

# Parental choice of primary and post-primary schools: myth or reality?

## 1. Purpose

This paper will examine the extent to which parents in Northern Ireland have a choice of different school types for their children by analysing the location of domestic properties and where schools are situated. Little has been written about choices of secondary schools after age 11 in Northern Ireland, as the focus has been instead on academic selection,<sup>1</sup> and there appears to have been even less research into what schools are available to parents (and learners) at primary level. The main school types, particularly Controlled (state but effectively Protestant) and Catholic Maintained schools, are within easy reach of the majority of the population, but other school types, notably Integrated schools, are much less accessible.<sup>2</sup> Also, even where some schools are within an easy commuting distance from households, they may be inaccessible to some pupils as a result of being over-subscribed. There are other sectors, particularly the Irish Medium sector, where provision may be lagging behind local demand, but this paper will focus on the difficulty that many households across Northern Ireland have in accessing Integrated education, despite a consistently expressed desire and support from most people in Northern Ireland for Integrated schools to be available to all.

## 2. Background

### 2.1 Parental Choice

In most cases there are just a few occasions in a child's educational journey when parents will be involved in school selection. These include the choice of a pre-school, when entering primary school and then transferring to a post-primary school. The 1989 Education Reform (NI) Order applied free market principles to schools in Northern Ireland, including introducing competition between schools and open enrolment. In theory, this gives parents the opportunity to select any school for their children. Schools now develop their own enrolment criteria and take as many pupils as they want, up to an annual limit set for each school. Particularly within a selective system, there are questions as to how much choice parents actually have at post-primary level<sup>3</sup> but, for many, there is a notional choice within a range of primary and post-primary schools. However, in a divided society like Northern Ireland, many parents are faced with a choice between a Controlled school, state-run but effectively Protestant in governance, enrolment and ethos, and a school largely attended by pupils from the Catholic community, such as a Catholic Maintained or an Irish Medium school. If no other choices are readily available, parents generally choose a school which fits their community identity, replicating the divided system of education. In this briefing paper, we are going to look at the extent to which parents have other choices available to them.

While only 7% of pupils in Northern Ireland attend Integrated schools, when asked, most people in Northern Ireland express a view that the NI Executive should encourage more integration in education. A range of surveys "...found that over one third of respondents would like to send their children to an integrated school if there was one in the vicinity".<sup>4</sup> In a 2018 poll, 69% of respondents agreed that every school in Northern Ireland should be integrated; a response made irrespective of faith, gender, age, geographical location or political affiliation.<sup>5</sup> Another poll the same year asked parents whether they would support their school transforming to Integrated status, and over 67% agreed.<sup>6</sup> A 2011 study confirmed that "...the vast majority of people believe that integrated education is important for promoting a shared and better future (91%), promoting mutual respect and understanding (91%) and for peace and reconciliation (90%)".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Henderson, L. (2020) Children's education rights at the transition to secondary education: School choice in Northern Ireland *British Education Research Journal*, p8. <sup>2</sup>These might potentially include Irish Medium schools and Special schools and, in some areas, Voluntary Grammar schools, although consideration of all of these is not possible in this paper. <sup>3</sup>Henderson, L. (2020) The impact of the transfer test and selective schooling on school choice will form the basis of a later Briefing Paper. <sup>4</sup>Hansson, U., O'Connor-Bones, U. and McCord, J. (2013) *Integrated education: a review of policy and research evidence 1999-2012*, p.8. <sup>5</sup>Sky News (2018) *Northern Ireland Poll Summary Report*, March 2018 <https://view.publitas.com/integrated-education-fund/sky-news-poll-summary-report/page/1>. <sup>6</sup>LucidTalk (2018) *Northern Ireland (NI) Attitudinal Poll*, March 2018. <sup>7</sup>Perry, C. (2011) *Sharing and collaborating in education*, NIAR. 399-11, p22.

Despite this, recent expansion in either the Controlled or Grant Maintained Integrated sector<sup>8</sup> has been very gradual. This continued but slow growth has often been against a backdrop of reduced enrolments and the closure of schools in many other sectors. Nevertheless, it poses the question as to why, if the population is so favourably inclined towards Integrated education, the proportion of pupils attending Integrated schools is still relatively low. One factor may be the accessibility of existing Integrated schools and the other may be as a result of a lack of impetus to satisfy the demand for places in Integrated schools.

