activities: working in groups in class, listening to the teacher and reading from the text book. Irish pupils showed a higher mean score than international pupils when asked about their level of interest when working in groups in class. The may be the case because international pupils may not 'fit in' in Irish classrooms, or may not socialise at high levels with Irish pupils and therefore find little interest in history. Another possibility is that they just don't find history interesting while participating in groups, regardless of whether they are working with Irish or other international pupils.

One of the stronger possibilities could be the language barrier. Some international pupils may have lower competency levels of English, and may find it difficult to communicate and work with not Irish pupils, but other international pupils. If this was the case the lower levels of interest may be more to do with the language barrier and less to do with the subject of history of itself. Gitlen et. al. (2003) found in their research of a secondary school in the US that immigrant pupils tended to group themselves together during school activities such as lunch, school assemblies, and on the school bus, many times because they shared the same language and cultural background. This could possibly be the case in the classrooms this research took place. If research were to look into the levels of interest in science or geography classes when working in groups, the same results might occur. There is a vast possibility of research focused on the socialisation process between Irish and international pupils while participating in classroom activities (e.g. group work or class projects…) in not only in history classrooms, but all subject areas.

On the other hand, International pupils showed higher mean scores when asked about their level of interest when they read from textbooks, and listened to their teacher. This may indicate the importance of a teacher's role in the inclusion processes of International pupils in history classrooms. Although Irish and International pupils showed almost the same level of trust in teachers, International pupils showed higher levels of trust in authoritative figures they have personal connections with (i.e. grandparents and parents). This may indicate that even though teachers in history classrooms in Ireland may not be, for the most part, from the same sociocultural background as international pupils, these pupils may trust the teachers and find interest in the subject because they are seen as authoritative figures. Further consideration shows the possibility that international pupils' trust in teachers may

come from a need to want to assimilate into school culture; they may indicate a level of trust in teachers as authoritative sources of history, because questioning this authority may be viewed as a form of "not fitting in", which may result in forms of exclusion. Gitlen et al. (2003) found that immigrant parents in their research wanted their children to assimilate themselves into the school. Also, many parents were reluctant to disagree or question the programs the programs in the school. Gitlen et al. (2003) suggest that this acceptance was because immigrant parents saw their opportunity to live in work in the US as a unique, and questioning assimilationist policies may jeopardise their children's academic and social prospects. Could this be a factor for international pupils in schools in Ireland?

Similar results appeared between Black and White pupils in the study according to a Mann-Whitney U test which showed a statistical significance between Black and White pupils' levels of interest when: reading from a text book, listening to their teacher, and working in groups. Just as the Irish/international variable, Black pupils showed higher levels of interest, according to mean scores, when reading from textbooks and listening to teachers, while White pupils indicated a higher level of interest when working in groups in class. This similarity between the Black/White and Irish/International variables is no surprise, because all of the Black pupils in the survey were also International pupils. Again, this may show that the differences between how pupils connect and understand history is based more on an Irish/international (or national/immigrant) dichotomy and less to do with ethnic background. A further Mann-Whitney U test between the levels of interest of Black and White international pupils showed only a statistical significance ($p = .042$) between these groups of pupils when reading from a history textbook which supports

the notion that the difference may exist according to the whether a pupil is Irish or International.

To tease this out further the research looked for a difference in the level of interest between 'new' and 'old' international pupils when they participated in activities in the classroom. This analysis found only a significant statistical difference ($p = .026$) between 'new' and 'old' pupils when reading from a textbook. The surprising aspect was that the 'new' pupils actually indicated a higher level of interest according to mean scores (3.30) than 'old' pupils (2.55). Again, a note of caution needs to be addressed. The experiences of pupils in history classrooms with teachers prior to their moving to Ireland was not investigated and may play a significant roll the levels of interest. To simply say, for example, that the longer International pupils live in Ireland the less interested they are in learning history while reading a textbook would be a mistake. So too would be to suggest that International pupils lower level of interest while working in groups is a clear indication that they do not socialise with Irish pupils in class. Rather these results highlight that a great deal more in-depth research needs to be done on how pupils interact with history in the classroom, the current researcher has merely taken an initial glimpse at the situation. What can be said is that although both international and Irish pupils seemed to be interested in history when participating in many of the same activities in classrooms, there are differences in the interests in history.

Conclusion

Although the data gathered through the questionnaires and the interviews was limited in some ways, it did reveal some interesting trends. Overall, most pupils, Irish and international, saw their identities in singular, or 'monocultural' terms. For instance, Irish saw themselves as coming from white, Irish backgrounds, only one of the Irish

pupils who participated in the larger survey saw themselves as coming from a mixed background. International pupils also saw their backgrounds as being fixed within a singular context; they were either White or Black or Asian with no mixed backgrounds. A simple explanation for this is that the pupils in the study, Irish and international, come from monocultural backgrounds. Irish pupils may only have White/Irish ethnicity in their backgrounds while African pupils, for example, may only have Black/African backgrounds in their family heritage going back generations. In other words, Irish pupils are not the only ones to come from a so-called 'monocultural' background; it seems that the majority of international pupils have come from backgrounds that are made up of a dominant culture and ethnicity.

Furthermore, the majority of international pupils in the interviews did not see themselves as part of Irish culture, rather they saw themselves as immigrants living in Irish society, but over time, have come to see themselves as being Irish, or have identified with an Irish identity. This demonstrates the possibility of there being a distinct difference between Irish and international pupils, and what part of their lives make up their identity.

