

The Educational Attainment of White Working Class Pupils

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Feyisa Demie

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Education, Learning and Skills

International House, Canterbury Crescent

London SW9 7QE

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The Educational Attainment of White Working Class Pupils

Executive Summary

The aim of this study is to examine *'The Educational Attainment of White Working Class Pupils'* from low income backgrounds. Drawing on detailed School Census data for pupils who completed Key Stage Two (KS2) and Key Stage Four (KS4), this paper explores the differences in performance between the main ethnic groups. The main finding confirms that one of the biggest groups of underachievers is the White Working Class. The data shows that at GCSE, 32% of White British pupils eligible for free school meals achieved 5+A*-C, compared with 65% of pupils who were not eligible. There is a gap of 33 percentage points for White British compared to smaller gaps for Indian, African, Black Caribbean, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese pupils. The KS2 data also shows a similar pattern. The data suggests that White British pupils are the ethnic group most polarised by the impact of socio-economic disadvantage. While poverty makes little difference to the achievements at school of some ethnic groups, it makes a huge difference to White British children on free school meals. In conclusion, the study argues that the worryingly low achievement of many White Working Class pupils has been masked by the success of middle class White children in the English school system, because Government statistics have failed to distinguish the White British ethnic group by social background. Effectively treating White British as a single group is extremely misleading.

Section 1: Introduction: What does previous research tell us?

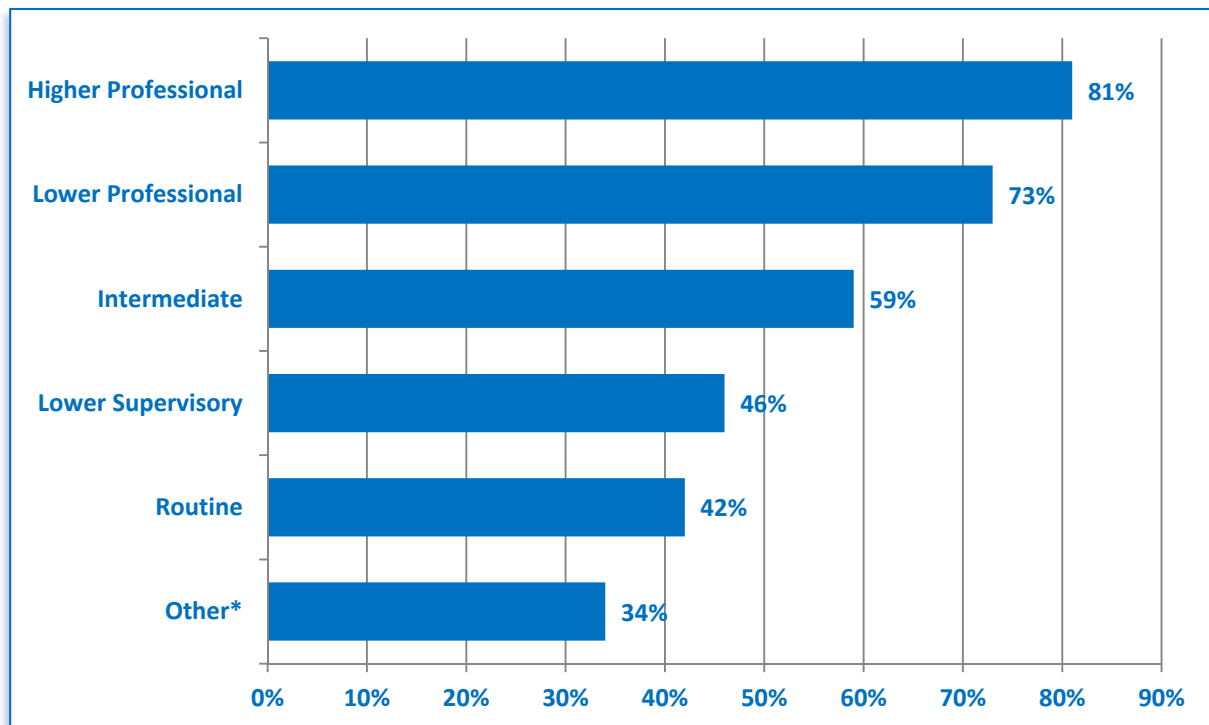
Underachievement is a major problem in schools serving a disadvantaged inner city community. Some of the lowest levels of achievement are to be found in these areas (Mortimer and Whitty, 1997; Demie et al 2002). A vital element of school improvement in disadvantaged areas is raising the levels of achievement of underachieving groups of pupils. This is now acknowledged by central government in a number of its White Papers and Children Service Plans (DfES 1997, DfES 2000; DCSF 2008, DfE 2010). The documents recognised that inequality of educational attainment is a key factor and a pressing concern of national importance is to close the gap in educational achievement between different social groups.

However, a lack of data and consensus over social class classification has made research on education and social class difficult in the past. There are a number of different measures of social class in education. The most commonly used measure of the socio-economic position of pupils used in education is free school meals because this data is available within schools. Others used a geographical area approach to identify areas of deprivation rather than individual social class. Census socio-economic classification, which is a measure of occupational position¹ is also used in national statistics and much academic research. It is not a measure used by professionals monitoring educational outcomes in schools despite a wealth of data available through the census.

¹ . For more details of national census occupational classification see list below:

1. Higher managerial and professional occupations
2. Lower managerial and professional occupations
3. Intermediate occupations
4. Small employers and own account workers
5. Lower supervisory and technical occupations
6. Semi-routine occupations
7. Routine occupations
8. Never worked and long term unemployed

Figure 1. 5+ A*-C GCSE Results by Parents' Social Class in England 2006



* Never worked and long term unemployed

Source: The Youth Cohort Study (YCS) 2004 <http://www.dfes.gov.uk/rsgateway/DB/SFR/s000560/Addition1.xls> (accessed 3 November 2007)

McCallum and Demie (2001) took advantage of the availability of the census data at local authority level, to show that GCSE performance correlated strongly with social class and levels of home ownership and negatively with other measures that included unemployment, social deprivation and overcrowding. The findings confirmed that, regardless of ethnicity, students from more advantaged social backgrounds performed better and social class, educational qualifications, unemployment and index of social deprivation, were strongly related to school performance (McCallum and Demie 2001). The analysis found that poverty and social class were the most influential factors in predicting a student's performance. It also showed that the performance gap between schools that served areas with high levels of poverty and schools serving more affluent areas, had continued to widen and the performance of individual students differed dramatically depending upon the overall level of poverty in the school they attended. Subsequent work by McCallum (2007) based on the 2001 census also provides incontrovertible evidence of a strong relationship between GCSE performance and the proportion of resident populations in 'managerial or professional' occupations at super output area (SOA) level. Overall these studies confirmed the usefulness of social class data collected as part of the census in exploring the effect of social background on performance.

More recent research on social class and attainment now provides another useful means of understanding and talking about social class and social class inequalities. Social class has been shown to have significant effects on educational outcomes and future life chances even when educational achievement is high (Marshall, 2002). Working class pupils are less likely to achieve 5+A*-C passes at GCSE than their middle class peers and are less likely to go on to higher education (Babb, 2005;

Ofsted, 2005). They are also less likely to attend a popular and successful school (Sutton Trust, 2005).

The above findings are also supported by the National Youth Cohort Study (YCS) of England and Wales, which provides some useful data on attainment and social class background using parental occupation. Figure 1 and Table 1 show a clear picture of how different social class groups shared unequally in GCSE attainment. The data reveals that social class is strongly associated with achievement and there is a considerable difference in attainment between pupils with a professional and a working class background. It confirms previous findings that pupils with parents with higher/lower professional occupation do significantly better than those with parents in a manual occupation at GCSE.

Table 1. GCSE 5+A*-C performance by parental occupation

Parental Occupation	1999	2001	2003	2006
Higher professional	75%	77%	76%	81%
Lower professional	62%	64%	65%	73%
Intermediate	49%	51%	53%	59%
Lower supervisory	34%	34%	41%	46%
Routine	26%	31%	33%	42%
Other/not classified	24%	26%	34%	34%

Source: <http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/rsgateway/DB/SBU/b000795/index.shtml>

Trend YCS data also shows a rise since the 1999 survey in the proportion of young people gaining five or more GCSEs amongst all family backgrounds. Thus the percentage of 16 year olds with parents of routine occupations achieving this level has significantly increased between 1999 and 2006. However, large differences remained in 2006, with 81% of pupils with parents having a higher occupational background gaining 5+A*-C compared to 42% of pupils whose parents' occupations were classified as routine, with a gap of 39 percentage points. Nevertheless, despite the high proportionate increase (see Table 1), there is still a long way to go before young people from lower socio-economic groups narrow the achievement gap with those from the higher socio-economic groups.

A statement from the DfES in 2006 clearly acknowledges that there is a long-standing association between social class and educational achievement:

'There is a strong, direct and long-standing association between social class and successful achievement in education' (DfES 2006,Page 7).