2.2 Travel to primary schools

A literature review uncovered a range of international studies (Table 1) which suggested that average distances travelled to primary schools by pupils is less than two miles, although figures vary considerably according to a range of factors including the shape of the cities, the effectiveness of travel routes, perceived safety issues and school provision. In England, 69% of 9 to 10-year-olds live within half a mile of their school. For the Republic of Ireland, the national average travel distance for primary school pupils is higher than most other countries at just over three miles, which may reflect a scattered rural population in much of the country. The Department of Education in Northern Ireland has set the qualifying distance to get transport assistance to attend primary school at two miles, based on the shortest walking distance.<sup>9</sup>

Table 1 - Average distance of travel to primary school		
Study location	Age of pupils (yrs)	Average distance travelled to get to school (miles) or percentage living within a certain distance
Vancouver, Canada <sup>10</sup>	9-13	0.43
Chile <sup>11</sup>	6-13	1.5
England <sup>12</sup>	5-10	1.6
Republic of Ireland <sup>13</sup>	4-11	3.03 (given as 4.88km)
England <sup>14</sup>	9-10	69% live within 0.5 miles of school

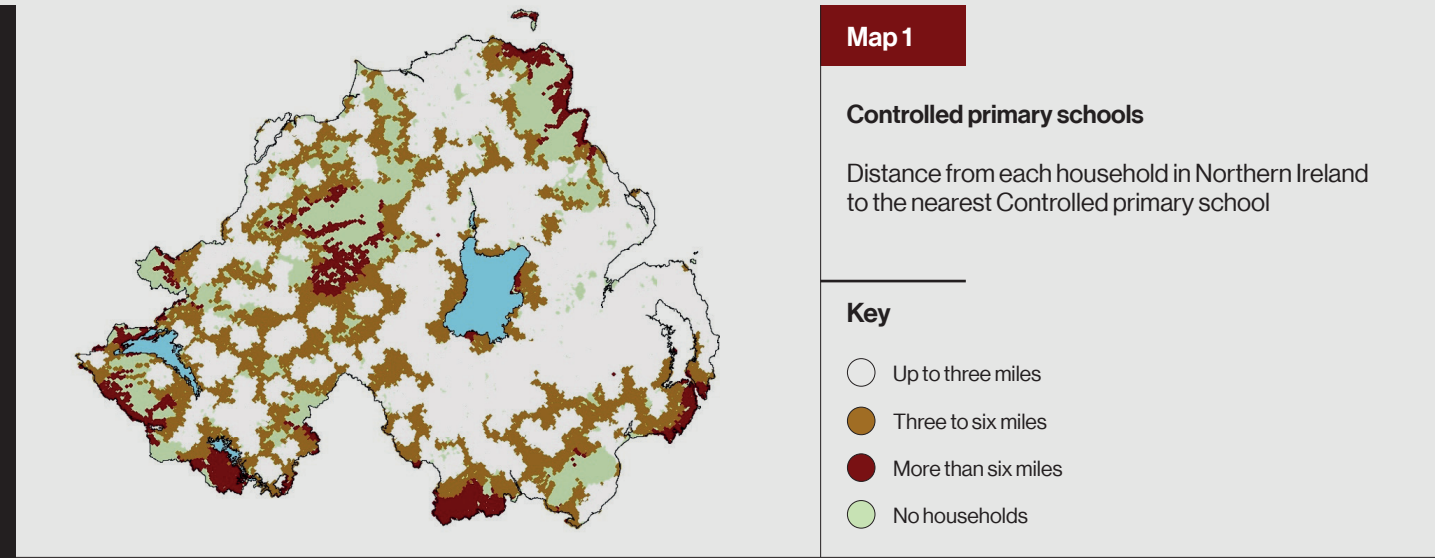
In this research a Geographic Information System (GIS) analysis of all households<sup>15</sup> in Northern Ireland was undertaken, examining the travel distance (by road) between each household and the nearest school of each type: Maintained, Controlled and Integrated.<sup>16</sup>

Table 2 - Primary Schools in Northern Ireland Distance from households in Northern Ireland to different school types (% of all households)			
Distance band (miles)	Maintained Primary Schools	Controlled Primary Schools	Integrated Primary Schools
0 - 1.0	48.4	58.4	10.8
1.1 - 2.0	28.0	22.8	26.4
2.1 - 3.0	11.9	9.2	18.3
3.1 - 4.0	5.5	4.5	9.2
4.1 - 5.0	4.2	1.8	6.8
5.1 - 6.0	1.3	1.0	6.4
6.1 - 7.0	0.4	0.8	5.8
7.1 - 8.0	0.2	0.6	2.6
8.1 - 9.0	0.1	0.4	2.7
9.1 - 10.0	0.0	0.2	3.2
>10.0	0.0	0.2	7.7

