Black Caribbean Underachievement in Schools in England

Feyisa Demie
Christabel McLean

The Authors

Dr. Feyisa Demie is Head of Research and Adviser for School Self-evaluation. Prior to this, he was a university lecturer and Head of Research and Statistics. Feyisa is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (FRSA) and a school governor. Feyisa has worked extensively over 27 years with Local Authorities, government departments, schools and school governors on the use of research and data to raise achievement. He runs school focussed training programmes on the use of research and assessment data to support school self-evaluation for Headteachers, teachers, governors and policy makers, as well as an annual national school improvement conference to share good practice in schools at UCL Institute of Education (IOE).   As an Education Adviser for school self-evaluation, he also works with schools in the areas of Phonics, FSP,   KS1, KS2 and GCSE assessment. Feyisa's research interests are in educational inequality and school improvement, with focus on what worked and what failed in raising achievement in schools.   His expertise and extensive publications centre on the gaps in equality in relation to ethnicity, social class, gender, EAL, disadvantage and its impact on educational achievement and progress in schools. He is the author of over 100 articles, book chapters and research reports on education and has published articles in peer reviewed journals. For details see: www.lambeth.gov.uk/rsu

Christabel McLean is an Education Adviser and a former Headteacher. She has worked with HMI/Ofsted at national level and has worked extensively on the inspection, improvement and management of educational establishments. Christabel started her teaching career in Camden and Westminster in inner London and went on to become Headteacher of Sacred Heart School in Hammersmith. Christabel's unshakeable belief that all children can achieve their best, no matter what their background, language or circumstance, also led to a successful period as a full time Ofsted inspector. From this she was specifically recruited as a key member of a school improvement team of Advisers by a new Director of Education, to deal with a large number of schools in special measures in Lambeth. Then as an Adviser in Lambeth she took part in an extensive range of school improvement activities linked to schools facin**g** very challenging circumstances and led a number of very successful school improvement projects. More recently she has been involved in a number of research projects and contributed to books advising parents on education.

Black Caribbean Underachievement in Schools in England

Feyisa Demie
Christabel McLean

BLACK CARIBBEAN UNDERACHIEVEMENT IN SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND

CONTENTS   PAGE

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Background

> '*We are now seeing the third and in some cases the fourth generation of Black Caribbean pupils in schools in England. Their grandparents came from the Caribbean from the late 1940s, recruited to work in Britain after the Second World War. Like other Black settlers before them, they hoped for a prosperous future for themselves and enhanced educational opportunities for their children. It would be natural to expect those hopes to have been realised by now and to assume that the majority of Black Caribbean children in schools in England are sharing the higher educational standards attained by the most successful pupils in our schools. This is not the case.*' (Ofsted 2002:1)

The underachievement of Black Caribbean heritage pupils has been a persistent problem facing national policy makers in British schools for many years. Over the past four decades national research has shown that Black Caribbean heritage pupils' achievements persistently lag behind the average achievement of their peers and the gap is growing at the end of primary and secondary education. This underachievement issue is a question that has stirred emotions from as early as the 1950s when the Black Caribbean community grew concerned about their children's education. Coard (1971) argued that they encountered widespread lack of understanding about the needs of Black Caribbean pupils, '*fuelling the widely-held belief that Black children were somehow educationally subnormal*'. He explained how the low expectations of teachers damaged pupils' motivation and confidence thus dooming them to a life of underachievement.

The relative underachievement of ethnic minority pupils has also been a major issue in national education policy formulation. An inquiry committee reported on the issue twice during the 1980s. The first official recognition of the problem was *The Rampton Report* (Rampton 1981), which was the interim report of the Committee of Inquiry into Education of Children of Ethnic Minority Groups. This report dealt in detail specifically with the underachievement of pupils of Caribbean backgrounds and concluded, '*West Indian Children as a group are underachieving in our Education System*' (Rampton 1981:80*).* The report identified serious concerns about the extent to which schools were meeting the needs of Black Caribbean pupils. The concerns still persist. *The Swann report* (Swann, 1985) also gave a good deal of attention of the underachievement of pupils of Caribbean backgrounds, and confirmed the finding of the Rampton report. Thus the Swann report concluded '*there is no doubt that Black Caribbean children, as a group, and on average, are underachieving, both by comparison with their school fellows in the White majority, as well as in terms of their potential. Notwithstanding that some are doing well*' (Swann 1985: 81).