DfES figures for many years (1997–2003) show that pupils from advantaged backgrounds (management, professional) were more than three times as likely to obtain 5+ GCSE A*-C grades than their peers at the other end of the social spectrum (unskilled, manual). Indeed, although

children from both social groups have improved in percentage terms in obtaining 5+ A*-C GCSE grades, the gap between them is getting larger every year. A research review commissioned by the DfE has also revealed that:

'The attainment of White British pupils is polarised by social class to a greater extent than any other ethnic groups. White British pupils from managerial and professional homes are one of the highest attaining groups, while White British pupils from working class homes are the lowest attaining groups' (Strand, 2008).

These statements from recent research could hardly be any clearer about the association between social class and educational achievement, but there are still gaps in the research evidence, particularly when the analysis by social class is broken down by gender and ethnic group. However, more recent work by Cassen and Kingdon (2007) has begun to address this gap and found that:

'White British students on average – boys and girls – are more likely than other ethnic groups to persist in low achievement [although] boys outnumber girls as low achievers by three to two. Nearly half of all low achievers are White British males.'

Section 2: Background

Terminology: What do we mean by the term White Working Class?

One of the difficulties with our research has been in defining the term 'working class'. In our study, we asked headteachers, governors and teachers to tell us what they understand by the term White Working Class (see Demie and Lewis 2010). However, the discussion during the focus groups and case studies regarding the terminology 'White Working Class' did not yield any precise definition.

Headteachers, governors and teachers talked more in general about how they see the issue from their own school's perspective and experience. Casual usage of 'working class' differs widely.

The term 'White Working Class' for the purpose of evidence, refers to pupils from a White British background who are eligible for free school meals. This has also been used by a number of researchers including the DfE. We recognise this is not the perfect indicator but it is the best that we have at present unless the DfE decides to collect parental occupation or data related to White Working Class in the School Census.

Measures of pupil background

Pupil performance - It is important to note that in the English education system, pupils aged 11 years at the end of primary take KS2 tests and pupils aged 15 to 16 years at the end of KS4 take General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) exams. These are the major qualifications taken by pupils at the end of primary and secondary schooling, and are a series of tests and examinations in the individual subjects the pupils have been studying.

Ethnic Group - In England each pupil's ethnic origin is recorded in one of fourteen groups. The 2012 School Census (SC) of schools in England showed that White British pupils formed the largest ethnic group 77%, followed by Mixed Race 4%, White Other 3%, Pakistani 3%, Black African 3%, Indian 2%, Black Caribbean 1%, Black Other 1%, Any Other group 1%, Chinese 1% and Any Other Asian 1%. In Lambeth, there has been a change in the overall composition of White British population in schools. The 1991 census showed that overall 34% of pupils belonged to White British compared to 14% in 2013, a decrease of 20 percentage points over the 22 year period. Overall the school population suggests that about 86% of pupils are from black and ethnic minority groups. Of these, African pupils formed the largest ethnic group with 24.3% followed by Black Caribbean 16.9%, White British 14.5%, White Other 7.9%, Portuguese 6.1%, Mixed Other 5.3%, Black Other 4.9%, Mixed White/Black Caribbean 4.6%, Any Other 4.1% , Mixed White/Black African 1.9%, Bangladeshi 1.5%, Asian Other 1.4, Mixed White/Asian 0.8%, Chinese 0.7%, White Irish 0.5%, Turkish 0.4%, Vietnamese 0.4%, Greek 0.3% and Gypsy/Roma 0.1%.

Free School Meals - The free school meals variable is often associated as a proxy measure of the extent of social deprivation in pupils' backgrounds and has been linked to underachievement in a number of studies. The proportion of pupils taking KS2 in 2013 who were eligible for free school meals (FSM) was 34%, for the GCSE cohort it was 33%. Table 2 shows percentage of KS2 and GCSE cohorts eligible for FSM by ethnic group in England.

Table 2. Percentage of GCSE cohorts eligible for FSM by ethnic group and gender 2013

Main Ethnic Groups	KS2				GCSE			
	Lambeth		National		Lambeth		National	
	No FSM	FSM	No FSM	FSM	No FSM	FSM	NO FSM	FSM
African	61%	39%	62%	38%	63%	37%	66%	34%
Black Other	64%	36%	65%	35%	62%	38%	70%	30%
Caribbean	54%	46%	66%	34%	65%	35%	75%	25%
Chinese	76%	24%	91%	9%	57%	43%	93%	7%
Indian	95%	5%	91%	9%	88%	12%	90%	10%
Mixed White/African	61%	39%	69%	31%	74%	26%	77%	23%
Mixed White/Caribbean	57%	43%	67%	33%	62%	38%	75%	25%
Pakistani	67%	33%	76%	24%	70%	30%	72%	28%
White British	80%	20%	84%	16%	79%	21%	87%	13%
Overall	65%	34%	82%	18%	67%	33%	85%	15%

Source: National and Local Authority Tables: SFR04/2013-

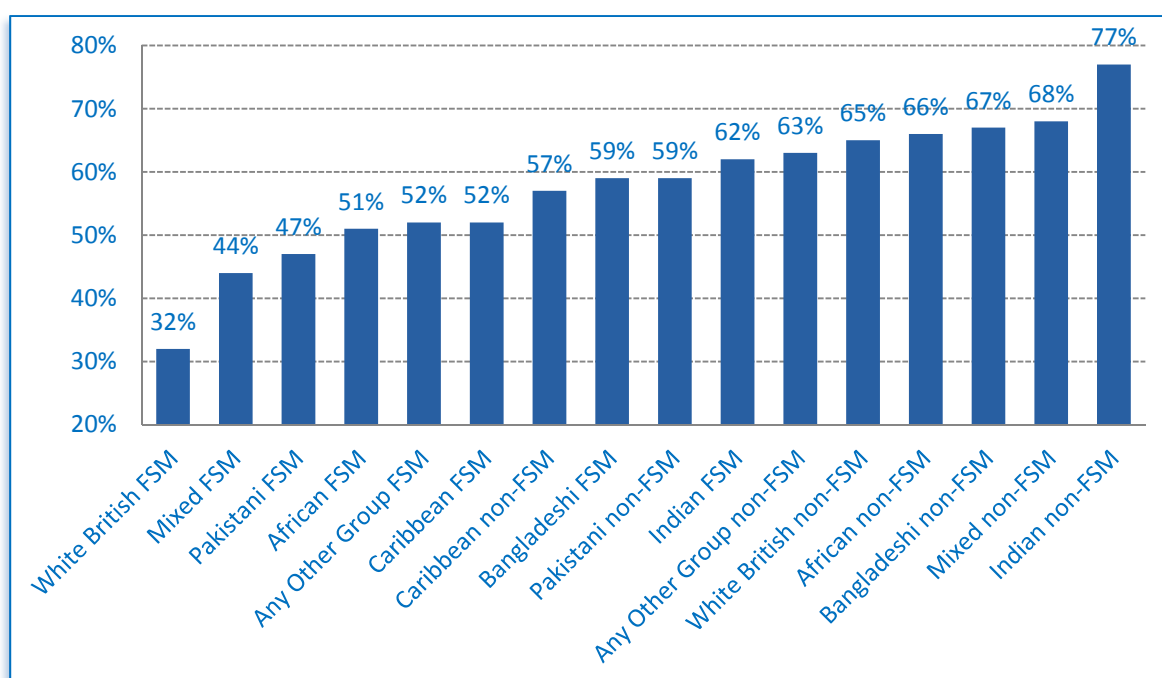
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/219338/sfr04-2013ntla.xls

Section 3: The Attainment of White Working Class Pupils from Low Income Backgrounds

Introduction

This section looks at the achievement of White British pupils in schools. Overall recent research has brought the link between deprivation and low performance at school back on to the agenda. Social Class, poverty and attainment are issues that research has highlighted as central concerns, but they are often neglected on the national and local policy formulation. However, the issue of White Working Class underachievement is complicated by the lack of identification of White Working Class pupils within national data. Broadly speaking, White Working Class pupils are found within the wider definition of White British. As a result of this lack of data there are limitations in past research into White Working Class underachievement in schools. The absence of national comparative data which identifies patterns of children's background, places constraints on targeting policy and practice developments at the national and local level. However, due to a lack of widely available data on the White Working Class, recent studies focused on students 'who can be reasonably described as White British and who come from economically poorer families who tend to do less than any other groups' (Mongon and Chapman, 2008:4). The free school meals variable is often used as a proxy measure for social deprivation and has been linked to underachievement in a number of studies and confirmed the persistence of the trend for low achievement in White British low income groups (Mongon and Chapman 2008; Demie and Lewis 2010, 2011). There is no doubt that White Working Class pupils are the lowest achieving group in England in terms of educational achievement (see Figure 2). Only 32% of White British students achieve the threshold of 5 or more GCSEs including English and maths. However, this figure needs to be considered in some depth to find out more about the patterns of performance over time at Local Authority and national level by gender, free school meals and ethnic background. This will be discussed in the following section.