Irish pupils demonstrated higher levels of participation in activities related to the past, where international pupils only had significantly higher levels of participation in keeping a regular diary. Although Irish pupils showed a higher participation rate in the activities relating to history, overall pupils in the study, regardless of their ethnicity, cultural background, or gender, engaged with and had connections with history and the past. Two themes appeared through the analysis of the data collected: 1) pupils tended to participate in activities related to people that were close to them, the majority of these activities surrounding family; 2) these activities were associated with visual sources or representations of history such as

movies and photographs. Pupils tended to participate in activities which allowed them to construct their personal accounts of their own history through activities such as taking pictures or keeping personal diaries. Pupils also tended to find connections with and trust sources that were related to people in their lives such as history teachers and parents.

A further similarity between Irish and international pupils was that, for the most part, the most important history for pupils in both groups was the history of their family, again, pointing to the importance of a closer, personal history being an important aspect of pupils' lives. The second most important history for both Irish and international pupils was the history of their country, but the most significant difference between Irish and international pupils was that while Irish pupils found the history of Ireland to be important, not one international pupils felt the same. Rather, these pupils saw the history of their former country to be much more important. This is one of the more significant differences between Irish and international pupils' views on history. What was surprising was that the history of ethnicity was not significantly important for international pupils. This was one of the more significant departures from previous research, such as Rosenzweig and Thalen's (2000) or Epstein's (1998) which found ethnicity a strong influence on what history was important to pupils.

Discussion and Conclusion

It is clear that how and why Irish and International pupils view and understand history is a complex issue. It is obvious that a great deal of further research into pupils' understandings of history inside and outside of a formal setting is needed. But what conclusions and suggestions can be made?

First, how do the findings related to previous research? In many ways, this research paralleled the findings of Rosenzweig and Thalen (2000) and Epstien (1998) work in North America, and Barton and McCully's (2004) work in Northern Ireland. Regardless of ethnicity, gender or being Irish or international, family history and the connections and trust that pupils have in these sources of history are clear. For the most part, although pupils feel connected and were interested in history they studied in the formal setting, sources of history which pupils felt close to personally, such as family in the informal setting, tended to create the strongest connection with both Irish and international pupils. According to a sociocultural theory, family as a source of history plays a significant role in how pupils view society and how they mediate their everyday lives. Much like the findings from research in Northern Ireland, informal, familial influences on historical perceptions have the potential to have a large impact on pupils' identity and understanding of history and contemporary issues in society. In the context of contemporary Irish society, it is possible that Irish and International pupils are not only developing different understandings of people and events in history, but are also being exposed to *different* histories altogether through their families, and therefore could be developing different mediation processes. This is not to say that there were no similarities between how Irish and International pupils understood formal and informal sources of history, but it is clear that Irish and

international pupils have different views on what history is important to them. In the future, pupils may develop shared identities of what it means to live in Irish society, but the possibilities of different groups developing different, even conflicting views of Irish society and what it means to be a citizen in Ireland in the twenty-first century are certainly possible.

Consequences of Cultural Differences

Although there were similarities between both Irish and international pupils' connections with informal sources of history, pupils may be exposed to not only different points of view of history, but varying histories as well. Even though family history was important for both groups, because many international families are relatively new in Ireland, the historical background and history that they found important can be markedly different than the history that parents of Irish pupils find important. Because of this, Irish and international pupils may develop significantly different mediation processes. If Irish and international pupils develop different cultural frames of reference through the history they learn and identify with, it is possible that Irish and international pupils might interpret and react in contemporary Irish society differently. This may not only include religious, political, social and educational view-points, but also the everyday decisions these pupils make. Could this 'division of perspective' create conflicts between groups in Irish society? Will minority groups in society react and behave in the same way that a dominant group might?

These different cultural frames of reference may results in differences in how minority groups view education. Ogbu (1998) suggests that minority cultures which feel dominated by dominant cultures in society may develop negative feelings towards education. For example, some pupils may believe that they have to act similar

as the dominant culture to succeed in school; some pupils may fear doing well in school because it may symbolise rejection from their own culture. Also, peer pressure against acting like the dominant culture (in this case the WHISC) might result in pupils avoiding academic achievement. One of the larger problems which Ogbu suggests may happen is that minority pupils may develop hostile feelings towards teachers and school administrators which represent the dominant culture. This is a possibility in second level schools in Ireland, since the majority of teachers and administrators come from a dominant WHISC background. If international pupils do not feel that they are a part of Irish culture and society, could this negative view of education be a consequence?

While Ogbu suggests that minority cultures often face domination from the dominant culture which may result in the marginalistion of these groups, there may be a need for these groups to be included into a common culture of society. This research is not suggesting that these minority cultures be assimilated into Irish society, rather these diverse cultures, including Irish culture, be moulded together into a cultural hybridisation. Much like the goals of interculturalism, this combination of dominant and minority cultures into one hybrid culture may create an inclusion of all cultures in society. Barton and Levstik (2004) suggest that the development of a 'common culture' will lead to wider social interactions which characterise the life of a citizen who participates in orginisations of civil society.

Impact in the Classroom

Pupils found stronger connections with history when they engaged it through people that they felt close to. Pupils developed stronger connections and levels of trust in the sources that they felt close to. Parents, grandparents, and teachers were the sources which pupils cited as the strongest in their connection and trust with sources of history

while reading from textbooks, non-fiction and fiction books and researching history on the Internet afford lower levels of connection and interest. What does this mean for the pedagogical knowledge and classroom practice? Because pupils, Irish and international, find different sources of history important, they, as research suggests, will have different understandings of history. As Barton and Levstik (2004) and Wilson and Wineburg (1993) suggest, teachers need to move towards more multi-perspective, evidence based, interpretive methods in classrooms. If pupils are exposed to different histories through different sources, then they may develop different understandings. These understandings developed through informal sources of history need to be included and developed in the teaching of history in classrooms.

