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Ethnic Differences in Education in England:

Survey Report



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ABOUT EDUMIGROM

Ethnic Differences in Education and Diverging Prospects for Urban Youth in an Enlarged Europe is a collaborative research project that aims to study how ethnic differences in education contribute to the diverging prospects of minority ethnic youth and their peers in urban settings. Through applying a cross-national comparative perspective, the project explores the overt and covert mechanisms in socio-economic, political, cultural, and gender relations that make ethnicity a substantive component of inequalities in social status and power. The project involves nine countries from old and new member states of the European Union: the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. EDUMIGROM began in March 2008 and will run through February 2011. The project is coordinated by the Center for Policy Studies at Central European University in Budapest, Hungary.

ABOUT THE PAPER

The second phase of EDUMIGROM was dedicated to collecting quantitative data in schools in ethnically diverse communities selected by EDUMIGROM research teams. Self-reporting, anonymous questionnaires were filled out by students, teachers, and school officials in targeted classes and schools in the selected communities. These questionnaires were designed to generate extensive datasets, which also facilitate the cross-country, comparative analyses pursued in the subsequent phase of EDUMIGROM research. Data were collected during spring 2009, and country-specific datasets were completed by June 2009. A total of eight survey reports were prepared. Selected reports made available to the wider public may use pseudonyms or exclude sensitive information on the sites and schools selected for EDUMIGROM field research.

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Introduction

This introduction provides a brief background to the report. It outlines the main issues addressed by the subsequent chapters. Further, it will summarise the considerations that guided the selection of the given black and minority ethnic (BME) groups in the focus of the study, and introduces the rationale behind choosing NorthCity¹ as a site, as well as the types of schools, and classes under investigation. Finally, it will address the major methodological issues involved in the empirical work, and consider the relevance and validity of the data upon which later discussions rely.

This study forms part of a three-year research project entitled 'Ethnic differences in education and diverging prospects for urban youth in an enlarged Europe' (EDUMIGROM). The project aims to conduct a comparative investigation in ethnically diverse communities with second-generation migrants and Roma in nine countries of the European Union. The purpose of the Survey Report is to give an analytical account of the UK's quantitative survey run among Year 10 (14-15 year old) pupils in three multicultural secondary schools in 2008-2009. Besides providing data and descriptions of the basic demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the sample in comparison to the community as a whole, the report focuses on key aspects of inter-ethnic relations as perceived by BME and white pupils. It will also discuss the complex issue of identity formation as approached by the interviewees in terms of group belonging. Further, in-depth analysis will be given by the study about pupils' perceptions of the meaning of 'ethnic' identification in their daily life; the sources of pride and shame that they owe to ethnicity as well as experiences with various forms of discrimination. In subsequent chapters, the report will introduce variations in school experiences and the major factors that shape them, and will show their implications for past and projected educational careers. Finally yet importantly, the report will show how pupils think about their adult lives, what are the driving values that they consider important and how they plan to meet them, what they hope for, and what do they fear.

Research in UK secondary schools over the past fifty years has largely been dominated by the issue of educational participation, (in)equality and how to make schooling equitable for all (Fry, Hunter; Law; Osler; Swann, Tzanelli and Williams, 2008). Much of this has tended to focus on race/ ethnicity, gender and social class as explanatory factors and the subsequent gulf between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. With the implications of BME in its focus, the major dimension of comparisons throughout the report will be that of ethnicity: it is a primary aim of the analysis to show how experiences, relationships, immediate and future plans and ideas of pupils (and families) belonging to BME groups differ from those of white pupils. Or for that matter, how have differences known earlier in the UK withered away in recent times. At the same time, we are all aware that 'ethnicity' is not the sole factor at play here: social background, gender, residence, peer-relations, certain dramatic events in life, etc. are of equal (if not larger in some

¹ Throughout the report as well as in references, the pseudonym of 'NorthCity' has been employed in order to preserve anonymity.

cases) importance in shaping opportunities and ideas – not to speak of the magnifying impact of intersectionality among the various components. Hence, wherever it is viable, the report will apply a multi-dimensional perspective, and give as deep an account of the data as possible. With all these considerations in mind, the report will be on a meta-analytical level: it will go beyond mere descriptions, but certainly will not aspire at an all-inclusive discussion of 'ethnicity' amidst the structural forces that shape social position, recognition, and power. However, it aims at providing important new insights into the early formation of identity and inter-ethnic relations, respectively, that the research collective of the project considers being decisive in informing the 'hard-core' building blocks of the social structure as we experience it in its manifestations on the stages of adult life.

Choice of site

NorthCity was selected as a site to conduct the research for a number of reasons. With a population of 513,234 inhabitants, it is sizeable and fairly 'typical' in terms of the ethnic profile of the region and other major cities in England. Its white British population accounted for 89% of the total population in 2001 (Table 1, Appendix) which was in line with the national picture where 87% of the population of England identified themselves as such. However, this picture is changing, with a rapidly increasing ethnically diverse population – in recent years, Eastern European immigration. In terms of the ethnic profile of the region, between the 1991 and 2001² census, the BME population of NorthCity grew by almost 80%. The largest BME groups in the city are Pakistani (3% of the total population) followed by Caribbean (2% when taking into account Mixed: White and Black Caribbean).

Pupils in NorthCity are attaining at a lower rate than pupils nationally. Schools in the city have made national headlines in recent years for behaviour problems. 2008 Local Education Authority data shows that 21% of the secondary school population in NorthCity are from BME backgrounds (6,069 of a total of 30,801). This compares with 11% in 1998 (Table 2, Appendix). Such rapid growth has brought about new challenges particularly to schools who have limited experience of managing and accommodating such change. While they continue to live in particular areas of the inner city, in particular older industrial areas and to attend schools in these areas, increasingly schools not traditionally associated with cultural diversity, have experienced a rising BME pupil population in the last few years. This appears to be the beginnings of reduced racial and ethnic segregation, and suburbanisation. This changing pattern of school attendance is what makes NorthCity an interesting place for this research.

However, the impact of increased BME presence in schools can also be seen to have had powerful segregating effects over the last two decades. A number of examples demonstrates this clearly. School 10, which is situated in the Northeast of the city, has a BME population of 91%, predominantly Pakistani pupils. Rather than its composition being due to 'white flight', this is due mostly to BME parents actively making the choice to send their children to this school. On the other hand, the recent fate of School 4 situated across the city tells of a

² The proportion of BME groups in England rose from 6% to 9%, which was partly the result of the addition of Mixed ethnic groups in 2001.

different story. In brief, School 4 is a former grammar school which had a historical reputation of academic excellence. By the 1980s, its catchment area was redefined to include areas of deprivation, which meant increasing numbers of poor pupils began attending, a large proportion of whom were BME. This rapidly resulted in 'white flight'. By the early 1990s, the school's population had sunk from 2,200 to 500 pupils as middle class parents actively made the choice to send their children to School 21 (Table 9, Appendix). This year it, was announced that the school would have to close. The only schools that had significantly higher proportions of BME pupils were School 4, whose BME population constitutes 72.7% and On the other hand, there are such as Schools 6-9, 15, 22 and 25 which are predominantly white. In practice then the BME population is not spread equally among NorthCity's secondary schools and ethnic segregation is evident.

A major point of consideration was the fact that NorthCity remains a highly polarised city with substantial difference between the most deprived and the least deprived. On one hand, NorthCity has 53 Super Output Areas (SOA)³ in the 20% least deprived nationally.⁴ One ranked in the 1% least deprived in England (ranked 32,223 out of 32482). On the other hand, the area of Brunsmere ranked within the 2% most deprived nationally in 2007 (ranked 548 out of 32482).

Table 4 (Appendix) indicates that overall NorthCity has made minimal improvement from 60th most deprived in the country in 2004 to 63rd most deprived in 2007. It is this consistent level of deprivation in particular that particularly makes it a site of interest. NorthCity has 76 of its 339 SOAs in the top 10% most deprived nationally. Mapping social disparities for the city indicates a deprived Northeast and affluent Southwest. Broadly speaking the working class (with or without employment) live in the old housing estates and the middle classes in the mainly white suburbs. This separation means that the social tensions evident in the classroom are easy to see. The ethnic geography of the city was available from official Office for National Statistics (ONS) at neighbourhood level and the greatest BME concentration is around the centre and the East of the city in areas, which have a poor reputation locally as areas to avoid because of fear of crime and violence.

Comparisons of social gradients over time in NorthCity are difficult because different measures have been used. However, to gain a picture of socioeconomic stratification in NorthCity over

³ Super Output Area (SOA) are a relatively new geographic measure designed to improve the reporting of small area statistics in a number of domains (community wellbeing; crime and safety; education, skills and training; indices of deprivation; people and society; physical environment). This measure is used to give an idea of conditions within a community, highlighting any areas of deprivation. It is currently available at two levels: Middle Layer Super Output Areas (MSOAs) with a minimum population of 5,000 are built from Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs). (Since LSOAs have a minimum population of 1000, they are restricted due to data protection issues around maintaining the confidentiality of individual Census returns). There are 32,482 LSOAs in England and Wales, each of which has been assigned a score and rank. The LSOA ranked 1 is the most deprived and the LSOA ranked 32,482, is the least deprived.

⁴ Based on the Indices of Deprivation 2007 which was published in December 2007 by the Department for Communities and Local Government. The Indices of Deprivation measures multiple deprivation at small area level for each of the 32,482 Output Areas of England. The statistics are presented as a set of scores for a range of topic areas, or 'domains' which are used to identify how an area compares with other parts of the country. The lower the score, the more deprived the area is for that topic.

time. Vision of Britain, an Internet resource on Britain's history between 1801-2001,⁵ has re-organised earlier occupational information to the Registrar General's Social Classification (Table 3, Appendix).⁶ This maps occupation and employment status to class categories, which does offer some methodological issues but nonetheless offers with some certainty, that socioeconomic inequalities remain constant. Using this scale, in 2001 the professional population (with examples of employment including doctors and lawyers) constituted 15% and the unskilled (labourers and cleaners) 16% of the total population. However, despite the persisting inequality between rich and poor, a positive picture is indicated in that in 2001 the bulk of people were located within classes 2 and 3 at 28% and 26% respectively. Compared to earlier years, this shows the bulk of households are positioned in higher status occupations than ever before. This is likely to be the result of a number of forces.

Many initiatives have been introduced into deprived areas to combat social disadvantage by focusing on tackling unemployment. These are based on the belief that different aspects of social and economic deprivation tend to co-exist in a geographically concentrated way. Initiatives such as Education Action Zones (EAZs) were introduced in the Northeast and the Southeast of the city.⁷ These typically covered 2-3 secondary schools and their feeder primaries with the aim of raising educational standards in each zone. The Neighbourhood Renewal Fund went some way to improving overall quality of life for people living in disadvantaged areas through the development of projects which served the local community. This has included programmes supporting people into employment and lifelong learning and Surestart nurseries⁸ offering childcare allowing parents to retrain or return to work. These programmes aimed to create pathways out of poverty by improving health and wellbeing.

This research places particular focus on the area of Brunsmere. This is a significant inner city area for this study as it is the main ethnically diverse neighbourhood in NorthCity and has been an area of traditional settlement for BME communities for many years. Statistics from NorthCity City Council's Successful Neighbourhoods initiative show that 43% of the population in Brunsmere is from a BME group. Around 15% of the population is of Pakistani origin and almost 10% are Caribbean. The area also has significant populations of Asians, Somalis and Yemenis and a high proportion of this city's refugees and asylum seekers.

The area was integral to NorthCity's industrial hub in its heyday since it is close to the sites of former metal making industries in the valleys. It remains a well-positioned neighbourhood, being a short walk from the city centre with an elevated location and panoramic views, but despite this, it ranks within the most deprived 2% in England and on this measure is comparable to areas of Liverpool and Manchester. The industrial decline and recession of the 1980s and 90s had an adverse effect on the area that suffered high levels of unemployment

⁵ See <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/>

⁶ The scale uses the social status that a given occupation has in society.

⁷ <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/hc0506/hc03/0338/0338.pdf>; <http://vlex.co.uk/vid/north-east-NorthCity-education-action-zone-28386979>

⁸ The aim is to give every child the best start in life so that every child is equipped for school. All 3- and 4-year-olds are entitled to a free, part-time (12.5 hours per week) nursery place.

resulting in poverty and general decline and the ward continues to have problems when compared to city wide, regional and national trends.

An overview is displayed in Table 4 (Appendix) which examines the number of lower level super output areas in each deprivation banding in NorthCity. Overall it indicates that Brunsmere is an area of social exclusion, particularly in respect to economic activity. What has been termed an 'inverse education law' (Wheeler, Shaw; Mitchell and Dorling, 2005) is in operation in Brunsmere since only 4% of the population are employed in higher managerial and professional occupations. This is in sharp contrast with NorthCity as a whole where over 10% of the population work at the higher end of the employment spectrum. At the other end of the spectrum, it has over 20% of income support claimants. In NorthCity overall, this number is below 4% although the figure will inevitably be higher now with the current economic crisis. 12% of households consist of a lone parent with one or more children, which is nearly twice that of NorthCity as a whole.

Crucially, however, the area has become a feared and symbolic location as a result of violent gun crime in recent years. Postcode warfare between gangs of young people from different postcodes areas of the city – in particular, the escalation of a war between rival gangs operating in Brunsmere and the surrounding areas- resulted in a sixteen year old being shot dead on a children's playground in 2007. This was followed by the fatal shooting of a 17-year-old being at a barber's shop. As a result, the area has a high police presence. For a number of years much work has been done in the local area around youth inclusion in an attempt to reduce crime amongst young people. Projects have focused on extending sporting opportunities, encouraging healthy lifestyles, drug education/awareness and an overall diversion from crime and social exclusion.

Currently Brunsmere has a rich and diverse multicultural heritage and has become home to people from White, Black and Asian backgrounds including refugees from Chile, Somalia, Iraq, Sudan and Eritrea. Because of its heavy metal industry NorthCity was heavily bombed during the Second World War and in the years after the British government advertised for people to come and help rebuild the country and fill the labour shortages. Around this time, Brunsmere became home to Caribbean and Pakistan immigrants. Many found jobs in the metal industry and the hospitals.⁹

Brunsmere as a physical area has many social meanings. Foremost it is a highly distinctive locality. In terms of topography, unlike many other deprived areas Brunsmere has a varied character with a diverse mix of housing. Historically, it was a highly desirable area with a mix of wealthy and working class residents. There are large Victorian and Georgian villas dating from the 18th and 19th centuries when Brunsmere was home to many of NorthCity's wealthy industrialists and professional classes. A few impressive Grade II listed¹⁰ buildings remain. There are also terraced houses, which once housed the metal and cutlery workers from NorthCity's industrial past. Some are double bayed Victorian terraces while others are small with a shared

⁹ There is evidence that Brunsmere has long been a multicultural area. In the cemetery there are the graves of Muslim people who had been killed working in industry.

¹⁰ A building officially designated as being of special architectural, historical or cultural interest and therefore protected from demolition or alteration.

back yard. Around this time, many civic buildings and public spaces were created to give fresh air and space to factory workers. In the years following World War II, NorthCity City Council embarked on the development of high density major public housing schemes throughout the city. In the 1960s and 1970s sizeable areas of Brunsmere were redeveloped into traditional Council estates of low rise housing typically laid out around a series of cul-de-sacs, which changed the character of the area dramatically. Much investment has been made in the area in recent years. One troubled estate, which composed of distinctive Italian designed wavy-roofed (or 'upside down') houses was demolished in 2004.

Despite its problems, Brunsmere is a strong community. Brunsmere New Deal for Communities (BNDFC) continued in the same mould as the other initiatives to bring 'long-term transformational change' and prosperity back to the area with the aim of closing the gap in five outcome areas: education, health, unemployment, crime, and physical environment. Investment in BME groups through various targeted initiatives has affected education positively: attainment levels among BME pupils have improved at a faster rate than the city average, as shown the impact of study support projects on GCSE attainment (Table I-1).