Figure 2. National GCSE 5+A*-C including English and Maths 2013

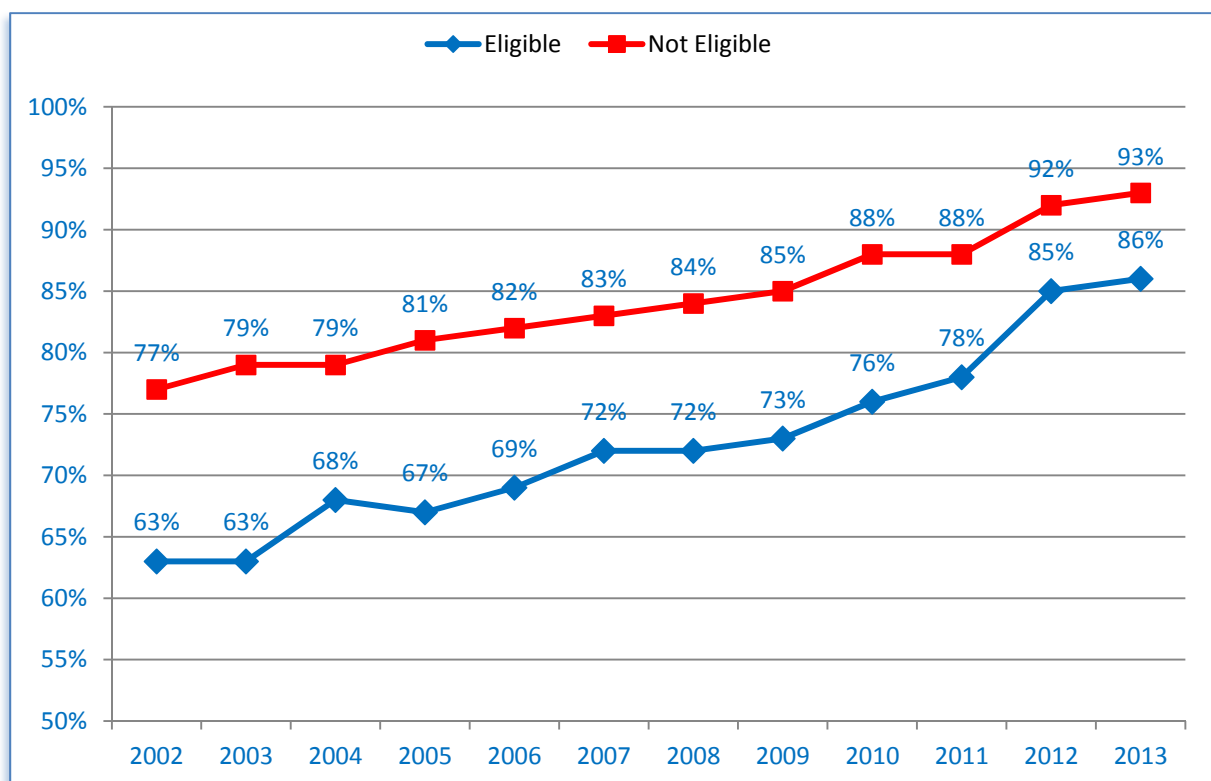


The Attainment of White Working Class Pupils in Lambeth

Lambeth research into ethnic and gender differences in educational achievement (Demie 2013; Demie and Lewis 2011,2010; Demie et al 2006 and 2007, Demie 2001) has also highlighted the importance of addressing underachievement in schools. The report concluded, while there were pockets of sound practice, many schools in the LA were not nearly as effective as they needed to be in tackling the underachievement of, for example, Black African, Black Caribbean, Portuguese, White Working Class and mobile pupils in the LA's schools. Longstanding obstacles to progress were that there has been no strong lead to address the issues of poverty and underachievement by central government. In particular, the educational underachievement of White British Working Class pupils in inner city schools has seldom been mentioned in the achievement debate and national policy formulation.

However, in a number of Local Authorities there is increasing evidence that the performance of pupils from a White British background is beginning to fall behind that of the other ethnic groups (DfE 2013). Analysis of results at all Key Stages in Lambeth over the period suggests that the performance of pupils by ethnic group is complex and differences in performance within and between ethnic groups are rarely consistent either within one year, or year on year. In order to explain this lack of consistency in outcomes, other factors have had to be added to the model to ascertain if the explanation for variations in performance is due to factors in addition to, or other than, the pupils coming from one ethnic group or another. This should include gender, social class and poverty data.

Figure 3. KS2 average performance by FSM in Lambeth 2002-2013 (Level 4+)



Schools in the authority experience extreme levels of social disadvantage relative to national norms. In Lambeth, school level data demonstrates a clear relationship between the concentration of poverty levels in schools and tests and examination results. The proportion of pupils taking KS2 in 2013 eligible for free school meals (FSM) was 34%, and for the GCSE cohort it was 33%. Approximately twice the national average of pupils are entitled to a free meal in primary schools and in secondary schools (DfE 2013).

Figure 3 indicates that there is a marked difference in KS2 performance between pupils eligible for free meals and the most economically advantaged groups in schools. At the end of primary education, the difference between pupils eligible for FSM and those not is significant, with 86% of eligible pupils achieving level 4+, whereas 93% of pupils who are not eligible achieve at this level. The GCSE data also shows a significant gap, with pupils on free school meals gaining only 60% 5+ A*-C including English and Maths in 2013, compared to 69% for those not eligible (see Table 2 and Figure 4). Overall, the findings from the LA data confirm that pupils eligible for school meals did considerably less well than their more affluent peers. This is also true when the data is further analysed by gender. Table 3 shows that the level of attainment of boys is significantly lower than girls for White British pupils and Table 3a shows disadvantaged Black Caribbean, Mixed Race and Black African are one of the underachieving groups compared to White British on FSM.

Figure 3a. KS2 attainment by FSM and ethnic background in England 2013 (level 4+)

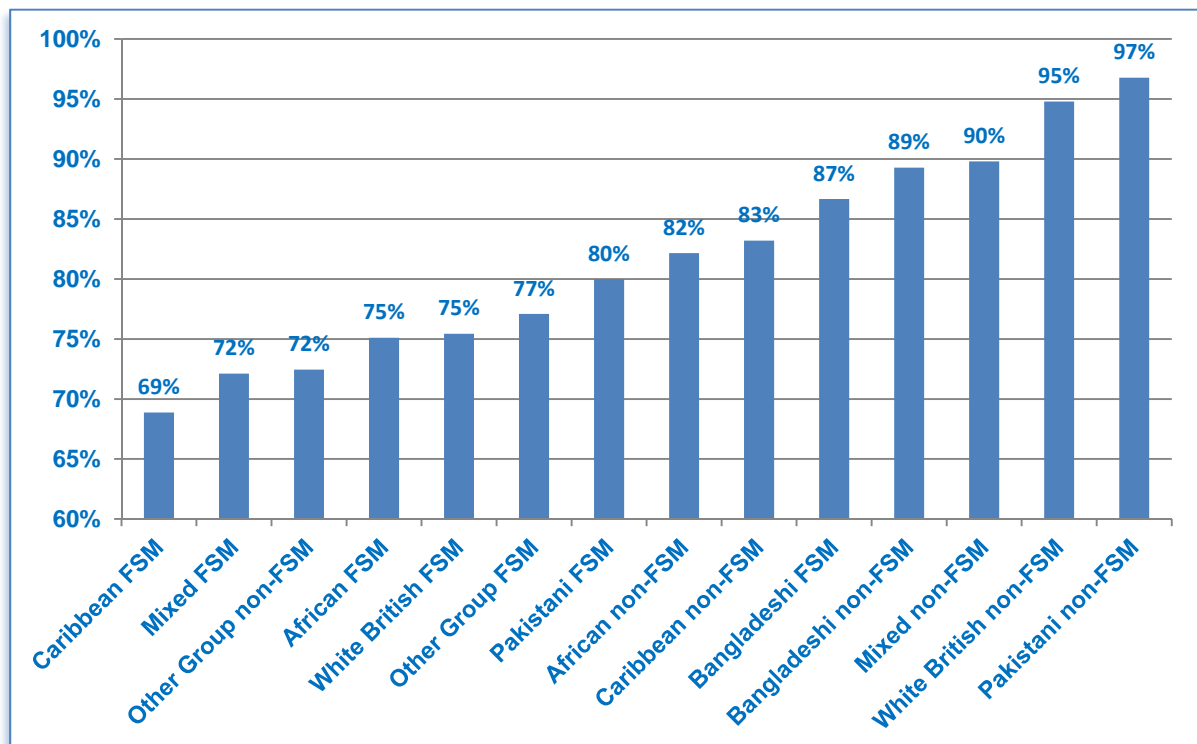
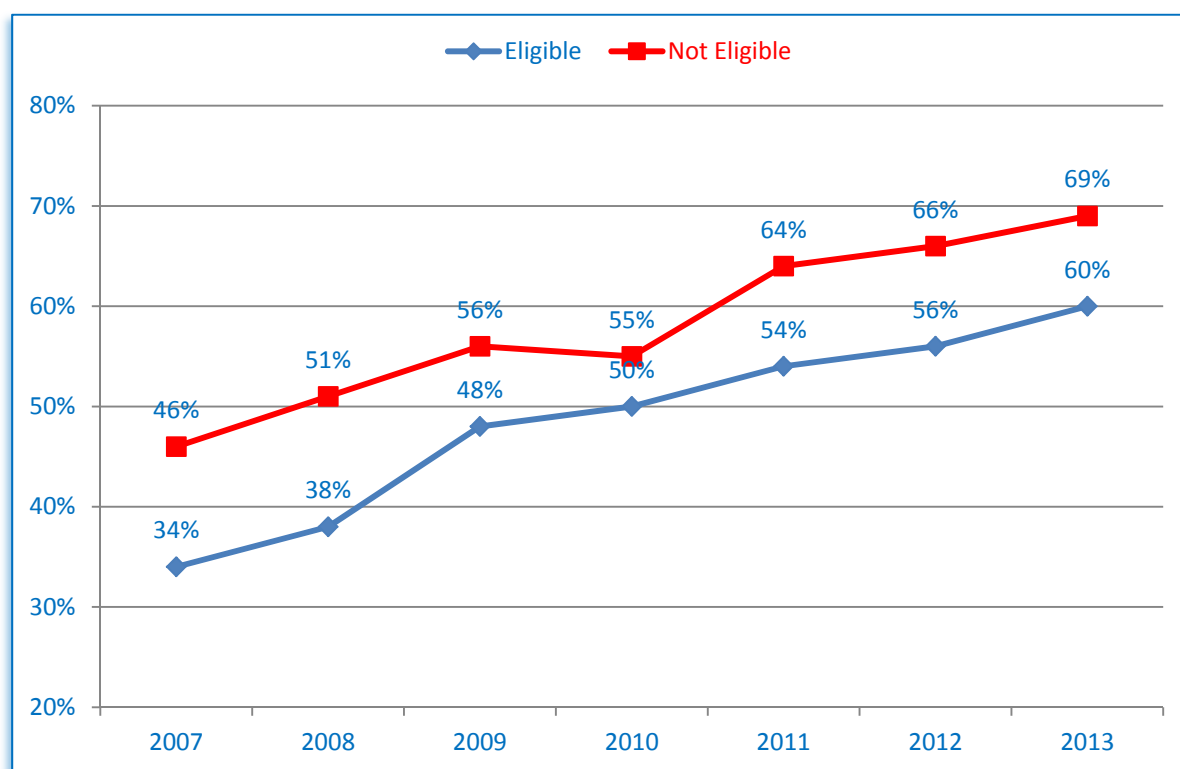


