WHAT WAS THE REAL TROUBLE WITH THE TROUBLES?

The Lived Experience of Attending a Maintained School in Northern Ireland During the

Troubles

by

Lisabeth D. Sweeney

Liberty University

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

[March, 2023]

APPROVED BY:

Margaret Gopaul, PhD., MSCP., Committee Chair

Elisabeth Waterbury, PhD., Committee Member

ABSTRACT

Immigrant parents from Northern Ireland (NI) interact with American schools differently than most other immigrant cultures. The current generation of NI immigrant parents grew up amidst a sectarian conflict known as *the Troubles*. This cohort also attended Catholic maintained schools in NI, where corporal punishment was a daily experience. These life experiences can potentially shape an individual's worldview and view of education. This qualitative study aimed to understand the lived experience of attending maintained schools in NI during the Troubles and how this phenomenon may have shaped NI parents' view of education. A phenomenological approach using a qualitative survey and 11 interviews was conducted. Colaizzi's steps for analysis were employed to examine the data. This study found that the sectarian violence of the Troubles was relatively predictable. Strong Catholic identity and the presence of buffering adults helped to shield and inoculated the children against the trauma. This study also found numerous positive likely engendered by the Troubles experience. Corporal punishment in Northern Irish maintained schools was arbitrary, inequitable, inescapable, and often brutal. Students were victims of or witnesses to the violence almost daily, which engendered degrees of learned helplessness, emotional resignation, and nurtured adverse mental health effects. This study brings valuable awareness on many levels that can promote further research into the culture of generation poverty, the "good enough syndrome," and ways to address school failures. Further study of the parallels may yield valuable data to find ways to serve students better.

Keywords: The Troubles, Catholic, corporal punishment, sectarian, identity, maintained school, normalized violence

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, who first inspired my love for learning, to my husband, Terence, without whom, this dissertation would not have been possible, and to my Father in Heaven, without whom this dissertation would be meaningless, because "I count all things to be loss in view of the surpassing value of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord" (Philippians 3:8a)

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my dissertation committee chair, Dr. Margaret Gopaul, for her expertise and exceptional support; her faith in me meant more than I can say. I am also deeply indebted to Dr. Elisabeth Waterbury, whose, insightful feedback, knowledge, and encouragement were invaluable. This dissertation would not have been possible had God not gifted me with supportive teachers and parents from the beginning of my academic career through this doctoral level. I am particularly thankful for all the professors in Liberty's School of Behavioral Sciences; every professor taught me something valuable that I have applied while completing this dissertation. Under their guidance, I have learned so much, grown in my faith, and sincerely enjoyed every step of this doctoral journey. Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Terence (another gift from God) who encouraged me to start this journey, inspired the thesis topic, and supported my efforts over two long years of doctoral work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Introduction

The topic of this study was the lived experience of attending a maintained (Catholic public) school, in Northern Ireland (NI) during the sectarian conflict euphemistically referred to as *the Troubles*. This time period is salient because it made being Catholic and loyalty to the Catholic church a very large part of one's identity for Catholics in Northern Ireland (Merrilees et al., 2011; Muldoon et al., 2021). Corporal punishment was the primary method of academic discipline and class management employed by Catholic public schools in NI until 1987 (Maguire & Cinnéide, 2005). The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of the lived experience of those individuals who attended maintained schools during the Troubles and examine how it might impact the way immigrants from Northern Ireland think about education in general and about their role as parents in their children's education.

Chapter one provides contextual background for why this study was conducted and what triggered the investigation. A description of immigration statistics is presented. This is followed by a brief discussion of the patterns and commonalities prior research found among immigrants with school-age children. The chapter then outlines the uniqueness of immigrants from Northern Ireland and the socio-political events that may have shaped both their worldview and their view of education. This is followed by a brief discussion of relevant psychological theories. A biblical basis is then provided, and the gap in the literature that this study seeks to fill is explained. This is followed by the research questions. Chapter one concludes with a discussion of the assumptions and limitations inherent in this study. Chapter two provides a review of the literature salient to the phenomenon studied. Chapter two also

includes a discussion of the methodology that underpins this study and why a phenomenological approach is appropriate. Chapter three delineates the methodology employed to research current literature, recruit participants, gather data, and analyze that data. Chapter four presents the findings of the study, including the descriptive results of the study as well as a review of the analysis conducted and the codes that were used to organize the data. The themes that emerged during the course of the study and visual portrayals of the data are presented. This chapter concludes with a summary of the key results. This chapter also contains my bracketing and personal reflections as the researcher on the process and the findings. Chapter five discusses what the findings mean in light of the research reviewed in chapter two. This is followed by a discussion of how the findings in this study contribute to the literature and how it fits with the biblical foundations presented in chapter two. Implications for the findings in theory and practice are discussed. This is followed by a summary of the study's limitations and recommendations for future research and practice.

Background

Impetus for the Study

This study was originally inspired by work with Afghan refugee families settling in the United States. Immigrant parents of school-age students often struggle with navigating the United States education system (Evans et al., 2020; Kim et al., 2020). This is not a small or inconsequential concern. In 2019, 13.7% of people in the U.S. were foreign-born (44.9 million); 25.2% of all U.S. children under 18 had at least one immigrant parent (Batalova et al., 2020). In 15 states, more than a quarter of all the children under 18 had at least one immigrant parent. That statistic does not include the more than 620,000 undocumented immigrant students currently estimated to be attending U.S. public schools (Connor, 2021).

First- and second-generation immigrants are the fastest-growing population in North America today (Truong et al., 2021). According to the Pew Research Center (2015), the combined population percentage of immigrants and their U.S.-born children was 26% of the U.S. population in 2015; this is projected to rise to 36% of the U.S. population by the year 2065.

Immigrant Parent Involvement in Education

A parent's ability to interact with their child's school and advocate for their educational needs matters because parental involvement is strongly positively correlated with student achievement (Boonk et al., 2018; Gan & Bilige, 2019; Hill et al., 2018; Patrikakou, 2008). Research has revealed that the biggest barriers to immigrant parents being involved in their children's education are language, lack of knowledge about the structures and normative practices of American public schools, and misunderstandings between the school and the parents resulting from differing definitions of parental involvement (Cun, 2020; Cureton, 2020; Kim et al., 2018). Research has also linked an individual's childhood experience with school to their adult school-related behavior (Hornby & Blackwell, 2018; LaRocque et al. 2011). This present study began with an anomaly I noticed when functioning as a liaison between immigrant parents and the faculty of several public schools in the United States. Current research has uncovered particular patterns and commonalities in how most immigrant parents experience the American school system, regardless of the parent's home culture or educational attainment (Brennan & Stevens, 2019; Marsh & Raimbekova, 2022; Van Hook, 2020).

Immigrants from Northern Ireland

Postulating that the inclusion of parents from Northern Ireland (NI) in a study on immigrant parents might enable me to control for the language barrier that impacts many

immigrant groups, I engaged in a series of informal discussions with immigrant parents from Northern Ireland (NII) parents with school-age children. Instead of finding the expected patterns, I discovered that the NII parents interacted with the American schools (both public and parochial) in a distinct way that was very unlike the clear patterns common among all the other immigrant groups. Sowell (1985) noted a similar difference in his examination of different ethnic groups immigrating to America. According to Sowell, the Irish Catholics from Ulster (Northern Ireland) exhibited exceptional interpersonal and oratorical skills, but their culture did not place the high value on education that Chinese immigrants, Jewish immigrants, or even Protestant immigrants from Ulster did. This present study is an attempt to understand this anomaly.

Contextualizing the Experience of NII Parents from Northern Ireland

Many of the immigrant parents from Northern Ireland, currently living in the United States with school-age children, were born between 1953-1980 (Dumbrell, 1995). This means their formative years were spent during a period colloquially known as the Troubles, a time in Irish history marked by sectarian violence and extreme religious polarization (Miller, 2021; Okros, 2020). During this 30-year period, Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland lived in separate areas and attended separate schools (Dunn, 2018). In 2021, more than twenty years after the violent conflict had ceased, education in this region remained divided (Borooah & Knox, 2015; Meredith, 2021).

According to the *Transforming Education in Northern Ireland* briefing papers, published by Ulster University on March 21, 2021, despite efforts by social service agencies and new school integration laws, "only around 7% of students in Northern Ireland attend an integrated" (mixed Catholic and Protestant) school (p.5). Catholic families in Northern

Ireland send their children to Catholic ("maintained") schools; children from Protestant families attend Protestant ("controlled") schools (Smith, 2022). Catholic maintained public schools are administered by the archdiocese (Limond, 2022). Maintained schools were single-sex schools until sustainability issues over the last decade forced many to merge or become co-ed. As late as 2015, 57% of the maintained grammar (academic/university track) schools and 26% of the maintained secondary (vocational) schools were still single-sex (Borooah & Knox, 2015). During the period known as the Troubles, the boys' schools were staffed by presentation brothers, a conclave of religious brothers that was founded in Ireland in 1802 by Edmund Rice (Presentation Brothers, 2022). The girls' schools were run by the female equivalent of a presentation brother (Schiaparelli et al., 2015; Sutherland, 2018). In County Tyrone, for example, they were run by the Covenant of the Sisters of Mercy.

The Troubles made religious identity highly salient; loyalty to the church was tightly linked to self and group identity (Mangum & Block Jr, 2018; McLoone-Richards, 2013). As Healy (2006) described it, a person's perceived religious affiliation in Northern Ireland was regarded socially as one might regard an individual's ethnicity, meaning that membership was virtually inescapable. For children growing up in Northern Ireland during this period, religious affiliation had a monumental impact on their identity, their education experience, and their role as members of their community (Merrilees et al., 2011).

As mentioned before, this current study grew out of my volunteer work mediating between immigrant families and the faculty of American public schools. The work and the friendships that grew from that work led to me having several education-related conversations with members of our local immigrant community at family social events.

These informal discussions revealed a surprising anomaly in the way NII parents viewed education and interacted with their children's schools.

One finding of both Antony-Newman (2019) and Kim et al. (2018) was that an immigrant parent's own experience with school in their native country had a significant influence on how they viewed education and their role in their child's education. This is relevant because, in addition to experiencing sectarian violence during their childhood and adolescence, the NII parents who participated in this study also attended Catholic maintained schools in N.I, where corporal punishment was a daily reality. This begs the question, what was a more seminal experience for individuals who attended Catholic public school in Northern Ireland during the period known as the Troubles, the sectarian violence they experienced in the street, or the systematic violence they experience in the classroom?

Scientific Theory

Social identity theory (SI), which explores the meanings and behaviors associated with groups, offers an explanation for the attitudes and actions of individuals locked in a sectarian struggle (Eswaran & Neary, 2022). According to SI, membership in a group requires members to adopt behaviors and appearances that mark them as a member of the group and to embrace the group's viewpoint (Hakim & Mujahidah, 2020). In an environment where church affiliation is unremittingly salient, being Catholic meant absolute loyalty to the Catholic church (Inglis, 2007; McLoone-Richards, 2013). To believe that the church was wrong about something would create significant cognitive dissonance (Antkowiak et al., 2021).

For Catholics in Northern Ireland, school was inextricably entwined with their identity (Roe & Cairns, 2020; Schiaparelli et al., 2015; Smith, 2022). This would be the case

for students from culturally Catholic families as well as those from sincerely devout families. The latter, however, would likely have suffered an additional measure of spiritual dissonance trying to reconcile the cruelty of God's representative on earth (the teacher/priest) with the God of the Bible, whom Luke reveals is a loving Father and refuge, One who "gathers [His] children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings," (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Luke 13.34b) and Isaiah proclaims will not break the bruised reed or snuff out a smoldering wick (Isaiah 42:3a). The cognitive dissonance experienced by spiritually Catholic students may be similar to the bond between a child and an abusive mother.

According to research by Sullivan and Lasley (2010), babies are born with a biologically encoded neuro-chemical attachment reflex, which explains why children being abused by their mothers will often cling to her when being removed from her custody for their own safety. Similarly, humans are born with the predilection to seek and believe in God, drawn to the refuge of His perfect love (Barrett, 2012). When a human representative of God is abusive, those being targeted are often unable to reconcile the opposing needs to cling and to flee (McLaughlin, 1994). Not unlike the abused child, their feelings of anger and trauma may be deflected away from the abuser to a more palatable target in an effort to resolve an internal conflict (Saleh, 2022).

Research by Gershoff et al. (2019) has linked the experience of corporal punishment in school to disconnection from school, avoidance of school, and cognitive dissonance. This may possibly explain the avoidance behaviors I observed while liaisoning between two NII parents and their children's schools. The fact that the interpersonal violence was being perpetrated by individuals highly connected with their identity as Catholics would amplify the aversion as negative feelings against the church were deflected onto school and education

(Dolan, 2017; Gribben, 2021). Mere exposure theory (ME) and priming also likely played a role (Kawakami & Yoshida, 2019; Mrkva & Van Boven, 2020; Sonnett, 2019).

Corporal Punishment

*C*orporal punishment was permitted in Catholic public schools in NI until 1987 (Maguire & Cinnéide, 2005). At the time of the official ban on August 16, 1987, more than 755 schools argued in favor of retaining the practice (Northern Ireland Orders in Council. 1987 No. 461 (NI 6), 2022). Proverbs 22:15, which states, "foolishness is bound in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him" was often quoted as a support for corporal punishment in schools (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016; Gemara & Nadan, 2022).

What is not widely understood, even by church officials, is that the word translated as *rod* is *shebet* (Ruhukwa, 2008). *Shebet*, according to Strong's (2009) concordance, was the crook carried by a shepherd and used to guide and protect sheep. (A version of the shebet is symbolically carried by bishops in the Catholic church). No shepherd would use the shebet to beat his sheep; rather it provided a nudge to stay on the path or away from danger. Jesus is the ultimate exemplar of a teacher with a comprehensive understanding of the Scriptures. How can one biblically justify an educator beating a child when Jesus, the greatest teacher, and an expert in interpreting the Scriptures, treated children with great gentleness and kindness (Mark 9:36-37; Matthew 18:10)?

Problem Statement

There is copious literature supporting the idea that parental involvement is strongly positively correlated with student achievement (e.g., Gan & Bilige, 2019; Kim et al., 2020; Patrikakou, 2008). According to current literature, immigrant parents to the United States

exhibit similar patterns and face common barriers to being involved in their children's education, regardless of their country or culture of origin (Antony-Newman, 2019; Brennan et al., 2019; Cureton, 2020). Further, these patterns are unaffected by the education level attained by the parent (Albrecht & Upadhyay, 2018; Marsh & Raimbekova, 2022). Immigrants from Northern Ireland (NII), who grew up during the Troubles, however, appear to exhibit a very different pattern of parental involvement in education compared to other immigrant groups. Further, their general attitude about education is different.

There is extensive research on the Troubles and its lasting effect on the people that grew up during that period of Irish history (Campbell et al., 2005; Daniel et al., 2020; Ferry et al., 2014; Kapur et al., 2018). The time period is salient because the sectarian conflict made being Catholic and loyalty to the Catholic church a very large part of one's identity for Catholics in Northern Ireland (Merrilees et al., 2011; Muldoon et al., 2021). Catholic children in Northern Ireland attended, and continue to attend, maintained (Catholic) schools, which practiced corporal punishment until it was made illegal in 1987 (Holland, 2018; Quinlan, 2021). There is a significant amount of research on the negative effects of school-applied corporal punishment and some research on the history of corporal punishment in Irish Catholic schools (Gershoff et al., 2019; Rush & Lazarus, 2018; Visser et al., 2022). Social identity theory, mere exposure theory, cognitive dissonance theory, displacement theory, and contact theory, all of which have been associated with sectarian conflict, are very well documented (Cooper, 2019; Festinger, 1957; Flores et al., 2018; Kawakami & Yoshida, 2019; McGregor, 2013; O'Donoghue & Harford, 2016).

There is some research on the role that Irish schools may have played in perpetuating and augmenting the sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland (Roe & Cairns, 2020). There is no

research on the nexus of growing up during the Troubles and experiencing shockingly negative ongoing physical (corporal) abuse by agents of the Catholic church at a maintained school. There is no research on how that life experience may have influenced how individuals view their own education and their role in their children's education. This study's findings have the potential to help educators better understand the perspective of NII parents. The findings also have the potential to provide healthcare workers and faith organizations new insight into the impact that attending a maintained school during the Troubles had on Irish Catholics. While the long-lasting psychological impact of the Troubles and corporal punishment in school have each been thoroughly explored, the nexus of the two in Northern Ireland has not. The problem is there is no research that explores how the lived experience of attending a maintained school during the Troubles impacted Catholic immigrants from Northern Ireland.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to gain an understanding of the lived experience of those individuals who attended Catholic public schools during the Troubles and examine how it might impact the way immigrants from Northern Ireland think about education in general and about their role as parents in their children's education.

Research Question

Central RQ: What was it like to attend a maintained school in Northern Ireland during the period known as The Troubles?

> **SQ1:** What was it like to grow up in Northern Ireland during the period known as The Troubles?

> **SQ2:** What was it like to attend a maintained school in Northern Ireland?

SQ3: How did the experience of attending a maintained school impact NII parents'

view of the value of education?

SQ4: What do NII parents think is the purpose of education?

SQ5: What do they perceive is the parent's role in a child's education?

SQ6: Which experience (growing up during the Troubles or attending a maintained

school) do NII parents believe had the greatest impact on their lived experience?

Assumptions and Limitations

Assumptions Inherent in this Study

A significant portion of the study hinged on data gathered from in-depth interviews in which individuals were asked to recall and accurately describe a lived experience that occurred more than 25 years ago. The first assumption inherent in this study was that participants would be willing to disclose potentially sensitive or traumatic memories. The second assumption was that the participants would be capable of disclosing meaningful information about their experience attending a maintained school.

Autobiographic memory has been demonstrated to be particularly malleable (Rubin et al., 2019). For that reason, confabulation and media-driven social contagion were also of concern. The potential distorting effects (social contagion) of these social and media depictions are discussed more thoroughly in the literature review. A phenomenological approach purports to reveal a perceived experience, not merely objective reality (Cuthbertson et al., 2020; Lanfredini, 2018). For this reason, the inevitably subjective nature of the data gathered, via the survey and the interviews, and its vulnerability to confabulation and social contagion do not render the results of the study invalid.

Limitations of this Study

The very small qualitative sample (11) and the inherently limiting inclusion criterion generated a sample that was largely homogenous which limits the study's external validity. Data validity was initially a concern. The very act of interviewing can introduce psychological responses similar to the Hawthorn effect, which may influence an individual's recall and description of experiences (McGrath et al., 2019; Saarijärvi & Bratt, 2021). This, coupled with the potential for social desirability bias, could have led to inaccurate data (Kreitchmann, et al., 2019). Confabulation and social contagion could potentially have distorted the accuracy of the interview data (Harris et al., 2017).

The limitations associated with qualitative research must also be acknowledged. According to Creswell (2021), qualitative interviews are time-consuming and thematic coding is labor-intensive. The results of a qualitative study are not usually replicable, and it can be difficult to establish causality.

Theoretical Foundations of the Study

Methodological Foundation

Introduction Phenomenology

The purpose of phenomenological research is to distill a shared human experience, a phenomenon, to its essence, and elucidate it from the point of view of those individuals who have experienced it (Neubauer et al. 2019). An interpretive phenomenological approach asks *what was experienced*, *how was it perceived*, and *what that means to the individual who experienced it* (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The value of this approach is two-fold. First, because the focus is on how individuals perceive a particular experience and make sense of it in a particular context, it offers a researcher insight into the impact that an experience may

have had on the individuals who shared it. Second, prioritizing the perceived experience over the objective reality of the experience allows the researcher to avoid the futile effort of determining the objective truth of a remembered event. This is important, because, although humans may indeed, as Plato suggests, be perceiving the shadows cast by the fire, it is those shadows and not the reality that have the greatest influence on one's attitudes, behavior, and experience of life (Heidegger,1950/2002; Hoffman, 2019).

Development of Phenomenology

Husserl (2019) was the first to assert that an individual's perception of a phenomenon should be the focus of scientific study. Building upon Husserl's ideas, Heidegger (2013) viewed experience as a function of what happened coupled with the interpretation and meaning an individual ascribes to the experience (Zahavi, 2021).

Human Perception and the Bayesian Brain

Empirical research, as envisioned by men such as Bacon, Boyle, Kelvin, Maxwell, Faraday, Kepler, Newton, and Mendel, was developed to enable researchers to view reality without perceptional bias (Johnson, 2010). However, neuroscience and psychological research continue to demonstrate that human perception is primarily interpretive; we see what we expect to see based on prior knowledge, not what objectively is (Kornmeier et al., 2019). As such, human neural processing is essentially Bayesian in nature (Ongaro & Kaptchuk, 2019).

Unlike frequency statistics, which are based on how often something happened, Bayesian statistics take into account parameters of prior knowledge (Knill & Richards, 1996; Lambert, 2018). According to current neuroscience research, the human brain's processing of stimuli and decision-making process operate more on perception than reality (Gómez-Vargas

et al., 2021; Sharpe et al., 2020). Perception is heavily influenced by an individual's prior

knowledge, beliefs, and their memories of past events (de Oliveira Alvares & Do-Monte,

2021) This occurs physically, on the neural network level, when stimuli trigger neurally

networked schemas (Gilboa & Marlatte, 2017). For this reason, human neural processing is

better predicted by Bayes' theorems than frequency processing. Also salient to his particular

study is the influence that prior experience has on memory (Brod et al., 2013).

Memory is a reconstructive (cognitive) process, not an objective report of reality

(Patihis et al., 2018). The advantage of taking a phenomenological approach is that the

inherently subjective nature of the data to be gathered, via the survey and the interviews, will

not render the results of the study invalid, as a phenomenological approach purports to reveal

a perceived experience, not objective reality (Cuthbertson et al., 2020). This is because, in

phenomenological research, the emphasis is on the perception of the experience (Creswell &

Creswell, 2018). Phenomenological research was a good choice for this study because it

recognizes and embraces current neural research findings that reveal the surprising

limitations of the human brain to describe objective reality (Kornmeier et al., 2019; Ongaro

& Kaptchuk, 2019).

Correlation is not Causation

One key principle that a researcher examining the meaning of a lived experience must

keep foremost in their mind is the difference between correlation and causation (Cheron et

al., 2022; Dukes, 1984; Jackson, 2018). When analysis reveals that particular attitudes or

behaviors are common to individuals who share a life experience, it is tempting to ascribe

causality to that life experience (Maxwell, 2021; Silverio et al., 2021). A crowd of

individuals gathering at a departure gate in an airport is very frequently correlated with the

arrival of a plane. But one would be mistaken to assume that the act of gathering at gate 17 somehow causes the plane to arrive. The causal factors for the plane's arrival are myriad, including, but not limited to the airline's flight schedule, the actions of the pilot, and the directions of the air traffic controller. Further, the crowd gathering is more directly caused by an announcement over the airport loudspeaker or the writing on the ticket than on the actual arrival of the plane. It is worth noting that, although actual causal relationships cannot be determined, the beliefs and perspectives of the individuals who experienced the phenomenon about how it impacted their life, attitudes, and behavior are relevant (Maxwell, 2021). Locus of control is a striking example of this (Galvin et al., 2018; Guo et al., 2021; Kesavayuth et al., 2020). How an individual experiences a car accident is different depending on whether one believes avoidance of a car accident is controlled by one's own driving skill and attention, the actions of others, or random fate (Zeyin et al., 2022). Taking a phenomenological approach to studying the shared experience has enabled me to unveil the latter without ascribing causation (Jackson et al., 2018).

Summary Methodological Foundation

This section outlined the role that phenomenological theory played in this study. The key ideas of the phenomenological approach were discussed. The value of the phenomenological approach's focus on the perception of a life experience over an objective account of the event was delineated. The danger of confusing causation with perceived causation was discussed; the former being inappropriate in a correlative qualitative discussion, the latter being critical to understanding the essence of the phenomenon experienced.

Biblical Foundation

The construct of *identity* played a key role in the lived experience of attending a maintained school in Northern Ireland during the period known as the Troubles (Aslam et al., 2021; Ferry et al., 2014; Trew, 2019). The Scriptures teach us that human beings were created by an omniscient, omnipotent, loving God (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Genesis 1:27). As such, every individual's most fundamental identity is that of being a child of the Living God (Ferguson, 1989). All other identities are secondary, ephemeral, and potentially idolatrous (Galatians 3:27-28).

The Fall distorted man's ability to see God clearly and to think rationally about God and about himself (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Romans 25:25, 28-32). The fallen world encourages individuals to root their identity in the created, not the Creator. An identity rooted in man-made agents, objects, and institution is, at best, lesser and vulnerable, and at worst, deleterious (Card, 2013; *English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Matthew 7:24-27). The PTSD and maladaptive coping linked to the Troubles are one consequence of this mis-rooted identity (Ferguson & McAuley, 2021; Ferry et al., 2014). One trouble with the Troubles was that it encouraged individuals to place their faith and root their identity in man-made institutions (the Catholic church) and ideas (republicanism) rather than in God. A slew of psychological repercussions then emerged when Catholic education became a source of terror and harm (Aslam, 2021; Day & Shloim, 2021; Holland, 2018; Kapur et al., 2018). For the many individuals impacted by the lived experience elucidated by this study, true healing must start with them re-rooting their identity from the created to the Creator (Card, 2013; *English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Jeremiah 17:14).

Definition of Terms

The following is a list of definitions of terms that are used in this study.

Catholic – For the purpose of this study Catholic refers to individuals who identify as Irish Catholics, an ethnoreligious group whose members are both Irish and Catholic (Kennedy, 2020). They are native to Ireland, but there has been a large diaspora; almost 21 million Irish Catholics currently live in America. It is important to note that, while some Irish Catholics may be very religious, the identity is often a cultural and social one rather than one indicating religiosity (Trew, 2019).

Cognitive Dissonance – A psychological theory, first promoted by Festinger (1957) that individuals experience discomfort when they perceive an incongruence between or within their values, attitudes, behavior, or ideas (Cooper, 2019). Being Catholic and supporting abortion rights would be an example of the kind of incongruence that might produce cognitive dissonance.

Corporal Punishment (CP) - This refers to a method of discipline that involves a supervising adult inflicting physical pain on a child in their charge in response to unacceptable behavior (Ghandhi, 1984) In maintained schools in Northern Ireland, CP was used as a method of classroom management as well as a punishment for academic infractions such as incomplete homework or giving an incorrect answer (Holland, 2018). In maintained schools in Northern Ireland, it generally took the form of being struck on the hand, legs, or backside by wooden rulers, a cane, a strap, a hand, a paddle, or the teacher's shoe (Limond, 2022; Rush & Lazarus, 2018).

Immigrant – For the purposes of this study, an immigrant will be defined as anyone born outside the United States who is a naturalized citizen, permanent resident, refugee, or unauthorized resident (Bolter, 2019).

Long Kesh - Long Kesh Detention Centre - colloquially referred to as The Maze or H-block - was a prison located on a former Royal Airforce military base just outside of Belfast in Northern Ireland that was used by the British to intern and imprison individuals accused of being members of an Irish paramilitary groups from 1971-2000. It was the site of the 1976-78 Blanket Strike, the 1978 Dirty Strike, and the 1980-81 H-Block Hunger strike. According to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), which censored the British government in 1978 for "cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment in the interrogation procedures," the Long Kesh guards employed a military strategy of degradation and brutality (Bonner, 1978). In addition to wall standing in a stress position, sound torture, hooding, and sleep, food and drink deprivation, the paramilitary detainees were regularly dragged out of their cells, forcibly strip-searched, subjected to body cavity checks that were the equivalent of a gang rape, beaten into semi-consciousness then thrown back into their cells (Bonner, 1978; Taylor, 2001). Despite the conviction by the ECHR, the inhumane treatment continued.

Maintained Schools – The term used for free public schools in Northern Ireland that are subsidized by the government but operated and maintained by the Catholic church and are religious in governance and academics (Farren, 1986)

Northern Ireland - Northern Ireland was formed in 1921 when Sinn Fein (the Irish Nationalists party) and Britain signed the Government of Ireland Act. The Act subdivided Ireland and six of Ulster's nine northernmost counties became part of the United Kingdom, as the political entity now known as Northern Ireland (Bourke & McBride, 2016). This partitioning was considered an anathema by a large majority of Catholics north and south of the new border (Montgomery, 2021). In 1921, the province of Ulster contained an overwhelming Protestant majority; according to a 1926 census, there were 420,000 Catholic

Nationalists and 837,000 Protestant Unionists living in Northern Ireland at the time

(Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, n.d.). The Unionists (Protestants) had a

significant democratic majority for the next 80 years.

Parent Involvement – This term refers to a parent partnering with the school to promote

their child's learning. It can include but is not limited to, communicating with school faculty,

promoting healthy eating/sleeping/exercise habits, expressing an interest in what the child is

studying, facilitating the completion of home assignments, advocating for one's child with

the school, participating as a volunteer at school, and involvement in school activities. School

systems differ in their definition of parent involvement, but all appear to include the parent

reinforcing the idea that education has value and that it is an important key to success, rather

than merely a compulsory obstacle to real life to be endured (Antony-Newman, 2019; Boonk

et al., 2018; Cureton, 2020; Gandarilla Ocampo, et al. 2021; Hill et al., 2018; Patrikakou,

2008).

Presentation Brothers - A congregation of Catholic monks whose primary ministry is

teaching. Presentation brothers and nuns were the headmasters and some of the educators in

maintained schools (Presentation Brothers, 2022).

School Levels and Groupings in Northern Ireland - (UK Department of Education, 2022)

- **Primary 1:** The first year a student attends school in the UK; the equivalent of pre-K
  in the United States. Children are ages 4-5.

- **Primary 2-7:** Children are ages 5 to 11 or 12.

- **Secondary 1-5:** This is the vocational track in the UK school system; the equivalent
  of grades 7th-11th in the United States. Students attend from ages 11/12 to 15/16.
  School attendance is compulsory through Secondary or Grammar 5.

- **Grammar 1-5:** This is the academic track, primarily for students who may be going on to a university. It is the equivalent of grades 7th-11th. Students attend from ages 11/12 to 15/16.

- **Lower 6th:** This is an optional year when students prepare for their A-levels examinations. The students are 16/17.

- **Upper 6th:** This is an additional year that precedes enrollment in a university. Students are 17/18.

Sectarian Conflict – This term refers to a violent conflict within a community where the sides are demarcated along religious or political lines (Muldoon et al., 2021)

Social Identity Theory – The social psychology theory first suggested by Tajfel et al., (1971) that one's identity is derived from one's membership in a particular social group. A key idea in social identity theory is the idea that one's behavior, attitudes, and self-concept conform to group norms (Eswaran & Neary, 2022; Muldoon et al., 2021).

The Troubles- This is the euphemistic term used by residents of Northern Ireland to refer to the 30-year ethnonational sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland between the predominantly Protestant unionists who had strong ties with England, and the Roman Catholic nationalists or republicans, who wanted to see Northern Ireland and Ireland united as one country (Altglas, 2022). The violent conflict in Northern Ireland officially occurred between 1968 and 1998, ending with the Good Friday Agreement, but its roots hearken back to the Anglo-Norman invasion in the 12th century. During the 30 official years, more than 3,600 individuals were killed and at least 30,000 were wounded (De Fazio, 2020).

Significance of the Study

The Role of Immigrant Parents in Education

A parent's ability to interact with their child's school and advocate for their child's educational needs is worth studying because parent involvement is positively correlated with student achievement (Boonk et al., 2018; Gan & Bilige, 2019; Hill et al., 2018; Patrikakou, 2008). There is value in better understanding the experience of immigrant parent groups because they are currently the fastest-growing population in the United States (Truong et al., 2021). In 2019, 25.2% of all U.S. children under 18 had at least one immigrant parent (Batalova et al., 2020). In 15 states, more than a quarter of all the children under 18 had at least one immigrant parent. That statistic does not include the estimated more than 620,000 undocumented immigrant students currently believed to be attending U.S. public schools (Connor, 2021). Further, discovering previously unnoted mechanisms behind some parents' lack of involvement with their children's school will make a novel contribution to education literature.

Mental Health Consequences of Sectarian Violence and Corporal Punishment in School

This study has the potential to add to the literature on the maladaptive coping mechanisms common in adults who grew up during the Troubles (El-Gabalawy & Sommer, 2021; Ferry et al., 2014). No one has looked at the impact that these maladaptive strategies may have on parenting or education. A better understanding of the NII parent's experience may help mental health practitioners and educators mitigate the deleterious effects that a parent being raised amid a sectarian conflict has on the next generation. Corporal punishment is still practiced in many school systems globally (Breen et al., 2015; Heekes et al., 2022; Rush & Ibrahim Lazarus, 2018). This study has the potential to add to the literature on the

physical, mental, and emotional effects of children being exposed to community violence and abuse, including, but not limited to, corporal punishment in school.

Theoretical Significance

Individuals from sincerely devout Catholic families who attended a maintained school during the Troubles may have suffered cognitive dissonance trying to reconcile the cruelty of God's representative on earth (the teacher/priest) and the God of the Bible (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Luke 13.34b). The comparison of this experience to the experience of maternal child abuse will add to the literature on the construct of cognitive dissonance, on child abuse, and on displacement theory (Barrett, 2012; Saleh, 2022; Sullivan & Lasley, 2010).

A Voice to the Victims

According to Delker et al. (2020), one of the most critical functions of qualitative research is to give voice to those who cannot speak. According to Miller (2021), individuals who have adverse childhood experiences, such as growing up in a community characterized by sectarian violence or being the victim of institutional violence in school, struggle with higher rates of depression, anxiety disorders, and PTSD than the general population. Potentially more relevant are the maladaptive coping strategies those individuals develop as a response to childhood stress, such as higher levels of substance abuse (alcohol/tobacco/drugs), behavioral disengagement, and anxiety-triggered avoidance (O'Connor & O'Neill, 2015). These coping strategies continue to affect individuals throughout adulthood and, therefore, impact the next generation (McHugh Power et al., 2022). It is my hope that by sharing the story of these adverse events and reflecting on the potential continuing impact those experiences may be having, this study will help the

participants to better understand their attitudes toward education and gain personal insight into their adult coping strategies (Skaar & Reber, 2020).

Summary Significance

No studies have been undertaken to illuminate the lived world of NII parents. This study could provide a novel understanding of the interaction between the lived experience of the Troubles and the lived experience of attending a school where corporal punishment was a daily norm. The findings of this study have the potential to increase awareness among American school system faculty and administrators about the sensibilities and perspectives of NII parents. The findings of this study have the potential to help NII parents gain a better understanding of how their past experiences may be influencing them as adults.

<div align="center">

Summary

</div>

This chapter was a brief overview of the background for the study. The chapter explained the focus of the study and provided a description of the original inspiration of the study. To contextualize the study, a description of the Troubles, the history of Catholic public schools in Northern Ireland, and a brief overview of the psychological theories and corollaries associated with each of those experiences were presented. A biblical lens was briefly applied. The gaps in current literature were explained and the purpose of the study was explicated. The research questions were listed. The methodology and its appositeness for the study were delineated. The inherent assumptions and limitations of the study were discussed, and salient terms were defined. The potential this study has to contribute to the literature in the fields of social psychology and mental health and its potential significance to those fields, as well as to the participants themselves, was considered. A full review of the

current literature on the topics of the Troubles, corporal punishment in school, and the

psychological and behavioral corollaries of each follow in chapter two.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

Introduction to Literature Review

This section is a précis of current research salient to the topics in this study. It begins with an explanation of the research protocol employed to construct the literature review. This is followed by a synopsis of research on the barriers faced by immigrant parents in America with regard to their children's education. The literature review then explains some ways in which NII parents appear to have a novel approach to education, one not consistently seen in immigrant parents from other cultures and home countries. The salience of time and place is then discussed in the context of generational cohort research.

Research on the time period colloquially referred to as the Troubles is reviewed, including research on the mental health impact of experiencing sectarian conflict during one's childhood and adolescence. Research on a second experience the participants in this study share, that of attending a NI maintained (Catholic) school, is delineated. Current literature explicating the history of Catholic education in Ireland, its influence on the sectarian conflict, and the practice of corporal punishment as a classroom management technique are discussed.

Research on the deleterious effects of corporal punishment in school on mental health and behavior is summarized. Theoretical research on the mere exposure effect, contact theory, social identity theory, cognitive dissonance, and psychological deflecting and their relevance to understanding the experience and outcomes associated with NII parents is considered. Memory research that is salient to the challenge of obtaining accurate, meaningful data from interviews is discussed. Gaps left by the discussed literature are then

identified, followed by the proposal's problem statement and purpose statement.

Description of Search Strategy

Search Protocol

Research on the nexus of the Troubles and attending a maintained school began with Boolean search strings using historical terms, mental health terms, terms related to psychological theory, institutional terms, and terms related to corporal punishment and the Troubles. See Table 1 below for details of the initial topic strings.

Table 1

Initial Search Terms

Historical Terms	- Belfast, - Bloody Sunday - British rule - Catholic - Easter Rising - Ethnic nationalism - Free Derry - Home Rule Act *Irish* Republican Army (IRA) - Nationalists - Partition of Ireland - Penal Codes - Protestant - Sectarian conflict - Segregation - Sinn Féin - The Troubles - Ulster - Unionists
Corporal Punishment Terms	- Caning - Discipline - Education Order 1987 - Infractions - Presentation Brothers - Slippering - Smacking - Violence

Psychological Theory Terms	- Autobiographical memory, - Identity, - Cognitive dissonance, - Confabulation, - Displacement theory, - Mere exposure, - Priming - Social identity theory
Mental Health Terms	- Adverse childhood experiences - Anxiety, - Coping strategies, - Maladaptive behavior, - PTSD, - Transgenerational trauma
Salient Terms Related to Parenting	- Academic achievement - Home versus school culture - Immigrant culture - Immigrant parents Barriers to involvement - Parental involvement
Institutional Terms	- British government, - Catholic church, - Maintained schools, - Republic of Ireland

In addition to the Liberty University Library database, searches were conducted on the following eight online databases: Academic Search Complete (EBSCO), Google Scholar, Irish History Online, JSTOR, Project Muse, PsycARTICLES, PsycINFO, and ResearchGate. Researchgate was used specifically to access grey literature (e.g., statistics, governmental or institutional reports, and legal rulings). Search parameters were adjusted during the initial topical searches, and additional strings were derived through snowballing. The primary searches were conducted over a twelve-week period from April 2022 to June 2022, during which time, potential sources of information were downloaded into folders labeled the

Troubles, mental health, corporal punishment, Irish schools, History of Northern Ireland, parent involvement, and immigration.

Screening

The sorting and screening of potential source material took place in two stages over an eight-week period between June 2022 and July 2022, with follow-up searches and screening occurring in August, as needed when new evidence or concepts emerged. Stage One screening began with an inclusion/exclusion sort. Texts were each perused for content. Texts were excluded if they did not contain substantive information specific to the topic (See Table 2). For example, an article about Irish immigrants in America might have been initially downloaded, but if a perusal of the text revealed that the focus of the article was on how immigrants from Ireland were discriminated against, it would be eliminated. Texts were initially excluded if they were not peer-reviewed. Texts written within five the last five years were given priority.

During the secondary sort, older texts were included if they were the initial publication of a particular psychological theory or provided historical information not found in a more contemporary article. A few periodical articles from major Irish newspapers, two UK documentaries, and several university-sponsored and government-sponsored websites were also included because they provided salient information not found in research articles or published books. Additional resources were suggested by the Centre for the Study of Ethnic Conflict at Queens College in Belfast and the Irish Collection staff at the Burns Library at Boston College. They were examined and included when appropriate. After the second sort, each included text was read twice and notes on the text were recorded.

Table 2

Inclusion/Exclusion Parameters

Parameters	Included	Excluded
Type of publication	- Peer-reviewed journals - Books or book chapters - Grey literature (including scholarly, governmental data, and community-based) - Select articles from *The Irish Times* newspaper - Troubles websites based in the UK	- Non-peer-reviewed articles - Dissertations and student theses - Other media articles
Country of Origin	The majority of relevant sources originated in the UK, Ireland, and America	
Time period	The primary time period covered was the 1960s to 1987, although some research on the history of Northern Ireland prior to the 1960s was included	The time period after 1987
Publication date	- Articles published in or after 2017 - Books on Irish history regardless of publication date	Articles published before 2017, if similar information could be found in a more recent article.
Relevance	Main focus is corporal (physical) punishment by agents of the Catholic Church	Main focus is the sexual abuse of children by the church or church agents
	Main focus is on Catholic public schools	Main focus is on corporal punishment in the home
	The experience of self-identified Catholics	The experience of self-identified Protestants
	Main focus is on the conflict in Northern Ireland	Main focus is on sectarian conflicts in other countries.
	Individuals living in Northern Ireland	Individuals living in the Republic of Ireland
	Focuses on the cultural relevance of the sectarian conflict	Main focus is on the religiosity of the sectarian conflict
	Mental health challenges and coping strategies resulting from Troubles-related violence	Mental health challenges related to other personal violence

Biblical brainstorming was done online using an initial word search. Verses related to the topics of leadership, children, chastisement, conflict, community, identity, parenthood, the impact of sin, punishment, relationships, and learning were compiled. Common themes were extracted. A global view of this research topic through the lens of Creation, the Fall, and Redemption was considered (Wolters, 2005). *Identity* was perceived to be a key construct in the nexus between the Troubles and attending a maintained school in Northern Ireland (Ferguson & McAuley, 2021; Trew, 2019). A deep search of the concept of identity was then completed that involved a word search through the Old Testament and close reading of the Gospel of Matthew and all the Epistles.

Review of Literature

Immigrant Parents and United States Schools

There has been a significant amount of research on the challenges immigrant parents face in partnering with their children's schools. A study by Cun (2020) revealed that the language barriers faced by many immigrant parents not only interfere with the parents' ability to provide home academic support, the language barriers also interfere with effective home-school communication. Cun's study also emphasized that, while many immigrant parents' lack of content knowledge prevented them from giving direct academic support at home, they were very involved in their children's education. That involvement frequently took the form of expressing interest in what their children were learning, talking to their children about the value of an education, structuring their child's homework time, and encouraging their children to seek academic support from teachers and counselors when needed.

Brennan and Stevens's (2019) phenomenological study revealed that there is a common culture that arises from the experience of navigating a foreign school system as a parent, regardless of countries of origin or reason for immigration. Antony-Newman's (2019) meta-synthesis of 40 studies revealed several patterns which were consistent across all ethnicities and almost all countries of origin. The first was that immigrant parents' interaction with American schools is shaped by their education experience in their country of origin. Other salient commonalities expressed were:

- a strong belief that education was critical for their child to succeed;

- a desire that U.S. schools spend less time on socio-emotional activities and increase the level of rigor;

- a desire to be more involved with the school; and

- confusion over some of the middle-class values, expectations, and practices that are normative in American schools.

As mentioned before, my volunteer work mediating between immigrant families and the faculty of American public schools and the friendships that grew from that work gave me a unique opportunity to observe how immigrants from Northern Ireland interact with their children's schools. Informal discussions with three NII parents revealed several novel patterns that set them apart from almost all other immigrant groups. Although they do not face the language or mega-cultural barriers faced by most other immigrants parents, they expressed no desire to engage with the school. Neither did they appear to view education as the key to success, a belief expressed by virtually every other ethnic and cultural group researched (Antony-Newman, 2019; Brennan & Stevens, 2019).

The emotional reaction to education exhibited by NII parents also appeared to be unique among all other immigrant cultures represented in current literature. Like NII parents, parents emigrating from Asian and East Asian cultures, such as those in Marsh and Raimbekova's (2022) study, often viewed the school as a hierarchical structure in which the teachers were the ultimate authority. However, while the participants from Asian and East Asian cultures expressed respect for their children's teachers, they did not express the fear or anxiety that many of the NII parents did in informal discussions.

Northern Ireland is considered a WEIRD (western, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic) home culture, so immigrants from Northern Ireland do not face the disconnect in morality, style of thought, or parenting practices that are a barrier to many immigrant parents (Haidt, 2012). For this reason, one would expect they would face fewer barriers to communicating and interacting with their children's school. This did not appear to be the case. This begs the question, why are NII parents unique among immigrant parents in their beliefs about education?

Generation Matters

According to Dimock (2019), age is the demographic that is the most predictive of an individual's attitudes and behavior patterns. A generational cohort is a group of individuals, born over the same 15–20-year time period, who share seminal experiences. Two age-related factors produce the traits associated with a generation, the life cycle effect, and the generational cohort (Keeter & Taylor, 2017). The first refers to how an individual's attitudes, priorities, and behavior predictably change over time as they reach different stages in life; the perspectives of a single 19-year-old are likely to be different when they are a married, 40-year-old parent of young children (Bosi & Fazio, 2017).

The second, a cohort effect, is a phenomenon that manifests when a shared set of social experiences cause the group of individuals who experienced them within the same period in their life cycle to develop a marked social character and to exhibit analogous priorities, values, and behavior patterns (Parker & Igielnik, 2020). A person's age when experiencing the event is pertinent because it frequently affects their behavioral responses to a stressor. El-Gabalawy and Sommer (2021) studied how different generational cohorts responded to the COVID-19 pandemic. Their study revealed that adaptive habits were reasonably consistent across all generations; however, maladaptive habits (such as anger, avoidance, and substance abuse) were considerably higher in the younger generations.

According to El-Gabalawy and Sommer, those maladaptive coping strategies often become habituated responses that persist throughout an individual's entire life. Coping strategies that stem from historical stressors experienced between the ages of 8 and 20 are frequently the most resistant to extinguishment (Day & Shloim, 2021). This finding is salient because the participants in this study lived the experience of attending a maintained school during the Troubles during those critical years.

Contextualizing Being Raised Catholic in Northern Ireland During the Troubles

History of the Troubles

The historical roots of the Troubles go deep, beginning in the late 12th century with the Anglo-Norman invasion (Bardon, 2008). This was followed by 800 years of colonization and political domination by the British. In 1605, the English king, James I, began a systematic effort to supplant Catholic inhabitants and plant English and Scottish colonists in Ulster, a province in the north of Ireland covering 8321 square miles (Bourke & McBride, 2016). This made Ulster unique amongst Irish provinces. At the time, the entire country of

Ireland was culturally if not spiritually, Catholic (Scull, 2019). The Ulster-planted English

and Scottish colonists were Protestants. While the Troubles conflict was not over religious

doctrine or practice, political loyalty tended to align along sectarian lines created by the

arrival of these original planted colonists (Kennedy, 2020). For centuries, British laws

brutally oppressed the native population of Ireland. Penal Laws, laws passed in 1695 in

Britain denied Catholics the right to worship, they had no vote, no right to own land, and they

could not speak their own language until 1829 (Crowley, 2018). When famine hit the country

in 1845, it was the Irish, who starved. Popular memory of this treatment by the British

became incendiary fodder for political polemic (English, 2008). Resentment over injustices

continued to simmer with home rule movements springing up periodically throughout the

years.

The kettle boiled over on Easter Sunday on April 24, 1916, when the Irish Republican

Brotherhood initiated a six-day armed insurrection in Dublin, seizing key buildings and

engaging in street fighting (Sayers, 2018). The British army crushed the rebellion after six

days (Townsend et al., 2020). By then, 485 people had been killed and 2600 wounded, many

of them Irish citizens whom the British army mistook for the rebels (Bardon, 2008). This

event delineates a policy shift in the Republican movement from a constitutional Irish

nationalist movement to a militant Irish separatist movement (English, 2008). The Irish

public was initially critical of the insurrection, but as the word of British atrocities began to

spread, the wave of public sentiment began to turn (McCarthy, 2018). The public outcry was

amplified when 16 of the leaders of the Rising were publicly executed by the British

government in May, including rebel leader John Connolly, who was so injured from the

fighting, that he had to be strapped to a chair before being shot (Noone, 2018).

In 1921, Sinn Fein (the Irish Nationalists party) and Britain signed the Government of Ireland Act, which subdivided Ireland; six of Ulster's nine northernmost counties became the political entity now known as Northern Ireland (Bourke & McBride, 2016). The remaining provinces became what is now the Republic of Ireland. This partitioning was considered an anathema by a large majority of Catholics north and south of the new border (Montgomery, 2021; Munck, 1992).

In 1921, the partially annexed province of Ulster contained a predominantly Loyalist/Unionist population; according to a 1926 census, there were 420,000 Catholic Nationalists and 837,000 Protestant Unionists living in Northern Ireland around the time it became a part of the UK (Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, n.d.). The Unionists (Protestants) had a significant democratic majority for the next 70 years. According to Lynch (2019), more often than not, this power was used to disadvantage the Catholic minority. Most large companies were owned and managed by Protestants who practiced discriminatory hiring practices and maintained unsafe workplace conditions for the Catholics they hired at the lowest positions. Because Unionists controlled the government, Protestants were also given preferential housing allocations (Kieran, 2021). State-supported Protestant schools were also better funded than their Catholic counterparts (Sutherland, 2018). Voting rights were tied to land and property ownership, which further disqualified a majority of Catholic voters.

There has been debate over whether there was intent to oppress and dominate by the Unionist Protestants or whether those outcomes were the product of complex economic factors (Whyte, 1983). What is salient is that the Catholics believed they were being brutally discriminated against and began to demand an end to institutional discrimination and bigotry.

This belief fueled growing resentment which erupted in the end of the 1960s when the Provisional movement of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) initiated a campaign of shootings and bombings (English, 2008; Eswaran & Neary, 2022; Kennedy, 2020). Their stated goals included protecting the Roman Catholics in Ireland and achieving Irish unity by abolishing British political rule in the north. The actions of the IRA destabilized the Northern Ireland government and resulted in the dissolution of the local Stormont government and resulted in direct rule from Britain. On January 30, 1972, later known as Bloody Sunday, British troops fired upon an illegal yet peaceful demonstration. Fourteen Catholic protestors died that day in County Derry (Bardon, 2008; English, 2008). The bloodiest period of the Troubles occurred between 1971 and 1976 with more than 1800 individuals being killed, 450 people in 1972 alone. The violence diminished somewhat in the 1980s, but there was still an average of 75 Troubles-related murders per year (Sutton, 2022). By 2000, more than 36,000 citizens of Northern Ireland had been injured and more than 3,600 had been killed by either Republican or Loyalists paramilitaries or security forces (English, 2008; Sutton, 2022). In response to the growing unrest of 1969, the British government sent an initial complement of 300 soldiers to act as peacekeepers between the warring communities, under the name Operation Banner. These soldiers were the first of over 250,000 soldiers who would become a de facto occupying force resented by the Catholic population and target by the IRA. It also represented the longest military operation in the history of the British Armed Forces (Coogan, 2015).

A Window into the Life Experience

Although the number of those who were active participants in the violence was small, the effects of the conflict became the backdrop of daily life for everyone (Anderson, 2020).

In an interview about his memoir of growing up in Derry during the Troubles, Anderson describes trying to live a normal life among security alerts, vigilantism, tanks on the street, aggressive rhetoric, and the perpetual chance of being in the wrong place at the wrong time as being like "a fog that hung over everything," and seeped under your front door (O'Reilly, 2020, p. 2). The participants in this study grew up and came of age amidst the over 36,900 shooting incidents and 16,200 bombings between 1969 and 2003 (Sutton, 2022).

Mental Health Corollaries

The Troubles children – those growing up and coming of age in NI during the 30-year conflict - were witnesses to bombings, violent riots, and an occupying army (Day & Shloim, 2021). Some were combatants themselves; others had parents who were (Binks & Ferguson, 2007). Although the conflict officially ended in 1998, with the Good Friday agreement, multiple generations of Northern Irish citizens continue to deal with the adverse social and mental effects of chronic exposure to trauma, which include high levels of PSTD and the habituation of a variety of maladaptive coping strategies (Ferry et al., 2014; Montgomery, 2021). According to the Samaritan's suicide statistics report, NI has the highest incidence rate of mental illness in the United Kingdom (O'Neill & Rooney, 2018). A significant portion of that is trauma is believed to be related to violence experienced or witnessed during the Troubles (Bunting et al., 2012).

According to Day and Shloim (2021), psychiatric morbidity is 25% higher in NI than it is in the rest of the UK. In their study comparing the chronic stress of ongoing conflict in NI and Palestine, Daniel et al. (2020) found that PTSD born of chronic exposure to violence – as opposed to the kind of trauma triggered by a single horrific event, such as those frequently seen in combat veterans - is more virulent and resistant to treatment. According to

Townsend et al. (2020), children who experienced the societal instability and chronic violence that characterized this period of Irish history between the ages of eight and twenty are more likely to self-medicate as adults during times of stress. Ferry et al. (2014) identified 29 traumatic events experienced by individuals living in Northern Ireland during the Troubles and noted that the fall-out from the majority of these went unacknowledged and untreated, aside from self-medication in the form of substance abuse, alcoholism, and other maladaptive strategies.

A preponderance of evidence suggests that growing up and coming of age amidst the endemic violence and aggressive rhetoric may have had a potent effect on this cohort's self-identity, priorities, and coping mechanisms. But that is not the only variable that makes this cohort unique. The other piece of the puzzle is a second life experience this group of parents shared. The participants recruited for this study all attended maintained (Catholic public) schools for primary through secondary school.

Attending Catholic Public Schools in Northern Ireland from 1950-1987

Schools in Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland has a long history of segregated education (Purdy, 2022). Even today, more than 20 years after the Good Friday Agreement, Irish schools are heavily segregated along sectarian lines with more than 90% of Catholic and Protestant students attending separate schools. (Department of Education Northern Ireland DENI, 2019). Protestants attend *controlled schools*, which are state-funded public schools that are managed by a board of trustees (Loader, 2021). Controlled schools are sometimes referred to as *state schools*. Catholics send their children almost exclusively to *maintained schools*, called this because the Catholic hierarchy felt it was important to "maintain" a Catholic ethos (Biaggi,

2020). These are free public schools that are subsidized by the government but run by the Irish Catholic church. The local diocese is responsible for the administration of the school and employs the teachers.

While the schools are officially referred to as "maintained" and "controlled" schools, they are de facto Catholic and Protestant education systems (McKenna & Melaugh, 2022). The teaching staff and administration at the controlled schools, up until the last decade, were predominantly laymen (and women), chosen from promising Protestant students, and trained at a state-sponsored teacher's college such as Stranmilis College in Belfast (Farren et al., 2019). The administration and teaching staff at the maintained (Catholic public) schools train at Catholic teacher colleges and, prior to the 1980s, were predominantly members of a teaching order, such as the Presentation Brothers. During the Troubles, lay teachers made up a significant percentage of the faculty, particularly in primary schools, however, Presentation brothers and nuns remained the headmasters and some of the educators in maintained schools (Presentation Brothers, 2022).