Table I-1: *Impact of Study Support Programmes for Pakistani Pupils on GCSE Attainment*

	Average number of GCSE A*-C					
	2006			2007		
	Predicted	Result	Difference	Predicted	Result	Difference
Pupils without Study Support	3.6	3.5	-0.1	4.0	3.6	-0.4
Pupils participating in Study Support	5.2	6.5	+1.3	4.1	5.9	+1.8

A number of positive projects have been developed with the aim of celebrating the area's diversity. There is a multicultural festival which runs in the area every year for people of different backgrounds to celebrate their cultures. NorthCity Theatres worked with people in the area on a project that looked at the personal journeys of people to develop performances. A community heritage and history project, which aimed to bring to life and celebrate the history of Brunsmere through its stories and residents, ran from 2004-2007. These projects do seem to have helped community cohesion. There are also a number of pressure groups operating in the area which focus on giving voice to local people. In 1999, a magazine was put together by volunteers with the aim of supporting local people's campaigns. (The front page of the first issue was in support of a Black teenager, who had been knocked off his bike by an unmarked police car driven by plain-clothes officers who were undertaking surveillance and then run over again).

One problem in the Northeast of the city, has been that more motivated youngsters from aspirational families tended to go to secondary schools or sixth-form colleges in the more prosperous Southwest, so the creation of a sixth-form college, which opened in 2004 forms a

key part of the local 14-19 agenda¹¹. The challenge is to improve what is still one of the worst post-16 staying-on rates in the country. This college has major challenges to overcome in the form of high levels of deprivation and low GCSE results. A contextual point of significance is that recruitment of BME students for this college is well above the proportion of BME pupils in local schools, which would seem to indicate varied post-16 trajectories on the basis of ethnicity.

Methodology

The aim of this research was to collect data from a large sample of Y10 pupils and evaluate their experiences. To meet this aim, it was decided that a questionnaire based survey method was most appropriate because it allowed quick and convenient collection of a variety of data from a number of points and main issues could quickly be identified. It also meant we were able to reach the target groups without singling them out. In order to ensure compliance with University Ethics, anonymity was maintained during the survey by the use of a personal identification code. The questionnaire format would be fairly familiar to pupils and it was felt that the design generally would not make pupils apprehensive.

The questionnaire consisted of 67 questions divided into three parts: Life at Home, Life in School and Personal Identity. The answers to most questions were in multiple-choice format. It was piloted in two classes in School 3 in September 2008 to assess the clarity of the questions, which resulted in some minor changes before the questionnaire was finalised in November. After contacting heads of citizenship, providing a brief information about the background and objectives of the survey the questionnaire was distributed to all Y10s in three secondary schools in NorthCity between November and February among all Y10 pupils. The Research Fellow went into all classes and worked alongside the class teacher to ensure the questionnaires were completed.

The primary objective was to collect a high quality data set to enable comparisons to be made and the size of the sample was set at a minimum of 500. The three schools yielded a potential response rate of 554 pupils and a total of 434 questionnaires were completed which represents an overall response rate of 78.3%. Missing questionnaires were due to absentees, mainly at School 2. The composition of missing respondents was pupils from lower status families, roughly one-third of whom were BME. There was a lot of Connexions¹² work going on with Y10s at that point in the year, looking at post-16 routes into education or employment, which clashed with some classes completing the survey. Of the completed questionnaires, 228 (52%) were White British, 60 (14%) were Pakistani and 31 (7%) were Caribbean with 1 Traveller of Irish heritage. 114 (26%) did not answer the ethnicity question or were of other ethnic groups. Those who actively chose not to respond were predominantly Caribbean and African

¹¹ The 14-19 Agenda is the national drive to engage young people in learning through flexible and personalised routes: <http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/14-19/>

¹² The Connexions Service is an information, advice and support service available to young people aged 13-19. Connexions advisors are based in secondary schools to advise on learning, training, employment and careers: <http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/everychildmatters/Youth/youthmatters/connexions/connexions/>

underachieving boys from poor backgrounds. Although not all respondents answered every question, we gained a sample size that was satisfactory for statistical analysis.

In terms of gathering data at wider level, description of the characteristics of the selected communities in NorthCity is based on information taken from the 2001 Census, as well as newspaper archives and statistics and reports taken from the Local Education Authority. The introduction of Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC) meant that accurate data analysis by ethnicity and socioeconomic status, using the free school meals (FSM) measure was possible. The 2001 Census of Population provides the most comprehensive picture of the ethnic composition of England¹³ (Table I-2) but this can only give a snapshot picture of the country at this time and is essentially eight years out of date. It does indicate that the age structures of different communities vary considerably. Overall BME groups are proportionally larger among youths than among adults. 55.1% of the Pakistani community are under 25. While the Black Caribbean community has much the same age profile as the White British group, two-thirds of White and Black Caribbeans are aged under 16 and 80% are under 25.

Table I-2: Age structure by ethnicity

Ethnicity	0-15	16-24	25-59	60+	Total
White British	17.8%	12.7%	46.8%	21.9%	457,728
Caribbean	36%	12.1%	38.0%	13.9%	8,872
White and Black Caribbean	64.9%	15.4%	17.5%	2.2%	3,702
Black Caribbean	15.2%	9.8%	52.6%	22.3%	5,172
Pakistani	36.9%	18.2%	37.6%	7.2%	15,844

Source: 2001 Census of Population

The survey did prove to be effective in the data we needed, but there were some limitations posed that could have a negative effect upon the results. Gaining entry to secondary schools was an issue from the beginning. Entry to a different city in northern England we had originally intended to do the survey in quickly proved impossible. The schools we wanted to target were schools with ethnically diverse pupil populations. These were often inner city schools with bad reputations that were facing difficulties. One school in particular attracted bad press and featured regularly in the local news for incidents including police riot vans being called in on several occasions and teachers being 'attacked' by pupils. Two months was spent trying to make initial contact directly to these schools through letters, phone calls and emails but this received limited response so the decision was made to move the location to NorthCity, which is similar in terms of observed patterns and trends, but more importantly is where the Research Fellow already had contacts.

¹³ The Census of Population, conducted in England and Wales by The Office for National Statistics (ONS) and in Scotland by the General Register Office for Scotland (GRO), is the only source of data on the ethnic composition of the population at small area level in Great Britain. A question on ethnicity was introduced for the first time in 1991.

In order to reach our target responses the schools we particularly wanted to target were multicultural schools. According to local education authority data these tended to be situated in inner city areas where schools are facing the greatest challenges. We were not able to gain access to the first two choices. School 10 was the first choice of site as it was unusual in that less than 10% of its pupil body were White British. Of a population of 749 pupils, 359 were Pakistani. However, this school already had a PhD student in researching the experiences of Pakistani pupils in school so there was the issue of 'consultation fatigue'. School 4 initially had agreed to take part but had to pull out as they were targeted as part of National Challenge.¹⁴ However, we made contact with schools 1, 2 and 3 and access was secured shortly after. This was due mostly to the fact the Research Fellow had worked in all three of the schools at some point of the last four years and had already built trusting relationships with gatekeepers. The final selection of schools, although not the first choice, nevertheless gave an effective point of comparison, a point discussed further in 1:2. Another problem related to finding sufficient representation from targeted ethnic groups. This was a particular problem with Caribbean pupils who were dispersed throughout all secondary schools in the city.

2008 Data from the Local Education Authority also indicated only 19 pupils of Gypsy/Roma origin and 7 Traveller of Irish heritage pupils in secondary schools. They were concentrated in School 3, but when we ran the survey, they had all left. As a sub sample this group made up such a small percentage of the total number of pupils, which would cause large sampling errors which is why they have not been included in the survey. A major issue lies with Gypsies and Traveller group since precise numbers of Gypsies and Travellers within the United Kingdom are unknown. The Commission for Racial Equality (2006) estimates that there are between 270,000 and 360,000 Gypsies and Travellers in England living in houses, and around three times those numbers maintaining a nomadic lifestyle.

Clarity regarding the purpose and focus of the survey was an issue from the outset as ethnicity is a sensitive and sometimes explosive issue. For example, School 3 had a history of race riots between pupils from the surrounding Tannery-Rise 'white' estate and primarily Brunsmere BME pupils.

The student survey did pose problems in terms of the cooperation of respondents. Many pupils felt that the questions asked were too intrusive and asked information which was too personal. Their reactions were "Why do they want to know how many TVs we've got and where I live? Are they going to burgle us?" Promising anonymity through the ID number did little to alleviate this. Questions relating to ethnicity caused some outrage, which is a point discussed in some depth in 5.1. I explained the fact that the study placed recognition of the fact that a person's ethnic group is an integral part of their identity in the same way as gender.

Another issue was the length of the questionnaire, which proved too long for lower ability SEN groups. In such a scenario, the Research Fellow and the teacher would attempt to troubleshoot. In groups where behaviour was challenging this proved quite difficult. In School 2 for example, one of the lessons was covered by a supply teacher who did not know pupils in sufficient depth.

¹⁴ National Challenge is a programme of support which was launched in 2008 to secure higher standards in secondary schools. The goal is that by 2011, at least 30% of pupils at every secondary school in England will achieve 5 A*-C grades including both English and Mathematics: <http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/nationalchallenge/>

Despite running the pilot, some of the wording of the questions still proved too difficult for pupils. For example the citizenship question regularly caused problems and this was always explained as which passport they had.

Despite these issues every effort was made to ensure all pupils filled in the survey. No adjustment was made for respondents who were absent on the day the survey was carried out or for pupils who failed to answer a question, answered inconsistently, or answered incorrectly. As such, the data base is incomplete in part.

Conclusion

The report proceeds as follows. Chapter 1 discusses the main characteristics of the Pakistani and Caribbean communities. Chapter 2 describes the sample from a comparative perspective. School achievements are discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 compares attitudes toward the school and interpersonal relations. Chapter 5 examines pupils' perceptions of ethnicity and ethnic identification. Chapter 6 looks at ideas about adult life and the final chapter provides a summary and conclusions.

1. Main characteristics of the selected communities and schools

Following the Introduction, which provided an overview of the choice of site, this chapter discusses choice of BME communities and schools. The first section introduces the selected communities, where the research took place by highlighting the major historical, social, economic and ethnic characteristics. It discusses how the communities are concentrated in the city as a whole as well as at particular schools. The second part of the chapter introduces the schools.

1.1 Introducing the selected communities

First, we have to see each community at large: what kind of socio-historical development it exemplifies in the UK; what is its positioning within the country's current socio-geographical and economic structures; why has it been selected. Further, in order to interpret the findings in later chapters, we certainly need to know where the interviewed pupils' families belong on the larger social, economic, and ethnic map of the local society. Do they come from the better or lower educated groupings? Do they belong to the poorer/richer segments. Does the ethnic composition of the sample correspond to that of the community? Are indices of the living conditions better/worse in 'our' population than in the community in general? Hence, the community will be characterised in ethnographic terms to let the reader visualise where we are, and as long as it is possible, it will give some statistical details along the dimensions that are picked up in the Student Questionnaire.

The UK's focus has been the experiences of Pakistani and Caribbean¹⁵ students. As a crude summary, these two ethnic groups were selected because according to the 2001 Census they are the groups with the lowest levels of GCSE¹⁶ attainment and in adult life, are most likely to lack qualifications (Table 8, Appendix). There are a number of other factors for giving focus to these groups. With Pakistanis, there has been significant interest on British Muslims for some time. The 7-7 London bombings have been viewed as 'proof' that multiculturalism and 'community cohesion' in Britain is an illusion. Three of the four suicide bombers came from 'ordinary' Pakistani families and the fourth was a Caribbean boy. All had been born and schooled in the UK. All lived in a northern city. This study is therefore timely and has implications for exploring ethnicity as it interacts with notions of segregation, disadvantage and citizenship.

¹⁵ Caribbean are in the context of this study defined as pupils for whom one or both parents (or grandparents) originate from the Caribbean (therefore including White and Black Caribbean).

¹⁶ The General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) is an academic qualification taken by pupils aged 15-16 in secondary school. To be able to progress onto Advanced ('A') Levels, pupils would generally be required to achieve 5 grade A*-C including English and Mathematics.

Pakistani

According to the 2001 census, people of Pakistani ethnicity are the second largest minority ethnic group in the United Kingdom and at 20%, Yorkshire and the Humber have the highest proportion. Pakistanis constitute 3% of the regional population and are the largest of the ethnic groups identified in NorthCity (see Table 1, Appendix). Nearly 16,000 Pakistanis live in NorthCity, which is 3% of the total population compared to 1% nationally. Existing statistics indicate this is a fast growing population and NorthCity City Council (2006:4) estimates the number to be nearer 20,000 now.

Over 50% of the Pakistani population were born in the UK which would suggest it is a fairly settled community. Data on National Insurance Number¹⁷ Allocation to Overseas Nationals (NINOs) is no longer available in the public domain¹⁸, but a secondary source (Branagan, 2009) indicates there were 340 in NorthCity, which again would suggest that further immigration of the Pakistani population is not significant. The most numerous age groups (at the 2001 census) were the group of 0-15-year-olds, which was 37% in comparison to 19% in NorthCity as a whole (Table 7, Appendix). NHS statistics indicate future increasing numbers of Pakistani young people in NorthCity due to high birth rates rather than further immigration. Based on this pattern, the proportion of Pakistani pupils is likely to rise over the next few years.

The post-war boom ensured a flow of immigration from the UK's former colonial territories such as the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent to fill the labour shortages during the 1950s and the 1960s. Many studies have pointed out that the early migration of Pakistanis into the UK was mainly among single or married young men who saw it as a valuable means to improve economic prospects. Most intended to stay temporarily to make sufficient money to improve the situation back home. Many Pakistani workers were recruited into easily available jobs in factories. In NorthCity it was mainly in the metal industry. Others took up unskilled textile jobs in local mills. The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act marked a significant shift in migration patterns by giving the opportunity of settlement by allowing the entry of family dependants.

In NorthCity, the Pakistani community is concentrated in the northern part of the city, in Brunsmere ward, and the eastern ward of AreaNine. There is also a high concentration of Pakistanis towards the western fringe of the city. Like Pakistani communities in Bradford and Birmingham the majority of Pakistanis in NorthCity originate from Mirpur in the disputed Kashmir region. Social links are very strong among the community. A survey conducted by NorthCity City Council (2006) indicated that they were the most likely to state they had only lived in one neighbourhood whilst living in NorthCity. Pakistanis are amongst the highest levels of owner occupation and over a third own their homes outright. Research findings indicate a strong internal economy. Robinson and Siddiquah (2007) for instance wrote about the housing pathways of new immigrants in Sheffield and found informal arrangements with Pakistani landlords. This may be explained by the prejudice early migrants encountered in finding private/rented accommodation and council housing.

¹⁷ National Insurance Numbers are required to work, pay taxes or claim benefits in the UK

¹⁸ from the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP, 2008)

At 54% the Pakistani population has one of the highest forms of economic inactivity. 20% look after the house or family¹⁹ (Table 7, Appendix). The economically active percentage share is 17% below the city average. Of this, most work in process, plant and machine operatives (three times that of the NorthCity average).²⁰ A high proportion of Pakistani men are self-employed and Pakistani women earn less than the average female earnings.

Pakistanis are also significantly lower qualified than the White British group. 53% have no qualifications, which is the highest of all ethnic groups in NorthCity and 14% higher than the city average (see Table 8, Appendix). 2008 Data from the Local Education Authority indicates there are 1626 pupils of Pakistani origin in secondary school (see Table 9, Appendix). Moreover they are very concentrated in a small number of schools. At secondary phase, 50% of the 1,334 Pakistani pupils attend four schools; 75% of these pupils are within eight schools. School 10 in the east of the city has a majority Pakistani student population. There are only 67 Mixed origin: White and Pakistani secondary school pupils.

Caribbean

The vast majority of the Caribbean population is concentrated in England (rather than Scotland or Wales) and in large cities- predominantly Birmingham and London. In some London boroughs, such as Lewisham, Brent and Hackney, Caribbeans constitute more than 10% of the population. NorthCity is one of thirty local authorities with the largest Caribbean population (see Table 10, Appendix). At the time of the 2001 Census there were just under 5,200 residents of NorthCity who defined themselves as being Black or Black British: Caribbean (1% of the total population) (Table 10, Appendix). The census records 2,300 residents as being born in Jamaica (over 80%) of the total. White and Caribbean represent just under 1% of the population. Over half of the Caribbean and 97% of the White and Caribbean population were born in the UK.

As with Pakistani immigration the 1950s saw the largest migration of Caribbeans to Britain. With the transport and NHS recruitment drives, which faced a shortage of auxiliary and nursing staff, it offered the tantalising opportunity for secure employment. However, despite the fact many Caribbean workers were highly skilled, they were excluded from higher paid and skilled jobs and also heavily unionised jobs such as textiles.