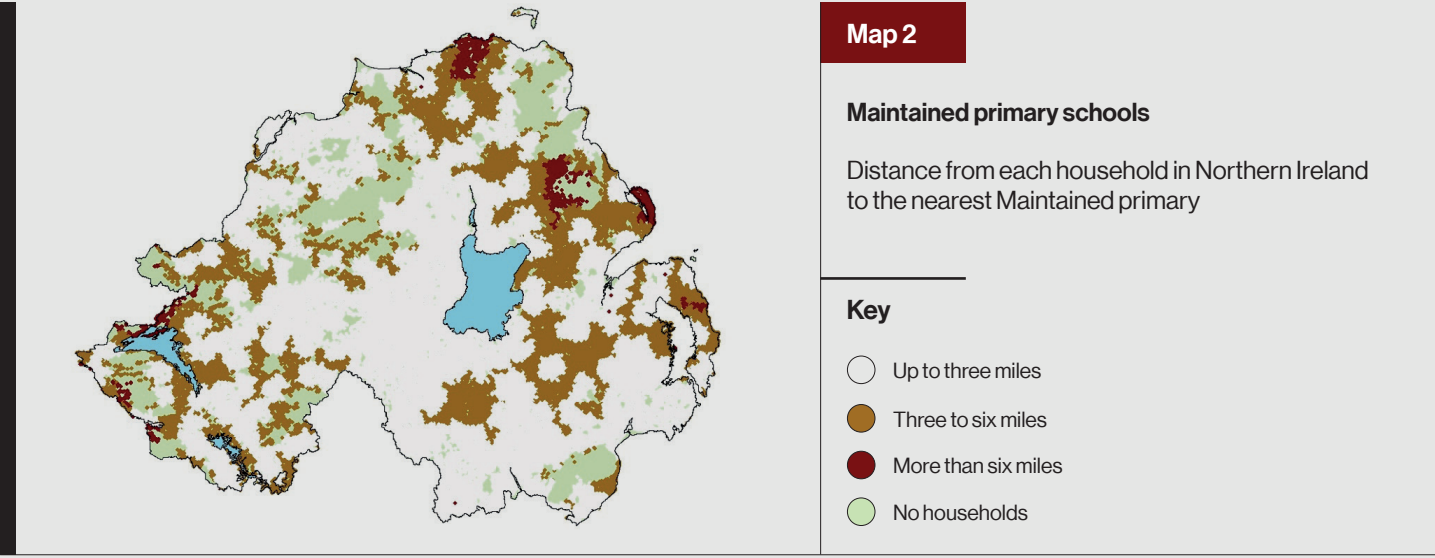
<sup>8</sup>Integrated schools are of two types. Grant Maintained Integrated schools are newly established schools while schools which transform from existing Controlled or Maintained schools can choose to be either Controlled Integrated or Grant Maintained Integrated schools. While there is some evidence of change afoot, to date all transformed schools have previously been Controlled schools. Most recent growth in the Integrated sector has been through transformation of Controlled schools. <sup>9</sup>DENI (1996) School Transport Circular 1996/41 Available from <https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/publications/circular-199641-home-school-transport>. <sup>10</sup>Race, D.L., Sims-Gould, J., Lee, N.C., Frazer, A.D., Voss, C., Naylor, P.J. and McKay, H.A. (2017) Urban and Suburban children's experiences with school travel—a case study. *Journal of Transport & Health*, 4, 305-315. <sup>11</sup>Calquín, C.C., Farris, M. and Patuelli, K.R. (2017) Discussing school socioeconomic segregation in territorial terms: the differentiated influence of urban fragmentation and daily mobility, *Investigaciones Geográficas, Boletín del Instituto de Geografía*, 92, 34-50. <sup>12</sup>Department for Transport (2014) *National Travel Survey 2014: Travel to school*. <sup>13</sup>Cited in Kelly, J.A. and Fu, M. (2014) Sustainable school commuting – understanding choices and identifying opportunities. A case study in Dublin, Ireland. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 34, 221-230. <sup>14</sup>Owen, C.G., Nightingale, C.M., Rudnicka, A.R., van Sluijs, E.M.F., Ekelund, U., Cook, D.G., Whincup, P.H. (2012) *Travel to School and Physical Activity Levels in 9–10 Year-Old UK Children of Different Ethnic Origin; Child Heart and Health Study in England*. (CHASE). PLoS ONE. 7(2). <sup>15</sup>The term 'households' has been used in this paper: strictly speaking these are domestic properties. <sup>16</sup>All households were included because, clearly, there is no publicly available information about which households in Northern Ireland contain school-aged children. While not all of these households will have children of school age, each could have.

Table 2 shows that 48% of households – more than 370,000 households in all – are within one mile of a Maintained primary school by road, and 76% of households are located two miles or less from such schools. For Controlled primaries the number of households located within one mile is even greater at 447,000, or 58% of all households, and 81% of households are within two miles from a Controlled primary school. Clearly, most households are within relatively easy reach of either a Maintained or a Controlled primary school, close enough in most cases to make walking to school a realistic possibility.

Integrated schools are not so convenient to many households, as less than 11% have an Integrated primary school within one mile, the equivalent of fewer than 83,000 households. Similarly, only 37% of all households are within two miles of an Integrated primary school.