Research in the 1980s gave a good deal of attention to the underachievement of pupils of Black Caribbean backgrounds and confirmed that *'they are underachieving as a group within the education system'* (Rampton 1981, Swann 1985). Other research in the 1990s and 2000s also reflected earlier findings with Black Caribbean and African pupils continuing to make less progress on average than other pupils (Gillborn and Gipps 1996; Gillborn and Mirza 2000, Demie 2005; 2003; 2001; GLA 2004). Each of these studies appeared to show considerable underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils in comparison with the achievement of White and Asian pupils.

The previous OFSTED review of research in this area also described the differences in attainment between certain ethnic groups (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996; Gillborn and Mirza, 2000; Ofsted 2002). This review noted that the gap was growing between the highest and lowest achieving ethnic groups in many LEAs, and that African and Caribbean pupils, especially boys, have not shared equally in the increasing rates of educational achievement. The review concluded that *'Black pupils generally may be falling further behind the average achievement of the majority of their peers'* (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996, p 29). OFSTED reports further stated that:

> *'The evidence that has been available from individual LEAs has tended to show that the relative performance of Black Caribbean pupils begins high, starts to decline in Key Stage 2, tails off badly in Key Stage 3 and is below that of most other ethnic groups at Key Stage 4.'* (OFSTED 2002, p.1)

Black Caribbean pupils' underachievement has remained a 'hot issue' within education. This concern has been fuelled by media attention through headlines such as *'Teachers are failing Black boys' (Observer January 6, 2002), 'Fast-tracking will penalise Black pupils' (BBC News 12 March 2002), 'Schools told to do more for Black pupils' (BBC News, 9 December 1998), 'Task force to help Black pupils' (BBC News 16 March 2002), 'Schools called to account for ethnic divide' (Guardian 7 May 2002), 'Black Caribbean children held back by institutional racism in schools'* (Guardian September 2008)*.*

What is more, most of the studies in the field of school improvement in the past decade show that the notion of Black Caribbean pupils' underachievement in British schools is in danger of becoming accepted as an irrefutable fact. For instance, the most extensive review of research relating to Black Caribbean heritage children in British schools between 1965 to 1980 suggested that there was an overwhelming consensus that research evidence shows a '*strong trend to underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils'* (Taylor 1981; Rampton 1981; Tomlinson 1983; Swann 1985; Gillborn and Gepps 1996; Ofsted 2002; Gillborn and Mirza 2000; Demie 2005; 2003; 2001; GLA 2004). This review of previous research suggests that Black Caribbean underachievement in education was real and persistent and they were consistently the lowest performing group in the country, and the difference between their educational performance and others was larger than for any other ethnic group.

This educational disadvantage has led to various other experiences of inequality. For example, the DfE (2014) data shows Black Caribbean pupils are three times more likely to be permanently excluded from school than their White peers. Only 16% of all Black Caribbean men go on to University. They are nearly 8 times as likely to be stopped and searched by the Police as their White counterparts. What is worrying is that 15% of Black Caribbean men are unemployed compared to 5% of their White British counterparts and 30% of Black Caribbean individuals currently live in poverty. There is also now greater disproportionality in the number of Black people in prisons in the UK and in the US. Out of the British national prison population, 10% are Black. For Black Britons this is significantly higher than the 2.8% of the general population they represent (Prison Reform Trust, 2014). NHS (2011) statistics also consistently highlighted that rates of admission and detentions in Mental Health institutions were higher for Black Caribbean and African groups than for the rest of the population with around 70% of inpatients being from these groups.

The reasons for the underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils are wide-ranging and complex. '*Within education literature recently four main schools related factors have emerged: stereotyping; teachers' low expectations; exclusions and Headteachers' poor leadership on equality issues (Demie 2003:243)*. Low teachers' expectations, have been particularly cited by many researchers as contributing to low attainment amongst Black children (e.g. Gillborn and Youdell, 2000; Crozier, 2005; Maylor et al., 2006; Rhamie, 2007; DCSF, 2008b). Low teacher expectations appear to be influenced by racism which contributes to Black children being *expected* to experience some problems that will interfere with their performance (Gillborn, 1997; Gillborn and Youdell, 2000). Other research suggested that a key factor influencing the attainment of Black children is the extent to which they are excluded from school and learning opportunities. Black children are most likely to be excluded from school (DfE 2015) and represent the most excluded group of pupils (Gillborn, 1990; Gillborn and Youdell, 2000; DfE 2015; Cabinet Office, 2007). Black Caribbean children have rates of permanent exclusion about three times that of the pupil population as a whole (EHRC, 2016; DfE 2015). Black pupils are often excluded for challenging what is perceived to be teacher racism. Overall evidence suggests that schools perceive and respond to the behaviour of Black children more harshly than to other ethnic groups. '*All of these can perpetuate low attainment and disengagement from learning by Black Caribbean students' (Demie 2003:243)*.