In term of education, Caribbean children became a significant presence in the school system after the 1960s when families became more settled. Their attainment in the UK has been a cause for concern for a long period (Coard, 1971). Mac an Ghail (1994) explained the phenomenon as institutional racism. This study continues this research since today's Y10 are the children and grandchildren of the original migrants. The highest permanent exclusion rate continues to be among Caribbean pupils which would imply they exhibit the most challenging behaviour in school. The rate is highest for boys. Currently 42% of Black Caribbeans have no

¹⁹ NorthCity City Council ran a report that states: "Women are less likely to register as unemployed than men. The minimum hour limit of the New Deal programmes (33 hours a week?) can work against many women between the ages of 18-24 years because a lot of women have babies in this age group. This means that they are reliant upon childcare which restricts opportunities for vocational training and participation on the New Deal programmes."

²⁰ Process, plant and machine operative's job listings are wide ranging including: food and drink operatives, quarry workers, tyre and exhaust fitters, sewing machinists etc

qualifications. They rank as 4th out of 16 groups. 33% of White and Black Caribbean have no qualifications, ranking as 7th (Table 8, Appendix).

Overall the community can be viewed as the most integrated ethnic group in the city. It is spread out across the city with no specific concentration of people, although large communities do exist in Brunsmere. In this area there are many Caribbean restaurants, hair stylists, food stores and community centres. One street in Brunsmere is notably named Jamaica Street.

As discussed in the previous chapter the age distribution of the Black Caribbean community in NorthCity is roughly in line with the White community. The majority of people are in the 25-59 age group (Table 1, Appendix). However, when you take into account White and Caribbean, an altered picture is indicated and this becomes a young population. The Mixed Race category does not specify White and Caribbean but 64.9% of the population are 0-15 years, which would infer that most children and grandchildren of Caribbean immigrants are of mixed ethnicity. This is also indicated by LEA data (Table 9, Appendix). This contrasts strongly with the average age of NorthCity's population, which is 39. This is in marked contrast to other BME communities. Potentially, it would make an interesting point for further research. Data from the Local Education Authority also indicates that Caribbean pupils and White and Caribbean pupils are significantly more dispersed, both in primary and secondary schools (Table 9, Appendix).

1.2 Introducing the Selected Schools

This part of this chapter introduces the secondary schools where the survey took place. First it introduces quality indicators such as truancy and dropout rates and places each in comparison to available regional and national data. In addition to this, description also draws on local knowledge including ethnographic details that the fieldworker collected which aims to describe something of each school's context: its values, aspirations and organisational culture. On these bases, a detailed pen portrait is given on each school with the aim of helping the reader to visualise the scenes. Thus, we will learn how the three schools differ by their geographic placement; how small/large they are; what they look like by ethnic, gender and social composition; what are their quality indicators; whether they have good or bad reputation; whether they run any special educational programmes; whether they engage in multicultural teaching, etc.

The selection of the three schools gave an effective point of comparison for a number of reasons. Although all the schools had large multiethnic catchments (Table 9, Appendix), they differed in terms of achievement and attainment rankings. To illustrate the performance of each school it was important to take into account Department for Education and Skills (DfES) contextual value added scores²¹ (see Table 11, Appendix) as well as 'raw' GCSE results (see Table 12, Appendix). Using 'raw' GCSE results alone to hierarchically rank schools (with higher scores representing 'better' education provision) has been heavily criticised for being unfair to schools with deprived catchments. The contextual value added measure was introduced to

²¹ A score of above 1,000 means that overall the school has performed above similar schools. A score below 1,000 means overall the school has performed below similar schools.

present a 'fairer' picture of school success by measuring the difference each secondary school makes by taking social factors into account. It attempts to measure the progress made of learners between Y7 and Y11 (the ages of 11 and 16) against factors such as gender, ethnicity, first language, measures of deprivation, SEN and spread of abilities in one school. All three schools vary greatly in terms of school ethos, character, culture and 'feel' and further exploration of this in the community study offers great potential to document the 'inner life' of each school. In terms of mapping social disparities, available data on the neighbourhoods that each school draws its catchment provides an accurate picture of the social composition of each school's population (Table 5, Appendix). The social composition of pupils from outside the catchment areas is documented in Table 6 (Appendix) based on Acorn²² categories.

School 1 is the fifth biggest comprehensive in NorthCity. It is a high performing school positioned joint fourth highest in NorthCity's 2008 league tables and above the national average. It is the only school in the study to have a sixth form. Sixth form (as opposed to college) is an optional final two years of secondary schooling for pupils aged 16 to 18. Sixth form study usually consists of Advanced ('A') Level) or Advanced Subsidiary (AS) Level qualifications which focus on traditional study skills.

The school is an impressive Grade II Listed Art Deco building, which is currently undergoing a £27 million remodelling under the government 'Building Schools for the Future' initiative²³ (DfES, 2008). This will result in state of the art facilities for pupils and the wider community. In May 2009 it was the first comprehensive in NorthCity to be accepted as an International Baccalaureate (IB) World School²⁴ offering the Diploma programme as an alternative to 'A' Levels. Gaining IB World School status is prestigious since it is usually the preserve of public schools. There are only 195 IB World Schools currently in the UK and the qualification with its emphasis on critical thinking, is internationally recognised as an academically challenging pre university course.

The school is situated in the affluent Southwest of the city. While its setting looks leafy and suburban (with low unemployment and a high rate of owner occupancy), the school's intake is mixed and from all over the city. 52% of pupils do not live in the catchment²⁵ (Table 13, Appendix). 56% of these pupils are shown to come from affluent families (Table 13, Appendix)

²² Acorn Categories are as follows: 1=Wealthy Achievers; 2 = Urban Prosperity; 3 = Comfortably-off; 4 = Moderate Means; 5 = Hard Pressed.

²³ A programme which aims at "improving educational attainment and the life chances available to children, by providing educational, recreational and social environments that support modern teaching and learning methods"

²⁴ See <http://www.ibo.org/>

²⁵ The statutory school age admission system is based upon defined catchment areas and 'the principle of local schools for local children'. NorthCity divides the city into catchment areas, which were devised in the 1970s and are more or less stuck to today although there is some fluidity as new streets are added or exiting schools are closed down. Every address in the city is allocated one infant or primary school. When a child completes primary education he or she will transfer to the associated secondary school. In the event of oversubscription, places are offered in the following order of priority: Special Educational Needs and Looked After Children; Attendance at Linked Infant School; Catchment Area Siblings; Contributory Feeder School; All other applicants; Tie-breakers.

and 10% are from poor families entitled to Free School Meals (FSM)²⁶. BME pupils make up a third of the school population with the largest proportion being from of Pakistani origin.

The school places great value on celebrating cultural difference. The school has a reputation for giving student voice a high priority. There is no school uniform and pupils dress independently, which is in opposition to most other secondary schools in the city. The school population is by far the most diverse of the three schools in terms of social class intake. When considering teenage tribal culture, it consists of 'rich kids', 'popular kids', emos, rockers, skaters, chavs and gangstas. Difference is marked through dress and physical appearance. Chavs wear Fred Perry and Lacoste whereas rich kids wear Ralph Lauren and D & G. Middle class white kids wear backcombed 'scruffy' hair whereas inner city girls wear their hair straightened and large hooped earrings. Taste cultures also differ. Chavs are into Grime music, a genre of urban music including artists such as Dizzee Rascal and Lady Sovereign. Rich kids on the other hand, are into rock music preferring bands like Coldplay.

Among staff, there is a strong professional culture and emphasis is currently on the transformation of learning. Innovation is evident in the recent review of the pastoral system which resulted in four vertical houses composed of mixed-age tutor groups. The aim was to create 'communities within a leaning community' by encouraging pupils to both socially mix and invest in the life of the school through involvement and loyalty. Members of a house are expected to do their best for it through work in lessons as well as in wider activities. It is worth noting that the house system is a traditional feature of British schools and associated particularly with public schools. By grouping pupils in this way, there often runs an undercurrent of competition and rivalry in curricular as well as extracurricular activities. For example, sports days may consist of inter-house tournaments. In this sense, the house system may instrumentally have been enforced as a performance boosting measure as well as a cohesion strategy.

Following on from the house system, what is particularly striking about School 1 is the sense of history. This is present not only in the traditional bricks and mortar but also in curriculum choices where at 'A' Level for example, pupils can choose to study 'traditional' subjects such as Classical Civilisation and Geology. It is worth giving some historical overview since it seems to have influenced the school as it is today. School 1 opened in 1880 under a different name in the centre of NorthCity and was renamed and relocated to its present site in 1933. Originally, the building housed two separate single-sex grammar schools. They were merged into a single comprehensive school in 1969. An association which is run by the school's 'original' 'Old Boys'

²⁶ Eligibility of Free School Meals (FSM) is the standard measure used to identify school pupils with high levels of social deprivation. FSM are available only to children whose parents/guardians are in receipt of one or more of the following benefits: Income Support; Income-Based Jobseeker's Allowance ; Employment and Support Allowance (Income Related); Support under Part VI of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999. Families in receipt of Child Tax Credit will also qualify provided that (a) they are not entitled to Working Tax Credit, and (b) their annual income, as assessed by Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs does not exceed £16,040 as at 6 April 2009 (subject to annual review); Guarantee element of State Pension Credit.

and 'Old Girls'²⁷ preserves nostalgic memories of the school from a bygone age. Internet chat rooms encase many memories of schooling experience, most of which places emphasis on the social mapping of the diverse student population:

"It was a strange school to go to in the 80's. You had working class scum like me from places like ... going to a school that saw itself as a minor public school."

"It was a heady mix of kids with money and kids with drugs."

"can't seem to get my head around the comments regarding 'have' and 'have nots'. I went to 'School 1' from 1951 to 1956 and saw none of that. It seems to me that we were all working class, at least everyone that I hung out with was. If there were any posh people there we all must have gravitated to our own kind, but I can't honestly recollect any. At that time we were all there without fear or favour and attended courtesy of passing the 'eleven plus' exam. 'School 1 was acknowledged as the second best academic school in NorthCity at that time (...)"

"I discussed this on an earlier thread with another former pupil and can't understand how it went downhill so rapidly. Maybe due to the laxity of enforcing any discipline. In any case I have mostly good memories of that school and would hope that things improve enough to approach its former glory" (NorthCity Internet forum).

Schools 2 and 3 contrast strongly with this. Both are situated in areas of deprivation with a high proportion of council housing and housing association homes. Unlike School 1, both have intakes that are restricted to working class pupils.

School 2 was originally built in the 1960s and is situated in the Northeast of NorthCity. It draws its pupils from an area in NorthCity that includes pockets of severe social deprivation. The Working Men's Club (where the male strip was filmed in *The Full Monty*) is the school's next door neighbour. Unemployment is high and educational performance in the area has traditionally been low. In September 2002 the existing secondary school absorbed one of its feeder primary schools, which was in danger of becoming a failing school, and began accepting pupils from the ages of 3 to 16. This was the first school of its type in the country. Despite being a 3-16 through school, the two halves are referred to as the 'primary phase' and the 'secondary phase' and are in separate buildings, 500 metres apart, which in practice maintains their own identity. The merger has had a positive impact. During December 2007 the primary phase was recognised as one of the most improved primary schools in the country.

The school building is the antithesis of School 1. It is in a secluded position, approached via a long driveway and adjacent to a large cemetery. The building is modern and orange and has a more corporate feel. The corporate ethos is reflected in a number of ways. A good working atmosphere seems to be of paramount concern. The reception, a vital part of the school, is a large glossy area with comfortable seating. Two pupils on daily reception duty, get you to sign

²⁷ This phrase originates from the notion of an 'Old Boy Network' which refers to exclusive social or business networks connections fostered between former schoolmates of male only public schools. It denotes preservation of social elite.

in on arrival and collect a visitor's badge. Rooms and subject areas are clearly signposted and classrooms and the corridors are always clean and fresh smelling. Pupils wear a school uniform consisting of a white or blue polo shirt, black trousers and a royal blue sweatshirt bearing the school logo. Discrete jewellery is permitted. The school applied the same level of control over religions dress, "Muslim girls who wish to wear traditional clothing may wear black Shalwar Kameez with a 'School 2' sweatshirt and a black headscarf" (school policy document).

Organisation is the key term to operationalise the atmosphere. While like all schools, there is graffiti on tables and at the end of break time there is the odd crisp bag, but this is always quickly removed. A cleaning company won the contract to maintain high cleaning standards and every day, as soon as the end-of-school bell rings, uniformed cleaners efficiently begin work. Probably as a result of the corporate ethos, there does appear to be greater social distance between senior management and teachers.

There is extensive cultural diversity within the school population. About 30% of the pupils are from BME backgrounds, and PLASC data indicates that it has the third highest number of asylum seekers in the city. 20% of the pupils have English as an additional language and, within this group, a wide range of first languages are spoken. School 2 has the second highest population of Pakistani pupils in the city. 25% pupils do not live in the catchment and of these, 54% come from poor families. 23% of pupils are entitled to FSM.

School 3 is situated in the inner city, north eastern area of NorthCity in the Brunsmere ward. The school is situated on a residential street, just off a main artery road behind an old people's home and next to a dump site. 44% of pupils do not live in the catchment and of these 67% are from poor families. 38% are entitled to FSM. The school has a negative external image with a historically poor reputation for out of control pupil behaviour and low performance. In 2008 10% of pupils who took GCSE exams achieved the standard of 5 A*-C grades, including Maths and English which is the minimum entry onto most Further Education (FE) courses. This is significantly lower than both the Local Authority average of 41% and the national average of 48%. In 2009, some improvement had been made with results rising to 22% of all pupils achieving the 5 A*-C benchmark. The value added measure does change an initially negative picture though. A contextual value added score of 1004.1% means that School 3 performed better than other schools with a similar mix of pupils and social factors. On this measure it outperformed Schools 1 and 2 and is ranked joint 8th out of NorthCity's 27 secondary schools.

School 3 does have great challenges to overcome. Despite having the lowest student body, it appears to have much greater problems with discipline. A high proportion of pupils have been assessed as having behaviour difficulties. 19.3% of the total pupil population was excluded²⁸ in 2008. This percentage is not only very high in comparison to Schools 1 and 2, but also it is nearly double the national average of 10%. School 3 also has the most exclusion drop-outs (see

²⁸ Exclusions here refer to Fixed term exclusions where a pupil is excluded for a specific time period. During this time the pupil is not allowed into school, onto school grounds or in a public space. Failure to comply could result in a fixed penalty fine. The school must ensure work is set and marked. Some City Councils have work packs which specifically relate to acts of unacceptable behaviour: http://www.bristol-cyps.org.uk/teaching/behaviour/work_packs.html

Table 14, Appendix). Discipline has been a historical problem at this school. The caretaker remembers pupils driving TWOCed²⁹ cars and joyriding them around the playground before a large fence was erected and the bus company threatened to stop running the service to Brunsmere because of poor pupil behaviour.

It has undergone three name changes in the last thirty years and in 2008 the school pursued Academy Status³⁰ under the sponsorship of an academic charitable trust. As a result of this, the school was replaced with an 11-16 Academy in 2009-2010, a year which is predicted to see the largest number of academies open so far. If the school follows the Academy programme's trend, its exam results will be expected to rise faster than the national average. The move to become an Academy has resulted in many changes. A new school uniform has been introduced from September consisting of a blazer with academy logo, white shirt, tie, v necked jumper with trim, black or charcoal trousers, and plain black shoes without motifs or logos. Academy blazers are a compulsory part of the uniform and must be worn on and around the academy site unless pupils are given permission by a member of staff to remove it. Shalwar and kameez are acceptable if they are grey and the academy blazer is worn over the top and headscarves are allowed if they are in school colours. Like School 1, School 3 has also employed vertical tutoring and a House system with the aims of raising achievement levels and promoting a sense of unity and social cohesion. In addition every pupil is also assigned a mentor who they meet ten times during the academic year to discuss their individualised learning plan.

The school itself is run down with old décor but it is due to move into new buildings in 2012. There is difficulty finding a parking space since the visitor's car park is almost always used as an overspill for staff. The reception area has no seating. Visitors speak to receptionists through a hatch and are directed to sit outside the deputy head teacher's office.