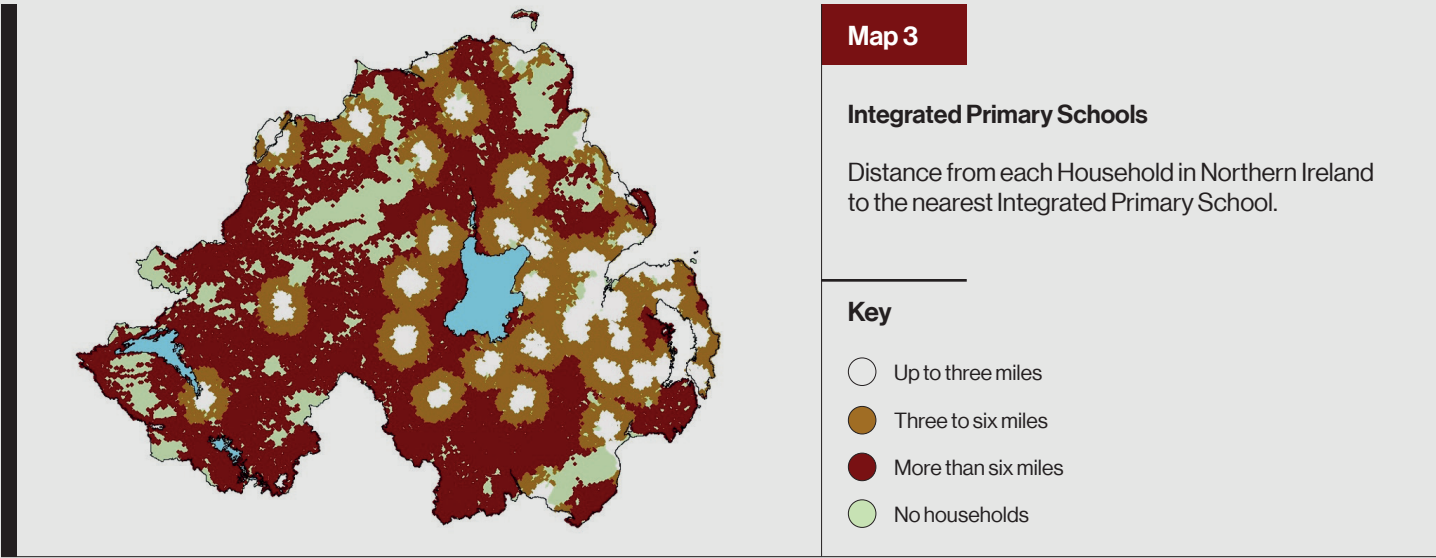
Map 1 shows that most of the inhabited parts of Northern Ireland are within close proximity of a Controlled primary school. Six miles is roughly twice the highest average distance travelled to primary school in international studies and may be taken as the distance beyond which primary schools become effectively inaccessible, requiring a commute of 12 miles or more each day. Only 2.2% of households in Northern Ireland are six miles or more by road from the nearest Controlled primary. The darkest colours in Map 1 indicate those households where a Controlled primary school is effectively inaccessible; these tend to be in relatively peripheral coastal and border areas, as well as parts of the Sperrin Mountains.



The ease of access for households to Maintained primaries is similar (Map 2) and, for them, only 0.7% of households are located more than six miles from such schools. The few households not within a reasonable distance of a Maintained primary school include those in parts of County Antrim and in some of the border regions of Fermanagh. There is evidence that some of the people living in border communities use schools in the Republic of Ireland, but the numbers are believed to be relatively small.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup>DENI (2014) *Independent review of home to school transport review*. Available from <https://www.education-ni.gov.uk/publications/independent-review-home-school-transport-reports>: 197-198, p.77.





Map 3, showing Integrated primary schools, is very different. Large areas in every county of Northern Ireland have households from which Integrated primary schools are effectively inaccessible, but particularly in the south and west. In all, 22% of households in NI are more than six miles by road from the nearest Integrated primary school and more than 10% are located ten miles or more away from such a school. For a large proportion of households in Northern Ireland, were they to have children of primary school age, attendance at an Integrated primary school is largely out of the question, even if school transport was available to them. Most of those parents have to send their child to a non-Integrated primary school, even if that is not what they or their children want. Effectively, they have no choice.

It may be noted that these differences may be the reason why the proportion of pupils in receipt of school transport in 2012/13 was much higher for Controlled Integrated primary schools (34%) and Grant Maintained Integrated primaries (23%) than for Maintained primaries (11%) and Controlled primaries (9%).<sup>18</sup> Parents who wish their children to attend Integrated schools have to accept considerably longer commute distances. Most learners live an accessible distance from their local Maintained or Controlled primary school but, in most instances, this is not the case for Integrated primaries.

2.3 Travel to post-primary schools

A review of published international papers into travel patterns for students attending post-primary education indicates that longer distances are travelled on average. This is unsurprising given the smaller number and larger scale of post-primary schools compared to primary schools. In most instances around the world, the average distance travelled by these older children and young people is less than four miles; DENI have set the qualifying distance to get transport assistance at three miles in Northern Ireland, as measured by the shortest walking distance, for post-primary pupils.