Figure 4. Percentage of GCSE attainment by FSM in Lambeth 2007-2013 (5+A*-C)

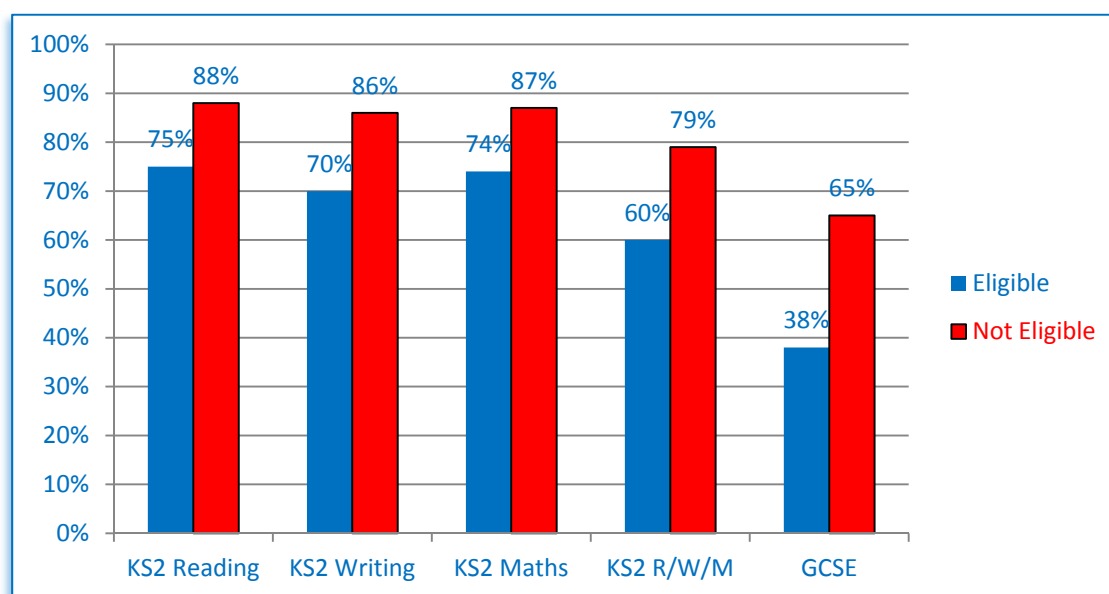


The study confirms that class is the biggest factor in educational success. One of the largest groups of underachievers is the White Working Class and their outcomes at KS2 and KS4 are considerably below those achieved by all other ethnic groups. The research also suggests that, as highlighted in other studies, the cycle of underachievement of White Working Class pupils has been endemic and this is perpetuated by factors such as low expectations, economic deprivation, poor housing and parental low aspiration for their children’s education. The data also clearly shows the stark fact that poverty is one of the main reasons for low achievement among many White Working Class young people (Demie and Lewis 2010).

The Attainment of White Working Class Pupils in England

The DfE 2013 data confirms the relative low attainment of pupils who are entitled to free school meals. This relative decline in performance by free school meals at KS2 and KS4 is shown in Figure 5. This figure illustrates that at KS2 there was a 19 percentage point gap between those eligible for a free meal and those not, while the gap in attainment at GCSE was 27 percentage points. Nationally, about 28% of White British boys and 37% of White British girls who were eligible for a free meal gained 5+A*-C including English and Maths grades compared with the national average of 61% for those not entitled. This indicates that White British pupils eligible for free school meals are the lowest performing group. Eligibility for FSM is more closely associated with lower attainment for White boys and girls than for children from minority groups.

Figure 5. KS2 and GCSE attainment by free school meals in England 2013



Source: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/300172/SFR_2014_National_and_LA_tables_updated_BF_v2.xls

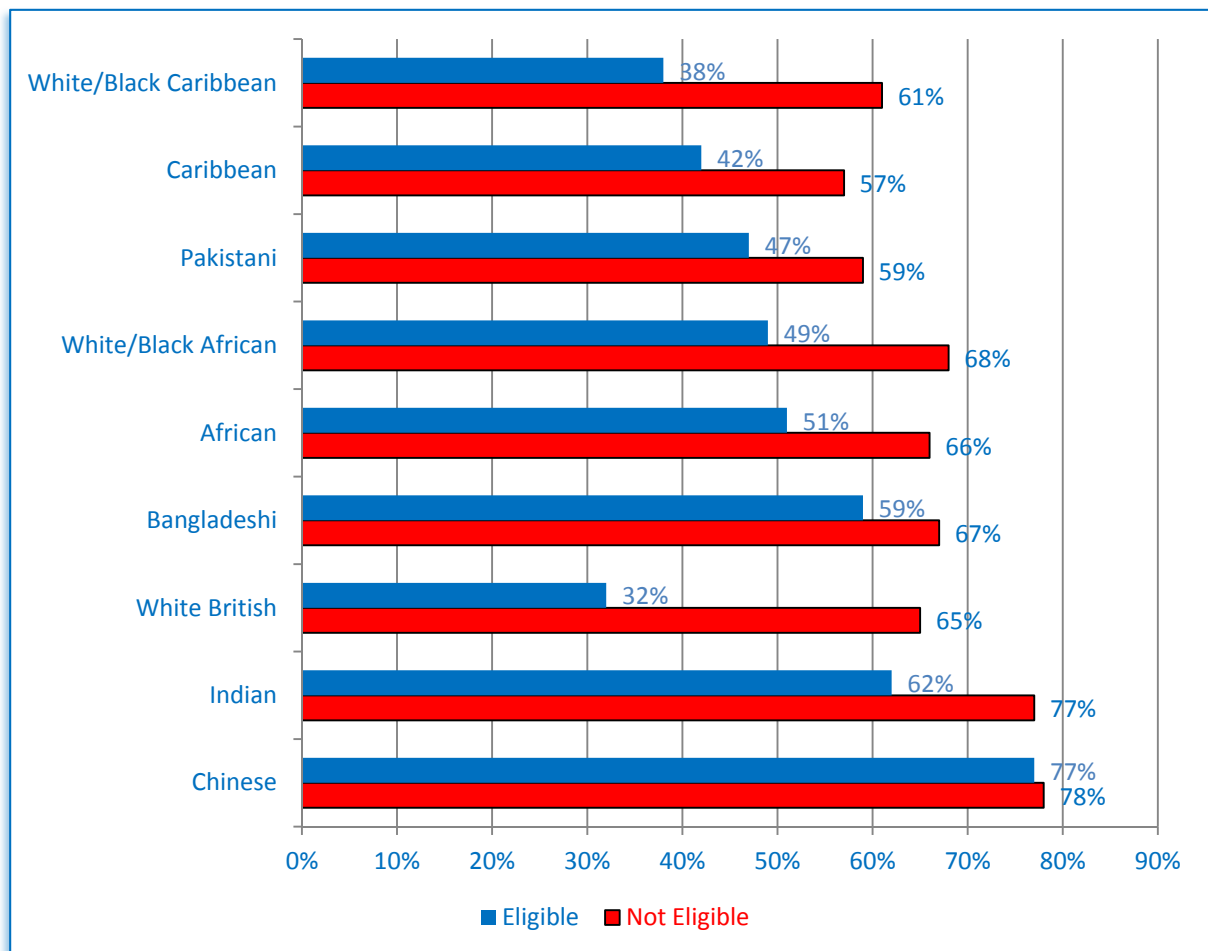
Table 3. KS2 and GCSE attainment by FSM and gender in England 2013