Table 1-1 shows that despite three very different contexts, each school is extremely similar in terms of the fact two thirds of the pupil population are from BME backgrounds. However, there are some differences in terms of ethnic mixing within these schools. Of the three, School 1 has by far the largest Pakistani pupil population at 14% but subsequently there are limited proportions of other ethnic groups. Although the lowest in pupil numbers, School 3 has proportionally the broadest ethnic social mix of the three schools, with representation from a greater cross-section of some BME communities, including: Somali (7.4%); Other Black African (2.1%); Any Other Black Background (1.2%); Yemeni (3%); Any Other White Background (3%); White and Any Other Asian (0.7%); Any Other Mixed Background (0.6%) and Any Other Ethnic Group (0.8%). Unlike Schools 1 and 2 though, there is no representation from Chinese pupils, which considering this group display the highest levels of academic achievement nationally is perhaps significant (Table 9, Appendix). According to the LEA's records, School 3 was also supposed to have a high proportion of Gypsy Roma pupils in comparison to other secondary schools in NorthCity (1.8%) but in practice, this was not the case. Finally an interesting fact to pursue in the community study is the fact that School 2 has just one Gypsy Roma pupil. What (if any) are the psychosocial effects of this sort of ethnic isolation?

²⁹ Taken without Owner's Consent

³⁰ Academies are independent, all ability state schools which are sponsored. The purpose of the Government's Academies programme is to replace underperforming schools (<http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/academies/>). The programme has been met with much controversy.

Table 1-1: *Proportion of pupils by ethnic group in each school*

	School 1	School 2	School 3
White	64.7%	66.4%	67.4%
BME	33.9%	33.6%	32.6%
Pakistani	14.3%	10.1%	6.3%
Caribbean	4.7%	3.6%	3.0%
Black Caribbean	1.7%	2.1%	1.5%
White and Black Caribbean	3.0%	1.5%	1.5%

2. The Sample: Main features in a comparative perspective

This chapter consists of three sections. The first discusses some major characteristics of the students' background and living conditions in comparison to the respective features of the community. The second section is relatively brief, introducing the sample in comparison to available data on 14–15 year olds within the community, in Yorkshire and the Humber, and in the United Kingdom as a whole. The third section discusses internal variations within the sample by breaking it down according to differences among Schools and also along demographic, socioeconomic and ethnic factors.

2.1 Pupils' family background and living conditions

This section relies on the data that the Student Questionnaire asks about family background and living conditions. Using the ECOSITUATION descriptor, the majority of all pupils cited themselves as living on an average level although there was some differentiation in pupils' views of living standard. Difference existed mainly between the Schools contexts. At School 1 pupils predominantly were concentrated in the categories of 1 and 2. A higher proportion of Pakistanis and Caribbeans described their economic situation as wealthy, whereas the majority of whites said they lived on an average level. Pupils therefore seem to relate their families' standard across ethnic lines so that whites compare themselves to ordinary Englishmen. Data at PLASC³¹ level indicates that there are young people in the three Schools who live at impoverished level and there was limited indication of this in the survey's findings. Pakistanis and Whites were equal in the number of pupils who rated themselves as poor (4% and 5% respectively). Caribbeans however constituted 16%

There was a greater spread of response in Schools 2 and 3. Significantly no one at School 2 indicated themselves as poor whereas at School 3 8% of all White pupils and 22% of all Pakistani pupils said they were poor. No Caribbeans did. This is significant in terms of the fact that a large proportion of pupils are entitled to FSM at these two Schools. What would therefore be interesting to explore further is how pupils understand disadvantage and poverty. Is it through visible indicators such as not being able to afford branded trainers or, is it through more 'everyday' experiences like not having any food in the house. The social class implications for educational achievement would benefit from further comparison of the experiences of young people who live in impoverished circumstances with those of their more affluent peers.

³¹ Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC) data is collected nationally through Local Education Authorities (LEAs) by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES). This data allows social background to be measured through eligibility for Free School Meals (FSM).

On question 23 which asked whether pupils' family situation had changed, the majority of all pupils indicated that they were 'on about the same level'. This was universal across ethnic lines with 49%, 47% and 43% for Pakistani, White and Caribbean pupils. Some pupils sought to clarify their response with a written comment. For example, "The economic level has gotten worse because of the recession and the fact that my parents were young (early 20s) when I and my sister were born so didn't have any savings and therefore had to borrow money."

In terms of household composition, Pakistani pupils were found to have the largest households with a mean average of five people. Caribbean pupils lived in the smallest households with a mean average of two people³². This is in line with national patterns. In the 2001 census, households headed by a Pakistani person were the largest after Bangladeshis, with an average size of 4.5 people while both Caribbean and White British households had an average size of 2.3 people. Pakistani pupils were twice as likely to live with at least one grandparent compared to Caribbean pupils. This can be viewed as a potential benefit to family cohesion and well being. For instance, a grandparent may provide a valuable additional childcare resource. On the other hand, it may increase a family's burden if they require care.

Of the Caribbean community, 66% of pupils live in owned or mortgaged homes compared with 75% of Pakistanis and 82% of White pupils. This is above figures taken from the 2001 census, which showed 67% of all Pakistani households owned their own homes. This compared to 70% of White British and 48% Caribbean. However, when compared to the 1991 census these figures indicate a fall in home ownership as then 76% of Pakistanis owned their own homes. NorthCity as a whole has twice the national average of Council rented homes and consequently a lower proportion of owner occupation. In terms of household amenities over 90% of NorthCity households have central heating and use of a bath/shower and toilet. This is similar to the UK average.

Family composition and family structure is integral to this discussion since it has implications for income support programmes such as Tax Credit, which directly impacts on poverty. At a very basic level, the more adults and less children living in a household, the less likely the family is to be poor. At national level there are key differences in patterns of family structure between ethnic groups. Pakistani women, are among the likeliest groups to be married with dependent children. In 2000-2, 47% of Pakistani women aged 19-60 were partnered with a child under 16 compared with only 17% for Caribbean women. At 48%, Caribbean women were most likely to have a child but no cohabiting partner and Pakistani groups the least likely. The percentage of single parents for the White British group was 22%.

Overall, the majority of respondents in the survey lived with both their biological parents. This was the case for 78% of Pakistani and 57% of White pupils. 40% of Caribbean pupils lived with both parents. 25% lived with only their mother. The inner city areas where Caribbean pupils

³² According to National Statistics, the average lone parent is female, in her 30s, with low qualifications, divorced and has two children. In NorthCity, there are 7,181 lone parent households, of which 89.7% claim income support which means that they do not work or work under 16 hours.

predominantly live have a high proportion of single parent families, which has a direct bearing on income. 10% of Caribbean young people in the sample did split their time between families, which sometimes included half-siblings or step siblings. The diversity in family structure was difficult to capture in the design of the questionnaire as expressed by one informant, "You've not given enough Q's for if you live with two families. You dunno which one to choose to write about." The sample seems to have significantly more two-parent families than the general statistics would indicate which may loosely connect with the fact more pupils assess their home situation as rather good.

Respondents were asked about their parents' level of education and overall it differed substantially by School. At School 1, 43% of all respondents that answered had a father with a degree compared to 4% and 6% at Schools 2 and 3 respectively. Compared to the whole of NorthCity where almost a third of adults have no qualifications, the entire sample reflected only 2% of fathers who had no qualifications. The majority of Pakistani and Caribbean pupils did not know the level of father's education. This may be due to unfamiliarity with the education system in the country of origin. Of those that answered, 22% of Pakistani respondents stated that their fathers had degrees, which was a higher number than anticipated. Qualifications play an important role in predicting employment patterns activity across all ethnic groups. At national level, statistics indicate the obvious: that higher-qualified people are more likely to be working than less qualified people in all ethnic groups. Significantly, though, qualifications have the largest impact on rates of employment for Pakistani women and the least effect for Caribbean groups.

In terms of employment patterns, 61% of Pakistani pupils' fathers were in full time employment compared with 50% of Caribbean. 31% of Pakistani mothers worked in full time employment compared with 42% of Caribbean. Predominantly this was in blue-collar jobs. Most pupils' fathers worked in blue-collar jobs such as construction at Schools 2 and 3. This was consistent across racial lines. At School 1 most pupils' fathers worked in white collar jobs which reflect the fact that the school has pupils from households socioeconomically positioned above the average. In part this was relatively consistent across racial lines. A high proportion of Caribbean fathers worked in white-collar roles. Pakistani fathers however were equally divided among blue collar and white collar job. This is not completely in line with National Employment Patterns, which indicates that Caribbean and Pakistanis are groups with the lowest proportions of professionals. According to the 2001 census Pakistanis are most likely to be self-employed and work in the transport and communication industry. Looking at jobs, one in six Pakistani men were taxi drivers.

There are important distinctions to be made at the national level. According to the census, Caribbean women are more likely to be employed than Caribbean men which is traditionally the case whereas Pakistani women have the highest female inactivity rate. The majority of these women are providing full time care for family and home. This is consistent with other studies that have suggested a division in female roles (Aston, Hooker, Page and Willison, 2007). For Pakistani women, particularly those with no or few qualifications and limited English their role is associated primarily with the domestic sphere, with staying at home to care for children. On the other hand, for Caribbean women earning an independent wage through paid employment forms an important part of their care giving role. Caribbean women are most likely to work in the public administration, education or health sector.

What was also significant was how pupils interpreted the reasons that the questions were asked. One White and Caribbean girl wrote next to the question, "Even though my mom doesn't work I am still smart. It doesn't make a difference about the lack of my father."

2.2 The sample from a comparative perspective

The BME pupil population varies greatly across the country. Bristol recently released a report stating that 23% of its population came from BME backgrounds (Bristol City Council, 2009). In total, the annual Schools census PLASC data for 2008 shows NorthCity's BME constitutes 20% of the current total secondary School population. Therefore 6,069 pupils out of 3,0801 have been identified as BME. A further 255 have not been assigned an ethnicity. Primary schools have a higher BME pupil proportion because of higher birth rates. The main distinction in NorthCity is the fact the BME population constitutes a much higher proportion of Pakistani pupils and a low proportion of Indians and Bangladeshis. NorthCity's BME pupil population is similar to elsewhere.

The sample consisted of 228 White, 60 Pakistani (of whom 7 were White and Pakistani) and 31 Caribbean pupils (of whom, 20 were White and Caribbean). It also captured pupils from the following backgrounds: Irish (1), Traveller of Irish Heritage (1), Gypsy Roma (1), Any Other White (6), White and Black African (1), White and Other Asian (1), Any Other Mixed (3), Indian (2), Bangladeshi (9), Any Other Asian (3), Somali (11), Any Other Black African (5), Any Other Black Background (2), Yemeni (5), Chinese (1), and Any Other Ethnic Group (4).

Pakistani pupils are clustered mainly in five secondary Schools. Caribbean pupils are dispersed more equitably. The sample of Pakistani and Caribbean pupils are representative of the populations overall in terms of socioeconomic positioning, which was discussed in Chapter 1. They are concentrated in particular wards.

2.3 Characterising the sample

This section provides a detailed characterisation of the sample by introducing its composition along certain differentiating factors that break it down to identifiable internal groups the distinction of which will provide, in turn, the basis of analyses in later chapters.

All pupils in the study were either 14 or 15 years old, consisting of a fairly equal gender mix. In short, the sample consisted of 51% white boys and 49% white girls; 48% Caribbean boys and 52% Caribbean girls. There were slightly more Pakistani boys than girls at 57%. The majority of the overall sample lived in inner city areas. As expected the majority of Pakistani and Caribbean pupils in all three schools lived in inner city areas (63% and 60% respectively). The remainder lived in the outskirts areas in the southwestern part of the city. However, although such areas are situated in the outskirts of NorthCity, this is not so clear-cut in terms of social composition of those areas. Some pockets are more typical of inner city areas.

To classify accurately the pupil population of each school, pupils were asked to give their postcode. Postcodes are a useful point of reference because they cover a much smaller area than a ward. Each postcode was allocated one of the three categories – large-city, inner-city

area; large-city outskirts; centre –which are dominant for that postcode. This allowed for a more fine tuned exploration of potential differences according to socioeconomic background than analysis of ward data alone would have given.

There is significant variance between schools. School 3 with 91% had the largest proportion of pupils from inner city areas compared with 68% of all pupils at Schools 2. Using postcode data indicates some polarisation between the populations of Schools 2 and 3. The majority of pupils at School 2 are better-off, coming from postcodes that delineate low-income families living in estate-based social housing. The postcodes at School 3, however, are mostly people living in social housing with uncertain employment in deprived areas. At School 1, the largely white, middle-class population at School 1 lived in the outskirts. 23% of the pupil population (mainly the BME population) lived in inner city areas.

3. School achievements and plans for further studies

A major mission of this chapter is to provide contribution to the widespread debate on whether it is mainly 'social class' (in our case: socioeconomic background) or ethnicity that induce differences in students' performance, or whether it is the intersectionality of these two sets of factors that is 'responsible' in the first place. Measures of school performance have been cross-tabulated with a set of variables on socioeconomic position and ethnicity, respectively to assess the role these factors may play. The role of other factors that might lead to meaningful differences (gender, residence, earlier life-experiences, school-type and school-characteristics, teacher's perceptions) will also be highlighted.

This chapter is organised into two parts. The first section discusses how students' performance is shaped by a number of personal and school-related factors. The second part looks at the factors that play a role in influencing whether pupils will go on to further study after GCSEs.

3.1 Pupil performance

This section first sets out the current situation in England. Ethnicity, gender and social class have all been used as explanatory factors for the underachievement of certain groups of pupils. At national level the lowest levels of GCSE attainment continue to be among Caribbean pupils. Examination of these results indicates that gender intersects closely with ethnicity. 27% of Caribbean boys and 44% of Caribbean girls achieved five or more A*-C grade GCSEs (compared to 38% of Pakistani boys against 53% of Pakistani girls). While the gender divide is consistent across all BME groups, GCSE underperformance the same cannot be said to apply to ethnicity. Chinese pupils are the most likely to achieve five or more GCSE grades A*-C in England, although this again shows gender differentiation with 70% of Chinese boys compared to 79% of Chinese girls. Although the size of the sample does not allow for too detailed breakdowns, the chapter does attempt to make some indication of intersectionality through discussion of the combined effects of "social class" and "ethnicity".

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the significance of social class in educational outcomes and future prospects. Reay for example writes, 'education for the working classes has traditionally been about failure' (Reay, 2001: 334). Taking FSM as a proxy for social class, research by The Sutton Trust (2006) shows that only three of the top 200 schools qualify for FSM compared to 14% nationally. A weakness of many of these studies, however, is the fact that little discussion is made of the intersection of factors which is of crucial importance in light of the fact BME pupils are disproportionately more likely to be working class. The aim of this chapter therefore is to explore whether the various characteristics of the school intersect with socioeconomic advantages/disadvantages and with majority/minority ethnic belonging, and if they do, what is the impact that they exert on the performance of the various groups of students? Similarly, the discussion will show whether 'ethnicity' of the teacher and his/her views on the class as an entity influence the ways of assessing students' performance, and if it does, how does it affect the position of various groups of BME pupils. Further, the chapter discusses the differences that manifest themselves along the dimension of 'gender', and will

show its impact both, within and across 'social class', and within and across 'ethnic' lines, respectively. Likewise, the differentiating impact of residential background will be shown by comparing performance and attitudinal indicators along the urban/rural divide and some characteristics of the immediate neighbourhood.

A number of variables have allowed us to measure and compare overall performance, but also to explore potential differences according to attainment and interest. Pupils were asked what their levels were at the end of Y9 National Curriculum Standard Assessment Tests (SATs) tests. At the end of Key Stage 3, pupils in Year 9 are externally moderated and assessed. Level 5/6 is the level expected for most fourteen year olds. Since assessment was outside of schools' own processes, they were deemed the most reliable measure of attainment in the cohort. This was a valuable opportunity since SATs have since been changed to ongoing teacher assessment. Significantly, these tests represent an important indicator of how well a pupil has progressed in the first three years of secondary school. The results are often used to set pupils by ability at GCSE level so in this sense the results have a concrete bearing on future life chances.