Furthermore, expansion of content also seems to be the most likely outcome of the recent increase of immigration in Ireland over the last years. The pupils who participated in this study made it clear that, while both Irish and international pupils had strong connections with and trust in many of the same sources of history, *which* histories they found important were different. For example, both Irish and International pupils indicated strong connections with the family and the history of their home country, but this does not mean that the histories they identify with or are exposed to are similar. Again, different histories may mean different perspectives and the development of differing mediation process of pupils. This is not necessarily a negative development in society; most pupils, regardless of whether they are Irish or International, will have different mediation processes. It is when minority groups become disenchanted with society because their cultural backgrounds and their points of view do not 'fit in' with the dominant culture. These groups may develop negative views and become margininalised. The issues surrounding the Traveller community in

Irish society is one example of this. Could new immigrant groups develop these same issues in the future?

In many ways, the results of this research are similar to the situations of pupils who participated in Barton and McCully's, Rosenzweig and Thalen's and Epstein's research into pupils' historical perspectives. The sources of history that were seen as important were similar, but what history and how that history was viewed were different. What effects will these findings on the content of the history curriculum at the second level in Ireland? It is possible that the content will shift towards a more European focus, which includes more histories of European countries, and the inclusion of Asian and African histories as well. With more history content, choices of what is taught and what is left out will become more of an issue. It is possible that content of Irish history will receive less focus, or be taught within a European or world history framework. This expansion of content raises the question of whether history teachers at the second level in Ireland are prepared, or have the background, to teach these new histories.

Direction for Teacher Education

As the content and pedagogies of teaching history in Ireland expand to include the diverse backgrounds of international pupils, so too must teachers' abilities to teach to a more diverse population and better understand an expanding history curriculum. An obvious vehicle for implementing this possible change comes in the form of teacher training at the third level. Courses which offer instruction on teaching pedagogies for culturally diverse pupils may have to be included in already overstretched teacher education courses. Also, a wider variety of courses, where future history teachers learn more about the historical backgrounds of the nationalities and cultures present in contemporary Irish society, may be required. Furthermore, educators may have to

participate in research into the experiences and perspectives of international pupils in their classrooms.

History teachers in contemporary Ireland need to bring their pupils' prior experiences, interests and understandings into the classrooms. Teachers will have to develop what Danielson calls "cultural competence" in dealing with pupils; "in learning about students' backgrounds, these teachers ensure that they are aware of relevant information about cultural traditions, religious practices, and patterns of interaction that may affect a students' classroom participation" (2007:33). This competency certainly must include historical understanding and a knowledge of the sources from which this understanding develops.

The use of media sources in the history classroom is also a topic that history teachers will need to better develop through initial training and teacher in-service. Merely having students look up documents on the Internet does not seem to develop pupils' interest in history topics at a high level. Rather, teachers should employ technology to investigate a variety of sources which include movies and visual representations of the past. Also, teachers can employ technology so that pupils can create their own sources of history. Both Irish and international pupils participated in activities where they created personal representations of their history such as photographs or keeping personal diaries. This seems to fit with an analytical approach to a curriculum which requires pupils to understand the skills of the historian. If teachers could tie this interest in these activities into the formal study of history in the classroom, pupils from a variety of backgrounds would bring their outside experiences and understandings into the classroom. What better ways to teach analytical skills than to expose them to different histories and cultures by having pupils create a variety of personal accounts of their past?

Barton and Levstik (2004) and Wineburg (2001) also suggest there is a separation between the methods which teachers employ in their classroom and the skills that a historian uses in his/her research, and that although many curricula are focused on the development of analytical skills which historians employ, the reality may be that teachers, for the most part, use a traditional narrative which tells one story. If history education at the second level is going to successfully employ a curriculum that emphasizes an analytical approach, teachers themselves need to develop the analytical skills through teacher training courses, in-services programmes and professional seminars. Simply changing the curriculum, such as the Revised Leaving Certificate, and not fully meeting the needs of the teachers who may be unprepared to teach this style of historical inquiry, would be a disservice to the curriculum and the pupils.

To summerise, there are some possible impacts this research may have on the state of history education in Ireland today:

- There is the possibility of the expansion of history content at the Junior and Senior cycles to include the backgrounds of these diverse pupils
- This expansion may lead to an 'overload of content' for the history curriculum, in much the same way that other countries such as the United States, Australia and Canada have faced.
- This expansion may also shift the format of the Junior and Leaving Certificate examinations to purely research based work in order to accomidate the expansion of histories that could be studied. This may also but more emphasis on the analystical approach to studying history at the second level.

- Furthermore, this expansion of historical content in the curriculum may require education students at the third level to expand their studies of history and current teachers to increase their professional development through obtaining higher degrees and teacher inservice.

It is clear that the possible impact that the expansion of cultural and ethinic backgrounds of pupils in Ireland's school system may reach far and wide. From the second level history curriculum, the possible history courses offered at universities, and to the expansion of professional development of secondary history teachers, history education policy and practice in Ireland has many changes they must face.

Personal Development

For the researcher, the opportunity to learn more about international pupils' lives in a country that is not their own was a unique and influential experience, both personally and professionally. The researcher, who himself is not from Ireland, shared many of the same feelings as the pupils who took part in the research. As a foreigner, it was a unique experience to live in an unfamiliar culture, and experience it through a different 'cultural lens' through which the cultural characteristics of Irish society were clearer than expected. The researcher, like many of the pupils, saw himself as a foreigner living in Irish society and in many ways did not see himself as being part of Irish culture. Because of this, there was some level of connection with pupils who participated in the research. Not only did this change the researcher's understanding of Irish culture and society, but also the understanding of the researcher's own cultural background.