	KS2 Reading/Writing/Maths Level 4+			GCSE 5+A*-C including English and Maths		
	FSM	No FSM	Gap	FSM	No FSM	Gap
African Boys	65%	75%	10%	47%	62%	15%
African Girls	72%	82%	10%	56%	71%	15%
Caribbean Boys	57%	68%	11%	37%	50%	13%
Caribbean Girls	67%	79%	12%	48%	63%	15%
White British Boys	53%	77%	24%	28%	59%	31%
White British Girls	63%	83%	20%	37%	70%	33%
Indian Boys	69%	82%	13%	57%	72%	15%
Indian Girls	74%	86%	12%	67%	83%	16%
Pakistani Boys	63%	70%	7%	43%	54%	11%
Pakistani Girls	68%	76%	9%	51%	64%	13%
Mixed White/Black Caribbean Boys	58%	73%	15%	35%	55%	20%
Mixed White/Black Caribbean Girls	68%	80%	12%	40%	66%	26%
Mixed White/Black African Boys	60%	75%	15%	46%	61%	17%
Mixed White/Black African Girls	72%	82%	10%	52%	74%	22%
Overall 2013 - England	60%	79%	19%	38%	65%	27%

Source: National and Local Authority Tables: SFR04/2013-
https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/219338/sfr04-2013ntla.xls

The data in Table 3 confirms that the White British pupil group living in disadvantaged circumstances is the lowest attaining group. Similarly the data shows that levels of attainment for boys are generally lower than girls. This is true for White Working Class pupils as well as any other ethnic groups in England. At the end of KS4 all main ethnic groups have caught up with or exceeded the performance of White British pupils.

Figure 6. GCSE attainment by FSM and ethnic background in England 2013 (5+ A*-C including English and Maths)

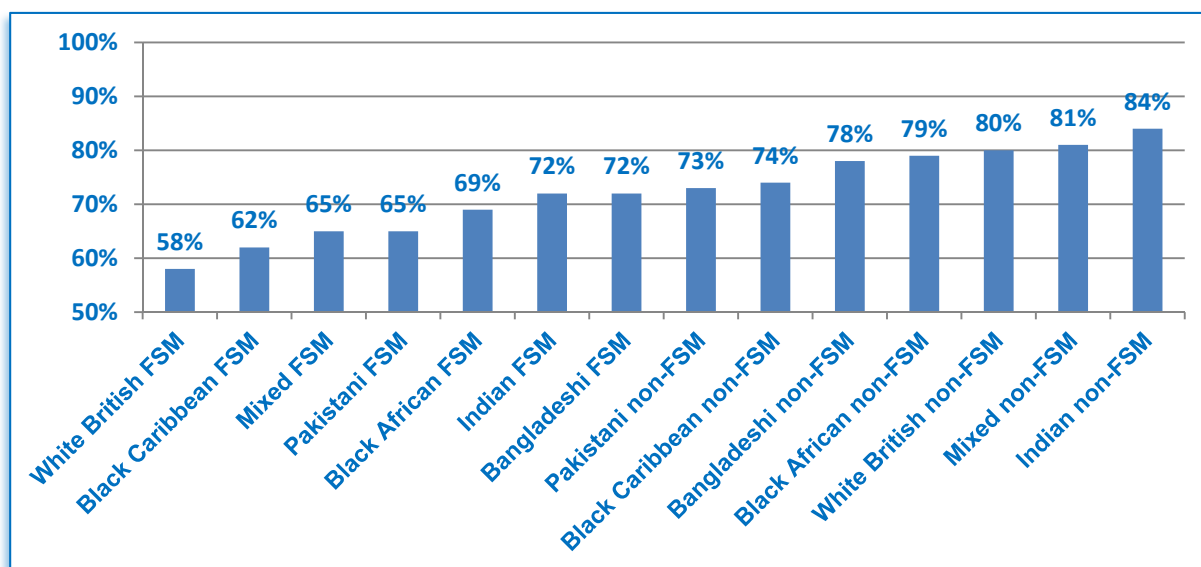


Source:

https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/300172/SFR05_2014_National_and_LA_tables_updated_BF_v2.xls

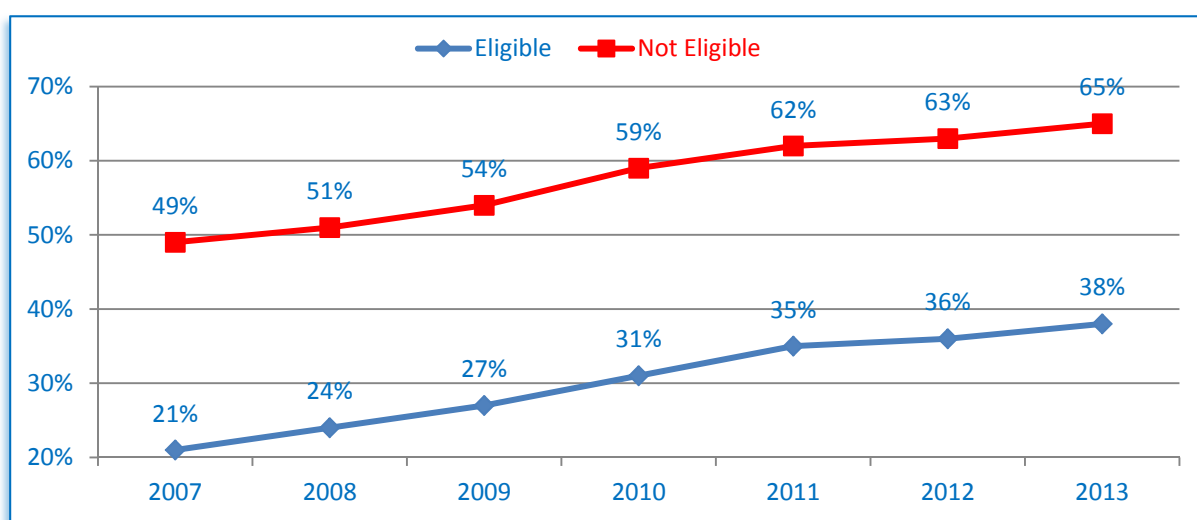
There are also some striking differences within the main ethnic groups when the national data is further analysed by pupils eligible for free school meals. Figure 6 shows that at GCSE, 32% of White British pupils eligible for free school meals achieved 5+A*-C including English and Maths, compared with 65% of pupils who were not eligible, a gap of 33 percentage points. There was a 23 point gap for White/Black Caribbean, 19% gap for White/Black African, 15% gap for Indian, 15% gap for African, 15% gap for Black Caribbean pupils, 12% gap for Pakistani, 8% gap for Bangladeshi and Chinese pupils were smallest at 1 percentage point. There is a similar pattern of performance at KS2 (see Figure 7)

Figure 7. Key Stage 2 Reading, Maths and Writing TA combined level 4+ in England 2013



What is particularly a major concern in England is that the GCSE data shows a significant gap, with pupils on FSM gaining only 38% 5+A*-C including English and maths in 2013 compared to 65% for those not eligible for FSM. Overall, the findings from the national data confirm that pupils eligible for free school meals did considerably less well than their more affluent peers over the time (Figure 3 and 7a). Eligibility for free school meals is strongly associated with low achievement, but more significantly so for White British pupils than any other ethnic group. This finding underlines the importance of treating any measure of school or LA performance, which does not include the influence of background factors such as social background factors and deprivation, with scepticism. Social class data is essential for the analysis of White British pupils in addition to other disadvantage factors. As we have argued in the previous section, our analysis is not complete due to a lack of data on social class in the authority.