To give a brief overview, educational attainment in NorthCity is a concern. Although improvement has been made over a number of years, the number of pupils achieving 5 GCSE A-C grades remains below the national average. As can be seen from Tables 12 and 13 (Appendix) the three schools that participated in the survey varied significantly in GCSE performance measures. School 1 by far outperformed schools 2 and 3. Likewise the survey results indicate that pupil performance in standardised SAT tests at Y9 did differ by school. School 1 outperformed schools 2 and 3 in English and Maths. Noticeably a high proportion of pupils (11.6%) achieved the maximum level 8 in Maths. No one achieved this in the other two schools. School 2 had the largest spread in all subjects, with the bulk of pupils performing at level 5 in all subjects. As was expected gender was a significant factor for outcomes in all subjects. Girls outperformed boys in English, boys outperformed girls in Maths and Science. This persists in a uniform way along ethnic lines. When taking into account socio-economic background as a factor, this level of performance needs to be considered in the context of the socio-economic profile of each school: the percentage of pupils entitled to free school meals (FSM), which is commonly used as a proxy indicator for disadvantage. School 3 which has the worst academic performance in the league tables and in this survey, also has the highest number of pupils eligible for Free School Meals.

As we know from earlier research, school performances also vary according to the various types and characteristics of the schools. Subsequently, in comparing the attainment of the three schools, it is more valid to use the 'value added' measure which contextualises performance by comparing the difference between how well pupils achieved at Key Stage 2 to Key Stage 3. This is a useful indicator when comparing these three schools that have different pupil intakes. The Value-Added is done by comparing the attainment with those of other pupils nationally, who had the same or similar prior attainment. Scores are shown as a measure based around a standardised/ median national average of 1000, so scores above 1000 represent schools where pupils on average made more progress than similar pupils nationally, while scores below 1,000 represent schools where pupils made less progress. With this, the results are completely reversed. When taking more complex contextual information into account, such as pupil background factors, School 3 is shown to perform the best of the three schools, better than the national average and ranks 7th out of NorthCity's 27 schools. School 2 ranks 18th. The most striking result to emerge from the data was that with a score of 987.5, School 1 is shown to perform worse. In terms of the picture in NorthCity it ranks as 22nd out of 27 schools in 2008.

Despite its high position in the league tables, School 1 does not therefore appear to get all groups of children to perform identically. School ethos perhaps goes some way to explaining this. School 2 with its more corporate culture of achievement and high expectations could be seen to contribute to a higher success rate with pupils of poorer backgrounds than the differing emphasis on traditional intellectual stimulation at School 1. Comparing value added scores shows between school variation in their success rate of engaging pupils of poor backgrounds.

When considering school attainment, it is important to consider Special Educational Needs (SEN) as a key factor. Pupils who are working at a level significantly lower than pupils of the same age are identified as having SEN. At secondary school, pupils are judged in accordance with the attainment targets set by the National Curriculum. Existing statistics clearly indicate that the presence of high numbers of pupils with SEN adversely affects overall GCSE attainment (Cassen and Kingdon, 2007) because statements are generally costly on school resources. SEN is defined as, "a learning difficulty which calls for special educational provision to be made for them" (DfES, 2001). There is over representation of BME pupils identified as having SEN in mainstream school settings. Traveller groups are most likely to be identified with SEN followed by Black Caribbean, Black Other and White/Black Caribbean. With the current emphasis on inclusion, SEN pupils are integrated among non-SEN pupils in the classroom with extra support provided through a teaching assistant. Classroom withdrawal is minimal but may include one to one support or small group sessions. Pupils who have special educational needs due to severe learning difficulties or physical disabilities attend special schools. Gypsy/ Roma, Travellers of Irish heritage and Pakistani pupils are more likely to attend a special school than other groups. There is also a strong relationship between deprivation and SEN. Pupils with FSM are 2-3 times more likely than non FSM pupils to be statemented.

Although pupils with English as an additional language (EAL) require extra support, it is worth noting that they are not regarded as having SEN because it's not a learning difficulty. In 2008 21% of all pupils taking their GCSEs at School 3 had statements or were supported at School Action Plus.³³ This compares to 9% at School 2 and 3% at School 1. If we look at pupils with SEN who are supported with School Action³⁴, School 2 marginally takes the highest position at 29%, compared to School 3 at 28%. At 2%, School 1 has substantially fewer pupils in need of extra support.

³³ **School Action Plus:** 'where the class or subject teacher and the SENCO are provides with advice or support from outside specialists, additional or different strategies to those provided for the pupil through School Action can be put in place. The SENCO usually takes the lead although day-to-day provision continues to be the responsibility of the class or subject teacher. A new Individual Education Plan (IEP) will usually be devised' (DfES, 2001:213). Outside advice is usually offered from the LEA's support services, or from health or social work professionals (such as educational psychologists, speech and language therapists) to give recommendations as to how to work differently with the child in class. School Action Plus provision could include specialist equipment or information about the child's home circumstances that explains the changes in the child's behaviour and attitudes to learning which can then help the school to work with others to resolve the situation.

³⁴ **School Action:** 'where a class or subject teacher identify that a pupil has special educational needs they provide intervention that are additional to or different from those provided as part of the school's usual differentiated curriculum offer and strategies. An (IEP) will usually be devised' (DfES, 2001:213). In practice this could be further assessment, additional or different teaching materials, support from a teaching assistant (TA), training for staff or a different way of teaching. Teachers use IEPs to record the different or additional provision to be made for the child, teaching strategies, short-term targets for the pupil, success criteria, and what they have achieved.

There was deviation between gender according to subjects pupils felt comfortable in and the subjects in which they displayed the best achievement. For girls, their preference for English correlated with the fact they felt most comfortable in this subject. For boys however, their academic performance in Maths and Science had no bearing on their preferred subject. Most boys cited Physical Education (PE) as a favourite subject. This cut across ethnic and social class lines.

There was an ethnic dimension to comfort in core subjects. An equal number of Pakistani boys and girls and White boys were comfortable in core subjects as were uncomfortable. 70% of White girls found comfort in core subjects compared to just 40% of Caribbean girls. Only 21% of Caribbean boys found comfort in core subjects, which indicates low participation. More work needs to be done around understanding the interaction of racialised/ classed masculinities with institutional factors such as understanding the culture of the classroom and the messages being transmitted.

Within the data set, what stands out is the response rate to the question of academic performance. The methodological problematic of participation was raised in chapter 1 but there does appear to be an ethnic dimension to response rates. White and Pakistani pupils fared roughly the same, but more than half of all Caribbean pupils did not answer the question. It is not known from the data whether the pupils who refused to answer the questions are those whose attainments fall significantly below expected levels at that key stage, although this would be an interesting point for further study. When considering self-esteem indicators of non responding Caribbean pupils indicated, the majority (75%) had a mixed view of their sense of self with weak self respect. No one had strong positive self-esteem or negative self esteem. The remaining 25% had positive self-esteem with uncertainties. While it is important not to infer too much to these results at this stage, the omission of response from Caribbean pupils to this question may say something about the crucial role played by national tests in not only determining a pupil's place on the 'intelligence/ability' scale in each of the core SATs core disciplines of Maths, English and Science, but also in their own self evaluation of their performance against all other pupils. In other words academic ranking (and the emphasis on raising achievement within schools) could result in making pupils hyper aware of their academic status which has implications for self-esteem. This is significant when looking at the GCSE patterns of attainment nationally.

Did sending disadvantaged students to the predominantly middle class affluent School 1 significantly affect their attainment levels? To examine this, the performance of pupils living in the inner city from School 1 was correlated with the performance of pupils living in the inner city at Schools 2 and 3. Disadvantaged children attending School 1 did not achieve higher levels than peers at Schools 2 and 3. Since these schools are situated in deprived areas with a mono class intake, results would indicate that social class remains a key explanatory factor in underachievement regardless of the context of the school. It was beyond the scope of this research but it would be an interesting point of comparison to see how middle class children perform at low-performing inner city schools. It would also be good to look at pupils' peer group cultures and Chapter 5 fulfils this brief.

It can be assumed that devastating early childhood experiences might leave their (direct or indirect) impact on school performance. Family life is much less stable now and people's lives have become a lot more complex. Each dramatic event carries an array of potential emotional, social and psychological affects not only on individual pupils but on families as a whole. Caution should be exercised due to the small sample size but nevertheless, the data may

indicate trends. Results from the survey indicate that the occurrence of some events is in association with the family's social situation. At a basic level, the number of pupils reporting a devastating experience varies by school and pupils' residential area. School 1 which had the most privileged catchment tended to come out 'best' overall in dramatic measures.

10% of pupils living in the outskirts and 8% of those living in the inner city areas were forced to leave their home. At 17%, Caribbeans were the most likely to have this happen, followed by Pakistanis at 11%. This was most likely to happen to pupils at School 3 with 15% compared to 9% at School 1 and 5% at School 2. 28% of inner city pupils had parents who had divorced compared with 19% of those living on the outskirts. Caribbean pupils were by far the most likely to have parents who had divorced, but surprisingly one seventh of all Pakistani pupils. This compares to 23% of all white pupils. With 34% School 3 had the highest proportion of pupils whose parents had divorced (compared to 27% at School 2 and 17% at School 1).

Pupils living in the outskirts were more likely to have a parent who had been made unemployed (16% compared to 8% of pupils in the inner city). At 11% more white pupils had parents who had been made unemployed than Pakistani (7%) and Caribbean (7%) pupils. This was more of a common occurrence at School 1 with 12% compared to 9% and 10% at Schools 2 and 3 respectively. This may be a consequence of the fact unemployment in the UK as a whole has increased dramatically in recent months and this is said to have had a greater impact on middle class white-collar workers.

7% of pupils living in the inner city compared with 11% living on the outskirts had a parent who became ill or disabled. Debt featured equally among all ethnic groups, with an average of 7% of respondents saying this was a problem. 5% of pupils in the inner city had suffered a bereavement of a close family member compared to 2% living on the outskirts. This was nearly five times more likely for Pakistani pupils.

Do these factors affect educational outcomes? Unemployment does not significantly appear to have an adverse affect. Pupils scoring throughout the level bandings were relatively equal. Divorce does in the sense that pupils achieving the upper echelons of attainment- levels 7 and 8- were significantly more likely not to have been exposed to divorce. Perhaps this is because unemployment is viewed as a temporary issue. Divorce on the other hand can have a detrimental impact on young people's lives for years to come.

3.2 Pupils' educational paths

The second part of the chapter follows the students on their projected educational paths. It will discuss how social background, ethnicity, gender, residence, attained school performance, and the type and certain 'qualities' of the current school influence students' plans for the future. It will show how the listed factors affect students' opportunities on their own and in their – already partially revealed – interplay. It will show how the accumulation of earlier advantages/disadvantages (socioeconomic, ethnically shaped, embodied in performance) point toward further institutionalisation by choosing certain good/less valued forms for continuing schooling. At the same time, it will also explore the ways how certain groups attempt to countervail earlier disadvantages by choosing 'good' schools, and will show who and how assist them in their endeavours. The discussion will reveal also the driving values that orient students

in their choices and will show whether certain clusters of values are more specific for given groups while others characterise particular other groups – or the choices are mainly individual.

The rhetoric espoused about the value and need to engage in further education (with the emphasis being upon employment as the main route out of poverty) does seem to have had an impact on individual students which cuts across ethnicity lines. 70% of White pupils, 72% of Pakistani pupils and 74% of Caribbean pupils intend to continue studying after GCSEs, which is a fairly optimistic indicator that pupils are motivated, have raised aspirations and subscribe to the endorsed view that education brings better prospects. This is a significant finding since at city level the proportion of people without any qualifications stands at 32% which is slightly below that of the region (33%) but above the national average (29%). Moreover, according to existing statistics people of Caribbean and Pakistani ethnicity are less likely to engage in further education. The Pakistani community in particular is twice as likely to have no qualifications compared to the average for NorthCity. It is important to understand the factors that put these pupils at risk. For Caribbean boys we know behavioural factors are a concern. Attending the more successful School 1 did little to engage enthusiasm so school context cannot be viewed as a primary factor. In terms of looking at positive forces in young people's lives, consideration should be made of the fact the majority of young people who planned to continue studying came from a traditional nuclear family structure with two parent families with 1-2 children.

To some extent findings would indicate that some pupils have feel they have no control over their destiny. Of the pupils who did not expect to continue studying the main reason cited was 'I have to earn money'. 17% of Caribbean students and 7% of Pakistani students cited this as a reason. There was also a distinction made between schools. Schools 1 and 3 with 9% and 10% of all pupils compared to 5% in School 2. This difference between school contexts may be explained by social class or pupils' families' existing social status. As Table 3-1 demonstrates, the majority of the pupil population at School 2 falls within the category of lower middle class. Perhaps this indicates that pupils with limited financial resources are less prone to worry simply because you cannot lose what you never had. However, the fact that School 3, which is closer in composition to School 2, has a similar result to School 1 shows that this cannot fully explain the difference. Perhaps then difference comes from a different ethos both in school but also in the wider collective community each school serves.

Table 3-1: Social composition of pupil population in each school

School	Low status	Lower middle status	Upper middle status	Upper status
1	5%	20%	23%	52%
2	17%	55%	18%	11%
3	17%	49%	20%	14%

Having financial worries and being focused on alleviating financial constraints in the present is significant since it can be viewed as detrimental to the longer term goal of securing employability through education. Given the impact that post compulsory qualifications have on future earnings (and with it, future life chances) this is a point of significance for educational policy. How to get rid of the 'dual economy' in higher education and more effectively widen participation? How can you achieve equity without perhaps creating a "cloyingly supportive

environment that patronises or mollycoddles them (working class students) and undermines their self-esteem" (Derham, 2003).

This is concerning as recent research on the impact of the recession predicts that one in five young people who collected their GCSE results this year could be on unemployment benefits/ Jobseekers Allowance by the time they are 21, if trends are in line with the 1980s recession (The Prince's Trust, 2009).

Conclusion

In summary, more work needs to be done to understand interaction between ethnicity, gender and social class within the culture of individual schools and classrooms. Interesting points for further research include the decision making process about working class pupils deciding against participating in further education. Are their choices about 'knowing their place?' What is the emotional impact of young people's non-education choices? Does the expectation to undertake further education (and the subsequent need to secure adequate grades to be able to access further education courses) put more pressure on pupils and what is the impact of this on self-esteem?

While the Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA)³⁵ was introduced as a financial incentive to stay on in post compulsory education, financial concerns apparently affect pupils in their compulsory school years. Does this affect academic performance? There are however contradictions. For instance, pupils at School 2 appear to be less worried about money and given it's in an area of social deprivation you'd expect more pupils to have answered 'I have to earn money'. Finally, the chapter questions the value of using five GCSEs as an indicator of a school's worth.

³⁵ http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/EducationAndLearning/14To19/MoneyToLearn/EMA/DG_066945

4. Attitudes towards school and interpersonal relationships

The first section of the chapter maps in detail the daily life of pupils in school. It explores why certain groups of pupils get on well while others consider the school an alien institution. The discussion reveals how experiences –about rewarding, sanctions, justice, injustice, perceptions of discrimination and teachers- relating to their class shape pupils' attitudes and feelings toward/about the school and what the imprints their diverse experiences leave on performance and planned educational career, respectively.

The second part of the chapter provides insight into some aspects of the basic relationships in schools: what are the pupils' experiences with their teachers, how do they see them, how do they sense the teachers' role in shaping their own lives, whether their perceptions are influenced by the varied forms and content of contact between teachers and parents. Equally, if not more importantly: how do pupils relate to each other, how do these relations vary along social, gender, and "ethnic" lines; what are their experiences about cooperation, friendship, aggression and harassment, whether these experiences vary between the three schools.

In line with the major message of the Background Reports (Fry et al., 2008; Law, Hunter, Osler, Swann, Tzanelli and Williams, 2008) on education that showed remarkable differences in schooling of ethnic majorities and minorities, the focal issue in this chapter is to show how these differences are built up in the schools' daily life through the interactions of the main participating actors: pupils, teachers and parents. Hence, the main purpose of the discussion will be to present the existence/non-existence of differences in the above listed matters between majority and minority pupils (including potential differences among various BME groups). At the same time, we are aware that group-differences arise also along other dimensions (socioeconomic, gender, residential) – that sometimes play an even greater role than ethnicity. While the discussion should show their relative weight to each other, it is mainly their interplay with ethnicity that will be put into the focus of the analysis here.

4.1 Daily lives of pupils in school

The survey offers a valuable opportunity to elicit an accurate picture of the factors that pupils consider contribute towards the existence of both a positive and negative atmosphere within each school. At a very general level, pupils' views of school were the same in all three schools. Predominantly pupils viewed school with 'mixed feelings'. This finding is not surprising, but nonetheless, it does warrant further examination. Pupils' identities as learners are formed and learning fostered or diminished in everyday interactions in school and in classrooms. As they learn to interpret and evaluate their own experience through frames of reference used by those around them, they quickly acquire prevailing attitudes towards learning.