On a professional level, this study had a profound impact on how the researcher viewed himself as an educator and the methods that he used in his classrooms. In years prior to the study, the researcher believed that teaching history at

the second level should consist of the traditional narrative of the story of one's country; a story that should include all the groups present in that society, and that there was little room for interpretation or analytical debate over the 'truth' of history. The researcher realised that pupils from different groups in society look at history differently and that they are exposed to different histories through a variety of sources. History teachers, whether in the US, Canada, Australia, or Ireland, need to better understand this and bring different histories and viewpoints into their classroom. Different countries will have different goals and aims for why history is included in curricula; some, like in the US, may use history to create a stronger sense of unity in a country made up of a variety of ethnicities, religions, ethnicities and subcultures.

Limitations of this Study

Although there were interesting and significant data gathered during this research, there were limitations of the study that need to be addressed. Firstly, the pupil questionnaire was limited to the greater Dublin area, and only included seven secondary schools. For a more comprehensive understanding of not only international, but Irish pupils' perceptions, a larger national study which included rural and urban schools from around the country should be conducted. The experiences of the international pupils in rural communities are a possible focus of research in the hopes of developing a comparison between urban and rural settings. Also, a wider range of schools, such as more fee-paying schools, could have been included. The schools in the research consisted mainly of non-fee paying schools partly because these were the schools that allowed access to pupils and partly because there was a higher concentration of international pupils in non-fee paying schools in the Dublin area.

As such this research was a mere 'scratching of the surface'; it was an initial exploration into the view points of a relatively new population in Irish society that had, as of the being of this research, not been truly explored. Therefore, there is vast amount of research that needs to be undertaken to create more in-depth understanding of the lives and perspectives of international pupils living in a twenty-first century Ireland.

Possible Research Directions

Further research into not only the historical perspectives of international pupils but how pupils view and understand their everyday lives as newcomers to the Irish school system and Irish society needs to be undertaken.

A better understanding of how pupils develop connections with their teacher(s), and how this may translate into stronger connections with history in the classroom (formal), and how this compares to and affects their understandings of and relationships with history and historical sources outside of school (informal), is also a possible research avenue. Teachers can be strong influences on how pupils view history, what history they are exposed to, and the strength of connection and trust they have for sources of history. Because of this, further research into the relationship between teachers and pupils in history classrooms at the second level would provide vital information that would impact the pedagogy and content in classrooms in Ireland.

It was clear that media sources of history played a significant role in how pupils interacted with the past. Research into the types of media sources and the type of historical content international pupils are being exposed to. Coupled with this, there needs to be further research into the types of technology pupils use to access this history content. What are the future possibilities for using technology in the history

classroom, what effect will the expansion of technology have on pedagogy, and, how will this affect teacher training, if school of education are to keep up with the relentless growth of technology inside and outside of the classroom?

Teacher training must also be looked at to better understand the skills and methods that teachers are developing in the years before and after their qualification as teachers. Do they develop the skills to teach the analytical approach in which is prescribed by the Leaving Certificate curriculum? Also, researchers must look at the skills and understanding that history teachers develop in their third level history courses. Do teachers learn one set of skills in teacher training while developing another set in their history courses?

Conclusion

This research looked at a variety of different aspects of Irish and international pupils' understanding and opinions of formal and informal sources of history. What is clear is that, in many ways, Irish and international pupils view history in the same manner. For both of these groups family history, a history for which both these groups feel deep personal connections with, seems to be the most important to them. Although these similarities exist, there are significant differences between Irish and international pupils who participated in the study. While family history was important for both groups, the history that they are exposed to through their families can be quite different. Also, while Irish pupils found the history of Ireland to be quite important, international pupils found the history of their former countries to be important to them, again showing that Irish and international pupils connect and trust sources that expose them to different histories. If sociocultural theory is applied to how pupils view and use formal and informal sources of history (and if it is correct), then these pupils will develop different outlooks and different mediation patterns. The

question that arises and cannot be answered at the moment is what does this mean for an Irish society that is continually diversifying culturally, religiously and ethnically? Will Irish society change into something which these many old and new groups accept as their country and their culture? Will minority groups feel marginalised and uninvested in a WHISC dominated society, or will something new develop out of the recent transformation of Irish society? Many of the pupils talked about the possibility of identifying more with Irish culture in the future, but time and further research into this relatively new situation will help educators and non-educators understand the perceptions of pupils at the second level in Ireland.

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10. On a scale from 1 to 5, at what level of trust do have in the following sources of history? Circle one number for **EACH** (0 = no trust in the source of history and 5 = strong trust in source of history)

	No trust					Strong Trust
A. Museums or historical sites.	0	1	2	3	4	5
B. Personal accounts of a historical event.	0	1	2	3	4	5
C. Conversation with someone who was there.	0	1	2	3	4	5
D. History teacher	0	1	2	3	4	5
E. Non-fiction books.	0	1	2	3	4	5
F. Movies or TV	0	1	2	3	4	5
G. Internet/Websites	0	1	2	3	4	5
H. News paper or magazine	0	1	2	3	4	5
I. Family members	0	1	2	3	4	5

Section III: History in Schools: In this section I would like to know how feel about the teaching of history in schools in Ireland.