Figure 7a. Percentage of GCSE attainment by FSM in England 2007-2013 (5+A*-C) including English and Maths

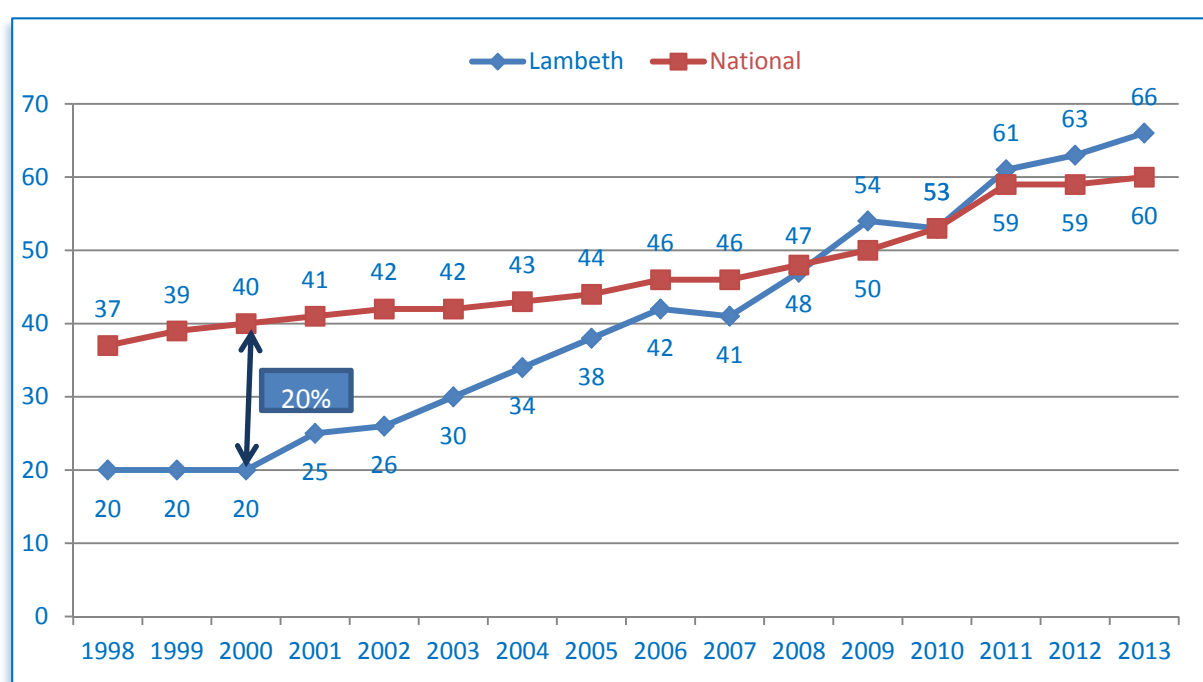


Regional differences in attainment between FSM and all other pupils in England

Over the last decade, attainment at GCSE has risen much faster in Lambeth than nationally and the LA has closed the gap and are now 6 percentage points above the national average for 5+A*-C including English and Maths (See Figure 8).

There is a wide variation in the performance of White FSM pupils by LAs. Figure 9 shows the difference in attainment of White FSM pupils compared to all other pupils within each Local Authority. The data shows that White FSM pupils perform less well than their peers across LAs. The evidence also confirms that White British pupils on FSM do better in Lambeth when compared to their peers at national level.

Figure 8. Percentage of GCSE attainment in Lambeth (5+A*-C) including English and Maths



Source: Research and Statistics Unit, Lambeth LA

In Lambeth the percentages of White pupils on free school meals achieving 5+A*-C is 49.6% compared to Slough (20%), Kingston-upon-Thames (25%) and the England average of 31%. The gap difference in Lambeth is very small (14 percentage points) compared to 9 LAs which each have over 40 percentage points gap (see Tables 4 and 5).

Strategies to improve the educational attainment of white working class pupils in Lambeth

One of the main reasons for pupil underachievement is low aspirations from their parents regarding education and social deprivation. The root causes of underachievement have also been identified within factors such as low literacy levels, feelings of marginalisation within the community, low levels of parental education and a lack of targeted support to raise achievement (Demie and Lewis 2010). However despite underachievement at national level the data shows that from the generally low starting points, students reach exceptionally high standards at GCSE in Lambeth, performing

above national average for all pupils and groups. There are a number of reasons why the LA is bucking the national trends and are doing much better with White British and White Working Class.

School Strategies

The study identifies a number of strategies to overcome some of the barriers to achievement which face white working class children in schools, such as successful leadership that recruits an effective diverse workforce, parental engagement, rigorous monitoring systems which track individual pupil performance against expectations, personally tailored support and flexible intervention programmes. What is particularly special about the case study schools is that they tend to employ a range of strategies and targeted support to challenge poverty and underachievement through extensive use of teachers, teaching assistants and learning mentors. In addition the schools are also focussed in raising attainment through improving teaching and engaging parents and communities. Each of the above school's strategy and good practices are explored in detail in these studies to reveal exactly what the schools do to ensure it provides the very highest quality of education for all its students and narrows the achievement gap. These good practices are shared and used in schools to raise the achievement of white working class pupils and to narrow the achievement gaps in Lambeth.

Local Authority Strategies

There are also other reasons for this success story and bucking the national trend. A key role of the LA has been to provide to all its schools a levels of strategic leadership and management. The Council knows its schools well and has strong relationships with them. It takes its statutory role of monitoring, challenging and supporting its schools very seriously and intervenes where necessary to ensure improvement. The Council supports its schools through a high calibre advisory service and schools are very positive and complimentary about senior officers who lead school improvement (Ofsted 2013).

Another important part of the Lambeth success story was a detailed use of data about performance of individual subject departments and students from ethnic groups to identify underachieving groups. The LA has established a strong tradition of providing a comprehensive analysis of performance data for local schools through its Research and Statistics Service to support school self-evaluation and improvement. The LA systematically and rigorously uses a wide range of data and other information to identify schools which are underperforming. It uses this information consistently to channel its support to areas of greatest need, resulting in interventions and challenge that lead to improved outcomes in schools. In addition the Research and Statistics service has completed a number of ground breaking research into what works in schools to support school improvement and to raise achievement of underperforming groups including research reports on black Caribbean, mobile, African, White Working class, Portuguese and Somali pupils and what works in outstanding schools which is widely shared and used at national and local level.

Last but not the least, the secret of success was working in partnership with schools. There is a strong well developed partnership between the schools and the LA in Lambeth. The Headteachers involved in the good practice research projects have taken responsibility as a group to share and disseminate the project findings in partnership with the LA and as part of the network of schools in Lambeth. The good practice report is seen as a signal of a renewed energy to tackle the issues of

underachievement and underperformance in Lambeth schools, involving other schools as well as their own in a spirit of collegiality, collaboration and shared purpose.

Section 4: Conclusions

There is increasing evidence that the performance of pupils from a White British background in inner city schools are beginning to fall behind that of some of the other ethnic groups. Yet the educational underachievement of particularly White British pupils in inner city schools has seldom been discussed in the achievement debate and national policy formulation. Drawing on detailed School Census data for pupils who completed KS2 and KS4, this paper explores the differences in performance between the main ethnic groups. The main finding confirms that one of the biggest groups of underachievers is the White Working Class. The data shows that at GCSE, 32% of White British pupils eligible for free school meals achieved 5+A*-C, compared with 65% of pupils who were not eligible. There is a gap of 33 percentage points for White British compared to smaller gaps for Indian, Black African, Black Caribbean, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Chinese pupils. The KS2 data also shows a similar pattern. The data suggests that White British pupils are the ethnic group most polarised by the impact of socio-economic disadvantage. While poverty makes little difference to the achievements at school of some ethnic groups, it makes a huge difference to White British children on free school meals.

However, despite underperformance at a national level, the Lambeth research has found that White Working Class pupils in Lambeth schools are bucking the trend (See Demie and Lewis 2010). In Lambeth, the proportion of White FSM pupils reaching the Key Stage 4 benchmark was almost 50% compared to 13% in Peterborough, 20% in Slough and 31% England average (DfE 2012). Overall the gap between FSM and non-FSM pupils is very narrow in Lambeth and White FSM pupils perform much better than their peers across LAs in England. There are a number of reasons for successful achievement by Lambeth's White Working Class children. In Lambeth, schools have adopted a number of strategies to overcome the barriers to achievement (See Demie and Lewis 2010) including:

- Strong and visionary leadership: Many were from working-class backgrounds or employed staff who understood the needs of working class children.
- High expectations for all pupils including White Working Class.
- Inclusive multicultural curriculum that raises aspiration and meets the needs of White Working Class pupils.
- Using data to track pupils' performance, monitor different strategies and identify under-performing groups.
- Good and well-targeted interventions and support for White Working Class pupils to challenge poverty and underachievement through extensive use of teachers, teaching assistants and learning mentors.
- Engaging parents and breaking down barriers.
- Good support for transition between primary and secondary school.
- Celebrating cultural diversity and a strong commitment to equal opportunities.