Attention should turn first to school context. At Schools 1 and 2, 45% of pupils had strong positive feelings about school. School 3 was marginally lower at 40%. Positive feelings about school does appear to be connected in part to ethnicity. 48% of White pupils, 44% of Caribbean pupils and just 34% of Pakistani pupils had strong positive feelings about school. Pupils' perceptions of schoolwork also show disparities. 18% of White pupils compared with 9%

of Pakistani and 7% of Caribbean felt 'good' about school work. The degree to which ethnicity accounts for social alienation, acceptance and differences in feelings about school seems of crucial importance when data on school exclusions indicate that pupils from Caribbean and White and Caribbean groups are among the most likely to be permanently excluded from schools. Moreover at around 80% boys continue to dominate the numbers of permanent exclusions nationally which warrants study of how gender intersects with this.

While there was a tendency for white pupils to be more positive about school, there was a contradiction in pupils' perceptions of unjust treatment. The majority of all pupils thought they experienced unjust treatment from 'time to time'. This was the case for 47% of Pakistani, 41% of White and 40% of Caribbean pupils. Of the three, Schools 1 and 2 performed with 49% and 49% respectively. School 3 had a higher proportion of pupils at 60%. The interesting question from these two data sets is why do Pakistani pupils feel so aggrieved?

Exploration into what unjust treatment encompasses shows variation in perceptions across ethnic groups. Setting by ability has been viewed negatively by much research (Ball, 1981; Keddie, 1970) but despite this the present emphasis continues to be on instrumental outcomes and league tables which means schools are under pressure to 'perform'. Setting pupils by ability is widely used as a sorting mechanism to enable pupils to reach targets. Despite the potential for negativity, not much of this has seemingly seeped down to BME pupils since just 14% of Pakistani and 10% of Caribbean pupils indicated unjust treatment with selection into classes. However, 23% of white pupils felt unhappy with selection into classes. Given the prevailing practice all around, Caribbean and Pakistani pupils might take this as 'natural'. However, forcibly accepting injustice is a worrisome phenomenon.

Social class could also be a key explanatory factor since there was some disparity between schools. At School 1, 20% of all pupils felt they had been unfairly grouped which compares to 17% at School 2 and just 12% at School 3. This could perhaps be significant given that School 1 has a mixed social class intake. Existing studies of schools with mixed class intakes have indicated that setting was not just by ability, but clearly by social class (Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1973). Setting was thus viewed as a sorting mechanism that created and maintained inequalities as working class pupils tended to be placed in the lower sets. This study has been unable to demonstrate that social class is a factor here since at School 1 the same proportion of working class pupils felt they had unfair treatment as middle class pupils. Moreover, this school had actively organised classes so that each had an equal balance of pupils according to gender, socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds. It is difficult to explain why white pupils felt unhappy about selection into classes, but it might be related to the competitive culture of achievement which emphasises differences in ability. Or perhaps they were unhappy with the way existing classes were mixed.

Overall pupils felt positively about schoolwork. This was the case for 89% of Pakistani and 85% of White pupils. Caribbean pupils felt less positive at 74% so this does fit the picture of black exclusions. More pupils felt they had unjust treatment with the judgment of individual academic performance. This was the case for 31% of Pakistani, 28% of White but just 20% of Caribbean pupils.

Behaviour was cited as a reason for unjust treatment but this did differ according to ethnicity. White and Pakistani pupils had the same perceptions on this measure at 55%. Despite this, punishment, or the way sanctions were distributed among pupils was not seen as a significant reason for unjust treatment. Just 10% of Pakistani pupils, and 12% of White pupils identified this as an issue.

However, 73% of Caribbean pupils felt that they had experienced unfair treatment because of behaviour. This factor would therefore seem to strongly shape Caribbean pupils' feelings about the school and is significant in light of the fact Caribbean pupils are most likely to be excluded from school at national level. At 30%, Caribbean pupils were twice more likely to feel the way sanctions were distributed among pupils was an issue compared to white and Pakistani pupils. This factor would seem to shape strongly Caribbean pupils' feelings about the school and impacts on academic achievement. Combined with contextual factors such as the fact this group is more likely to suffer a dramatic event (which may cause conflict at home), this has adverse social implications. School should be a safe non-confrontational space for pupils, which is achieved through school climate and ethos. Most teachers would say that they do not treat pupils in a discriminatory manner (i.e. treating some pupils differently than others) and it is perhaps too simplistic to lay the blame on teachers. Further research should be done to investigate the complex reasons behind Caribbean pupils and behaviour.

Overall, it becomes explicit that Caribbean pupils feel less positive about themselves in relation to school than Pakistani and White pupils, but with some mixed data showing a complex picture of ethnic trends.

4.2 Relationships in school

With ethnic diversity apparent in all the schools and classrooms, as well as different personalities and learning needs, assessment of the classroom environment is an important facet of the study. Atmosphere in the classroom provoked different responses along ethnic lines. 45% of white respondents viewed the atmosphere in their classrooms as 'friendly and cohesive' compared with 35% of Caribbean and just 26% Pakistani pupils. This is a significant finding and may reflect the fact that Pakistani pupils are more likely to feel less social support in school from both teachers and peers, which is significant when these social relations are often seen as an important protective factor. There was some difference between schools as well. 62% of all pupils at School 3 felt their class was 'friendly and cohesive' compared with 58% at School 1 and 46% at School 2. In general, therefore, it seems that School 3 has created a more relaxed and more enjoyable classroom environment.

Overall most pupils indicated that several teachers liked them, which show that despite the different power positions of teachers and pupils, there are good interpersonal relationships. In the eyes of students, teachers are likely to be supportive and are likely to motivate and enhance self-esteem. This was the case across all schools with 82%, 88% and 83% of all pupils in Schools 1, 2 and 3 respectively. While there was not much difference in response according to school context, there was some difference in response according to ethnicity. 54% of Pakistani pupils felt that several teachers liked them but 43% did not know. This is in contrast to both Caribbean and White pupils who displayed more confidence. 60% of Caribbean pupils felt several teachers liked them and 27% did not know. 65% of White pupils felt several teachers liked them and only 24% did not know.

Although much research has focused on teacher-pupil relationships, what has emerged here is the need to consider pupil-pupil dynamics. The vast majority of pupils identified themselves as having several friends in school. This was the case across all three schools and all ethnic and social class groupings. However, while the relationships pupils have with teachers seem to be

ubiquitously positive, social relations between pupils seemed to be more fraught with issues. The majority of pupils had a 'not unanimously positive experience' with peers in school. This was the case for all pupils across the social class and the ethnic divide. (84% of White pupils living in the inner city and 81% of those living on the outskirts; 91% of inner city Pakistani compared with 90% on outskirts). There was a slight difference with Caribbean pupils. Those (working class) pupils living in the inner city were more likely to report a negative social experience than those (middle class) pupils living on the outskirts (90% compared with 60%). The combined influence of social class and ethnicity therefore does appear to be more pronounced for Caribbean pupils.

Hostile groups were identified in classrooms among white, Pakistani and Caribbean pupils (21%, 26% and 26% respectively). This perhaps is unsurprising as although I did not notice any hostility through overt means in the sense of name calling or abuse, hostility can feature in more subtle ways through indifference for instance. The fact that between a fifth and a quarter of all respondents reported hostility is substantial and warrants further investigation of how pupils define their identities by drawing boundaries between themselves, and others. In addition to this bullying occurred 'occasionally' in all three schools. This was the case for 64% at School 1, 70% at School 2 and 57% at School 3. 37% of pupils at School 3 reported that bullying 'frequently' occurred. This was predominantly the case for all ethnic groups. However, bullying occurred in different places at different times according to the school context. At Schools 1 and 3, bullying occurred in the classroom, around school and outside school. At School 2, bullying mainly occurred outside the classroom, around school. This perhaps gives an indication of the different educational ethos and routine of each school.

Bullying was seen to occur because of a number of different factors. Pupils perceived bullying to occur between pupils living in different neighbourhoods. This was the case for 50% of Caribbean pupils, 33% of Pakistani pupils and 36% of White pupils. On this measure, there was variation between schools. Pupils attending School 2 were least likely to report any bullying between pupils living in different neighbourhoods at 21%. Schools 1 and 3, which had a higher pupil catchment from Brunsmere, scored 37% and 42% respectively. Bullying between pupils of different social backgrounds was most apparent at School 1 with 43% of pupils perceiving this as a problem compared with 18% at School 2 and 28% at School 3. This can be explained by the fact School 1 by far had the most diverse social class intake so difference on this basis would be more stark.

Pupils also felt that bullying occurred between pupils of different ethnicities. Perceptions of this varied according to ethnicity. White and Pakistani pupils shared more or less the same perceptions with equal scores of 36%. At 64%, far more Caribbeans felt that bullying occurred between pupils of different ethnicities.

Although pupils felt that setting was fair, the competitive, achievement oriented environment of school does seem to have had an impact on some pupils more than others. At 19% more Pakistani pupils perceived their class as highly individualised which has implications for participation, compared with 10% of White and 4% of Caribbean pupils. A range of reasons for this could be suggested. The institutional organisation of classes where pupils are seated individually at desks in rows with the expectation to sit quietly and often work independently discourages social interaction. Coupled with the fact that Pakistani pupils were more likely to perceive hostile groups in their classroom, the mediating effect is one of diminished confidence and insularity.

A worrying finding was the number of pupils who found no comfort anywhere. This applied to 22% of White, 38% of Pakistani and 48% (the majority) of Caribbean pupils. It is very difficult to define exactly what is meant by this because you need to take into account a range of personal as well as social factors, but this does suggest a significant cohort of young people who are unhappy and insecure.

In summary, classroom interaction between peers of different social categories does involve subtle pressures and tensions. When studying classroom interaction Delamont (1976) states we need a less static concept than the notion of the clique to understand how pupils sometimes act together and sometimes isolate individuals. Initial observations of classroom dynamics in all three schools indicated that pupils tended to choose to sit with friends of the same ethnicity most of the time.

Conclusion

Altogether, findings demonstrate that pupil-pupil relations within school are troubled. Placing emphasis on how the learner *perceives* the educational environment and social relations of their school, alongside external structural barriers such as gender, ethnicity and social class has allowed a clearer picture of ethnic differences in school to emerge. In sum, school experience varies according to ethnicity. Whereas white pupils feel secure in school possibly as a result of being the majority population, Pakistani pupils are more likely to feel unhappy and insecure. Caribbean pupils feel much more socially integrated with the student body than Pakistani pupils and feel the classroom is a friendly and sociable place, but perceive unfair treatment on the grounds of behaviour. Although the aim of the education system is to create a level playing field among disparate ethnicities and social classes through a 'fair' and common system for all, it becomes evident in practice that it fails to fulfil this ideology.

5. Relating to ethnicity and ethnic identification

This chapter will scrutinize the different meanings that ethnicity might have in self-perception and in relating to others. It will explore perceptions on being 'othered', and will bring up the associations between positive and negative experiences about ethnicity and one's self-esteem. It will also look at the variations that family background, success at school, aspirations on further studies might induce in these associations. In other words, the chapter will attempt to portray ethnic identification as a highly complex and fluid phenomenon that is shaped by a wide range of experiences and impacts.

The chapter firstly, contrasts the experiences of Pakistani and Caribbean pupils with white students and secondly it compares and contrasts the experiences of Pakistani and Caribbean pupils with each other.

5.1 Comparing ethnic experiences

Taking into consideration that ethnicity is just but one of the dimensions of one's identity, analysis begins by situating the importance of ethnicity among the other aspects of defining one's group-belonging. Moreover, the survey took place among fourteen and fifteen year olds which is significant since adolescence is a time frequently associated with exploration and uncertainty of one's identity. Subsequently it is popularly viewed as a vulnerable period in identity formation.

A mixed picture of ethnic trends is apparent from the data on the role of ethnicity in pupils' lives. At 46% the majority of white pupils felt that their ethnicity did not play a role in their life. 15% felt their ethnicity was advantageous and the same proportion felt it was sometimes advantageous and sometimes not. 23% did not know which perhaps shows ambivalence and just 1% said it was a disadvantage. Here the interplay between ethnicity and social background is crucial. 62% of white (middle class) pupils living in the outskirts compared to just 39% of white (working class) pupils living in the inner city felt their ethnicity did not play any role. Does this show that inner city white pupils are more aware of their white ethnic status than their counterparts living in the affluent outskirts? Probably not. What it is more likely to indicate is the fact that middle class white pupils experience 'culturelessness' in a way that white working class pupils do not.

Perry's (2001) research goes some way to understanding white ethnic responses here. She illuminates the ways in which different institutional contexts influence different constructions of white identity as cultureless. Following a definition of cultureless whereby, "...white identity was understood to have no ties or allegiances to European ancestry and culture, no 'traditions'," Perry (2001: 58) shows how culturelessness can serve, even if unintentionally as a measure of white superiority. In her study, at the predominantly white high school white identities were constructed as cultureless because white cultural practices were taken for granted, naturalised and thus, not reflected on and defined. In contrast, at the multiethnic school, white culture was not taken for granted yet multiculturalism subversively helped constitute cultureless identities through what Perry (2001: 57) calls 'processes of rationalisation'. To the white youth, only

ethnic people had ties to the past which put across the idea that white culture does not need special attention, the underlying message being 'white is the norm and standard'. At School 1 this also appeared to be the case. However, a major problem with this kind of analysis is that it only focuses on the monocausal category of 'race' to explain inequality. Whilst many such studies have sought to expose the way white domination (through 'colourblind' practices or culturelessness) is sustained through 'invisibility' and disarm its 'cloaked perniciousness' (Perry, 2001) interest should also turn to how this privilege is codified in white people at the margins of society. Although Perry (2001: 61) claims that 'cultural invisibility is a characteristic of all those who hold full citizenship and institutional power in the nation state', this surely serves to define the standard 'norm' of white *middle* class. It is important to consider that white, working-class pupils may have cultural heritages, which disadvantage them as well (Willis, 1977). This is reflected through the fact that a much proportion of white working class pupils at Schools 2 and 3 felt that ethnicity did not play a role. How you identify yourself is, to a large extent, how society defines you so structurally they are only are not fully integrated into the cultureless norm by virtue of their social class or 'chav' status.

The questionnaire did not provoke the same reactions among white pupils in Schools 2 and 3 which show a clear difference in the way ethnicity intersects with social class. To extend this point it is worth passing comment to the fact that white middle class pupils at School 1 stated not to perceive or articulate ethnic difference at all. This was interesting given the fact the school celebrates cultural difference. Why exactly did they eschew it? Was it that labels may stereotype? Whatever the reason, ethnicity as a marker of social division was interpreted very negatively which is apparent in comments pupils' have added on the questionnaire. For example, questions that asked pupils to reflect on ethnicity were felt to be highly offensive in a way that questions about gender were not.

I'm not racist

Pupils' verbal and written protests might reveal something significant about how white middle class pupils unconsciously were aware of being in a structurally more advantaged position to pupils of other ethnic groups. This does not emerge from the survey however since at 16% the same proportion of both working class and middle class pupils felt their ethnic status was advantageous. On other measures the interplay between ethnicity and social background is more of a significant differential between white pupils since 9% of white working class pupils compared to 21% of white middle class felt their ethnicity was sometimes advantageous and sometimes not.

A complicated picture of white ethnicity thus emerges. To go some way to analyse this it seems necessary to draw on contextual data from the field. Outwardly ethnicity was viewed as an irrelevant and meaningless concept among these white middle class pupils, which is seen in comments where pupils do not acknowledge perceived differences (or even similarities),

Ethnicity means nothing to me. It doesn't matter. Everyone is human. Why do we have to label ourselves. Does it really matter?

"Ethnic labels don't affect me. I don't care. It makes no difference."

"If I have to I state my ethnicity but I don't think it matters what ethnicity you are. I don't like the idea of discrimination because of your ethnicity and how that affects your social category."

This was interpreted as being uncomfortable with the term 'ethnicity'. It was a powerful word which made them feel uncomfortable. The sense among white pupils seemed to be that recognising and articulating ethnic difference threatens social cohesion and their responses indicated breaking down notions of ethnicity as a marker of distinction. However despite middle class white pupils' assertions for social justice and racial equality, it is possible that their sense of collective 'togetherness' conversely may be invoking the interplay of self and Other and a sense of collective separateness. Crucially ethnicity is a component of social identity like gender and social class. The problem is the term itself because it is not neutral but loaded with negative associations. The general feeling of White pupils refusing to acknowledge ethnicity as a marker of identity nonetheless offers insight into the significance of this piece of research.