11. Do you feel that **all** students at the secondary level in Ireland should study history? (please tick ✓)

☐ yes ☐ NO

12. Of the following goals of history education which one do you feel is the ***most*** important? (please tick ✓ only one)

☐ To develop a tolerance for others who differ from us in language race or religion.

☐ To foster a spirit of nationalism

☐ To enable pupils to detect bias and prejudice

☐ To acquire an appreciation of Irish heritage

☐ To create good citizens

☐ To get a good grade in the examination

13. In recent years in Ireland, diverse cultural backgrounds and ethnicities have grown. Do you think more history content of these new groups should be included in history education in secondary schools in Ireland? (please tick ✓)

☐ YES ☐ NO

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Appendix A: Parent Permission Forms

TRINITY COLLEGE
THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

School of Education

Rm. 3087, Arts Block. Tel. (01) 8962433. Fax. (01) 6777238, email: garrisom@tcd.ie

Dear Parent or Guardian:

I am Mathew Garrison, a doctoral student of Dr. David Limond in the School of Education at Trinity College Dublin. I have been given permission by your child's school to under take a study into students' perceptions of history. This research study specifically focuses on International and Irish students' perceptions of history inside and outside of school and the potential affect this will have on the teaching of history in Ireland. This research consists of a survey questionnaire and short interviews. The questionnaire asks your child's opinions and views of history inside and outside of school. This questionnaire will be administered at your child's school. I request permission for your child to participate. **Please see the attached permission slip.**

Your child will participate only if he or she is willing to do so. Only I and Dr. Limond will have access to information from your child. At the conclusion of the study a summary of the results will be made available to all interested parents. The information obtained from your child is completely confidential; **at no point** will you and your child's name be used in reporting this information.

This research is independent of the school and is conducted with the schools permission. Participation in this study is voluntary and confidential.

I thank you for your time. You and your child's input to this research is valued and appreciated. Should you have any questions or desire further information, please feel free to contact me using the details above.

Sincerely,

Mr. Mathew Garrison

School of Education,
Trinity College of Dublin

TRINITY COLLEGE
THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

If you do grant permission for your child to participate, then there is no need to send this portion back.

If you do not grant permission to allow your child to participate in this study please check the statement below and return this portion along with the parent and student questionnaires via the stamped envelope provided.

_____ I do not grant permission for my child to participate in Mr. Mathew Garrison's study on connections with history.

Signature of Parent/Guardian	Printed Parent/Guardian Name
Printed Name of Child	Date

Apendix B: Principal Permission Form

TRINITY COLLEGE
THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

School of Education

Rm. 3087, Arts Block. Tel (01) 8962433. Fax. (01) 6777238, email: garrisom@tcd.ie,
mobile phone: 0872459526

October 24, 2007

Dear Principal,

My name is Mathew Garrison, a doctoral student of Dr. David Limond and a Part-time Post Graduate lecturer in the School of Education at Trinity College Dublin. I am conducting doctoral research on Irish and International secondary students' connection with history inside and outside of schools in Ireland. This research also includes the views and opinions of history teachers and parents/guardians of students. With the co-operation of the Post Graduate Diploma students who are conducting their teaching practice in your school, I am requesting permission for your secondary students to participate in this study.

I feel that this opportunity will help the Post Graduate students become more familiar with the educational research process. It is also a vital opportunity for me, as a researcher, to broaden my sample size.

Students and teachers in your school will participate only if they are willing to do so. Only I and Dr. Limond will have access to the data collected. At the conclusion of the study a summary of the results will be made available to all interested principals. The information obtained from your students, teachers and parent/guardians is completely confidential; **at no point** will your school, staff, students' and parents'/guardians' names be used in reporting this information. The confidentiality of the school, students and parents/guardians will be upheld. This research is based on the best international ethical practice. Parent/Guardian permission slips will be sent home through "school-bag mail" requesting that their child be allowed to take part in this research and will be returned to the teachers who issued them.

Methodology of Data Collection

This research is planned the 2007-2008 academic year and consists of the following data collection methods:

- A questionnaire for 'Irish' and 'International' students [which takes approximately 10-15 minutes to complete]
- A questionnaire for International students' parents/guardians
- A questionnaire for history teachers
- Follow-up interviews with select students

The follow-up interviews will be approximately 20 minutes in length and will be conducted on a pre-arranged time and date.

I would be grateful if you would agree to facilitate the distribution of the questionnaires to the **parents/guardians** in your school. This could be done in one of three ways:

A. The Post Graduate Diploma student(s) bring the questionnaires to the school and they use "school-bag mail" to get the questionnaires to parents/guardians. There is a return envelope with appropriate postage included in the packet and the parents mail the questionnaire directly to the School of Education at Trinity College Dublin.

C. The Post Graduate Diploma student(s) bring the questionnaires to the school and the they use "school-bag mail" to get the questionnaires to parents/guardians. The questionnaires are then returned to the teachers through "school-bag mail" and the teachers return the questionnaires to me at their lecture.

B. You agree to supply researchers with a mailing list of all families and we mail from the School of Education [any mailing list we receive will be destroyed as soon as labels are printed. The list will be seen by one designated researcher only].

I am requesting that the distribution of the **student** questionnaire could be done in the following manner:

- The Post Graduate Diploma student(s) bring the questionnaire to the school and each student administers the student questionnaire in his/her classes and they return the completed questionnaires to me at their lecture.

These methods are suggestion and the researcher is flexible and will facilitate any requests or further suggestions.

If you have any questions about the research proposed please contact me using the details above. I have included sample questionnaires and permission slips in this packet.

Please indicate your intentions on the following page. Please feel free to contact me via email to state your intentions.

Sincerely,

Mr. Mathew Garrison

School of Education,
Trinity College Dublin.