Corporal Punishment in Schools

Corporal punishment was practiced in maintained schools in NI until 1987. At the time of the official ban on August 16, 1987, more than 755 of the schools argued in favor of retaining the practice (Northern Ireland Orders in Council. 1987 No. 461 (NI 6), 2022). Both state (Protestant) and maintained schools employed CP for class management, infractions of the rules, disrespect, and not completing one's homework (Quinlan, 2021).

A copious amount of research has been produced on the deleterious effects of corporal punishment in education (Heekes et al., 2022; Limond, 2022). This begs the question, why would Northern Irish parents allow their children to be physically punished for

minor infractions and even for merely not understanding their homework? Lokot et al. (2020) did a systematic review of the social norms that support or protect against the practice of corporal punishment. These were cultural factors that contributed to parents tolerating corporal punishment being used as a discipline strategy in their children's schools. Lokot et al. found that corporal punishment was most prevalent in countries where it was practiced at home. This is certainly the case in Northern Ireland where corporal punishment in schools was justified by the common-law doctrine which designated the teacher as acting in *loco parentis* when employing physical abuse as a class management strategy (Middleton, 2008). An additional salient norm that was associated with corporal punishment in schools was the presence of an authoritarian religious entity; in the case of Northern Ireland, this would be the Catholic church (Gershoff et al., 2019).

The adverse consequences, both proximal and distal, of attending a school where corporal punishment was a norm are legion. In an article about the practice of corporal punishment in school, *The Irish Times* reports first-hand accounts of children's experiences in Northern Ireland schools during the period this study proposes to examine. They are very similar to the stories I heard during informal discussions with NII parents.

According to Holland's (2018) article, corporal punishment began in school when the children were four to five years old. "[The teacher] beat the kids until they cried. She had this big white stick and if you didn't hold out your hand to be beaten she'd beat you across the head" (p. 17). In the article, the victims explain that they were terrified of school not only because they were beaten, but also because they were daily witnesses to their friends being beaten. This practice had immediate ramifications on learning, proximal ramification on educational attainment, and long-lasting consequences to the students' mental health that

persisted into adulthood. The immediate ramifications of this application of classroom management were that it hindered student learning and caused students to abhor school. "A day wouldn't go by that you wouldn't be hit. The reality was you were in such white terror you'd learn nothing. I hated school." (p. 18). A salient distal consequence was students discontinuing their schooling as soon as the law allowed. "Angela left school aged 15. 'I did feel I was losing my education, but I just couldn't take it anymore.'"(p. 18).

The Link Between Childhood School Experience and Adult Behavior

The deleterious mental health effects of experiencing corporal punishment in school include but are not limited to, anxiety, maladaptive coping strategies, increased aggression, violence, destructive behavior, depression, lower attention span, poor school performance, increased fear, lower self-esteem, and experiencing adverse somatic symptoms (Gershoff et al., 2019; Maguire & Cinnéide, 2005; Quinlan, 2021; Rush & Lazarus, 2018; Staunton & Forde, 2020; Visser et al., 2022; Walsh, 2016). Franke (2014) defines toxic stress as the frequent "activation of the body's stress response systems in the absence of the buffering protection of a supportive, adult relationship" (p. 392). Franke goes on to say that ongoing, chronic stressors, such as would be experienced in a school where corporal punishment is a routine mechanism for class management and academic discipline, often results in toxic stress. Gershoff (2016) linked childhood toxic stress to adult social behavior and coping strategies. Victims of childhood physical abuse, for example, are more likely to employ alcohol as a method of coping with stress than to drink for social reasons; they are also more likely to start drinking at a younger age.

A considerable amount of research has shown that a parent's childhood school experience has a substantial impact on how they interact with their children's schools

(LaRocque et al. 2011; Tinajaro et al., 2020). A negative experience, therefore, can be a significant barrier to parental involvement. According to Hornby & Blackwell (2018), parents often assume that their child's experience will be similar to their own. They go on to note that an adverse experience in school may make some parents fearful or anxious about interacting in a school, which can impact their willingness to engage with their children's teachers. Further, the parents' school experiences often influence their own educational attainment levels, which may leave them ill-prepared to support their child academically. In his study of immigrants from Eastern Europe living in Canada, Antony-Newman (2020) showed that the differences between the school experiences of immigrant parents and their children's native-born teachers can result in teachers and parents having different expectations regarding parental involvement.

The Nexus of the Troubles and Catholic Education in NI

The interaction between Catholic public schools and political behavior during the Troubles is not a new idea (Dunn, 2018). Generally, however, the research has focused on how segregated schools fomented sectarian violence (Hansson & Roulston, 2021). No one seems to be asking whether the CP practiced in the schools played a role. This is surprising given the abundant evidence that CP in school can have the effect of increasing violence and aggressive behavior (Limond, 2022). As mentioned previously, both maintained (Catholic) and controlled (Protestant) schools practiced CP until its ban in 1987. However, the fact that the perpetrators of the CP in a maintained school were often clergy, and therefore strongly associated with the Catholic church, is significant (Kieran, 2021). A student's Catholic identity was constantly being reinforced when attending a maintained school. This made

sectarian polarization sticky; it clung to one's self-concept and influenced the affiliation one felt toward other Catholics (Smith, 2022).

Relevant Psychological Theory

The psychological theories that support the conjecture that the design and practices of Irish education in Northern Ireland compounded and exacerbated the personal emotional baggage carried by individuals growing up during the Troubles include, but are not limited to, mere exposure effect, contact theory, social identity theory, cognitive dissonance, and displacement theory.

According to mere exposure theory (ME), familiarity increases affinity and can influence behavioral responses (Flores et al., 2018). There are a number of psychological mechanisms that underlie ME. One is the psychological phenomenon of priming, which works by activating schemas (Kawakami & Yoshida, 2019). Schemas are a term used by cognitive psychologists to refer to connected components of information stored in memory (Gilboa & Marlatte, 2017). According to cognitive psychologists, priming occurs when schemas are activated by any kind of sensory information, including sounds, smells, and sight (Sonnett, 2019). In maintained schools, Catholic identity was constantly reinforced; it was also subconsciously paired with violence and resentment (Kennedy, 2020; Scull, 2019).

Contact theory asserts that conflict between in-groups and out-groups is amplified when there is little to no normal social contact between the two groups. (Biaggi, 2020; De Coninck et al., 2020; Dunn, 2018; Kieran, 2021). According to the theory, the de facto practice of segregated education in Northern Ireland would have exacerbated the animosity experienced between members of the two religio-ethnic factions. Social identity theory asserts that an individual's concept of self and their own identity is derived in part from their

affiliation with their social groups (Crowley, 2018; Eswaran & Neary, 2022). The pertinent social group in the case of NII parents would be Irish Catholics.

Consistency theory and the construct of cognitive dissonance can be meaningfully applied to the psychological experience of attending a maintained school during the Troubles (Ferry et al., 2014; Gershoff et al., 2019). Consistency theory asserts that individuals are motivated to maintain cognitive and affective congruence (Nail & Boniecki, 2011). When they perceive inconsistency, individuals experience a negative drive state, a cognitive dissonance (Antkowiak et al., 2021).

Cognitive dissonance theory asserts that individuals will experience disquiet or psychological stress when either their actions and their beliefs are unaligned or they are faced with two conflicting, yet seemingly true experiences, beliefs, or drives (Cooper, 2019; Festinger, 1957; McGregor, 2013). Examples would be wanting to lose weight and wanting to eat a giant piece of chocolate cake or a doctor who advises his patients about the dangers of smoking, while he, himself, is a smoker.

The Troubles tied Catholicism tightly to cultural identity (Inglis, 2007). This meant there was a psychic cost to believing that the church was wrong about something (Antkowiak et al., 2021). The children in Northern Ireland who were being corporally punished by representatives of the Catholic church may have experienced cognitive dissonance in their hatred of those individuals; in such a case, their strongly rooted cultural identity as Catholics would be at odds with their experience with those representing the Catholic faith (Joyce & Lynch, 2015).

Cognitive dissonance can cause an individual to deflect or displace the responsibility for the adverse experience away from the target that is closely tied to their identity and

toward another target (Park & Vollers, 2015; Saleh, 2022; Sullivan & Lasley, 2010). In the case of individuals attending maintained schools during the Troubles, the negative feelings are deflected away from the Catholic church and toward education (McLoone-Richards, 2013).

Protective Factors

The shared experience of being Catholic during the Troubles create deeply rooted sectarian identity (Inglis, 2007; Muldoon et al., 2021; Trew, 2019). It also fostered a high level of ingroup/outgroup thinking. This is significant because ingroup/outgroup thinking has been demonstrated to function as an insulating and inoculating force against childhood trauma (Haslam et al., 2005; Muldoon, et al., 2019). Specific to the Troubles, Merrilees et al. (2014) found that "youth with higher strength of group identity reported fewer emotion problems" stemming from the sectarian conflict (7). Research by García, et al. (2021) also revealed the significant buffering effect of cultural identity on individuals experiencing discrimination and violence.

Contamination of Memory: Confabulation and Social Contagion

Research related to the contamination of autobiographic memory is also salient as this study relied on self-reported memories. According to Patihis et al. (2018), memory is a reconstructive process. Mnemonic confabulation is a cognitively fabricated memory that the individual believes is true (Bernecker, 2022). Autobiographical confabulation is technically not a memory; it is a memory error. Many researchers have posited that the central function of memory is to archive autobiographical events and preserve content knowledge; under this assumption, confabulation might be thought of as self-concept preservation (Fernández, 2019; Johnson et al., 2000). What is remembered may or may not be accurate, but what is

remembered will always be always tied closely to an individual's identity and self-concept, often as a self-protective mechanism (Costabile & Boytos, 2021).

Interestingly, even if some of the memories that emerged during this study's interviews were confabulated, they still have equal research value for predicting behavior and describing the lived experience. Because confabulated memories are closely tied to one's current self-identity, individuals are as likely or even more likely to make decisions or engage in behaviors based on confabulated beliefs as they are to act on accurately recalled events (Dings & Newen, 2021). This is relevant because it was a current behavioral anomaly that was the subject of this study.

Maswood et al. (2019) define social contagion as the influence that collective recall can have on one's autobiographical memory of a shared event. According to Maswood et al., this distortion is common and a typical effect of everyday social interactions. Ironically, a social contagion effect can also be triggered by media presentations of a lived experience (Eliseev & Marsh, 2021). This is true of both traditional media (such as movies and literature) and social media.

Potential Outcomes

The outcomes of the experience of attending a maintained school in NI may go beyond the well-documented mental health issues, such as maladaptive coping strategies. This study explored how this shared living experience may have contributed to a devaluation of education, fear of or anxiety regarding schools and educational institutions, and distinctive beliefs about parental involvement in education. These anticipated outcomes are based on current literature on the effects of corporal punishment and observations regarding the unique relationship NII parents appear to have with their children's schools. That having been said, I

am cognizant of the necessity to, as much as possible, bracket my own experiences and preliminary assumptions in order to allow the lived truths to emerge (Cuthbertson, 2020; Elliott, 2018). Researcher bias and the influence of any preconceived ideas were vigilantly guarded against in the process of the phenomenological investigation (Dror, 2020).

Problem Statement

Extensive research throughout the literature asserts that parent involvement is strongly positively correlated with student achievement (Gan & Bilige, 2019; Hill et al., 2018; Patrikakou, 2008). According to current literature, the biggest barriers to immigrant parents being involved in their children's education are language, lack of knowledge about the structures and normative practices of American public schools, and misunderstandings between the school and the parents resulting from differing definitions of parent involvement (Antony-Newman, 2019; Brennan et al., 2019; Cun, 2020; Cureton, 2020; Kim et al., 2018; Truong et al., 2021). One might assume that including parents of school-age children who immigrated from Northern Ireland as adults might enable a researcher to control for language in an examination of barriers immigrant parents experience regarding involvement in their children's education. Immigrants from Northern Ireland (NII), who grew up during the Troubles, however, appear to exhibit a very different pattern of parent involvement in education, compared to other immigrant groups. Further, their general attitude about education is different. There is quite a lot of research on the Troubles and its lasting effect on the people that grew up during that period of Irish history (Campbell et al., 2005; Daniel et al., 2020; Ferry et al., 2014; Joyce & Lynch, 2015; Kapur et al., 2018; Miller, 2021). There is also a significant amount of research on the negative effects of school-applied corporal punishment and some research on the history of corporal punishment in Irish Catholic

schools (Gershoff et al., 2019; Lokot et al., 2020; Maguire & Cinnéide, 2005; Rush & Lazarus, 2018; Visser et al., 2022). Social identity theory, mere exposure theory, cognitive dissonance theory, and contact theory, all of which have been associated with sectarian conflict, are very well documented (Cooper, 2019; Festinger, 1957; Flores et al., 2018; Kawakami & Yoshida, 2019; McGregor, 2013; O'Donoghue & Harford, 2016). There is some research on the role that Irish schools may have played in perpetuating and augmenting the sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland. (Roe & Cairns, 2020). There is no research on the lasting impact that growing up during the Troubles and experiencing shockingly negative ongoing physical (corporal) abuse by agents of the Catholic church may have had on how individuals who shared this life experience view their own education and their role in their children's education. The time period is salient because it made being Catholic and loyalty to the Catholic church a very large part of one's identity for Catholics in Northern Ireland (Merrilees et al., 2011; Muldoon et al., 2021).

Biblical Foundations of the Study

This study is focused on the lived experience of attending a maintained school in Northern Ireland during the period euphemistically referred to as the Troubles and how that experience impacted the lives of both those who lived it and their children (Aslam et al., 2021; Day & Shloim, 2021; Ferry et al., 2014). The construct of *identity* plays a key role in that story (Trew, 2019). This subsection begins by examining what the Bible says about mankind's identity. It then looks at the consequences of rooting one's identity in people, institutions, roles, or concepts other than God. It concludes by viewing this lived experience through the redemptive lens of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Creation

The story of mankind is the story of Creation, the Fall, and the redemptive power of Christ (Wolters, 2005). The Scriptures teach us that human beings were created by an omniscient, omnipotent, Loving God (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Genesis 1:27). As such, every individual's most fundamental identity is that of being a child of the Living God (Ferguson, 1989). All other identities are secondary, ephemeral, and potentially idolatrous (Galatians 3:27-28). Even God-given purpose-filled roles (I am a mother, a wife, a teacher) can become distorted and idolatrous in nature if they become the source of an individual's identity rather than the visible manifestation of God's purpose for that individual's life (Wolters, 2005). Paul exhorts the Ephesians to live their lives "rooted and built up in Him" so that "no one [will take them] captive through hollow and deceptive philosophy, which depends on human tradition and the elemental spiritual forces of this world rather than on Christ" (Colossians 2:7a, 2:8)

The drive to find purpose in life is basic and potent (Eswaran & Neary, 2022; Pasha-Zaidi & Odeh, 2019). Contemporary neuroscience has revealed that the human brain is wired to seek purpose and that purpose-seeking plays a substantial role in identity formation (Bronk, 2011; Panksepp, 2004). Significantly, the brains of young adults are particularly wired to seek purpose (Bronk & Baumsteiger, 2017). The link between purpose and identity is an example of how God designed the human brain to seek Him and pursue His work on earth (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Ephesians 2:10; Warren, 2002). According to the apostle, John, identity in Christ is the key to man's purpose and productivity (Ephesians 2:10, John 15:5). When an individual does not have their identity firmly rooted in God, they will be "tossed back and forth by the waves, and blown here and there by every wind of teaching and by the cunning and craftiness of people in their deceitful scheming" (Ephesians 4:14).

A key truth embedded in this story of creation is that an individual does not have to have an active belief that they were created by God for this truth to shape their life, any more than an intellectual belief in gravity is a sine qua non for being affected by its pull if one steps off a building (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Matthew 5:45). God designed the human brain to seek and believe in Him, and to turn to Him for comfort and truth during times of stress (Barrett, 2012; Ferguson, 1989; Lindeman et al., 2014). When the actions of others or sin nature blocks an individual from seeing God as their source of strength and understanding, the brain seeks alternative (maladaptive) ways of coping.

The Fall

The Fall distorted man's ability to see God clearly and to think rationally about God and about himself (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Romans 25:25, 28-32). The fallen world encourages individuals to root their identity in the created, not the Creator. They define themselves by their external traits (I am blond), internal traits (I am the smart kid), skill sets (I am an athlete), man-made organizations (I am a Catholic; I am a Rotarian), man-made roles (I am a fireman), and ideas (I am a socialist, I am a republican; Elliot, 1999; Highfield, 2012). An identity rooted in man-made agents, objects, and institutions is, at best, lesser and vulnerable, and at worst, deleterious (Card, 2013; Matthew 7:24-27).

The Troubles

The sectarian conflict between Catholic Nationalists and Protestant Unionists supplied individuals growing up in Northern Ireland with a purpose, one bound up in ethnonational identity (Borum, 2010; Ferguson & Binks, 2015; Ferguson & McAuley, 2021). In Northern Ireland, an individual's self-concept was rooted in identifying as Catholic or Protestant. As with all man-created wellsprings, the fruits of this sectarian identity were

death, injury, and emotional trauma that reached all the way into the next generation (Campbell et al., 2005; *English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Psalm 146:3; Kapur et al., 2018; McHugh Power et al., 2022). The prophet, Jeremiah, describes this manifestation of rooting one's identity in man-created institutions and ideas when he says "cursed are those who put their trust in mere humans, who rely on human strength and turn their hearts away from the Lord. They are like stunted shrubs in the desert, with no hope for the future" (Jeremiah 17:5). The PTSD and maladaptive coping linked to the Troubles can be a consequence of this mis-rooted identity.

In Ireland, cultural identification with the Catholic church has become a substitute for true faith (Fegan, 2021; The liberalization of Ireland, 2019). Post-conflict Northern Ireland has become a nation that is culturally religious, rather than spiritually religious (Gribben, 2021). According to research by the World Inequality Lab, while 90% of Irish citizens identify as Catholic, in 2020, only 28% reported that they regularly attend church (Bauluz et al., 2021). Further, in 2016, the percentage of individuals in Ireland that reported they never go to church was 50% (Fegan, 2021).

Redemption

Redemption is embodied in the person of Jesus (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Ephesians 1:7, Galatians 1:4). His redemptive work has the power to transform and renew the brain (Matthew 4:32). Almost 2000 years before the first psychologists began using words like self-concept, defense mechanism, or schema, Jesus gave believers a clear description of human nature in His Sermon on the Mount, including examples of and instruction regarding man's dispensational state, function, relationships, and the mechanisms for lasting change (Matthew 5:1-7:27; Roberts & Watson, 2010). The modern neuroscientific view of the brain

is one of neuroplasticity and hope (Levy et al., 2018; Mudgal, 2022; Olson, 2018; Siegel, 2010). By studying the physical mechanisms undergirding social behavior, one may gain insight into the mechanisms by which these cause-and-effect relationships are physically connected. By studying the Bible, one gains insight into the source of all healing, the Great Physician (Psalm 103:2-3).

All true healing of heart and mind begins with turning to God and rooting one's identity in Him (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016. 2 Chronicles 7:14). He heals the brokenhearted and binds up their wounds (Psalm 147:3) One trouble with the Troubles was that it encouraged individuals to place their faith and root their identity in man-made institutions (the Catholic church) and ideas (republicanism) rather than in God. The psychological repercussions, when Catholic education then became a source of terror and harm, were broad and life-altering for many Troubles survivors (Aslam, 2021; Day & Shloim, 2021; Holland, 2018; Kapur et al., 2018). But any treatment for maladaptive coping strategies or psychological disorders (anxiety, PTSD) will be an exercise in polishing the brass on a sinking ship without a re-rooting of identity from the created to the Creator (Card, 2013; Jeremiah 17:14).

Summary

This chapter presented a review of the phenomenon of attending a maintained school in NI during the period known as the Troubles as delineated in contemporary research. Topics of this literature review included immigrant parents' experience with American schools, generational cohort theory, the history of and experience of growing up during the Troubles, the history of and experience of attending a maintained school in NI, the mental health outcomes of experiencing sectarian violence, and the deleterious effects of corporal

punishment used in schools. Key themes that emerged from this literature review included: maladaptive coping strategies, the nexus of the Troubles and attending a maintained school, attitude regarding the value of education, beliefs regarding parental involvement, and social identity theory as applied to sectarian conflicts. The chapter closed by explaining the gaps in the literature that this study attempted to fill and explicated the purpose of the study. Chapter 3, which outlines the methods proposed for gathering data and analyzing data follows.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHOD

Introduction

This chapter describes the research methods utilized in this study. A phenomenological approach aimed at distilling the essence of the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school in Northern Ireland during the Troubles was utilized. The investigation followed Colaizzi's (1978) phenomenological analysis method. Data gathering methods included a survey (N=11), and 11 semi-structured in-depth interviews with the same participants. This chapter begins by identifying the research questions. The chapter then explains the procedures followed in this study including a description of the selection criteria, the data-gathering process, the analysis and organization of the data, ethical considerations, and how I maintained rigor in the inquiry and analysis. The chapter closes with a description of the delimitations, assumptions, and limitations of the study.

Research Questions

Central RQ: What was it like to attend a Catholic maintained school in Northern Ireland during the period known as the Troubles?

> **SQ1:** What was it like to grow up in Northern Ireland during the period known as the Troubles?
>
> **SQ2:** What was it like to attend a Catholic maintained school in Northern Ireland?
>
> **SQ3:** How did the experience of attending maintained schools impact NII parents' view of the value of education?
>
> **SQ4:** What do NII parents think is the purpose of education?
>
> **SQ5:** What do they perceive is the parent's role in a child's education?

SQ6: Which experience (growing up during the Troubles or attending a Catholic maintained school) do NII parents believe had the greatest impact on their lived experience?

<div align="center">

Research Design

</div>

Overview

This study is an examination of the intersection of the Troubles and the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school, in order to understand why NII parents exhibit different patterns of interaction with American schools than the majority of parents from other immigrant groups. A phenomenological approach was the best approach to illuminate the experiences and the perspectives of NII parents who attended maintained schools during the Troubles as the research focus was a common lived experience (Creswell, 2021). This story could only be told within a paradigm of personal experience. The complexity of the story necessitated a qualitative approach. Data analysis was systematic, starting with significant statements from the interview transcripts and progressing to meaning units. Both were aimed at illuminating the "what" and the "how" of the experience of attending Catholic maintained schools during the Troubles. This qualitative study included a preliminary survey and 11 semi-structured interviews with NII parents who have school-age children.

Structure

The study was comprised of 11 semi-structured interviews with participants that met the criteria explicated below. A preliminary survey was completed by participants before the interview. A copy of the survey can be accessed at this link https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/G8FGN6V. The data gathered from the survey helped inform the interview questions used for the in-depth interviews.

The interviews, which were the primary source for the study's data, explored three interrelated topics, the experience of growing up in Northern Ireland during the Troubles, the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school in Northern Ireland, and the interviewees' views about education in general. Information gathered during the interviews was augmented with data derived from the survey.

The qualitative survey was designed with a dual purpose. First, it provided me with initial contextual information about the experience of attending a maintained school in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. Second, it functioned as a prime for autobiographical memories that the participants were asked to recall during the interview (Mace & Clevinger, 2012; Mace et al., 2019).

In keeping with qualitative methodology, the structure of the data-gathering process evolved as the incoming data emerged (Guest et al.,2020; Creswell, 2021; Qutoshi, 2018). In order to establish and maintain empirical rigor, my decision-making and reasoning were recorded (Carcary, 2020).

Participants

The objective of descriptive phenomenology is to distill and illuminate the essence of a life experience. The primary inclusion criteria for participants, therefore, was to have lived the experience being examined. For this study, that experience was attending a maintained (Catholic public) school in Northern Ireland during the period known as the Troubles. The nexus of these two events was operationalized as being born between 1953 and 1980, growing up in Northern Ireland, and attending maintained schools. Additional inclusion criteria included being the parent of at least one child. (Research question SQ5 relates to the parent's involvement in their child's education). While immigration was not considered an

inclusion criterion, it is worth noting that all but one of the participants were currently living in the United States, having immigrated between the ages of 17 (Sean) and 41 (Peggy). These participants' children attend/attended American schools, which gave them a valuable comparative perspective on education.

Exclusion criteria were having been born before 1953 or after 1980. Individuals born before 1953 would be finished or almost finished with school before the period of the Troubles; individuals who did not enter school until after 1987, when corporal punishment in schools was made illegal in the United Kingdom, would have had a very different school experience than those who started school before the 1987 ban (Ghandhi, 1984; Gould, 2007). Additional exclusion criteria included: not being a parent, growing up in the Republic of Ireland, and attending a controlled (Protestant) school.

Participants were recruited through two primary gatekeepers, both immigrants from Northern Ireland living in the United States who are highly networked within the Irish immigrant community. Each disseminated descriptions of the study and provided me with contact information for individuals who met the inclusion criteria and expressed an interest in participating in the study.

Saturation

In qualitative research, the number of participants is predicated on achieving *data saturation*, the point where redundancy is occurring and no novel information related to the research questions being examined is emerging (Guest et al., 2020). Two issues of saturation were considered. The first was thematic saturation. Clear thematic patterns emerged after the first eight interviews; the final three confirmed that thematic redundancy had been achieved.

The final three interviews were valuable because they added to the second category of saturation, diversity saturation.

An effort was made to achieve diversity saturation within the inherently limiting inclusion criteria for this study. The three salient areas of diversity that were of prime concern were gender, social class, and geographic demography. Gender information was collected because gender may be a confounding variable in school involvement (Nord & West, 2001). As mentioned in the literature review, class structure had the potential to be a very influential confounding variable in this study because an individual's class may impact how an immigrant from the UK views education (Croxford & Raffe, 2014; Richardson et al., 2020). The United Kingdom's deeply embedded historical class system has had a significant historical impact on the way immigrants from Northern Ireland view educational attainment (Sowell, 1985). While economic opportunity and mobility have changed in the last several decades, vestiges of class culture remain and influence the worldview of Irish immigrants to the United States even today (Brown et al., 2021; Bukodi et al., 2019). For NII, whether they grew up in a rural, urban, or village environment provided salient information about both the class culture experienced by the individual during their formative years and the level of sectarian violence they were likely to have experienced/witnessed. (This is the reason for questions #s 19, 20, and 21 on the qualitative survey).

Saturation was achieved after eleven interviews were conducted with four primary and sixteen secondary themes emerging repeatedly. Complete diversity saturation was constrained by the small sample size typical of qualitative studies (in the case of this study- 11). That having been said, broad class diversity and geographic diversity were achieved. Socioeconomically, the participants ranged from extremely poor (Clodagh and Jamie) to

upper middle class (Peggy), with the majority falling into the working class or petty

bourgeoise (owner of a shop/bar) categories. A geographic/demographic diversity was also

represented, with participants coming from cities (Belfast), rural areas, small towns,

protestant neighborhoods, Catholic enclaves, and mixed yet segregated communities.

Participant Selection for the Survey

Participants met the aforementioned criterion for inclusion. Additional inclusion

criteria included having access to an internet-enabled computer and the ability to read in

English. The sample size was 11. Recruitment was done through gatekeepers and utilized an

email link to a SurveyMonkey platform. By using gatekeepers, I hoped to capture the voices

of individuals not likely to be active on a social research platform such as Amazon

Mechanical Turk, mitigating the risk of self-selection bias inherent in the use of survey

service (Kees, 2017).

Participant Selection Interviews

This was a criterion sample of 11 individuals; the final sample size was determined

using Guest et al. (2020)'s methods for achieving contextual thematic saturation. Participants

met the aforementioned criterion for inclusion. Recruitment was through a gatekeeper.

Participant Demographics

Age was tied to the primary criterion, so the sample included only one generational

cohort (born 1953-1980). An attempt was made to recruit a diverse range of genders (both

mothers and fathers), childhood class status, and geographical demographics. Four women

and seven men were interviewed. The class system in the UK was also identified as a

potential confounding variable regarding attitudes toward education (Brown et al., 2021;

Bukodi et al., 2019). Socioeconomically, the participants ranged from extremely poor to

upper middle class, with the majority falling into the working class or petty bourgeoise (owner of a shop/bar) categories. Ten of the eleven participants were raised in two-parent households, All of the participants' mothers were primarily stay-at-home mothers; none worked full-time, although some worked sporadically in the family shop/bar as needed. A geographic/demographic diversity was also represented, with participants coming from cities (Belfast), rural areas, small towns, protestant neighborhoods, Catholic enclaves, and mixed-yet-segregated communities. This was important as it appears to have impacted Catholic identity, sectarian tolerance, and Troubles-related childhood experiences. That being said, the small sample size and primary criterion made a truly wide range of any diversity impossible.

Study Procedures

Introduction to Data Collection

The goal of any qualitative interview is to elicit the highest quality of data that is possible (Döringer, 2021). Given the wealth of information that might potentially be gleaned from body language and demeanor, videotaping would have been ideal and preferred over audio. That being said, recording can have a negative impact on the interviewee, often resulting in more filtered or formal responses (Al-Yateem, 2012). This was a concern both from a participant-comfort perspective and from a data-quality perspective.

The act of recording, in any form, can introduce psychological responses that are adverse to candor, which is the goal of a phenomenological interview (Saarijärvi & Bratt, 2021). Similar to the Hawthorne effect, the very act of interviewing can influence an individual's recall and description of experiences. This is partially because humans engage in ongoing self-monitoring and regulation in an effort to align our actual self with our "ought self" or "ideal self" (Trettevik & Grindal, 2016, p. 612).

Cooley (1902) coined the term *looking glass self* to describe the process in which individuals base their self-identity and self-descriptions on how they believe they are viewed by others. Rosenberg (1979) described this phenomenon as being a battle between *the extant self* (who one actually is), *the desired self* (who one would like to be), and *the presenting self* (the way one wants to present oneself to others in a given context). The act of recording an interview can exacerbate these social desirability effects and reduce the authenticity of the data garnered (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Given the aforementioned concerns, the decision was made to employ the least intrusive recording method possible, an audio recording on an Olympus WS-852, and for the interviewer to take hand-written notes on salient visual data such as body language.

Recruitment

Following approval by Liberty University's Institutional Review Board, participants were recruited for the study. Two participants were individuals I knew personally. All other recruitment was done through one of the gatekeepers. The gatekeeper provided me with contact information for individuals who met the inclusion criteria and expressed a willingness to participate. I then contacted potential participants via email. (See Appendix C for a copy of the recruitment email).

Individuals who were willing to participate returned the consent form via text or email. Upon receipt of consent, I contacted them to arrange a time for an in-person interview; at this time, I forwarded participants the link to the qualitative survey on SurveyMonkey. At the start of the interview, I reviewed the consent document with each participant to ensure they understood it and had no questions. From the participants' perspective, the procedure was as follows:

1. Contacted by a gatekeeper.

2. Received recruitment email with consent document attached.

3. Read and return the consent form via email or text to the researcher.

4. Contacted by the researcher by phone. The researcher answered any questions and scheduled the in-person interview.

5. Received an email with a link to the survey. Used link in recruitment email to access and complete survey (10 minutes).

6. Audio-taped interview (~1 hour)

7. Each participant was offered the opportunity to review the transcript of their interview and give feedback.

8. Each participant was offered the opportunity to read a draft of the completed study and give feedback.

Steps 7 and 8 were accomplished via encrypted emails, in person, or over the phone.

Survey

The survey was disseminated through an emailed link to the SurveyMonkey platform. The surveys primarily yielded categorial nominal data and demographic data.

Interviews

Eleven semi-structured interviews were conducted in person at the participants' homes. These were audio recorded; I took handwritten notes during the interview, recording salient visual information, tone, pauses, and general demeanor. The recordings of the interviews were transcribed by Otter AI software. The AI-created transcripts were evaluated and determined to be inaccurate and nonsensical, rendering them useless. The audio-taped interviews were then transcribed by hand, which involved listening to each interview

sentence by sentence and typing it into a word document that included time notations on every response for easy reference. The final transcripts were rechecked against the recordings. Any notes taken during the interview were added to the transcript at this time. Data was scrubbed to eliminate repetition, expletives, divergent tangents, and any biographical information that might compromise the confidentiality of the participants.

Instrumentation and Measurement

Instruments/Materials

Survey

The purpose of the qualitative survey was to document the ubiquity, frequency, and form of the administration of corporal punishment in maintained schools in Northern Ireland during the period known as the Troubles. Further, and perhaps more importantly, the survey was designed to prime the autobiographical memories that participants were asked to recall during the in-depth interviews (Johnson & Morley, 2021; Wang et al., 2017). The survey design consisted of questions followed by a multiple-choice response. The provided response options were based on evidence revealed in published anecdotal accounts of the experience of corporal punishment in a maintained school (Holland, 2018; Limond, 2022; Maguire & Cinnéide, 2005).

The survey structure was loosely modeled on Dorahy et al.'s (2012) Troubles-related experience questionnaire (TREQ). A copy of the survey can be accessed using this link https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/G8FGN6V. The survey primarily focused on the experience of corporal punishment in a Catholic maintained school. Additional demographic information was included to determine whether the vestiges of UK class culture may have impacted the experience of corporal punishment in school and/or on the respondent's views

on the purpose/value of education in general (Brown et al., 2021; Bukodi et al., 2019).

Questions 19, 20, and 21 target this information. Using this data and the modified Goldthorpe

(2016) class categories found in Appendix B, the class background of the participants was

approximated. The sample size (11) is too small for robust correlative analysis, but trends,

were noted in chapter 4.

Interview Questions

   These were open-ended, semi-structured questions. A guiding scaffold of questions

was formulated based on the research questions, data gathered from previous research done

on the lived experience of growing up during the Troubles, and anecdotal accounts of

attending a Catholic maintained school. That having been said, the majority of the questions

during the actual interviews emerged from the participants' responses (Cheron et al., 2022;

Dukes, 1984; Jackson, 2018; McGrath et al., 2019). Examples of questions that were used to

obtain answers to the research questions are listed below.

- *What are your strongest memories of growing up during the Troubles?* ***SQ1***

- *What are your strongest memories of attending a maintained school?* **SQ2**

- *Tell me about the teachers you remember most.* **SQ2**

- *How did corporal punishment impact your experience of school?* **SQ2**

- *What impact do you think the practice of corporal punishment had on your learning in school?* **SQ2**

- *What impact did the use of corporal punishment have on your attitude toward going to school?* **SQ2, SQ3**

- *What was the highest level of education you achieved?* **SQ3**

- *How important do you think what you learned attending a maintained school was for your success as an adult?* **SQ4**

- *What did you learn in school that you have applied in your adult life (skills, habits, attitudes)* **SQ3**

- *What do you believe is the purpose of an education?* **SQ4**

- *Thinking about your child's education: what is the school's job and what is your job?* **SQ5**

- *What do you believe had a bigger impact on your life as a child (the Troubles or attending a Catholic maintained school)?* **SQ6**

- *How do you think the experience of growing up during the Troubles impacts you now?* **SQ6**

- *How do you think the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school impacts you now?* **SQ6**

The interview questions above were not used in that order in every interview. They were merely a scaffold to guide the conversation. My goal was to get a clear, detailed picture of the lived experience and its impact on the participants. To achieve that, I allow the interviewees to participate in steering the direction of the interview, with me asking clarifying questions and probing for a deeper understanding of their lived experience.

Software

Otter AI software was used to facilitate the conversion of the audio interviews into transcripts (Verge & Crowell, 2021). This was chosen because of its reputation for accuracy and ease of use (Solsman, 2018). Otter AI did not prove to be useful in deciphering the strong Ulster accents of the participants. Quirkos, a qualitative analysis software, was used to

help organize the data and produce visual images for the report. This was chosen because of its user-friendly interface (Turner, 2017). Its search features and organization of the coding both within a single transcript and across all recorded transcripts using keywords were valuable.

Operationalization of Demographic Variables

Social Class – This variable is a categorical (nominal) variable based on a modified Goldthorpe (2016) class taxonomy. See Appendix B for an explanation of the categories. Class was operationalized based on a participant's answers to questions 19 and 20 on the survey. Occupation and location have been revealed as good approximations of social class in the UK (Le Roux, 2008).

Age – This is a scale variable that was measured by self-report on the survey.

Gender – This is a binary nominal variable measured by self-report on the survey

Data Analysis

Colaizzi's (1978) phenomenological analysis method served as an outline of the steps that were employed to examine the data gathered from the interviews. The progressive analysis proceeded as follows.

0. (Before data collection begins) I bracketed my own experiences relevant to the phenomenon being studied. In this case, it included my experiences both as a student and as the parent of students attending public schools in America.

1. I read through each transcript more than a dozen times to become familiar with the global story they tell.

2. Significant and salient statements, those relevant to the phenomenon being investigated, were identified.

3. Meaning and commonalities that arose from the statements were noted. I made every effort to reflectively bracket any pre-suppositions I held so that, as much as possible, the meanings that emerged were the perspectives of the participants only.

4. Clusters of meaning were gathered, and emerging themes were noted.

5. I wrote an exhaustive description that incorporated all the themes and meanings discovered in steps 3-4.

7. I distilled the step 6 description into brief, dense, statements that captured the essence of the phenomenon.

8. Member checking was conducted, and adjustments/revisions were made as needed. This step was deemed critical to ensure bracketing and avoid what Silverio et al. (2021) referred to as *academic ventriloquism.* Four participants were asked to review the transcribed interviews to ensure my interpretation of their accents was accurate. Very minor corrections, particularly ones related to place names, were suggested. Only two participants expressed an interest in reading the final manuscript.

Analysis of Survey Data

The dual purpose of the survey was to prime the topic and to provide me with data to inform the interviews. The survey yielded primarily categorical (nominal) data. Data from the survey are reported in chapter 4 as demographic results and noted trends.

Transcription of Interviews

It has been frequently argued that transcription is essentially an interpretive process (Davidson, 2009). The AI-created transcripts were evaluated and determined to be unusable. This was not a surprise, given that the County Tyrone accent in NI had previously been revealed to be particularly difficult for AI software to understand (Campbell, 2020). The

audio-taped interviews were then transcribed by hand, which involved listening to each interview sentence by sentence and typing it into a word document that included time notations on every response for easy reference. The process, while time-consuming, was ultimately beneficial because it required my listening to each interview between 12-20 times. The global themes and patterns identified for analysis emerged from the hyper-familiarity acquired through so many readings.

Ethical Considerations

Approval from Liberty University's Institutional Review Board was obtained prior to the commencement of this study.

Informed Consent

Participants were provided with information about the purpose of the study, the procedure for gathering data, the role of the participants, and assurances of confidentiality and anonymity prior to obtaining the required informed consent (Xu et al., 2020). This included informing them that they may withdraw from the study at any time.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

In accordance with established ethical standards for qualitative research, the identity of the participants was protected (Creswell, 2021). Names and identifying information were masked using pseudonyms and composite depictions. The primary researcher and two members of the dissertation committee were the only persons with access to the original transcripts. Names were masked before committee members reviewed the transcripts. The final report and any future publication of data related to this study does not and will not contain any material that might lead to the identification of the participants. At the

conclusion of the in-depth interviews, I asked the participant whether they would prefer any of the information they shared to be considered *off the record.* No one requested this.

Storage of Data

All hard copies of data were kept in a locked filing cabinet. All electronic copies of data and interviewee identification were stored in an offline dedicated laptop that was password protected. All data that was shared with members of the dissertation committee was sent via encrypted emails. Both electronic and hard copy data will be kept in the aforementioned secure locations for three years after the completion of the study. At that time all electronic data will be deleted, and all hard copies of data will be shredded.

Beneficence and Respect for Persons

According to the principle of beneficence, as outlined in the Belmont Report (1979), every effort was made to minimize risk and maximize benefits to the participants. To that end, interviews were conducted in a manner that was respectful of the potentially sensitive nature of the topic. The preponderance of literature on the impact that surveys and interviews involving difficult questions about violence exposures or other distressing autobiographical events, including Zhu, et al.'s (2022) sexual, physical, and emotional violence survey study that included more than 18,608 individuals across four countries and Tan et al.'s (2019) interview study involving 5,220 participants, indicates that the risk of participation causing further harm (re-traumatizing) is very low. According to Tan et al., individuals without comorbid mental health issues did not report any adverse reactions resulting from participation. Among those participants in Zhu et al.'s study who had been previously diagnosed with PTSD or other trauma-related mental health disorders, 2.8% expressed feeling depressed after participation; 5.3% felt distressed; 2.5% reported regretting

participation (p.1234). The greatest concern expressed by these participants in Zhu et al.'s study surrounded issues of privacy and confidentiality. Moreover, 88% of those who did suffer from PTSD or other mental disorders resulting from the trauma being addressed by the survey, reported feeling positive about the survey experience during follow-up contact. Participants in this current survey were informed of the protocols put in place to safeguard their anonymity, privacy, and confidentiality; these are delineated above.

Based on this research, I did not anticipate the risk of re-traumatization for any participant would be high. That having been said, specific protocols, suggested by Labott et al. (2016) were embedded in the methodology to minimize the risk. According to Labott et al., informing survey participants, during the consent process, that they may choose to discontinue participation at any time during the process and may skip answers on the survey that they find too distressing protects subjects from potential emotional distress. A button was included, at the bottom of the survey, that links to the Wave Trauma Centers (WTC), a mental health organization that specializes in Troubles-related PTSD and other conflict-related emotional trauma. The WTC are in five locations in Northern Ireland and can be contacted via their website https://wavetraumacentre.org.uk/. A link to Celebrate Recovery, a 12-step Christ-based recovery program was also provided at the bottom of the survey.

To minimize any adverse reactions during the interviews, Labott et al. (2016) recommend the use of a safety script. Safety script protocol requires interviewers who observe acute emotional distress that goes beyond what would normally be expected during an interview involving a sensitive autobiographical experience to ask follow-up questions to assess whether there is any imminent danger to the participant and to promote dialog on the acute emotional distress being experienced. Labott et al. provide a response tree that was

followed during the interviews conducted for this current study. The majority of the participants responded to the questions unemotionally or with wry humor. Expressions of anger, resentment, and anxiety were not considered beyond what would normally be expected when recounting childhood violence or frustration. Only one interviewee became emotional when discussing her childhood experiences. When this happened, I paused the interview and assured her that she did not have to talk about anything she did not want to talk about. The interviewee asked for a moment to collect herself, then, after approximately two minutes, she expressed a desire to continue the interview.

Reciprocity

Reciprocity is an important component in respect for persons (Creswell, 2021). At the conclusion of the study, NII parents who express a need for assistance with school-related communication or academic problems were offered assistance. I am currently certified in nine K-12 academic subjects, and I have experience as both a teacher and an administrator in both online and brick-and-mortar public schools in the United States. As such, I was in a unique position to give back to the participants in a tangible and meaningful way. When issues or concerns regarding their children's education were expressed during the interview, I made a note to circle back. After all data was gathered, including member checking, the following reciprocity was offered and accepted:

- Connecting one participant with resources for her son who is on the spectrum;

- Assisting two participants' children with completing their FASA forms;

- Reading and giving feedback on university applications to the son of a participant;

- Offering math tutoring and educational resources to a participant's daughter.

Credibility, Transferability, Dependability, and Confirmability

Confirmability

The goal of empirical research is to produce *episteme,* that is to say, intellectually valid knowledge (Sundler, 2019). For a phenomenological study, that knowledge may be rooted in the objective recall of verifiable events, or it may be revealed through the subjectively recalled memory of those events. Often the latter, rather than the former, gives a researcher greater insight into an individual's behavior, identity, and self-concept (Costabile & Boytos, 2021; Fernández, 2019). Due to the more subjective nature of the data, qualitative validity and reliability are not established in the same way one might expect for a quantitative study. According to Guba and Lincoln (1981), a qualitative study manifests confirmability through the triptych of credibility, transferability, and dependability.

Credibility

Guba and Lincoln (1989) recommend researchers provide what they term a cogent "audit trail" (p. 243) which makes the thought processes undergirding the study as well as the research evidence manifest to the reader. While an audit trail has been provided, it is worth noting that, because this study sought to describe a lived experience, the only individuals who could truly confirm its credibility are those who actually lived the experience (Qutoshi, 2018). When the inquiry was completed, participants were given the opportunity to read the findings, and their comments were included in the final iteration (Mero-Jaffe, 2011). Seeking transcript feedback from the participants has the added benefit of at least somewhat mitigating the power differential inherent in the researcher-participant relationship (Creswell, 2021). A third of the participants participated in member-checking. Four read through their

own transcript to confirm accuracy. Two read the full draft of the study after all names had been masked through pseudonyms and composites to ensure anonymity.

Dependability

While often described as commensurate with reliability in quantitative research, the evolving nature of qualitative research dependability is established by a lucid and complete accounting of the emerging context and evolving procedure, rather than a repeated demonstration of similar results (Carcary, 2020). For this study, dependability has been established by providing a thorough accounting of the procedure coupled with a decision trail that elucidated my thought process and reflection in light of the emerging data (Moran, 2018).

Transferability

Transferability refers to the findings of a qualitative study being applicable to other populations, contexts, or times. While this study's findings reflect a unique nexus of sectarian conflict and adverse education experience, some of the findings may be transferable. Examples of potential transferability would be the impact that a parent's own school experience has on both their attitude toward education and their parental involvement, the role that puissant childhood experiences play in the formation of adult behavioral patterns and coping strategies, the lasting deleterious effect of the practice of corporal punishment in school, the function of identity theory in sectarian conflict, the role that predictability plays in whether a traumatic experience has a constructive or injurious impact, and the role that protective factors can play in mitigating the long-term negative effects of adverse childhood experiences (Ille, 2021; Park & Vollers, 2015; Saleh, 2022; Sullivan & Lasley, 2010).

According to Guba and Lincoln (1981), a qualitative study can be considered confirmable if it has established credibility, dependability, and transferability. The confirmability of this study was established through the creation of a procedural audit trail and by seeking transcript feedback from the participants (credibility), elucidating my thought process as the data emerged (dependability), and examining the phenomenon in light of current psychological and sociological theory (transferability).

Delimitations, Assumptions, and Limitations

Delimitations

The primary delimitations involve the sample criterion and size. The inclusion criterion (having grown up in Northern Ireland and attended maintained schools during the Troubles) excluded individuals who grew up in the Republic of Ireland or other countries within the UK. It also excluded individuals who are culturally Protestant. The aim of this study was to examine the nexus of the Troubles and attending a maintained school. Individuals growing up in the Republic of Ireland experienced some sectarian violence during the target years, particularly individuals living in the Ulster counties just south of the border, but the majority of the violence and cultural clashes occurred in Northern Ireland. While the Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland shared some commonalities in the sectarian conflict, their experiences were different in several key ways. Protestants had several governmental organizational authorities they identified with including the British civil Service, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (the Northern Irish police department) and the British troops sent to Northern Ireland in 1969 to oppose the Irish Republican Army (English 2008). And, although they attended all-Protestant schools where corporal punishment was practiced, these were secular, state-run schools administered by layman (Biaggi, 2020). As a

result, the physical abuse they observed and/or received in school would not be closely tied to a Protestant's self-identity the way it was for Catholic students. Further, the hierarchical social status of Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland was not disempowering for the Protestants (English 2008). As result, the lived experience of individuals attending maintained school (the Catholics) was unique and is the sole focus of this study. The small sample size of 11 did not allow for a robust quantitative analysis of demographic data. The sample size was determined by the scope of the dissertation and the time period allowed for its completion.

Assumptions Inherent in the Proposed Study

A significant portion of the study hinged on data gathered from in-depth interviews in which individuals were asked to recall and accurately describe a lived experience that occurred more than 25 years ago. The first assumption inherent in this study was that participants would be willing to disclose potentially sensitive or traumatic memories. The second assumption was that the participants would be capable of disclosing meaningful information about their experience attending a maintained school.

Human beings are notoriously inaccurate when describing past behavior, describing past events, recalling facts, recalling sensory information, noticing sensory information, and assessing physical states of their own body, such as pain scales (Dang et al., 2020; Haidt, 2012; Lukianoff & Haidt, 2019). An individual's recollection can be affected by mood, both current mood and mood at the time of the recalled event (Loftus, 2018). False memories are far too common and can even be manufactured – both cognitively and neurologically (Tonegawa et al., 2018). Autobiographic memory has been demonstrated to be particularly malleable (Rubin et al., 2019).

Confabulation and media-driven social contagion were initially a concern. The experiences of the Troubles and the corporal punishment in a maintained school are frequently bantered about among those who lived them in a way reminiscent of a soldier recounting non-traumatic war stories. There is also an abundance of stories of the Troubles depicted in movies and television (Bazin, 2013; Brereton, 2022; Long, 2021). Most of these reinforce stereotypes and myths; some attempt to revise history. The experience of attending a maintained school is described in literature, memoirs, and documentaries (Dolan, 2017; Holland, 2018; Quinlan, 2021). The potential distorting effects (social contagion) of these social and media depictions are discussed more thoroughly in the literature review.

Research has suggested that the experience of living through the Troubles left many individuals in Northern Ireland with a form of post-traumatic stress syndrome (PSTD; Day & Shloim, 2021; Ferry et al., 2014; Kapur et al., 2018). Moradi et al. (2021) demonstrated that the autobiographical retrieval process may be impaired in individuals suffering from PSTD. Metcalfe et al. (2019) revealed that memories of an event that occurred under significant stress can be distorted by the effects of cortisol and other stress-related hormones on the hippocampus. Finally, human beings routinely engage in a panoply of unconscious heuristic techniques and attribution errors, such as confirmation bias, illusory superiority, and self-enhancing biases (Banaji & Greenwald, 2016; Jalbert et al., 2021). All these may have impacted my participant's ability to report objectively and/or accurately.

The saving grace to these concerns related to the human capacity for objective recall is that the phenomenological approach is rooted in naïve psychology; that is to say, it aims to systematically describe how individuals experience their world (Moran, 2018). A phenomenological approach purports to reveal a perceived experience, not merely objective

reality (Cuthbertson et al., 2020; (Lanfredini, 2018). For this reason, the inevitably subjective nature of the data to be gathered, via the survey and the interviews, and its vulnerability to confabulation and social contagion did not render the results of the study invalid.

Limitations of the Proposed Study

Sample Homogeneity

The very small qualitative sample (11) and the inherently limiting inclusion criterion (having grown up in Northern Ireland and attended maintained schools during the Troubles) mean my sample was fairly homogenous, so the findings are limited in their external validity. In addition, the study only illuminates the Catholic experience, not the Protestant one.

Data Validity

The very act of interviewing can introduce psychological responses similar to the Hawthorn effect, which may influence an individual's recall and description of experiences (McGrath et al., 2019; Saarijärvi & Bratt, 2021). This, coupled with the potential for social desirability bias, could potentially lead to inaccurate data (Kreitchmann, et al., 2019). Confabulation and social contagion could potentially distort the accuracy of the interview data (Harris et al., 2017).

Instrument Validity

Creating clear, concise, valid response anchors for a survey about a topic as complex as the experience of attending a maintained school requires that a researcher make numerous choices to reduce the experience to measurable factors. The act of simplifying a social experience necessarily diminishes the inherent richness of a lived experience and can lead to distortions (Casper et al., 2020; Gopaul, 2021).

Research Approach

The limitations associated with qualitative research must also be acknowledged. According to Creswell (2021), qualitative interviews are time-consuming and thematic coding is labor-intensive. The results of a qualitative study are not usually replicable, and it can be difficult to establish causality.

Summary

This section delineated the methods that were used to gather and analyze data. The proposed interview structure was outlined. Sample size and recruitment strategies were explained. Inclusion and exclusion criteria were defined. Instruments and materials were described, and sample survey questions were provided. Ethical considerations were described, and meaningful reciprocity was suggested. A description of how rigor was maintained during the data gathering and analysis was provided. Delimitations, assumptions, and limitations were explored. The next chapter provides the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Overview

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to gain an understanding of the lived experience of those individuals who attended Catholic public schools during the Troubles and examine how it might impact the way immigrants from Northern Ireland think about education. Eleven in-depth interviews and a qualitative survey were conducted. The central research question, *What was it like to attend a Catholic maintained school in Northern Ireland during the period known as The Troubles?* was addressed through six sub-questions that examined the lived experience of growing up during the Troubles, the lived experience of attending a Catholic maintained school in Northern Ireland, and how the nexus of these two experiences impacted the participants. This chapter presents the results of the qualitative survey and in-depth interviews. The chapter begins by introducing the participants in context by providing salient demographic data and presenting a brief description of each participant's familial, geographical, and educational background. This was critical because the experiences of growing up during the Troubles and attending a Catholic maintained school in Northern Ireland are inextricably interwoven. Next, a summary of the prevalence and nature of corporal punishment in NI Catholic maintained schools is provided. Finally, significant statements, organized by theme clusters, are presented. To ensure authenticity and capture the linguistic flavor, all participant quotes are presented *sic erat scriptum*, with editorial brackets used only to ensure clarity.