Other researchers also noted that the lack of adequate support to schools from parents, economic deprivation, poor housing and home circumstances (Rampton 1981; Swann 1985), the failure of the national curriculum to reflect adequately the needs of a diverse and multi ethnic society (MacPherson, 1999; Gillborn 2002).

Most recent research also concur that that Black Caribbean pupils are being subjected to institutional racism in British schools which can dramatically undermine their chances of academic success (Macpherson, 1999; Parekh, 2000; DfES, 2006b; Curtis

2008; Strand 2008). This is revealed for example in teachers' differential treatment of Black children in terms of school exclusion and low teacher expectations and in assessments made about the abilities of Black Caribbean pupils. Research suggests that teachers' perceptions and expectations of Black children's' behaviour often influences their decision to put Black children in lower sets as opposed to their ability and more than two thirds of Black pupils in secondary school are taught separately in lower academic groups, (Gillborn and Youdell, 2000). Strand (2012) also noted similar findings that Black Caribbean students are systematically under-represented on entry to the higher tiers relative to their White British peers and this has contributed to achievement gaps. He concluded that institutional racism and low expectations by teachers are one of the reasons why they were not entering for top-tier exams. Moreover, it has been argued that teachers' sometimes '*conscious or unconscious stereotypes and assumptions about minority groups can impact negatively on pupils' achievements'* (Maylor et al 2009). All the above factors can perpetuate low attainment and the body of available research suggests a worrying picture of a failure to address underachievement of at least three generations of Black Caribbean pupils in British schools. There is an urgent need to increase our understanding of the factors which lie behind this underachievement.

Researchers now agree that the biggest obstacles to raising Black Caribbean achievement is the 'colour blind' approach which has put the group at a disadvantage and the failure of the National Curriculum to adequately reflect the needs of a diverse, multi-ethnic society (Gillborn 2002; MacPherson 1999). All Government education reform acts and white papers failed to explore the specific needs of Black Caribbean pupils (Gillborn 1995). Recently the Government has adopted standard rhetoric for all and failed to act decisively against the significant and growing inequalities gap that now characterises the system. Although previous governments have added inequality of education attainment between social groups into their policy statements on social justice and inclusion, there has been no strong lead given to address the issues of the underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils by central government since 2010. Governments have failed to recognise that children of Caribbean origin have particular needs that are not being met by the school system. Evidence from the national data suggests that the gap in performance is widening and Black Caribbean children in England's schools are not sharing the higher educational standards achieved over the last decade in England. Such evidence reinforces the findings of previous research which identified serious concerns about the extent to which the education system and schools were meeting the needs of Black Caribbean children (Gillborn and Mirza 2000; Rampton 1981; Swann 1985 and Gillborn and Gipps 1996; Demie 2003 and 2005). These concerns persist.

CHAPTER 2. THE AIMS AND RESEARCH METHODS

The Aim of the Research

The aim of this research project is to investigate the reasons why pupils from Black Caribbean heritage backgrounds are underachieving and identify the factors that are contributing to their lack of success in the school system. The research examines in detail:-

- The extent of Black Caribbean pupils' educational underachievement;
- The factors responsible for Black Caribbean pupils' educational underachievement;
- The steps schools and policy makers can take to improve the educational attainment of Black Caribbean pupils.

Research Methods

This research is an ethnographic study of Black Caribbean underachievement in British schools. Three complementary methodological approaches were adopted to explore performance and the views of Headteachers, teachers, school staff, governors, parents, SENCOs and EPs, each contributing a particular set of data to the study. Details of the methodological framework are summarised below:

1. **Data Analysis:** An empirical investigation of KS2 and KS4 was undertaken to draw lessons from the last two decades by examining in detail the achievement of Black Caribbean heritage pupils in the local authority and nationally.