Please indicate whether or not you wish to allow your students to participate in this project and the method of data collection by checking one of the statements below, signing your name and returning it via the stamped addressed envelope included.

_____ I grant permission for students attending my school to participate in Mr. Mathew Garrison's study on secondary students' connections with history.

_____ I do not grant permission for my child to participate in Mr. Mathew Garrison's study on secondary students' connections with history.

I request that the **parent/guardian** questionnaires are distributed using:

_____ Option A

_____ Option B

_____ Option C

_____ _____

Signature of Principal/Head Teacher Printed Principal/Head Teacher

_____ _____

Name of School Date

Appendix C: Pupil Questionnaire

History and You

This is not a test. These questions have been designed so that you can let me know how you feel about the past and history inside and outside of your school. By the past I mean everything from the very distant past to your personal and family past, to the past of Ireland and other nations.

Please answer the questions honestly. Your answers will be treated confidentially.

I would like to thank you for taking part in this research.

SECTION I: In this section I would like to find out more about your background.

1. Date you are taking this survey:_____

2. What year did you start school in Ireland? _____

3. What is your date of birth?_____

4. Sex: Male / Female (circle one)

5. What year of school are you in?_____

6. What ethnic group do your belong to? (please tick ✓ **only one** answer)

A. White

1. ☐ Irish
2. ☐ Irish Traveller
3. ☐ Any other white background

B. Black or Black Irish

1. ☐ African
2. ☐ Any other Black background

C. Asian or Asian Irish

1. ☐ Chinese
2. ☐ Any other Asian background

D. Other, including mixed background

1. ☐ Other (include description)

_____

7. Were you born in Ireland? (please tick ✓)

☐ YES

☐ NO (if NO....

What country were you born in?_____

What year did you move to Ireland?_____

8. Was your mother born in Ireland? (please tick ✓)

☐ Yes

☐ NO (if NO...

What country was she born in?_____

9. Was your father born in Ireland? (please tick ✓)

☐ Yes

☐ No (if NO...

What country was he born?_____

Section II: Connections with the Past: In this section I would like to find out about how you feel about the past.

10. Which of these following activities have you done in the past 12 Months (please tick ✓ any that apply)

A. ☐ Looked at old family photographs with your family.

B. ☐ Looked at any photographs of friends that were taken in the past. (e.g. taken more than 1 year ago)

C. ☐ Taken any photographs so that you can remember an occasion or event.

Were any of the events of the following?

☐ birthday celebration of a grandparent or older relative.

☐ family outing or holiday.

☐ sporting event

☐ celebrating a religious event.

D. ☐ Watched movies or television programs about history.

E. ☐ Attended a gathering to see family members that you have not see in some time? (e.g. a family reunion, or family living in another country visiting)

F. ☐ Attended a gathering of a club or group that you used to belong to in the past but do not now? (e.g. an old sports club or church group)

G. ☐ Visited history museums or historic sites.

H. ☐ Read non-fiction books about history. (books that have nothing to do with a school lesson)

I. ☐ Read any fiction books about history. (books that have nothing to do with a school lesson)

J. ☐ Participated in any hobbies or worked on any collections related to the past. (e.g. model building, collecting old sports memorabilia)

What was the hobby?_____

K. ☐ Looked into the history of your family or worked on your family tree?

L. ☐ Keep a regular personal diary?

M. ☐ Belong to a group inside or outside of school that studies, preserves, or presents things in history?

11. Knowing the history of which of the following is ***most*** important to you? (please tick ✓ only one)

A. ☐ The history of Ireland

B. ☐ Your family history

C. ☐ The history of your racial or ethnic group.

D. ☐ The history your local community or village.

E. ☐ The history of your religion.

F. ☐ The history of Europe

G. ☐ The history of another country
(Which country?_____)

12. On a scale from 0 to 5, How connected to the past do you feel? Circle one number for **Each**. (0 = no connection and 5 = a strong connection)

	No Connection					Strong Connection
A. Talking with a family member about what life was like when they were young.	0	1	2	3	4	5
B. Visiting a history Museum or historic site.	0	1	2	3	4	5
C. Celebrating a religious holiday	0	1	2	3	4	5
D. Reading a non-fiction book about the past.	0	1	2	3	4	5
E. Reading a fiction book about the past.	0	1	2	3	4	5
F. Watching a movie or TV program about the past	0	1	2	3	4	5
G. Studying history in school.	0	1	2	3	4	5
H. Reading about history in a history textbook.	0	1	2	3	4	5
I. Gathering with your family.	0	1	2	3	4	5
J. Learning about history on the Internet	0	1	2	3	4	5

13. On a scale from 1 to 5, at what level of trust do have in the following sources of history? Circle one number for **EACH** (0 = no trust in the source of history and 5 = strong trust in source of history)

	No trust					Strong Trust
A. Museums or historical sites.	0	1	2	3	4	5
B. Personal accounts of a historical event.	0	1	2	3	4	5
C. Conversation with someone who was there.	0	1	2	3	4	5
D. History teacher	0	1	2	3	4	5
E. Non-fiction books.	0	1	2	3	4	5
F. Movies or TV	0	1	2	3	4	5
G. Internet/Websites	0	1	2	3	4	5
H. News paper or magazine	0	1	2	3	4	5
I. Parents or guardians	0	1	2	3	4	5
J. Older brother or sister	0	1	2	3	4	5
K. Grandparents	0	1	2	3	4	5
L. Your friends	0	1	2	3	4	5

---

14. At present are you studying history in school? (please tick ✓)

☐ Yes (if so go to question 15 on the next page)