Descriptive Results

Participant Profiles

Eleven participants (8 male/4 female) ranging in age from 53 to 62 participated in this study. All attended Catholic maintained schools in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. All but one of the participants currently live in the United States, having immigrated between the ages of 17 (Sean) and 41 (Peggy); their children attend/attended American schools, which gave them a valuable comparative perspective on education. Four participants left school at age 16 without basic qualifications; four left school between 16-17 having achieved O-levels (the equivalent of a basic high school diploma); three studied for 1-2 years at a vocational college. Participant details are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Participant Demographics

	Male/ female	# of siblings (including self)	# of kids	Childhood environment	Was faith a part of their family growing up?*	The highest level of education attained**	Two parents in the home	Father's primary job	Mother's primary job	What they believe had the greatest impact on their life.
Sean (S)	male	10	2	Rural Catholic "bandit Country"	Yes Family recitation of the Rosary Felt God protected him	No qualifications	yes	Bar owner	Stay-at-home mom	School
Liam (L)	male	8	3	Rural Catholic	No	O-levels, (Later took college courses)	yes	Owner small grocery shop	Stay-at-home mom	The Troubles
Brendan (B)	male	8	3	Small town 50/50	Yes, attended mass, father was devout, felt God's hand was always on his life	No qualifications in NI (Returned to school at 47. Now has Doctorate)	yes	Small business owner < age 10, On disability after heart attack> 10	Stay-at-home mom	School

Jillian (Ji)	female	8	4	Rural Catholic area	No	O-levels	yes	Lorry driver/ Owned shop	Stay-at-home mom	School
Jamie (Ja)	male	7	2	Countryside (Protestant area)	Culturally religious	No qualifications	yes <age 9 no >9	Part-time carpenter	Stay-at-home mom	Domestic violence (probably intensified by the Troubles)
Peggy (P)	female	4	3	North Belfast, upper middle class mixed neighborhood	Yes, Family recitation of the Rosary	Vocational	yes	Chemist and Pharmacy owner	Part-time chemist	Both
Aiden (A)	male	9	1	Small town, very segregated	Yes, Parents prayed for the kids	No qualifications	yes	Owned record store	Stay-at-home mom	No idea
Clodagh (C)	female	11	3	Very small village. Mostly Protestant	Yes, both parents were devout, family said the Rosary every night	O-levels	yes	Excavator operator	Stay-at-home mom	The Troubles
Fintan (F)	male	8	4	Small town Mixed 50/50 Protestants/ Catholics, segregated	Yes, mother very involved church,	O-levels	yes	Comedian / actor	Stay-at-home mom	School

					father was devout believer					
Eoghan (E)	male	8	2	Rural	unknown	Vocational	yes	Bartender/ Book-keeper	Stay-at-home mom	School
Josephine (Jo)	female	3	3	Village, heavily Catholic	unknown	Vocational	Yes	Machine operator/ laborer	Clothes factory worker	School
Mikeal***	male	13	3	Very small village in Catholic area	Strong Catholic identity	BA	yes	Fisherman	Stay-at-home mom	The Troubles
Jeremy***	male	7	3	West Belfast, all Catholic area	unknown	Master's	yes	Carpet fitter	Stay-at-home mom	The Troubles

* I did not specifically ask about religious practice during the interviews, nor was it a question on the survey. However, many of participants made unprompted comments about it. Respondents with a value of "unknown" did not discuss this topic.

**None = dropped out as soon as legally allowed. No qualifications.

*** These individuals were not interviewed participants. However, their experiences during the Troubles and in school were discussed at length by their wives (Peggy and Clodagh). For this reason, the decision was made to included them in this table.

The Participants in Context

In this section, each participant is presented in a biographical context. The experience of growing up during the Troubles, Catholic identity, and the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school are interwoven and interconnected, not unlike the fabled Celtic knot. For this reason, a brief description of each participant's familial, geographical, and general life arc is provided below. Pseudonyms are employed to maintain the participants' confidentiality.

Brendan's Story

Brendan is a 58-year-old male. He was born and raised in a small town in East Tyrone. This area experienced numerous bombings during the Troubles, including the Hillcrest Bar bombing on March 17, 1976, when a bomb set by the Mid-Ulster Brigade (a UVF unit) killed six people (two Protestant, four Catholic, including two 13-year-old children) and injured more than 50 (Melaugh, 2007). Brendan describes it as "a small town, with a population of under 10,000 at the time. Half of the town's residents were Protestant, half were Catholic…schools, neighborhoods, shops, churches, everything was segregated."

Brendan has four sisters and three brothers. His father was a small business owner; when Brendan was 10, his father had a heart attack and had to sell the business. His parents relied on disability benefits and sporadic part-time work. Brendan's maternal grandmother lived in "a rural area outside of Carrickmore, County Tyrone that was very heavily Republican, big center for IRA activity…every Friday night, my mother would pack one or two of us into the car to go and visit my grandmother until she died when I was 16."

Brendan immigrated to the United States in the early 1990s because he wanted to be a police officer and that career option was not open to Catholics in Northern Ireland. Brendan

left school at age 16. At age 47, he decided to resume his educational journey. "First, I got my GED. I started off at community college....then I [had to] work for a year. Then in 2012, I started going part-time to [a local university] at night, while working full-time." Brendan went on to an internationally recognized university for his master's degree in 2016; in 2020, he completed his doctorate in Homeland Security. "I am still a full-time detective in [a major metropolitan city in the United States] but I am also a professor at [a state university] now." Brendan is married and has three children. When asked what he believed had the biggest impact on his life (growing up during the Troubles or attending a Catholic maintained school), Brendan answered "school had a bigger impact on my life, no contest."

Clodagh's Story

Clodagh is a 62-year-old female. She was the middle child of 11 children (8 girls). She grew up in a "tiny village in County Derry." It was a Protestant town with very few Catholic families. "My daddy was very strict about us staying away from all politics because he worried. Because there was 11 of us. He said…if they are watching around our town, it's easy to find the Catholics. If you are up to something, they'll see you. Because we were outnumbered in the town." In her town, the "grocers were Protestant. And in the co-op was Protestant. The pubs…were Catholic. There were one or two smaller mini stores, [owned by Catholics]…but they didn't have everything. So, we went to the Protestant ones…they were convenient." Growing up, Clodagh reported having "Protestant neighbors and friends...it was all fine. Nothing ever really happened bad on our streets or anything because we were in a Protestant town. We were lucky."

Clodagh describes her childhood as very poor. "We had a wee council house… [and] a family of 11 kids, so, there's no grandeur in our house. [We were] dirt poor". She goes on

to explain that, in Northern Ireland, the Catholics "were the poorer people. We were the ones that didn't have the best jobs... it's definitely different being a Catholic". Clodagh tells a story about how, a couple of Sunday afternoons a month, two or three jeeps of British soldiers would pull up to their house, knock on the door and ask for tea. "Sometimes, it was our last tea bags, maybe our last loaf of bread, but we did it… probably didn't even have enough cups. We weren't rich…We brought them out their tea in broken cups and metal cups".

Clodagh's cousins were all English; her father's siblings had all immigrated to England in their 20s and still lived abroad. "Daddy loved the queen…he had a picture of the Queen in our living room... nobody else Catholic in our town had a picture of the Queen. Mostly it was the Pope and John Kennedy…we [children] were mortified".

The Catholic maintained school Clodagh attended in primary school was small, with two grades in each classroom. Clodagh did well on her 11-plus exam, despite trying to fail it because she did not want to go on to a school where she would be taught by nuns. Clodagh did attend an all-girls grammar [college prep] school where she was taught by nuns. She left school at 17 and went on to one year of technical school to study accountancy.

Clodagh immigrated to the United States in 1991. At that time, she was married and had an infant. Her husband Mikeal's experience during the Troubles was different than hers.

Mikeal's Story.

"It was different with [her husband] Mikeal's family." Mikeal was born and raised in a small republican village in Country Antrim. He was the youngest of 13 children - seven boys and six girls. "Mikeal's father was an alcoholic for one thing, and the mother had blood pressure [problems]… … Mikeal's family were used to the army coming into their house regularly. Sometimes… they [the police or British soldiers] would burst into their house three

times in a week, get everybody out of bed; searched everybody." Mikeal's family were

fishermen. "I used to be afraid to stay there [at Mikeal's house] by myself when they were

fishing at nighttime by myself, but nothing ever happened."

"All but one of Mikeal's brothers were involved with the IRA. Big time. [They are]

proud of it, to this day. You'll find the names in books…my husband's family were on the hit

list in Ireland in the North…the brothers were always on the run, way down south wherever

they could be. Sometimes they came home…at one time there would have been 3 of them

[Mikeal's brothers] all in the Kesh. Mikeal said they spent every Christmas Day, the girls and

their mommy, crying all day because the brothers were in The Kesh or on the run."

"Mikeal never went, he was never in Long Kesh. Thank God, they never got him

[Mikeal]. We all knew what was happening in Long Kesh, even as a teenager, you knew it

was really bad. [Expletive] terrifying...books… been written about [Long Kesh], about the

torture." Long Kesh Detention Centre - informally referred to as The Maze or H-block - was

a prison on the Royal Air Force military base just outside of Belfast in Northern Ireland. It

was used by the British to intern individuals accused of being members of an Irish

paramilitary group from 1971-2000. Long Kesh was the site of the 1976-78 Blanket Strike,

the 1978 Dirty Strike, and the 1980-81 H-Block Hunger strike. The European Court of

Human Rights (ECHR) censored the British government in 1978 for "cruel, inhuman, and

degrading treatment in the interrogation procedures" (Bonner, 1978). The Long Kesh guards

employed a military strategy of degradation and brutality; in addition to wall-standing in a

stress position, sound torture, hooding, and sleep/food and drink deprivation, Irish

paramilitary detainees were regularly dragged out of their cells, forcibly strip-searched,

subjected to body cavity checks that were described as the equivalent of a gang rape, beaten

into semi-consciousness then thrown back into their cells (Bonner, 1978; McCay, 2015; Taylor, 2001). Despite the conviction by the ECHR, the inhumane treatment continued.

Mikeal did not join the IRA. "He tried to and I don't know if the brothers said 'no, you're not getting him' or if they [the IRA] wouldn't let him join because the family was so well known [by the authorities as IRA supporters]. We're not sure. But [the IRA] would still have him do stuff…like hide weapons. [At] age 11, he knew where these things [weapons] were hidden. Their family had half an acre. [The IRA] would have dropped things [weapons, bomb materials] off or stuff would have been hidden [on the property]. And somebody would have gotten a message to somebody to somebody to somebody to Mikeal [saying], 'Mikeal, there's such and such, can you move it because the police have found out about it? Can you move it to this place?', and then he would have gotten up in the pitch dark up to go to a field and go and lift weapons. He was 11 and he had to lift weapons and take them to another field, maybe three miles away, and hide them again in the dark, all while dodging soldiers who were allowed to shoot on sight. The soldiers would be in the hedges watching. I remember him crying and saying to me that he was traumatized by having to do that. And he had no choice."

"We left [Northern Ireland] in 1981. I was really happy to leave [because] Mikeal was on the hit list of the UDA [Ulster Defense Association; a Protestant paramilitary organization] and the UDR." The UDR was the Ulster Defense Regiment. They were Protestant members of a British army regiment composed of local Protestant Ulster residents, similar to a national guard. Members of the UDR were later discovered to be in active collusion with members of a Protestant paramilitary organization in the targeted assassination

of Catholics. "He'd also been on the hit list of the UVF [Ulster Volunteer Force; Protestant paramilitary organization; a spin-off of the UDA, considered more violent]."

"The night before we left…for America, we had our tickets and [were] all booked and everything packed up. [The police and British army] knew everything that was going on with the McElroy family; they knew everything was going on in that house…so that night they came in to search everything. Donnacha, my oldest…was really tiny; he was sleeping in a little pram…they [the security forces] said, 'you're going away tomorrow'. And we're like, 'yeah, we're going to America'. 'Let me see your tickets…' and all kinds of [expletive] questioning. They went through everything at the house. They went through the sugar bowl…they were trying to find out something so that they could lift Mikeal [her husband] and take them with them." At the time, under the special antiterrorist legislation, it was legal for police and/or the British army to detain and intern Irish citizens they suspected of terrorist associations for an indefinite period of time, without warrant or trial; torture was often part of the police interrogation.

"We would've…missed our flight and we wouldn't get to leave…they went through everything…they had a policewoman there to search me because the men couldn't search me. She searched me and everything. They were all very arrogant…Mikeal was cheeky…I was afraid of them. I kept my mouth shut, but he was arrogant because they [his family members] were all used to it….but anyway, they went to take Donnacha out in the pram, and…Mikeal says, 'you are not [expletive] taking my son out of the pram, he's fast asleep. We had a hard time getting him to sleep'. They took him out and searched. Like we're gonna put a bomb like in our own kid's diaper, that makes a lot of sense. So that's kind of [expletive] that went off."

"We made that flight. But then … we get pulled in in London. They took Mikeal and they kept him for like four or five hours away from me and Donnacha. They just took them away and questioned him and questioned him and questioned him 'Where we were going? why we were going? When were we coming back?'. It was scary….me and Donnacha, we're sitting in the airport and Donnacha was getting tired and hungry…crying 'when am I gonna go home mommy?' and 'Where's daddy?' The bastards took him away for like four or five hours.… and we did miss our next flight."

"Back then, everybody was doing it [leaving Northern Ireland] illegally. You wanted to get away. But we weren't illegal; we had our visa."

Clodagh and Mikeal have three children. When asked which life experience had the greatest impact on her, Clodagh replied "the Troubles" explaining that she did not experience as much corporal punishment as her siblings "because I was [academically] good at school." Clodagh went on to say that several of her siblings were very traumatized by the corporal punishment they received at school and carry those scars today. On the other hand, she explained that her husband, Mikeal, is still suffering a great deal of trauma from Troubles-related experiences.

Eoghan's Story

Eoghan is a 54-year-old male. He was born in Belfast where he attended P1-P3 (US equivalent of 2nd grade, age 7); then his family moved to the Bantry, a rural area in Northern Ireland, where he attended P4-P6, then went to a secondary school taught by Christian Brothers for four years. Eoghan is one of 8 siblings. His father was a bar manager/accountant, and his mother was a stay-at-home mom. Eoghan explains the reason the family left Belfast. "The UVF [Ulster Volunteer Force - an Ulster Protestant paramilitary

group] and the IRA would come along wanting money…both of them were coming looking for money for protection you know, and if you didn't give the money then…the bar would have to go. They'd blow it up. So [Eoghan's father] continuously would lose jobs…he'd get a good job and then next thing, there was a petrol bomb…and he'd end up having to move on to another job."

"We struggled. He struggled but he was making it, you know what I mean, he was making do what he had to do…We all had to move up to [rural area in the North]. We lived in a one-bedroom house with no runnin' water and no electric, and no nothing…I grew up hatin' the British. Hating what they done to my father… me father couldn't vote…there was no opportunity for work because you're a Catholic…so, there was never any money." Eoghan explains that his family was very poor. "My mother and father had 8 of us in the middle of the Troubles and they had to pay for food on the table. You know, there was no money."

In school, Eoghan was in the lowest academic class "There was [differentiated academic levels]…the smart kids were in class 1, the next in class 2. Kids like me and Aidan we were in class 4, the lowest group for every year – A4, B4, C4, D4…" Eoghan describes his experience in secondary school (age 12-16). We [the students placed in the lowest academic grouping] were stupid[so] the teachers never taught us anymore." Eoghan explains he has a learning disability. "I'm 'dyslestic'. So, if I, if I spell 'be' as spelled backways, E, B, that's just, it happens all the time. That's just the way I was, so I was in the stupid classes for [all] five years."

Eoghan left school at 16 to attend a year of technical college, which he enjoyed because there were "no Christian brothers. I had fun there." Eoghan immigrated to America when he was 18 because there were no jobs in Ireland. He is a carpenter and owns his own

business. Eoghan is married to an American and has two children. When asked which childhood experience, he believes impacted him more, he said it was his school experience.

Fintan's Story

Fintan is a 58-year-old male. He grew up in a small town in Mid-Ulster with seven siblings. In our town, we never mixed [Protestants and Catholics]…Catholics lived in one half of the town and Protestants lived in the other. Our school was in the other half of the town. So, you [had] to walk through the Protestant neighborhood to get to school." Fintan's father was an actor and comedian. His father became a regular on a popular BBC television show and appeared in several movies. Fintan found that useful when he was a teen and was stopped at checkpoints. "You get stopped by the police in regular conditions, because you were Catholic…anytime we get pulled [the police or soldiers], we gave them our real name. And they'd say, 'oh you are Neddy's son. Okay, let them go.' And they'd wave us on."

Fintan achieved high scores on his 11-plus exam, so he went on to a grammar that was "pretty prestigious, one of the top schools in Northern Ireland" Fintan dropped out of school at 16 after taking his O-levels. Today, Fintan is an avid reader and enjoys watching documentaries. To relax, he enjoys whiskey and a cigar in the evening. Fintan owns a very successful contracting business. He married an Irish girl who grew up in a small village near his hometown; he met her in America after he immigrated here was 21. They have five children.

Jamie Story

Jamie is a 48-year-old male. Jamie was unique in that he is the child of a mixed marriage. "My mother was from a Protestant background; my father was from Catholic. They got married young. I was the oldest, you know their firstborn. There was a lot of pressure on

them… constant stress with money, my father being threatened [because he was a Catholic who married a Protestant]…My mother, some of her siblings not accepting him. There was just a lot of pressure on them."

Jamie grew up in the countryside in an area that was predominantly Protestant. "I'm [from] North Antrim, which tends to be … really staunch Unionists [Protestants with close ties to Britain]. Jamie describes the location as being very remote. "You didn't get a lot of traffic and …there was no streetlights anywhere close."

Jamie and his six siblings grew up in deep poverty. "We lived in an old…small cottage [that] didn't have Mains Electric. My father used to light the old diesel generator every night. I remember having to hold a lighted newspaper in a certain spot so it could heat the fuel while he was spinning and trying to start it… we didn't have runnin' water; we had a water well up in the front and we had an indoor toilet that didn't flush. My mother had to…empty it in whatever spot they dug a pit. …we went to my grandmother's for a bath once a week on a Saturday night." Dinner was "a plate of boiled cabbage, no meat no potatoes. Just no no money, no money, using newspaper to for the bathroom because [we] didn't have money for toilet paper"

Jamie's parents separated when he was nine. "My mother had had an affair and my father had found out about it, but they were already on rocky terms. And, you know, apparently, he was having affairs too." Jamie's father moved south to Dundalk, which is just south of the Northern Ireland border. According to Jamie, his father (a Catholic) had several Protestant friends, but his anger against Unionists burned hot ever since "he had lost a friend; he was shot [by the UVF] beside me granny's house. Me father [became] a big Republican

man; he is even still to this day…he was involved with the IRA…I didn't see him for almost three years whenever I was a kid, other than a random call from a payphone."

Jamie was raised by his mother, whom he described as "very strict…it was like boom! pick your switch. She frequently hit Jamie and his siblings with "belts and shoes and a wooden spoon. So that gave me a lot of trauma…at that time, she would have [been] a heavy drinker."

Jamie left school at age 16. He attended a government-run technical school for a couple of years. "I just barely scraped through [school]. Like, I was a real hard worker, but I was a real hard partier too…my mother's father. He had ten, nine kids; the 10th died along with my grandmother, in childbirth. He probably used alcohol as a crutch to get through it. [He] passed that down to my mother and some of my uncles [who] abused alcohol for years. And the same on my father's side. My grandfather abused alcohol and my father abused alcohol; I've abused alcohol in my life. Because you're not able to deal with the trauma…when I came here [to America], I was on repeat ... I would drink for like two or three days, work like hell for a few weeks, drink for three or four days."

Jamie has two sons. The first was by a second-generation Irish American girl he was dating shortly after moving to America in his mid-twenties. "We co-parented… I was heavily involved with Darragh's life." Several years later, Jamie met and married his (now) ex-wife, Lisa. They had a son who is now 16.

When asked what he felt had a bigger impact on his life, growing up during the Troubles or attending a Catholic maintained school, he said "I really feel strongly that my home life, my mother… it's not that I didn't receive corporal punishment in both primary and secondary school; I did. But not to the extent of others, where it really traumatized me. You

hear these horror stories of how people never recovered from that, you know. So, so for me, I think it'd be more the Troubles because my mother and father were part of that."

Jillian Story

Jillian is a 56-year-old female. She is the youngest of eight. "My siblings probably had different experiences. I was in my teenage years during the heart of the Troubles." Jillian was raised in the Sperrins. She describes the area she grew up in as being a rural village that was "very strong for supporting Sinn Fein, nationalists, IRA. Very political." Jillian's father drove a milk lorry. Her mother was a stay-at-home mom. Her family owned a store, which she worked in from "a young age, 7, 8." Many of her earliest memories involve the store. "We would get a call to the village, and they would say 'there's a bomb somewhere in the village.' So, my dad would say, 'Okay, we gotta go search the shop'. So, he would take all of us down to our family store to search the store for a bomb to make sure that there wasn't in our store."

The primary school Jillian attended was very small. "We only had two teachers. So, you were in class with one teacher for P-1 through P-3 [ages 4/5, 5/6, 6/7]. And then P-fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh was in another classroom with the Master, he was called. And it was a husband and wife."

Jillian describes herself as an ardent nationalist in her teen years. "I would have ended up probably getting in trouble if I hadn't left the country [to come to America] because I became… supportive of the IRA. I marched. I started going from election site to election site voting illegally for Sinn Fein, putting up posters, marching in protests, becoming a real active nationalist."

Jillian immigrated to America when she was 19. "My brother had to leave [Northern Ireland]...he was heavily involved with the IRA...he had to get away and then I left." Jillian cleaned houses and bartended. She currently owns a sports-related recreation business. Jillian married a Northern Irish immigrant she met in America. They have four children.

When asked which experience (the Troubles or attending a Catholic maintained school) had the biggest impact on her as a child, Jillian said school was a profoundly traumatic experience for her. "I always was sick every morning. Got sick, threw up, terrified. I'm like scared because because…I don't like to think about… it was horrible, horrible…"

Jillian still struggles with the scars her experience attending a Catholic maintained school left on her. "I was back visiting in [her hometown] and my friend, Eithna, said, 'hey ya want to go say hello to [their former teachers]?' And I was like 'are you [expletive] kidding me? I hate those [expletive] …I never want to see them again. I wish they were [expletive] dead'." When asked if she thought either experience impacted her today as an adult, Jillian explained "I get anxiety anytime I have to [communicate with her children's schools]. I'll be shakin'… almost having a panic attack [when she has to] walk into [her son's] principal's office."

Josephine Story

Josephine is a 57-year-old female. Josephine lived most of her childhood/teen years in Dungiven, a small civil parish about 19 miles from Derry. During the Troubles, residents of Dungiven were 95.41% Catholic, and 3.65% Protestant (Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA), 1971). Josephine spent three years in England from age 8-11. "My parents went to England for work…we moved back [to Northern Ireland] when I was 11 my brother was 9 my sister was 3 in 1971, so that was the height of the Troubles…when I

[arrived] home in [Northern Ireland] all I seen was cars burned out cars…I remember thinking to myself, as an 11-year-old, 'if we get stopped by the police do I claim to be Catholic or Protestant? What do you tell them?' That was one of my biggest stressors. Do you tell them the truth, that you're Catholic? Or do you say your Protestant?"

Josephine attended P1-P4 and secondary school in Northern Ireland. As a result of her years in England, Josephine entered secondary school in Northern Ireland speaking with an obvious English accent, which she quickly endeavored to lose. "They [the teachers and the students] have no time for an Irish girl with an English accent." Because she was not in Northern Ireland at the end of her P-7 year, she was placed in a secondary, rather than a grammar, school. "We had to get on the bus and travel 10,11 miles away to the Catholic maintained school instead [going to] the controlled school [Protestant public school] right down the hill from where I lived. There was never really an option to go anywhere else."

Josephine left school at 16 and attended a culinary college which was her first experience mixing socially with Protestants in Northern Ireland. "There was 14 in the class, nine were Protestants, five were Catholics….I was friendly with most of the Protestants. We all got on really well. There was no talk, [we avoided] talk of the Troubles." Josephine moved to Belfast at age 19 and immigrated to America in her early 20s. Josephine met her husband in America; he was born and raised in the Republic of Ireland. Josephine cleans houses. She and her husband own an Irish pub/restaurant. They have two children.

When asked which experience she believes had the greatest impact on her as an adult, Josephine responded, "School had a huge impact on me…I went into a depression...I figured it out myself from reading that I was a bipolar. [Whereas], the Troubles never really affected our family that much."

Liam's Story

The research observed that Liam's responses and manner were significantly more measured than the other respondents. I posit that this may be related to him having worked for 30 years as a member of the Garda Síochána (the Republic of Ireland's police force).

Liam is a 59-year-old male. He grew up in Ulster, with four brothers and three sisters, in "a very rural area…literally in the middle of nowhere. There's no streetlights; there's no nothing." The rural area, where Liam was raised, is known for its nationalist politics and connection to IRA activities (English, 2008). Some of Liam's siblings were involved with the IRA and Sinn Fein, but he kept himself out of all political activities. "I was very non-violence; I wasn't involved in any sort of organizations."

In school, Liam "was big into sports. I was an avid Gaelic footballer. I wouldn't say I was brilliant. But I was reasonably good, and I played on teams." Liam describes his Catholic maintained education as irrelevant and boring. "I was reasonably smart; my mother always said it. But I … just wanted out of school. I had no real interest in it. Years later, I went back to college for a degree in history, and I loved every minute of it. Liam did his A levels, but six months prior to that, he had been accepted into the Garda Síochána (the Republic of Ireland's police force). "Catholics weren't, I wanted to do police work, but in the North, the force is all Protestant. There [was] a lot of social pressure as a Catholic against being a police officer [in the North of Ireland, so] after school, I got a job with the Gardai."

Being a member of the Gardai did not bring Irish police officers into regular conflict with the IRA because they were not part of the British security apparatus; however, there were times when they did come into direct conflict, such as when Det Gerry McCabe was murdered in 1996 (Horgan & Taylor, 1997). On more than one occasion, Liam's

responsibilities included coming to America to arrest IRA fugitives for extradition. "I did 32 years [as a Garda]; the last 15 or 17 [years], I was in a unit it was a little-known unit called The Fugitive Unit. It was very small, only three of us. Our job was finding fugitives mostly [in] European, [but also in] the United States." When Liam was sent to America on Garda business, his sister in America could not tell anyone he was coming. Although living in the south (the Republic of Ireland) at the time, his Catholic relatives in Northern Ireland were similarly reticent to reveal his occupation due to concerns regarding reprisal and social condemnation.

Liam married a girl from the Republic of Ireland; they currently live in the Republic of Ireland and have three children. Liam's children attended a mixed (both Catholic and Protestant) primary school in the Republic of Ireland; his daughters attended an *A Gaelscoil* Catholic boarding school for their secondary education (a school in Ireland that teaches all the subjects in the Irish language, not English).

When asked which childhood experience (the Troubles or attending a maintained school) had a bigger impact on him as a child, Liam responded "The Troubles. Very much. It was a tough time growing up [during the Troubles] as a young Catholic…you're forever under suspicion…under a microscope… as young man, you're very, very vulnerable." When asked whether he believes either experience influenced who he is as an adult, he said neither influenced him. "Not in the slightest. None whatsoever. I left home in the North of Ireland in September 1982; 40 years ago. So not at all…I would be so detached from [the Troubles]…And with school…I was a Gaelic football player, so I didn't experience much corporal punishment…I went to school as a function, so...I wouldn't say [attending a Catholic

maintained school] impacted me at all. No, not at all."

Peggy Story

Peggy is a 62-year-old female. She was born and raised in an upper-middle-class neighborhood in North Belfast, "which is pretty mixed, so, there was Catholics and Protestants on my street." When comparing her childhood with the childhood her children experienced in America she says, "the pace for me growing up was a lot slower." Peggy talked about the Troubles as being the elephant in the room. "With your friends and stuff, you didn't really bring it up…I was able to mix with Protestants and Catholics…but there was still that [unspoken tension] in our area as well. And all you had to do was go from here to the corner [about an 8th of a mile], and you've crossed an [unofficial border] from one area to the other, which is really dangerous."

"My dad was a chemist." Peggy's mother was primarily a stay-at-home mom. "The Crumlin road [where her father's pharmacy was located] was really bad. It was all Catholics, so there was always shootings and bomb scares and firing and everything…this side was all Catholic; this side was all Protestant, but because my dad had established clientele from both sides before the Troubles started, he was respected."

Peggy has three brothers, one older and two younger. She and her brothers experienced much less daily harassment by the security forces (the police and British soldiers) because of where she lived in North Belfast. "If you came from West Belfast, you might as well just, you know, like, have your ashes on your head, they [the security forces] knew what you were [Catholic]. With us [because her family lived in an upper-middle class mixed neighborhood], it was kind of more unless you had your [Catholic school] uniform on, they [police and British soldiers] didn't really know [you were Catholic]."

Peggy attended a Catholic maintained primary school in North Belfast where she was taught by nuns. She went on to attend an all-girls Catholic (college prep) grammar school where individuals who excelled on their 11-plus exam went. In school, Peggy was "a really good student… I worked hard …the academic pressure for me came more from my parents wanting me to do well and me wanting to please them because my mom was really sick when I was growing up." Peggy's strongest memories of primary school are of bomb scares. "The bomb scares in school started when I was five or six or something. So, we got bomb scares in school more than once a week…sometimes there would be [actual] bombs, but generally not in schools. It was more like in pubs."

Jeremy's Story.

Peggy's husband is from West Belfast, [which is] "a predominantly Catholic area." They met and married before immigrating to the United States 25 years ago. Jeremy's childhood experience of the Troubles was very different from Peggy's. "West [Belfast] is totally Catholic, so the soldiers [world] come in and beat the [expletive] out of them all the time…just because they could do it."

Jeremy had to leave Northern Ireland when he was 14. "There are seven in his family, four boys, three girls, and I think he probably has 300 cousins or something…Nobody joined in any of the [Catholic paramilitary groups] even though they were threatened and pushed into it. Nobody got involved in the paramilitary kind of stuff…which is huge." When Jeremy was a young teen, "he would get the [expletive] beat out of him by IRA because they wanted him to join, and he wouldn't join. And then on his way home [from school when he was 12-14]…the cops, the soldiers would stop him, empty his whole school bag out searching him every single day, just because they could…they just assumed that he was bad news and that

he was part of it all and he wasn't. So you couldn't win….this happened to [Jeremy's brothers] too, but for some reason, not to the same extent…a few times, they [police/British soldiers] actually broke into his house when his mom and dad weren't home, just raided it, and just pulled everything out….they did that a lot."

When Jeremy was 14, he was lifted and interned by security forces. "They could bring you in…[and] hold you for 72 hours… and nobody had to tell [his] parents…nobody knew where he was." Peggy describes the aggressive interrogations and sleep deprivation techniques Jeremy experienced while interned. "Eventually they let him out…after that, his dad, and his dad's friend got their two sons, and they sent them to France for a year."

According to Peggy, the Troubles had a profound impact on Jeremy. "He's a mess. Like, he doesn't come across as a mess. He's a workaholic. He's always really focused...he's always been like, work, work work…now, if he stops working, I would be afraid of what happens because he doesn't let his guard down. It tears my soul, [sometimes] he'll start crying because, when he was in... the police station that time for three days, they actually beat him up…Some nights like, on a weekend or something, he might have a few drinks and then like, he takes the [Irish tin] whistles out and starts playing his music. And then...he just starts crying. And he's like 'they did this, and they did that.' And the tears start. So, it's like, it's there. But he won't let it come out and he won't, there's no way to go to therapy, like anything. So, he's really angry. He's really hurt. And it's got a huge impact on him. But I don't know, he just keeps battling through it, yeah. So, I'd say if he let his guard down, it would just come flooding out."

Unlike Peggy's family, Jeremy's family was working class. "His dad was a carpet fitter or something like that." Peggy explained that Jeremy worked very hard in school and

university because he viewed it as the only way to beat the system that was stacked against him because he was Catholic. "He said, 'they can take everything else away from me. But if I'm educated, [expletive] them; they can't take that away from me.'"

Peggy and Jeremy immigrated to the United States when she was 40 years old. They have three children. When asked which childhood experience had the greatest impact on her life, Peggy said both. "I was terrified of nuns." Despite her fears, she loved school and seeing her friends "I was a really good student." As a child, Peggy says, the Troubles caused her a great deal of anxiety "in the back of your mind, you're always terrified something's gonna happen to your family or your parents." Peggy believes the Troubles had the greater impact on Jeremy's life.

Sean Story

Sean is a 53-year-old male. He was born and raised in an area often referred to as bandit country in the middle of County Tyrone; this area was known to be a stronghold for the IRA. "Nobody would really mess with me too much because of the town I'm from. It sort of insulated you, you know, that's the way it was." Sean's family owned a grocery store and bar where he worked from age six or seven. "When I was a young'un, my job was to watch when the police came. I would come into the bar and tell them [the patrons] they [security forces] were coming so if they were doing stuff…"

Sean has five sisters and four brothers. He is the ninth child. Sean describes his family as a "mixed family. Some people were involved in [the conflict/ the IRA] and some people are more involved in [other things]." Most of his family currently lives in Northern Ireland very close to where they were born, although some came to America briefly "because B-Specials [auxiliary police force in the North in the 1950s, 60s, 70s, who targeted

Catholics] were after them… then they [went] back." Sean and all his siblings have

gravitated toward entrepreneurial careers; they are all either self-employed or own a farm.

"[We are] driven but in like a positive way driven [to] work hard."

Sean attended a Catholic maintained primary school and secondary school. "I never

really got good schooling… I didn't really learn much of school." Sean has dyslexia; as a

result, he was placed in the lowest level class in both primary and secondary school where

the teachers functioned more as childminders than educators. "My school ability wasn't

really good, but…I was street smart."

Sean left school just before his 16th birthday. "I couldn't wait to get out of it. Move

on, you know…I knew I wasn't going to college. I wasn't thinking of being a banker… I

would have been more thinking about robbin' the bank…I'm not saying I was thinking about

robbin' a bank, but if you asked me, 'when you get out of [secondary school] are you going

to go to school [university] to be a banker or do you want to go rob the bank?' Well, let's

think about this, it'd be easier to rob the bank, so forget about going to school."

Shortly after Sean left school, he went to work in England for nine months. The boy

Sean roomed with when he was in England was arrested later that year, in Belfast, and taken

to England where he was incarcerated for seven years. When Sean was 17, he immigrated to

America. The next six times Sean returned to Northern Ireland, such as when he went back to

get his green card, he was met by security forces when he disembarked the plane. "I got off

the plane and Scotland Yard was waiting for me. They took me in a back room, 'what are

you doing here? We don't want you here in England' for 4-5 [expletive] hours."

Sean says he felt God's presence in his life from a young age. "I always went to

church. I always believe in God. And that was…what saved me and even to this day …that

belief in God…a couple of situations [when]…things could have got worse for me or I could have been somewhere I shouldn't have been…God would help me." Sean likens God's presence in his life to the picture/poem *Footsteps in the Sand*. "He was there the whole time [during] my growing up in Ireland….as a kid, we used to sit down and say the rosary every night as a family. I remember us all coming in and saying the rosary together, not every night, but almost."

Sean married a second-generation Irish girl whom he met in America. They have two daughters. When asked which experience he feels had the biggest impact on him (the Troubles or attending a Catholic maintained school) he said school. "The Troubles really really never bothered me. They bothered me when I was there, but when I got out of there got, like, I moved on…[but] I wish I had more schooling… I'm not a good reader, I never was [because of] my dyslection [dyslexia] and the [the teachers] never tried to teach me."

Aiden's Story

Aiden is a 54-year-old male. He was born and raised in a town 40 miles west of Belfast. He is the fifth youngest of nine children. Aiden's father owned a record shop. His mother was a stay-at-home mom.

Aiden attended primary school and was later placed into secondary school where "most of the teachers didn't care. You could just sit there. You know, that the cake was baked." In Aiden's school, like most Northern Irish schools, students were placed in classes 1-4 according to academic ability. Aiden was placed in the lowest ability track. "I was dyslexic. I still can't read a lot of things. I can't spell for the life of me now." Because of his dyslexia, Aiden was almost always unable to complete his homework. Every day he tried to get to school early so he could copy the homework off someone else to avoid punishment. "I

could never do my homework…[so] I would get in [to school] early and I would try to write the stuff down and cheat or whatever. I might get away with it two, three days a week…other days, I didn't get it off anyone…If I couldn't, I get caned, so be it. I would take it."

Aiden left school as soon as he was legally allowed. During the years he attended, he skipped school whenever he could. "I didn't want to be there [at school]. If I could get out of going to school, I would. By age 8 or 9, I wanted to be doing something, earning money. I just wanted to be independent. I want to be, you know, self-supporting."

Aiden came to America when he was 18. He is a successful entrepreneur and owner of a construction company. Aiden's business and social style can best be described as operating according to the law of networking reciprocity (Misner, 2007). The story of the McManus shoe factory bombing is emblematic of Aiden's approach to life. "There was a shoe factory, McManus shoes, and the IRA blew it up The factory [was] a couple of miles away from school. I figured there must be shoes to be gotten so I left school early. [When I got there] they were still putting the fire out. And I took bags of shoes away from the back of the factory while they were putting it [the fire] out [and] went into business… I built a little shoe shop in the garage at my mom's house. Everybody in school came… there's all these kids [that] never had nice shoes because you know you're just getting by you know the economy wasn't that great back then. The whole school smelled like smoke for weeks because when something gets bombed out, there is an odor, a smell. The school smelled like smoke for a couple of weeks after, [but] everybody had new sneakers and, for the first time in my life, I had money in my pocket."

Aiden married an American and has one daughter. When asked which experience (the Troubles or attending a Catholic maintained school) he believes had the biggest influence on who is today, Aiden said "I have no idea".

Bracketing and Reflecting

Rigor and transparency are critical elements for establishing credibility in phenomenological research (Dörfler & Stierand, 2021). A fundamental component of transparency is the bracketing and reflecting of the researcher's own pertinent experiences. A central goal of phenomenology is to go deeper than a regurgitation of facts to attempt to capture the *qualia* of a particular life experience, that is to say, the conscious experience of the phenomenon that can only be explained in subjective terms and through introspection (Salti & Bergerbest, 2022). As such, unlike most other types of research, objectivity is neither a goal nor even considered truly feasible (Cuthbertson et al., 2020; Jackson et al., 2018). Bracketing is an attempt by the researcher to examine the lens through which they themselves view the phenomenon of interest (Dörfler & Stierand, 2021). Bracketing serves two purposes. First, it informs the reader of the perspective through which observations are made; and second, it enables to researcher to set aside their pre-conceived ideas in order to view the study's data with as little bias as possible (Brooks, 2015; Colaizzi, 1978).

The Researcher's Story

I was born and raised in the United States of America in 1967, making me a chronological peer of the cohort being studied. I am the oldest of three children. We often moved while I was growing up, so I attended public schools in seven school districts, in three different states. The common thread throughout my K-12 career was my mother negotiating with each new school district about what classes we would take and which requirements we

had already fulfilled in our last district. In eighth grade, for example, I spent the morning at the middle school, then was driven by my mother to the high school where I took Algebra 2 and advanced science courses. I enjoyed school and looked forward to it starting each fall. I have never experienced nor have I witnessed corporal punishment at any school I attended.

My parents were both college-educated. The question in our household was never, "Will you go to university"; it was, "Which university do you want to attend?" My youngest brother and I also attained Master's degrees. Neither I nor any of my siblings have ever been entrepreneurs. I am married with five children. As a parent, I have been intentional and active in my children's education. I have always considered myself to be my children's primary teacher and the schools as their secondary ones. Parental involvement included negotiating with schools about a child's particular academic needs, tutoring my children in any subjects with which they struggled, providing enriching activities such as home science experiments or museum visits, and taking the children on educational trips around the world. My educational experiences, both as a student and as a parent, therefore, were quite diametric to those of the participants in this study. Brendan captured the participants' experience the most succinctly: "I stopped trying to work within the system because I couldn't rely on the system to reward my effort."

I have attempted, as much as is truly possible, to approach the participants' education stories without preconceived notions, allowing the data to lead me. That having been said, understanding the impact that my own educational experiences have had on my parental involvement and beliefs about the purpose and value of education has informed my understanding of the relationship between school experience and parental involvement. That

connection is also supported by research by Hornby and Blackwell (2018), LaRocque et al. (2011), and Tinajaro et al. (2020).

<div align="center">

Study Findings

</div>

The Prevalence and Nature of Corporal Punishment

Witnessing Corporal Punishment

A qualitative survey was given to all participants before their in-depth interview. The survey results revealed that the application of corporal punishment by teachers and administrators was a commonplace occurrence. A full 100% of the participants reported they witnessed corporal punishment in school, with one-third of the participants having witnessed a student being punished for the first time while in P1 (ages 4-5) and two-thirds having first witnessed it being applied in grades grade 2-4 (ages 6-8). Almost one-third of the respondents reported witnessing corporal punishment more than once a day (27%); 45% reported having witnessed it daily, and 27% said they witnessed it once a week (See Figure 1).

Figure 1. *How Often Did You Witness Corporal Punishment?*
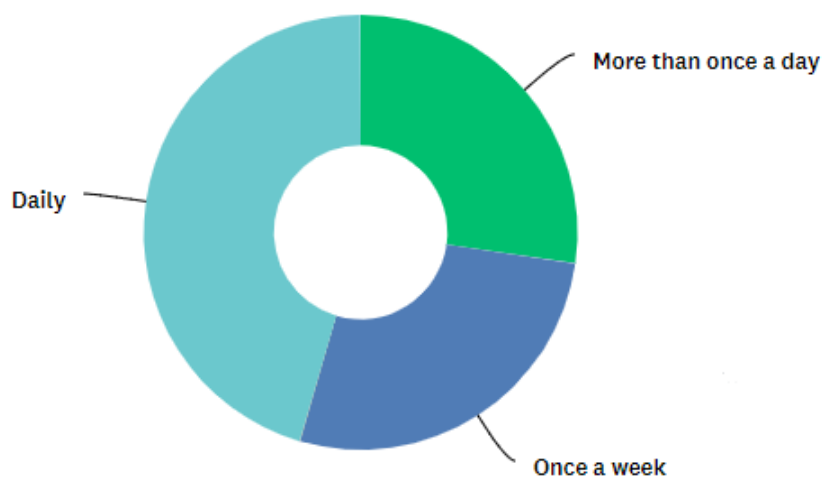
When asked what actions provoked the application of corporal punishment (see Figure 2), "incomplete homework" and "giving an incorrect answer in class" were the leading answers with 92% of respondents citing incomplete homework and 64% citing an incorrect answer. These were followed by:

- Talking to peers (54%)

- Running on the playground (54%)

- Dress code violation (45%)

- Not having books covered (45%)

- Fighting or roughhousing (36%)

- Talking back to the teacher (27%)

- Not paying attention (18%)

- The teacher was just in bad mood (18%)

- Parent did something perceived to be wrong (9%)

Figure 2

Percentage of Participants that Reported this Behavior Prompted Corporal Punishment
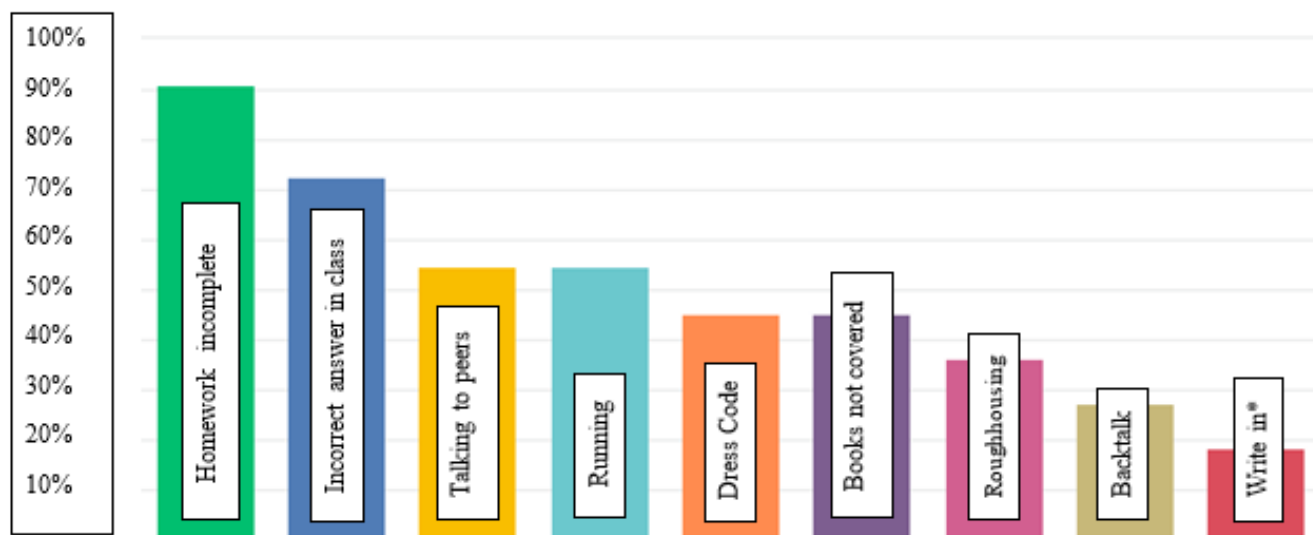
Write-ins include: Not paying attention (18%), teacher just in bad mood (18%), parents did something perceived to be wrong.

It is worth noting that nine out of eleven of the respondents (82%) stated in their interviews that a teacher's mood was a significant causal factor in whether corporal punishment was applied. Several participants added that this arbitrary nature and unpredictability of its application significantly amplified the terror they experienced. As Brendan explains, "Corporal punishment…was due more to the personal personality of the teacher than any kind of [codified] discipline, [where] you knew that if you violated this rule, you were gonna get beaten up. No, it was very arbitrary and dependent on the personality [of] the master…When you don't know what you might be going to get punished for that doubles the fear, the dread."

"Teacher mood" was not a supplied response in the survey; it is reflected above because two individuals wrote it under the category "other." If this survey is used in any future studies, a "teacher mood" response option should be added.

When asked what instrument they witnessed being used for corporal punishment, the four most frequently named implements were: leather strap (90.91%), hand or fist (81.82%), cane (63.64%), and wrapped rulers (54.55%). Other survey responses included: the slipper, the black doctor (a ruler wrapped in black electrical tape), a Christian brother knocking a student out, throwing a wooden log, and pulling hair.

Corporal Punishment Experienced

A full 100% of the participants reported they were given corporal punishment in school, with 27% of the participants having experienced corporal punishment in P1 (age 4-5) and 73% having first experienced it in grades grade 2-4 (ages 6-8). When asked how often they were given corporal punishment, the following responses were given: Once a day (18%), Once a week (9%), Once a month (36%), Once a term (18%). Additional responses included: "Hair pulling often, cane only once that I recall, knuckles used on the head often" and "Depended on the teacher; with one teacher I experienced corporal punishment several times a week, with others once a month."

Incomplete homework was the most cited reason corporal punishment was experienced by this sample of participants. All of the females cited "talking to peers" as a reason they were corporally punished. "Giving an incorrect answer in class" and "Not having books covered" were each cited by more than a third of the respondents. Additional answers included, Dress code violation (9%), Talking back to a teacher (9%), and Roughhousing (18%). "Not paying attention" and "Depended on the mood of the teacher" were again

written in as the reason a participant was corporally punished. For a visualization of the data related to what student behaviors/factors engendered corporal punishment see Figure 3 below.

Figure 3

What Engendered Corporal Punishment?

The Impact of Corporal Punishment

When asked how corporal punishment impacted their experience of school, 100% said that corporal punishment had a negative impact on their education. The frequency of these responses given was:

- I was afraid of my teacher/s (73%)

- It caused me to want to drop out of school as soon as legally allowed (45%)

- It made me hate school (36%)

- I resented how school was run (36%)

- I hated my teacher/s (36%)

- I dreaded going to school (36%)

- It was de-motivating (27%)

- I had a lot of anger (18%)

It is worth noting that 0% of the participants in this sample answered that corporal punishment helped them learn, made them focus more during lessons, caused them to respect their teachers more, or was motivating.

Significant Statements

In order to ensure objectivity and accuracy in the process of formulating meanings (Colazzi's step three), significant statements directly related to the experience of growing up in Northern Ireland during the Troubles, the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school, and how these experiences impacted their life, parenting, and education were extracted from the interview transcripts. These statements were then organized into clusters and emerging themes were identified. The tables of these significant statements can be found in Appendix E.

Formulated Meaning Derived from the Significant Statements

Northern Ireland, during the Troubles, was a highly segregated society. The segregation was largely voluntary, but it is worth noting that there were potent societal pressures involved. Crossing sectarian lines often led to social ostracization or even violence. During the Troubles, citizens were often caught between the Charybdis of security authorities (British military/police) and the Scylla of the paramilitary organizations on both sides. All the participants expressed frustration with the economic discrimination experienced by Catholics during the Troubles.

Participants described Northern Ireland during the Troubles as being like a mini war zone. Barricades, armed soldiers, and armored vehicles were a common sight. While few of the participants were direct witnesses to violent acts, they were all witnesses to the aftermath of violence in bombed-out buildings. They heard stories about destroyed lives, and accounts of atrocities, such as those of the Shankill Butchers, both in the media and through personal contacts. As children, the participants worried about their own safety and the safety of their parents and siblings.

Fear was a quiet but unremitting emotion in childhood. For many, that fear was partially assuaged by a childlike enjoyment of all the excitement. Fear appeared to turn to anger and frustration during the teen years when inexorable daily encounters with security forces at checkpoints and throughout their daily routines engendered a deep sense of powerlessness. Every participant mentioned being afraid of the police. The threat of local internment and places like Long Kesh Detention Centre were a Damocles sword mentioned by all the participants.

Catholic identity was reinforced multiple times a day by checkpoints and discrimination. Where an individual lived impacted which manifestations of the sectarian conflict they personally experienced as well as how security forces viewed them. Sectarian identity was constantly being clocked, and in-group/out-group thinking appeared to have dominated. Neighborhoods, schools, bars, shops, and even youth sports leagues were divided along sectarian lines. This hyper-segregation bred animosity. Whereas contact between the Catholics and Protestants bred empathy. (See Figure 4 below for a visual depiction of growing up in Northern Ireland during the Troubles).

Figure 4

The Experience of Growing Up During the Troubles

The environment of the Troubles provides a critical contextual backdrop for

participants' educational experiences. The latter cannot truly be understood without the

context of the former. The strong Catholic identity forged by the Troubles played a

consequential role in the participants' experience of attending a Catholic maintained school.

The feelings of being vulnerable and powerless that were a consequence of the Troubles were

amplified to a malignant level by the participants' experiences in school. The fear and anger

discernable in the participants' memories of attending a Catholic maintained school did not

appear to be mitigated by any positive emotions.

To a large extent, growing up during the Troubles was an experience shared by all

Catholics in Northern Ireland, regardless of social class, monetary resources, religiosity,

gender, or intellectual ability. This was not true of the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school, where there was a distinct inequality of treatment based on natural academic ability. Herein lies a crucial difference; one that will be explored during this study's discussion.

One hundred percent of the individuals interviewed experienced corporal punishment at school; more than 72% reported having witnessed it daily. While most participants could recall a few good teachers, the ones that made an indelible mark on the participants' childhoods were the cruel ones. All but two of the participants reported experiencing great fear of school or a teacher.

Academic ability played a significant role in who received corporal punishment. Academically strong students experienced less physical violence, but they witnessed a significant amount of violence perpetrated by teachers on other students. The onus for learning appeared to be 100% on the student. Incomplete homework or an incorrect answer given in class was treated as disobedience rather than as the product of academic confusion. The impact this had on student learning was profound; the damage was multi-faceted.

Teacher mood and personality also appear to have played the largest role in whether corporal punishment would be inflicted. The arbitrary nature of when corporal punishment was applied and when it was not significantly added to the fear and dread associated with attending school. Often students had a particularly brutal teacher several years in a row.

After primary school (starting at age 11), there was a difference between the discipline techniques applied in a grammar school (which were academic/college prep) and a secondary school (which was more vocational). In addition to a much higher level of violence perpetrated in the secondary schools, the participants who attended them reported

that teachers did not bother to teach them anything, functioning more as childminders than educators. There appeared to be no understanding or accommodations for learning disabilities (such as dyslexia) or remediation for a student who was struggling. All participants reported having some teachers that did not teach. Corporal punishment did not stop after the ban in 1987.

Northern Irish parents were not involved in their children's day-to-day school experience. Moreover, they operated on the assumption that the school/teacher was always right. Most of the participants reported being afraid to tell their parents when a teacher struck them at school for fear they would be (corporally) punished again at home.

The participants' experiences while attending Catholic maintained schools impacted their view of the value and purpose of education. This has had an intergenerational effect, as it influences how Northern Irish immigrant parents view their role in their children's education.

The participants demonstrated several many common positive character traits and strengths not widespread in the general population such as resilience, self-efficacy, tenacity, and a strong work ethic (Kerr et al., 2018; McGrath & MacMillan, 2000; Vandor, 2021). The majority of the participants and their siblings are or have been successful entrepreneurs. Many participants also reported common maladaptive coping strategies, such as ones that research has shown are typical emotional artifacts of childhood trauma.

Six out of eleven participants reported that attending a maintained school had a more significant impact on their life than growing up amidst a sectarian conflict. Three reported that the Troubles had a bigger (or equal) impact on their life than the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school. One participant reported that he believed being the victim of

childhood abuse in the home had a greater impact than either the Troubles or his school experience. One individual believed that the two experiences (attending a maintained school and the Troubles) were too inextricably linked to differentiate their influence.

Researcher's Observation Regarding Tone and Body Language

Unlike those of the Troubles, descriptions of attending a Catholic maintained school did not include descriptions of fun times. Further, the tone and body language observed when the participants spoke about school were different. The Troubles normalized violence for the children who grew up during the conflict. In contrast, the experience of corporal punishment and the almost absolute authority that characterized the role of the teacher in a Catholic maintained school appear to evoke a resignation not observed when participants were talking about their experience of being raised during the Troubles.

<div align="center">

Summary

</div>

This chapter presented the results of the qualitative survey and in-depth interviews and the products of the first stage of Colaizzi's (1978) phenomenological analysis process. The chapter began by introducing the participants in context by providing salient demographic data and presenting a brief description of each participant's familial, geographical, and general life arc. This was critical because the experiences of growing up during the Troubles and attending a Catholic maintained school in Northern Ireland are inextricably interwoven. A delineation of the researcher's bracketing and reflection on her own educational experiences followed.

A summary of the prevalence and nature of corporal punishment in Northern Irish Catholic maintained schools was provided. The formulated meanings derived from the

significant statements were presented. The next chapter will be a discussion of the themes

that emerged during this study and their implications.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Overview

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to gain an understanding of the lived experience of attending a Catholic maintained school during the Troubles and examine how it might impact the way immigrants from Northern Ireland think about education in general and about their role as parents in their children's education. This chapter begins with a summary of the findings. This is followed by a more detailed exposition of how these findings answer each sub-research question and how the findings add to the current literature. This is followed by a discussion of the implications of the study, including why corporal punishment appeared to have a more significant effect on individuals than the sectarian violence that marked their childhood, how the findings of this study may impact the psychological community's understanding of the effects and outcomes related to corporal punishment, the role of protective factors in mitigating the deleterious intergenerational effects of corporal punishment, and the salient difference between normalized violence and emotional resignation. The biblical perspective and implications of this study, which are woven throughout this chapter are briefly recapped. The limitations of the study are noted and discussed, and recommendations for future research are delineated. This is followed by a summary of the chapter and a summary of the dissertation.