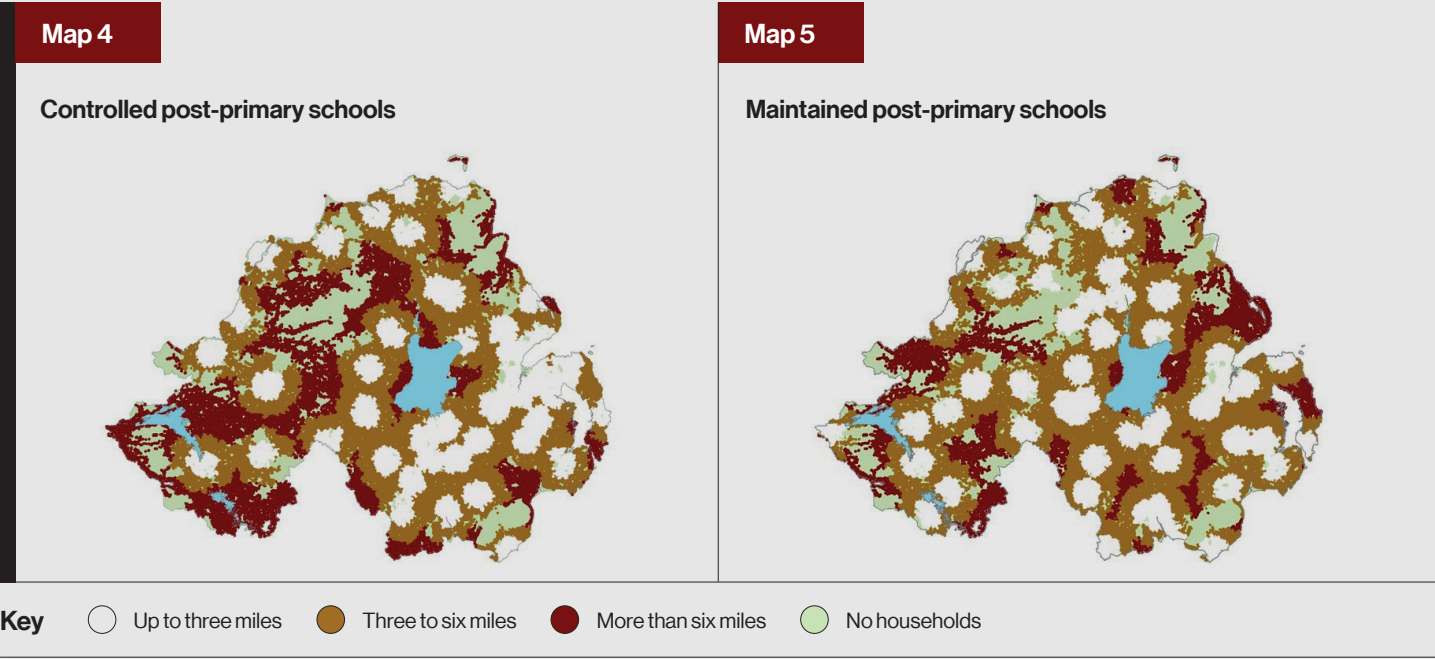
Table 3 - Average distance of travel to post-primary school		
Study location	Age of pupils (yrs)	Average distance travelled to get to school (miles) or percentage living within a certain distance
Dresden, Germany <sup>19</sup>	10-19	0.5 (walking); 1.4 (cycling)
Ireland <sup>20</sup>	15-17	4.31
England <sup>21</sup>	11-16	3.4
United States <sup>22</sup>	5-18	58% live within one mile of school
London, Ontario, Canada <sup>23</sup>	12-14	62% live within one mile of school
San Francisco Bay area, USA <sup>24</sup>	10-14	68.9% live within two miles of school
Northern Ireland <sup>25</sup>	11-16	5.0 (45% live within three miles of school)

<sup>18</sup>DENI (2014), p.79. <sup>19</sup>Müller, S., Tscharaktschiew, S. and Haase, K. (2008) Travel-to-school mode choice modelling and patterns of school choice in urban areas. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 16(5), 342-357. <sup>20</sup>Nelson, N.M., Foley, E., O’Gorman, D.J., Moyna, N.M. & Woods, C.B. (2008) Active commuting to school: How far is too far? *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity*, 5(1), 1-9. <sup>21</sup>Dept of Transport (2014). <sup>22</sup>Beck, L.F. and Nguyen, D.D. (2017) School transportation mode, by distance between home and school, United States, Consumer Styles 2012. *Journal of safety research*, 62, 45-251. <sup>23</sup>Larsen, K. Gilliland, J. & Hess, P. (2012) Route-Based Analysis to Capture the Environmental Influences on a Child’s Mode of Travel between Home and School. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 102(6), 1348-1365. <sup>24</sup>McDonald, N.C. and Aalborg, A.E. (2009) Why Parents Drive Children to School: Implications for Safe Routes to School Programs. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 75(3), 331-342. <sup>25</sup>DENI (2014), p.159.