☐ No (if so go to question 20 on page 9)

13. On a scale from 1 to 5, at what level of trust do have in the following sources of history? Circle one number for **EACH** (0 = no trust in the source of history and 5 = strong trust in source of history)

	No trust					Strong Trust
A. Museums or historical sites.	0	1	2	3	4	5
B. Personal accounts of a historical event.	0	1	2	3	4	5
C. Conversation with someone who was there.	0	1	2	3	4	5
D. History teacher	0	1	2	3	4	5
E. Non-fiction books.	0	1	2	3	4	5
F. Movies or TV	0	1	2	3	4	5
G. Internet/Websites	0	1	2	3	4	5
H. News paper or magazine	0	1	2	3	4	5
I. Parents or guardians	0	1	2	3	4	5
J. Older brother or sister	0	1	2	3	4	5
K. Grandparents	0	1	2	3	4	5
L. Your friends	0	1	2	3	4	5

---

14. At present are you studying history in school? (please tick ✓)

☐ Yes (if so go to question 15 on the next page)

☐ No (if so go to question 20 on page 9)

Section III: History in Schools: In this section I would like to know how feel about the teaching of history in your school.

15. Do you wish that you could study more history in school? (please tick ✓)

☐ YES ☐ NO

16. Using *one* word, describe how you feel about studying history in school?_____

17. Would you like to study history at third-level education (for example at university) (please tick ✓).

☐ YES

☐ NO

18. On a scale from 0 to 5 how interested are you in history in your school when you do the following activities? Circle one number for **EACH** (0 = no interest and 5 = very interested)

	No interest					Very interested
A. When you read from your textbook	0	1	2	3	4	5
B. Listening to your teacher	0	1	2	3	4	5
C. Watching movies about history in class	0	1	2	3	4	5
D. Researching historical topics on the internet for class work	0	1	2	3	4	5
E. Working in groups in your class	0	1	2	3	4	5
F. Discussing history with the rest of your class.	0	1	2	3	4	5
G. Investigating original documents from history (e.g. diaries, first hand accounts, newspapers, government documents.)	0	1	2	3	4	5

19. Please indicate whether any of the following factors influenced you in deciding to study history in school. (Tick ✓ any that apply)

A. I had no other option from which to choose ☐

B. I prefer history to other subjects offered ☐

C. I liked history in primary school ☐

D. I like my teacher ☐

E. History has a high educational value ☐

F. History is valuable for career opportunities ☐

G. I believe it is easy to get a good grade in history ☐

H. My parents advised me to take history ☐

I. My history teacher advised me to take history ☐

J. My principal advised me to take history ☐

K. Many of my friends decided to take history ☐

L. I intend to study history at third level ☐

M. Other reasons (please state)_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

-STOP-

Section IV: In this section I would like to know why you are not studying history in school.

20. Please indicate whether any of the following factors influenced you in deciding not to study history in school (Tick ✓ any that apply)

A. I did not qualify for entry into the history class ☐

B. I prefer to take alternative subject ☐

C. I did not like history in primary school ☐

D. I did not like the history teacher ☐

E. I believe that history does not have a high educational value ☐

F. I believe history will not create career opportunities ☐

G. I believe it is difficult to get a good grade in history ☐

H. My parents advised me not to take history ☐

I. My history teacher advised me not to take history ☐

J. My principal advised me not to take history ☐

K. My career guidance teacher advised me not to take history ☐

L. Most of my friends are not taking history ☐

M. I intend to study a different subject at third level ☐

O. Other reason (please state) ☐

_____

_____

_____

Appendix D: Parent/Guardian Questionnaire

TRINITY COLLEGE
THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

History and You

The questions have been designed so that you can let me know how you feel about the past and history education inside and outside of your school. By the past I mean everything from the very distant past to your personal and family past, to the past of Ireland and other nations.

Please answer the questions honestly. Your answers will be treated confidentially.

When you are finished, please post it back to the School of Education, Trinity College Dublin using the addressed stamped envelope provided.

I would like to thank you for taking part in this research.

SECTION I: In this section I would like to find out more about your background.

1. Date you are taking this survey:_____

2. What is your date of birth?_____

3. Sex: Male / Female (circle one)

4. What ethnic group do your belong to? (please tick ✓ **only one** answer)

A. White

1. ☐ Irish
2. ☐ Irish Traveller
3. ☐ Any other white background

B. Black or Black Irish

1. ☐ African
2. ☐ Any other Black background

C. Asian or Asian Irish

1. ☐ Chinese
2. ☐ Any other Asian background

D. Other, including mixed background

1. ☐ Other (include description)

_____

5. Were you born in Ireland? (please tick ✓)

☐ YES

☐ NO (if NO....

What country were you born in?_____

What year did you move to Ireland?_____

6. Was your mother born in Ireland? (please tick ✓)

☐ Yes

☐ NO (if NO...

What country was she born in?_____

7. Was your father born in Ireland? (please tick ✓)

☐ Yes

☐ No (if NO...

What country was he born in?_____

Section II: Connections with the Past: In this section I would like to find out about how you connect with the past.

8. Which of these following activities have you done with your children in the past 12 months (please tick ✓ any one that applies)

A. ☐ Looked at old family photographs with your family.

B. ☐ Looked at any photographs of friends that were taken in the past. (e.g. taken more than 1 year ago)

C. ☐ Taken any photographs so that you can remember an occasion or event.

Were any of the events of the following?

☐ birthday celebration of a grandparent or older relative.

☐ family outing or holiday.

☐ sporting event

☐ celebrating a religious event.