Summary of Findings

The participants' childhoods were characterized by segregation, discrimination, fear, anger, and sometimes childish enjoyment. Neighborhoods, pubs, shops, churches, and sports were divided along sectarian lines. There were social and sometimes even violent repercussions for crossing these lines. Armed soldiers, tanks, and bomb scares were common.

Citizens often found themselves caught between security forces, the IRA, and paramilitary organizations on both sides of the sectarian divide. The Troubles made Catholic identity profoundly salient. The experience of growing up Catholic in Northern Ireland during the Troubles was largely a shared experience regardless of social class, monetary resources, religiosity, gender, or academic prowess. This was not true of the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school. This inequity in treatment is likely why the violence the participants experienced in school appears to have resulted in greater and more enduring emotional damage.

One hundred percent of the individuals interviewed experienced corporal punishment at a Catholic maintained school; 72% of the participants reported having witnessed corporal punishment delivered daily or more than once daily. Academic ability played a significant role in who received corporal punishment. The onus for learning appeared to rest entirely on the student. Incomplete homework and giving an incorrect answer in class were treated as an act of disobedience and punished accordingly. There appeared to be no understanding or accommodations for learning disabilities.

Teacher mood and personality appear to have played a large role in whether corporal punishment would be inflicted. The arbitrary nature of the corporal punishment added to the fear and dread most participants reported experiencing when attending a Catholic maintained school. All but one of the participants reported witnessing corporal punishment that rose to the level of brutality. One significant consequence of their school experience was the large number of participants who dropped out of school as soon as legally allowed.

Most Northern Irish parents operated under the assumption that the school/teacher was always right. This absence of a buffering adult was a fundamental difference between

the two types of violence (the sectarian conflict and corporal punishment as it was employed at Catholic maintained schools).

Discussion of Findings by Sub-Research Question

SQ1: What was it like to grow up in Northern Ireland during the period known as The Troubles?

Northern Irish writer Bernard MacLaverty described growing up during the Troubles in a live radio interview as being like "living in a room with an elephant and trying to ignore it. Occasionally it stood on your toe or crapped on your head, but mostly you tried to get on with things" (Russell, 2016, p.4).

Segregated

Northern Ireland, during the Troubles, was a segregated nation. "The Troubles was sectarian, tribal….the pubs were not mixed. Catholics went to Catholic pubs; Protestants went to Protestant pubs…you wouldn't have people mingling over their whisky. You wouldn't be welcome, and it could even...be dangerous." Neighborhoods, schools, social clubs, pubs, and shops were divided along sectarian lines. This study's participants' descriptions of growing up in hyper-segregated communities are consistent with accounts of daily life during the Troubles by Dixon et al. (2020) and Schiaparelli et al. (2015).

In Northern Ireland, segregation was largely voluntary, but it is worth noting that there were compelling societal pressures involved. Even youth sports were segregated. "The Catholic sport was Gaelic football…it was THE sport…we call [other sports such as] rugby and soccer 'foreign games'." Defying the sectarian norms led to social ostracization "When I was playing rugby, I was alienating myself from my own community... there were Protestants at the rugby club who didn't like me, didn't want me there because I was

Catholic. So, I was like in this Twilight Zone, that I no longer fit it into my own community, and I definitely didn't fit into the Protestant one." Other times crossing sectarian lines was, frankly, dangerous. Josephine explains, "Turlough played rugby? He was a brave man…that was a Protestant sport, no Catholics. A lot of people would not be okay with that…might be risky." The labeling of youth sports as being either Catholic or Protestant is consistent with research by Bairner (1999b) and Long (2021).

There were severe consequences for not complying with the sectarian norm. "[We were] living in a mixed neighborhood…and the neighborhood wanted to be Protestant/unionists. We were Catholic so they bombed us out of that house." Descriptions similar to Eoghan's (above) are found in numerous memoirs as well as in research by Cobain (2020), Coogan (1995), and Duffy & McClements (2019).

During the Troubles, citizens were often caught in the middle between security authorities (British military/police), the IRA, and paramilitary organizations on both sides. This was a dangerous place to be. When Jeremy was between 12 and 14, "he would get the [expletive] beat out of him by IRA because they wanted him to join, and he wouldn't join. And then on his way home [from school]…the cops, the soldiers would stop him, empty his whole school bag out searching him every single day…they just assumed that he was bad news and that he was part of it all and he wasn't. So, you couldn't win." Jillian describes the economic consequences of being caught in the middle: "My dad would drive around delivering milk all over the county. And the British soldiers would stop him and say, 'Can you sell me milk?' And he would say, 'Sir, I'm sorry, I can't sell it to you.' And so, the soldiers would go up to the house where he just delivered milk, steal the milk, drink it, and then they would smash the bottles. And then, my dad would have to redeliver the milk to the

family. So, my dad lost money." These stories are consistent with first-person accounts by Chambers (2020), Mazzetti (2018), and McCann (2018).

Individuals rarely crossed sectarian lines; when they did, there were often violent repercussions. Four of the participants in this study worked in their family's shop or bar from a young age (6,7). Each of them mentioned having to turn away British soldiers or police officers because they feared the IRA would bomb their establishment if they did not. Jillian's family owned a small convenience store. "It was difficult because if a policeman came in and asked to buy something, we had to say, 'I'm sorry, we're not meant to serve you because we have a good chance of getting blown up.' The IRA would blow up the store." Sean's family owned a local pub: "I had to chase [soldiers and police] from the store, tell em 'I can't serve you; if I serve you, our place will get blown up tonight' [by the IRA]…it happened once a week, twice a week". Similar accounts of the IRA's active discouragement of any cross-cultural fraternization can be found in research by Dixon et al. (2020), English (2008), and Harnden and Country (1999).

Jamie's account of the challenges he faced being from a mixed marriage echoes those of Chambers' (2020) *Belfast Child: My True Story of Life and Death in the Troubles* and Crowley's (2018) description of the role that religion and ethnicity played in the Troubles. "My mother was from a Protestant background; my father was from Catholic…there was a lot of pressure on them… constant stress with money, my father being threatened [because she was] married to a Catholic. My mother, some of her siblings not accepting him. There was just a lot of pressure on them." He goes on to describe a "distinct memory [from when] I was around six or seven of our windows getting broken. A car loaded with [Protestant] guys,

breakin the windows in our house and yelling 'Fenians get out or you'll be burned out'….our mother [was] terrified."

Discrimination

Economic segregation was a source of frustration for many Catholics. Eoghan explains, "All the good jobs were at Harland and Wolff and the shipbuilding; 95% of [those jobs] was Protestants-promised jobs." Occupations were segregated along sectarian lines, barring Catholics from specific roles. Liam could not be a police officer in Northern Ireland; he had to move south to the Republic of Ireland to enjoy his career of choice. "The [police] force is all Protestant. There [was] a lot of social pressure as a Catholic against being a police officer." The taboo against Catholics joining the police force, mentioned by six participants, concurs with research by Gethins (2013). Several participants discussed the anti-Catholic bias they or their parents experienced in the workforce, explaining, "there was no opportunity for work because you are a Catholic…" In Northern Ireland, sectarianism functioned like a glass ceiling. Jamie explains, "Never mind having your own business because certain people, based on your religion, would pay more for a Protestant contractor than a Catholic. They would not hire you because you were Catholic, which seems crazy. But I guess it's like a white guy hiring a white guy when the black guy is a much better choice, but because he's black…. so that happened, and it still happens [in Northern Ireland]."

Sectarian hiring policies also affected the pursuit of higher education and the decision to immigrate. Brendan explains, "In the 60s and 70s, [Catholics could not] get a good job because all the good jobs went to Protestants. In America in the 60s, 70s, [and] 80s, education was the door to a better life. In Ireland, the only way an education was a door was if you took that door right out of Ireland. Everybody with a college degree [who was

Catholic] went to the south, went to America, Australia, Canada, Europe, or the UK."

Brendan is referring to what Hogg (2022) called Northern Ireland's *brain drain* that started

during the Troubles and has continued for 30 years. This study's findings add to the findings

by Kennedy (2020), King and Shuttleworth (1988), and Sheehan and Tomilson (1999).

Segregation Bred Animosity

The findings of this study add to the literature on the function that intergroup contact

plays in peace. All participants expressed appreciation for the intermingling of religions they

experienced when they moved to America. Aidan described the difference like this: "[In

America], the different religions kind of melded together. It did not matter, and I thought,

'this is great!' I thought 'this is fantastic!' It really opened my eyes and I said, 'This is

good.'" The positive value the participants placed on relations between Protestants and

Catholics can be inferred by the number of them that pointed out that they or one of their

parents had a Protestant friend. Jaimie notes, "My father too. He had some Protestant

friends." Sean told a story about how he saved a Protestant boy from being beaten by

Catholics in the neighborhood. "I walked up to the [Catholic] guys and I said, 'you lay your

hand on this guy and I'll come up the town and look for ye…you know who I am, you know

where I am from.'" Sean goes on to muse, "He probably would have got beat to death…I

don't even know why I done it, 'cause it's not my side."

Contact bred empathy. Participants, such as Clodagh, who grew up in a largely

Protestant town, experienced the sectarian conflict with more regret than others raised in

more segregated communities. "I had Protestant neighbors and friends and stuff. It was all

fine…so we were lucky." She describes her reaction to the bombing of a Protestant-owned

grocer. "We felt so bad for those people. They were the nicest people. And their little

supermarket all get blown up… we were…crying because we felt so bad. These were people that we played with."

Segregation bred animosity. Fintan reflected, "it's worse actually [in]…the bigger towns [where] you get these smaller estates of more houses built up together [dense population]…[it is] the same thing on the Catholic as on the Protestant side. For some reason, you always notice a greater degree of animosity…[in the] poorer communities. There was more animosity in the poorer communities [because]…extremism seems to grow… better in densely the densely populated closely connected [homogenous] environments."

For many of the participants, the first real personal contact they had with Protestant peers, aside from those who beat them up, was in vocational school. Every participant who attended vocational school mentioned the intermingling of the two groups in a positive way. Fintan explains, "Even in our 50/50 town, we never mixed [as children] until you got to technical school unless of course. Then everybody found out oh, they're just like us." Josephine relayed a story that illustrates the power of intergroup contact.

> I went to Culinary College [a vocational school, usually attended age 16-19] and there
> was 14 in the class, nine were Protestants, five were Catholics. The second day we're
> at college, we were sitting in the TV room and on the news, it says a police officer
> was shot and [her Catholic friend] gets up and starts shouting and cheering. It was just
> so wrong. It was just a horrible thing [to do]. That's just the way she was. And
> everybody remembered her for that. I was friendly with most of the Protestants. We
> all got on. We all got on really well. There was no talk, other than her, there was no
> talk of the Troubles, and it's like we all just got on. She was the only one…nobody
> liked her for what she did.

These findings are analogous to those of De Coninck et al. (2020), De Dreu and Kret (2016), and Lytle (2018).

A Mini War Zone

Fintan describes Northern Ireland during the Troubles as being like "a mini war zone." Pictures of Northern Ireland during the Troubles are evocative of an occupied country. Peggy describes the center of Belfast as "just dead….they actually closed it off at seven or eight at night…it would be barricaded, and there'll be a walk where, if you got stuck inside, you'd have to get the army or the soldiers or somebody to let you out because it was all cordoned off with barbs and barbed wire and everything like that." Peggy is referring to Belfast's infamous ring of steel – the army barricades that blocked entrance and exit from center city Belfast, where shoppers' bags were searched. Even children were patted down (Belefacts, 2022; Duffy & McClements, 2019). Brendan describes his hometown: "Armed vehicles and armed personnel carriers were an everyday sight. They were in town, driving down rural roadways, at checkpoints. Army camps [were] in the middle of nowhere with sandbags and wire fences." He goes on to explain, "police carried military weapons. Security patrols consisted of always 3-4 police along with 8-12 soldiers. You never saw police without the backup of British soldiers or the UDR [Ulster Defense Regiment, members of a British army regiment composed of local Protestant Ulster residents, similar to a national guard]. It was a sight so commonplace that it no longer evoked alarm. As Peggy explains, "You go to town, soldiers are everywhere… I was so used to seeing soldiers and armored cars and tanks and bombs [my reaction was] Whatever." Fintan's matter-of-fact description of his daily commute through town to get to school conveys a great deal. "We [Fintan and his siblings] would walk down the street…in the middle of 12, 18 fully armed soldiers. What

they [the British soldiers] would typically do is slow down until they'd get a civilian between them. Basically, you were their armor. They figured as long as a couple of kids were walking between them, no one was gonna take a shot at them." These descriptions are similar to Duffy and McClements's (2019) depiction of childhood during the Troubles and Chambers's (2020) memoir, as well as descriptions by Lennox (2018) and Long (2021).

Violent

Every one of the participants shared stories of violence that deeply impacted them as children. Clodagh's best friend's father was shot in the house next door when he refused to pay the IRA protection money. When asked about his earliest memories of the Troubles, he explained, "My memories of the Troubles...[are] a friend's parent getting shot and like, bombs going off…there was a fella got tar and feathered. The IRA tar and feathered him, probably they thought he informed or maybe just talked to a soldier." Josephine explained that simply being Catholic put one at risk. "There was always shootings… by [the members of violent paramilitary groups]…it was like, 'Why did you do that?' 'Because they're Catholic.' Half the people who did this, don't even [expletive] practice their own [expletive] religion." Peggy talked about the unremitting conflict between citizens and security forces. "The women who lived in terraced houses... they were always throwing stones and fighting, banging bin lids, to get rid of the army. The police, as well, because the police were always on the Protestant side. It really terrified me because…there was like, this firing squad as well as all these blades [the term for a bin lid]." Jamie talked about himself, and a family member being lifted: "Not far from our house, me and my brother and another guy [were walking]…a helicopter just landed in my great uncle's field and them [soldiers] started all jumping right out and aiming guns, assault rifles at us." Jamie explains that he and his friends ran, terrified

because the police/the British army "used to be able to pick people up without charging them and hold, hold them in the Maze [Long Kesh] or wherever for like seven days, interrogating them." Liam related this story: "My cousin was driving by himself and got pulled over by the British soldiers. They put a bag over his head and played Russian roulette with him. There's a lot of stories like that." Jillian related this story: "I was spat upon by a Protestant. I was called a Fenian bitch…my parents owned a business. I [was standing] outside the door of the store and [several adult Protestants] walked past me and spat on me and said, 'You're a Fenian bitch.' I was probably 13. Adults called me a Fenian bitch and spat on me." Peggy recounted her experience with the heinous Shankill Butchers. "There is this one road [a mile from my home that] used to have these guys, um [Peggy becomes visibly emotional] called the Shankill Butchers. So, what they would do would stop taxis and Catholics and anybody they thought was a threat. They'd pull you out of the taxi, shoot you, and cut you up. So, a friend of mine...something happened to her first boyfriend. One night, they [the Shankill Butchers] stopped the taxi. She eventually got out and ran like hell and somebody helped her get away. They took her boyfriend and cut him up to bits, whatever, she was a mess afterward. And eventually after being treated for post-traumatic stress." Liam noted the absolute control imposed in his area by members of the IRA. "If you joined the IRA, and you didn't do what they said, they would actually come to their own people, and they would knee-cap you. They would shoot your patella… you were [expletive] for life if you didn't follow their orders." These stories are consistent with those written about by Campbell et al. (2006), English (2008), Harnden and Country (1999), McKittrick and McVea (2002), and Townsend et al. (2020).

Fear

As children, the participants worried about their own safety and the safety of their parents and siblings. Peggy explains. "Everybody worries about something happening to their parents…my dad…was held at gunpoint so many times. My mom as well. You worry so much…thinking, 'am I gonna go home and they're not going to be there? Or 'is something gonna happen to my brother?'" Brendan described his internal dialog once a week when he walked to his grandmother's house. The mile-long journey required him to walk down a long stretch of road through the Protestant area of town. "All of the news was about drive-by shootings. I remember the whole walk [thinking], 'Will I be a victim of a car bomb? Will I be a victim of a drive-by shooting?' I was six." Sean struggled to put the experience into words. "I can't explain how it feels as a kid [when you are] walking into town and [you] come across a lot of soldiers you…and they begin harassing ye…[saying] 'wee Catholic boy, what are you doing right here?'…you'd be afraid … but you couldn't show him fear. If you show fear, then you're in trouble. They would [say] 'what are you doing in town? Ye think you can walk through us tonight?...how would you feel, we shot ye then?'"

Every participant mentioned being afraid of the police as a child. "I remember being terrified of the police, the UDR, and the British Army. I was terrified of them." For many, this fear lasted well into adulthood. Fintan explained: "[The Troubles] did put a fear of the police in you. I remember the first time I got pulled over here [in America], and the cops come and I'm like [expletive]. And the guy hears my accent, and he says, 'don't worry, you're in America now'."

All the participants mentioned a fear of the police fabricating evidence against them and of false identification. Sean's father warned him not to get a tattoo because if the police

lifted him, they would record that tattoo. Then, later, if they wanted to blame someone for a nationalist action, they could claim the perpetrator had a tattoo like his and use that as evidence to arrest him. Jillian explained, "the [police or British soldiers at a checkpoint] could say they found guns in your car. They could plant stuff. Stuff could be planted on you."

The threat of local internment and places like Long Kesh Detention Centre were a Damocles sword mentioned by all the participants. "[Mikeal's brothers] were all in the Kesh…they spent every Christmas Day, the girls, and the mommy, crying all day because the brothers were in The Kesh or on the run. We all knew what was happening in Long Kesh; even as a teenager, you knew it was really bad. [Expletive] terrifying." Most of the participants mentioned an ever-present fear of being in the wrong place at the wrong time. Eoghan explained, "I could be in the wrong car with the wrong person, you know, and then go to jail for it. You don't know whose car you're getting into. They could have got guns. There could have been anything in the car."

Brendan (McNally) shared this story:

> I remember being 16 years old, standing in a dark parking lot outside a disco with my girlfriend…This car out of nowhere and the car doors opened up and ...all of a sudden there was like ten people [who] climbed out of this car, all wearing khaki parkas and balaclavas with their hoods pulled up, all carrying rifles. It was the IRA…come to take care of business. So, out comes this guy with this big Armalite, an M-16. Somebody else's has a Kalashnikov. Another one has a Sterling submachine gun. I'm looking at this and thinking like 'what the hell is going on?' And one guy, wearing a balaclava, walks up to me. I look up and he says, 'Mr. McNally, how you doing?' It was about the most frightening thing anybody ever said to me because I had

absolutely no idea who the hell he was. But he knew who I was, and I remember he

says, "Mr. McNally how are you doing, stay where you are, just stay where you are

son. We are just gonna have words with a couple of friends of yours." And they went

into the disco…

The participant's descriptions of childhood fears were consistent with the research by

Campbell et al. (2005), Chambers (2020), and Duffy and McClements (2019).

Teenage Anger and Rebellion

By their teens, the participants had become inured to the ubiquity of soldiers, armored

vehicles, and guns. The fear that was the low background noise of their childhood turned into

anger and indignation. The pervasive daily security checkpoint encounters became the most

tangible manifestation of the Troubles for them. Aidan describes it as "tough…we felt that

we were very much marginalized, picked upon…even just going into the shops you'd be

searched...as a young Catholic, especially at nighttime…you were [always] under a lot of

suspicion." According to Brendan, at checkpoints, the police/soldiers would "literally take

the seats out of the car…put the car up in a garage, and search under the hose pipes...it was

just, it was just real sort of, 'we are the power now and just, you know, lay down.'" Liam

explains, "you [would be] going about your daily business, and you were treated as if you

were a terrorist in disguise."

According to the Irish Meteorological Service, Northern Ireland averages between

183 and 273 rainy days a year (The Irish Meteorological Service, 2022). Liam recounts,

"when you were stopped by the police at a checkpoint…they'd say, 'I'll have your driving

license.' If you had a Protestant name, it was 'drive on;'…If it was Padraig, 'All right,

everybody out! Everybody out!…take off your shoes; we want to search in your shoes and

make sure that there's nothing inside them'… and you're standing in the rain in your socks while…they take the seats out of your car." He goes on to explain, "You're probably thinking, well [expletive] that's really petty, but for a young guy 17, 18, it was, it was tough. It was really tough."

The teenage anger and frustration expressed by this study's participants are similar to accounts by Broderick (2013), Chambers (2020), Leonard (2010), and Troy (2006).

Location Mattered

Where an individual lived impacted how they experienced the Troubles. As Jillian explained, "The different areas were different. The area I lived in was very strong for supporting Sinn Fein, nationalists, IRA. [It was] very political, bomb scares, bombs going off." Clodagh, who grew up as one of only a few Catholic families in a predominantly Protestant town, had a different experience "Nothing really physically happened [to us] during the Troubles…but mentally, you were very aware that there was tension…a silence." Individuals living in the Divis flats, an area in Belfast where 98% of the approximately 2,400 people living amongst 850 flats identified as Catholics, had a very different experience (Roy, 2007). Peggy describes the Divis Flats as "a nightmare…it was horrible, the things that happened in there…the cops and soldiers were always raiding them…I don't think those people ever got a night's sleep. They were just bombarded with, like, bullets, getting the [expletive] kicked out of them all the time."

Location could also function as a buffer against harassment by members of Protestant paramilitaries. Sean was born and raised in a small village in County Tyrone, colloquially referred to as "bandit country," because it was known to be a stronghold for the IRA

(Harnden & Country, 1999). "Nobody would really mess with me too much because of the town I'm from. It sort of insulated you. We were from THAT area."

Location often indicated where an individual fell within the sectarian divide. "If you came from West Belfast, you might as well just, you know, like, have your ashes on your head; they knew what you were [Catholic]. With us [because her family lived in a middle-class neighborhood], it was kind of more, unless you had your uniform on, you know, they [police and British soldiers] didn't really know [you were Catholic] because it's pretty mixed." The impact of location on an individual's experience of the Troubles was also noted in studies by Harnden and Country (1999), Healy (2006), and Leonard (2010).

The Impact of the Media

Although the participants varied in their personal experience with Troubles-associated violence, all the participants reported that the Troubles dominated the news during their childhood and that the media's unremitting coverage served to underscore their role in the conflict. Brendan explains, "I remember watching it on television. It consumed the news, the local news, like all you saw was bombing this and bombing that. And the only people on television were the politicians of both sides. People like Ian Paisley, John Hume, Gerry Adams, and Brian Faulkner." For some, like Liam, the news added fear to the experiences the participants had personally experienced. "I remember…Bloody Sunday. I'd have been maybe eight years old. And I remember watching on TV...I had been at a civil rights demonstration the week before. My mother brought three or four of us kids to the demonstration in Derry…and then all of a sudden to see, two weeks later, 14 people killed…." For others, reports of injustice fueled their hatred of the British. Jamie explains.

There was one particular incident. The town I lived in at the end was called

Ballymoney and there was these three little kids. Their mother was next door having

drinks with friends; the kids were in the house; they were in bed. These guys

[soldiers] petrol bomb the house and it gets burnt. The kids burnt to death in the

house because they were Catholics. [This was a sectarian arson attack on a Catholic

home in a predominately Protestant area]. So, Ian Paisley, I remember him being

interviewed the next day, and he tried to make the mother was a drug addict. And she

was this and she was that and you know, it was disgusting. So, at that age, I was

probably 18, 19 and I remember having been very, very angry.

Descriptions of the media coverage and political punditry described by this study's

participants echo research by Bairner (1999a) and Cairns (1987).

The Significance of Catholic Identity

Catholic identity was reinforced repeatedly every day at checkpoints, when shopping,

when seeking employment, and when attending school (Inglis, 2007). In the wider

community, in-group/out-group thinking appears to have dominated; every participant talked

about an almost reflexive evaluation of strangers as being either Catholic or Protestant.

Reports by this study's participants reinforced research by Chen and Li (2009), Eswaran and

Neary (2022), Hakim and Mujahidah (2020), Smyth (2017), and Trew (2019) regarding the

role that identity played in the Troubles.

To an outsider, all Irishmen may look alike. But virtually every individual

interviewed for this study talked about the ways they could tell, almost immediately, if a

stranger was Catholic or Protestant. Moreover, the participants reported reflexively

evaluating everyone they encountered along sectarian lines. "When I was a young kid, I

could walk down the street…and [know if] that kid is a Protestant or a Catholic. It's a survival instinct. If you're in the wrong side of the town it is not safe. So, you are always kind of looking around you [thinking] 'am I okay? am I safe? am I not safe?'"

Names and addresses were the biggest clues. "One look at your name [or] one look at your address would tell if you were a Catholic." The security forces [police, army] also utilized names and addresses to identify targets for harassment. As Liam explains, "From the name, you'll know 90% [whether] he a Catholic or Protestant? When you were stopped by the police at a checkpoint…they'd say, 'I'll have your driving license.' If you had a Protestant name, it was 'drive on;'…if it was Padraig, 'alright, everybody out! Everybody out!'…and you're standing in the rain in your socks while…they take the seats out of your car." Liam goes on to explain that his friend, a Catholic whose name is stereotypically British (rather than Irish), was regularly waved on at checkpoints because the security forces assumed he was a Protestant.

The participants in this study also explained that accent, dress, and school affiliation were also sectarian identifiers. "For a long time, you could tell like a Catholic and Protestant, we could tell [even when they were] strangers walking up and down, even in a strange town. How they dressed and how they talked. Even here [in America] I could tell [Catholic Irish from Protestant Irish]." These reports are consistent with research by Cecil (2020), Connolly (2002), Cobain (2020), O'Connor (2021), and Watt et al. (1991).

A Shared Experience

To a large extent, growing up during the Troubles was an experience shared by all Catholics in Northern Ireland, regardless of social class, monetary resources, religiosity, gender, or academic ability. Further, amidst the violence and daily discrimination, there

appears to have been a large measure of childhood enjoyment to be found in the chaos. For many participants, the Troubles added a spark of excitement to their life. "Some of it was sad. I mean, you don't like people getting killed, but as a kid sometimes was a lot of fun…there's always something going on…who doesn't like to see something getting burnt? It was craic." Clodagh explained, "The IRA blew up the police station. That was funny. We all laughed. Just shows you how silly we were." Jillian relayed a story about being sassy with the soldiers that were always boarding their marching band's bus and searching their instrument cases. "We all like kind of laughed; it was funny…they would take us all out, off the bus, and shake us all down, you know, like, searches and stuff. And we're kinda all, we're used to it." Several of the men reported having fun throwing rocks at police. Fintan summed his childhood experience up like this: "In many ways [we grew up in] a mini war zone…but 70% of the time, it was normal. So, you just did your normal activity. And saying that, normal activity was sometimes to spend time practicing throwing petrol bombs [Molotov cocktails]... practicing throwing Molotov cocktails was the cool thing to do." Similar stories of childish fun amidst violence were recounted by Cairns (1987) and Duffy and McClements (2019).

SQ2: What was it like to attend a maintained school in Northern Ireland?

Irish novelist Roddy Doyle describes the violence experienced by students attending Catholic maintained schools as "something that has been largely hidden and unspoken in Irish society" (Dolan, 2017, p.1). According to a representative from the Queen's University in Belfast, corporal punishment in Catholic maintained schools was "common and ubiquitous, differentiated only by levels of extreme brutality" (McBrearty, 2022). Northern Ireland has allowed corporal punishment (CP) in its public schools since their inception in

1831; this continued through the emergence of two systems in 1921 (Jackman, 2021a; Jackman, 2021b; Kieran, 2021).

Inequality

Strong Catholic identity played a role in the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school. However, the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school was not as universal as that of the Troubles. Eoghan explains, "[With] the Troubles, everybody was in the same boat… you been in that boat…since you were born…everybody done the same thing. Everybody talked about the same thing…but we weren't in the same boat when it came to education. The situation with school was, if you excelled [sic], you were okay, but if you weren't then you were just thrown to the weeds." This inequity in treatment is a meaningful difference that is likely a key factor in why the majority of the participants reported that the violence they experienced in school resulted in greater and more enduring emotional damage. This finding is supported by research on inequality and the impact of relative deprivation by Chen (2015), Greitemeyer and Sagioglou (2019), Lee et al. (2022), and Taylor et al. (2020).

Corporal Punishment

One hundred percent of the individuals interviewed experienced corporal punishment at a Catholic maintained school. How often they received corporal punishment ranged from once a term to almost once a day. More importantly, 72% of the participants reported having witnessed corporal punishment delivered daily or more than once daily. This is salient given the findings of Hein et al. (2020), Margolin and Vickerman (2007), Townsend et al. (2020), and van Rooij et al. (2020) that witnessing violence can be as traumatic, for some individuals even more traumatic than being a victim of violence.

Academic ability played a significant role in who received corporal punishment; the top two reasons participants reported students received it were "incomplete homework" and "giving an incorrect answer in class." The remainder of the reasons were a mixture of minor behaviors ("talking to peers" was reported by 54% of participants) and minor infractions of school rules ("uniform violations" and "not having books properly covered" were each reported by 45% of the participants). Aidan recollects, "If you didn't do your homework…then they [would] get pissed off and whip out the cane, the strap, the rulers, or just a hand upside the head."

Speaking as an educator, the most troubling fact that emerged from the interviews with individuals who attended Catholic maintained schools in NI was this revelation that corporal punishment was most frequently delivered, not as a consequence of inappropriate behavior but rather as punishment for academic confusion. Jillian explained, "If you didn't know the answer to a question, you would be called stupid and got beat. Got caned" Jamie reported that he was a well-behaved student, but he often received corporal punishment for "making a mistake on an answer when we were working on math. [If you give] a wrong answer, you get smacked." Liam reported that one of his strongest memories of primary school was that "if you got something [an answer] wrong, [the teacher] would hit your knuckles with a footlong wooden ruler." Aidan, who has dyslexia and therefore could not read his assignments or understand his homework, reported being hit "about once a day."

Incomplete homework was treated as disobedience rather than as the product of a child's confusion regarding the concept or, as was often the case, the corollary of a learning disability. The impact this had on student learning was profound; the damage was multi-faceted. Brendan tells this story.

Master MacMahon had given us a take-home test. I remember I couldn't find an

answer for this one question on that Sunday, and I told my mother. I was crying; I

was in tears. She said, "look, you've tried your best. I'll go into a classroom. I'll

explain to him that you couldn't find the answer." She came [to school], and she

talked to him. And the minute she left, he took me up to the front [of the class] and

slapped me four times, HARD. In his mind, if I didn't know the answer, I must not

have done my best. I didn't trust my mother for another 20 years because of that.

Never spoke to her…I didn't blame her for the corporal punishment. But it's sort of

like she was no different to me in a sense than Jim MacMahon. I put her in the same

box- the anti-Brendan box. And that was it. And it took me…almost 40 years...to

fully forgive my mother.

This study's finding that corporal punishment was frequently utilized as a reprimand for poor

academic performance is consistent with research by Heekes et al. (2022) and Rush and

Ibrahim Lazarus (2018), as well as the anecdotal accounts presented by Holland (2018). The

reports given by this sample of individuals also parallel previous literature on the deleterious

effect of corporal punishment on learning. A preponderance of literature has demonstrated a

link between corporal punishment in school and lower academic performance (Ghandhi,

1984; Limond, 2022; Rush & Ibrahim Lazarus, 2018; Staunton & Forde, 2020; Visser et al.,

2022). Further, the environment of toxic stress, created by the continuous threat of physical

punishment, has been shown to be developmentally damaging to a child's brain (Gershoff,

2016; Hein et al., 2020; van Rooij et al., 2020). Copious research has demonstrated that

corporal punishment in school generates increased aggression (Gershoff et al., 2019; Heekes

et al., 2020; Maguire & Cinnéide, 2005). This has led some researchers to propose that the

use of corporal punishment in NI schools likely played a role in perpetuating and augmenting the sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland (Roe & Cairns, 2020). At the very least, teachers employing it modeled the idea that violence is an acceptable way to deal with a problem.

Teachers

Participants described teachers as "stone-cold child abusers," "demented," "horrible," "vicious," and "cruel." Almost all participants reported being the victim of brutal violence or witnessing it. Sean explains, "One teacher give me a bad beatin' one day. He just went crazy. [After that]…he would never look at me again. He just left me alone…[because] he realized [that] he went too far…I could have gotten fired, but I totally never said nothin'. I was getting me own way and so I left him alone...I was 13." Jillian recounts, "He took [her friend] one day and threw him over the desks and was hitting him until he passed out on the desk. He threw my friend back and forth over desks until he passed out on top of the desk." Eoghan shared this about a teacher he had for four years in a row: "He would just completely lose it, lose all control. He would lash out. He would grab one of the boys and he would just hang on to him and started beating him with all his strength just everywhere he could reach. Just out of all control, vicious for you know, 10, 15 minutes until he [the teacher] was too tired to hit anymore." Dolan (2017), Holland (2018), and Jackman (2021) offer similar anecdotal evidence of the extreme brutality of some teachers in the Catholic maintained system.

In an RTE article, Dolan (2017) noted, "[the] extreme violence from teachers, primarily Christian Brothers, has stayed with me - and not in a good way" (p.1). This sentiment was echoed by several of the participants. Fintan recounts:

Brother Lauren…was the most evil person I knew. Vicious. That year, I was refusing

to go to school because he was beating up everybody. And the most annoying thing

was, he died that summer after I had him for the year… I remember my mom told me

[that] he died, and I said, "why couldn't the [expletive] have died last year?"

Brendan had a similar reaction. "Jim MacMahon. I just despised the man. He died of a heart

attack about three years after I left school, I and I remember, when I heard, saying 'I hoped

he died kicking and screaming.'" Jillian shared: "I was back visiting in [her hometown] and

my friend, Eithna, said, 'hey ya want to go say hello at the old school?' And I was like, 'are

you [expletive] kidding me?? I hate those [expletive] …I never want to see them again. I

wish they were [expletive] dead.'"

Not all teachers were cruel and physically violent, but the ones who were appear to

have left an indelible mark on those they taught. Clodagh commented, "Some teachers were

nice, but you still remember that one or two [expletive] that thought it was okay to beat a

child."

There was a difference from year to year in how much physical violence the

participants experienced. Some teachers had reputations for being quicker to use physical

punishment and being more violent than others. The Christian brothers and nuns were

frequently mentioned with the most fear and ire. Fintan asserted, "[it] was mostly the

Christian Brothers that were the biggest problem…I went to St. [name removed] Presentation

Brothers, which was run by the Christian brothers...there was a lot of fear. You didn't want

them to be your teacher." Fintan was not alone in his belief. All the male participants in this

study said that the Christian Brothers were the quickest to use corporal punishment and were

often the most brutal. Jamie said he "saw a Christian brother punch a kid in the face and

knock him out." Eoghan commented, "vocational school had no Christian brothers. I had fun there." Peggy shared that the "nuns scared the [expletive] out of me…I was terrified of nuns." Josephine recounted that her sister "was tortured by a nun, a nun at school. She was horrible to her." This is significant, given that the Troubles made church affiliation unremittingly salient; being Catholic meant absolute loyalty to the Catholic church (Inglis, 2007; McLoone-Richards, 2013). Trying to reconcile the cruelty of someone who is supposed to be God's representative on earth would likely create significant cognitive dissonance (Antkowiak et al., 2021). This would be the case for students from culturally Catholic families and those from devout families.

Teacher mood and personality appear to have played a large role in whether corporal punishment would be inflicted. Aidan explained, "A lot of times it was random. They were in a bad mood, and they just lost it." Jamie also expressed having had no idea why a teacher was violent one day and not the next. "She used to really pick you up [by the roots of your hair] or pick you up by your ear, smacking your knuckles for minor indiscretions or, you know…not do anything…[it] just depended on what type of mood she was in." Brendan notes that corporal punishment was applied capriciously. "It was very arbitrary…they could just lash out for any reason at any time…It was you could be late for class. You didn't do your homework. You got an answer wrong. Talking in class. There was no set definition. Corporal punishment was due more to the mood and personality of the teacher than any kind of laid out discipline [where] you knew that if you violated rule A, you [were] gonna get beaten up. No, it was very arbitrary and dependent on the personality of the master."

The arbitrary nature of corporal punishment, when it was applied and when it was not, significantly added to the fear and dread associated with attending school. Fintan

explains that the "Christian brothers [at his school] …each of them had a reputation for being basically very fickle, very arbitrary about what [would cause them to administer corporal punishment], and there was a lot of fear." Brendan remarked that "when you don't know what you might be going to get punished for that doubles the fear, the dread." This is consistent with research by Overmier and Wielkiewicz (1983), and Seligman (1968) on how punishment that is arbitrary, inescapable, and chronic produces feelings of resignation and a psychological state termed learned helplessness.

Fear and Anger

All but two of the participants reported experiencing great fear of school or a teacher. Often students had a particularly brutal teacher several years in a row. In addition to a negative relationship with their teachers, participants in this study reported fear and dread. According to Fintan, "you were afraid to go to school…The year I was 8…I was afraid to go to school because my teacher was beating the [expletive] out of kids. I refused to go." Brendan said, I remember every morning waking up in fear and dread of going [to school]." Liam shared that his sister got "physically sick, headaches, sick to her stomach every day because she was so terrified of this one teacher. She had him for three? Four years?" Clodagh shared that she "remember[s] crying all the time at school. Don't remember why." She went on to say, "[my sister] was scared all the time. If she didn't read in front of the class, she would get hit. But if she did try to read, she would wet herself. And then she would get hit worse. And she would cry and everything. And then she was embarrassed all the time, in front of the whole school." Jillian shared that she was "sick every morning. Got sick, threw up, terrified. I'm like scared because [the brutality she saw and experienced]." These reports of fear of teachers and school, anxiety, stress, and the physical manifestations of these

emotions are consistent with anecdotal accounts by Dolan (2017) and Jackman (2021), as well as Aslam et al.'s (2021) and Limond's (2022) research on corporal punishment in school. Research by van Rooij et al.'s (2020) revealed that the myriad of internalized problem behavior such as anxiety, withdrawal, and depression and the maladaptive coping strategies of avoidance and escape are common reactions to corporal punishment are the result of the experience of this violence changing the fear neurocircuitry in the brain. This is consistent with the disproportionate amount of maladaptive coping strategies reported by the participants in this study compared to the general population, as well as their reports of anxiety and depression that has lingered into adulthood.

Teaching and Learning

All the participants reported being afraid during their primary years. After primary school (starting at age 11), there was a difference between the discipline techniques applied in a grammar school (which was academic/college prep) and a secondary school (which was more vocational). Fintan describes how grammar school was different from primary school. "It was totally different. Completely different environment; there was no corporal punishment. If you did something wrong, you did lines; that was it." He goes on to explain that the grammar he attended "was a pretty prestigious, one of the top schools in Northern Ireland. So, whereas if you went to the secondary school across the street to, where [his younger brother] went. It was tough over there."

In addition to a much higher level of violence perpetrated in the secondary schools, the participants who attended them reported that teachers did not bother to teach them anything, functioning more as a childminder than an educator. Aidan explains, "The secondary school, most of the teachers didn't care. You could just sit there. You know, that

the cake was baked." Eoghan said this about his secondary school experience: "I was a good kid in school. I never give no trouble. But I never got any education. [The secondary teachers] just threw us to the weeds and didn't teach us nothing. That affects me now." Josephine describes a similar secondary school experience: "We used to have a math teacher who'd sit there and read the Sun [a newspaper], [which] always had a topless woman on the front page. The math teacher just sat there and read the paper all of class. The biggest problem is that that's what he did instead of teaching us." Jamie explains, "Mr. Delaneh got us two or three hours a day. And he was…it was just absolutely ridiculous. I don't think that there was a book read in my five years with him. We had him for English. He never gave us a book; we never read anything." According to Sean, one of his secondary school teachers "taught me for five years. We never, he never opened the book. He never got us to read a book. He never did nothing. We just sat. He just read the paper. Nothing. He didn't do absolutely nothing. He may have give us something to copy or, you know, just suffered until, until you passed the time. And then, but there was no like standing up at the blackboard or anything like that there."

In the Catholic maintained school system, students were placed in classes 1-4 according to academic ability (UK Department of Education, 2022). Once placed in a track, the students stayed in it until they reached school leaving age at 16 (Walsh, 2016).

The onus for learning in a Catholic maintained school appears to have been placed entirely on the student. The underlying assumption on the part of the school appears to have been, "we are teaching; if you do not learn, it is your fault." This meant school was often less traumatic for students who were naturally academically strong. Clodagh explains, "School to me wasn't [as] traumatizing [because] I was a good student. I liked learning, and it was easy

for me." Eoghan also talked about the difference between how academically strong and weak students were treated.

> At school, if you weren't excel [academically excellent], then they just forgot about you. Just let you sit there. Kids like me and Austin, we were in class 4, the lowest…we weren't the smart kids. And the smart kids, like Tiernan, they were in A-1, B-1, C-1, D-1, and E-1. Maybe they maybe the teachers taught them, but they, we were A-4, B-4…We were stupid. Everybody that was in there could not do anything. They couldn't even write their name. And they never taught us how to do it.

There appears to have been no understanding or accommodations for learning disabilities (such as dyslexia) or remediation for a student who was struggling in a Catholic maintained school. Almost all the participants in this study reported that students who performed poorly were subjected to frequent and often severe corporal punishment. Aidan explains, "I couldn't do my homework. I didn't know it, but I was dyslexic. I couldn't do the homework so got hit probably once a day."

Three of the eleven individuals interviewed reported being placed in the lowest academic classes. Two, Sean and Eoghan, expressed more frustration that the teachers at their level did not teach or even try to teach them than they expressed frustration over the corporal punishment they experienced. "I wish I had more schooling…I'm not a good reader; I never was [because of] my dyslection [dyslexia], and the [teachers] never tried to teach me." Eoghan expressed similar frustration. "They didn't even teach me anything. I came to the end of my school career, and I couldn't even read." Their experience is commensurate with the descriptions of academic selection in the Irish education system by Brown et al. (2021) and Sutherland (1982).

Corporal Punishment Did Not Stop After the Ban

In 1987, Northern Ireland passed legislation that made corporal punishment in schools illegal. However, according to the participants' accounts, unofficial corporal punishment continued well into the mid-1990s. Eoghan explains, "[After the 1987 ban]…the teachers still lost their [expletive] just as much…the odd person [teacher] would pick you up here and throw you. Mrs. Walsh [used to] grabbed me by my hair." This is consistent with research by Maguire and Cinnéide (2005) and de Deny (1987).

The Absence of Buffering Adults

Contributing to this school environment that was, at best, learning adverse and, at worst, psychologically toxic was the fact that even those teachers who did not utilize physical violence as a teaching tool or class management mechanism did nothing to stop others who did. Eoghan explains, "There's one or two teachers [that] were funny and one or two who were nice, but they would never stand up for you, you know, if another teacher was causing pain, beating on you."

According to van Rooij et al. (2020), what would make this teacher-perpetrated/church-affiliated corporal punishment particularly terrifying is that occurred in a place that should be nurturing and safe. As previously mentioned, almost all the participants reported that they did not tell their parents about the abuse they were experiencing because they believed their parents would side with the church/school over them. It is unclear whether their childhood assumptions about their parents' reactions were accurate. It is likely that some parents would have been willing to defend their children against a violent teacher. Fintan's parents did. Clodagh and Peggy's parents did not argue with representatives of the Catholic church, but they did tell their children privately that they believed them. For some, it

is likely that their childhood predictions that their parents would take the side of the nun or brother were accurate. The Catholic church's authority in Northern Ireland was absolute (Keating, 2015; Scull, 2019; We Are Church Ireland, 2022). This had long been the case in Ireland.

Whether real or imagined, a parent supporting the church and, by association, the teachers administering abusive corporal punishment would amplify the trauma experienced by the children because it removes the parent from the role of being a buffering adult (Fagan, 2022). The very person who is supposed to be their protector is, in their mind, giving tacit approval to the abuse. Further, the impact of that trauma extends into the next generation (Day & Shloim, 2021; Forke et al., 2019). This supports the findings of this study that the experience of attending a maintained school in Northern Ireland during the Troubles had a strong effect on how individuals with that lived experience parented, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

Parents

Northern Irish parents were not involved in their children's day-to-day school experience in the way typical of an American parent in the 21st century. Jamie commented, "I don't think my mother ever stepped foot in school for, for anything." Josephine noted that "when you think of Irish families, you're probably talking about nine or ten kids at home….the parents probably aren't even educated enough to help them with their homework [and] they don't have the time to be involved."

The disinclination to get involved may also result from an assumption by most Northern Irish parents that the school/teacher was always right. Many participants reported being afraid to tell their parents a teacher had struck them at school because their parents

would have assumed the punishment was merited and punished the child again (physically) at home. Clodagh explains, "A lot of my friends, they wouldn't tell their parents that they got in trouble at school because their parents believed and said, 'if Brother Whoever strapped you, you must have deserved it' and so then would get a beating at home too. So, you didn't tell your folks. Your sisters and brothers knew." Eoghan's description was similar. "You were afraid to tell your parents that you were afraid to go to school because you'd get another beating…they believe the church and the [expletive] school, and they always believe that the teachers were right." Peggy explicates, "Your parents just knew that was part of the system. And you must have been a really bold girl if you got smacked or whatever…[in] my generation…the nuns and priests come first. And if they say you misbehaved, you must have done it." These findings are consistent with research by Keating, 2015, Quinlan (2021), and Walsh (2016) and anecdotal accounts found in the writing of Chambers (2020) and Duffy and McClements (2019).

SQ3: How did the experience of attending a maintained school impact NII parents' view of the value of education?

The most glaring evidence of how the school experience impacted the participants' view of the value of education is the number of very intelligent (i.e., book-smart) participants who left school as soon as they were legally allowed. About a third (36%) of the participants left school at 16 without qualifications. Seventy-five percent of those individuals returned to school as an adult in America; one went as far as achieving a doctorate. Another 36% left after completing their O-levels (the equivalent of a basic high school education). A fourth (25%) of them went back to school later in life to take undergraduate courses; it is worth noting that these courses were related to their academic interests and not something needed

for or even related to their job. Twenty-seven percent of the participants went on to complete between one and three years of vocational training. Seventy-three percent of those individuals who truncated their education in Ireland went on to be very successful business owners or employees in fields where intellect is critical for success. These findings concur with research by Aslam et al. (2021), Gershoff et al. (2019), Rush & Ibrahim Lazarus (2018), Visser et al. (2022), and Walsh (2016), as well as anecdotal evidence from Holland (2018) and Maguire and Cinnéide (2005).

SQ4: What do NII parents think is the purpose of education?

Catholic working-class parents in Northern Ireland during the Troubles often did not view education as the vehicle for success. Sean explains, "Me father wasn't like a person to waste your time going to school…[he told me] school's not going to do nothing for ye." Several of the participants in this study reported being actively dissuaded from furthering their education due to the discriminatory (sectarian) hiring practices in Northern Ireland at that time. Jamie explains, "There was never any pressure to like get O-levels or A-levels because there was no belief, no expectation that…a job that exists that it will get you." Brendan explains that "getting a higher degree in Northern Ireland, in the 60s and 70s…wouldn't get [you] a good job."

Several participants reported that they did not believe that preparing students to be successful in life was something their school cared about. According to Liam, "the church was more worried about you learning… the rosary than you learning to read and write. They [the Catholic church] wasn't gonna want you to get any kind of education that might challenge the church, challenge its like power, its authority." Eoghan reported that the

teachers at his school cared more about the students lining up in straight lines than about students learning to read.

None of the participants reported believing that their education in Catholic maintained schools had been helpful in the fulfillment of their own life goals. Eoghan explains, "We went to school because it was just, we had to go to school." Fintan reported that his Catholic maintained education had "done nothing, had no impact" to enable his success in owning an upscale roofing company. Brendan was one of several participants that reported being "successful [in life/in career] in spite of the education I received in Northern Ireland." When asked, most participants stated that they did not view formal education as crucial for their child's future success in a career or life. Interestingly, social pressures on NII parents living in affluent neighborhoods did influence some to encourage their children to go on to higher education, but the driving mechanism appeared to be social conformity rather than a change in attitude about the purpose or value of education. Clodagh was typical in her response: "He (her son) is talking about going…to college. But I don't know…what he's going to study. I'm like, What's he gonna do with [a degree]? No money? No future? Honestly, I think he would be good at electrical work…I really think he would be good in a trade." This attitude is consistent with research by Bengtsson et al. (2013), Bukodi et al. (2019), Gorman (1998), Manstead (2018), Sennet and Cobb (1993), and Sutherland and Purdy (2006).

SQ5: What do they perceive is the parent's role in a child's education?

The majority of the Northern Ireland immigrant parents who lived this experience reported being quick to defend their children against any negativity from the school. Jillian explained, "I was very strong and active with my kids in school. That [cruel treatment] was

not gonna happen to them…I stood up for all my kids because I don't think our parents stood up for us." Clodagh related her reaction to a teacher punishing her child for a minor rule violation. "I went off to school, and I was furious…I was like, you better get [her son's teacher] down here…to talk to me because…what she did to my son was not nice, and I was furious." That having been said, most NII parents appeared to view the academic education of their children as entirely the school's responsibility. Liam explains, "[The school] would have been the primary educators and we were the secondary educator…We assist in the child's education by supporting the school." Brendan shared, "My attitude is, so I'm sending you to the school for 6, 5 to 6 hours a day. I've been at work all day. Why am I coming home to do your homework with you? That's the teacher's job. If you're not teaching them in school, what are you doing? Why am I doing your job for you?" Fintan echoed this sentiment. "I would get really frustrated. I work really long hours. Why am I at home spending my free time doing a teacher's job? You have a job educate my children, educate them; it's not my job." Jillian discussed her experience with her daughter Saoirse's school.

> [Education] is the school's job. I remember last year tryin' to sort out Saoirse's IEP…they weren't. They were saying she wasn't doing her homework…I was having a panic attack, so much stress having to deal with Saoirse's teachers. She'd tell me she had done her homework; then the teacher said she had zeros. I couldn't deal with it. They [the school] needed to do their job. I hired that education consultant, and she got Saoirse, got the district to pay for Saoirse to go to [name of a private school]. I couldn't deal with it. I can't do homework with my kids; I have a job. They were blaming me and blaming Saoirse, but they weren't doing what they needed to do to educate Saoirse.

Sometimes NII parents felt their own education left them ill-equipped to help their children academically. Aidan explained, "I can't help [his daughter] with her homework. I'm not that way inclined…but I listened to her….and I tell her that I love her…make sure she knows she's loved. But math, reading stuff. I wouldn't. I leave that to the teachers." Eoghan echoed this sentiment: "I can't teach them stuff because I never learned, but I talk to my kids and know what is going on with their school and learning and all this and that." He added, "My wife does most of the talking with the teachers. She grew up and went to American schools." Other times the lack of involvement appears to have been rooted in their experience with their own parents. This life experience appears to have substantially influenced how NII parents view their role in their children's education. Jaimie, who reported that he could not remember his mother ever setting foot in his school, is like many other Northern Irish dads; being involved in their child's school was a foreign idea.

> I had to be dragged into their school activities or teachers' meetings or Back-to-School nights. Like, I did go, but I was under duress. I had to. And I'd be thinking "Why do I have to go to that [school meeting/event]? I could be doing ten other things." But whenever I always went to them, I always enjoyed them.

Overall Northern Irish parents did not appear to believe it was their role to tutor their child, leaving all academic subjects entirely in the hands of the school. This may have significantly influenced how individuals who lived the experience being investigated interacted with their children's schools.

SQ6: Which experience (growing up during the Troubles or attending a maintained school) do NII parents believe had the greatest impact on their lived experience?

Before answering this question, one must first ask, how did the nexus of growing up in NI during the Troubles and attending a Catholic maintained school impact those who shared that lived experience? The participants in this study demonstrated several common positive character traits in adulthood that are not common in the general population, such as resilience. One hundred percent of the participants in this study demonstrated both emotional and behavioral resilience; research out of Ohio State revealed that only 55% of Americans born between 1965-1980 (the rough chronological parameters of the cohort in this current study) demonstrate emotional or behavioral resilience (Ellin & Young, 2020). The numbers for millennials and GenZ are even lower. Further, the participants in this study exhibited an abundance of the characteristics typically ascribed to successful entrepreneurs, such as the ability to network, self-confidence, a goal mindset, willingness to take risks, tenacity, adaptability, self-discipline, a strong work ethic, and the ability to operate under conditions of uncertainty (Kerr et al., 2018; Misner, 2007; Vandor, 2021). Aidan, for example, whose dyslexia prevented him from completing his homework, had to network among his peers daily to avoid receiving corporal punishment for incomplete homework. "I needed friends, or I couldn't get through the day, since I couldn't do the schoolwork. I had to get work off someone. Maybe that made me more friendly, have more friends?" Peggy and Brendan talked about the fearlessness they acquired during the Troubles. All but one of the participants took risks by immigrating to America. Clodagh described the strong Irish work ethic. More than half of the participants have worked multiple jobs for most of their adult life. It is not surprising, therefore, that 92% of the participants interviewed owned their own businesses. Even those individuals who worked for an organization displayed an entrepreneurial approach to their job. Brendan, for example, reported, "I chose to stay a

detective, rather than rise up to a hire line position. The two things I like about being a detective are, I am not micro-managed by superiors as long as I get the job done and done well, and, second, I can take on extra cases and work as many hours as I want. At one time, when my oldest was in college, I was pulling maybe 90 hours a week."

However, many individuals interviewed also reported maladaptive coping strategies that research has previously associated with a childhood marked by the Troubles or by corporal punishment. Participants reported two manifestations of maladaptive coping with stress - substance abuse and avoidance. Four of the participants reported being recovering alcoholics. An additional two reported relaxing in the evening with several drinks almost every night. The following quotes are not ascribed to the individual who said them as an added layer of confidentiality. "I still drink but not…like whenever I came here [to America], I was on repeat of my grandfathers and my uncles…you're either drinking or you're working. Do you know what I mean?" "I was only like 16 ...and I was a drunk, drinking too much at the time." "[Someone said to him] said 'go to America; you can drink seven days a week.' So, I came to America. I hadn't a job but I got here. I came here [when he was a teen] and I've been here ever since." One participant noted that several of her siblings are alcoholics and that one sister's husband is an abusive alcoholic. "My sister is still very… she had a difficult time at school…she has to remember those times at school when she wet herself…she was an alcoholic for a while."