The average distance travelled to post-primary schools in Northern Ireland is just over five miles.<sup>26</sup> However, this masks considerable variations between post-primary school sectors and one impact of academic selection is to increase travel at post-primary level. Pupils attending Grammar schools have, in some regions, an average trip distance of 6.9 miles, which is much higher than the average 4.1 mile journey to attend non-selective post-primaries. Only 12% of Grammar school pupils in 2007/08 were attending their nearest post-primary school, compared to 30% of non-selective post-primary pupils. Over 70% of the pupils from non-selective schools do not attend their nearest post-primary school, which may be a result of the different systems of largely Catholic and largely Protestant schools, respectively catering for their own communities.<sup>27</sup> In the case of Belfast, 88% of Grammar school pupils did not attend their nearest school.<sup>28</sup> Despite current school transport mileage for post-primary students in Northern Ireland averaging 5.11 miles, the nearest post-primary school which is age- and gender-appropriate is calculated as 2.34 miles away on average.<sup>29</sup> Indeed “...if all pupils attended their nearest school, nearly a third would then have a journey of less than a mile... nearly two thirds would live within two miles”.<sup>30</sup>

High proportions of households in Northern Ireland are close to a majority Catholic post-primary school (Maintained, or Voluntary with a Catholic ethos). Similar proportions are close to a majority Protestant school (Controlled, or Voluntary with a Protestant ethos). For instance, over 370,000 households (48% of the total) are within two miles of a Catholic post-primary school (Table 4). For Protestant post-primaries the number of households located within two miles is even greater at 57%, or almost 439,000 households. Around half of all households in Northern Ireland have post-primary schools within easy walking distance. Map 4 shows that most households across Northern Ireland are within a few miles of a Protestant post-primary school. If we assume that eight miles is the distance where post-primary schools start to become an impractical prospect for most pupils, at almost twice the average travel distance and with a minimum 16 miles commute each day, then the provision for household access to Protestant post-primaries is reasonable with less than 9% of all households located more than eight miles away from such schools (Table 4). Similarly, only 8% of Northern Ireland’s households are more than eight miles from the nearest Catholic post-primary. Map 5 shows that households in only a small number of areas are isolated from Catholic post-primary schools.

Distance from each Household in Northern Ireland to the nearest Controlled or Maintained post-primary school