2. **Focus Group Interviews:**

   - **Headteacher, teachers and staff interviews and focus groups:** The main aim of the Headteachers and teachers' focus groups was to ascertain the views of school staff concerning the reasons of Black Caribbean underachievement and what practical steps needed to be taken in order to improve levels of achievement for Black Caribbean heritage pupils. The specific objectives were to identify what teachers see as key issues, to share their experience and to discuss their role in raising levels of achievement. Headteachers were asked to select a mixed group of teachers with a range of teaching experience, gender and ethnicity.

   - **Black Caribbean parent interviews and focus groups:** The main aim of the parent and community interviews and focus group research was to ascertain the views of parents and Black Caribbean community groups concerning the reasons for Black Caribbean underachievement and what practical steps needed to be

taken in order to improve levels of achievement for Black Caribbean pupils. Headteachers had been asked to select a mixed group of parents and local groups.

- **Pupils' focus groups:** Pupils focus groups were carried out to ascertain their views about the schools achievements and their experience in school.

- **Governors' focus groups:** The main objective of the governors' focus group was to ascertain their views on the reasons for underachievement and what can be done to improve. The Governors and the parent focus group were drawn from 22 schools.

- **Educational Psychologists (EP) and Special Educational Needs Coordinators (SENCOs) interviews and focus groups:** Interviews with SENCOS and Educational Psychologists took place including group discussions to ascertain their views concerning the reasons for Black Caribbean underachievement, over representation on exclusions and what practical steps needed to be taken in order to improve levels of achievement and to reduce the exclusion rate in schools.

3. **Case studies:** Using an ethnographic approach, detailed case study research was carried out to study the school experiences of Black Caribbean pupils including the reasons for underachievement. A structured questionnaire was used to interview Headteachers, teachers, parents and pupils to gather evidence on barriers to learning, how well Back Caribbean pupils are achieving, pupils' views about the school and its support systems.

Four primary and three secondary schools with high numbers of Black Caribbean pupils and an above average proportion of students with FSM were selected for case studies. Each of the schools were visited in 2016 and structured questionnaires were used to interview Headteachers, staff, governors, grandparents, parents and pupils to gather evidence.

Table 1 details the interviews and the focus groups carried out. A total of 124 people participated in the interviews and the focus groups. This included 33 Black Caribbean pupils, 14 Black Caribbean parents, 15 teachers, 20 school staff including TAs and Learning Mentors, 7 Headteachers and 10 Deputy Headteachers, 17 Governors, 8 SENCOs and Inclusion Managers. Three of the Headteachers interviewed were from White backgrounds. The majority of staff interviewed were from White backgrounds. Almost all the pupils and parents interviewed or in the focus groups were Black with a small number of Mixed White/ Black parents. The governors interviewed were mixed with equal numbers of White and Black heritage backgrounds. In addition to the case study schools, 22 schools also participated in the governors and parents' focus groups.

Table 1. Interviews and Focus Groups Carried Out in Schools and the Community

Focus Group Participants	Number interviewed or in focus groups
Headteachers	7
Deputy Headteachers	10
Classroom Teachers	15
School Staff (Teaching Assistants and Learning Mentors)	15
Governors	17
Special Educational Needs Coordinators and Inclusion Managers	8
Educational Psychologists	5
Black Caribbean Pupils	33
Black Caribbean Parents	14
Total	**124**

In all the case study schools we visited, we have carried out classroom observations with the main aim of developing understanding of how schools and teachers recognise and value diverse cultures/heritages and how children respond in lessons where this occurs. The classroom observations focused on teacher's interactions with Black Caribbean and BME children, and interactions between diverse groups of children.

The findings which emerged from the data analysis, focus groups and case studies are given in the chapters that follow.

The Data, Performance Measures and Terminology

The Data

The strength of the research is its data source of the National Pupil Database. The National Pupil Database (NPD) is a pupil level database which matches pupil and school characteristic data to pupil level attainment. The sample size of the pupils who completed GCSE in summer 2014 is 558,432 and KS2 in 2014 is 544,220. The data on state schools is highly accurate and has a number of key features. Firstly, the fact that it is a census dataset containing the population of all pupils in state schools is very helpful for a number of different analyses, compared to a dataset based on just a sample of schools. It provides a much richer set of data on school and pupil characteristics. The dataset includes information on language spoken at home, ethnicity, free school meals, gender and results at Key Stage 2 and 4. In addition, data has been drawn from DfE Statistical First Releases (SFR), although some statistics have been calculated by the

author directly from National Pupil Database (NPD) files. The lists that the SFRs are drawn on in collating data on achievement are given in the references.