Avoidance and staying busy in order not to think were also recurring themes in this study's interviews. Jillian reported that she avoids interactions with her children's schools whenever possible because just being in a school conjures too many disturbing memories. "I couldn't deal with [teacher conferences]. I was having panic attacks." Clodagh, who suffers

from anxiety, reflected on her need to stay busy. "I never sit down like. I don't really sit. I'm not a sitter. I'm always on the move…So, I don't sit. I don't sit a lot, to be honest with you. It's funny." For Jamie and Jeremy, work provided a distraction from their childhood memories. Jamie explains, "The trauma from whenever I was younger…it would bubble out in different ways of depression, a constant need to feel like I got to work work work to provide provide provide." Peggy noted that her husband, Jeremy, "He's just like this workaholic. Now, if he stops working, I would be afraid of what happens because he doesn't let his guard down. He's always really focused...He's always um been like, work work work." She went on to talk about the emotional breakdowns Jeremy has when he thinks about his childhood.

These reports concur with research by Day and Shloim (2021), Ferry et al. (2014), Montgomery (2021), and O'Neill and Rooney (2018) on the mental health impact of growing up during the Troubles in NI. They also concur with research by Gershoff et al. (2019), Heekes et al. (2022), Holland (2018), and Limond (2022) on the long-term deleterious impact of corporal punishment.

Six out of eleven participants believed that attending a maintained school had a more significant impact on their life than growing up amidst a sectarian conflict. Three believed that the Troubles had a bigger (or equal) impact on their life than the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school. One participant reported that being the victim of childhood abuse in the home had a greater impact than either the Troubles or his school experience. One individual believed that the two experiences (attending a maintained school and the Troubles) were too inextricably linked to differentiate their influence.

Similarity to Language Used by American Social Justice Advocates

There was a marked similarity between the descriptions the Catholic participant gave of navigating life during the Troubles and the lexis currently used by social justice advocates to describe the experience of being Black in America. It is well documented that the Irish civil rights movement was originally modeled after the Black civil rights movement in America (De Fazio, 2009; Dooley, 1998; Geary, 2020). However, as recently noted in an article by O'Hagan (2018) in *The Guardian*, where the movement led by Martin Luther King utilized non-violent resistance to achieve its goals, the fight for Irish civil rights quickly devolved into 30 years of sectarian violence. Despite this divergence in tactics, there appears to be a conspicuous similarity in the sentiments expressed. To be clear, investigating the objective reality behind either culture's narrative is well beyond the scope of this study and none should be inferred. The subjective reality, as far as it can be inferred from the cultural narrative, is the focus of this identified similarity.

Several participants of this study described the sectarian conflict as having parallels with their perception of racism in America. Clodagh explained,

I think about [the relationship between] the Blacks and the Whites here [in America]. And the Blacks…being the underdog and what, what they go through [because of] racism…I compare it a little bit to the Catholics and the Protestants.

Jamie noted similarities in employment discrimination during the Troubles in NI and in America.

Certain people, based on your religion, would pay more for a Protestant contractor than a Catholic…and they would not hire you because you were Catholic. Which seems crazy. But I guess it's like a White guy hiring a White guy when the Black guy

is a much better choice, but because he's Black….so that happened, and it still happens.

The Catholic participants in this study expressed fear of, animosity against, and distrust of the police. Peggy shared that she "was terrified of cops…the police were always on the Protestant side. Like 90% of them were anyway." Fintan explained that daily encounters with security forces and the threat of violent interrogations at prisons like Long Kesh "put a fear of the police in you. I remember the first time I got pulled over here and the cops come and I'm like [expletive]. And the guy hears my accent, and he says, 'don't worry, you're in America now.'" In a national study by Pickett et al. (2022) of 1,150 American citizens, Black respondents (N=517) reported significantly more fear of police than White respondents (N=492) (d=.97, t=15.40, p<.001). Similar sentiments were expressed by participants in Smith Lee & Robinson's (2019) article on race-based traumatic stress injury.

Fintan expressed frustration that the police did nothing to protect him from violent assaults when he was a child. "The most annoying part was, there was a police security booth right there. And the police were sitting right there and just watched [the Protestants] beat us up. Did nothing." The Black Lives Matter Global (2020) website levels similar allegations of police indifference on its front page "We know that police don't keep us safe." In a study by Brunson (2007), that examined how direct and vicarious experiences with police officers impacted the view 40 young Black men's perspective on law enforcement, one participant asserted, "You call [the police], they ain't never on time, especially [depending on] what kind of neighborhood you live in" (p.82). Brunson and Wade's (2019) did a study of 50 young Black men who were residents of economically depressed, high-crime neighborhoods; one of their participants, Maurice, offered this perspective.

I don't understand…cops, don't do enough to protect the kids out here, kids is still getting shot, people still getting killed...you say you're serving and protecting, people still getting killed, kids still getting shot, so what y'all want these people to do in these neighborhoods?...just to sit back and watch while their kids die? (p. 364)

Several of the participants in this current study reported that they had been targeted while driving because they were Catholic. Sean explained, "People were just stopped [by the police] because we [Catholics], we were second-class citizens." Liam reported that the police would "haul you out of your car if you had a Catholic name and make you stand…in the rain." The American Civil Liberties Union have been accusing police of stopping Black drivers simply because they are Black for almost 25 years (Harris, 1999).

Participants in this study described being searched while shopping. According to Aidan "even just going into the shops you'd be searched….as a young Catholic, especially at nighttime…you were [always] under a lot of suspicion." According to a 2021 UCLA study, "many Black men face discriminatory indignities on a nearly daily basis" (Wolpert, 2021, p.1). The indignities measured by the survey included such things as being followed when they enter a shop and receiving poorer service at restaurants.

Participants in this study expressed frustration at being treated as if they were dangerous criminals/terrorists even though there was nothing in their personal history to suggest it. Liam explains,

As a young Catholic growing up, it was tough…we felt that we were very much marginalized, picked upon…I wasn't involved in any sort of organizations in our, but yet going about your daily business…you felt that everybody was treated as if [they were] nearly a terrorist in disguise.

Liam went on to describe being "harassed and harangued…[and feeling] always under suspicion…under a microscope." Jillian talked about police breaking down doors and raiding houses at night. "They wouldn't need a real reason. Suspected terrorist. They [could] wrecked ransack through the house."

In his article published last year, McGlynn-Wright (2022) argued that cultural scripts that link Blackness to criminality are regularly applied by police; the researchers noted that there are copious reports from young Black men that say "the police consistently treat them as criminals—even as they engage in daily routines" (Weitzer, 2006, p.3). Participants described being targeted by police even when they had not done anything wrong. Jillian explains,

> Collin, my other brother was a shy kid, never got involved in anything. But he got off the school bus one day and there was an RUC, which is the British police. They grabbed him, threw him into the back of the Land Rover, and beat him; beat him up badly. They thought he was given the fingers, you know, teasing them. And it wasn't him; it was somebody else.

In a study of the perceptions of police in Black neighborhoods, one respondent reported, "If [police] see five white men standing on the corner, that's okay. But if you see five black men standing on the corner, they're up to something" (Weitzer, 1999, p.830).

Both cultural groups reported being discouraged by others in their neighborhood from communicating with law enforcement. Sean, who often served members of Catholic paramilitary groups working in his family's pub, told a story about a time the police believed he had information about an off-duty police officer being shot by a UDR man.

> I was watched by both sides… I got the phone call [from an IRA member, saying], "ye can't be talking to nobody." I laughed at them, and I said, "what do you want me to do, they're gonna come looking for me anyway?" [The guy on the phone] told me "say nothin," but I didn't know anything. The police come to question me a couple of times, but it wasn't home… and then the police come in [the bar and] would ask the questions…[if] you're smart [you] act stupid… you are stupid acting smart.

Eoghan told a story of the IRA's response to someone appearing to interact too much with the police. "There was a fella got tar and feathered. The IRA tar and feathered him, probably they thought he informed or maybe just talked to a soldier." According to research by Brunson and Wade (2019), Black citizens living in certain neighborhoods "who supply the police with information about criminal activity are susceptible not only to the application of the stigmatizing label but also to serious physical injury" (p.627). A participant in Clampet-Lundquist et al.'s (2015) qualitative study on snitching described the Black community's feelings about communicating with the police: "If you see something. Don't snitch. Don't tell. Don't – you know just keep your mouth closed."

In both communities, citizens suffer at the hands of fellow citizens. According to Liam,

> if you joined the IRA, and you didn't do what they said, they would actually come to their own people and they would knee-cap you. They would shoot your patella…you were screwed for life if you didn't follow their orders

Peggy reported similar brutality imposed on Catholics by the IRA, who claimed to be fighting for Catholic civil rights.

Jeremy would get like, the [expletive] beat out of him by IRA to join, and he wouldn't

join. You couldn't win. The IRA beat the [expletive] out of him [when he was 14]

because they want him to join, and he wouldn't and then he got beat up by the

soldiers because…they just assumed he was all part of it

Similarly, according to *Expanded Homicide Data Table 6*, of the federal government's

Uniform Crime Reporting, Crime in the United States, 2925 Blacks were murdered in the

United States in 2018; 89% of these Black victims were killed by Black offenders (Federal

Bureau of Investigation, 2018).

A number of the participants in this current study reported fears about the police in

Northern Ireland planting or fabricating evidence. Jillian explained that a Catholic "could be

driving the car in the country. And they [police at a checkpoint] could say they found guns in

your car. They could plant stuff. Stuff could be planted on you." Peggy expressed fear during

interrogation at a police station, saying the police "could have just said he [her brother] had

firearm stuff under his nails or, which is like a load of [expletive]. They could have just

pinned anything on you really." Sean told the story of his father warning him not to get a

tattoo or any other identifying marks because "if you ever got locked up, [the police] will

write that down what you have. And [even if] you've never done nothing wrong, they can

[claim]…the [the perpetrator] had that tattoo…and then…lock [you] up."

A number of law firms, like Baltimore's Murphy, Falcon, and Murphy (2016) are

using allegations of police planting evidence to attract clients. Their webpage, which is titled,

How Common Is It for Police to Plant Evidence in Baltimore? explains that "it's impossible

to gauge just how often police officers plant evidence at crime scenes since no one is keeping

track of this information" and then encourages individuals who have been arrested to contact

their law firm. In their article titled "Police Relations with Black and White Youths in Different Urban Neighborhoods," researchers Brunson and Weitzer (2009) share a story from one participant about a particular bad cop.

> [The officer] shot him and said [the youth] had a gun on him and he was shootin' back but [Furillo] planted that gun on him. He a crooked cop! . . . One day, we was comin' home from school, and [Furillo] came up and told me, "Come to the car" and I was like, "Naw, 'cause I know what you do to people"…I just ran…He will plant crack on you or somethin' like that. If he want you, he gonna find a way to get you. (p.874)

Participants in this current study reported that being Catholic in Northern Ireland during the Troubles meant being vulnerable, marginalized, and treated as a second-class citizen. In an interview with Paris Match, Charles Steele Jr, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a civil rights organization originally formed by Martin Luther King Jr., said, *"*This country [America] was built on white domination and supremacy. And today, black people have become second class citizens" (O' Mahony, 2020). According to a study by Thelamour et al. (2019) black university students report feeling both marginalized and vulnerable.

Descriptions of Black Americans' perceptions of and beliefs about the police were similar to those expressed by the participants in this study. The narrative of and lexis used by the Northern Irish Catholic participants in this study to communicate the experience of feeling marginalized and discriminated against were strikingly similar to those used by social justice reformers in recent years to describe the lived experiences of some Black Americans.

Implications

There are four areas in which the findings of this study may impact social psychology theory and psychological practice. The first is to add to the scientific community's understanding of how two different types of community violence: sectarian conflict and school corporal punishment - affect children. Of primary focus is the difference in impact between arbitrary versus predictable violence, protective factors that may mitigate the manifestation of the trauma in adulthood, and the deleterious effect of merely being a witness to violence. The second way is to add to the literature on the social cognitive theory of PTSD. The third is to add to the field's understanding of historical trauma by examining the Northern Irish response to it. The fourth is to add to the scientific community's understanding of the difference between normalized violence and emotional resignation, including both the mechanisms that produce it and the long-lasting mental health effects.

Two Types of Community Violence

The generational cohort that is the subject of this study is unique in that their childhood was marked by two different types of community violence: a sectarian conflict and school corporal punishment, both of which have been demonstrated to engender serious health issues in adulthood (Campbell, 2005; Day & Shloim, 2021; Ferry et al., 2014). One key difference identified by this study between the sectarian violence experienced by Catholics during the Troubles and the school-perpetrated violence was the arbitrary nature of the corporal punishment. While not precisely predictable, the violence of the Troubles had a consistent rationale (Bosi & Fazio, 2017; De Fazio, 2020; English, 2008; McKittrick & McVea, 2002). Participants knew that selling drinks or groceries to the police or British soldiers would likely invoke a violent response from the IRA. They knew the refusal to pay

protection money to either or both paramilitary groups carried certain risks. They knew bomb scares at schools rarely manifested in explosions whereas bomb scares at pubs often did. They knew to expect employment discrimination and that driving down Shankill Road at night was ill-advised. The harassment and violence suffered by Catholics during the Troubles was not right; they were not fair; but they were relatively predictable. This was not true of the corporal punishment employed at Catholic maintained schools.

All the participants in this study noted the arbitrary nature of the delivery of corporal punishment. A few factors tended to mitigate the chance of being a target, such as being an academically strong student or a GAA football star, but for the most part, the teachers were arbitrary in choosing their targets, and their mood on any given day could drive their reaction to a student's behavior. The arbitrary nature of corporal punishment amplified the fear and dread associated with attending school.

In theory, corporal punishment at Catholic maintained schools was meant to function as an operant conditioning positive punishment (Gemara & Nadan, 2022; Northern Ireland Orders in Council. 1987 No. 461, 2022; Sweeney, 1982). In reality, the arbitrary application of the punishment rendered it ineffective as a behavior modification technique. Its application did not produce the desired behavioral response (stronger academic performance and respectful obedience to school rules); rather, it produced a response similar to learned helplessness (Fitzgerald, 2022; Gershoff et al., 2019). Learned helplessness is a psychological state that can manifest when a child experiences repeated exposure to an adverse stimulus that they can neither control nor predict (Overmier & Wielkiewicz, 1983). Often referred to as complex trauma in the field of neuroscience, current research has linked learned helplessness triggered by repeated childhood trauma to adult anxiety, depression,

PTSD, and low self-esteem (Jawaid et al., 2022; Lewis et al., 2021). In children, the learned helplessness produced by unavoidable and unpredictable trauma often manifests as giving up, lack of effort, frustration, and cognitive deficits (Vollmayr & Gass, 2013). The reports by this current study's participants are consistent with findings on the mechanisms undergirding complex trauma and the manifestations of learned helplessness in childhood and adulthood described by Lewis et al. (2021) and Marques et al. (2022).

It is this arbitrary nature of the corporal punishment employed at school that is likely responsible for the very different reactions participants had to the two types of violence. As noted earlier, the participants spoke of the Troubles with humor and nostalgia. When reporting their experiences with corporal punishment at school, participants' tone changed, their body language reflected Weltschmerz, and their stories both in content and affect reflected only pain, fear, sadness, anger, or defiant disinterest. Further, while there were a number of identifiable positive personal traits that appear to have been forged in the sectarian struggles of the Troubles, few positive traits emerged as an outcome of school corporal punishment. The single exception was Aidan's networking skills, which appear to have been honed in his attempts to avoid the daily canings for incomplete homework.

It is a conclusion of this study that the experience of corporal punishment in school had a greater, more persistent, and more negative impact on the participants in this study than the sectarian violence they experienced during the Troubles. One experience appears to have forged resilience, self-confidence, tenacity, and a strong work ethic, and the other engendered insecurity, anxiety, and self-defeating behaviors. What other factors may have influenced this difference in outcomes?

The Protective Role of Identity

As noted earlier, the experience of being Catholic in NI during the Troubles was a shared experience. Because of the universal nature of the struggle, a deep-seated sense of Catholic identity developed (Trew, 2019). Furthermore, Catholic identity was reinforced by daily interactions with security forces, on the news, at school, and within the sectarian enclaves that defined everyday life (Inglis, 2007). This study found that in-group/out-group thinking dominated the participants' quotidian experience. The participants' strong Catholic identity likely played an ego-protective role, insulating them from some of the deleterious effects of the sectarian trauma. This conclusion is consistent with identity research by Bronk (2011) Hakim and Mujahidah (2020), and Haslam et al. (2005). As teenagers, the participants would have been particularly sensitive to the neural mechanisms of identity, such as the neuropeptide oxytocin, which strengthens in-group affiliation and intergroup conflict De Dreu, 2012; De Dreu & Kret, 2016). This finding is supported by research on the role that sectarian identity played in the Troubles in NI (Eswaran & Neary, 2022; Merrilees et al., 2014).

Based on participant reports of their school experience, corporal punishment was ubiquitous, but being the victim of it was not universal. The inequity in treatment described by the participants of this study is meaningful because no group identity emerged from that experience. The absence of this protective factor is likely a key reason why the majority of the participants reported that the violence they experienced in school resulted in greater and more enduring emotional damage. This finding is supported by research on inequality and the impact of relative deprivation by Chen (2015), Greitemeyer and Sagioglou (2019), Lee et al. (2022), and Taylor et al. (2020).

As noted earlier, there is ample empirical evidence that this generational cohort and their children have suffered a higher-than-normal level of mental health challenges. These challenges and PTSD are generally blamed on their having grown up during the Troubles.

More study of the phenomenon would be needed, but the findings of this study suggest that some of the trauma currently credited to the Troubles by researchers and mental health practitioners, may, in fact, be a product of the violence experienced at the hands of the teachers and administrators of Catholic maintained school rather than the result of a childhood surrounded by sectarian violence.

Additional Protective Factors

There are certainly many who do bear debilitating scars from their childhood experiences of sectarian violence and corporal punishment, but, on the whole, the individuals in this cohort appear to belie mental health expectations (Binks & Ferguson, 2007; Dorahy & Paterson, 2008; Ferry et al., 2014; Long, 2021). What makes this cohort different? The findings of this study suggest the answer lies in three factors, common among all or nearly the participants, which have been documented to insulate children from the deleterious effects of adverse childhood experiences: an intact family unit, religiosity, and a strong national identity (García, et al., 2021; Haslam et al., 2005; Masten, 2015; McLanahan & Sandefur, 2009; Yule et al. 2019).

Ten of the eleven individuals interviewed reported growing up in a house with two married parents. All the participants' mothers were primarily stay-at-home mothers, although three of the mothers did help out at the family-owned store/bar as needed. There is ample evidence that the presence of stable adults promotes resilience against adverse childhood experiences. Fagan et al. (2006) studied the impact that the family unit during childhood has

on mental and physical health during adulthood. Hornor (2015) revealed the importance of a supportive family to insulate a child against toxic stressors. Mao et al. (2020) showed the benefit of a two-parent family to both the intellectual and emotional development of children. Henry et al. (2020) noted that the presence of both a mother and a father in the home is particularly important in circumstances involving poverty and/or a subpar educational system. Joos et al., (2019) who studied the cortisol levels in teens who had been exposed to violence, showed that a stable home life and supportive parents can even have a beneficial neurological impact.

Additionally, all the participants experienced some level of faith in the home. Several individuals reported faith being a part of their life outside of attending church and the religious instruction they received at school. Three participants mentioned at least one parent being very devout. Sean, Peggy, and Clodagh spoke of their family saying the rosary together at night. Brendan felt that God was a part of his life from when he was a small boy. Sean expressed the conviction that God has protected him throughout his life. Aidan mentioned his mother praying. This is consistent with Fagen et al.'s (2006) research on the positive role that the family practice of attending weekly religious services in childhood has on adult mental health. Nguyen (2020) revealed that religiosity in childhood was particularly strongly positively associated with adult mental, emotional, and physical health, in cultural groups where individuals faced discrimination, adverse childhood experiences, or minority status. Jung (2018) found that religiosity strongly moderated the negative effects of adverse childhood experiences. Chen and Vanderweele (2018) revealed that youth who attended regular religious services demonstrated a greater number of character strengths, greater resilience when dealing with stress, and a more positive affect in adulthood. Research by

Jocson et al. (2020) revealed that religious belief in the home had a protective effect on children and teens exposed to community violence.

Finally, all participants expressed strong ethnonational identity. The protective role that this plays against trauma associated with adverse childhood experiences has already been thoroughly unpacked.

A Witness to Violence

Even in years when a student might not themselves be the victim of excessive physical violence at school, they were constant witnesses to it. More than 72% of the participants reported having witnessed corporal punishment employed by teachers and/or administrators daily. This is salient given the findings of Hein et al. (2020), Margolin and Vickerman (2007), Townsend et al. (2020), and van Rooij et al. (2020) that witnessing violence can be as traumatic, for some individuals even more traumatic than being a victim of violence. According to Copeland-Linder et al. (2010), childhood exposure to violence done to others positively predicted high risk of PTSD, the development of maladaptive stress responses (such as avoidance or substance abuse), anxiety, and depression.

There is copious research that demonstrates that witnessing repeated and ongoing violence during childhood causes physical changes in the areas of the brain whose role is to anticipate pain and those associated with detecting threats, primarily the amygdala and anterior insula (Carrion & Weems, 2007; Knapp, 1998; Weems et al., 2021). Franke (2014) termed such exposure "toxic stress" and demonstrated a link between neural changes and growing up in what is perceived as an unsafe environment. Hein et al. (2020) also demonstrated an association between exposure to violence during childhood and a decrease in amygdala habituation. These neurological and psychological changes concur with both the

reports by this study's participants and research by Gershoff (2016). Research by North et al. (2020) demonstrated a strong, significant link between witnessing violence and depressive symptoms. Abundant research has demonstrated that witness proximity and relational proximity to victims have a significant impact on the severity and endurance of adverse behavioral, physical, and mental health problems associated with community violence (Lambert et al., 2012; Weis et al., 2022). The researchers also found that the likelihood of becoming a victim oneself had an impact on the trauma experienced. Curran (1988) noted that only a small proportion of citizens in Northern Ireland were direct victims or eye-witnesses to Troubles violence, compared to the total population.

Two salient conclusions can be drawn from this research. First, being a witness to violence can be as traumatic or, in some cases, more traumatic, than being the victim of it. Second, proximity to the violence can impact the intensity of the trauma experienced. The latter is important because the violence witnessed by this generational cohort at school was both more relationally proximal and physically proximal compared to the violence they witnessed related to the Troubles. Further, the chance of they themselves becoming a victim of school-perpetrated violence was tremendously greater than the chance they would be a victim of Troubles violence.

Social Cognitive Theories of Post-Traumatic Stress

A number of psychological theories related to childhood trauma have asserted that intense feelings of being vulnerable and powerless can lead to a fear of being controlled and/or a need to take control of one's life (Maldonado & Murphy, 2021). This study documented both the helplessness and fear the participants experienced in school and the powerlessness they experienced in multiple daily interactions with security forces. This

emotional state would have been more pronounced for Catholics growing up in NI than for Protestants, who would not have experienced the latter and whose experience of the former would have been tempered by the sectarian differences in church authority and teacher training (Biaggi, 2020; Farren et al., 2019; Kieran, 2021; Walsh, 2016).

The Social Cognitive Theory of PTSD asserts that childhood trauma can dramatically affect one's beliefs about oneself, others, and the world, particularly in the cognitive dimensions of trust, control, power, and safety (El-Khodary & Samara, 2020; Ferry et al., 2014; McCann et al. 1988). Corporal punishment, as it was experienced in the Catholic maintained schools in Northern Ireland during the Troubles, was interpersonal in nature, repeated, and occurred within a system that was supposed to provide a safe and nurturing environment. This is the very definition of complex trauma exposure (Courtois, 2004). There does not appear to be any research supporting the idea that experiencing corporal punishment, as it was applied in the Catholic maintained schools of NI, might cause victims to develop the goal mindset, the high level of level of self-efficacy, the optimism, or the tenacity that are characteristic of entrepreneurs (Kerr et al., 2018). All the research, in fact, points in the opposite direction. Complex trauma is more likely to produce low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, relationship difficulties, and maladaptive ways of dealing with stress in adults (Hyland, et al., 2021; McGruder, 2019). In other words, there is nothing in the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school during the Troubles that would predict for the high percentage of entrepreneurial personality and behavior observed in this group of participants and their siblings.

Career decisions were not specifically discussed in these interviews, but it is worth noting that 73% of the individuals interviewed owned their own businesses, compared to

16.5% in the general population (GEM, 2018). Further, the participants reported that the majority of their siblings were self-employed as either farm owners or entrepreneurs. Sean explains, "I have five sisters, four brothers...nobody in our house works for anybody. They're all self-employed." Interestingly, the individuals in this study who chose non-entrepreneurial careers in law enforcement also demonstrated entrepreneurial behavior. Liam worked at a tree farm and was a driving instructor while serving as a member of the Garda Síochána. Brendan approached his career with an entrepreneurial mindset.

> I chose to stay a detective, rather than rise up to a higher-ranking position. Not only am I not micro-managed [as a detective], I have autonomy in how I decide an investigation should be conducted. The other thing I like about being a detective that I would lose if I moved back into the chain of command [became a supervisor such as a sergeant or captain] is that I would lose the opportunity to make more money by taking on extra investigations. At one time, when my oldest was in college, I was pulling maybe 90 hours a week, making as much as 110K more than my base salary.

Entrepreneurial skills were not the only positive traits common among the participants in this current study. A strong work ethic and a strong sense of self-efficacy were common traits among all the participants. According to Sean, Northern Irish survivors of the Troubles are "just driven but in like a positive way driven. Work hard…I think we have that, like don't be afraid to work hard. Don't be afraid to go after what you now go after."

Several participants reported that their experiences growing up made them less easily intimidated. Brendan explains.

> I see things…differently than other cops…there's an arrogance about it. 'Look, I have been through the Troubles. What do you think you can do in America to me?' I

remember locking up this one 19-year-old kid; he [was] tall, a big basketball

player…when I was locking him up, he started shoving his shoulders and grunting at

me as if to intimidate me. And I turned around and looked at him and I said, "Son

I've been frightened by professionals. You're not even an amateur"

Peggy described it this way.

I worked [at] an Irish Hospital in Baghdad [where] there were [often] these army guys

with guns along the side of the road. My friends would go, "there's a soldier up there

with a gun." I'd be like, "yeah. Whatever." And [the other nurses] would be like,

"he's got a gun! He's a soldier, he's got a gun! He's got a huge gun!" And I'd be

"what's wrong??" They'd say, "Aren't you scared?" I'd thought like, "scared of what?

…what's the big deal?"

When asked how they think the experience of growing up during the Troubles impacted them

as adults, participants reported that it caused them to develop self-discipline or not be easily

annoyed by small irritations.

Based on current research on the adult outcomes of complex trauma, it is surprising to

find that individuals who experience the level of unpredictable violence that characterized

Catholic maintained schools would develop the entrepreneurial character traits common

among the participants in this study. One explanation may be found in research by

Maldonado and Murphy (2021), who found that individuals whose childhood is marked by a

sense of powerlessness sometimes cope by exerting control and seeking power over their life

as adults. This suggests that the helplessness the participants experienced as children and

teens may have led to a need, as an adult, to feel they had some control over their life;

entrepreneurship provides a greater level of control than one might have working for a

corporation or company. However, it is important to note that Maldonado and Murphy were studying a pathological need to control such as that seen in perpetrators of intimate partner violence. There appears to be no research that shows that experiencing a state of learned helplessness as a child will lead to traits such as resilience and self-efficacy.

The answer to this mystery may lie in the parallel experience of growing up Catholic in NI during the Troubles. According to Muldoon and Wilson (2001), the ideological commitment characteristic of the Troubles predicts for better recovery after trauma and a higher level of self-efficacy. According to research by Muldoon et al. (2019), a strong sense of identity was the difference between an individual who experienced childhood trauma growing into an adult whose coping style was dominated by PTSD or dominated by resilience and self-efficacy. Taken together, this collection of research suggests that the Troubles, and the strong sense of identity the Troubles engendered, may have saved the individuals who shared the lived experience of attending a Catholic maintained school in NI from the worst effects of the school-perpetrated corporal violence.

Collective Victimhood and the Next Generation

Cultural memories of trauma can have a weighty impact on both individuals and communities (Taylor et al., 2020), and intergroup conflict between historic victims and historic perpetrators is often passed down through generations Several participants talked about the culture of victimhood and its effect on the ongoing struggle for a united Ireland. Clodagh discussed reports of violence and sectarian rhetoric flaring up in the months prior to our interview.

> I think they were fighting in Belfast, but they were fighting in Derry too…a couple of
> years ago. Because there's still the ones that, you know, want trouble and they're

ignorant. And, you know, they never really lived through it…they just…they've heard

the stories, they read the books or whatever, and saw it in the movies and what,

and…they just want some purpose, some negative, and they're pulling on that.

Brendan explained,

You grew up in an environment where your parents and the Catholic Church were

very good at promoting the idea that being, being Catholic, being a victim in a sense,

that there's something special about being a victim. They promoted the sense that

there's something special. The Protestants were trying to keep us down but that wasn't

gonna happen to us. One day we would overcome. We have this sense of like, you

know, we will be done out but not for long. You had this sense of like of Northern

Catholic invincibility. It was, was ridiculous, this glory in being a [expletive] victim

was promoted.

As members of the generation who actually experienced the trauma, they expressed a

desire to move beyond the Troubles. Jamie explains,

I feel like…Ireland is going to be reunited. I think it's going to take a little bit of

time, but it also has to, any agreement obviously has to be based on respect for the

opposite side and compromise… to end any type of strife, there has to be you know,

you have to look at it from a different way. But you hafta move on…you just hafta

There is a neuroscientific basis for the attractiveness of collective experiences of

suffering that involves the neural circuits associated with reinforcing identity (Saarinen, et

al., 2021; Seltzer, 2014). Moreover, research has sown that indignant outrage can trigger your

reward circuit (Chester & DeWall, 2016). It is likely the neurobiological mechanism behind

sports rivalries. There is an old Philadelphia saying, "I root for the Eagles and anyone

playing against Dallas" (Whalon, 2020). Sean's description of his sports team preference was reminiscent of this posture. "I mostly follow GAA [Gaelic football], but I can't help meself from rooting for whoever is playing against England in the world cup. When Ireland beats them in any sport, it's pure craic."

Lynch & Joyce (2018) explored the role that collective memory played and continues to play in both Northern Irish identity and the culture of victimhood. The human brain is wired to seek purpose, the adolescent brain particularly so (Bronk, 2011; Siegel, 2015; Warren, 2002). That is likely a partial explanation for why the neo-sectarian movement is currently driven by a post-Agreement generation that has had neither the "day-to-day direct, [nor] vicarious experience of the violence that was a part of everyday life" for the participants in this current study (Ferguson and Halliday, 2020, p.60).

It is worth noting that the participants in this study, who experienced direct and/or vicarious trauma due to the Troubles, appeared to have little interest in perpetuating the fight beyond the level of a sports rivalry or anti-British ethnic jokes. This rejection of victimhood closely mirrors Sowell's description of the Chinese in Malaysia, the Jews in Europe, and the Armenians in the Middle East, who, like the Northern Irish Catholics, have succeeded, often within the original generation, despite their traumatic history of discrimination and systemic oppression. The one difference relevant to this study, pointed out by Sowell, between the Irish culture and that of the aforementioned three is their view of the value of education. The three cultures are similar in their drive to overcome the discrimination and oppression they experienced through hard work and a spirit of self-determination. The difference, this current study appears to suggest, was the experience of brutal corporal punishment that the Northern Irish Catholics experienced in Catholic maintained schools, which may account for the

participants having different views of education than the Chinese, Jewish, or Armenian cultures.

Adding a third party to the formerly bilateral sectarianism appears to have had a mitigating effect on Protestant-Catholic animosity in Northern Ireland (McKee, 2016) With the rapid influx of immigrants to Northern Ireland over the last ten years, competition for employment and general social status is no longer bilateral. That having been said, some researchers have argued that the historical habit of sectarian thinking and identity politics have created a fertile ground for racism to grow in Northern Ireland (Lippard & McNamee, 2021).

This study provides some insight into the differences in how historical victimhood is viewed by those who lived it, as opposed to those who experienced it through collective post-memory, and how those differing perspectives drive real-life behavior and attitudes. It is worth studying given the currently rising culture of victimhood in America, one that, according to Armaly & Enders (2021) "cut(s) across partisan, ideological, and sociodemographic lines" (p.1583; Campbell & Manning, 2018).

Normalized Violence versus Emotional Resignation

Northern Irish writer Bernard MacLaverty described growing up during the Troubles as being like "living in a room with an elephant and trying to ignore it. Occasionally it stood on your toe or crapped on your head but mostly you tried to get on with things" (Russell, 2016, p.4). To some extent, MacLaverty's pithy description could also be applied to surviving the practice of corporal punishment in a maintained school, which, according to a representative from the Queen's University in Belfast, was "common and ubiquitous, differentiated only by levels of extreme brutality" (Jackman, 2021a; Jackman, 2021b;

McBrearty, 2022). There was, however, a distinct difference between how these two normalized experiences were reported by this study's participants.

All of the participants of this study noted that they didn't realize how abnormal their childhood experience of Troubles violence was until they were away from it. Jillian explains,

When you're living there and living in them times, it's just life. You know, you deal with it. It's when you leave, and you go back and look at it. You're like, "Oh my god, would I ever want my kids to grow up like that?" That was [our] normal.

Jamie expressed a similar sentiment. "Coming here [to America] was kind of eye-opening to…[it] opened my mind to different cultures, different people…I [can] appreciate people, and different cultures and different outlooks and opinions."

The Troubles normalized violence for the children who grew up during the conflict. Fintan shrugged philosophically when he commented, "You get stopped by the police in regular conditions because you were Catholic. You just dealt with it. It was everyday life." Josephine explained, "[The police/British army] would pull us from the car and they held us. It was nothing major…it's just part of life, like the security line at the airport. Only [it happened] a couple of times every day." Sean described it as "just the way it was. Terrible things happened to people you knew. Wrong place, wrong time…things happen because they happen, and if they didn't happen there, they'd happen somewhere else. It's just one of them things." These findings are consistent with research on the psychological state known as desensitization (Mrug et al, 2016; Murshid & Murshid, 2019; Ng-Mak et al., 2002).

Corporal punishment was also a norm in Northern Ireland during this time period. There was, however, a palpable and clearly identifiable change in tone and body language when participants spoke of the violence they experienced at school. Shoulders slumped. Tone

flattened. There was no humor in the participants' descriptions of the school-perpetrated violence. Rather, the experience of corporal punishment and the almost absolute authority that characterized the role of the teacher in a Catholic maintained school appeared to evoke a resignation not observed when participants were talking about their experience of being raised during the Troubles.

The following was recorded from Fintan's interview. "You get used to it. Getting strapped or caned, it's…it's just something you gotta learn to accept [interviewers note: these last two sentences were delivered with an overwhelming tone of defeat and resignation]" Like Troubles violence, corporal punishment was normalized, but the descriptions combined with the body language indicated endurance rather than mere normalization. Liam disengaged eye contact and looked at his hands when he said, "Corporal punishment happened frequently...it was a way of life. It was very much your way of life". Aidan stood and paced when he stated, "I get caned, so be it. I would take it." Jamie explained, "Was it traumatizing? Yes…all that stuff's hard to talk about, you know. You bottle it up."

Clodagh touched on the escapable nature of the school-perpetrated violence. "We were used to it…you knew you were going to [have to] get up the next day and go to school. You know, we were all used to it. Not a nice thing to be used to, is it?" Eoghan echoed this sentiment: "It [school] was a box, and you were inside." Some of the inescapable nature of the violence was likely related to the absence of effective buffering adults. Peggy explains, "Your parents just knew that [corporal punishment] was part of the system." These observed changes in tone and body language reaction are consistent with research on how inescapable and random pain/punishment produces feelings of resignation and learned helplessness

(Awoniyi, 2021; Maier, 2019; Maier and Seligman, 1976; Overmier and Wielkiewicz, 1983; Sweeney, 1982; Vollmayr & Gass, 2013).

Both experiences (growing up during the Troubles and attending a Catholic maintained school in NI) normalized violence. Both taught youth that violence was an acceptable means to achieving their goals and that power was best established through violence (Quinlin (2021). This is partially the basis for Roe and Cairns' (2020) assertion that the Catholic education system amplified the violence of the sectarian conflict. That having been said, these two normalized experiences were, in the words of Liam, "like chalk and cheese" in their impact on the individuals who survived them.

Recap of Biblical Perspective on the Phenomenon Studied

Identity

The human drives for purpose, identity, and a strong connection to one's faith are God-designed and meant for good (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Ephesians 2:10, Genesis 1:27, John 1:12). The Bible has many warnings about how something God created for good can be twisted, by Satan or our own sin nature, into something deleterious (1 Corinthians 15:33; 2 Corinthians 6:14; Proverbs 13:20; Proverbs 18:24; Proverbs 22:24-25). When individuals find their identity or purpose in something other than God, identity becomes an idol (Psalm 115:4–8). Being Catholic during the Troubles was just such as idol.

The construct of *identity* played a key role in the lived experience of attending a maintained school in Northern Ireland during the Troubles (Aslam et al., 2021; Ferry et al., 2014; Trew, 2019). One trouble with the Troubles was that it encouraged individuals to place their faith and root their identity in man-made institutions (the Catholic church) and ideas (republicanism) rather than in God. The PTSD and maladaptive coping linked to the Troubles

and the slew of psychological repercussions that emerged when Catholic schools became a source of terror and harm are consequences of this mis-rooted identity (Day & Shloim, 2021; Ferguson, 1989; Ferry et al., 2014; Holland, 2018; Kapur et al., 2018).

The Troubles as a Refiner's Fire

The Bible teaches that believers will face many trials that will function like a forge on iron, removing impurities and strengthening them (*English Standard Bible*, 2001/2016, Proverbs 17:3, Zechariah 13:9). Researchers such as Bolsinger et al. (2018), Masten (2015), McLafferty et al. (2021), and Yule et al. (2019) talk about the role that adverse childhood experiences can play in developing resilience. One might think of adverse experiences as the oxygen in the forger's bellows; it attaches itself to the impurities and draws them out of the iron. God is the master forger working the bellows, knowing just how much heat and oxygen are needed to oxidize the impurities and strengthen the iron. The positive traits that emerged from the Troubles experience are a product of such a refiner's fire. It is an example of what Paul meant in Romans 8:28 when he spoke of God causing all things to work together for the good (Romans 8:28).

Corporal Punishment was Different

Corporal punishment as it was delivered in Catholic maintained schools was not a good thing twisted. It was an evil power-rooted tradition cloaked in religious garments and delivered by representatives of religion. The damage done by this iniquitous tradition has had a durable impact on the adult mental health of individuals who experienced it in childhood. It is difficult to alter maladaptive coping habits without dealing with the root cause. A key to healing the emotional damage done by the practice of corporal punishment in Catholic

maintained schools is to recognize the source of the trauma. That source is not God. It is man.

Loss of Faith

The second trouble with the Troubles is that it tied Catholicism tightly to cultural identity (Inglis, 2007). This meant there was a psychic cost to believing that the church was wrong about something (Antkowiak et al., 2021). The children in Northern Ireland who were being brutally treated by representatives of the Catholic church would likely have experienced cognitive dissonance in their hatred of those individuals (Joyce & Lynch, 2015). It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that Ireland has suffered a "dramatic decline in participation" in the Catholic church over the last fifty years (Féich & O'Connell, 2015, p.245). This is perhaps best exemplified in the dramatic drop in church attendance and the practice of (non-cultural) Catholic sacraments such as confession (Dunn, 2018; Fegan, 2021; Gribben, 2021). According to a study by Turpin (2022), just over half of the individuals living in Northern Ireland who identify as Catholic say they never go to church. Liam describes Ireland and its religiosity in this way.

> It's a Catholic country, but it's not [Catholic], it's not in the slightest…less of the population are religious than even a generation ago. But even during the Troubles, being Catholic was more about culture and tradition, or family, than it had to do with faith. So, the country used to be culturally Catholic, and now they aren't even that.

This is perhaps the greatest tragedy begotten by the nexus of growing up during the Troubles and attending a Catholic maintained school.

What Was the Real Trouble with the Troubles?

Researchers such as Bunting et al. (2012), Daniel et al. (2020), Ferry, et al. (2014), and O'Neill & Rooney (2018) have attributed the current higher levels of mental illness, maladaptive coping strategies and trauma-related PTSD present in Northern Ireland to the chronic exposure to Troubles-related violence. For individuals who were eyewitnesses to shootings or explosions, the violence of the Troubles would likely be highly impactful. The same is true for individuals who lost close family members. That trauma is real, life-destroying, and even intergenerational. Clodagh's husband would fall into that category, as would Jamie's father. That having been said, the majority of the individuals living in Northern Ireland were distant witnesses to the Troubles. They watched the violence on television; they saw the bombed-out pubs; they evacuated their schools regularly for bomb scares. While this is certainly traumatic for a child, I believe an argument can be made that the school-related violence experienced by those individuals who attended Catholic maintained schools had a greater proximal and distal impact.

Students who attended Catholic maintained schools were eyewitnesses to violence daily or almost daily (Dolan, 2017; Holland, 2018; Limon, 2022). The violence was more inescapable. The violence was often perpetrated on individuals with whom the child had a close personal tie (a friend or sibling rather than a Catholic stranger in another city). The chance of becoming the victim of this school violence was much greater than becoming the victim of a bombing or shooting. Perhaps most significantly, the Troubles did not remove the buffering effect of an adult in their life. Nuclear families were the norm in Northern Ireland during this time period as were close ties with extended family (Duffy & McClements, 2020; McShane & Pinkerton, 1986). For the most part, children faced the violence of the Troubles

surrounded by adults they trusted. A solid argument can be made that the school-perpetrated violence would have had a greater short-term and long-term impact on those who lived through both forms of violence.

The Troubles exposed a generation of children to sectarian violence, harassment, and fear. The Troubles also produced a generation of adults who are resilient, self-confident, and willing to take risks, who have the ability to network, are tenacious, and have a strong work ethic. The collective trauma of corporal punishment in Catholic maintained schools was the real trouble with the Troubles. The Troubles made Catholic identity salient. Catholic students experienced cognitive dissonance when faced with brutally applied corporal punishment at the hands of individuals who were supposed to represent the authority of the Catholic church Turpin, 2022). This disillusionment and psychic discomfort is likely a driving factor in the recent mass exodus of the children of the Troubles (and their children) from the Catholic church and the metamorphosis of Northern Irish Catholicism from a living faith to a cultural identity (Féich & O'Connell, 2015) Corporal punishment in Catholic maintained schools was the real and enduring trouble with the Troubles.

Limitations

Sample Size, Criterion, and Diversity

This study used purposive sampling identified using personal contacts and gatekeepers, not probability sampling. The very small qualitative sample (11) and the inherently limiting inclusion criterion (having grown up in Northern Ireland and attended maintained schools during the Troubles) mean my sample was necessarily homogenous. The inclusion criterion (having grown up in Northern Ireland and attended maintained schools during the Troubles) excluded individuals who grew up in the Republic of Ireland or other

countries within the UK. It also excluded individuals who were culturally Protestant. Further, the small sample size of 11 did not allow for a robust quantitative analysis of demographic data. This may limit the generalizability of the study's findings to cultures outside of Northern Ireland or to the Protestant population in Northern Ireland. That having been said, the study's external validity for Catholics in Northern Ireland during the Troubles would likely be strong. Demographic diversity (small towns, large cities, rural) was represented; there was also socio-economic diversity among the participants and diversity in academic ability in school. Given the differences in Catholic maintained school experience based on gender reported by the participants of this study and supported by research, the four to seven ratio of females to males could be considered a limitation (Dolan, 2017; O'Donoghue & Harford, 2016).

Researcher's Inexperience

This was my first experience with qualitative research and my inexperience was a limiting factor. While my interview technique improved over the course of the study, the first interviews did not yield as much data as might have been possible, had I been a more experienced interviewer. The survey was limited by the lack of previous quantitative data on the subject and my own inexperience. In the process of administering it and analyzing the responses, I discovered several flaws. For example, "teacher mood" was not offered as a selectable reason why corporal punishment was administered, yet this reason was frequently mentioned during the interviews. Also, the survey did not adequately account for the wide variations between years in how much corporal punishment the respondents received/witnessed. These weaknesses resulted in the survey providing fewer data than it might have, given better-designed questions and answers. The data from the interviews was

able to fill in and/or correct most of these inadequacies, but a better-constructed survey might have yielded additional valuable data.

The Limitations Associated with Self-Report

This study depended on self-reported, autobiographical data. There are particular limitations associated with self-reported data. I strongly believe that all the participants were honest about their recollections of experiences. However, social desirability bias and between-subject variations in introspective ability may have impacted the responses (Brenner & DeLamater, 2016). This topic was one that evoked many emotions. The human brain tends to prioritize present emotions/beliefs and even view past emotions/beliefs through the lens of present ones, distorting the reality of that past moment (Kensinger, 2009). Autobiographic memory has been demonstrated to be particularly malleable (Rubin et al., 2019). The Troubles in Northern Ireland have been depicted in media, films, and literature, and trading stories is not uncommon among those who lived the experience. For these reasons, the potentially distorting effects of confabulation and media-driven social contagion must be considered a limiting factor. When conducting a study that relies on self-report, the limitations of self-reported data have the potential to compromise data accuracy, which is, in itself, a limitation.

<div align="center">Recommendations for Future Research</div>

Northern Irish Protestants

This study focused on the Catholic experience of the Troubles and school. While the Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland shared some commonalities in the sectarian conflict, their experiences were different in several key ways. Protestants had several governmental organizational authorities they identified with including the Royal Ulster

Constabulary (the Northern Irish police department) and the British troops, who were sent to

Northern Ireland in 1969 to oppose the Irish Republican Army (English, 2008). Further,

controlled (Protestant) schools were secular, state-run schools taught by layman teachers,

which meant the authority of the school administration/teachers, the role of the parents, and

the training provided to teachers were very different (Biaggi, 2020; Farren et al., 2019;

Kieran, 2021; Walsh, 2016). Moreover, Protestant identity was not tethered to the

educational experience the way it was in the Catholic maintained system (Cecil, 2020; Inglis,

2007; McKenna & Melaugh, 2022). As previously suggested, a study of the same

generational cohort who identified as Protestant would be of value**.**

Catholics from the Republic of Ireland

This study focused only on individuals born and raised in Northern Ireland, where the

Troubles had the greatest daily impact on everyday lives. The experience of growing up in

the Republic of Ireland during the period of the Troubles would be different. Catholic

identity would also be deeply felt. Corporal punishment was practiced in Republic schools

and the authority of the Catholic church was commensurate with that in Northern Ireland.

However, the daily harassment by and antagonism with government authorities, such as the

police, would be absent. Also absent would be the ubiquitous presence of British troops. A

comparative study of the lived experience of attending Catholic maintained school in the

Republic during the Troubles with that of the lived experience described by the participants

in this study would be interesting.

Quantitative Data Regarding Corporal Punishment in NI during the Troubles

There does not appear to be any quantitative data on corporal punishment during the

Troubles at Catholic maintained schools at all. As a representative from Queen's University

in Belfast explained, corporal punishment in Catholic maintained schools was "common and ubiquitous, differentiated only by levels of extreme brutality" (McBrearty, 2022). This may be due to the assumption by researchers that the Troubles dominated all other childhood experiences. It may be that the sexual abuse perpetrated by representatives of the Catholic church has overshadowed the physical abuse perpetrated by the same. Or, as this current study suggests, it may be that the experience of corporal punishment in maintained schools was a different kind of trauma than that of the sectarian conflict.

Individuals in this study appeared to enjoy talking about their Troubles experiences and often did so with humor. There was no humor or lightness when participants talked about their school experiences. Corporal punishment appeared to invoke a bone-deep weariness and resignation that was entirely different from that of the adverse Troubles-related experiences. It is the conclusion of this study that the former (corporal punishment) had a far greater deleterious impact than growing up during the sectarian conflict. The salient cohort currently ranges in age from 48 to 70. For this reason, the window for research on this phenomenon, whether quantitative or qualitative, will be closing soon. A rigorous quantitative study using an adequate sample size is recommended before this window of opportunity closes.

Emotional versus Physical Punishment

Three of the four female participants in this study reported being impacted as much or more by the psychological tactics used by the teachers (often nuns) in their school as they were by the physical assaults. Anecdotal evidence suggests that female students, on average, received less corporal punishment than their male counterparts but they were more sensitive to being witnesses to the abuse of others. Three studies are suggested. First, a quantitative study to compare the amount and severity of corporal punishment received by gender

(male/female). Second, a quantitative study to compare the impact of emotional punishment versus physical punishment on females. Third, a study to compare the long-term effects of mental health/physical health of physical versus emotional abuse by teachers in Catholic maintained schools which includes a male/female comparison of the impact.

Did this Lived Experience Forge Entrepreneurs?

According to GEM Global (2023), entrepreneurs are 16% of the adult working population. They were 92% of the participants in this study. Many of the traits described by Boneva and Frieze (2001) as being components of the "migrant personality syndrome" are similar to those described by Kerr et al. (2018) as being common characteristics of entrepreneurs (p. 447). A strong argument can be made that immigration itself self-selects for the personality traits and drives that are common among entrepreneurs (Vandor, 2021). Given that 92% of the participants of this study were immigrants to America, it is perhaps not surprising that 92% are entrepreneurs and 100% show entrepreneurial behavior within their jobs. That does not, however, explain the high number of non-immigrating siblings reported to be entrepreneurs back in Northern Ireland. It would be interesting to investigate whether the lived experience of attending a Catholic maintained school in Northern Ireland during the Troubles might have forged personality traits comparable to those common among entrepreneurs. Further, it would be interesting to attempt to tease out which experience (school or sectarian conflict) was most responsible for the analogous traits.

Non-Immigrants

All but one of the participants in this study immigrated to the United States. Research has revealed that there are certain attitudes and traits that are more common in individuals who have made the decision to leave their country of birth to live in another country (Boneva

& Frieze, 2001; Cardoso & Thompson, 2010). This suggests that there may be a difference between the attitude, behavior, and parenting decisions of parents who attended maintained schools during the Troubles and remained in Northern Ireland versus those who immigrated to the United States. Interviews with individuals who meet inclusion criteria and are still living in Northern Ireland might be conducted and compared to the responses from the participants in this study.

Parallels Between Racial Discrimination in America and Sectarian Discrimination in NI

A closer look at the parallels between racial discrimination in America and sectarian discrimination in Northern Ireland is suggested. The rhetoric used by the Northern Irish Catholic participants in this study to express the experience of feeling marginalized and discriminated against was strikingly similar to those used by social justice reformers in recent years to describe the experience of some residents of depressed minority neighborhoods in Philadelphia. Both cohorts have expressed animosity against and distrust of the police. Both communities often have paramilitary elements (e.g., gangs and the IRA) that discouraged communicating with law enforcement. In both communities, citizens suffer at the hands of fellow citizens. Current research that explores the parallels between the Black civil rights movement and the Irish civil rights movement would be the jumping-off platform for this inquiry (De Fazio, 2009; Dooley, 1998; Geary, 2020).

Protective Factors

There are many parallels between the community violence that permeated the childhoods of this study's participants and the community violence experienced by the residents of particular neighborhoods in Philadelphia. Investigating which protective factors

were the most insulating and whether any of these might be transferable to a minority

neighborhood in Philadelphia would be worth pursuing.

School Failure

Catholic maintained schools in Northern Ireland during the Troubles failed their

students. This failure had effects that lasted into adulthood. Many students in inner-city

schools in America, particularly those in depressed minority neighborhoods, face similar

disenfranchisement from, and failure by, their education system. Further study of the

parallels may yield valuable data to find ways to serve these students better.

Locus of Control

As previously noted, the participants in this study have an exceptionally high

percentage of entrepreneurs. They also appear to share several positive traits including being

hard workers, resilience, and self-discipline as well as several maladaptive coping strategies

such as substance abuse and avoidance. It would be very interesting to see whether Catholics

growing up during the Troubles share and also exhibit similar locus of control orientations. It

would also be interesting to compare the locus of control orientation of adults who grew up

in NI during the Troubles, based on sectarian identity (Catholic/Protestant).

Positive Traits Forged During the Troubles

There is copious research on mental health issues such as depression, anxiety

disorders, and PTSD suffered by individuals who grew up during the Troubles (Bunting et

al., 2012; Ferry et al., 2014; Montgomery, 2021). There is even a significant amount of

research on the intergenerational effects of these mental and physical health challenges (Day

& Shloim, 2021). There does not appear to be any research on the positive traits common

among survivors of the NI sectarian conflict, touched on by this study (e.g., resilience,

entrepreneurial spirit, etc.). Further study on these traits would be recommended as they may add to our scientific understanding of how mental toughness and flexibility are created by adversity (Celniker et al., 2022; Lukianoff & Haidt, 2019; Taleb, 2012). Given the copious accounts of emotional and mental fragility exhibited by this current generation of American students, such research has theoretical and clinical value (Haidt & Paresky, 2019; Twenge, 2017).

East Timorese Immigrants to Ireland

East Timor is a country plagued with ethnic violence and civil war (Rourke, 2019). Many immigrants from East Timor have fled to Europe to give their children a better life. In Dungannon, Northern Ireland, the percentage of international immigrants in their small town increased by more than 1000% in ten years, making it the fastest-growing population in Northern Ireland (Krausova & Vargas-Silva, 2014; Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2020). Many of these are East Timorese who immigrated via Portugal. East Timorese parents of school-aged children living in Dungannon share several interesting life experiences with the parents in this study. Both cohorts were raised amidst ethnic violence. Both have parents who had little formal education. Both cohorts were educated in schools where corporal punishment was common and often brutal. East Timorese people are predominately Catholic; they send their children to Catholic maintained schools. It would be interesting to compare the parents' attitudes regarding the purpose and value of education and the level of parental involvement in school between the two groups.

Generational Poverty in Protestant East Belfast versus Generational Poverty in Catholic Derry

Up until the early 1960s, Protestants living in East Belfast had a guaranteed job for life at the Harland and Wolff shipyard (Harland and Wolff: The troubled history of Belfast's shipyard, 2019). Catholics were very rarely hired and those who were hired often endured threats, insults, and physical assaults. When shipbuilding began to shift to China, Korea, and Japan, in the 1970s, a huge portion of that community became unemployed (McCluskie, 2013). This area of Belfast is now an enclave of generational poverty. A similar thing happened in Derry with the linen industry (The Newsroom, 2021). There are now over 100,000 people living in poverty in the Derry area; the majority have been dependent on governmental support for three generations. Both communities struggle with what MacDonald et al. (2020) call the "cycle of disadvantage" (p.13). The difference between the two communities is that the Derry linen industry was largely Catholic. The culture of generational poverty has been well documented, in particular its impact on ambition and mobility. The children raised during this era would have been raised in a similar economic culture, but with a highly cogent difference: Derry is Catholic; East Belfast is Protestant. For the generation raised during the Troubles, this difference is extremely significant. It would be interesting to investigate and compare the differences in upward mobility and attitudes toward education in these two communities. Because the communities are similar in almost every way except for religious identity, this is a unique natural experiment to investigate the impact of the perception of government support (the Protestants strongly believed they could count on it; the Catholics believed they could not) on the culture of generational poverty.