D. ☐ Watched movies or television programs about history.

E. ☐ Attended a gathering to see family members that you have not see in some time? (e.g. a family reunion, or family living in another country visiting)

F. ☐ Attended a gathering of a club or group that you used to belong to in the past but do not now? (e.g. an old sports club or church group)

G. ☐ Visited history museums or historic sites.

H. ☐ Read non-fiction books about history. (books that have nothing to do with a school lesson)

I. ☐ Read any fiction books about history. (books that have nothing to do with a school lesson)

J. ☐ Participated in any hobbies or worked on any collections related to the past. (e.g. model building, collecting old sports memorabilia)

What was the hobby?_____

K. ☐ Looked into the history of your family or worked on your family tree?

L. ☐ Keep a regular personal diary?

M. ☐ Belong to a group inside or outside of school that studies, preserves, or presents things in history?

9. Knowing the history of which of the following do you feel is the ***most*** important for your child? (please tick ✓ only one)

A. ☐ The history of Ireland

B. ☐ Your family history

C. ☐ The history of your racial or ethnic group.

D. ☐ The history your local community or village.

E. ☐ The history of your religion.

F. ☐ The history of Europe

G. ☐ The history of another country
(Explain_____
_____
_____)

10. On a scale from 1 to 5, at what level of trust do have in the following sources of history? Circle one number for **EACH** (0 = no trust in the source of history and 5 = strong trust in source of history)

	No trust					Strong Trust
A. Museums or historical sites.	0	1	2	3	4	5
B. Personal accounts of a historical event.	0	1	2	3	4	5
C. Conversation with someone who was there.	0	1	2	3	4	5
D. History teacher	0	1	2	3	4	5
E. Non-fiction books.	0	1	2	3	4	5
F. Movies or TV	0	1	2	3	4	5
G. Internet/Websites	0	1	2	3	4	5
H. News paper or magazine	0	1	2	3	4	5
I. Family members	0	1	2	3	4	5

Section III: History in Schools: In this section I would like to know how feel about the teaching of history in schools in Ireland.

11. Do you feel that **all** students at the secondary level in Ireland should study history? (please tick ✓)

☐ yes ☐ NO

12. Of the following goals of history education which one do you feel is the ***most*** important? (please tick ✓ only one)

☐ To develop a tolerance for others who differ from us in language race or religion.

☐ To foster a spirit of nationalism

☐ To enable pupils to detect bias and prejudice

☐ To acquire an appreciation of Irish heritage

☐ To create good citizens

☐ To get a good grade in the examination

13. In recent years in Ireland, diverse cultural backgrounds and ethnicities have grown. Do you think more history content of these new groups should be included in history education in secondary schools in Ireland? (please tick ✓)

☐ YES ☐ NO

14. How important is it to you that the history of your country of origin be included in the teaching of history in Ireland? Please circle one number. (0 = not important and 5 = very important)

Not Important					Very Important
0	1	2	3	4	5

15. Did you study history at the secondary level? (please tick ✓)

☐ YES ☐ NO

If you did study history at second level, using ***one*** word, describe how you feel about studying history in school?_____

16. Did you study history at third level (e.g. at university) (please tick ✓)

☐ YES ☐ NO

17. Would you like your child to study history at third-level education (for example at university) (please tick ✓)

☐ YES ☐ NO

18. Are any of your children currently studying history in school at the secondary level? (please tick ✓)

☐ YES ☐ NO

Appendix E: Teacher Questionnaire

TRINITY COLLEGE
THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

School of Education

History Education in Ireland

In recent years, due to immigration, classrooms in Ireland have seen a rise in students from culturally and ethnically diverse backgrounds. This questionnaire is to help me better understand your feelings as a history teacher towards the history curriculum and the potential impact this change in the student population may have on history education in Ireland.

Please answer the questions honestly. Your answers will be treated confidentially.

I would like to thank you for taking part in this research.

Section I

1. How many years have you been teaching?_____
2. How many years have you been teaching history?_____
3. About how many students do you have in your classes in total?_____
4. Out of those students, about how many are foreign-nationals?_____

Section II: The Aims of History Education

5. Rank in order (1-10) the following aims of history education that you feel are the most important (1 = the most important and 10 = the least important)

A. To develop a tolerance for others who differ from us in language race or religion _____

B. to provide training in the recognition of cause and effect _____

C. To foster a spirit of nationalism _____

D. To inculcate a sense of values _____

E. To enable pupils to detect bias and prejudice _____

F. To acquire a set of cognitive skills such as analysis, synthesis, exploration, evaluation etc. _____

G. To acquire an appreciation of Irish heritage _____

H. To get a good grade in the examination _____

I. To create good citizens _____

J. To acquire a body of knowledge about the past _____

6. Of the following histories which do you feel should receive the most attention in history education at the secondary level in Ireland? (please tick ✓ only one)

A. ☐ The history of Ireland

B. ☐ family history

C. ☐ The history of racial or ethnic groups.

D. ☐ local community or village history.

E. ☐ history of religion.

F. ☐ The history of Europe

G. ☐ The history of another country

Explain_____

H. ☐Other_____

7. Do you believe that ***all*** foreign-national students should take some form of Irish history at the second level? (please tick ✓)

☐ YES ☐ NO

Explain your answer:

8. Do you believe that the increase of foreign-national students in schools will change the content of the history syllabus at the secondary level? (please tick ✓)

☐ YES ☐ NO

Explain your answer:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. Do believe that the Revised Leaving Certification History Syllabus allows new foreign-national to engage with history from their culture and country? (please tick ✓)

☐ YES ☐ NO ☐ Not sure

Explain your answer:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____