Turning now to ethnic minority experiences, Pakistani pupils' responses were more spread out. 29% of pupils felt their ethnicity was mostly advantageous and the same proportion did not know. 22% felt it did not play any role and 20% felt it was sometimes advantageous and sometimes not. No one indicated their ethnicity as being a disadvantage. At 43%, the majority of Caribbean pupils felt their ethnicity was sometimes advantageous and sometimes not. Another 22% did not know, and 14% said they felt their ethnicity was mostly advantageous and the same proportion felt it did not play any role. 7% felt it was mostly disadvantageous.

Considering implications for inter ethnic relations of trust and friendships, there were differences between, how pupils see themselves ethnically aligned. In gaining a sense of the factors that lead to social integration or isolation, analysis turned to the kinship groups pupils bond with inside and outside school. 57% of Caribbean pupils and 53% of White pupils reported that 'Same ethnicity is definitely not important' in friendship choices whereas at 53%, the majority of Pakistani pupils thought that 'same ethnicity is important'. This is a significant finding and may suggest that Pakistani pupils find greater bonds of solidarity with other Pakistani pupils. This, perhaps, can be explained through additional significant structural similarities such as a shared language and religion.

This is backed up by other points. When looking at the degree of ethnic solidarity pupil responses indicate varying patterns. At 43%, the majority of white pupils did not remember ever feeling they shared solidarity with those that share the same ethnicity. Another 39% answered that they did feel solidarity with other white people and 18% stated they did not. This does not follow the same pattern for ethnic minority pupils. 65% of Pakistani and 64% of Caribbean pupils said they felt solidarity with those sharing the same ethnicity. 10% of Pakistani and 7% of Caribbeans did not. Ethnic minority pupil perceptions are indeed reflected in classroom organisation where all pupils tended to self group with pupils of the same ethnicity.

Of the sample, 7% of Pakistanis and 5% of Caribbean pupils were not born in England. None of these Pakistanis were born in Pakistan, rather they were born either in another European or Asian country and moved to England ten years ago. Of the Caribbeans born abroad, they were born in the Caribbean and moved to England four years ago. 63% of all Pakistanis had fathers that were born abroad. Of these 10% were born in Pakistan and the remaining 90% were born in an Asian country. Of Caribbean pupils, all fathers not born in England were born in the Caribbean. The majority of Pakistani fathers moved to England as adults whereas the majority of Caribbean fathers moved when they were at school. 33% of Pakistani pupils had mothers who were born in an Asian country. There was some variety in when they moved to England:

31% moved as small children; 19% when they were at school and 50% as adults. All the mothers of Caribbean pupils were born in England.

At 38% the majority of all Pakistani pupils spoke Urdu or Punjabi as their first language. 27% learnt English as their first language and 35% of all Pakistani pupils were bilingual with English as the main language spoken. 77% of pupils indicated that they mainly spoke Urdu or Punjabi with family members and a smaller proportion at 23% indicated they spoke it with family, teachers and peers.

Finally it is important to acknowledge that much data was missing from the targeted ethnic groups. In particular Caribbean and White/Caribbean boys refused to answer the majority of questions around ethnicity. At School 1 there was one White and Caribbean boy in particular who only partially filled in the questionnaire because he felt the questions asked were too intrusive. He referenced to slavery and was hyper aware of race.

Pupils' attitudes towards their own ethnicity tended to bring mixed feelings and ethnicity was shown to be a particularly slippery and elusive concept for white and Pakistani pupils. The majority of both groups had 'positive self esteem with uncertainties'. Although white and Pakistani pupils share the same perceptions, it is perhaps for different reasons. Taking Perry's theorisation, for white pupils it could be due to 'culturelessness'. It is more likely that for Pakistani pupils, their uncertainties are due to lingering stigma. This would fit with the findings of Chapter 4.

On the other hand at 60% the majority of Caribbean pupils expressed 'strong positive self esteem' about their ethnicity. Only 34% of White and 27% of Pakistanis shared the same feeling. Does this indicate that Caribbean pupils share a perceived collective identity, of a shared subjective community, of 'belonging together' and being distinct from others? The earlier reference to the Caribbean boy's comment to slavery would indicate so. However, when you look at friendship choices, this does not appear to be the case as much as for Pakistani pupils. Caribbean pupils seem able to run a strong positive sense of ethnic identity in parallel with feeling more socially integrated within school. This is an important distinction from Pakistani pupils, who do not negotiate their ethnic identities alongside the same perceived level of social integration.

However, despite feeling more socially integrated 60% of Caribbean pupils felt that they had experienced racism compared to 30% of Pakistani pupils and 11% of white pupils. For this group racism is more a part of everyday life. For others within that community however, the term brought about a dual sense of self. This was evident with Mixed: White and Caribbean pupils,

"The word ethnicity means your skin colour. I feel more of my white/British heritage because I celebrate white holidays and see relatives from the white side of my family" (White and Caribbean girl).

On the surface pupil responses would indicate that schools are relatively ethnically integrated but this did not appear to be the case in practice.

Conclusion

There are clear differences then between how ethnic groups perceive their ethnicity and overall findings indicate that pupil perceptions of their ethnic identities are highly complex. On some measures, white and Pakistani pupils have most in common. On others, it is Pakistani and Caribbean pupils. Unsurprisingly while the majority of white pupils felt their ethnicity had no role, for both Pakistani and Caribbean pupils it had clear significance although there was significant differentiation between the two groups.

6. Ideas about adult life

This chapter sets out to examine pupils' views of their future in terms of employment, family arrangements, life style aspirations and living conditions. The discussion will reveal similarities and differences in the upcoming patterns as shaped by childhood experiences, varied family arrangements, social and living conditions, and the cultural imprints of ethnicity between White, Pakistani and Caribbean pupils. It will also map the importance of traditions in the ways organising future family life, and will tap on the influence of parental patterns in choosing occupations/professions. Aspirations and fears of each group of pupils will be analysed in the context of experiences about ethnicity and the power of identity – as revealed in earlier chapters.

6.1 Future career aspirations

Childhood experiences do not appear to have an effect on pupils' aspirations for the future. First, there was some disparity between pupils who had suffered a dramatic event in their childhood on the basis of ethnicity. 44% of White pupils and 46% of all Pakistani pupils had suffered a dramatic event. At 59%, Caribbean pupils were more likely to have suffered a dramatic event. Significantly, the occurrence of a dramatic event did not have a negative impact on pupils' plans to continue studying. 100% of Pakistanis and 80% of White pupils who had suffered a dramatic event intended to go on to further study. (*There was insufficient data on BlackCaribbeans*).

In terms of ambition the majority of all pupils did not know' how they will live their adult life. Of those that answered they will live their adult life 'better' than at present. Differences were indicated on the basis of ethnicity with White and Caribbean pupils scoring 31% and 38% respectively. This compares to 47% of Pakistani pupils. Pupils' views of social mobility are particularly significant in light of Blanden et al.'s (2005) study, which found Britain to have the lowest rate of social mobility of other developed countries.³⁶

Young people's aspirations are a large part of their decisions to participate in further education (FE). When comparing the employment aspirations of these young people with the outcomes of their parents results show that they have higher aspirations. The fact that pupils from Pakistani

³⁶ Findings indicated that inequality of access to higher education has widened further and people from wealthier backgrounds were disproportionately benefiting. The researchers concluded: 'The strength of the relationship between educational attainment and family income, especially for access to higher education, is at the heart of Britain's low mobility culture and what sets us apart from other European and North American countries.'

backgrounds were more likely to think they will live better indicates aspirations but exploration into how pupils expect upward mobility to be achieved shows that it is not by entry into professional occupations. 67% of Caribbean and 65% of White pupils aspired towards white-collar work. At 58% Pakistani pupils fell below. This raises interesting points about assimilation. Although Pakistani pupils aspire to provide a better standard of living, it does not seem to be through the endorsed professional occupational route, which may reflect disillusionment about prospects. Since Pakistani men are more likely to be self-employed than White and Caribbean, it seems likely that pupils may intend on securing social mobility through this means which means being self-reliant. Does this link in with pupils' perceptions of being socially excluded in school? It seems likely that pupils' views of schools provide the foundation for their later ambitions. Are cultural beliefs entwined with this? Since successful completion of further and higher education is a major structural factor in young people's opportunities and life chances

Pupils of all ethnic backgrounds cited future ambitions, which were realistic and childish, all positive. Aspirations of disadvantaged pupils were no different to aspirations of advantaged pupils. However, perhaps in reality it poses more risk for working class pupils since the financial burden to support further education rests with parents. They do not have the safety net of financial resources so have to make decisions which safeguard their security perhaps.

6.2 Future home life aspirations

In the future, the majority of pupils saw themselves as living in a traditional nuclear family model. This was the case for 85% of Caribbean, 81% of White and 68% of Pakistani pupils. 20% of Pakistani pupils cited extended families, and on this there was not a significant gender disparity.

Overall the majority of boys and girls indicated that they will live with a spouse or partner although a large proportion did not know yet. It is significant to note that there was a slight gender bias in the sense that girls were more likely to say they did not know which would perhaps indicate that living in partnership is no longer an imperative part of being female. Of those that answered 53% of girls said they will live with a partner compared with 66% of boys. 43% of girls and 34% of boys said they did not know. Data does imply some differences. 50% of White pupils compared with 33% of Pakistani and 45% of Caribbean pupils expected to live with a spouse or partner. Pakistanis' low rate of living in partnership does relate to their high aspirations on being self-reliant. A surprising result was that the majority of Pakistani pupils answered they 'do not know yet' which was surprising given the cultural norm of extended families. It may indicate that other options and constructions of choice such as career expectations supersede the value of marriage and family.

In particular girls mostly had 'unclear ideas' about marriage and the status of wife. Overall this was the case for 63% of girls and 44% of boys. Cross tabulations with ethnicity indicate disparity. At 86% Pakistani girls appeared to have the most ambivalence about female roles. This compared to 61% of White and 56% of Caribbean girls. Although gender roles remain ingrained in society, pupils' responses reflect a more blurred understanding of what the female role encompasses in employment and the home. To a lesser degree, boys also had unclear ideas. Interestingly this was conversely the case for just 36% of Pakistani boys, 40% of Caribbean and 48% of White boys.

In considering their future partner, pupils overall stated that sharing the same ethnicity, social background, neighbourhood or career were not important factors. Having a partner of the same ethnicity was of more importance for Pakistani pupils. 33% of Pakistani pupils stated that it was 'very' important. 33% stated it has some importance. 18% of White pupils stated that ethnicity would have some importance. For the vast majority of Pakistani pupils, religious compatibility or sharing the same religion was important.

In looking at worries and concerns, the majority of White and Caribbean pupils cited 'country, nation and society'. Pakistani pupils worried most about 'personal life'. Typical answers were exams,

Conclusion

Childhood experiences do not appear to have an effect on pupils' aspirations for the future. Significantly, the occurrence of a dramatic life event did not have a negative impact on pupils' plans to continue studying. The survey indicates varied trajectories of aspirations of future life on the grounds of ethnicity. The fact that pupils from Pakistani backgrounds were more likely to think they will live better indicates aspirations but exploration into how pupils expect upward mobility to be achieved shows that it is not by entry into professional occupations. 66.6% of Caribbean and 64.9% of White pupils aspired towards white-collar work. At 58.3% Pakistani pupils fell below. Further research of Pakistani pupils' perceptions of work and income and how this connects with the notion of identity would be useful here.

Conclusion

This chapter has two purposes. First, it summarises the major findings of the analyses in Chapters 2–6. Second, the chapter positions the findings of the Report into the broader contexts of academic research and policy-making, respectively.

The significance of spatial location as a maker of disaffection. What is the nature of spatial factors and education outcomes? How do racial groupings in school relate to neighbourhood communities and ideas of territory? The significance of neighbourhood did not emerge through survey data but it was apparent in pupils' discussions so this may be a possible point of interest to pursue in the Community Study. Can 'neighbourhood' be understood as a spatially bounded territory upon which stems educational disaffection? What is the impact of the spatial concentration of educationally disaffected young people on labour market outcomes? These questions require further investigation.

The Intersection between School Context and Social Structures. There is a need for a model to understand the interaction between social structures (class, race, gender as well as neighbourhood, family type) and school context. Existing models are focused around one or the other but not both in tandem but it is the interaction between both which needs to be better theorised and evaluated.

Summary of findings

NorthCity and the UK are rapidly changing and becoming more diverse which imposes greater challenges to already stretched schools which makes understanding the interaction between education and ethnicity all the more important. In NorthCity as a whole, there is evidence of racial segregation at secondary school level which is significant in light of the fact 2007 schools were placed with a duty to promote community cohesion in 2007 (DCSF, 2007). However while schools have an important role in the development of pupils' aspirations this study shows that so do the structural forces of social class and ethnicity.

Using quantitative research techniques to explore pupils' lived experiences at school and classroom level in three multicultural schools in NorthCity has provided a rich data set. Findings indicate a number of contradictions but the study indicates that schools and classrooms under a range of complex influences matter. The three schools each had multicultural pupil populations but were quite different in terms of ethos and context. School 1 with its middle catchment offered the greatest scope for pupils to interact and mix with pupils of different backgrounds but this did not seem to take place in reality.

Gaining understanding of this gives more of an insight into pupil's self-esteem and motivation to learn. The study has also given understanding about how 'everyday' social relations and social interaction influence pupils' feelings towards school. The relationship a pupil has with their peers appears to be more important in school and the everyday life of the classroom than their relationships with teachers.

This survey indicates that perceptions of schooling differ by ethnicity. Key findings from the 434 questionnaires include:

- Pakistani pupils feel most isolated in school.
- Caribbean pupils feel more integrated but felt more aggrieved by treatment in school.
- White middle class pupils deny the significance of race as a marker of identity.
- Pakistani pupils are more likely to think they will live better in the future but this is unlikely to be achieved by entry into professional occupations

One thing is clear. BME pupils' experiences are not uniform. On some measures, white and Pakistani pupils share the same perceptions. On others, such as future aspirations White and Caribbean pupils share the same perceptions. In terms of classroom climate, Pakistani pupils seem to occupy a marginal place in school lacking confidence in social relationships in school. They have dealt with this by creating an independent space. Perceptions of their future highlighted some inclinations to follow traditional cultural patterns. Caribbean pupils on the other hand perceived unfair treatment in behaviour but felt more integrated as little emphasis was placed on race in their friendship choices. The position of middle class White pupils in School 1 also highlights dilemmas and a fundamental tension in school's institutional approaches to ethnicity.

Policy implications and recommendations for future work

The survey has provided a rich set of (baseline) data relating to ethnic differences in education and the challenge is how to respond directly to the findings. For pupils to succeed school must be a safe and enjoyable place, but more than that,

A school is a community that is responsible for linking its students developing needs and aspirations to the highest standards of educational or academic practice (educational goods) as well as to broader notions of human flourishing (philosophical, social, and human goods). This task will never be fully achieved, because of the demanding nature of the ideals, the potential conflicts within and between them, the imperfections of those responsible for creating this community, and the inherent variability of the strengths and challenges that each set of students, individually and collectively, create for the school (Mehta, 2009)

Although the overall aim is likely to be unobtainable, the goal of educational work with BME pupils should be one of social justice and schools should provide the space and resources for pupils to broaden their horizons and improve relationships.

Enhanced opportunity for pupils at risk of poor outcomes. Based on the experiences gleaned from this research, the main challenge for policy makers at national level is to find ways to promote the motivational disposition, which encourage aspirations through education and learning. While interventions in school usually focus on 'fixing' the pupil, focus must also be drawn to the role of enrichment activities, which build social and emotional skills and attitudes that support learning. It is logical that a flexible, permeable and responsive continuum of

support and provision is needed to target pupils based on their particular continuum of need. What is needed is a flexible and creative response, which offers an alternative to traditional education to meet the demands of challenging pupils. This requires more innovative measures than just tweaking the timetable.