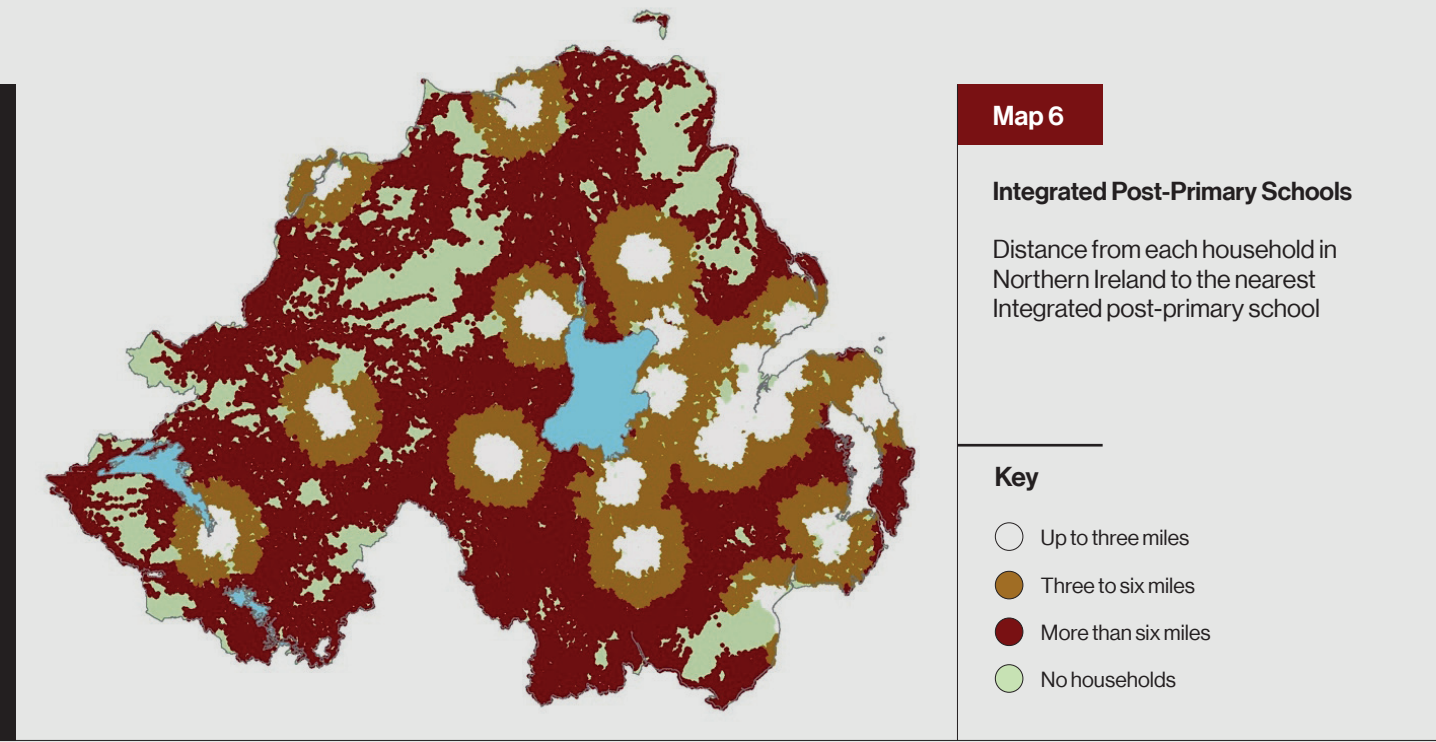


In contrast to the relative proximity of most households to Catholic and Protestant post-primary schools, only 17% of households are located within two miles of an Integrated post-primary school, the equivalent of just 136,000 households. At a maximum of four miles, 69% of households have a Catholic post-primary school accessible to them (Table 4) and the equivalent figure is 74% for a Protestant post-primary school. In contrast, less than half of households in Northern Ireland are located within four miles of an Integrated school. If eight miles travel each way is taken as the limiting distance, then Integrated post-primary schools are largely inaccessible for 27% of households across Northern Ireland. Nonetheless some pupils, often with parental assistance, make the effort to attend such schools. It is reported that “...four of the Integrated post-primary schools [across Northern Ireland] have over a third of their parents travelling more than ten miles to school. Nearly two thirds of post-primary school pupils attending Integrated schools live more than three miles away”.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> DENI (2014), p.132 <sup>27</sup>In this research, we are interested in attendance at schools which cater largely for one section of the community. Those post-primary schools with a mainly Catholic enrolment include Catholic Maintained schools, Irish medium schools and Voluntary Grammar schools with a Catholic ethos. Those schools with a mainly Protestant enrolment include Controlled schools and Voluntary Grammar schools with a Protestant ethos. A small number of ‘Catholic’ and ‘Protestant’ schools have a fairly mixed enrolment, but even these generally cater for their main community. <sup>28</sup>DENI (2014), p.132. <sup>29</sup>DENI (2014), p.203. <sup>30</sup>DENI (2014), p.203. <sup>31</sup>DENI (2014), p.99.

Table 4 - Post-Primary Schools Distance from households in Northern Ireland to post-primary schools (% of all households)			
Distance band (miles)	Post-primary schools mainly catering for Catholics	Post-primary schools mainly catering for Protestants	Integrated post-primary schools
0 - 1.0	22.9	26.9	4.2
1.1 - 2.0	25.5	30.4	13.2
2.1 - 3.0	12.6	11.2	17.6
3.1 - 4.0	7.5	5.6	12.2
4.1 - 5.0	6.7	5.4	9.1
5.1 - 6.0	6.7	5.6	5.9
6.1 - 7.0	6.0	3.4	4.6
7.1 - 8.0	3.8	3.0	6.4
8.1 - 9.0	3.1	2.4	4.3
9.1 - 10.0	1.5	1.7	3.3
>10.0	3.8	4.5	19.2

Map 6 highlights those areas where attendance at an Integrated post-primary school is likely to be particularly challenging for many households.



2.4 Settlement size and access to schools

Additional analysis shows that, in large settlements, the distances that household members need to travel by road to reach most school types are generally low. For example, 81% of all households in Belfast are within one mile of a Controlled primary school, and 80% are within one mile of a Maintained primary school. However, even in Belfast, only 16% of households are within one mile of an Integrated primary. The discrepancies in access to Integrated and non-Integrated education become still greater in smaller settlements. In towns with a population of 5,000-10,000 people, for instance, Catholic and Protestant primaries are relatively accessible with most households being a mile or less from these schools. On the other hand, less than 20% of households are within one mile of an Integrated primary school in settlements of this size and nearly half of them are three miles or more away. Access to Integrated schools for households in even smaller settlements with a population of 1,000-2,500 is reduced further – over half are within one mile of a Protestant and a Catholic primary school but only 6% of households in such settlements are within one mile of an Integrated primary.

A similar pattern exists for post-primary access – Protestant or Catholic schools in smaller settlements are relatively accessible to most households, but Integrated post-primary schools are inaccessible to most households.

3. Where all schools are accessible

There are areas in Northern Ireland where households are within relatively easy reach of Protestant, Catholic and Integrated schools, especially in larger settlements and in cities – those areas shown in white on all the maps. It might be thought that those parents really do have a choice as to which school their children could attend. However, even there, parents may not be able to exercise the choice for Integrated education that they so often express in surveys but appear not to apply in terms of school enrolment.

One reason may be that many Integrated schools have more pupils applying for places than their permitted annual intake allows. As far back as 2004 it was reported that “Integrated schools are heavily oversubscribed”<sup>32</sup> and, in another source, “the provision of integrated schooling appears to lag significantly behind the demand for places”.<sup>33</sup> In 2009, it was noted that “many Integrated Schools are over-subscribed and the availability of additional places would add to the numbers of children in the integrated sector”.<sup>34</sup> This study remarked that the “average rate of over-subscription across the 50 [Integrated] schools was almost 25%, with the highest levels in the colleges ... at well over 50%”.<sup>35</sup> In 2013, it was said that “the two most oversubscribed schools in Northern Ireland are integrated colleges”.<sup>36</sup> This appears still to be the case in many instances. Writing in 2020, although using earlier data, one researcher “...found Integrated schools to be disproportionately oversubscribed”.<sup>37</sup> In 2019, a newspaper reported that “demand is high [for Integrated education] and all integrated schools are over-subscribed”.<sup>38</sup> While it is an exaggeration to claim every Integrated school is over-subscribed, there is clearly a high demand for places in many of them.