Measures of Performance

It is important to note that in the English education system, pupils are 5 to 16 years old are taught the national curriculum. This covers subjects such as English, mathematics and science. This is split into four key stages, KS1, KS2 (primary), KS3 and KS4 (secondary). At the end of each key stage, assessments are undertaken. Up until 2015, pupils in key stages 1 to 3, were given levels, ranging from 1 to 8. In key stage 1 and 2, results are reported for reading, writing and maths. Thus a typical seven year old is expected to reach level 2B, an eleven year old (end of KS2) level 4, and a fourteen year old, level 5. At the end of KS4, pupils take General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) exams. These are the major qualifications taken by pupils at the end of compulsory schooling at the age of 15, and are a series of examinations in the individual subjects the pupils have been studying. The measure of performance used in this report was the percentage of pupils gaining level 4 or above at KS2, in reading, writing and maths, and for GCSE it was the national measure of the percentage of pupils gaining five or more good GCSEs including English and maths (5+A*-C). In 2016, the measures used to discuss attainment changed and new indicators will be used.

Terminology: Misuse and abuse of the terms West Indian, African Caribbean, Afro-Caribbean and Black Caribbean.

The starting point for our research was Black Caribbean children, but from the review literature it became apparent that the terminology used to refer to people of Caribbean heritage has been problematic in Britain. There has been misuse and abuse of the term and a number of authors use the words West Indian, African Caribbean, Afro-Caribbean and Black, Caribbean or Black Caribbean, African or Black interchangeably (see McKenley et al 2003; Demie 2001; Gillborn and Gipps 1996; Gillian and Richardson 2003; Sewell 1995; Blair et al 1998). In some cases it has been used in the context of political and historical developments ignoring educational debates. This has confused and complicated underachievement issues of pupils of Caribbean origins. In this paper, we will argue that it is important to be clear on the concept of African and Caribbean origins and differentiate between pupils from Africa and pupils who were born in the Caribbean or whose parent/s have Caribbean origins.

In education, the term West Indian was first used in the Rampton report (Rampton 1981) to refer to pupils of Caribbean origins and was changed to Afro-Caribbean as this was preferable to West Indians in the 1980s. This was followed by African Caribbean, which started appearing in the early 1990s as a direct analogy with the US terminology African-American that was adopted after the civil rights movement in America. The situation is further complicated by the range of these terms in different academic

papers (see Blair et al 1998 and Sewell 1997), which use some of these confusing terminologies without questioning the implications. Gillborn and Gipps (1996) were the first to raise questions about the problems with terminology and the lack of differentiation between African and Caribbean in national data collection. Because of these problems with categorisation, they used the terms African Caribbean and Black in their research. In their report, Black included 'individuals who would appear in census statistics as either Black Caribbean, Black African or Other Black' (p.8). They used African Caribbean to mean African and Caribbean, depending on how the data is collected in different authorities. However, where data were available, this was further differentiated into African and Caribbean (see Gillborn and Gipps 1996), to clarify a focus on the underachievement of the two major Black ethnic groups in the UK. Gillborn and Gipps also argued that some use the terms African Caribbean or Afro-Caribbean for political purposes to 'symbolise a shared ethnic heritage and/or position within the British social-economic structure' (Gillborn and Gipps 1996, p.27). This view is supported by Gillian and Richardson (2003, p.5), who pointed out that the term was '*considered by Black people of Caribbean heritage to be a clearer affirmation of their identity than the current Afro-Caribbean'* which was adopted as being preferable to the 'West Indian' term used in the Rampton report.

However, use of the term African Caribbean has obscured a significant difference in the achievement of pupils with family origins in the Caribbean, those of African ethnic backgrounds, and pupils who consider themselves to be Black British. A previous national DfES national Youth Cohort Survey (YCS) as argued above also has attempted to homogenise ethnic minorities by using the term Black to refer to all African and Caribbean pupils. This problem is even further complicated by the DfE paper *Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Ethnic Minority Pupils*, which uses the term African Caribbean as a short hand phrase for 'all Black people of African, Caribbean, mixed heritage and those categorised as Black Other' (DfES May 2003, p32). This paper ignores the current census good practice that recognises the heterogeneity of different groups both in ethnic backgrounds and educational experience. The DfES clearly takes a position that to focus on the concerns of Black Caribbean pupils is too narrow to be allowed. It does not help to improve our understanding of underachievement issues and the need to address issues facing different groups of pupils including Caribbean, African and Black British. Unfortunately, as noted by Gillian and Richardson:

'The term African Caribbean has been 'grossly misunderstood and misused by many civil servants, officers in local government', *academic researchers, EMAG teachers and has blurred the underachievement debate in Britain*…It has been used interchangeably with the term Black. Others have used it to mean African and Caribbean. Some have even 'spelt it as African/Caribbean, implying that the two words are close in meaning with the term Black as to be interchangeable… It is unhelpful of the DfES to state that the discourse of educational policy should ignore the substantial differences between the cultures and circumstances of Caribbean people and those of people from the continent

of Africa. The DfES paper is not only raising semantic issues by using incorrect terminology; the DfES encourages schools, local government to ignore the distinctive needs of Caribbean and African or Black British pupils (see Gillian and Richardson 2003, p.5).

It is now widely recognised that there is a serious semantic problem in the categorisation of pupils of Caribbean or African origin. Among educationalists, there is little understanding about the meaning of the terminology and the issues involved and the difference between Black Caribbean and African Caribbean. There is therefore no general agreement among academics involved in this kind of work that one of the categories used is correct to reflect the people of Caribbean heritage, although most agree that Caribbean is a useful concept in the context of addressing the educational needs of pupils of Caribbean origins. The use of the term African Caribbean is being increasingly challenged; not to question the distinctive needs, experience, and circumstances of Black Caribbeans, but because it has been used to blur or obscure underachievement issues at national and local levels.

The first serious attempt to look at the problem of categorisation was in the 1991 census, in which Black was differentiated into African, Caribbean and other. This was further improved, after national debate, for the 2001 census to Black African, Black Caribbean and Black Other. As noted by McKenley et al (2003, p.7) '*Education takes its lead from that national debate and reflects the latest ethnic categories in the Pupil Level Annual Schools' Census (ASC), but this is always a matter of contention.'* The 2003 School Census asked respondents to classify themselves in ethnic terms for the first time. The decision to ask questions about ethnicity followed a fierce debate, lengthy consultation and rigorous testing of potential questions.

For the purposes of the research, we favoured the term 'Caribbean' to define the children of birth families where at least one parent is of Caribbean heritage. This terminology has been used in LA1 and in inner London since the 1990s. We need to recognise not all Caribbean pupils are of African origin. Caribbean culture is 'the product of a unique historical experience and has been affected by numerous cross-cultural influences, including African, Indians, British, Dutch, French, Portuguese and Chinese. British born pupils of Caribbean origin also share this culture through their family background and country of origins' (Gillian and Richardson 2003, p.5). As noted by Ashrif (2002, p.27) at '*least 48% have their origins in the Indian subcontinent.'* This figure may need further research but it clearly questions the use of African Caribbean terminology to refer to people of Caribbean origin in Britain.

Maintaining the focus of studies of underachievement will require that the terms Black African and Black Caribbean be used, as collected in the School Census. We argued in our previous research that:

> '*Black Caribbean, used in School Census data collection should be seen as an inclusive term, which would encompass those pupils of dual heritage, with one parent of Caribbean heritage*. We take a view '*issues of country of birth as opposed to origin, faith, location, and settlement all contribute to the concept of 'ethnicity', 'heritage' and 'background'. These are interwoven with a personal sense of affinity and belonging. Identities and how these might be reflected 'officially' are a lively debate every decade as the national census seeks to catch up with changes in categorisation over the previous decade*'
> (See McKenley et al, 2003, p.7).

The term Black Caribbean in the national school census makes sense for educational purposes, to statisticians and to the Caribbean and African communities as it clearly differentiates pupils of Caribbean origins from Black Africans, which in the past were often lumped together as African Caribbean or Afro-Caribbean on political grounds. It focuses clearly to address underachievement issues in educational debates and ensures that this focus is not lost or blurred in national policy formulation by providing unambiguous data for policy makers and schools. For this reason, in this study, we have used the term Black Caribbean to refer to pupils of Caribbean origin and Black African to refer to pupils of African origin in Britain.