Deeper curriculum and pedagogical changes. There is the need to provide content that connects with BME pupils' everyday lives. Learning does not just happen inside school, but exists inside people's social contexts and social locations. There is a fundamental need to find ways to get pupils to see the big picture of the dynamics of their lives. We need to develop a way of meaningfully communicating to pupils the interaction between the 'close up scenes' and 'private orbits' (Mills, 1959:3) of their individual lives and the structural reality in which these are embedded and how this relates to their life chances. In other words to demystify and explain social reality by making clearer what is happening so that they can recognise what they are doing and make change. What this encompasses is self-actualisation. Schools are unable to affect the social circumstances in which pupils are living; but policy could do more to offer a curriculum, which permits young people to make choices, to build self-confidence, and to see the connections between learning and a better life.

Teacher training. There is a large amount of uncertainty and lack of knowledge about BME communities and how to engage with them. Teacher training programmes would greater attention to these issues. The survey's findings opened up under- investigated issues, which would contribute towards a greater understanding of pupils' lives in school, and communicating these key ideas in training would be beneficial.

Education across the domains of pupils' experiences at home, the 'street corner' and in school. Learning in school is often conceptualised as an isolated theme. Greater insight into pupil engagement can be achieved by examining the learning practices engaged in by young people in their other life contexts, the ways in which these practices are activated and put into practice within different contexts and their capacity to be utilised in school to support learning. It may also achieve insight into how the wider cultural factors of pupils' lives shape their experiences of schooling, views about academic achievement and future aspirations.

Teacher Preparation and Multicultural Inner-City Schools. A longitudinal study of inner city teachers' paths through teaching would be beneficial to an understanding of clear factors for teacher retention in the context of challenging inner city schools.

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Appendix 1: Acronyms

Black and Minority Ethnic	BME
Brunsmere New Deal for Communities	BNDfC)
Commission for Racial Equality	CRE
Department for Children, Families, and Schools	DCSF
Department for Education and Skills	DfES
Department for Work and Pensions	DWP
Education Action Zones	EAZs
Education Maintenance Allowance	EMA
English as an additional language	EAL
Free School Meals	FSM
Further Education	FE
General Certificate of Secondary Education	GCSE
General Register Office for Scotland	GRO
Individual Education Plan	IEP
Local Education Authorities	LEAs
Lower Layer Super Output Areas	LSOAs
Middle Layer Super Output Areas	MSOAs
Office for National Statistics	ONS
Physical Education	PE
Pupil Level Annual School Census	PLASC
Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator	SENCO
Super Output Areas	SOA
Taken without Owner's Consent	TWOC

Appendix 2: Tables

Table 1: Ethnic minority breakdown

	NorthCity	Percentage of total	Region	Percentage of total	England	Percentage of total
All People	513,234	100	4,964,833	100	49,138,831	100
White: British	457,728	91.2	4,551,394	91.7	42,747,136	87.0
Asian or Asian British: Pakistani	15,844	3.1	146,330	2.9	706,539	1.4
Caribbean	8875	1.7	39495	0.8	792,670	1.6
Black/Black British: Caribbean	5,171	1.0	21,308	0.4	561,246	1.1
Mixed: White and Caribbean	3,704	0.7	18,187	0.4	231,424	0.5

Source: 2001 Census, Office for National Statistics

Table 2: NorthCity's BME secondary school pupil population

Year	BME (%)
1998	11.2
1999	10.9
2000	11.7
2001	Missing
2002	14.2
2003	14.1
2004	15.1
2005	15.6
2006	17.9
2007	18.2
2008	19.7
2009	20.6

Table 2: Super output area (SOA) by deprivation banding in NorthCity

Deprivation Banding ¹	0-10%	10-20%	20-30%	30-50%	80-100%
Overall	Brunsmere Tannery- Rise	AreaThree AreaFour AreaFifteen			AreaNineteen AreaEighteen AreaSeventeen AreaSixteen
Income	Brunsmere	Tannery-Rise AreaThree AreaFour AreaFifteen			AreaSeventeen AreaSixteen
Employment	Brunsmere Tannery- Rise			AreaThree AreaFour AreaFifteen	AreaSeventeen AreaSixteen
Education	Tannery- Rise	Brunsmere AreaThree AreaFour		AreaFifteen	AreaSeventeen AreaSixteen

Primary catchment areas for School 1

Primary catchment areas for School 2

Primary catchment area for School 3

Primary catchment areas for School 1 and 3

¹ 0-10% is the lowest well being bracket and 80-100% is the highest well-being bracket.

Table 3: Social composition of NorthCity through time

Registrar General's Social Class, grouped (5)

Year	Class 1 Professional occupations (doctors, architects, dentists, solicitors)	Class 2 Managerial and Technical occupations (farmers, managers, teachers)	Classes 1 and 2	Class 3 Skilled occupations (secretaries, electricians, butcher, shop assistants)	Class 4 Partly skilled occupations (postal workers, bar workers)	Class 5 Unskilled occupations (labourers, office cleaners, refuse collectors)	Classes 4 and 5
1841	1% 564	11% 5,544	12% 6,108	66% 33,150	15% 7,702	6% 3,159	21% 10,861
1881	1%	11%	12%	58%	22% 22,087	8% 7,621	30%
1931	1%	10%	11%	50%	17% 33,911	21% 41,020	38%
1951	2%	12%	14%	56%	14% 28,671	16% 33,661	30%
1971	4%	13%	17%	56%	17% 28,839	9% 15,159	26%
1981	4%	18%	12%	52%	19% 27,870	6% 9,040	25%
1991	7%	23%	30%	47%	17% 23,510	6% 8,860	23%
2001	15% 19,108	28% 35,903	43% 55,011	26% 33,469	15% 19,251	16% 20,640	31% 39,891

Source: <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk>

Table 4: Indices of multiple deprivation for selected cities in northern England cities, 2004-2007

	IMD 2004 ¹	IMD 2007
NorthCity	60	63
Nottingham	7	13
Leeds	68	85
Manchester	2	4
Liverpool	1	1

¹ The overall index score is a measure of multiple deprivation in seven domains. The lower the score the more deprived the city. Thus with a score of 1, Liverpool is most deprived.

Source: <http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/xls/576504.xls>

Table 5: IMD 2007 for selected NorthCity neighbourhoods

Neighbourhood name	Overall Rank (1-32,243) ¹	Income Rank	Employment Rank	Education Rank	Barriers rank	Crime Rank
NorthCity						
Tannery-Rise	1598	3452	2729	1443	12305	7225
Brunsmere	698	672	1270	3641	7514	7377
AreaFour	3266	3797	8561	3641	8658	22768
AreaThree	461	446	2341	522	4964	8154
AreaFifteen	3495	5421	7499	10120	10839	7359
AreaSixteen	18311	31162	31560	30433	10324	15042
AreaSeventeen	19954	28782	27110	30112	19400	16776
AreaEighteen	23423	31436	29523	32050	21844	23838
AreaNineteen	22778	30009	29554	31325	20837	21312

¹ibid. Hence Brunsmere ranks 698 out of 32,243 neighbourhoods overall making it in the top 2% of deprived areas nationally.

Source: <http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/>

Table 6: Characterisation of pupils from outside the school catchment

Group	Acorn ² Categories	School 1	School 2	School 3
Affluent Families	1 and 2	349 (55.6%)	7 (3.3%)	19 (6.3%)
Average Families	3 and 4	179 (28.5%)	89 (41.8%)	78 (25.9%)
Poor Families	5	96 (15.3%)	115 (54.0%)	201 (66.8%)
Unclassified		4 (0.6%)	2 (0.9%)	3 (1.0%)

² For a definition of Acorn categories see footnote 21. Source: *Local Education Authority Data*

Table 7: Employment by ethnicity in NorthCity

	NorthCity%	Pakistani%	Caribbean%	Mixed Race%
All People	100.0%	100%	100%	100.0%
Economically Active	63.1"	46.2"	61.8"	57.9"
Employee - Part Time	12.4%	7.0%	10.5%	9.0%
Employee - Full Time	37.0%	15.3%	35.5%	28.1%
Self Employed - Part Time	1.4%	2.3%	0.8%	1.1%
Self Employed - Full Time	4.8%	8.5%	2.9%	3.0%
Unemployed	4.2%	9.2%	8.8%	9.3%
Full-time student	3.3%	3.9%	3.3%	7.4%
Economically Inactive	36.9%	53.8%	38.2%	42.1%
Retired	13.5%	5.2%	15.3%	3.5%
Student	8.1%	11.9%	5.7%	19.3%
Looking after home/family	5.9%	20.3%	4.1%	7.8%
Permanently sick or disabled	6.2%	6.0%	7.7%	4.6%
Other	3.1%	10.3%	5.4%	6.9%

Source: 2001 Census, Office for National Statistics

Table 8: Qualification level by ethnicity in NorthCity

Ethnic Group	None ¹	Lower ²	Higher ³
All People	38.9%	42.3%	18.8%
White			
White British	39.3%	43.0%	17.7%
Irish	42.3%	26.1%	31.6%
Other White	21.0%	29.4%	49.6%
Mixed/ Dual Heritage			
White and Caribbean	33.4%	54.6%	11.9%
White and Black African	26.4%	45.1%	28.5%
White and Asian	27.8%	48.4%	23.8%
Other Mixed	24.5%	41.8%	33.7%
Asian or Asian British			
Indian	10.9%	43.2%	45.9%
Pakistani	53.0%	33.9%	13.2%
Bangladeshi	52.0%	33.4%	14.6%
Other Asian	36.2%	31.6%	32.2%
Black or Black British			
Caribbean	41.7%	40.0%	18.3%
African	28.3%	38.3%	33.5%
Other Black	31.7%	47.1%	21.2%
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group			
Chinese	20.2%	33.9%	45.9%
Other ethnic group	24.5%	29.6%	45.9%

¹ Describing people without any academic, vocational or professional qualifications.

² Equates to levels 1, 2 and 3 of the National Key Learning Targets (i.e. GCSEs, 'O' Levels, NVQ levels 1-3)

³ Qualifications of levels 4 and above (i.e. NVQ levels 4 and 5, HND, HNC, first degrees, higher degrees and certain professional qualifications).

Source: 2001 Census, Office for National Statistics

Table 9: Full ethnicity breakdown of each school for NorthCity LEA, 2008

School	White British	Irish	Traveller of Irish Heritage	Gypsy Roma	White and Caribbean	White and Black African	White and Pakistani	White and Asian	White and any other	Backgound White and any other	Any Other Mixed	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Any Other Asian Backgound	Caribbean	Somali	Other Black African	Any Other Black Backgound	Chinese	Yemeni	Any Other Ethnic Group	Ethnic Minority	Not Known	Total
1	1023	7	0	0	33	48	13	3	26	21	8	227	17	20	27	31	17	12	15	2	10	537	22	1582	
2	591	1	0	1	19	42	2	8	5	2	1	90	16	11	19	27	28	2	2	15	8	299	0	890	
3	481	0	0	13	22	11	0	1	5	4	1	45	2	13	11	53	15	9	0	22	6	233	0	714	
4	166	1	0	0	57	12	4	0	1	7	1	112	19	44	14	51	45	9	8	28	29	442	0	608	
5	1029	12	0	0	19	20	15	11	4	22	3	2	0	5	40	1	49	11	2	1	4	211	12	1252	
6	1131	2	0	0	3	12	1	0	3	5	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	2	0	38	22	1191	
7	902	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	20	0	922	
8	847	1	3	0	2	18	2	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	0	0	4	44	37	928	
9	1660	0	0	0	8	24	0	5	2	4	4	5	0	4	7	0	5	1	3	2	1	75	3	1738	
10	69	1	0	1	8	19	2	6	12	9	10	359	6	10	17	77	32	2	0	105	4	680	0	749	
11	964	1	1	0	5	47	6	1	8	10	10	121	1	17	21	30	24	3	1	38	10	355	7	1326	
12	905	1	0	0	4	13	2	3	6	5	1	59	8	2	3	0	9	2	2	0	2	122	0	1027	
13	838	4	0	0	15	32	4	1	12	23	15	166	51	6	26	33	4	5	3	3	7	410	1	1249	
14	1107	6	0	0	16	59	7	4	9	25	5	118	28	28	29	42	32	9	25	34	33	509	41	1657	
15	1537	3	0	0	3	25	5	1	1	23	3	9	3	8	10	1	3	1	3	0	3	105	15	1657	
16	632	0	0	0	2	13	2	0	11	4	4	5	0	9	2	4	18	3	4	4	10	95	1	728	
17	815	0	0	0	6	41	5	7	2	13	1	43	0	1	9	0	16	0	0	1	2	147	8	970	
18	1061	16	0	1	66	14	4	0	7	30	8	1	0	8	26	0	55	12	3	0	7	258	5	1324	
19	732	0	1	1	0	29	0	3	8	12	0	149	108	17	8	8	9	7	1	11	10	382	5	1119	
20	814	3	2	0	13	24	3	1	4	9	0	14	3	0	9	2	39	2	5	0	10	143	7	964	
21	866	2	0	1	43	20	3	10	21	8	10	56	10	18	7	94	3	2	15	9	9	341	34	1241	
22	863	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	4	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	5	0	2	0	0	23	0	886	
23	1259	12	0	0	27	35	5	2	25	22	14	39	2	30	9	32	18	3	37	21	45	378	11	1648	
24	1305	1	0	0	0	30	3	2	6	9	2	2	0	6	10	1	12	2	3	0	7	96	9	1410	
25	1274	1	0	1	3	16	6	2	1	4	2	3	0	1	4	0	1	6	1	1	0	53	13	1340	
26	745	0	0	0	4	22	2	3	1	3	1	1	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	2	1	45	2	792	
27	861	0	0	0	1	9	1	3	0	7	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	28	0	889	

Please note that 'Ethnic Minority' is now classed as all pupils except White British and Not Known. Source: Local Education Authority data

Table 10: *Thirty local authorities in England with the largest Caribbean population*

Local Authority	Number
Birmingham	47,831
Lambeth	32,139
Lewisham	30,543
Brent	27,574
Croydon	26,065
Hackney	20,879
Haringey	20,570
Southwark	19,555
Newham	17,931
Waltham Forest	17,797
Enfield	14,590
Ealing	13,507
Wandsworth	12,665
Sandwell	9,403
Nottingham	9,189
Redbridge	9,126
Wolverhampton	9,116
Manchester	9,044
Islington	8,550
Hammersmith and Fulham	8,534
Luton	7,653
Merton	6,976
Greenwich	6,755
Leeds	6,718
Harrow	6,116
Westminster	5,613
Bristol	5,585
Tower Hamlets	5,225
NorthCity	5,171
Bromley	4,637

Source: 2001 Census

Table 11: School quality indicators

School	Percent pupils achieving 5 A*-C passes (inc. English and Maths)		KS2-KS4 Contextual Value Added Measure
1	63	417.3	987.5
2	25	316	994.2
3	10	288.5	1004.1
4	16	242	972.7
5	48	403	1000.4
6	39	440.6	1007
7	62	429.6	1000.2
8	22	338.8	1002.7
9	47	353	988.6
10	34	398.2	1027.9
11	26	352.8	1019.3
12	32	365.2	974.3
13	63	457	1004.8
14	54	411	1002.8
15	50	422.5	988.9
16	37	343.7	981.8
17	37	396	993.2
18	66	443.9	1021.8
19	22	333.4	1004.1
20	22	262.6	998.7
21	80	467.7	966.4
22	55	420.5	1013.9
23	66	471.4	1001.7
24	26	364.5	1001.5
25	32	401.7	996.6
26	49	415.7	987
27	16	323.1	993.4

Source: Local Education Authority Data

Table 12: Overview of GCSE Passes A-C inc. Maths and English

	2009	2008	2007
School 1	69%	63%	62%
School 2	33%	25%	19%
School 3	22%	10%	19%

Source: Local Education Authority Data

Table 13: Numbers of pupils not in school catchment

School	Pupils not in catchment	Percent pupils not in catchment
1	628	51.9
2	213	24.5
3	301	44.1

Table 14: Fixed term exclusions in 2007/ 2008

School	No. pupils	No. incidents	No. pupils involved in exclusions	% pupils involved in exclusions (of total pupils)	No. of exclusion drop-outs
1	1202	194	90	7.5	0
2	890	171	94	10.6	1
3	714	297	138	19.3	3

Source: Local Education Authority Data

Table 15: Truancy levels by school, 2008

School 1	6.4%
School 2	0.5%
School 3	17.6%

Source: Local Education Authority Data

Table 16: 2008 Overall performance indicators

School	% pupils achieving 5 A*-C passes (inc. English and Maths)	KS2-KS4 Value Added Measure
1	63	987.5
2	25	994.2
3	10	1004.1

Source: Local Education Authority Data

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