All of this would suggest that for many parents ‘having a choice’ for their children to attend such a school is illusory even for those living within realistic commuting distance of an Integrated school. The chances of getting enrolled will be low, if the school has reached its maximum permitted intake. Those who live further away from current provision may find it particularly challenging, or even impossible in practical terms, to attend an Integrated school – again ‘choice’ is largely unavailable.

4. Summary & Considerations

Of Northern Ireland’s school-aged population, only 7% attend Integrated schools. However, given that over a quarter of households (28%) are located in areas of Northern Ireland where access to Integrated primary schools is limited and a similar percentage (26%) are remote from Integrated post-primaries, 7% may be more significant than it appears.

Households in larger settlements unsurprisingly have greater access to a broader range of schools, and this extends to a lesser degree to Integrated schools also. However, the smaller the settlement, the less likelihood there is of an Integrated school being accessible to a household. In small villages, access to Integrated schools is very limited even when other schools are accessible. For many, especially in smaller settlements, access to Integrated education is very restricted and, in many cases, entirely impractical because attendance would require a long and time-consuming journey each school day.

Even where Integrated schools are accessible to households, that choice is often not available because of over-subscription as the growth in the number of Integrated schools has been insufficient to meet the demand for places in many instances.

It has been argued that, “...given the ubiquity of separate schools throughout the history of education in Ireland, the fact that an Integrated sector has developed at all in Northern Ireland is remarkable”.<sup>39</sup> Reaching 7% of the school population in a context where, for many households, Integrated education is a far from straightforward option is also remarkable, yet it is clear that some parents, and their children, go to considerable lengths in order to access Integrated schools. Nevertheless, for some households it is simply not a feasible or realistic proposition under current provision. Under the 1989 Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order, the Department of Education in Northern Ireland is required to “...encourage and facilitate the development of integrated education”.<sup>40</sup> However, some writers question the commitment of the NI Executive to delivering this statutory requirement,<sup>41 42</sup> with the Northern Ireland Executive being accused of failing to “lead the planning, development and growth of Integrated education”.<sup>43</sup> This legal obligation must be enacted if those parents who wish their children to attend such schools are not to have their choices seriously restricted.

<sup>32</sup>McGlynn, C. (2004) Education for peace in integrated schools: a priority for Northern Ireland? *Child Care in practice*, 10:285-94, p85.

<sup>33</sup>McGlynn, C., Niens, U., Cairns, E. and Hewstone, M. (2004) Moving our of conflict: the contribution of integrated schools in Northern Ireland to identity, attitudes, forgiveness and reconciliation. *Journal of Peace Education*, 1(2), 142-163, p152.

<sup>34</sup>McAleavy, G., Donegan, T. and O'Hagan, C. (2009) Visioning New Modes of Integrated and Shared Schooling in Northern Ireland. *European Journal of Education*, 44(4), 539-558, p549.

<sup>35</sup>McAleavy et al., (2009), p549.

<sup>36</sup>Borooah, V.K. and Knox, C. (2013) The contribution of 'shared education' to Catholic-Protestant reconciliation in Northern Ireland: a third way? *British Educational Research Journal*, 39(5), 925-946, p931

<sup>37</sup>Henderson, L. (2020), p16.

<sup>38</sup>The Guardian, 8th October 2019 <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2019/oct/08/nobel-peace-prize-nomination-for-schools-breaking-northern-irelands-barriers>

<sup>39</sup>Gallagher, T., Smith, A. and Montgomery, A. (2003) *Integrated Education in Northern Ireland: Participation, Profile and Performance*. The Nuffield Foundation, UNESCO Centre, University of Ulster, p13.

<sup>40</sup>Department of Education (Northern Ireland) (DENI) (1990) The Education Reform (1989 Order) (Commencement No 2) Order (Northern Ireland) 1990 [https://www.educationni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/de/ed\\_reform\\_89\\_order\\_1990-34%20%281%29.pdf](https://www.educationni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/de/ed_reform_89_order_1990-34%20%281%29.pdf).

<sup>41</sup>Moffat, C. (2013) Education Rights in Divided Societies: A Right to Integrated Education in Northern Ireland? *Socio-Legal Studies Review* (23), pp23-54.

<sup>42</sup>Hansson, U. and Roulston, S. (2020) Integrated and shared education: Sinn Féin, the Democratic Unionist Party and educational change in Northern Ireland. *Policy Futures in Education*.

<sup>43</sup>BBC (2017) *Stormont criticised on integrated schools* <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-39147711>.





**transforming education**

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