Defining Underachievement

There has been widespread misunderstanding of the concept of the term underachievement. In recent years the term was used to describe the difference in the average educational attainment of different groups. It has become common to see underachievement as a phenomenon relating to particular groups of learners who experience disadvantages that call for additional support. These are identifiable groups whose levels of attainment tend to be lower than those of other groups for no other obvious reasons other than their group characteristics and the inadequacy of the education system in responding to those characteristics. The groups that require attention in this way include ethnic minority groups, boys, mobile children, EAL children and looked after children. However, Gillborn and Gipps (1996) recently questioned the usefulness of the term, arguing that the notion of underachievement has become a stereotype and even sometimes wrongly related to an outdated older concept of ability that each individual had a more or less fixed potential and there is little that can be done to increase a learner's potential. They also argued that the concept is used 'to support the argument that the reasons for the underachievement of some groups are because of the pupils and/or their families, rather than the education system itself' (Gillborn and Gipps 1996). The assumption, on which this view is based, has long been attacked and underachievement is nothing to do with fixed potential or ability but it is the consequence of ineffective educational practices which prevent the potential of learners being realised (Gillborn 2002).

The government has now adopted this concept of underachievement, and it views it as the product of inadequacy of the education system rather than of poverty or other social factors alone. The government believes that schools should have high expectations of everyone, regardless of background, gender or circumstances. They must target support to those who need most help to reach those high standards and we must change the culture.

We think the notion of underachievement should emphasis the difference in attainment between groups and is a useful concept particularly to identify an inequality of opportunities. Therefore, in this paper underachievement is used, stressing the sense of being under, as the Caribbean pupils are the lowest achievers of the main ethnic groups.

Ethical Considerations

The research into the underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils was conducted in line with the Data Protection Act (1998) and all the interviews and focus group participants were given assurances that their confidentiality and anonymity would be maintained. Thus schools were given pseudonyms. However, it should be noted that some of the case respondents were concerned that their viewpoints might be identifiable. The extent of this concern was exemplified by some respondents who agreed to being interviewed with the proviso that their interview was not tape-recorded. In recognition of the identification concerns expressed by some respondents the data discussed in this report is done so without any attribution being made to a particular school or person. Care has been taken with all stages of the research process therefore to not only ensure that participants and institutional names remain anonymous, but that the data is kept securely and individual digital recordings have been deleted or destroyed upon transcription. Pupils, parents and teachers were given an opportunity at the beginning of their interview to decline from participating, once a member of the research team explained the nature of the research.

CHAPTER 3. THE EXTENT OF BLACK CARIBBEAN PUPILS' EDUCATIONAL UNDERACHIEVEMENT IN ENGLAND

Introduction

This section examines the achievement of Black Caribbean students in British schools at the end of KS2 and GCSE. Two methodological approaches are used. Firstly, the study looks at the pattern of the Black Caribbean pupil population in English Local Authorities to establish the number of Black Caribbean pupils in British schools. This is followed by detailed data analysis on the performance of Black Caribbean pupils in England compared to the other main ethnic groups. The main questions posed are:

- What is the total number of Black Caribbean children in schools in England?

- How well do Black Caribbean pupils perform in British schools? What are the differences in level of attainment at the end of KS2 and GCSE between Local Authorities?

- What are the factors influencing achievement?

The National Context

This research considers evidence from schools in England. England is one of the more ethnically, linguistically and culturally diverse countries in Europe. About 31% of the school population are from Black and ethnic minority groups. The 2014 census shows that there were 6,970,556 pupils in England schools. Of these, White British pupils formed the largest ethnic group with 69%, followed by White Other at 6%, Pakistani 4%, Indian 3%, Black African 3%, Bangladeshi 2%. The Black Caribbean school population is about 1% or 86,253 pupils. The Mixed White and Black Caribbean school population has increased and is now 101,676 pupils in schools.

There are large regional variations in the proportion of pupils. Data by region from the latest school census are presented in Figure 1. Across England this varied widely, from lows of around 80 in the North East and the South West, to slightly above the national average in the West Midlands but with the largest concentrations in London, where minority ethnic pupils accounted for nearly two thirds of pupils in Outer London and four-fifths of pupils in Inner London.

Regional data has been aggregated and the above figures hide large variations between Local Authorities (LA). Of all cities in England, it is London that serves the largest proportion of Black Caribbean pupils. Any findings from our study therefore have significant importance in the formatting policies and strategies aimed at raising the achievement of Black Caribbean pupils at both national and local level.

The variation in the number of Black Caribbean pupils in each Local Authority in England is shown in Figure 2. The main findings of the survey show that:

- Over 86,253 Black Caribbean pupils were in primary, secondary, special schools, pupil referral unit and alternative provisions in England in 2014. Of these just over half were boys and 15% were eligible for free school meals in England.