Generational Poverty in Belfast and Derry Compared to Generational Poverty in

Philadelphia

As a follow-up to the previous study, it would be interesting to compare the beliefs

and attitudes of these two communities to the communities in North Philadelphia, where

generational poverty is the dominant culture. Having taught in some of the most

economically depressed neighborhoods in Philadelphia, I have seen firsthand the desperate

need to break the cycle of disadvantage experienced by the young people in these

neighborhoods. Any insight into this social challenge would be valuable.

The "Good Enough" Syndrome

Almost every parent wants to provide their children with "better" or "more" than they

had in their childhood. Where that bar is set appears to largely be determined by the most

unpleasant aspects of the parent's own childhood. Individuals in this study who experienced

brutal treatment by their teachers largely defined "good education" as one where the students

enjoyed school and were not physically abused. There was little discernment regarding the

academic quality of the school experience. Individuals in this study who felt their teachers

did not teach largely defined a good teacher for their children as one who gave them a book

and taught content. There is anecdotal evidence that the East Timorese who have immigrated

to Northern Ireland have not demonstrated the economic ambition that all the previous

immigrant populations have in NI. Anecdotal evidence by individuals working for the

National Health Service in Northern Ireland suggests that the East Timorese immigrants' bar

for a good life is profoundly lower than those of previous immigrant groups. Coming from a

war-torn country, knowing their children are not in danger of being killed on their walk to

school appears to be their definition of a good life. It would be interesting to delve further

into how an individual or cultural group's bar for "a good life for their children" is defined, how that definition is influenced by previous life experience, and what psychological mechanisms are involved. Research by Beck, (2019), Dumbrill (2009), Livingstone and Blum-Ross, 2020, Sennet and Cobb (1993), Ule et al. (2015), and Wilson & Worsley (2021) would be a solid jumping-off platform for such an inquiry.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to gain an understanding of the lived experience of those individuals who attended Catholic maintained schools in Northern Ireland during the Troubles. A descriptive phenomenological approach was used. Eleven in-depth interviews and a qualitative survey were conducted.

Northern Ireland, during the Troubles, was a highly segregated, militarized environment that bred sectarian animosity, childhood fear, and adolescent frustration. When they were young, the fear was sometimes assuaged by a childish enjoyment of all the excitement. Catholic identity and in-group/outgroup thinking were reinforced multiple times a day by checkpoints and discrimination. To a large extent, growing up during the Troubles was an experience shared by all Catholics in Northern Ireland, regardless of social class, monetary resources, religiosity, gender, or intellectual ability. This was not true of the experience of attending a Catholic maintained school.

Corporal punishment, which was often brutal, was more often employed in a Catholic maintained school as a consequence of academic failure than to correct behavior. One hundred percent of the individuals interviewed experienced and witnessed corporal punishment at school; more than 72% reported having witnessed it daily. Teacher mood and personality appear to have played the largest role in whether corporal punishment would be

inflicted. The arbitrary nature of corporal punishment added to the fear and dread associated with attending school. The onus for learning in a Catholic maintained school appears to have been placed entirely on the student. The underlying assumption on the part of the school appears to have been, "We are teaching; if you do not learn, it is your fault." There appeared to be no understanding or accommodations for learning disabilities. Northern Irish parents were not involved in their children's day-to-day school experience. Moreover, they operated on the assumption that the school/teacher was always right.

The participants in this study demonstrated several common positive character traits and strengths as adults that are not common in the general population, including many characteristics frequently ascribed to successful entrepreneurs. Many also reported common maladaptive coping strategies, such as ones that research has shown are typical emotional artifacts of childhood trauma.

The Troubles and corporal punishment, as it was applied in Catholic maintained schools, were two very different types of collective historical trauma. The sectarian violence of the Troubles was relatively predictable. A strong sense of Catholic identity, the presence of buffering adults, and religiosity practiced in the home served as protective factors against the trauma caused by community violence. The corporal punishment the participants experienced at school was arbitrary in nature, inequitable, and inescapable. Students were victims of or witnesses to the violence almost daily, which engendered a state similar to learned helplessness. The Troubles normalized violence; corporal punishment elicited emotional resignation. The real trouble wasn't the Troubles; it was the arbitrary, often brutal corporal punishment practiced at Catholic maintained schools.

REFERENCES

Albrecht, N., & Upadhyay, B. (2018). What do refugee mothers want in urban US school science: Learning from the perceptions of science of three Somali mothers. *The Urban Review, 50*(4), 604-629. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-018-0458-9

Altglas, V. (2022). Altglas, V. (2022). Religion and Conflict in Northern Ireland: Context. In *Religion and Conflict in Northern Ireland.* Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-96950-9_2

Al-Yateem, N. (2012). The effect of interview recording on quality of data obtained: A methodological reflection. *Nurse Researcher, 19*(4), 31-35. https://www.proquest.com/docview/1095359527?parentSessionId=HN8E2%2BSC7c BnMPB5yiMIoXWSGYWHf4gg5NpJvtkPxJo%3D&pq-origsite=summon&accountid=12085

Anderson, D. (2020). *Inventory: A River, A City, A Family.* Random House.

Antkowiak, L. S., Allen, L. G., & Layman, G. C. (2021). Coping with cross-pressures: The seamless garment in Catholic political behavior. *Political Psychology, 42*, 195-240. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/pops.12796?saml_referrer

Antony-Newman, M. (2019). Parental involvement of immigrant parents: A meta-synthesis. *Educational Review, 71*(3), 362-381. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2017.1423278

Antony-Newman, M. (2020). Parental involvement of Eastern European immigrant parents in Canada: Whose involvement has capital? *British Journal of Sociology of Education, 41*(1), 111-126. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2019.1668748

Armaly, M. T., & Enders, A. M. (2021). 'Why me?'The role of perceived victimhood in American politics. Political Behavior, 42, 1-27. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-020-09662-x

Aslam, M. S., Ghazal, S., & Irfan, A. (2021). Short and long-term impact of corporal punishment; A phenomenological analysis of how students cope and survive. *Journal of Behavioural Sciences, 31*(2), 1-21. https://web.p.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=25b9b8f4-bbf6-4d79-ae07-65bbeac57b5e%40redis&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=aph&AN=152323595

Awoniyi, F. (2021). Are caning and learning friends or foes in Ghanaian secondary schools? Cogent Education, 8(1), 1862031-1862046. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/2331186X.2020.1862031?needAccess=true&role=button

Bairner, A. (1999). The arts and sports. In A. Aughey, & D. Morrow (Eds.), Northern Ireland Politics (pp. 181-190). Longman Group Limited.

Bairner, A. (1999). The Media. In A. Aughey, & D. Morrow (Eds.), Northern Ireland Politics (pp. 173-181). Longman Group Limited. https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/othelem/media/bairner.htm#ch19

Banaji, M. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (2016). *Blindspot: Hidden biases of good people.* Bantam.

Bardon, J. (2008). *A history of Ireland in 250 episodes–Everything you've ever wanted to know about Irish history: Fascinating snippets of Irish history from the ice age to the peace process.* Gill & Macmillan Ltd.

Barrett, J. (2012). *Born believers: The science of children's religious belief.* Atria Books.

Batalova, J., Shymonyak, A., & Mittelstadt, M. (2020). *Immigration data matters.* Migration
    Policy Insitute. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/data-
    matters-nov2020-update_final.pdf

Bauluz, L., Gethin, A., Martinez-Toledano, C., & Morgan, M. (2021). Historical political
    cleavages and post-crisis transformations in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Ireland, 1953-
    2020. World Inequality Lab, 1-50. https://wid.world/wp-
    content/uploads/2021/01/WorldInequalityLab_WP2021_01_EuropePolCleavages.pdf

Bazin, C. (2013). Images of the Protestants in Northern Ireland: A Cinematic Deficit or an
    Exclusive Image of Psychopaths? *InMedia. The French Journal of Media Studies, 3*,
    1-17. https://doi.org/10.4000/inmedia.542

Beck, B. (2019, January 5). The generation game: Why children's lives have changed
    radically in just a few decades. The Economist. https://www.economist.com/special-
    report/2019/01/03/why-childrens-lives-have-changed-radically-in-just-a-few-decades

Bengtsson, M., Berglund, T., & Oskarson, M. (2013). Class and ideological orientations
    revisited: an exploration of class-based mechanisms. The British Journal of
    Sociology, 64(4), 691-716. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12033

Bernecker, S. (2022). An explanationist model of (false) memory. In *Current controversies
    in philosophy of memory* (pp. 109-126). Routledge.

Biaggi, C. (2020). Reforming education in post-partition Northern Ireland: State control and
    churches' interference. *History of Education, 43*(3), 379-397.
    https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760X.2020.1738563

Binks, E., & Ferguson, N. (2007). Legacies of conflict: Children in Northern Ireland. In A.

    A. Hosin (Ed.), *Responses to Traumatized Children* (pp. 228-246). Palgrave

    Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230625808_12

BLM Global. (2020, July 6). What Defunding the Police Really Means.

    https://blacklivesmatter.com/what-defunding-the-police-really-means/

Bolsinger, J., Seifritz, E., Kleim, B., & Manoliu, A. (2018). Neuroimaging correlates of

    resilience to traumatic events—a comprehensive review. Frontiers in Psychiatry, 9,

    693-708. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyt.2018.00693

Bolter, J. (2019, February). *Migration Policy Institute (MPI)*.

    https://www.migrationpolicy.org/content/explainer-who-immigrant

Boneva, B. S., & Frieze, I. H. (2001). Toward a concept of a migrant personality. Journal of

    Social Issues, 57(3), 477-491. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00224

Boonk, L., Gijselaers, H. J., Ritzen, H., & Brand-Gruwel, S. (2018). A review of the

    relationship between parental involvement indicators and academic achievement.

    Educational Research Review, 24, 10-30.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2018.02.001

Borooah, V. K., & Knox, C. (2015). The economics of schooling in a divided society.

    Palgrave Macmillan.

    https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304880313_The_History_and_Evolution_of

    _Education_in_Northern_Ireland#fullTextFileContent

Borum, R. (2010). Understanding terrorist psychology. In A. Silke (Ed.), *The psychology of

    counter-terrorism* (pp. 19-33). Routledge.

Bosi, L., & Fazio, G. (2017). *The troubles in Northern Ireland and theories of social movements.* Amsterdam University Press.

Bourke, R., & McBride, I. (Eds.). (2016). *The Princeton history of modern Ireland.* Princeton University Press.

Brennan, S. E., & Stevens, M. C. (2019). Is immigration a culture? A qualitative approach to exploring immigrant student experiences within the United States. *Translational Issues in Psychological Science, 5*(1), 17-28. https://doi.org/10.1037/tps0000187

Breen, A., Daniels, K., & Tomlinson, M. (2015). Children's experiences of corporal punishment: A qualitative study in an urban township of South Africa. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 48*, 131-139. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2015.04.022

Brenner, P. S., & DeLamater, J. (2016). Lies, damned lies, and survey self-reports? Identity as a cause of measurement bias. Social Psychology Quarterly, 79(4), 333-354. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/0190272516628298?journalCode=spqc

Brereton, P. (2022). Troubles and Northern Ireland: Representations in film of Belfast as a site of conflict. *Irish Studies in International Affairs, 33*(2), 291-305. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/856565/pdf

Brod, D., Werkle-Bergner, M., & Shing, Y. L. (2013). The influence of prior knowledge on memory: A developmental cognitive neuroscience perspective. *Frontiers in Behavioral Neuroscience, 7*, 139-152. https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fnbeh.2013.00139/full

Broderick, C. (2013). That's that: A memoir. Broadway Books.

Bronk, K. C. (2011). Portraits of purpose: The role of purpose in identity formation. *New Directions for Youth Development, 132*, 31-44. http://scholar.cgu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/role-of-purpose-chapter.pdf

Bronk, K. C., & Baumsteiger, R. (2017). The role of purpose among emerging adults. In L. M. Padilla-Walker, & L. J. Nelson (Eds.), *Flourishing in emerging adulthood: Positive development during the third decade of life* (pp. 45-66). Oxford University Press.

Brown, M., Donnelly, C., Shevlin, P., Skerritt, C., McNamara, G., & O'Hara, J. (2021). The rise and fall and rise of academic selection: The case of Northern Ireland. *Irish Studies in International Affairs, 32*(2), 477-498. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/848867/pdf

Brunson, K. (2007). "Police don't like black people": African-American young men's accumulated police experiences. Criminology & Public Policy, 61(1), 71-101. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2007.00423.x

Brunson, R. K., & Weitzer, R. (2009). Police relations with black and white youths in different urban neighborhoods. Urban Affairs Review, 44(6), 858-885. https://doi.org/10.1177/107808740832697

Bukodi, E., Bourne, M., Betthäuser, B. A., & Goldthorpe, J. H. (2019). *Social origins, cognitive ability, educational attainment and social class position in Britain: A birth cohort and life-course perspective.* University of Oxford. Department of Social Policy and Intervention. https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:5d098810-792f-4c35-9a0e-8ad3df633743/download_file?file_format=pdf&safe_filename=SUMMARY_REPORT_Nuffield_grant_EB%2BFinal.pdf&type_of_work=Report

Bunting, B. P., Murphy, S. D., O' Neill, S. M., & Ferry, F. R. (2012). Lifetime prevalence of mental health disorders and delay in treatment following initial onset: Evidence from the Northern Ireland study of health and stress. *Psychological medicine, 42*(8), 1727-1739. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0033291711002510

Cairns, E. (1987). Caught in crossfire: Children and the Northern Ireland conflict. Syracuse University Press.

Campbell, A., Cairns, E., & Mallett, J. (2005). Northern Ireland: The psychological impact of "the Troubles". *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment & Trauma, 9*(1-2), 175-184. https://doi.org/10.1300/J146v09n01_20

Campbell, B., & Manning, J. (2018). Microaggression and the Culture of Victimhood. In The Rise of Victimhood Culture (pp. 1-36). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-70329-9_1

Campbell, B., McKeown, L. P., & O'Hagan, F. (Eds.). (2006). Nor meekly serve my time: The H-Block struggle, 1976-1981. BTP Publications.

Campbell, N. (2020, August 13). Belfast accent fifth hardest for AI assistants to understand. *Sync NI*. https://syncni.com/article/4661/belfast-accent-fifth-hardest-for-ai-assistants-to-understand

Carcary, M. (2020). The research audit trail: Methodological guidance for application in practice. *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods, 18*(2), 166-177. https://doi.org/10.34190/JBRM.18.2.008

Card, M. (2013). *Matthew: The gospel of identity.* InterVarsity Press.

Cardoso, J. B., & Thompson, S. J. (2010). Common themes of resilience among Latino immigrant families: A systematic review of the literature. Families in Society, 91(3), 257-265. https://doi.org/10.1606/1044-3894.4

Carrion, V. G., & Weems, C. F. (2007). Stress predicts brain changes in children: a pilot longitudinal study on youth stress, posttraumatic stress disorder, and the hippocampus. Pediatrics, 119(3), 509-516. https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2006-2028

Carson, B. (2011). Gifted hands: The Ben Carson story. Zondervan.

Casper, W. C., Edwards, B. D., Wallace, J. C., Landis, R. S., & Fife, D. A. (2020). Selecting response anchors with equal intervals for summated rating scales. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 105*(4), 390-409. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000444

Cecil, R. (2020). The marching season in Northern Ireland: An expression of politico-religious identity. In Inside European identities (pp. 146-166). Routledge.

Celniker, J. B., Ringel, M. M., Nelson, K., & Ditto, P. H. (2022). Correlates of "Coddling": Cognitive distortions predict safetyism-inspired beliefs, belief that words can harm, and trigger warning endorsement in college students. Personality and Individual Differences, 185, 111243-111249. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2021.111243

Chambers, J. (2020). A Belfast Child: My true story of life and death in the Troubles. John Blake.

Chen, X. (2015). Relative deprivation and individual well-being: Low status and a feeling of relative deprivation are detrimental to health and happiness. World of Labor: Evidence-based Policy Making, 140, 1-14. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5638129/

Chen, Y., & Li, S. X. (2009). Group indentity and social preferences. The American

Economic Review, 99(1). 431-457. https://www.jstor.org/stable/29730190

Cheron, C., Salvagni, J., & Colomby, R. K. (2022). The qualitative approach interview in

administration: A guide for researchers. *Revista de Administração Contemporânea,

26*, 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-7849rac2022210011.en

Clampet-Lundquist, S., Carr, P. J., & Kefalas, M. (2015). The sliding scale of snitching: A

qualitative examination of snitching in three Philadelphia communities. Sociological

Forum, 30(2), 265-285.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/43654115?saml_data=eyJzYW1sVG9rZW4iOiI2OGVh

ZDFlYy1jMjI3LTQ5ZmQtYmMzOS02MDVmMGQwNmYxYTUiLCJpbnN0aXR1

dGlvbklkcyI6WyJjNGZjMjNmMC01MDQzLTRiOWMtYjgzNS0wZTBkZDBhMD

A2MjMiXX0&seq=15

Cobain, I. (2020, November 3). Life during wartime: How west Belfast became the frontline

of the Troubles. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/news/2020/nov/03/life-

during-wartime-how-west-belfast-became-the-frontline-of-the-troubles

Cohen Miller, A. S. (2018). Visual arts as a tool for phenomenology. *Forum: Qualitative

Social Research, 19*(1), 22. https://www.qualitative-

research.net/index.php/fqs/article/download/2912/4179?inline=1

Colaizzi, P. (1978). Psychological research as a phenomenologist views it. In R. S. Valle, &

M. King, *Existential-phenomenological alternatives for psychology.* Oxford

University Press.

Connolly, P., Smith, A., & Kelly, B. (2002). Too young to notice? The cultural and political

awareness of 3-6 year olds in Northern Ireland. Family Policy and Child Welfare:

Queen's University Belfast.

https://pure.ulster.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/11263500/Connolly%2C_Smith_and_K elly_%282002%29_Too_Young_to_Notic

Connor, P. (2021, August 19). *At least 600,000 K-12 undocumented students need a pathway to citizenship.* FWD.us. https://www.fwd.us/news/k-12-undocumented-students/

Coogan, T. P. (1995). The Troubles: Ireland's ordeal, 1969-95, and the search for peace. Hutchinson.

Cooley, C. H. (1902). *Human nature and the social order.* New York, NY: Schocken Books.

Cooper, J. (2019). Cognitive dissonance: Where we've been and where we're going. *International Review of Social Psychology, 32*(1), 1-11. https://www.rips-irsp.com/articles/10.5334/irsp.277/?utm_source=TrendMD&utm_medium=cpc&utm _campaign=International_Review_of_Social_Psychology_TrendMD_0

Copeland-Linder, N., Lambert, S. F., & Ialongo, N. (2010). Community violence, protective factors, and adolescent mental health: A profile analysis. Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology, 39(2), 176-186. https://doi.org/10.1080/15374410903532601

Costabile, K. A., & Boytos, A. S. (2021). Autobiographical narratives reflect, repair, and rewrite self-views. *Psychological Inquiry, 32*(4), 275-283. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1047840X.2021.2007702?journalCode =hpli20

Courtois, C. A. (2004). Complex trauma, complex reactions: Assessment and treatment. Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training, 41(4), 412-425. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-3204.41.4.412

Creswell, D., & Creswell, J. (2018). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches.* Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2021). *A concise introduction to mixed methods research.* Sage.

Crowley, P. (2018). The integral nature of ethnicity and religion during Northern Ireland's troubles. *Ethnic Studies Review, 41*(1-2), 9-18. https://doi.org/10.1525/esr.2018.411204

Croxford, L., & Raffe, D. (2014). Social class, ethnicity and access to higher education in the four countries of the UK: 1996–2010. *International Journal of Higher Education, 33*(1), 77-95. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370.2013.873214

Cun, A. (2020). Concerns and expectations: Burmese refugee parents' perspectives on their children's learning in American schools. *Early Childhood Education Journal, 48*, 263–272. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10643-019-00983-z

Cureton, A. E. (2020). Strangers in the school: Facilitators and barriers regarding refugee parental involvement. *The Urban Review, 52*(5), 924-949. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11256-020-00580-0#:~:text=Barriers%20to%20their%20involvement%20included,distrust%20in%20the%20school%20staff

Curran, P. S. (1988). Psychiatric aspects of terrorist violence: Northern Ireland 1969–1987. The British Journal of Psychiatry, 53(4), 470-475. https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/D5E858D095A111ABA9964AFA398D1C33/S000712500028210Xa.pdf/psychiatric-aspects-of-terrorist-violence-northern-ireland-1969-1987.pdf

Cuthbertson, L. M., Robb, Y. A., & Blair, S. (2020). Theory and application of research principles and philosophical underpinning for a study utilizing interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Radiography, 26*(2), e94-e102. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.radi.2019.11.092

Dang, J., King, K. M., & Inzlicht, M. (2020). Why are self-report and behavioral measures weakly correlated? *Trends in Cognitive Science, 24*(4), 267-269. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2020.01.007

Daniel, G., Healey, A., & Marie, M. (2020). Families in chronically unsafe community environments: Experiences in Northern Ireland and Palestine. *The Handbook of Systemic Family Therapy, 4*, 191-213. https://staff.najah.edu/media/scientific-research/books/2020/12/05/Families_in_Chronically_Unsafe_Community_Environments.pdf

Davidson, C. (2009). Transcription: Imperatives for qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 8*(2), 35-52. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/160940690900800206

Day, N., & Shloim, N. (2021). Therapists' experiences of working with the intergenerational impact of Troubles-related trauma. *Psychotherapy and Politics International, 19*(2), article e1585. https://doi.org/10.1002/ppi.1585

De Coninck, D., Rodríguez-de-Dios, I., & d'Haenens, L. (2020). The contact hypothesis during the European refugee crisis: Relating quality and quantity of (in) direct intergroup contact to attitudes towards refugees. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 1-21. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220929394

de Deney, G. I. (1987). Northern Ireland Orders in Council. 1987 No. 461. (2022, June 20). *The National Archives.* https://www.legislation.gov.uk/nisi/1987/461/made

De Dreu, C. K. (2012). Oxytocin modulates cooperation within and competition between groups: an integrative review and research agenda. Hormones and behavior, 61(3), 419-428. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.yhbeh.2011.12.009

De Dreu, C. K., & Kret, M. E. (2016). Oxytocin conditions intergroup relations through upregulated in-group empathy, cooperation, conformity, and defense. Biological Psychiatry, 79(3), 165-173. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biopsych.2015.03.020

De Fazio, G. (2009). Civil rights mobilization and repression in Northern Ireland: A comparison with the US Deep South. The Sixties: A Journal of History, Politics, and Culture, 2(2), 163–185. https://doi.org/10.1080/17541320903346502

De Fazio, G. (2020). Unpacking violent contention: The Troubles in Northern Ireland, 1968–1972. *Terrorism and Political Violence, 32*(8), 1691-1711. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/09546553.2018.1500366?needAccess=true

Delker, B. C., Salton, R., & McLean, K. C. (2020). Giving voice to silence: Empowerment and disempowerment in the developmental shift from trauma 'victim' to 'survivor-advocate'. *Journal of Trauma & Dissociation, 21*(2), 242-263. https://doi.org/10.1080/15299732.2019.1678212

de Oliveira Alvares, L., & Do-Monte, F. H. (2021). Understanding the dynamic and destiny of memories. *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Reviews, 125*, 592-607. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neubiorev.2021.03.009

Department of Education Northern Ireland DENI. (2019, March 14). *School enrollments -*

   Northern Ireland Summary Data. https://www.education-

   ni.gov.uk/publications/school-enrolments-northern-ireland-summary-data

Dimock, M. (2019, January 17). *Defining generations: Where Millennials end and*

   Generation Z begins. Pew Research Center: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-

   tank/2019/01/17/where-millennials-end-and-generation-z-begins/

Dings, R., & Newen, A. (2021). Constructing the past: The relevance of the narrative self in

   modulating episodic memory. *Review of Philosophy and Psychology*, 1-26.

   https://doi.org/10.1007/s13164-021-00581-2

Dixon, J., Tredoux, C., Sturgeon, B., Hocking, B., Davies, G., Huck, J., Whyatt, D., Jarman,

   N. & Bryan, D. (2020). 'When the walls come tumbling down': The role of

   intergroup proximity, threat, and contact in shaping attitudes towards the removal of

   Northern Ireland's peace walls. British Journal of Social Psychology, 59(4), 922–944.

   doi: https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12370

Dolan, P. (2017, October 19). Unfinished business: Corporal punishment in Irish schools.

   Raidió Teilifís Éireann. https://www.rte.ie/brainstorm/2017/1019/913515-unfinished-

   business-corporal-punishment-in-irish-

   schools/#:~:text=Roddy%20Doyle's%20recent%20interview%20on,two%20issues%2

   0to%20the%20surface.

Dooley, B. (1998). Black and green: The fight for civil rights in Northern Ireland & Black

   America. Pluto Press.

Dorahy, M., Shannon, C., & Maguire, C. (2012). The Troubles-related experiences

   questionnaire (TREQ): A clinical and research tool for Northern Irish samples. *The*

Irish Journal of Psychology, 28(3-4).

https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03033910.2007.10446260

Dörfler, V., & Stierand, M. (2021). Bracketing: A phenomenological theory applied through transpersonal reflexivity. Journal of Organizational Change Management, 34(4), 778-793. Bracketing: a phenomenological theory applied through transpersonal reflexivity | Emerald Insight

Döringer, S. (2021). 'The problem-centred expert interview'. Combining qualitative interviewing approaches for investigating implicit expert knowledge. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, 24*(3), 265-278.

https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13645579.2020.1766777

Dror, I. E. (2020). Cognitive and human factors in expert decision making: Six fallacies and the eight sources of bias. *Analytical Chemistry, 92*(12), 7998-8004.

https://pubs.acs.org/doi/pdf/10.1021/acs.analchem.0c00704

Du, E., & Chang, S. W. (2015). Neural components of altruistic punishment. Frontiers in Neuroscience, 9, 9-17.

https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fnins.2015.00026/full

Duffy, J., & McClements, F. (2019). Children of the Troubles: The untold story of the children killed in the Northern Ireland conflict. Hachette UK.

Dukes, S. (1984). Phenomenological methodology in the human sciences. *Journal of Religion and Health, 23*, 197–203. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00990785

Dumbrill, G. C. (2009). Your policies, our children: Messages from refugee parents to child welfare workers and policymakers. Child Welfare, 88(3), 145-168.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/45390174

Dumbrell, J. (1995). The United States and the Northern Irish conflict 1969-94: From indifference to intervention. *Irish Studies in International Affairs, 6*, 107-125. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30001841

Dunn, S. (2018). Education, religion and cultural change in the Republic of Ireland. In W. Tulasiewicz, & C. Brock (Eds.), *Christianity and educational provision in international perspective* (pp. 89-116). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429492488

El-Gabalawy, R., & Sommer, J. L. (2021). "We are at risk too": The disparate impacts of the pandemic on younger generations. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 66*(2), 1-11. https://doi.org/10.1177/0706743721989162

Eliseev, E. D., & Marsh, E. J. (2021). Externalizing autobiographical memories in the digital age. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences, 25*(12), 1072-1081. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1364661321002229

El-Khodary, B., & Samara, B. (2020). El-Khodary, B., Samara, M. The relationship between multiple exposures to violence and war trauma, and mental health and behavioural problems among Palestinian children and adolescents. European Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 29, 719–731. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00787-019-01376-8

Ellin, A., & Young, A. (2020). Special report: Why developing resilience may be the most important thing you can do for your well-being right now. Everyday Health. https://www.everydayhealth.com/wellness/state-of-resilience/

Elliot, E. (1999). *Let me be a woman.* Tyndale House Publishers.

Elliott, V. (2018). Thinking about the coding process in qualitative data analysis. *The Qualitative Report, 23*(11), 2850-2861.

https://www.proquest.com/docview/2155621346?pq-

origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true

English, R. (2008). *Armed struggle: The history of the IRA*. Pan Macmillan.

English Standard Bible. (2016). Crossway Bibles. (Original work published in 2001)

Eswaran, M., & Neary, H. M. (2022). Decentralised terrorism, religion, and social identity.

Journal of Economics, Management and Religion, 3(1), 2250003-2250061.

https://doi.org/10.1142/S2737436X22500030

Evans, K., Perez-Aponte, J., & McRoy, R. (2020). Without a paddle: Barriers to school

enrollment procedures for immigrant students and families. *Education and Urban

Society, 52*(9), 1283-1304. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124519894976

Fagan, A. A. (2022). Adverse childhood experiences and adolescent exposure to violence.

Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 37(3-4), 1708-1731.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520926

Farren, S. (1986). Nationalist-Catholic reaction to educational reform in Northern Ireland,

1920-1930. History of Education, xv, no. 1, 15(1), 19-21.

https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760860150103

Farren, S., Clarke, L., & O'Doherty, T. (2019). Teacher preparation in Northern Ireland:

History, policy and future directions. Emerald Group Publishing.

Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2018). Uniform Crime Reporting, Crime in the United

States 2018, Expanded Homicide Data Table 6. Department of Justice.

https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2018/crime-in-the-u.s.-2018/topic-

pages/tables/expanded-homicide-data-table-6.xls

Fegan, J. (2021, January 25). No longer merely lapsed: In Ireland today, we are choosing our religion. *The Irish Examiner*. https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/spotlight/arid-40212926.html

Féich, Ó., & O'Connell, M. (2015). Changes in Roman Catholic beliefs and practices in Ireland between 1981 and 2008 and the emergence of the liberal Catholic. Journal of Contemporary Religion, 30(2), 231-247. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/13537903.2015.1025551?needAccess=true&role=button

Ferguson, N., & Binks, E. (2015). Understanding radicalization and engagement in terrorism through religious conversion motifs. *Journal of Strategic Security, 8*(1-2), 16-26. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26465202#metadata_info_tab_contents

Ferguson, N., & Halliday, D. (2020). Collective memory and the legacy of the Troubles. In J. R. Vollhardt (Ed.), The social psychology of collective victimhood (pp. 56-76). Oxford University Press. https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=0AfZDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA56&dq=collective+memory+and+the+legacy+of+the+troubles&ots=e4CJ_Yf5p7&sig=jSNFJHQqvgIO8Jvcn857ZueOrvc#v=onepage&q=collective%20memory%20and%20the%20legacy%20of%20the%20troubles&f=false

Ferguson, N. M., & McAuley, J. (2021). Dedicated to the cause: Identity development and violent extremism. *European Psychologist, 26*(1), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1027/1016-9040/a000414

Ferguson, S. B. (1989). *Children of the living God.* Banner of Truth.

Fernández, J. (2019). *Memory: A self-referential account.* Oxford University Press.

Ferry, F., Bunting, B., Murphy, S., O'Neill, S., Stein, D., & Koenen, K. (2014). Traumatic

    events and their relative PTSD burden in Northern Ireland: A consideration of the

    impact of the 'Troubles'. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 49*(3),

    435-446. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s00127-013-0757-0

Festinger, L. (1957). *A theory of cognitive dissonance.* Standford University Press.

Fitzgerald, M. (2022, October 5). Corporal punishment a failed method of learning. The Irish

    News.

    https://www.irishnews.com/opinion/letterstotheeditor/2022/10/04/news/corporal_puni

    shment_a_failed_method_of_learning-2849137/

Flores, A. R., Haider-Markel, D. P., Lewis, D. C., Miller, P. R., Tadlock, B. L., & Taylor, J.

    K. (2018). Challenged expectations: Mere exposure effects on attitudes about

    transgender people and rights. *Political Psychology, 39*(1), 197-216.

    https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12402

Forke, C. M., Catallozzi, M., Localio, A. R., Grisso, J. A., Wiebe, D. A., & Fein, J. A.

    (2019). Intergenerational effects of witnessing domestic violence: Health of the

    witnesses and their children. Preventive Medicine Reports, 15, 100942-100951.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pmedr.2019.100942

Franke, H. A. (2014). Toxic stress: Effects, prevention and treatment. *Children, 1*(3), 390-

    402. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4928741/pdf/children-01-

    00390.pdf

Gallagher, A. M. (1991). Employment, unemployment and religion in Northern Ireland.

    University of Ulster.

Galvin, B. M., Randel, A. E., Collins, B. J., & Johnson, R. E. (2018). Changing the focus of

locus (of control): A targeted review of the locus of control literature and agenda for

future research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 139*(7), 820-833.

https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2275

Gan, Y., & Bilige, S. (2019). Parental involvement in home-based education and children's

academic achievement in China. *Social Behavior and Personality: An International

Journal, 47*(12), 1-15.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338145679_Parental_involvement_in_home

-based_education_and_children's_academic_achievement_in_China

Gandarilla Ocampo, M., Bennouna, C., Seff, I., Wessells, M., Robinson, M. V., Allaf, C., &

Stark, L. (2021). We are here for the future of our kids: Parental involvement in

refugee adolescents' educational endeavours in the United States. *Journal of Refugee

Studies, 34*(4), 4300–4321. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feaa106

García, F. E., Villagrán, L., Ahumada, M. C., Inzunza, N., Schuffeneger, K., & Garabito, S.

(2021). Sense of ethnic belonging: Relation with well-being and psychological

distress in inhabitants of the Mapuche conflict area, Chile. Frontiers in Psychology,

11, 617465-617476.

https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.617465/full

Geary, D. (2020). From Belfast to Bob Jones: Ian Paisley, Protestant fundamentalism, and

the transatlantic right. In D. Geary, C. Schofield, & J. Sutton (Eds.), Global white

nationalism (pp. 131–154). Manchester University Press.

GEM Global. (2023). Global Entrepreneurship Monitor 2022/2023 Global Report. Global Entrepreneurship Monitor. https://www.gemconsortium.org/reports/latest-global-report

Gemara, N., & Nadan, Y. (2022). "He who spareth the rod hateth his son": Perceptions regarding corporal punishment among ultra-orthodox Jewish fathers in Israel. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 37*(1-2), 79-101. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0886260520908026

Gershoff, E. T. (2016). Should parents' physical punishment of children be considered a source of toxic stress that affects brain development? *Family Relations, 65*(1), 151-162. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12177

Gershoff, E., Sattler, K. M., & Holden, G. W. (2019). School corporal punishment and its associations with achievement and adjustment. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 63*, 1-8. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2019.05.004

Gethins, M. (2013). Catholic police officers in Northern Ireland: Voices out of silence. Manchester University Press.

Ghandhi, S. (1984). Spare the rod: Corporal punishment in schools and the European Convention on Human Rights. *International & Comparative Law Quarterly, 33*(2), 488-494. https://doi.org/10.1093/iclqaj/33.2.488

Gilboa, A., & Marlatte, H. (2017). Neurobiology of schemas and schema-mediated memory. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences, 21*(8), 618-631. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2017.04.013

Goldthorpe, J. H. (2016). Social class mobility in modern Britain: Changing structure, constant process. *Journal of the British Academy, 4*, 89-11. https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/1060/05_Goldthorpe_1825.pdf

Gómez-Vargas, I., Esquivel, R. M., García-Salcedo, R., & Vázquez, J. A. (2021). Neural network within a bayesian inference framework. In *Journal of Physics: Conference Series (Vol. 1723, No. 1, p. 012022).* IOP Publishing. https://iopscience.iop.org/article/10.1088/1742-6596/1723/1/012022/pdf

Gopaul, M. (2021). PSYC 812: Social cognitive development. Week one, lecture one. *Introduction: What is social cognition?* Liberty University. https://canvas.liberty.edu/courses/75963/pages/watch-introduction-what-is-social-cognition?module_item_id=8933893

Gorman, T. J. (1998). Social class and parental attitudes toward education: Resistance and conformity to schooling in the family. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 27(1), 10-44. https://doi.org/10.1177/08912419802700100

Gould, M. (2007, January 9). Sparing the rod. *The Guardian, London*. https://www.corpun.com/uks00701.htm#18715

Greitemeyer, T., & Sagioglou, C. (2019). The experience of deprivation: Does relative more than absolute status predict hostility? British Journal of Social Psychology, 58(3), 515-533. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6618103/

Gribben, C. (2021). *The rise and fall of Christian Ireland.* Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198868187.001.0001

Guardian Staff (21 October 2008). "Life and death in Long Kesh – a new film about the notorious Maze prison in Northern Ireland".

https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2008/oct/22/maze-prison-film-northernireland-hunger

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1981). *Effective evaluation: Improving the usefulness of evaluation results through responsive and naturalistic approaches.* Jossey-Bass.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1989). *Fourth generation evaluation.* Sage.

Guest, G., Namey, E., & Chen, M. (2020). A simple method to assess and report thematic saturation in qualitative research. *PloS one, 15*(5), Article e0232076. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0232076

Guo, Q., Guo, Y., Qiao, X., Leng, J., & Lv, Y. (2021). Chance locus of control predicts moral disengagement which decreases well-being. *Personality and Individual Differences, 174-181*, 110489. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2020.110489

Hadden, T. (1996). The Troubles: Ireland's ordeal 1966–1995 and the search for peace. Random House.

Haidt, J. (2012). *The righteous mind: Why good people are divided by politics and religion.* Vintage.

Haidt, J., & Paresky, P. (2019, January 10). By mollycoddling our children we're fueling mental illness in teenagers. The Guardian, pp. 1–3. https://colostudentmedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Coddling-children-and-mental-health.pdf

Hakim, M. A., & Mujahidah, D. R. (2020). Social context, interpersonal network, and identity dynamics: A social psychological case study of terrorist recidivism. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 23*(1), 3-14. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajsp.12349

Hansson, U., & Roulston, S. (2021). Integrated and shared education: Sinn Fein, the

Democratic Unionist Party and educational change in Northern Ireland. *Policy*

Futures in Education, 19(6), 730-746. https://doi.org/10.1177/1478210320965060

Harland and Wolff: The troubled history of Belfast's shipyard. (2019, August 6). BBC News.

https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-49234995

Harnden, T., & Country, B. (1999). The IRA & South Armagh. Hodder & Stoughton.

Harris, C. B., Barnier, A. J., Sutton, J., & Khan, T. (2017). Social contagion of

autobiographical memories. *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition,*

6(3), 319-327. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jarmac.2017.07.006

Haslam, S. A., O'Brien, A., Jetten, J., Vormedal, K., & Penna, S. (2005). Taking the strain:

Social identity, social support, and the experience of stress. British Journal of Social

Psychology, 44(3), 355-370. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466605X37468

Harris, D. A. (1999, June). Driving While Black: Racial profiling on our nation's highways.

https://www.aclu.org/report/driving-while-black-racial-profiling-our-nations-

highways

Healy, J. (2006). Locality matters: Ethnic segregation and community conflict - The

experience of Protestant girls in Belfast. *Children & Society, 20*(2), 105-115.

https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2006.00018.x

Heekes, S. L., Kruger, C. B., Lester, S. N., & Ward, C. L. (2022). A systematic review of

corporal punishment in schools: Global prevalence and correlates. *Trauma, Violence,*

& Abuse, 23(1), 52-72. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838020925787

Heidegger, M. (2002). The origin of the work of art. In J. Young, & K. Haynes (Eds. and

Trans.), *Off the beaten track*

http://users.clas.ufl.edu/burt/filmphilology/heideggerworkofart.pdf. (Original work published 1950)

Heidegger, M. (2013). *The essence of truth: On Plato's cave allegory and Theaetetus.* (R. Polt, & G. Fried, Trans.). https://muse.jhu.edu/book/1382. (Original lectures published 1933-1934)

Hein, T. C., Goetschius, L. G., McLoyd, V. C., Brooks-Gunn, J., McLanahan, S. S., Mitchell, C., Lopez-Duran, N. L., Hyde, L. W. & Monk, C. S. (2020). Childhood violence exposure and social deprivation are linked to adolescent threat and reward neural function. Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience, 15(11), 1252-1259. https://doi.org/10.1093/scan/nsaa144

Highfield, R. (2012). *God, freedom and human dignity: embracing a God-centered identity in a Me-centered culture.* InterVarsity Press.

Hill, N. E., Witherspoon, N. E., & Bartz, D. (2018). Parental involvement in education during middle school: Perspectives of ethnically diverse parents, teachers, and students. The Journal of Educational Research, 111(1), 12-27. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220671.2016.1190910

Hoffman, D. (2019). The case against reality: Why evolution hid the truth from our eyes. WW Norton & Company.

Hogg, R. (2022, January 17). The Brain Drain: How Northern Ireland continues to fight high-skill emigration 25 years after the Troubles. SWLondoner. https://swlondoner.shorthandstories.com/the-brain-drain/index.html

Holland, K. (2018, September 29). The Irish childhoods ruined by corporal punishment. *Irish Times*. https://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/beaten-the-irish-childhoods-ruined-by-corporal-punishment-1.3643489?mode=sample&au

Hornby, G., & Blackwell, I. (2018). Barriers to parental involvement in education: An update. *Educational Review, 70*(1), 109-119. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2018.1388612

HSC Public Health Agency Northern Ireland. (2017). *UK policy framework for health & social care research.* https://www.myresearchproject.org.uk/help/hlpethicalreview.aspx

Husserl, E. (2019). *First philosophy: Lectures 1923/24 and related texts from the manuscripts (1920–1925).* (S. Luft, & T. M. Naberhaus, Trans.) Springer.

Hyland, P., Vallières, F., Cloitre, M., Ben-Ezra , M., Karatzias, T., Olff, M., Murphy, J., & Shevlin, M. (2021). Trauma, PTSD, and complex PTSD in the Republic of Ireland: prevalence, service use, comorbidity, and risk factors. Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 56, 649-658. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-020-01912-x

Ille, S. (2021). The evolution of sectarianism. *Communications in Nonlinear Science and Numerical Simulation, 97*, 105726-105740. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cnsns.2021.105726

Inglis, T. (2007). Catholic identity in contemporary Ireland: Belief and belonging to tradition. *Journal of Contemporary Religion, 22*(2), 205-220. https://doi.org/10.1080/13537900701331064

Jackman, J. (2021, May 26). *Corporal punishment Ireland pt 2 60/70's.* [Video] Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z3ASXU9ZVtw

Jackman, J. (2021, May 28). *Corporal punishment Ireland pt 1 60/70's.* [Video] Youtube.

    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qVqs3XsZGAM

Jackson, C., Vaughan, D. R., & Brown, L. (2018). Discovering lived experiences through

    descriptive phenomenology. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality*

    Management, 30(11), 3309-3325.

    https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/IJCHM-10-2017-

    0707/full/html?casa_token=yXGojmi0WVYAAAAA:-

    IK7U42l1JLiEOqwkcRiKWF3-

    JaG5usC2n0aSPZWj1pj5Y2wBF0vrasW2uLxuJY3uG6lHFpAWVhf6BmI6d43sC1lI

    hEy067l_SFMP1Bm_2Tpusoutg

Jalbert, M. C., Wulff, A. N., & Hyman Jr, I. E. (2021). Stealing and sharing memories:

    Source monitoring biases following collaborative remembering. *Cognition, 211*,

    104656-104668. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2021.104656

Jocson, R. M., Alers-Rojas, F., Ceballo, R., & Arkin, M. (2020). Religion and spirituality:

    Benefits for Latino adolescents exposed to community violence. Youth & Society,

    52(3), 349-376. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X187727

Johnson, E. L. (2010). *Psychology & Christianity: Five views.* InterVarsity Press.

Johnson, M. K., Hayes, S. M., D'Esposito, M., & Raye, C. L. (2000). Confabulation. In L. S.

    Cermak (Ed.), *Handbook of neuropsychology: Memory and its disorders* (pp. 383–

    407). Elsevier Science Publishers.

Johnson, A. J., & Morley, E. G. (2021). Sharing personal memories on ephemeral social

    media facilitates autobiographical memory. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social*

    Networking, 24(11), 745-749. https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2020.0511

Joyce, C., & Lynch, O. (2015). The meaning maintenance model and the victims of the 'Troubles': A needs-based theoretical review of the social psychological literature on Northern Ireland. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression, 7*(3), 184-199. https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2015.1013563

Kapur, R., Campbell, J., & Tutu, A. (2018). *The troubled mind of Northern Ireland: An analysis of the emotional effects of the Troubles.* Routledge.

Kawakami, N., & Yoshida, F. (2019). Subliminal versus supraliminal mere exposure effects: Comparing explicit and implicit attitudes. *Psychology of Consciousness: Theory, Research, and Practice, 6*(3), 279-291. https://doi.org/10.1037/cns0000196

Keating, A. (2015). Censorship: The cornerstone of Catholic Ireland. Journal of Church and State, 57(2), 289-309. https://doi.org/10.1093/jcs/cst097

Kees, J., Berry, C., & Sheehan, K. (2017). An analysis of data quality: Professional panels, student subject pools, and Amazon's Mechanical Turk. *Journal of Advertising, 46*(1), 141-155. https://doi.org/10.1080/00913367.2016.1269304

Keeter, S., & Taylor, P. (2017). The millennials. Pew Research Center, 2009.

Kennedy, L. (2020). *Who was responsible for the Troubles?: The Northern Ireland conflict.* McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP.

Kensinger, E. A. (2009). Remembering the details: Effects of emotion. Journal of the International Society for Research on Emotion, 1(2), 99–113. https://doi.org/10.1177/1754073908100432

Kerr, S. P., Kerr, W. R., & Xu, T. (2018). Personality traits of entrepreneurs: A review of recent literature. Foundations and Trends in Entrepreneurship, 14(3), 279–356. http://dx.doi.org/10.1561/0300000080

Kesavayuth, D., Poyago-Theotoky, J., & Zikos, V. (2020). Locus of control, health and healthcare utilization. *Economic Modelling, 86*, 227-238. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econmod.2019.06.014

Kieran, P. (2021). A brief history of Catholic education in Ireland from the penal laws to founding of the free state (1922) and beyond. In S. Whittle (Ed.), *Irish and British Reflections on Catholic Education* (pp. 67-80). Springer. https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/978-981-15-9188-4.pdf

Kim, Y. A., An, S., Kim, H. C., & Kim, J. (2018). Meaning of parental involvement among Korean immigrant parents: A mixed-methods approach. *The Journal of Educational Research, 111*(2), 127-138. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220671.2016.1220355

Kim, Y., Mok, S. Y., & Seidel, T. (2020). Parental influences on immigrant students' achievement-related motivation and achievement: A meta-analysis. *Educational Research Review, 70-89*, 100327. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2020.100327

King, R., & Shuttleworth, I. (1988). Ireland's new wave of emigration in the 1980s. Irish Geography, 21(2), 104-108. https://doi.org/10.1080/00750778809478796

Knapp, J. F. (1998). The impact of children witnessing violence. Pediatric Clinics of North America, 45(2), 355-364. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0031-3955(05)70011-0

Knill, D. C., & Richards, W. (Eds.). (1996). *Perception as Bayesian inference.* Cambridge University Press.

Kornmeier, J., Friedel, E., Hecker, L., Schmidt, S., & Wittmann, M. (2019). What happens in the brain of meditators when perception changes but not the stimulus? *Plos One, 14*(10), article e0223843. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0223843

Krausova, A., & Vargas-Silva, C. (2014). Northern Ireland: census profile. Migration

Observatory. https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/northern-

ireland-census-profile/

Kreitchmann, R. S., Abad, F. J., Ponsoda, V., & Nieto, M. D. (2019). Controlling for

response biases in self-report scales: Forced-choice vs. psychometric modeling of

Likert items. *Frontiers in Psychology, 10*, 2309-2321.

https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.02309

Labott, S., Johnson, T. P., Feeny, N. C., & Fendrich, M. (2016). Evaluating and addressing

emotional risks in survey research. *Survey Practice, 9*(1), 2825-2833.

https://www.surveypractice.org/article/2825-evaluating-and-addressing-emotional-

risks-in-survey-research

Lambert, B. (2018). *A student's guide to Bayesian statistics 1st edition.* Sage.

Lambert, S. F., Boyd, R. C., Cammack, N. L., & Ialongo, N. S. (2012). Relationship

proximity to victims of witnessed community violence: associations with adolescent

internalizing and externalizing behaviors. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1-15.

https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3410930/

Lanfredini, R. (2018). Phenomenological empiricism. *Phenomenology and Mind, 15*(2), 104-

114. https://oaj.fupress.net/index.php/pam/article/view/7326/7306

LaRocque, M., Kleiman, I., & Darling, S. M. (2011). Parental involvement: The missing link

in school achievement. *Preventing School Failure, 55*(3), 115-122.

https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2018.1388612

Lee, S., Song, T., & Lim, U. (2022). How are happy and unhappy people differently affected

by their local environments? The heterogeneous relationship between happiness and

local environments in Seoul, Korea. Cities, 127, 103768-103781.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2022.103768

Lennox, M (Director). (2018). *Derry girls.* [Television]: Hat Trick Productions

Leonard, M. (2010). Parochial geographies: Growing up in divided Belfast. Childhood,

17(3), 329-342. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568210369216

Le Roux, B., Rouanet, H., Savage, M., & Warde, A. (2008). Class and cultural division in the

UK. *Sociology, 42*(6), 1049-1071. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038508096933

Levy, M. J., Boulle, F., Steinbusch, H. W., van de Hove, D. L., Kenis, G., & Lanfumey, L.

(2018). Neurotrophic factors and neuroplasticity pathways in the pathophysiology and

treatment of depression. *Psychopharmacology, 235*(8), 2195-2220.

https://doi.org/10.1007/s00213-018-4950-4

Limond, D. (2022). "A normal and useful method of class control?" Policy on Corporal

Punishment in Irish Schools: c1974–1985. In B. Walsh (Ed.), *Education Policy in*

Ireland Since 1922 (pp. 341–369). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-

3-030-91775-3_11

Lindeman, M., Heywood, B., Riekki, T., & Makkonen, T. (2014). Atheists become

emotionally aroused when daring God to do terrible things. *International Journal for*

the Psychology of Religion, 24(2), 124-132.

https://doi.org/10.1080/10508619.2013.771991

Lippard, C. D., & McNamee, C. B. (2021). Are refugees really welcome? Understanding

Northern Ireland attitudes towards Syrian refugees. Journal of Refugee Studies, 34(3),

3091-3112. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feab030

Livingstone, S., & Blum-Ross, A. (2020). Parenting for a digital future: How hopes and fears about technology shape children's lives. Oxford University Press.

Loader, R. (2021). Shared spaces, separate places: Desegregation and boundary change in Northern Ireland's schools. *Research Papers in Education*, 1-23. Advance online publication. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epub/10.1080/02671522.2021.1931947?needAccess=true

Loftus, E. F. (2018). Eyewitness science and the legal system. *Annual Review of Law and Social Science, 14*, 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-lawsocsci-101317-030850

Lokot, M., Bhatia, A., Kenny, L., & Cislaghi, B. (2020). Corporal punishment, discipline and social norms: A systematic review in low-and middle-income countries. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 55*, 101507-101526. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2020.101507

Long, M. (2021). Derry Girls and containment: conflict-related and transgenerational trauma in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Psychosocial Studies, 14*(1), 3-17. https://doi.org/10.1332/147867321X16104825689759

Lukianoff, G., & Haidt, J. (2019). *The coddling of the American mind: How good intentions and bad ideas are setting up a generation for failure.* Penguin Books.

Lynch, O., & Joyce, C. (2018). Functions of collective victimhood: Political violence and the case of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. International Review of Victimology, 24(2), 183-197. https://doi.org/10.1177/0269758018758396

Lynch, R. (2019). *The partition of Ireland: 1918–1925.* Cambridge University Press.

MacDonald, R., Shildrick, T., & Furlong, A. (2020). 'Cycles of disadvantage' revisited: young people, families and poverty across generations. Journal of Youth Studies, 23(1), 12–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2019.1704405

Mace, J. H., & Clevinger, A. M. (2012). Priming voluntary autobiographical memories: Implications for the organization of autobiographical memory and voluntary recall processes. *Memory, 21*(4), 524-536. https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2012.744422

Mace, J. H., McQueen, M. L., Hayslett, K. E., Staley, B. J., & Welch, T. J. (2019). Semantic memories prime autobiographical memories: General implications and implications for everyday autobiographical remembering. *Memory & Cognition, 47*, 299–312. https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-018-0866-9

Maguire, M. J., & Cinnéide, S. Ó. (2005). 'A good beating never hurt anyone': The punishment and abuse of children in twentieth century Ireland. *Journal of Social History*, 635-652. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/180449

Maier, S. F. (2019). Learned helplessness: Event covariation and cognitive changes. In S. B. Klein, R. R. Mowrer, & R. W. Mowrer (Eds.), Contemporary learning theories (pp. 73-110). Routledge.

Maier, S. F., & Seligman, M. E. (1976). Learned helplessness: theory and evidence. Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 105(1), 3., 105(1), 3-46. https://doi.org/10.1037/0096-3445.105.1.3

Maldonado, A. I., & Murphy, C. M. (2021). Does trauma help explain the need for power and control in perpetrators of intimate partner violence? Journal of Family Violence, 36, 347-359. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-020-00174-0

Mangum, M., & Block Jr, R. (2018). Social identity theory and public opinion towards immigration. *Social Sciences, 7*(3), 41-58. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci7030041

Manstead, A. S. (2018). The psychology of social class: How socioeconomic status impacts thought, feelings, and behaviour. British Journal of Social Psychology, 52(7), 267-291. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12251

Margolin, G., & Vickerman, K. A. (2007). Posttraumatic stress in children and adolescents exposed to family violence: I. Overview and issues. Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 38(6), 613-619. https://doi.org/10.1037/0735-7028.38.6.613

Marsh, M. M., & Raimbekova, L. (2022). Creating positive lived experiences in schools for international relocatee parents and their children. *Early Childhood Education Journal, 50*(2), 279-289. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10643-021-01161-w

Masten, A. S. (2015). Ordinary magic: Resilience in development. Guilford Publications.