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Appendices: Table 4. Regional difference in attainment of White FSM pupils- 5+A*-C incl. English and Maths 2012

Local Authority	% 5 A*-C including English & Maths		
	White FSM	All other pupils	Attainment gap
Slough	20.3	67.9	47.5
Kingston upon Thames	25.5	71.7	46.3
Buckinghamshire	26.7	71.4	44.8
Wokingham	24.3	67.5	43.3
Sutton	35.3	78.1	42.7
Bracknell Forest	20.8	63.5	42.7
Southend-on-Sea	23.6	66.2	42.7
Warrington	25.0	66.2	41.2
Peterborough	12.6	53.2	40.6
Cheshire West and Chester	24.2	64.0	39.8
North East Lincolnshire	27.3	66.7	39.4
West Berkshire	20.6	59.1	38.5
Trafford	37.3	75.4	38.0
Cheshire East	27.2	64.9	37.7
Stockton-on-Tees	23.2	60.4	37.3
Cambridgeshire	23.1	60.3	37.3
Warwickshire	28.7	65.8	37.1
Northumberland	25.5	62.4	36.9
Shropshire	24.4	61.2	36.8
Herefordshire	23.0	59.4	36.4
Surrey	29.7	65.9	36.2
Cumbria	23.4	59.5	36.1
Hertfordshire	32.1	68.0	35.9
Hampshire	25.3	61.0	35.7
Bromley	35.5	71.1	35.6
Luton	24.3	59.7	35.5
Lancashire	28.5	63.5	35.0
Worcestershire	29.0	63.9	34.9
Kirklees	30.0	64.8	34.7
Coventry	28.2	62.8	34.6
Harrow	30.4	64.9	34.5
Gateshead	31.0	65.6	34.5
Bournemouth	30.3	64.8	34.5
Kent	30.2	64.6	34.4
Brighton and Hove	26.4	60.8	34.4
West Sussex	25.6	59.7	34.2
Stockport	34.3	68.3	34.1
Leeds	25.3	59.3	34.0
Swindon	22.4	56.3	33.9
Nottinghamshire	30.3	64.2	33.9
North Yorkshire	33.9	67.7	33.8
Central Bedfordshire	26.2	59.8	33.6
Sheffield	25.1	58.7	33.6
St. Helens	27.3	60.6	33.3
Darlington	34.1	67.3	33.2
Gloucestershire	31.2	64.4	33.2
Milton Keynes	28.0	61.2	33.2
Lincolnshire	31.9	64.7	32.8
Tameside	28.2	61.0	32.8
Sefton	30.3	62.9	32.6
Dudley	27.0	59.5	32.5
Halton	35.6	68.0	32.4
Derbyshire	28.2	60.5	32.4
Newcastle upon Tyne	30.0	62.2	32.2
Wiltshire	28.9	61.1	32.1
Rotherham	32.2	64.2	32.0
Reading	32.1	64.0	31.9
Bexley	35.6	67.4	31.8
South Tyneside	33.2	64.7	31.6
Wigan	36.7	68.3	31.5
Bolton	33.0	64.5	31.5
Oxfordshire	28.5	60.0	31.5
Redcar and Cleveland	28.9	60.3	31.4
Somerset	28.2	59.5	31.3
Dorset	25.3	56.5	31.2
Torbay	33.3	64.4	31.1
York	34.1	65.2	31.1
North Somerset	30.4	61.5	31.1
Calderdale	32.8	63.8	31.1
Medway	33.3	64.2	30.9
East Sussex	30.5	61.4	30.9
Windsor and Maidenhead	34.3	64.8	30.6
Durham	36.4	67.0	30.6
Wakefield	32.4	63.0	30.5
Brent	29.2	59.7	30.4
Sunderland	38.9	69.3	30.4

Local Authority	% 5 A*-C including English & Maths		
	White FSM	All other pupils	Attainment gap
Walsall	30.0	60.4	30.3
Portsmouth	26.1	56.3	30.2
Sandwell	27.3	57.4	30.1
Leicestershire	28.7	58.8	30.1
Doncaster	29.0	59.1	30.1
North Tyneside	35.6	65.6	30.0
North Lincolnshire	29.7	59.6	29.9
Wirral	40.6	70.5	29.9
Hartlepool	25.3	55.0	29.7
Derby	30.2	59.9	29.7
Staffordshire	31.6	61.2	29.6
Nottingham	25.0	54.6	29.6
Southampton	28.7	58.3	29.6
Hammersmith and Fulham	38.4	67.9	29.5
Telford and Wrekin	36.3	65.8	29.5
Stoke-on-Trent	27.3	56.6	29.4
Bedford	25.9	55.1	29.2
Liverpool	34.1	63.3	29.2
Bath and North East Somerset	30.6	59.5	28.9
Rochdale	27.1	56.0	28.9
Bradford	26.2	55.0	28.8
Solihull	36.2	64.9	28.8
Barnsley	21.7	50.4	28.7
Salford	28.4	57.1	28.7
Manchester	30.0	58.6	28.6
Northamptonshire	30.5	58.9	28.4
East Riding of Yorkshire	31.4	59.6	28.2
Tower Hamlets	36.0	63.8	27.8
Barnet	43.1	70.9	27.7
Bristol City of	27.3	55.0	27.7
Essex	33.5	61.2	27.7
Plymouth	33.6	61.2	27.6
Redbridge	44.2	71.5	27.3
Devon	33.8	61.0	27.2
Norfolk	31.3	58.4	27.1
Kingston upon Hull City of	27.3	54.3	27.0
Birmingham	36.0	62.9	26.9
Hillingdon	36.6	63.4	26.8
Oldham	32.3	58.8	26.4
Suffolk	26.3	52.3	26.1
Havering	37.5	63.4	25.9
South Gloucestershire	32.2	57.9	25.7
Wolverhampton	34.2	59.8	25.6
Greenwich	40.6	66.1	25.5
Richmond upon Thames	39.4	64.5	25.2
Bury	40.5	65.3	24.9
Leicester	29.2	53.8	24.6
Isle of Wight	22.8	47.4	24.6
Cornwall	33.5	57.7	24.2
Thurrock	38.1	61.8	23.7
Croydon	40.3	63.4	23.1
Lewisham	34.7	57.7	23.0
Poole	37.6	60.6	23.0
Ealing	36.2	58.6	22.4
Newham	41.3	63.3	22.1
Enfield	35.8	57.8	22.0
Haringey	39.3	61.0	21.8
Blackpool	31.1	52.7	21.6
Camden	40.0	61.3	21.3
Blackburn with Darwen	38.1	59.2	21.2
Waltham Forest	33.1	54.0	20.8
Merton	40.2	60.6	20.5
Knowsley	26.8	47.0	20.3
Southwark	40.5	60.7	20.2
Barking and Dagenham	42.1	61.7	19.6
Middlesbrough	34.7	53.2	18.4
Hounslow	44.7	62.8	18.1
Rutland	38.5	56.5	18.0
Islington	39.2	55.8	16.6
Hackney	46.8	61.7	14.8
Wandsworth	44.9	59.3	14.3
Lambeth	49.6	63.7	14.1
Westminster	67.4	70.1	2.7
Kensington and Chelsea	78.4	79.7	1.3
ENGLAND TOTAL	31.0	62.1	31.1

Source: DfE (2013). GCSE and equivalent attainment by pupil characteristics in England: 2011 and 2012 (SFR04/2013)

Table 5. Regional difference in attainment of White FSM pupils vs all other FSM pupils 5+A*-C incl. English and maths