Maswood, R., Rasmussen, A. S., & Rajaram, S. (2019). Collaborative remembering of emotional autobiographical memories: Implications for emotion regulation and collective memory. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 148*(1), 65-79. https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000468

Maxwell, J. A. (2021). The importance of qualitative research for investigating causation. *Qualitative Psychology, 8*(3), 378–388. https://doi.org/10.1037/qup0000219

Mazzetti, A. S. (2018). Growing up with the Troubles: Reading and negotiating space. In M. Komarova, & M. Svašek (Eds.), Ethnographies of Movement, Sociality and Space: Place-Making in the New Northern Ireland (pp. 43-59). Berghahn Books. https://eprints.ncl.ac.uk/file_store/production/241400/78ABD815-8CAB-4518-AC7D-BE7913AD0369.pdf

McAtackney, L. (2014). An archaeology of the Troubles: The dark heritage of Long Kesh/Maze prison. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199673919.001.000

McAtackney, L. (2018). The many forms and meanings of (peace) walls in contemporary Northern Ireland. Review of International American Studies, 11(1), 39-61. https://pure.au.dk/portal/files/148726213/The_many_forms_and_meanings_of_peace _walls_in_contemporary_Northern_Ireland_PDF_2018.pdf

McBrearty, Z. (2022, August 4). "Personal email to the researcher".

McCann, E. (2018). War and an Irish town. Haymarket Books.

McCay, S. (2015, July 25). The torture centre: Northern Ireland's 'hooded men'. December 3, 2022. https://www.irishtimes.com/news/crime-and-law/the-torture-centre-northern-ireland-s-hooded-men-1.2296152

McCarthy, M. (2018). Making Irish martyrs: The impact and legacy of the execution of the leaders of the Easter Rising, 1916. In Q. Outram, & K. Laybourn (Eds.), *Secular martyrdom in Britain and Ireland* (pp. 165-202). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62905-6_7

McCluskie, T. (2013). The Rise & Fall of Harland & Wolff. The History Press.

McGahern, J. (2006). Memoir. Faber & Faber.

McGlynn-Wright, A., Crutchfield, R. D., Skinner, M., & Haggerty, K. P. (2022). The usual, racialized, suspects: The consequence of police contacts with black and white youth on adult arrest. Social problems, 69(2), 299-315. https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spaa042

McGrath, C., Palmgren, P. J., & Liljedahl, M. (2019). Twelve tips for conducting qualitative research interviews. *Medical Teacher, 41*(9), 1002-1006. https://doi.org/10.1080/0142159X.2018.1497149

McGrath, R. G., & MacMillan, I. C. (2000). The entrepreneurial mindset: Strategies for continuously creating opportunity in an age of uncertainty (Vol. 284). Harvard Business Press.

McGregor, R. M. (2013). Cognitive dissonance and political attitude

McGruder, K. (2019). Children learn what they live: Addressing early childhood trauma resulting in toxic stress in schools. Mid-Western Educational Researcher, 31(1), 117-137. https://www.mwera.org/MWER/volumes/v31/issue1/V31n1-McGruder-COMMENTARY.pdf

McHugh Power, J. E., Feeney, J., Fowler, E., McMichael, A. J., Hyland, P., Lawlor, B. A., Cruise, S., Potter, C., Young, I., McGuinness, B., & Kee, F. (2022). Exposure to the troubles in Northern Ireland, memory functioning, and social activity engagement: Results from NICOLA. *European Journal of Ageing*, 1-11. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10433-022-00683-5

McKee, R. (2016). Love thy neighbour? Exploring prejudice against ethnic minority groups in a divided society: The case of Northern Ireland. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 42(5), 777-796. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1081055

McKenna, F., & Melaugh, M. (2022, January 17*). Background information on Northern Ireland society – Education*. CAIN web service. https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/ni/educ.htm

McKittrick, D., & McVea, D. (2002). Making sense of the Troubles: The story of the conflict in Northern Ireland. New Amsterdam Books.

McLafferty, M., McGlinchey, E., Travers, A., & Armour, C. (2021). The mediating role of resilience on psychopathology following childhood adversities among UK armed forces veterans residing in Northern Ireland. European Journal of Psychotraumatology, 12(1), 1978176-1978188. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/20008198.2021.1978176

McLanahan, S., & Sandefur, G. (1994). Growing up with a single parent. What hurts, what helps. Harvard University Press.

McLaughlin, B. R. (1994). Devastated spirituality: The impact of clergy sexual abuse on the survivor's relationship with God and the church. *Sexual Addiction & Compulsivity: The Journal of Treatment and Prevention, 1*(2), 145-158. https://doi.org/10.1080/10720169408400039

McLoone-Richards, C. (2013). Say nothing! How pathology within Catholicism created and sustained the institutional abuse of children in 20th century Ireland. *Child Abuse Review, 21*(6), 394-404. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/car.2209?saml_referrer

McShane, L., & Pinkerton, J. (1986). 'The Family' in Northern Ireland. Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review, 75(298), 167-176. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/30090730.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A15559103c413807687d90c7980445752&ab_segments=&origin=&initiator=

Melaugh, M. (2007, May 30). Chronology of the Conflict 1976. CAIN Archive. University of Ulster. https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/othelem/chron/ch76.htm

Meredith, R. (2021, November 11). NI education: No religious mix in 'nearly a third of schools'. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-59242226

Merrilees, C. E., Cairns, E., Goeke-Morey, M. C., Schermerhorn, A. C., Shirlow, P., &
Cummings, E. M. (2011). Associations between mothers' experience with the
Troubles in Northern Ireland and mothers' and children's psychological functioning:
The moderating role of social identity. *Journal of Community Psychology, 39*(1), 60-
75. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.20417

Merrilees, C. E., Taylor, L. K., Goeke-Morey, M. C., Shirlow, P., Cummings, E. M., &
Cairns, E. (2014). The protective role of group identity: Sectarian antisocial behavior
and adolescent emotion problems. Child Development, 85(2), 412-420. doi:
https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12125

Metcalfe, J., Brezler, J. C., McNamara, J., Maletta, G., & Vuorre, M. (2019). Memory, stress,
and the hippocampal hypothesis: Firefighters' recollections of the fireground.
Hippocampus, 29(12), 1141-1149.
https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/hipo.23128

Mero-Jaffe, I. (2011). 'Is that what I said?' Interview transcript approval by participants: an
aspect of ethics in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,
10*(3), 231-247. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940691101000304

Middleton, J. (2008). The experience of corporal punishment in schools, 1890–1940. *History
of Education, 37*(2), 253-275. https://doi.org/10.1080/00467600701607882

Miller, I. (2021). Silence, distance and neutrality: The politics of emotional distress during
the Northern Irish troubles. *Social History, 46*(4), 435-458.
https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epub/10.1080/03071022.2021.1967641?needAccess
=true

Misner, I. (2007, May 10). What you need to know about the law of reciprocity. BNI Global. https://ivanmisner.com/what-you-need-to-know-about-the-law-of-reciprocity/#:~:text=Put%20simply%2C%20the%20law%20of,from%20the%20person%20you%20benefit.

Montgomery, R. (2021). The Good Friday agreement and a United Ireland. *Irish Studies in International Affairs, 32*(2), 83-110. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/810150/pdf

Moradi, A. R., Piltan, M., Choobin, M. H., Azadfallah, P., Eskandari, S., & Hitchcock, C. (2021). Impaired autobiographical memory flexibility in Iranian trauma survivors with posttraumatic stress disorder. *Clinical Psychological Science, 9*(2), 294–301. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167702620953637

Moran, D. (2018). What is the phenomenological approach? Revisiting intentional explication. *Phenomenology and Mind, 5*(2), 72-90. https://oaj.fupress.net/index.php/pam/article/view/7324/7304

Mrkva, K., & Van Boven, L. (2020). Salience theory of mere exposure: Relative exposure increases liking, extremity, and emotional intensity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 118*(6), 1118–1145. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000184

Mrug, S., Madan, A., & Windle, M. (2016). Emotional desensitization to violence contributes to adolescents' violent behavior. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 44, 75-86. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-015-9986-x

Mudgal, S. K., Nath, S., Chaturvedi, J., Sharma, S., & Joshi, J. (In Press) 2022, August 7). NEUROPLASTICITY IN DEPRESSION: A NARRATIVE REVIEW WITH EVIDENCE-BASED INSIGHTS. *Psychiatria Danubina, 34*(10), 1-8. https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/ph5ru

Muldoon, O. T., & Wilson, K. (2001). Ideological commitment, experience of conflict and adjustment in Northern Irish adolescents. *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 17(2), 112-124. https://doi.org/10.1080/13623690108409565

Muldoon, O. T., Haslam, S. A., Haslam, C., Cruwys, T., Kearns, M., & Jetten, J. (2019). The social psychology of responses to trauma: Social identity pathways associated with divergent traumatic responses. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 30(1), 311-348. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2020.1711628

Muldoon, O. T., Lowe, R. D., Jetten, J., & Cruwys, T. (2021). Personal and political: Post-traumatic stress through the lens of social identity, power, and politics. *Political Psychology, 42*(3), 501-533.

https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/pops.12709

Munck, R. (1992). The making of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Contemporary History, 27*(2), 211–229.

https://doi.org/10.1177/002200949202700201

Murphy, Falcon, and Murphy. (2016, December). How Common Is It for Police to Plant Evidence in Baltimore? https://www.murphyfalcon.com/uncategorized/how-common-is-it-for-police-to-plant-evidence-in-baltimore/

Murshid, K. S., & Murshid, N. S. (2019). Adolescent exposure to and attitudes toward violence: Empirical evidence from Bangladesh. Children and Youth Services Review, 98, 85-95. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0190740918308120

Nail, P., & Boniecki, K. (2011). Inconsistency in cognition: Cognitive dissonance. In D. Chadee (Ed.), *Theories in Social Psychology* (pp. 44-71). Wiley-Blackwell.

Neubauer, B. E., Witkop, C. T., & Varpio, L. (2019). How phenomenology can help us learn from the experiences of others. *Perspectives on Medical Education, 8*, 90-97. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40037-019-0509-2

News, I. (2021). One Month on the Shankill: Inside Belfast's loyalist community after NI's worst violence in years. Video. [YouTube]. https://youtu.be/KH3OKE3V9g0

Ng-Mak, D. S., Stueve, A., Salzinger, s., & Feldman, R. (2002). Normalization of violence among inner-city youth: A formulation for research. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 72(1), 92-101. https://doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.72.1.92

Nicholas, R. M., Barr, R. J., & Mollan, R. A. (1993). Paramilitary punishment in Northern Ireland: a macabre irony. Journal of Trauma and Acute Care Surgery, 31(1), 90-95. https://journals.lww.com/jtrauma/abstract/1993/01000/paramilitary_punishment_in_northern_ireland__a.17.aspx

Noone, V. (2018). Responses to Easter 1916 by Nicholas O'donnell, 'the leader of the Irish people in Australia'. *Australasian Journal of Irish Studies, 18*, 10-25. https://search.informit.org/doi/epdf/10.3316/ielapa.091232732096734

Nord, C. W., & West, J. (2001). *Fathers' and Mothers' Involvement in Their Children's Schools by Family Type and Resident Status. National Household Education Survey. Statistical Analysis Report.* ED Pubs, PO Box 1398, Jessup, MD 20794-1398.

North, A., Donenberg, G., Vermaak, R., Kendall, A., Mackesy-Amiti, M. E., Simbayi, L., Kagee, A., Mthembu, J., Ward, C. L., Emerson, E., & Naidoo, P. (2020). Pathways from witnessing community violence to mental health problems among South African adolescents. South African Medical Journal, 110(2), 145-153. https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC-1bc4dd0e29

Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency. (n.d.). *1926 census - report.* June 19, 2022,

from https://www.nisra.gov.uk/publications/1926-census-reports

Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA, Irish: Gníomhaireacht Thuaisceart

Éireann um Staitisticí agus Taighde. (1971). Census. Census.

https://www.nisra.gov.uk/publications/1971-census-reports

Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency. (2020, June 30). NISRA Population Report

- Dungannon, County Tyrone.

https://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/AreaProfileReportViewer.aspx?FromAPAddr

essMulipleRecords=Dungannon@Exact%20match%20of%20location%20name:%20

@Exact%20Match%20Of%20Location%20Name:%20%20Dungannon@3

O'Connell, J. (2023, January 7). 'She slapped me so hard in the face she knocked me out':

Corporal punishment in Irish schools. The Irish Times.

https://www.irishtimes.com/life-style/people/2023/01/07/she-slapped-me-so-hard-in-

the-face-she-knocked-me-out-corporal-punishment-in-irish-schools/

O'Connor, P. M. (2021). Tacit dimensions of identity: The intersection of name, accent and

denomination in pre-Celtic tiger Ireland. The Australasian Journal of Irish Studies,

21, 63-74. https://search.informit.org/doi/epdf/10.3316/informit.426912969904196

O'Connor, R. C., & O'Neill, S. M. (2015). Mental health and suicide risk in Northern Ireland:

A legacy of the Troubles? *The Lancet Psychiatry, 2*(7), 582-584.

https://doi.org/10.1016/S2215-0366(15)00240-0

O'Donoghue, T., & Harford, J. (2016). Secondary school education in other catholic boys'

secondary schools in Ireland, 1922–1962. In T. O'Donoghue, & J. Harford, *Secondary

school education in Ireland* (pp. 87-119). Palgrave Macmillan.

O'Hagan, S. (2018, April 22). Northern Ireland's lost moment: How the peaceful protests of '68 escalated into years of bloody conflict. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/apr/22/lost-moment-exhibition-northern-ireland-civil-rights-1968-troubles-what-if

Olson, D. E. (2018). Psychoplastogens: A promising class of plasticity-promoting neurotherapeutics. *Journal of Experimental Neuroscience, 12*, 1-8. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/epub/10.1177/1179069518800508

O'Neill, S., & Rooney, N. (2018). Mental health in Northern Ireland: An urgent situation. *The Lancet Psychiatry, 5*(12), 965-966. http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/globalassets/documents/raise/publications/2016-2021/2017/health/0817.pdf

Okros, A. (2020). Generational theory and cohort analysis. In A. Okros, *Harnessing the potential of digital post-millennials in the future workplace* (pp. 33-51). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25726-2_2

Ongaro, G., & Kaptchuk, T. J. (2019). Symptom perception, placebo effects, and the Bayesian brain. *Pain, 160*(1), 1-4. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6319577/

O'Reilly, S. (2020, February 23). Growing up in Derry: 'The Troubles was like a fog that hung over everything'. *The Irish Times*. https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/growing-up-in-derry-the-troubles-was-like-a-fog-that-hung-over-everything-1.4163809

O'Sullivan, E. (2016). The Ryan Report: Reformatory and industrial schools and twentieth-century Ireland. In Definining Events (pp. 200-217). Manchester University Press. https://doi.org/10.7765/9781847799913.00019

Overmier, J. B., & Wielkiewicz, R. M. (1983). On unpredictability as a causal factor in "learned helplessness". Learning and Motivation,, 14(3), 324-337. https://doi.org/10.1016/0023-9690(83)90020-6

Panksepp, J. (2004). *Affective neuroscience: The foundations of human and animal emotions.* Oxford University Press Park, Y., & Vollers, M. (2015). *In order to live: A North Korean girl's journey to freedom.* Penguin Press.

Park, Y., & Vollers, M. (2015). *In order to live: A North Korean girl's journey to freedom.* Penguin Press.

Parker, K., & Igielnik, R. (2020). *On the cusp of adulthood and facing an uncertain future: What we know about Gen Z so far*. Pew Research Center: Social and Demographic Trends: https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2020/05/14/on-the-cusp-of-adulthood-and-facing-an-uncertain-future-what-we-know-about-gen-z-so-far-2/

Pasha-Zaidi, N., & Odeh, M. (2019). The life of PII: Developing a positive Islamic identity. In L. Lambert, & N. Pasha-Zaidi (Eds.), *Positive psychology in the Middle East/North Africa* (pp. 257-284). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-13921-6_12

Patihis, L., Frenda, S. J., & Loftus, E. F. (2018). False memory tasks do not reliably predict other false memories. *Psychology of Consciousness: Theory, Research, and Practice, 5*(2), 140-160. https://doi.org/10.1037/cns0000147

Patrikakou, E. N. (2008). The power of parent involvement: Evidence, ideas, and tools for student success. *Lincoln: Center on Innovation and Improvement*, 2-12. http://centerii.org/techassist/solutionfinding/resources/powerparinvolve.pdf

Personal and political; The liberalisation of Ireland. (2019, December 21). *The Economist, 433*(9174), pp. 115-118. https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A609184021/BIC?u=vic_liberty&sid=summon&xid=b 3c1d234

Pew Research Center. (2015, September 28). *Modern immigration wave brings 59 million to U.S., driving population growth and change through 2065*. https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2015/09/28/modern-immigration-wave-brings-59-million-to-u-s-driving-population-growth-and-change-through-2065/

Pickett, J. T., Graham, A., & Cullen, F. T. (2022). The American racial divide in fear of the police. Criminology, 60(2), 291-320. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/1745-9125.12298?saml_referrer

Presentation Brothers. (2022). *Forming Christ in the Young*. https://presentationbrothers.org/about-us/

Purdy, N. (2022). Addressing educational disadvantage in Northern Ireland 1921–2021: A history of squandered opportunities? *Irish Educational Studies*, 1-15. Advance online publication. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03323315.2022.2085762?scroll=top& needAccess=true

Quinlan, T. (2021). Shining light on silence: Corporal punishment as an abuse of power in the Irish school system. *Études Irlandaises, 46*(2), 85-102. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesirlandaises.11857

Qutoshi, S. B. (2018). Phenomenology: A philosophy and method of inquiry. *Journal of Education and Educational Development, 5*(1), 215-223. http://jmsnew.iobmresearch.com/index.php/joeed/article/view/157/363

Richardson, J. T., Mittelmeier, J., & Rienties, B. (2020). The role of gender, social class and ethnicity in participation and academic attainment in UK higher education: An update. *Oxford Review of Education, 46*(3), 346-362. https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2019.1702012

Roberts, R. C., & Watson, P. J. (2010). A Christian psychological view. In E. L. Johnson (Ed.), *Psychology & Christianity: Five views* (pp. 149-198). InterVarsity.

Roe, M. D., & Cairns, E. (2020). Adolescents and political violence: The case of Northern Ireland. In J.-E. Nurmi (Ed.), *Adolescents, cultures, and conflicts* (pp. 171-196). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203827734

Romanoff, B. D., & Thompson, B. E. (2006). Meaning construction in palliative care: The use of narrative, ritual, and the expressive arts. *American Journal of Hospice and Palliative Medicine, 23*(4), 309-316. https://doi.org/10.1177/104990910629024

Rosenberg, M. (1979). *Conceiving the self.* Basic Books.

Rourke, A. (2019, August 29). East Timor: Indonesia's invasion and the long road to independence. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/aug/30/east-timor-indonesias-invasion-and-the-long-road-to-independence

Roy, M. D. (2007). Divis flats: The social and political implications of a modern housing project in Belfast, Northern Ireland, 1968-1998. *Iowa Historical Review*, 1(1). (uiowa.edu). https://doi.org/10.17077/2373-1842.1001

Rubin, D. C., Deffler, S. A., & Umanath, S. (2019). Scenes enable a sense of reliving: Implications for autobiographical memory. *Cognition, 183*, 44-56. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2018.10.024

Ruhukwa, E. (2008). Ending corporal and other forms of humiliating punishment of children: Southern African network. *Article 19, 4*(2), 3-6. http://www.crin.org/docs/Debate_on_Corp_punishmnet-Final[1].doc

Rush, M., & Lazarus, S. I. (2018). 'Troubling'chastisement: a comparative historical analysis of child punishment in Ghana and Ireland. *Sociological Research Online, 23*(1), 177-196. https://doi.org/10.1177/1360780417749250

Russell, R. R. (2016). *Bernard MacLaverty: New critical readings.* Bloomsbury Publishing.

Saarijärvi, M., & Bratt, E. L. (2021). When face-to-face interviews are not possible: tips and tricks for video, telephone, online chat, and email interviews in qualitative research. *European Journal of Cardiovascular Nursing, 20*(4), 932-396. https://doi.org/10.1093/eurjcn/zvab038

Saarinen, A., Jääskeläinen, I. P., Harjunen, V., Keltikangas-Järvinen, L., Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., & Ravaja, N. (2021). Neural basis of in-group bias and prejudices: A systematic meta-analysis. Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Review, 131, 1214-1227. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.neubiorev.2021.10.027

Saleh, S. A. (2022). Defense mechanisms and personality disorders. In H. T. Hashim, & A. Alexiou, *The psychology of consciousness: Theory and practice* (pp. 57-79). Springer. https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/978-3-030-90692-4.pdf

Salti, M., & Bergerbest, D. (2022). The idiosyncrasy principle: A new look at qualia. Perspectives on Psychological Science, 17(6), 1794-1799. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/17456916221082118

Sayers, B. (2018). Easter 1916 and the Fenian tradition. *Journal of Irish Studies, 33*, 63-71. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26547219

Schiaparelli, K., MacKenzie, M., Krug, A., Newbold, A., & Wagner, J. (2015). Divided society, divided schools, divided lives: The role of education in creating social cohesion in Northern Ireland. *Clocks and Clouds, 6*(1), 1-28. http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/1580/divided-society-divided-schools-divided-lives-the-role-of-education-in-creating-social-cohesion-in-northern-ireland

Scull, M. M. (2019). *The Catholic Church and the Northern Ireland Troubles, 1968-1998.* Oxford University Press.

Seligman, M. E. (1968). Chronic fear produced by unpredictable electric shock. Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology, 66(2), 402–411. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0026355

Seltzer, L. F. (2014, May 6). The rarely recognized upside of anger. Psychology Today. doi: https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/evolution-the-self/201405/the-rarely-recognized-upside-anger

Sennet, R and J Cobb. The hidden injuries of class. WW Norton, 1993.

Sharpe, V., Weber, K., & Kuperberg, G. R. (2020). Impairments in probabilistic prediction and Bayesian learning can explain reduced neural semantic priming in schizophrenia. *Schizophrenia Bulletin, 46*(6), 1558–1566. https://doi.org/10.1093/schbul/sbaa069

Sheehan, M., & Tomilson, M. (1999a). The Long-term Unemployed in West Belfast. In *The unequal unemployed* (pp. 86-96). Routledge.

Sheehan, M., & Tomilson, M. (1999b). Unemployment and fair employment. In *The unequal unemployed* (pp. 61-85). Routledge.

Siegel, D. J. (2015). Brainstorm: The power and purpose of the teenage brain. Penguin.

Siegel, D. J. (2010). *Mindsight: The new science of personal transformation.* Bantam.

Silverio, S. A., Wilkinson, C., & Wilkinson, S. (2021). Academic ventriloquism. In P. Liamputtong (Ed.), *Handbook of social inclusion* (pp. 1-18). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48277-0_32-1

Skaar, Ø. O., & Reber, R. (2020). The phenomenology of Aha-experiences. *Motivation Science, 6*(1), 49-60. https://doi.org/10.1037/mot0000138

Smith, A. (2022, January 17). *Education and the peace process in Northern Ireland.* CAIN archive - Conflict and politics in Northern Ireland Ulster university: https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/issues/education/docs/smith99.htm

Smith, D. J., & Chambers, G. (1991). Inequality in Northern Ireland. Oxford University Press.

Smyth, J. (Ed.). (2017). Remembering the Troubles: Contesting the recent past in Northern Ireland. University of Notre Dame Press.

Smith Lee, J. R., & Robinson, M. A. (2019). "That's my number one fear in life. It's the police": Examining young Black men's exposures to trauma and loss resulting from

police violence and police killings. Journal of Black Psychology, 45(3), 143-184.

https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0095798419865152

Solsman, J. E. (2018, March 3). Otter's free app brings voice transcripts into the AI age.

https://www.cnet.com/tech/services-and-software/otters-free-app-brings-voice-transcripts-into-the-mobile-ai-age/

Sonnett, J. (2019). Priming and framing. In W. H. Brekhus, & G. Ignatow (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of cognitive sociology* (p. 226). Oxford University Press.

https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=pCieDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA226&dq=schemas+and+priming&ots=AbsdpXlxkI&sig=IGI1kHvRwjI-B9XAS-XZfAoccNU#v=onepage&q=schemas%20and%20priming&f=false

Sowell, T. (1985). *The economics and politics of race: An international perspective.* Quill.

Sowell, T. (2019). *Discrimination and disparities.* Basic Books.

Staunton, M., & Forde, D. (2020). The room where nothing makes sense: Historiophobic space and the aesthetics of child maltreatment. In *The carceral network in Ireland* (pp. 227-258). Palgrave Macmillan. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-42184-7_11

Strong, J. (2009). *Strong's exhaustive concordance of the Bible.* Hendrickson Publishers

Sullivan, R., & Lasley, E. N. (2010). Fear in love: Attachment, abuse, and the developing brain. *Cerebrum 2010*. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3574772/

Sundler, A. J., Lindberg, E., Nilsson, C., & Palmér, L. (2019). Qualitative thematic analysis based on descriptive phenomenology. *Nursing Open, 6*(3), 733-739.

https://doi.org/10.1002/nop2.275

Sutherland, A. E., & Purdy, N. (2006). Attitudes of the socially disadvantaged towards

education in Northern Ireland. Department of Education.

https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/4155689.pdf

Sutherland, M. (2018). Religious dichotomy and schooling in Northern Ireland. In

Christianity and educational provision in international perspective (pp. 38-60).

Routledge.

Sutherland, M. B. (1982). Progress and problems in education in Northern Ireland, 1952–

1982. British Journal of Educational Studies, 30(1), 136-149.

https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.1982.9973619

Sutton, M. (2022, April 4). *Malcolm Sutton, An index of deaths from the conflict in Ireland*.

(Ulster University) CAIN Archive - Conflict and Politics in Northern Ireland:

https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/index.html

Sweeney, C. D. (1982). Corporal punishment in public schools: A violation of substantive

due process. Hastings Law Journal, 33(5), 1-41.

https://repository.uchastings.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2764&context=hastings

_law_journal

Tajfel, H., Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and

intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 1*(2), 149-178.

https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420010202

Taleb, N. N. (2012). Antifragile: Things that gain from disorder (Vol. 3). Random House

Incorporated.

Taylor, L. K., Štambuk, M., Biruški, D. C., & O'Driscoll, D. (2020). Transgenerational

transmission of collective victimhood through a developmental intergroup

framework: The lasting power of group narratives of suffering. In J. R. Vollhardt (Ed.), The social psychology of collective victimhood (pp. 37–55). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190875190.003.0002

Tan, D. P., Morgan, A. J., Jorm, A. F., & Reavley, N. J. (2019). Emotional impacts of participation in an Australian national survey on mental health-related discrimination. *Ethics & Behavior, 29*(6), 438-458. https://doi.org/10.1080/10508422.2019.1593844

Taylor, L. K., Štambuk, M., Biruški, D. C., & O'Driscoll, D. (2020). Transgenerational transmission of collective victimhood through a developmental intergroup framework: The lasting power of group narratives of suffering. In J. R. Vollhardt (Ed.), The social psychology of collective victimhood (pp. 37–55). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190875190.003.0002

The Belmont Report. (1979). The Belmont Report: Ethical principles and guidelines for the protection of human subjects of research. https://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/regulations-and-policy/belmont-report/read-the-belmont-report/index.html

The Irish Meteorological Service. (2022). Annual Climate Statement. Met Eireann. https://www.met.ie/annual-climate-statement-for-2022#:~:text=The%20number%20of%20rain%20days,days%20at%20Newport%2C%20Co%20Mayo.

Thelamour, B., George Mwangi, C., & Ezeofor, I. (2019). "We need to stick together for survival": Black college students' racial identity, same-ethnic friendships, and campus connectedness. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 12(3), 266–279. https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000104

The Newsroom. (2021, September 4). Over 100,000 people living in poverty in Derry and Strabane. *Derry Journal*. https://www.derryjournal.com/news/politics/over-100000-people-living-in-poverty-in-derry-and-strabane-3382411

Tinajero, R., Williams, P. G., Cribbet, M. R., Rau, H. K., Bride, D. L., & Suchy, Y. (2020). Reported history of childhood trauma and stress-related vulnerability: Associations with emotion regulation, executive functioning, daily hassles and pre-sleep arousal. *Stress and Health, 36*(4), 405-418. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/smi.2938?saml_referrer

Tonegawa, S., Morrissey, M. D., & Kitamura, T. (2018). The role of engram cells in the systems consolidation of memory. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience*, 485-489. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41583-018-0031-2

Townsend, D., Taylor, L. K., Merrilees, C. E., Furey, A., Goeke-Morey, M. C., Shirlow, P., & Mark Cummings, E. (2020). Youth in Northern Ireland: Linking violence exposure, emotional insecurity, and the political macrosystem. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 85*(4), 7-123. https://doi.org/10.1111/mono.12423

Trettevik, R., & Grindal, M. (2016). The ideal and ought self-guides and the affective consequences of identity verification. In R. Trettevik, & M. Grindal (Eds.), *New directions in identity theory and research* (pp. 610-625). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190457532.003.0021

Trew, K. (2019). The Northern Irish identity. In A. J. Kershen (Ed.), *A question of identity* (pp. 60-76). Routledge.

Troy, A. (2006). Holy Cross: A personal experience. Currach Press.

Truong, A., Tram, J. M., Wojda, K., & Anderson, D. (2021). Familial and parental ethnic socialization within majority, minority, and multiracial groups. *The Family Journal, 29*(1), 95–101. https://doi.org/10.1177/1066480720977431

Turner, D. (2017). *Quirkos vs Nvivo: Differences and similarities*. (Quirkos Qualitative Research Blog). https://www.quirkos.com/blog/post/quirkos-vs-nvivo/

Turpin, H. (2022). Unholy Catholic Ireland: Religious hypocrisy, secular morality, and Irish irreligion. Stanford University Press.

Twenge, J. M. (2017). iGen: Why today's super-connected kids are growing up less rebellious, more tolerant, less happy--and completely unprepared for adulthood--and what that means for the rest of us. Simon and Schuster.

Ule, M., Živoder, A., & du Bois-Reymond, M. (2015). 'Simply the best for my children': patterns of parental involvement in education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 28(3), 329-348. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2014.987852

Ulster University. (2021). *Transforming Education in Northern Ireland Briefing Papers*. https://www.ulster.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0016/1028320/TEUU-Report-13-Integrated-and-Shared-Education.pdf

UK Department of Education. (2022, August 18). *Education System in the UK* https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/219167/v01-2012ukes.pdf

Vandor, P. (2021). Are voluntary international migrants self-selected for entrepreneurship? An analysis of entrepreneurial personality traits. Journal of World Business, 101142–101157. https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1090951620300705

Van Hook, J. (2020). Spanning borders, cultures, and generations: A decade of research on immigrant families. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 82*(1), 224-243. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12621

van Rooij, S. J., Smith, R. D., Stenson, A. F., Ely, T. D., Yang, X., Tottenham, N., & Stevens, J. S. (2020). Increased activation of the fear neurocircuitry in children exposed to violence. Depression and anxiety, 37(4), 303-312. https://doi.org/10.1002/da.22994

Verge, J., & Crowell, N. (2021). Using speech-to-text automatic speech recognition software to improve accessibility in audiology practice. *Canadian Audiologist, 8*(2). https://canadianaudiologist.ca/issue/volume-8-issue-2-2021/column/acessibility-issues/

Visser, L. N., van der Put, C. E., & Assink, M. (2022). The association between school corporal punishment and child developmental outcomes: A meta-analytic review. *Children, 9*(3), 383-398. https://doi.org/10.3390/children9030383

Vollmayr, B., & Gass, P. (2013). Learned helplessness: Unique features and translational value of a cognitive depression model. Cell and Tissue Research, 354, 171-178. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s00441-013-1654-2

Walsh, B. (2016). *Essays in the History of Irish Education.* (B. Walsh, Ed.) Palgrave Macmillan. https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1057/978-1-137-51482-0.pdf

Wang, Q., Lee, D., & Hou, Y. (2017). Externalising the autobiographical self: Sharing personal memories online facilitated memory retention. *Memory, 25*, 772–776. https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2016.1221115

Warren, R. (2002). *The purpose driven life.* Zondervan.

Watt, A., Keenan, M., Barnes, D., & Cairns. (1991). Social categorization and stimulus. The

    Psychological Record, 41, 33-50. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03395092

We Are Church Ireland. (2022, March 3). Abuse and cover-up in the Catholic Church -

    Thomas Doyle. [Video] YouTube. https://youtu.be/il4iPxsEOCI

Weems, C. F., Russell, J. D., & Herringa, R. J. (2021). Translating the neuroscience of

    adverse childhood experiences to inform policy and foster population-level resilience.

    American Psychologist, 76(2), 188-202. https://doi.org/10.1037/a

Weis, C. N., Webb, E. K., Stevens, S. K., Larson, C. L., & deRoon-Cassini, T. A. (2022).

    Scoring the Life Events Checklist: Comparison of three scoring methods.

    Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy, 14(4), 714–720.

    https://doi.org/10.1037/tra0001049

Weitzer, R. (2006). Citizens' perceptions of police misconduct: Race and neighborhood

    context. 16(4), 819-846.

    https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/07418829900094381?needAccess=true

Whalon, B. (2020, December 1). Philadelphia Eagles rivalry: The Dallas Cowboys.

    https://www.si.com/nfl/Philadelphia-Eagles-Rivalry-The-Dallas-Cowboys

Whyte, J. (1983). How much discrimination was there under the unionist regime, 1921–68?

    In T. Gallagher, & J. O'Connell (Eds.), Contemporary Irish studies (pp. 29–32).

    Manchester University Press.

Wilson, S., & Worsley, A. (2021). Unequal childhoods: A case study application of Lareau's

    'accomplishment of natural growth' in British working-class and poor families.

British Educational Research Journal, 47(3), 770-786.

https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3707

Wolf, J. B. (2012). Antiterrorist initiatives. Springer Science & Business Media.

Wolpert, S. (2021, March 8). UCLA-led study reveals 'hidden costs' of being Black in the

U.S. https://newsroom.ucla.edu/releases/hidden-costs-of-being-black

Wolters, A. M. (2005). Creation regained: Biblical basics for a reformational worldview.

William B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Xu, A., Baysari, M. T., Stocker, S. L., Leow, L. J., Day, R. O., & Carland, J. E. (2020).

Researchers' views on, and experiences with, the requirement to obtain informed

consent in research involving human participants: A qualitative study. *BMC Medical

Ethics*, 1-11.

https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7531157/pdf/12910_2020_Article_5

38.pdf

Yule, K., Houston, J., & Grych, J. (2019). Resilience in children exposed to violence: A

meta-analysis of protective factors across ecological contexts. *Clinical Child and

Family Psychology Review, 22*, 406-431. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10567-019-00293-1

Zahavi, D. (2021). Applied phenomenology: Why it is safe to ignore the epoché. *Continental

Philosophy Review, 54*, 259–273. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11007-019-09463-y

Zeyin, Y., Long, S., & Gaoxiao, R. (2022). Effects of safe driving climate among friends on

prosocial and aggressive driving behaviors of young drivers: The moderating role of

traffic locus of control. *Journal of Safety Research, 81*, 297-304.

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsr.2022.03.006

Zhu, L., Seya, M. S., Villaveces, A., Conkling, M., Trika, B. J., Kamagate, M. F. M., Annor, F. B, & Massetti, G. M. (2022). Experiences of participation in a population-based survey on violence: Emotional discomfort, disclosure concerns, and the perceived value of participation among adolescents and young adults. *Journal of Traumatic Stress, 35*(4), 1226-1239. https://doi.org/10.1002/jts.22824

Yule, K., Houston, J., & Grych, J. (2019). Resilience in children exposed to violence: A meta-analysis of protective factors across ecological contexts. Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review, 22, 406-431. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10567-019-00293-1

APPENDIX A: SCAFFOLD OF PROPOSED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Central RQ: What was it like to attend a Catholic maintained school in Northern Ireland during the period known as The Troubles?

SQ1: What was it like to grow up in Northern Ireland during the period known as The Troubles?

- *What comes to mind when you hear the words "the Troubles"?*

- *What are your strongest memories of growing up during the Troubles?*

SQ2: What was it like to attend a maintained school in Northern Ireland?

- *What comes to mind when you hear the words "maintained school"?*

- *What are your strongest memories of attending a maintained school?*

- *Tell me about the teachers you remember most.*

- *How did corporal punishment impact your experience of school?*

- *What impact do you think the practice of corporal punishment had on your learning in school?*

SQ3: How did the experience of attending a maintained school impact NII parents' view of the value of education?

- *What was the highest level of education you achieved?*

- *How important do you think what you learned attending a maintained school was for your success as an adult?*

- *What impact did the use of corporal punishment have on your attitude toward going to school?*

SQ4: What do NII parents think is the purpose of education?

- *What do you believe is the purpose of an education?*

- *What did you learn in school that you have applied in your adult life (skills, habits, attitudes)?*

SQ5: What do they perceive is the parent's role in a child's education?

- *Thinking about your child's education: what is the school's job and what is your job?*

SQ6: Which experience (growing up during the Troubles or attending a maintained school) do NII parents believe had the greatest impact on their lived experience?

- *What do you believe had a bigger impact on your life <u>as a child</u> (the Troubles or attending a maintained school)?*

- *How do you think the experience of growing up during the Troubles impacts you now?*

- *How do you think the experience of attending a maintained school impacts you now?*

APPENDIX B: GOLDTHORPE SOCIAL CLASS SCHEMA

The following categories, based on Goldthorpe's (2016) social class schema, which has been

validated with Northern Irish populations, will be used to approximate the cultural class that

most defined the participants during their childhood and adolescence (Bukodi et al., 2019).

Salariat: A professional (doctor, barrister, professor) or salaried white-collar manager, a

minimum of a university degree required

Petty Bourgeoisie: Small employers and self-employed

Skilled working class: Individuals with jobs that are semi-autonomous, usually require

advanced vocational training but not a university degree (carpenter, master electrician, nurse)

Routine, nonmanual: Hourly workers such as office workers, lower grade clerical workers,

Sales/Personnel, no advanced degree needed

Working class: unskilled or semi-skilled workers, no university degree required, examples =

foreman, factory worker, food service, laborer

Other: Individuals whose jobs do not fit into previous categories

Unemployed

APPENDIX C: RECRUITMENT EMAIL

Dear [Recipient]:

As a student in the School of Behavioral Science at Liberty University, I am conducting research as part of the requirements for a doctoral degree. The purpose of my research is to gain an understanding of the experience of attending a maintained school during the Troubles, and how the practice of corporal punishment as a teaching and discipline tool impacted your experience of school and your attitudes about education. I am writing to invite eligible participants to join my study.

Participants must: have been born in Northern Ireland between the years 1953 and 1980, lived in Northern Ireland until at least 16 years of age before immigrating to the United States (if applicable), have attended maintained (Catholic public) schools, and be a parent of at least one child. Participants, if willing, will be asked to reflect on the experience of attending a maintained school by completing one online survey (10 minutes) and participating in an audio-recorded interview with the researcher (~ 1 hour) at a convenient location. Participants will have the opportunity to review their interview transcripts and read a draft of the completed study analysis and give feedback. Names and other identifying information will be requested as part of the interview, but strict confidentiality will be maintained.

A consent document is attached to this email. The consent document contains additional information about my research. To participate in the study, please sign the attached consent form and return it to Lisabeth Sweeney by email (   ) or text   Once the consent form is returned to me, you will receive an email with the link to the survey and a phone call from me to confirm the in-person interview.

Sincerely,

Lisabeth Sweeney,
Doctoral Candidate

APPENDIX D: CONSENT FORM

Title of the Project: What was the Real Trouble with the Troubles? The Lived Experience

of Attending a Maintained School in Northern Ireland During the Troubles

Principal Investigator: Lisabeth Sweeney, Doctoral Candidate, School of Behavioral
Science at Liberty University

Invitation to be Part of a Research Study

You are invited to participate in a research study. To participate, you must have been born in
Northern Ireland between the years 1953 and 1980, lived in Northern Ireland until at least 16
years of age before moving to the United States (if applicable), have attended maintained
(Catholic public) schools, and be a parent of at least one child. Taking part in this research
project is voluntary.

Please take time to read this entire form and ask questions before deciding whether to take
part in this research.

What is the study about and why is it being done?

The purpose of the study is to understand what it was like to grow up in Northern Ireland
during the Troubles while attending a maintained school. This includes reflecting on how the
practice of corporal punishment, as a teaching and discipline tool, impacted your experience
of school and your attitudes about education

What will happen if you take part in this study?

If you agree to be in this study, I will ask you to do the following things:
  1. Complete an online survey (10 minutes).
  2. Be interviewed in person about your experiences. The interview will be audio-
  recorded and should take about one hour.
  3. Participants will have the opportunity to review the interview transcripts and/or
  completed study data and provide feedback.

How could you or others benefit from this study?

Participants should not expect to receive a direct benefit from participating. However, a
benefit participants might receive from taking part in this study is the opportunity to reflect
on how their experience attending a maintained school may have impacted their views of
education, their parenting practices, and their adult coping strategies.

Benefits to society include an opportunity to increase public awareness of the physical,
mental, and emotional effects of children being exposed to community violence including,
but not limited to, corporal punishment in school. By participating in this study, you will also
be giving a voice to hundreds of thousands of students who attended maintained schools in
Northern Ireland during the Troubles.

What risks might you experience from being in this study?

The risks involved in this study are minimal, which means they are equal to the risks you would encounter in everyday life. Participants will be asked to recall events and share memories. Some of these may have been unpleasant; some of these may be memories they have not shared with anyone before. Recalling traumatic events can sometimes evoke unanticipated emotions. You may choose to discontinue participation at any time during the process and may skip answers on the survey or in the interview that you find too distressing.

How will personal information be protected?

The records of this study will be kept private. Published reports will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely, and only the researcher will have access to the records.

- Participant responses on the survey will be anonymous.
- Participants' interview responses will be kept confidential through the use of pseudonyms. Interviews will be conducted in a location where others will not easily overhear the conversation.
- Data will be stored on a password-locked computer and locked filing cabinet. After three years, all electronic records will be deleted, and any hard copy data will be shredded.
- Interviews will be recorded and transcribed. Recordings will be stored on a password-locked computer for three years and then erased. Only the researcher will have access to these recordings.

Does the researcher have any conflicts of interest?

The researcher is related (by marriage) to some of the potential participants. To limit potential or perceived conflicts the researcher will stress that participation is voluntary and that the relationships will not be affected by the participants' choice whether or to participate. The researcher will stay on topic during the interview and will not ask about any extraneous personal topics. This disclosure is made so that you can decide if this relationship will affect your willingness to participate in this study. No action will be taken against an individual based on his or her decision to participate or not participate in this study.

Is study participation voluntary?

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Liberty University. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships. Participants cannot withdraw their survey responses after they submit them since they will be anonymous, and the researcher will have no way to link individuals to their responses.

What should you do if you decide to withdraw from the study?

If you choose to withdraw from the online survey, please exit the survey and close your internet browser. If you choose to withdraw during the interview, please inform the researcher that you wish to discontinue your participation. Your responses will not be recorded or included in the study.

If you choose to withdraw after the interview, please contact the researcher at the email address/phone number included in the next paragraph. Should you choose to withdraw, data collected from you will be destroyed immediately and will not be included in this study.

Whom do you contact if you have questions or concerns about the study?

The researcher conducting this study is Lisabeth Sweeney. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you are encouraged to contact her at ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ or ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮. You may also contact the researcher's faculty sponsor, Margaret ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮.

Whom do you contact if you have questions about your rights as a research participant?

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, **you are encouraged** to contact the Institutional Review Board.

Disclaimer: The Institutional Review Board (IRB) is tasked with ensuring that human subjects research will be conducted in an ethical manner as defined and required by federal regulations. The topics covered and viewpoints expressed or alluded to by student and faculty researchers are those of the researchers and do not necessarily reflect the official policies or positions of Liberty University.

Your Consent

By signing this document, you are agreeing to be in this study. Make sure you understand what the study is about before you sign. You will be given a copy of this document for your records. The researcher will keep a copy with the study records. If you have any questions about the study after you sign this document, you can contact the study team using the information provided above.

I have read and understood the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

☐ The researcher has my permission to audio-record me as part of my participation in this study.

_____
Printed Subject Name

_____
Signature & Date

APPENDIX E: SIGNIFICANT STATEMENTS

Table 5

Significant Statements

The First Theme	Themes that Emerged from Participant's Statements	
Lived Experience of Attending a Catholic Maintained School	**1. Teachers**	
Some were nice, but others…	Some of the teachers were nice and some were more intense than others…that kind of teacher bothered me more than anything else…if you didn't do your homework…then they [would] get pissed off and whip out the cane, the strap, the rulers, or just a hand upside the head.	**A**
It was random	A lot of times it was random. They were in a bad mood, and they just lost it.	**A**
I remember the ones who thought it was okay to beat children	Some teachers were nice, but you still remember that one, that one or two [expletive] that thought it was okay to beat a child.	**C**
It hurt	Master Brennan, I got hit over the knuckles by him … I can't really remember what that was for. I remember him hitting me five or six [hit 5 or 6 times]….it [expletive] hurt. But I really can't remember if it was because I didn't read [something] right or didn't have [my homework] finished. But it was something ridiculous….I'd have been nine [that year].	**C**
Why are they allowed around kids?	The headmaster at the primary school, Brother Eagan was another demented person. He just loved handing out corporal punishment… I can't see why people like that are allowed to be in those environments. It's unbelievable.	**F**
After the 1987 ban	[After the 1987 ban]…the teachers still lost their [expletive] just as much…the odd person [teacher] would pick you up here and throw you. Mrs. Walsh [used to] grabbed me by my hair…saw a Christian Brother punch a kid in the face and knock him out.	**Ja**
Threw a log	Mrs. Sullivan, she was not a nice lady. I would have been around 8. She would throw stuff at us… Not paying attention - that was one of her pet peeves. She would flat-out lose her [expletive] for lack of a better word…she used to have a log with holes drilled in that she put her pens in…if you weren't paying attention, she would throw that log at you…and she would pick you up here [gestures to short hair on side of head]…or pick you up by your ear, smacking your knuckles for minor indiscretions or, you know, anything. Just depended on what type of mood she was in.	**Ja**

Didn't know how to teach	[They] didn't teach us...they didn't know how to do it.	**E**
Christian Brothers	Vocational school had no Christian brothers. I had fun there.	**E**
Christian Brothers	Those teachers were mental and [it] was mostly the Christian Brothers that were the biggest problem.	**F**
Teachers inebriated	Then there were teachers that were drinkers…they would walk down to the pub during the day at lunchtime and they will drink…and then go teach kids	**Jo**
Teacher-initiated peer bullying	Joe Byrne's father taught me music. He just got out of Long Kesh. So, one day, I was in his music class, and he said, "Why don't we? Why don't we all stand up and sing God Save the Queen". After that kids start picking on me because of my English accent…the kids hadn't really bothered me until he basically gave him the go-ahead to give me a hard time.	**Jo**
Hit you on the head with his fist	There was a little guy from Belfast, Mr. McLoughlin. He used to hit you on the head with his fist. If he was walking past and ye didn't know the answer to his question, he'd hit you just here [gestures to the top right of his head] with his knuckles, on the top your head…or if he didn't think you're paying enough attention.	**L**
If you got an answer wrong…	Another guy used to walk around with what was his name, McLaughlan, with a ruler, and he would knock your knuckles if you weren't paying attention. And if you got something [an answer] wrong, he would hit your knuckles with ah, you know, the footlong wooden ruler and just knock over your knuckles.	**L**
Nuns	There was one or two nice teachers [but] Nuns scared the [expletive] out of me.	**P**
Horrible	Sister Sarah was bad. She was horrible. She was like, excuse my language, a [expletive]… I don't think I've ever saw her smile. She hated all of us.	**P**
He went crazy	They give me the strap. Then one teacher [when he was 13] give me a bad beatin one day. He just went crazy. [After that] he would never look at me again. He just left me alone…[because] he realized [that] he went too far…I mean, I didn't I didn't push it. I could have gotten fired, but I totally never said nothin. I was getting me own way and so I left him alone. I was 13.	**S**
Minor school rules were more of a priority than learning	Father Gallagher had this passion that you had to have each of your personal property items documented with your name. When I was a first year and I was 12 years old, I was doing an exam and he was moderating the exam. And in the middle of the exam, he decides to walk down the aisles and look at everybody's sneakers to see if they were marked with their initials. And if you didn't you were taken up the front and slapped, you were hit on the hand with a cane.	**B**

Impossible to please	Brother Conealy in primary five...[he was] a very ignorant rude man. So, I wasn't afraid. But I remember I did not enjoy going to his classes, because like, in a sense he was one of those men that you couldn't, no matter what you did, seem to do seem to please him.	**B**
Teachers were oblivious to the harm they are doing	They [the teachers] don't even realize…. I don't even know if he ever thought about it afterward or not. You know I don't think…nobody ever [expletive] told him you're a stone-cold child abuser. That's what youse guys were. You're beaten up 12-year-olds, 13-year-olds… they should be all locked up.	**E**
Even the nice teachers would not defend a student	There's one or two teachers were funny and one or two who were nice, but they would never stand up for you, you know, if another teacher was causing pain, beating on you.	**E**
Angry teachers	They were pretty angry teachers. They shouldn't have been let around children.	**E**
	2. Educational Experience	
Less traumatizing for ac academically talented students	School to me wasn't traumatized for me as it was for my sisters and brothers. I was a good student. I liked learning and it was easy for me.	**C**
Never one good day	There was never one day [that was a] good experience when I went to school.	**F**
Teacher reads paper all day, instead of teaching	We used to have a math teacher who'd sit there and read the Sun [a newspaper], [which] always had a topless woman on the front page. The math teacher just sat there and read the paper all of class. The biggest problem is that that's what he did instead of teaching us	**Jo**
Teacher caused me to turn away from education	Master MacMahon set me against it [school/education] He made me determined to fight him. So I turned away from his education system. 'I'll educate myself' was sort of the attitude. So, I read what I wanted to read, studied what I wanted to study, which unfortunately had nothing to do with anything that they [the teachers] were willing to teach	**B**
Never given a book, never read anything in English class	Mr. Delaneh got us two or three hours a day. And he was…It was just absolutely ridiculous. I don't think that there was a book read in my five years with Mr. Delaneh. We had him for English. He never gave us a book; we never read anything.	**Ja**
In the lowest class by academic ability	I was in the stupid classes… So that's where you stay. I stayed there for five years.	**S**

One year, the curriculum was interesting	My favorite grade would have been primary 6 Bertie Murphy was the teacher. That class I enjoyed, that was you know, the curriculum for want of a better word was- was interesting for the first time	**B**
At the end of my school career, I couldn't even read	First of all, nobody knew I was "dyslexic". So, I learned capabilities and English and stuff were very hard. They didn't even teach me anything. I came to the end of my school career and I couldn't even read	**E**
Dreaded every day	School was something we just dreaded every single day.	**Ji**
Teacher was cruel	The teacher was cruel um and punished kids a lot. Threw them over the desks.	**Ji**
I'm stupid, I'm dyslexic	I had no interest in [academics], I mean, well, I just couldn't do it. I mean, I wasn't taught I couldn't do it because I was stupid. I mean, if you tell me to go right, I'll go left to this day. That's just the way I thought, me mind works. I'm "dyslestic" So, if I, if I spell "be" as spelled backways, E, B,	**S**
Never read a book	It was terrible…There was no such thing as sit you down and read the book with you or anything like that…They weren't very good teachers	**E**
Floors more important than students	If ye didn't have gutties [sneakers] with you, you had to walk around your sock [in the gym] because they didn't want to scratch the floors up…there were parents [who] couldn't afford them; these kids didn't have gutties. [I] was caned for not having sneakers. [The teacher would ask] 'Where's your gutties?' and I would get caned and then have to take off [my] school shoes and walk around in [my] socks. That's what the deal was.	**Ja**
If you understand your homework, you get smacked	They [the student] go in and go, 'I don't understand, like, so I can't do my homework if [I] can't understand something'…and then they'd get smacked and they have to stay after school and nobody [the teachers] would care. And it would just happen again and again and again….then you're called stupid [by the teacher] and then your friends call you stupid and then it's like, oh, you're the dummy in the class.	**P**
It was a power thing	Some of [the teachers] were okay. But there was always that power thing. The teachers were always right.	**P**
They should never have been teachers	The teachers were terrible. They should never have been schoolteachers. There's no way that they got to work with a kid.	**F**
If you didn't excel academically, they forgot about you	At school, if you weren't excel [academically excellent], then they just forgot about you. Just let you sit there. Kids like me and Austin, we were in class 4, the lowest, the, we weren't the smart kids. And the smart kids, like Tiernan they were in A-1, B-1, C-1 D-1, E-1. Maybe they maybe the teachers taught	**S**

	them, but they, we were A-4, B-4…We were stupid. Everybody that was in there could not do anything. They couldn't even write their name. And they never taught us how to do it.	
For five years, he never did nothing. He just sat	He taught me for five years. We never, He never opened the book. He never got us to read a book. He never did nothing. We just sat. He just read the paper. Nothing. He didn't do absolutely nothing. He may have give us something to copy or you know, just suffered until, until you passed the time. And then but there was no like standing up at the blackboard or anything like that there	S
Discipline would have been okay if they taught us something	[The] discipline would have been okay…if it [had been] related to being taught something, but it wasn't. You weren't get taught anything.	E
You were told you were stupid	If you couldn't get anything [get a correct answer, understand the coursework], you were told you were stupid.	Jo
They threw us to the weeds and didn't teach us anything	I was a good kid in school. I never give no trouble. But I never got any education. The situation with school was, if you excelled, you were okay, but if you weren't then you were just thrown to the weeds. They just threw us to the weeds and didn't teach us nothing. That affects me now.	E
	3. Corporal Punishment	
Arbitrary nature	It was very arbitrary that they could just lash out for any reason at any time…it was you could be late for class. You didn't do your homework. You got an answer wrong. Talking in class. There was no set definition. Corporal punishment was due more to the mood and personality of the teacher than any kind of laid out discipline[where] you knew that if you violated rule A, you [were] gonna get beaten up. No, it was very arbitrary and dependent on the personality of the master	B
One week, the teacher hit me 24 times	If I was able to say, is there a seminal event in my experience, it'd be primary seven with Jim MacMahon. I remember counting one week that he hit me 24 times with a cane. I remember every morning waking up in fear and dread and fear of going.	B
Punished because a parent did something perceived to be wrong	My dad was a milkman. And he delivered the little milk bottles to the school. So, if the milk was late, I got in trouble. Got hit. Yes. Or my friend's dad was a bus driver. And if the bus was late, he got in trouble. And he [the teacher] took [the bus driver's son] one day and threw him over the desks and was hitting him until he passed out on the desk. He threw my friend back and forth over desks until he passed out on top of the desk.	Ji
Only took the slightest provocation	It seemed to take just the slightest provocation for Brother M. to get angry enough to punish me.	L

Wouldn't do this to their own kids	They wouldn't do it to their own kids, why would they do it [to students in] the school? I'm sure…they didn't take out that abuse at home like they did to us at school Their wives wouldn't allow it. Somebody'd stop them. But you can have the authority to do it in that situation [a Catholic maintained school].	**E**
Just out of control, vicious	He had a bald head, but then he decides to put this wig on. Oh, my goodness. It was like…he was a short little bald man in a big bouffant Elvis wig. And the rowdier boys would make fun of him and he would just completely lose it, lose all control. He would lash out. He would grab one of the boys and he would just hang on to him and started beating him with all his strength just everywhere he could reach. Just out of all control, vicious for you know, 10, 15 minutes until he [the teacher] was too tired to hit anymore. He taught first through fifth year. So when I had [Mr. Delaneh] when I was 11, and again when I was 12, 13, 14.	**E**
The "Black Doctor"	I still remember getting, getting the Black Doctor [being beaten with a large cane ruler with black tape, black electrical tape around it].	**Ja**
Inescapable	[It was] rain in Ireland. You couldn't; it was just always there	**E**
Bad mood	Brother Eagan used to give six straps [hits] with a leather strap if he just saw you in the hall and was in a bad mood. He'd claim you had a look, gave him a look or some [expletive], just make it up.	**F**
You didn't want Christian Brothers to be your teacher	What was corporal punishment given for? what kind of infraction? It was anything, literally anything, depending on the teacher, and particularly the Christian Brothers. I went to [name of school removed], which was run by the Christian brothers. And there were three or four brothers at that time, Brother Francis, Brother Lauren, and Brother Eagan was the principal. And each of them had a reputation for being basically very fickle, very arbitrary about what [would cause them to administer corporal punishment] and there was a lot of fear. You didn't you want didn't want them to be your teacher.	**F**
"Getting one of the best"	About every two to three days, we would get, get what we called "one of the best" from the cane. He had a three-foot bamboo cane. I remember it was wrapped with a grip, the end of the cane was wrapped with green electrical tape.	**A**
	4. Parents and the School	
You didn't argue because they were the church	Sister Gertrude calls Mommy in and Mommy is like, "Clodagh is a good girl. She helps with chores and never gives me any trouble" and the nun is like "she had the cigarettes," and my mom wasn't going to argue with Sister. You didn't argue because they were, it was the church. You just accepted what they said. But Mommy knew [the cigarettes] weren't mine so I didn't get into any trouble at home.	**C**

You didn't tell your parents if you got hit	A lot of my friends, they wouldn't tell their parents that they got in trouble at school because their parents believed and said, 'if Brother Whoever strapped you, you must have deserved it' and so then would get a beating at home too. So, you didn't tell your folks. Your sisters and brothers knew.	C
You were afraid to tell your parents	You were afraid to tell your parents that you were afraid to go to school because you'd get another beating…They believe the church and the [expletive] school and they always believe that the teachers was right.	E
They expected the teachers to teach us	My mother and father had 8 of us in the middle of the Troubles and they had to pay for it [school uniforms, food on the table, etc.]. You know, there was no money, there was no, that wasn't, you know. They just expected the teachers to teach us. They weren't expecting us to come home and be taught by them.	E
Parent intervention just deflected teacher ire on a different student	My mom and dad come in and had a word with Brother Lauren. He never touched me after that. But I seen him one day grab one kid and be dragging him around the classroom by the hair, just literally dragging him around by his hair and smacking him over and over.	F
Mother never stepped foot in school	I don't think my mother ever stepped foot in school for, for anything	Ja
Your parents knew it was part of the system	Your parents just knew that was part of the system. And you must have been a really bold girl if you got smacked or whatever.	P
Our parents didn't stand up for us	Our parents didn't stand up for us. You wouldn't tell your parents if you got caned at school because you're scared of them hitting you at home for not behaving.	Ji
Nuns and priests come first	[In] my generation…the nuns and priests come first. And if they say you misbehaved, you must have done it.	P
Father didn't see value in school	Me father wasn't like a person to waste your time going to school. "You're not going to, school's not going to do nothing for ye.	S
Mother intervenes, child received a harsher beating	There was one day when I was studying; Master MacMahon had given us a test. I remember I couldn't find an answer for this one question on that Sunday, and I told my mother; I was crying, I was in tears. She said "look, you've tried your best. I'll go into a classroom. I'll explain to him that you couldn't find the answer." She came [to school] and she talked to him. And the minute she left, he took me up to the front and slapped me four times, HARD. In his mind, if I didn't know the answer, I must not have done my best. I didn't trust my mother for another 20 years because of that. Never spoke to her. Because I didn't know what she knew. But it felt like, you know, she had sided with him and turned against me. I blamed her. I didn't blame her for the corporal punishment. But it's sort of like she was no different to me in a sense than Jim MacMahon. I put her in the same box- the anti-Brendan box. And that was it.	B

	And it took me…almost 40 years...to fully forgive my mother. … I've talked to her; she has no memory of the event.	
Parents don't have time	When you think of Irish families, you're probably talking about nine or ten kids at home….The parents probably aren't even educated enough to help them with their homework [and] they don't have the time.	**Jo**

The Second Theme	**Participant Statements**	
Lived Experience of Growing up During the Troubles	**1. General**	
Ubiquitous soldiers	You go into town, soldiers are everywhere… I was so used to seeing soldiers and armored cars and like, tanks and bombs [my reaction was] Whatever.	**P**
Terrorist in disguise	As a young Catholic growing up it was, it was tough… I wasn't involved in any sort of [sectarian] organizations [still], going about your daily business you were treated as if you were a terrorist in disguise	**L**
How traumatic experiences associated with the Troubles were different from those associated with attending a maintained school	[With] the Troubles, everybody was in the same boat…you been in that boat…since you were born…Everybody done the same thing. Everybody talked about the same thing…but we weren't in the same boat when it came to education. The situation with school was, if you excelled, you were okay, but if you weren't then you were just thrown to the weeds.	**E**
Childhood craic	Some of it was sad. I mean, you don't like people getting killed, but as a kid sometimes was a lot of fun…there's always something going on… who doesn't like to see something getting burnt? It was craic.	**A**
British soldiers using Catholic children as shields	When you would walk down the street, you are walking in the middle of 12, 18 fully armed soldiers. What they would typically do is slow down until they'd get a civilian and between them. Basically, you were their armor. They figured as long as there were a couple of kids walking between them, no one was gonna take a shot at them.	**F**
Outlook	Growing up there [in Northern Ireland during the Troubles], you're close-minded. You're suspicious of outsiders. You're suspicious of anything	**Ja**
Location matters	The different areas were different. The area I lived in was very strong for supporting Sinn Fein, nationalists, IRA. Very political. Bomb scares, bombs going off…	**Ji**

Serve a policeman, get blown up	It was difficult because if a policeman came in and asked to buy something, we had to say, "I'm sorry, we're not meant to serve you because we have a good chance of getting blown up." The IRA would blow up the store.	**Ji**
Cooperation with the police was not tolerated	I had to chase [soldiers and police] from the store. Tell em 'I can't, I can't serve you; if I serve you, our place will get blown up tonight" [by the IRA]…it happened once a week, twice a week	**S**
Catholic names v. Protestant names	It depended on your name… from the name, you'll know 90% Is he a Catholic or Protestant? When you were stopped by the police at a checkpoint…they'd say, " I'll have your driving license". If you had a protestant name, it was 'drive on;'…if it was Padraig, 'Alright, everybody out! Everybody out!'…and you're standing in the rain in your socks while…they take the seats out of your car.	**L**
Relentless raids	The Divis Flats was a nightmare…it was horrible, the things that happened in there…the cops and soldiers were always raiding them…I don't think those people ever got a night's sleep. They were just bombarded with, like, bullets, getting the [expletive] kicked out of them all the time.	**P**
Forcing Catholic to move	[We were] living in a mixed neighborhood…and the neighborhood wanted to be Protestant or Unionist. We were Catholic so they bombed us out of that house	**E**
Belfast, the controlled zone	The center of town [Belfast] was just dead….they actually closed it off at seven or eight at night…It would be barricaded, and there'll be a walk where, if you got stuck inside, you'd have to get the army or the soldiers or somebody to let you out, because it was all cordoned off with barbs and barbed wire and everything like that."	**P**
Militarized	Armed vehicles and armed personnel carriers were an everyday sight. They were in town, walking down rural roadway, at checkpoints. [He goes on to explain], police carried military weapons. Security patrols consisted of always 3-4 police along with 8-12 soldiers. You never saw police without the back-up of British soldiers or the UDR.	**B**
Irish flag prohibition; (not allowed to express national identity)	Growing up I remember, you couldn't put up your own Irish flag…the flag of your own country…people used to put up the flag and it would cause all sorts of turmoil…the army would come in or the police [and say] 'You got to take that flag down.'	**S**
An occupied country	Army camps in the middle of nowhere with sandbags and wire fences. We didn't go anywhere near our police stations…because we were Catholic.	**B**
Shoot-to-kill	In the early 80s…it seemed like every time the British Army encountered some member of the IRA, that member of the IRA ended up dead. They had stopped taking prisoners. We later found out it was called the shoot-to-kill policy.	**B**

Victimhood	Your parents and the Catholic Church were very good at promoting the idea that … there's something special about being a victim. 'The Protestant we're trying to keep us down but that wasn't gonna happen to us. One day we would overcome.' We have this sense of like we will be done out but not for long. You had this sense of like of Northern Catholic invincibility. It was, was ridiculous, this glory in being a [expletive] victim was promoted.	B
	2. Segregation	
Sectarian, tribal	The Troubles was sectarian, tribal….The pubs were not mixed. Catholics went to Catholic pubs; Protestants went to Protestant pubs…You wouldn't have people mingling over their whisky. You wouldn't be welcome, and it could even...be dangerous.	A
Avoiding areas because of bombs and shootings	There were certain areas you didn't go into; there was bombs all the time. I would cross that barrier to go to Queens. But...if you're a Catholic...you're taking a risk going into that area. [If] you're caught there, they would [shoot you]... even if you don't have a political background	P
Dangerous borders/ The Shankill Butchers	When you go from North Belfast, to say, the university, like there's one road, which is called Shankill Road that's completely Protestant. Then the next block over is the Crumlin Road and Divis Flats which is completely Catholic, so they're not that far apart. So, if you're crossing over, they used to have these guys, um [Peggy becomes visibly emotional] called the Shankill Butchers. So, what they would do would stop taxis and Catholics and anybody they thought was a threat. They'd pull you out of the taxi, shoot you, and cut you up. So, a friend of mine......one night, they [the Shankill butchers] stopped the taxi. She eventually got out and ran like hell and somebody helped her get away. They took her boyfriend and cut him up to bits, whatever, she was a mess afterward.	P
Segregated sports	Turlough played rugby? He was a brave man…that was a Protestant sport, no Catholics. A lot of people would not be okay with that…might be risky.	Jo
Segregated jobs	Catholics didn't join the police. It was like taboo…The system, everything was set up against Catholics	Ja
Segregated shops and pubs	The grocer was Protestant. And in the co-op was Protestant. The pubs, the pubs were Catholics.	C
The police are all Protestant	The [police] force is all Protestant. There [was] a lot of social pressure as a Catholic against being a police officer.	L
	3. Bombs	

Teaching children how to make and throw bombs	Jeremy had some really crazy teachers in his school...I remember…a Maths teacher got the boys in and said 'close the door, make sure it's closed properly… Put your maths papers away. I'm going to tell teach you how to make bombs. We're going to learn how to make petrol bombs today...and how you throw them properly. So that was one of their lectures in school	P
Small, controlled bombs	Several bombs went off in our town. It was crazy…We'd have been in bed at night and you would-a woke up, and [think], 'What the hell is that?' And then you would know because you could smell the burning stuff. And then everybody was up out of bed to find out where it was. One of the first bombs [I remember] went off...[in] McCutchan supermarket. Their house was next door. But the house wasn't touched. But it was a small bomb. It was meant for the store. And nobody got hurt. And so that was good. But we were still crying because we felt so bad. These were people that we played with	C
Protection money	The UVF [Ulster Volunteer Force - an Ulster Protestant paramilitary group] and the IRA would come along wanting money. Both of them were coming looking for money for protection and if you didn't give the money then you're going to have to have problems here, like the bar would have to go. They'd blow it up.	E
IRA planted the most bombs	The UDR [an infantry regiment of the British Army] or the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] were the Protestant versions of the IRA…were doing more shootings….[It] was mostly IRA that were planting the explosives.	F
Cool thing to do	Sometimes we [he and his friends] spent time practicing throwing petrol bombs…it was the cool thing to do	F
Evacuating the house	My memories of the Troubles would mostly be bombs going off… closest one was probably half a mile away. I mean, you'd feel the house shaking when they went off. And the noise… Every time they would say there was going to be a bomb going off, you'd have to go in the house and open all your windows. So, when the blast hit, instead of the glass shattering the window, it would just move…We had to evacuate the house a number of times. The bombs were close.	A
Checking the shop for planted bombs	My parents owned a shop in town. Every now and again, there'd be talk about incendiary devices and we would have to go to the shop at night to check to make sure that there was not a bomb attached to the side of the shop. I can't remember how [it was announced], but you always knew.	Ji
Abandoned cars	If you went to the town center, you were not allowed to leave a car unattended. If the police drive by and they see someone sitting in the car, they knew the car was safe. If [the police] find an unattended vehicle, they'd know something was up so they'd evacuate all the stores in the center of town. You can't leave your vehicle abandoned downtown, because they [the police/the army] just assumed it was some kind of a bomb.	B

Using the Troubles as a cover	I remember this one bombing. They bombed the town courthouse. It was all over the news coverage. Three days later, I'm talkin to my friends and Aiden [his younger brother] says it wasn't them [the person the news was reporting did it], it was Noel [last name removed]. And I'm like, "how do you know it wasn't them?" He says, "It was Noel. I was standing lookout for him". So, they had climbed up the slate roof of the courthouse. The problem was he had a court date coming up in two weeks or something. It was before computers. So, they kept all of the paperwork in the courthouse. So, they climbed up on the slate roof, broke a couple of slates and threw a petrol bomb down in so he wouldn't have to do his court date.	F
Omagh bombing	The Omagh bombing really got me going at the time. [It was] a car bomb, supposed to be planted by *Real IRA*. [It was] in a shopping area; 200 were people hurt and 29 killed, even a pregnant lady…Made me sick to my stomach	E
Cover-ups and excuses	The town I lived in at the end was called [redacted] and there was these three little kids. Their mother was next door having drinks with friends; the kids were in the house; they were in bed. These guys petrol-bombed the house, and it gets burnt. The kids burnt to death in the house because they were Catholics. [This was a sectarian arson attack on a Catholic home in a predominately Protestant area]. So, Ian Paisley, I remember him being interviewed the next day, and he tried to make like the mother was a drug addict. And 'she was this and she was that and'…it was disgusting….I remember having been very, very angry.	E
Retaliation for IRA bombs	I vividly remember again [when] Lord Mountbatten was killed. And the IRA put a bomb on the boat [he was in] and killed him. On the same day, the IRA set off this series of explosives and killed 18 British soldiers. Four of us guys went to a folk festival in Letterkenny across the border. We were 17,18…We so happened to come back across the border [from the Republic of Ireland into Northern Ireland] on the day that all that bombing happened. So, of course, we were taken out [of our cars], brought to an army barracks. They turned the car literally upside down and kept us while searching the car for three or four hours...asked stupid questions...It was just a pure retribution that. They'd lost 18 soldiers and a senior member of the royal family was killed that day. And they were just taking it out on young Catholics going about their daily business	L
School	When I was really young, we got bomb scares…we had to rush it and go to the very far end of the playground. So this happened, like three or four times in two weeks.	P
More pubs than schools	Catholics would, you know, the IRA would probably do bomb scares for Protestant schools, Protestant schools, you know. The UVF or something would do bomb scares at Catholic schools, and then sometimes there would be bombs, but generally not in schools. It was more like pubs, that kind of stuff.	C

The bombs labeled us	I left home at like 16 and went to England…We weren't welcome in England because we were from Northern Ireland. If we were at a bar and we went to the bathroom…they'd think we put a, planted a bomb in the bathroom or somethin, because you were just from Northern Ireland, you were labeled right away	S
Watching bombs be disarmed	I remember the controlled explosions. The army used them to disarm IRA bombs. They used either a smaller controlled explosion, a shotgun blast, or high-powered water blast usually designed to destroy the detonating system. We watched them. They kept you back a hundred or so yards, but you could see a lot of stuff	L
	4. Protests and Riots	
Bloody Sunday	I remember that night, Blood Sunday, I'd have been maybe eight years old. And I remember watching on TV...I had been at a civil rights demonstration the week before. My mother brought three or four of us kids to the demonstration in Derry…and then all of a sudden to see, two weeks later, you know, 14 people killed.	L
Retaliation for attending a riot	When I was around 15…there was some kind of protests in some of the other villages and I went to one of them. My mother spotted me on the TV with a big, long piece of pipe so I got it [was beaten] whenever I come home. But some one of our neighbors saw [me on TV] as well…We got our windows broke because of my action of being on a TV. One of the bricks had a piece of paper tied on it 'Dunloy Republican scum not welcome here' because we, at that time we were living in a predominantly Protestant town	Ja
Getting caught up	I think the hardest part was, you know, just all the rioting and just being caught up in it.	Jo
Parental fear	There was a disco as well at one of the boys' schools. My mom would never let me go because there was always, like, bombs scares, rioting...The soldiers would raid it and everything.	P
A child's view of the Troubles	The bombings, a little bit of rioting...I was there. I may have been watching more than anything else, but I was there...did I throw stones at the police once and a while? Yeah	A
Bin lids	There was barricades. I remember my dad had to go to the wholesaler and I was in the car with him. And we were driving along the street where the army were here [gesture right side] and all the civilians are here [gesture left side]. [the civilians] were always banging bin lids to get rid of them.	P

	5. Violence	
Friend's dad shot	My friend's dad was a Republican. And he owned one of the pubs in town. The IRA came to get protection money from him and he refused….he said, "I don't want to have anything to do with that." So [the IRA] came in one night when Kim [her friend] was at my house….When she went home, she found they had tied up her two sisters, her brother, and her mom; her dad was out…The next night, somebody put a ladder up against the [next-door-neighbor's] window and climbed up…Her dad got up and turned on the light to see what was going on outside. And they saw his silhouette and they shot up him. Just like that.	**C**
Tarred	And tar, there was a fellah got tar and feathered. They IRA tar and feathered him, probably they thought he informed or maybe just talked to a soldier.	**E**
Guy with gun	I was 14. Me and Aisling came down walking, chit chatting, going down the main street of Moneymore [and] a freakin car pulled up beside the two of us...There were two guys in the car. The passenger get out of the car and just stood beside Aisling and shot the gun up into the air. I was like frozen…And she's like "don't say anything, don't move, don't say anything". And then…they got back in the car and took off smoke flying out of the rear end of the car and everything. We…ran like hell, home to our house…That really scared us. I was scared after that.	**C**
Kicking down doors	So sometimes [the police and British soldiers] would go in, you know, under the pretense of them thinking that there was someone who was involved in something that they wanted to find, but they would just kick your doors down like, just because you're Catholic.	**Jo**
Shooting Catholics	There was always shootings… It's so ironic because the people who are doing this...[the members of violent paramilitary groups] didn't discriminate. It was like, "Why did you do that?" "Because they're Catholic." Half the people who did this, don't even [expletive] practice their own [expletive] religion.	**Jo**
Citizens banging bin lids	The women who lived in terraced houses... they were always throwing stones and fighting, banging bin lids, to get rid of the army. The police, as well, because the police were always on the Protestant side. It really terrified me because like, you know, like, there was like, this firing squad as well as all these blades [the term for a bin lid].	**P**
Friend's parent got shot	What are my memories of the Troubles? …um.[my] friend's parent getting shot and like, bombs going off…	**E**
You couldn't win	Nobody [in Jeremy's family] joined in any of the [Catholic paramilitary groups] even though they were threatened and pushed into it… [For a year, when he was 14], Jeremy would get like, the [expletive] beat out of him by IRA to join, and he wouldn't join. You couldn't win. The IRA beat the [expletive] out	**P**

	of him [when he was 14] because they want him to join, and he wouldn't and then he got beat up by the soldiers because…they just assumed he was all part of it. And just because they could do it.	
Interrogation at Long Kesh	They [the police/the British army] used to be able to pick people up without charging them and hold, hold them in the Maze [another name for Long Kesh Detention Centre] or wherever for like seven days, interrogating them.	**Ja**
The IRA's anti-drug effect	I drank a lot [but] I really never got into drugs for some reason…in Ireland, if you were caught selling drugs or something, you'd get shot. Or the IRA would have you kneecapped.	**S**
Policeman shot	There were a lot of shootings. I guess the closest one was when we were going to school one morning and they [the IRA] shot a policeman at the traffic light just up from the school. We didn't see the shot, but we came across the scene within a minute after.	**F**
Soldiers aiming assault rifles at kids	Not far from our house, me and my brother and another guy [were walking]…a helicopter just landing in my great uncle's field and them [soldiers] started all jumping right out and aiming guns, assault rifle at us.	**Ja**
People you know getting shot	My neighbor and [other] people I know have been shot. My [dad's] friend…[was] shot beside me granny's house	**Ja**
Soldier torturing teenager	My cousin was driving by himself and got pulled over by the British soldiers. They put a bag over his head and played Russian roulette with him. There's a lot of stories like that.	**L**
Spat upon and called a Fenian bitch	I was spat upon by a Protestant. I was called a Fenian bitch…my parents owned a business. I stood outside the door of the store, and there was a loyalist March. They walked past me and spat on me and said, "You're a Fenian bitch." I was probably 13. Adults called me a Fenian bitch and spat on me.	**Ji**
Throwing rocks at the police	A lot of the boys threw rocks at the police	**Jo**
Police beating my brother up badly for no reason	Collin, my other brother was a shy kid, never got involved in anything. But he got off the school bus one day and there was an RUC, which is the British police. They grabbed him, threw him into the back of the Land Rover, and beat him; beat him up badly. They thought he was given the fingers, you know, teasing them. And it wasn't him; it was somebody else. After that, he got really heavily involved after that in the IRA.	**Ji**
The Shankill Butchers	There is this one road….they used to have these guys, um [Peggy becomes visibly emotional] called the Shankill Butchers. So, what they would do would stop taxis and Catholics and anybody they thought was a threat. They'd pull you out of the taxi, shoot you, and cut you up. So, a friend of mine...something happened her first boyfriend. One night, they [the Shankill Butchers] stopped the taxi. She eventually	**P**

	got out and ran like hell and somebody helped her get away. They took her boyfriend and cut him up to bits, whatever, she was a mess afterward. And eventually after being treated for post-traumatic stress	
Kneecapping	If you joined the IRA, and you didn't do what they said, they would actually come to their own people and they would knee cap you. They would shoot your patella… you were screwed for life if you didn't follow their orders.	**L**
	6. Harassment	
Adult soldiers harassing Catholic children	I can't explain how it feels as a kid, you know, walking into town and [you] come across a lot of soldiers you know, and then they begin harassing ye, you know, like "wee Catholic boy, what are you doing right here?" Harass ye as you are walking into town, and you'd be afraid like there'll be a fear but you couldn't show him fear. If you show fear, then you're in trouble. They would [say] "what are you doing in town? Ye think you can walk through us tonight?...How would you feel, we shot ye then?	**S**
House searches	[Mikeal's family] were used to the army coming into their house regularly. Sometimes… they would burst into their house three times a week, get everybody out of bed; searched everybody.	**C**
Having to serve soldiers tea	Soldiers would [stop] outside our house on a Sunday morning, maybe like three Jeeps, and knock on our door and [ask] could they have tea? And we would have had to make them tea. We had to bring the soldiers tea and sandwiches and we brought it out to them…We didn't have a lot of money. Sometimes, it was our last tea bags, maybe in our last loaf of bread, but we did it.	**C**
Standing in your socks in the rain	The police...were often terrorizing people...they'd haul you out of your car if you had a Catholic name and make you stand, and in the rain, it's always rainin; You're standing in your socks while they pull your car apart.	**L**
Fenians get out!	My dad is Catholic, my mother's Protestant. I have distinct memory [from when] I was around six or seven of our windows getting broken. A car loaded with [Protestant] guys, breakinll the windows in our house and yelling "Fenians get out or you'll be burned out"….Our mother [had] been terrified	**Ja**
Pointing guns at children	One time, in Killrea [in County Derry], which is another village. I [was] walking back to my buddy's house and a soldier looked to hassle us. He knew we were Catholic; we were on a Catholic street. He was pointing the gun at us.	**Ja**
Wrong place, wrong time	I could be in the wrong car with the wrong person, you know, and then go to jail for it. You don't know whose car you're getting into. They could have got guns. There could have been anything in the car.	**E**
Nighttime police raids	Strongest memories of the Troubles was the six o'clock knock on the door [at my] house. We're in bed sleeping. And the house was invaded by British soldiers. And we all made us get out of bed and line up	**Ji**

	against the walls. And then my brother, they took my brother away. And then they held for three days. We didn't know where he was. Then they let him out.	
Pulled by Scotland yard	We get pulled in in London and they took Mikeal away. And they kept him for like four or five hours away from me and Donnacha. They just took them away and questioned him and questioned him and questioned him	**C**
Police planting evidence	You could be driving the car in the country. And they [police or British soldiers at a checkpoint] could say they found guns in your car. They could plant stuff. Stuff could be planted on you.	**Ji**
Always suspected of being a terrorist	They wouldn't need a reason. Suspected terrorist. And they've wrecked ransack through the house.	**Ji**
Soldiers harassing Catholic individuals	My dad would drive around delivering milk all over the county. And the British soldiers would stop him and say, "Can you sell me milk?" And he would say, "Sir, I'm sorry, I can't sell it to you". And so the soldiers would go up to the house where he just delivered milk, house and steal the milk, drink it, and then they would smash the bottles. And then my dad would have to redeliver the milk to the family. So my dad lost money.	**Ji**
Checkpoint harassment	The fellah I was datin at the time, he was named the same as one of the Hunger Strikers. Kevin Lynch was the name. So, every time he would go anywhere, he was pulled. The police saw his name was Kevin Lynch, then they would associate him with the Catholic Hunger strikers. So, we got pulled in and they'd take the car and tear it apart at least once a week.	**Jo**
Delaying Gaelic football players	[The police/the British soldiers] would know your match was on at three o'clock. They would stop you and might keep you at the side of the road for an hour. Or [the police saying] "oh we're checking out on the radio to see who all you guys are" to make you late for the football match. That sort of pettiness. Or it was a wet day [and the police would say] "take off your shoes, we want to search in your shoes and make sure that there's nothing inside them" and you be wearing your socks or standing on a roadway and your feet would get all wet. All that is very petty, but for a young guy 17, 18, 19, it was, it was tough. It was really tough.	**L**
Constant harassment	Being harassed and harangued when you were just going about your daily business, that's what the Troubles were like.	**L**
Vulnerable	The area we lived in was a very rural area. You would be driving late at night and all of a sudden, you're stopped by a police patrol or armed patrol in the middle of, literally nowhere…You had to turn off your lights... because they didn't want the lights of your car to shine on them because then somebody would shoot at them...There might be one or two of you in a car on a really dark concrete road at nighttime. And you're confronted by five or six policemen and soldiers all turning their assault rifles on	**L**

	you and asking you questions. "Who are you? Where are you calling from? What are you doing?" You know what I mean? You're, as young man you're very, very vulnerable, very vulnerable	
Catholics Marginalized	As a young Catholic growing up it was it was tough…We felt that we were very much marginalized, picked upon.	A
Checkpoints	[At checkpoints the police/soldiers would] literally take the seats out of the car,…put the car up in a garage and search under the hose pipes...It was just, it was just real sort of, 'we are the power now and just, you know, lay down.'	B
Searched entering shops	Even just going into the shops you'd be searched….As a young Catholic, especially at nighttime…you were [always] under a lot of suspicion.	A
GA as IRA football club	I was an avid Gaelic footballer. And going to a football match on Sunday, you can be stopped by the police or an army patrol, and because you're playing GA, because some of the local politicians considered that [to be] an IRA Football Club. And you would be stopped and searched.... because you identified with Ireland and Irish culture and Irish tradition, and you'd be very much sort of harassed	L
The police didn't believe him	They [police/British army] just assumed that he [her brother] knew, like, where the arms were, who are leaders were…he [didn't] know because he didn't partake in any of that, but they just didn't believe him. The police, the army did that to a lot of people They could have charged him; they could have just said he had firearm stuff under his nails or, which is like a load of [expletive]. They could have just pinned anything on you really	P
Internment	Jeremy got interned as well...when he was 14. That was another thing, where they could bring you in to, they [the police] could hold you for 48 hours or was it 72 hours?…and nobody had to tell [his] parents…nobody knew where he was. And, then they use that psych treatment where, you know, [Peggy describes sleep deprivation techniques used by the security forces] They really played with your mind just to try and get information...	P
No tattoos, nicknames only, police fabricate evidence	We grew up with nicknames. And it was kind of good because of the Troubles. [We were told by our parents] don't get tattoos…Don't leave any marks on yourself. If you ever got locked up, they'll write that down what you have. And say, like…you've never done nothing wrong, they can say "alright, he [the perpetrator] had that tattoo." Later on, they let on he had that tattoo on and then…lock [you] up.	S
Second class citizens	People were just stopped [by the police] because we [Catholics], we were second-class citizens	S

The Third Theme	Participant Statements	
Response to the Nexus of School and Troubles Experience	**1. Fear**	
Crying at school	I remember crying all the time at school. Don't remember why.	**C**
Terrified of nuns	I was terrified of nuns.	**P**
Strongest memory of primary school-fear	My strongest memories… particularly in primary school, it would have been fear	**B**
Scared all the time	[My sister] was scared all the time. If she didn't read in front of the class, she would get hit. But if she did try to read, she would wet herself. And then she would get hit worse. And she would cry and everything. And then she was embarrassed all the time, in front of the whole school.	**C**
Afraid to go to school/ afraid to tell parents	You were afraid to go to school. You really kept it under the cover; you wouldn't go home and say you got slapped or caned today. You're afraid. [quietly] You're afraid to tell your parents that you were afraid to go to school because you'd get another beating [from your parents].	**E**
Strongest memory – terrible anxiety	That would be my strongest memories. Getting hit in primary school and terrible anxiety	**Ji**
Scared to tell parents	You are scared to tell your parents [that] you got caned at school	**S**
Got sick, terrified	Memories of attending Catholic school: getting beat by a stick, a ruler. The teacher was always, I always get sick every morning. Got sick, terrified. I'm like scared because because…I don't like to think about it.	**Ji**
When you don't know, it doubles the fear	[re: school] When you don't know what you might be going to get punished for that doubles the fear, the dread.	**B**
Lots of times, you were scared	I did love school, but at the same time there was a lot of times, you were scared.	**C**
Severe anxiety	We [Clodagh and her siblings] all have anxiety. Like I have a pretty severe anxiety; he has really severe anxiety. So, I don't know whether it stemmed from there, or was it predisposition? And that influenced it. It has gotta have some influence.	**C**
Fear and dread of going to school	I remember every morning waking up in fear and dread of going [to school]	**B**

The "black doctor" gave me a lot of trauma	Mrs. Dougherty gave me a lot of trauma. She used to beat the [expletive] out of kids with the Black Doctor [a large cane ruler with black electrical tape around it]. So, yeah, I was terrified of her, I think it was three years.	**Ja**
Catholics terrorized	Catholics were terrorized on a regular basis.	**L**
Sister physically sick with terror	My sister used to get physically sick, headaches, sick to her stomach every day because she was so terrified of this one teacher. She had him for three? Four years?	**L**
Afraid to go to school	The year I was 8, that would be P3? Yeah. I was afraid to go to school because my teacher was beating the [expletive] out of kids. I refused to go the last three or so weeks of school that year.	**F**
Brothers in the Kesh	[Mikeal's brothers] were all in the Kesh…they spent every Christmas Day, the girls and the mommy crying all day because the brothers were in The Kesh or on the run. We all knew what was happening in Long Kesh, even as a teenager, you knew it was really bad. [Expletive] terrifying.	**C**
Terrified of UDR and the British army	I remember being terrified of the police, the UDR, and the British Army. I was terrified of them	**Ja**
Panic attack	I went to Declan's first-grade conference, I sat down, and the teacher started being negative with me. And I stood up, I got up and I said, "I'm sorry, but I said this conference is nothing but negativity. It is now over." And I was shaking. I was almost having a panic attack.	**Ji**
Afraid of police	I was terrified of cops. Like, seriously if a cop come in... I don't know whether it's being Catholic, and the police were always on the side of the more, more, or less 90% of them are on the side of Protestants. But I just remember, like, cops would really scare me. I have no idea why they scare me [but] soldiers don't bother me.	**P**
Worried I'd be shot	I can remember being six years old. At the time, there was an awful lot of violence. It was 1971… And I remember all of the news was about drive by shootings. I remember walking this long stretch of road [on the way from his house to his grandmother's house] as a six-year-old worrying "will I be the victim of a drive by shooting?" Because there was a main road, I had to walk down every week, that was Protestant, and all these cars were parked there. "Would I be a victim?"	**B**
Afraid of police	You get stopped by the police in regular conditions because you were Catholic. You just dealt with it. It was everyday life. I mean, it did put a fear of the police in you. I remember the first time I got pulled over here and the cops come and I'm like [expletive] And the guy hears my accent and he says, "don't worry, you're in America now."	**F**

Childhood worries	I remember thinking to myself, as an 11-year-old, if we get stopped by the police do I claim to be Catholic or Protestant? What do you tell them? That was one of my biggest stressors. Do you tell them the truth, that you're Catholic? Or do you say you're Protestant?	**Jo**
Afraid to be heard saying the rosary	Daddy was afraid, then, at nighttime, to say the rosary in case someone would be listening outside the front window. So, we kinda stopped that for a while. There was eight of us girls and daddy used to worry [because]… the UVF, the army, the IRA, the police [could] come and lock us up…They could do anything they wanted. There were lots of stories, you know. He was trying to be protective, I guess. Scary times the Troubles. Very scary	**C**
Mom and Dad are held at gunpoint	Everybody worries about something happening to their parents, but I think more so when you know that they've already been held at gunpoint. My dad was a chemist [pharmacists]… He got raided so many times; he was held at gunpoint so many times. My mom as well. You worry so much more thinking, Am I gonna go home and they're not going to be there? Or is something gonna happen to my brother	**P**
It was about the most frightening thing anybody ever said to me	I remember being 16 years old, standing in a dark parking lot outside a disco with my girlfriend…This car out of nowhere and the car doors opened up and ...all of a sudden there was like 10 people [who] climbed out of this car, all wearing khaki parkas and balaclavas with their hoods pulled up, all carrying rifles. It was the IRA…come to take care of business. So, out comes this guy with this big Armalite, an M-16. Somebody else's has a Kalashnikov. Another one has a Sterling submachine gun. I'm looking at this and thinking like "what the hell is going on?" And one guy, wearing a balaclava, walks up to me. I look up and he says "Mr. McNally, how you doing?" It was about the most frightening thing anybody ever said to me because I had absolutely no idea who the hell he was. But he knew who I was, and I remember he says, "Mr. McNally how are you doing, stay where you are, just stay where you are son. We are just gonna have words with a couple of friends of yours." And they went into the disco…	**B**
Constant Anxiety	When I was a young kid, I could walk down the street…and say [whether] that kid is a Protestant. or a Catholic. It's a survival instinct. If you're in the wrong side of the town it is not safe. So, you are always kind of looking around you [thinking] am I okay? am I safe? am I not safe?"	**A**
	2. Anger	
Glad he died	When I was 8, I had Brother Lauren. He was the most evil person I knew. Vicious. He beat kids with a leather strap. So, at one point that year [when Brother Lauren was my teacher], I was refusing to go to school because he was beating up everybody And the most annoying thing was, he died that summer after I had him for the year. So, we went on summer vacation… two weeks later, after the school year	**F**

	ended, he died. And I remember my mom told me he died and I said, "why couldn't the [expletive] have died last year."	
Confronting a teacher years later	He just said "what?" I said, "Youse taught us nothing. All ye did was abuse, that's all ye did for five, six years of my life." And I'll never forget him. I told him, "you're a stone-cold child-abuser." And I said, 'youse made about five or six of my years was just terrible."	**S**
Angry at teachers	I've been so angry at them [his teachers] over the years	**Ja**
Confronting a nun	[My sister] was I was tortured by a nun, a nun at school. She was horrible to her. Years later [my sister saw the nun] at a funeral and she backed her into the corner of the church and proceeded to tell her off. She said, "when I walked away, it felt so good." She [the nun] was very upset and apologized and whatever.	**Jo**
Cannot forgive him	Jim MacMahon. I just despised the man. He died of a heart attack about three years after I left school, I and I remember, when I heard, saying "I hoped he died kicking and screaming." I consider myself a Christian, [but] even to this day, I find it very difficult to look back and find any way to forgive him. Here's the thing, though, if I'm going to be honest. I probably suffered more from what happened to me at school than I realized.	
Three Catholic kids burn to death; Ian Paisley makes excuses	There was one particular incident. The town I lived in at the end was called Ballymoney and there was these three little kids. Their mother was next door having drinks with friends; the kids were in the house; they were in bed. These guys [soldiers] petrol bomb the house and it gets burnt. The kids burnt to death in the house because they were Catholics. [This was a sectarian arson attack on a Catholic home in a predominately Protestant area]. So, Ian Paisley, I remember him being interviewed the next day, and he tried to make the mother was a drug addict. And she was this and she was that and you know, it was disgusting. So, at that age, I was probably 18,19 and I remember having been very, very angry. Just things like that	**Ja**
No police protection for Catholic kids from Protestant gangs	Catholics lived in one half of the town. Our school was in the other half of the town. So, you had to walk through the Protestant neighborhood to get to school. Gangs of Protestants would line up along sidewalk, because you'd be walking back home from the Catholic school, and they'd line up and beat the [expletive] out of you when you walked past. The most annoying part was, there was a police security booth right there. And the police were sitting right there and just watched them beat us up. Did nothing	**F**
I wish they were dead	I was back visiting in [her hometown] and my friend, Eithna, said, "hey ya want to go say hello at the old school?' And I was like, "are you [expletive] kidding me?? I hate those [expletive] …I never want to see them again. I wish they were [expletive] dead."	**Ji**

I grew up hating the British because of what they did to my father	I grew up hatin the British. Hating what they done to my father, you know, and everything else. Me father couldn't vote, You know what I mean, he wasn't allowed to vote. There was no opportunity for work because you're a Catholic	**E**
If he let his guard down, it would just come flooding out.	Some nights like, on a weekend or something, he might have a few drinks and then like, he takes the [Irish tin] whistles out and starts playing his music. And then...he just starts crying. And he's like "they did this," and "they did that." And the tears start. So, it's like, it's there. But he won't let it come out and he won't, there's no way [he would] go to therapy or anything. So, he's really angry. He's really hurt. And it's [had] a huge impact on him. But I don't know, he just keeps battling through it, yeah. So, I'd say if he let his guard down, it would just come flooding out."	**P**
The tone and body language displayed when this statement was made is relevant and noted here.	**3. Resignation/ Violence Normalized/Wonder and Amusement**	
Tone: resignation	Was I hit more than I should? Yes. Did I see people hit more than should? Every day. That's the way it was. You answer wrong or don't get the homework off someone, you get called stupid or get three of the best. That's, it's just the way it was. I could take it. Some couldn't	**A**
Tone: resignation	We were used to it…You knew you were going to get up the next day and go to school. You know, we were all used to it. Not a nice thing to be used to, is it?	**C**
Tone: resignation	You get used to it. Getting strapped or caned, it's…it's just something you gotta learn to accept. [interviewers note: these last two sentences were delivered with an overwhelming tone of defeat and resignation].	**F**
Tone: resignation	It [school] was a box, and you were inside.	**E**
Tone: resignation	Corporal punishment happened frequently...It was a way of life. It was very much your way of life	**L**
Tone: resignation	Your parents just knew that [corporal punishment] was part of the system.	**P**
Tone: violence normalized	I can live with [a teacher] hit me, like, you did something wrong, you get smacked, end of story, you're done. Okay? Let's move on. When you grow up in it, you become complacent, like that's your norm…	**P**

	[Teachers] would smack you or they would kind of embarrass you, but it was just, we would try to carry on and stuff.	
Tone: violence normalized	I get caned, so be it. I would take it.	**A**
Tone: resignation	Was it traumatizing? Yes…all that stuff's hard to talk about, you know. You bottle it up.	**Ja**
Tone: resignation	I got disengaged because of the erratic abuse of the Christian Brothers teaching there… they would put their exertion into it [hitting students]. And that was basically it… I just didn't want to engage…When I turned up for the Sportsday and I won the two sprint races, all of a sudden, I was considered an athlete and became relatively popular with the teachers. It didn't mean that much to me …I left school.	**B**
Tone: violence normalized	When the Troubles were on, that was your life...since you were born… You just dealt with it.. You are just used to seeing [bombings and shootings] on the TV on the news every day, you are just, 'okay, that's life.' You dealt with it. I mean, when you would walk down the street, you are walking in the middle of 12, 18 fully armed soldiers and you are their shield. It was everyday life.	**E**
Tone: wonder or amusement	In many ways [we grew up in] a mini war zone. But 70% of the time, it was normal, so you just did your normal activity. And saying that, normal activity was sometimes to spend time practicing throwing Molotov cocktails.	**F**
Tone: violence normalized	You get stopped by the police in regular conditions because you were Catholic. You just dealt with it. It was everyday life	**F**
Tone: wonder or amusement	But you know, when you're living there and living in them times. It's just life. You know, you deal with it. It's when you leave, and you go back and look at it. You're like, oh my god, I would I ever want my kids to grow up like that? That was [our] normal.	**Ji**
Tone: violence normalized	[The police/British army] would pull us from the car and they held us. It was nothing major…It's just part of life, like the security line at the airport. Only a couple of times every day.	**Jo**
Tone: violence normalized	It was tough times. But yeah, ye just get on with it. You know, suppose it just become second nature to ye really	**L**
Tone: wonder or amusement	I moved to Dublin and then some friends of mine, we're in the pub and they kept getting bomb scares and they're like "come on! we need to go! we need go! And I'm going "just wait. Nothing's gonna happen. Just finish your pint. You're fine." And they'd be "but we got a bomb scare." I said, "I know but it's fine. Just finish your pint. Maybe we'll just get last rounds before we go" And they'd be "there's a bomb scare!" And I'd go like, "I get it! , you're fine." We'd never leave when there is a bomb scare anymore. Like, it's just like your rationalities.	**P**

Tone: violence normalized	That's just the way it was. Terrible things happened to people you knew. Wrong place, wrong time, you know what I mean? Things happen because they happen and if they didn't happen there, they'd happen somewhere else. It's just one of them things.	S
Tone: violence normalized	The Troubles were a norm for me. They started in 1968. I was four years old. And I remember watching it on television. It consumed the news, the local news , like all you saw was bombing this and bombing that. And the only people on television were the politicians of both sides. People like Ian Paisley, John Hume, Gerry Adams, and Brian Faulkner was a prime minister in the early 70s. I didn't feel anything; in a sense that that was the norm. You're not thinking, Oh, why is my life Oh, why? Oh, woe is me. I live in a sectarian environment. That's just the way it is	B
Tone: wonder or amusement	I never really noticed how bad it was until I came here. And I was always in such admiration that different religions got together…kind of melded together. It did not matter, and I thought, "this is great!" I thought "this is fantastic!" It really opened my eyes and I said, "This is good."	A
Tone: violence normalized	You just dealt with it. It was everyday life .	F
Tone: violence normalized	Northern Ireland was a tough, tough place one time, definitely, when you look back at it. But at the time, ye blew through it.	S

The Fourth Theme	Participant Statements	
Impact of the Nexus on Adulthood	**1. Impact on Parenting**	
I stood up for my kids	I stood up for all my kids because I don't think our parents stood up for us.	Ji
Don't want her grandkids to experience what she did	I would not like to think of my grandkids getting hit or anything at school like I was.	C
I can't help with her homework, but I listen to her	I can't help [his daughter] with her homework. I'm not that way inclined… but I listened to her….And I tell her that I love her…make sure she knows she's loved. But math, reading stuff. I wouldn't. I leave that to the teachers	A
I was furious	I went off to school and I was furious…I was like, you better get [her son's teacher] down here…to talk to me because…what she did to my son was not nice and I was furious.	C
Listen to your child	One thing is, as a parent you have to listen to your kid.	C

I can't teach them stuff cause I never learned.	I can't teach them stuff because I never learned, but I talk to my kids and know what is going on with their school and learning and all this and that.	**E**
She went to American schools	My wife does most of the talking with the teachers. She grew up and went to American schools.	**E**
Why do I have to go to that [school meeting/event]? I could be doing ten other things	I had to be dragged into their school activities or teachers meetings or Back-to-School nights. Like, I did go, but I was under duress. I had to. And I'd be thinking "Why do I have to go to that [school meeting/event]? I could be doing ten other things." But whenever I always went to them, I always enjoyed them.	**Ja**
I was strong and active with my kids	I was very strong and active with my kids in school. That [cruel treatment] was not gonna happen to them.	**Ji**
The school is the educator	[The school] would have been the primary educators and we were the secondary educator…We assist in the child's education, by supporting the school	**L**
That's the teacher's job	My attitude is, so I'm sending you to the school for 6, 5 to 6 hours a day. I've been at work all day. Why am I coming home to do your homework with you? That's the teacher's job. If you're not teaching them in school, what are you doing? Why am I doing your job for you?	**B**
It's not my job	I would get really frustrated. I work really long hours. Why am I at home spending my free time doing a teacher's job? You have a job educate my children, educate them, it's not my job."	**F**
That is the school's job… They [the school] needed to do their job.	That is the school's job. I remember last year tryin to sort out Saoirse's IEP and she wasn't. And they weren't. They were saying she wasn't doing her homework and we told her over and over but…I was having a panic attack so much stress having to deal with Saoirse's teachers. She'd tell me she had done her homework, then the teacher said she had zeros. I couldn't deal with it. They [the school] needed to do their job. I hired that education consultant, and she got Saoirse, got the district to pay for Saoirse to go to [name of a private school]. I couldn't deal with it. I can't do homework with my kids; I have a job. They were blaming me and blaming Saoirse but they weren't doing what they needed to do to educate Saoirse.	**Ji**
The purpose/value of education	He (her son) is talking about going…to college. But I don't know…what he's going to study. I'm like, What's he gonna do with [a degree]? No money? No future? Honestly, I think he would be good at electrical work… I really think he would be good in a trade.	**C**
The purpose/value of education	The church was more worried about you learning… the Rosary than you learning to read and write. They [the Catholic church] wasn't gonna want you to [get] any kind of education that might challenge the church, challenge…its authority	**L**

The purpose/value of education	There was never any pressure to like get O-levels or A-levels because there was no belief, no expectation that you would… [be going] to university. What was the point of getting a college degree unless you know there is a job that exists that it will get you?	**Ja**
The purpose/value of education	Getting a higher degree in Northern Ireland, in the 60s and 70s, didn't, you wouldn't get a good job because all the good jobs went to Protestants. In America in the 60s, 70s, 80s, education was the door to a better life. In Ireland, the only way an education was a door is if you took that door out of Ireland. Everybody with a college degree [who was Catholic] went to the south, went to America, Australia, Canada, Europe, the UK, etc.	**B**
The purpose/value of education	There was no value. I learned nothing.	**Ji**
The purpose/value of education	To give you the best possible advantage…security. Lifestyle…she [his daughter] can make more money [if she gets a college education]	**F**
The purpose/value of education	There was no purpose to the education I got in primary or secondary school. None. I never use anything I learned. Didn't teach me anything I needed. I had to teach myself.	**E**
	2. Truncated Education	
The teachers just knocked the desire for an education out of me	The teachers, how school was run, just knocked it [the desire for an education] out of me. I was like, I'm done with this thing…I left school when I was 16.	**F**
Dropped out at 16, later, in America, went back to school at 47 years of age. Currently has doctorate	That was the minute [when Master MacMahon beat him brutally because he couldn't understand his homework], if you want the minute that I decided I wasn't going to be the educated. I wasn't a rebel. I didn't do disruptive things. I just, you know, decided I'm not participating anymore; I'm checking out. That was a date and time I disengaged. But that … that was probably the watershed moment [that] turned me against education…I dropped out at 16 with no qualifications. [Later, at age 47, Brendan returned to school in America. In nine years, he got his GED, BA, Master's, and Doctorate].	**B**
Teachers drove him out. Left at 16.	I left school at 16. I had Mrs. Walsh for a cookery class or home economics. We cooked on these really old stoves [that] you had to light behind the oven. I turned the gas on and went back up to the front of the class to get the lighter. [When he returned a tried to light the stove], I lit it and, whoosh!! It kind of took my eyebrows off, my hair off. Mrs. Walsh grabbed me by my hair and dragged me out of the class. It wasn't "are you okay?" or "what happened?" It was just "get out and don't come back"	**Ja**
They didn't even try to teach us. Left at 16.	I couldn't do my homework. I didn't know it, but I was dyslexic. The teachers weren't trained you know. I still can't read a lot of things. I couldn't do the homework so got hit probably once a day… [In]	**A**

	secondary school most of the teachers didn't care. You could just sit there. They didn't even try to teach us… I was never a good student in the first place. I'm sure that didn't help. I left school when I was 16.	
Never one day a good experience, left at 16	There was never one day good experience when I went to school…[I was] in class 4, the lowest… We were stupid, and the teachers never taught us anymore, the farmers' kids, kids like me… I left school at 16. [Eoghan later took vocational classes in woodworking and is the owner of a successful carpentry business].	E
Didn't really learn. Dropped out before 16th birthday	I didn't really learn much in school…I couldn't wait to get out of it. Move on, you know. [Sean left school just before his 16th birthday.	S
I just wanted out of school	I just wanted out of school…I had no real I no real interest in it…totally demotivated me. I did my A levels… I didn't care about results or anything because I wasn't going to [more school]… I was going straight into a job." Liam left work and started with the Garda Síochána at 18.	L
Couldn't wait to get away	I couldn't wait to get away from school. Couldn't wait to get away. It was horrible. [Jillian left school at 16, right after taking her O-levels. She is currently a very successful entrepreneur and business owner].	Ji
	3. Common Attributes	
Not easily intimidated	In law enforcement as I see things and deal with things differently than other cops. I have a different outlook towards it. I would say, there's an arrogance about it. 'Look, I have been through the Troubles What do you think you can do in America to me?' I remember locking up this one 19-year-old kid; he's tall, a big basketball player. I remember when I was locking him up, he started shoving his shoulders and grunting at me as if to intimidate me. And I turned around and looked at him and I said, "son I've been frightened by professionals. You're not even an amateur"	B
Not easily intimidated	I worked [at] an Irish Hospital in Baghdad. So, we would have to walk from the apartment blocks and across to where the Irish hospital was. And there were these army guys with guns along the side of the road. My friends would go, "there's a soldier up there with a gun." I'd be like, "yeah. Whatever." And [the other nurses] would be like, "he's got a gun! He's a soldier, he's got a gun! He's got a huge gun!" And I'd be "what's wrong??" They'd say, "Aren't you scared?" I'd thought like, "scared of what? Big deal." They'd say, "So this was your life every day?" And I'd be "Yeah. What's the big deal? It's just like, that's normal." And they go, "what part of it's not [expletive] normal do you not get?!?" But it's just, I was so used to seeing soldiers and armored cars and like, tanks, and bombs, and whatever.	

Being a man means being able to take care of yourself	I think the Troubles hardened us up, so. Be a man. Watch out for yourself.	S
Not easily annoyed	I'm sure school and the Troubles had some impact with me...It gives you the skills to deal with things. Is that the worst you can throw me? I've seen worse than that. I guess it gives you the skill to cope with things that will really annoy other people. So even the guys who work for me are like, wow, Fintan, it takes a lot to [expletive] you off. It does teach you to deal with things that are inconvenient or annoying. You learn to cope with things.	F
Strong work ethic	It's just, [we are] just driven but in like a positive way driven. Work hard… I think we have that, like don't be afraid to work hard. Don't be afraid to go after what you now go after. And I think things through.	S
Strong work ethic	I'm a worker, I find Irish people are workers…we Irish are workers.	C
Self-discipline	I learned self-discipline… I was successful in spite of the education I received in Northern Ireland. Most of what I've accomplished is because I fell outside the system	B
Entrepreneurial skills/personality	I have five sisters, four brothers...nobody in our house nobody in our house works for anybody. They're all self-employed.	S
Entrepreneurial skills/personality	I went into police work. I have one sister who is a teacher. All the rest work for themselves. And even in my job, I chose to stay a detective, rather than rise up to a higher-ranking position. Not only am I not micro-managed [as a detective], I have autonomy in how I decide an investigation should be conducted. The other thing I like about being a detective that I would lose if I moved back into the chain of command [became a supervisor such as a sergeant or captain] is that I would lose the opportunity to make more money by taking on extra investigations. At one time, when my oldest was in college, I was pulling maybe 90 hours a week, making as much as 110K more than my base salary.	B
Substance abuse	Four of the participants reported being a recovering alcoholic. An additional two reported relaxing in the evening with several drinks almost every night. The quotes are not ascribed to the individual who said them as an added layer of confidentiality.	n/a
Avoiding school	I couldn't deal with [teacher conferences]. I was having panic attacks.	Ji
Avoiding thinking	I never sit down like. I don't really sit. I'm not a sitter. I'm always on the move…so, I don't sit. I don't sit a lot to be honest with you. It's funny.	C
Avoidance - workaholism	The trauma from whenever I was younger…it would bubble out in different ways of depression, a constant need to feel like I got to work work work to provide provide provide	Ja

| Avoidance - workaholism | He's just like this workaholic. Now, if he stops working, I would be afraid of what happens because he doesn't let his guard down. He's always really focused...He's always um been like, work, work work. | **P** |