Local Authority	% 5 A*-C including English & Maths			Local Authority	% 5 A*-C including English & Maths		
	White FSM	All other pupils	Attainment gap		White FSM	All other pupils	Attainment gap
North Lincolnshire	29.7	69.2	39.6	Haringey	39.3	50.0	10.7
Kingston upon Thames	25.5	61.1	35.7	Barnet	43.1	53.9	10.7
North East Lincolnshire	27.3	60.0	32.7	Rochdale	27.1	37.7	10.6
Havering	37.5	66.7	29.2	Kingston Upon Hull	27.3	37.8	10.5
Barnsley	21.7	50.0	28.3	Waltham Forest	33.1	42.8	9.7
Tower Hamlets	36.0	62.8	26.8	Islington	39.2	48.8	9.6
Wigan	36.7	63.2	26.4	Worcestershire	29.0	38.3	9.3
North Tyneside	35.6	61.5	25.9	Plymouth	33.6	42.9	9.3
Bexley	35.6	60.2	24.6	Cheshire West and Chester	24.2	33.3	9.1
Thurrock	38.1	62.1	24.0	Oldham	32.3	41.3	9.0
Nottinghamshire	30.3	53.7	23.4	Calderdale	32.8	41.7	8.9
Luton	24.3	46.4	22.2	Merton	40.2	49.0	8.8
Manchester	30.0	51.2	21.3	Bury	40.5	49.3	8.8
Sandwell	27.3	48.4	21.1	West Berkshire	20.6	29.4	8.8
Kent	30.2	51.3	21.1	Camden	40.0	48.6	8.6
Lincolnshire	31.9	52.9	21.1	Southend on Sea	23.6	32.1	8.6
Slough	20.3	41.3	20.9	Buckinghamshire	26.7	35.2	8.5
Trafford	37.3	57.4	20.1	Hounslow	44.7	53.2	8.5
Doncaster	29.0	48.9	19.9	Enfield	35.8	44.0	8.2
Kirklees	30.0	49.8	19.8	Suffolk	26.3	34.5	8.2
Peterborough	12.6	32.3	19.7	Lambeth	49.6	57.7	8.2
Norfolk	31.3	50.9	19.6	Reading	32.1	40.0	7.9
Somerset	28.2	47.4	19.2	Bournemouth	30.3	38.1	7.8
Coventry	28.2	47.2	19.0	Northamptonshire	30.5	37.9	7.4
Blackpool	31.1	50.0	18.9	Richmond upon Thames	39.4	46.7	7.3
Hertfordshire	32.1	50.5	18.4	Gloucestershire	31.2	38.5	7.2
Hillingdon	36.6	55.0	18.4	Wolverhampton	34.2	41.0	6.8
Barking and Dagenham	42.1	60.4	18.2	Hackney	46.8	53.5	6.6
Bromley	35.5	53.6	18.0	Derby	30.2	36.8	6.5
Northumberland	25.5	42.9	17.4	Liverpool	34.1	40.4	6.3
Southampton	28.7	45.7	17.0	Medway	33.3	39.5	6.2
Surrey	29.7	46.5	16.8	Oxfordshire	28.5	33.7	5.2
Birmingham	36.0	52.8	16.8	Derbyshire	28.2	33.3	5.2
Sunderland	38.9	55.6	16.7	Leicestershire	28.7	33.8	5.1
Greenwich	40.6	57.2	16.6	Brighton and Hove	26.4	31.3	4.8
Newham	41.3	57.8	16.5	East Sussex	30.5	35.3	4.8
Salford	28.4	44.8	16.4	Leeds	25.3	30.0	4.7
Tameside	28.2	44.6	16.3	Croydon	40.3	44.7	4.4
Walsall	30.0	46.1	16.1	Middlesbrough	34.7	39.0	4.3
Knowsley	26.8	42.9	16.1	Blackburn with Darwen	28.1	42.1	4.0
Wiltshire	28.9	45.0	16.1	Bedford	25.9	29.7	3.7
Lewisham	34.7	50.6	15.8	Warrington	25.0	28.6	3.6
Warwickshire	28.7	44.4	15.7	Isle of Wight	22.8	26.3	3.5
Cheshire East	27.2	42.9	15.6	South Gloucestershire	32.2	35.7	3.5
Portsmouth	26.1	41.7	15.6	North Somerset	30.4	33.3	3.0
Brent	29.2	44.7	15.5	South Tyneside	33.2	35.3	2.1
Southwark	40.5	56.0	15.5	Windsor and Maidenhead	34.3	36.4	2.1
West Sussex	25.6	40.9	15.4	Dudley	27.0	28.8	1.7
Central Bedfordshire	26.2	41.2	15.0	Wandsworth	44.9	46.1	1.2
Bradford	26.2	41.0	14.8	Wirral	40.6	41.7	1.0
Staffordshire	31.6	46.4	14.8	North Yorkshire	33.9	34.4	0.5
Redbridge	44.2	59.0	14.7	Bath and North East Somerset	30.6	30.0	-0.6
Cornwall	33.5	48.1	14.6	Darlington	34.1	33.3	-0.7
Stockport	34.3	48.8	14.5	Shropshire	24.4	23.1	-1.4
Devon	33.8	48.3	14.5	Bristol	27.3	25.6	-1.7
Cambridgeshire	23.1	37.5	14.4	Dorset	25.3	23.5	-1.8
Stoke-on-Trent	27.3	41.3	14.1	Westminster	67.4	64.9	-2.5
Leicester	29.2	43.0	13.8	Kensington and Chelsea	78.4	75.8	-2.6
Hampshire	25.3	39.0	13.7	Wakefield	32.4	28.6	-3.9
Bolton	33.0	46.2	13.2	Gateshead	31.0	24.1	-6.9
Solihull	36.2	49.2	13.1	Sefton	30.3	20.0	-10.3
Swindon	22.4	35.3	12.9	St. Helens	27.3	x	x
Sheffield	25.1	37.6	12.5	Hartlepool	25.3	x	x
Newcastle upon Tyne	30.0	42.5	12.5	Redcar and Cleveland	28.9	x	x
Nottingham	25.0	37.2	12.2	East Riding of Yorkshire	31.4	x	x
Harrow	30.4	42.6	12.2	York	34.1	x	x
Stockton-on-Tees	23.2	35.3	12.1	Poole	37.6	x	x
Rotherham	32.2	44.2	12.0	Durham	36.4	x	x
Hammersmith and Fulham	38.4	50.4	12.0	Rutland	38.5	x	x
Telford and Wrekin	36.3	48.3	12.0	Bracknell Forest	20.8	x	x
Sutton	35.3	47.0	11.6	Halton	35.6	x	x
Essex	33.5	45.0	11.4	Torbay	33.3	x	x
Wokingham	24.3	35.7	11.4	Herefordshire	23.0	x	x
Lancashire	28.5	39.5	11.0	Cumbria	23.4	x	x
Milton Keynes	28.0	38.9	11.0	ENGLAND TOTAL	31.0	48.4	17.4

Source: DfE (2013). GCSE and equivalent attainment by pupil characteristics in England: 2011 and 2012 (SFR04/2013)

Figure 9. Regional Differences in Attainment of White FSM pupils - 5+A*-C inc. English and Maths 2012

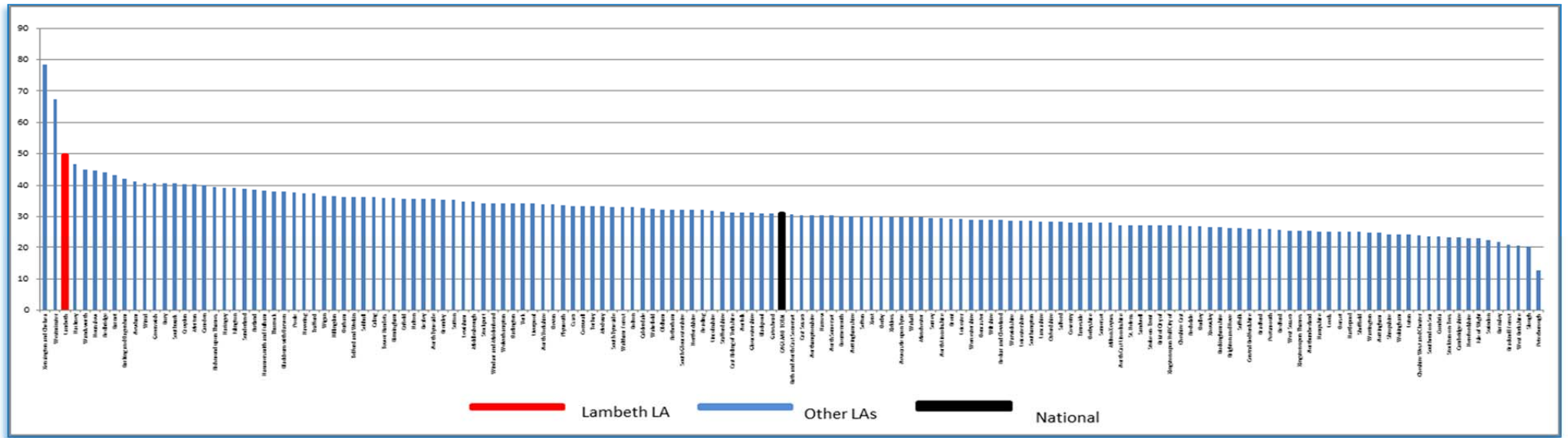
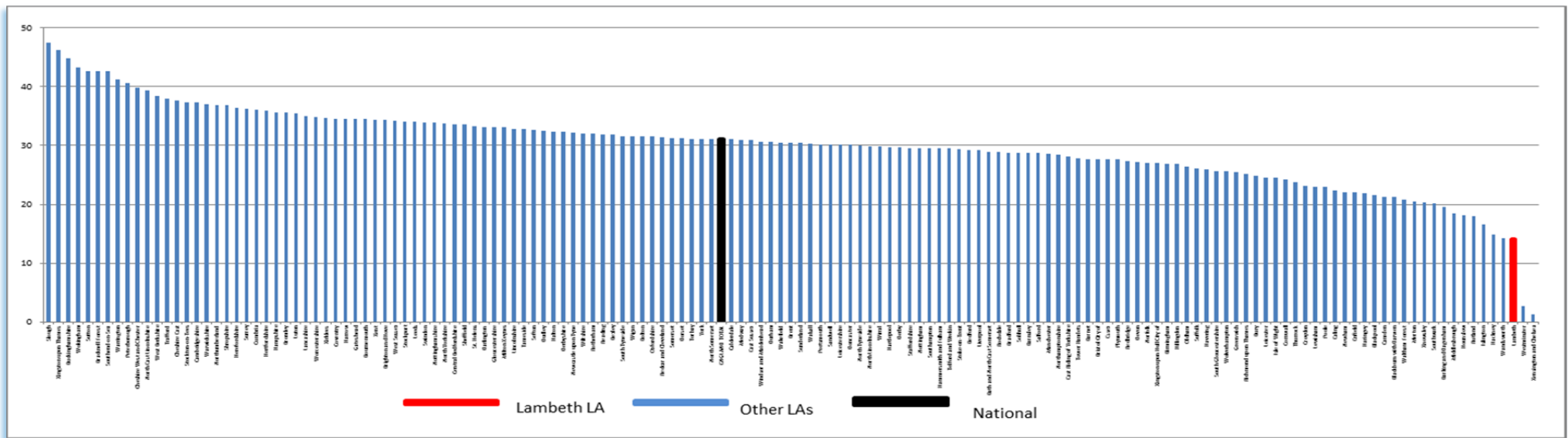



Figure 10. Achievement Gap by Local Authorities in England- White FSM pupils vs all other pupils. 5+A*-C inc English and Maths 2012



Source: DfE (2013). GCSE and equivalent attainment by pupil characteristics in England: 2011 and 2012 (SFR04/2013)



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