- There were 40,938 pupils in primary schools, 42,763 pupils in secondary, 1,507 pupils in special schools, 573 in pupil referral units and 472 in alternative provision.

- The distribution of Black Caribbean pupils in England varies considerably between Local Authorities (see Figure 2). The overwhelming majority of Black Caribbean pupils in the UK reside in the larger cities and few are recorded in rural areas. Twenty six of the 150 LAs have more than 1000 Black Caribbean pupils (Table 2), with the largest cohort residing in Birmingham. London has significant numbers of Black Caribbean pupils and the largest LAs in terms of cohort were Lewisham, Croydon, Lambeth, Brent, Southwark, Hackney, Enfield and Haringey.

Figure 1. Total Number of Black Caribbean Children in Primary, Secondary and Special Schools by Regions
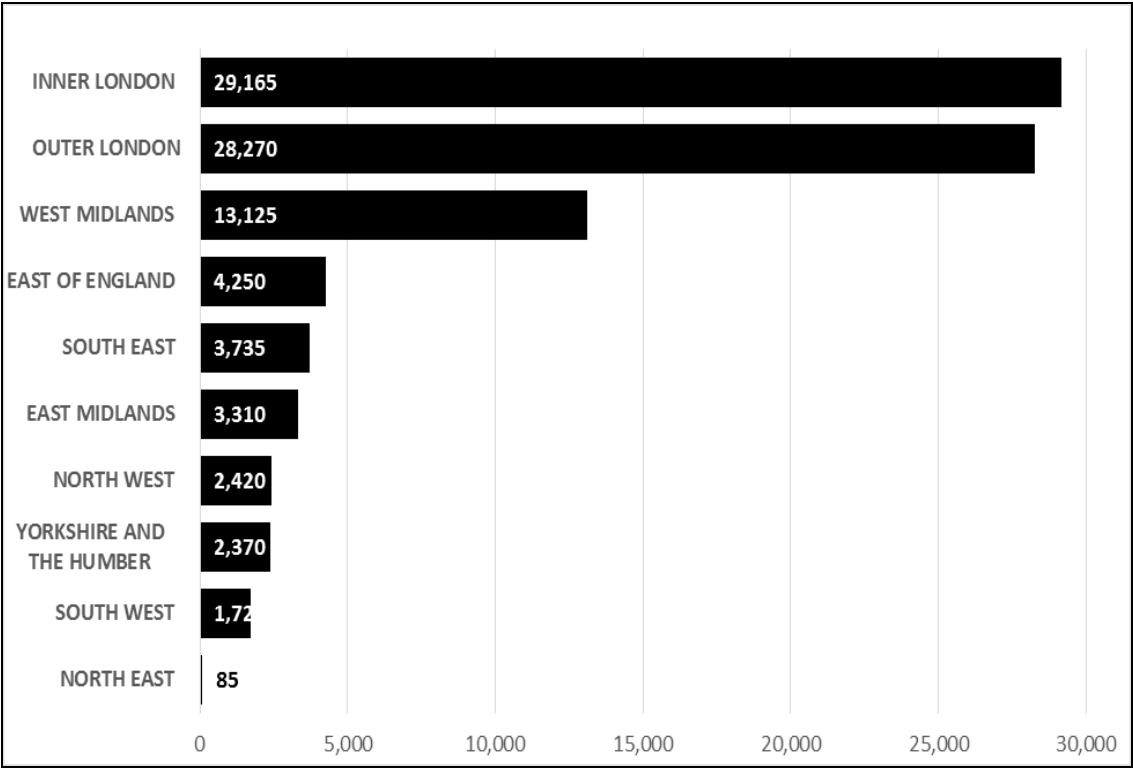
Figure 2. Number of Black Caribbean Children in England Schools by Local Authority

Local Authorities with more than 500 Black Caribbean pupils

Local Authority	Number
Birmingham	7,407
Lewisham	5,657
Croydon	5,649
Lambeth	5,001
Brent	3,460
Southwark	3,309
Hackney	3,243
Enfield	3,071
Haringey	2,899
Waltham Forest	2,704
Wandsworth	2,212
Newham	1,977
Ealing	1,902
Sandwell	1,840
Redbridge	1,683
Wolverhampton	1,602
Manchester	1,381
Bromley	1,370
Islington	1,246
Nottingham	1,241
Luton	1,240
Greenwich	1,219
Merton	1,137
Hammersmith and Fulham	1,121
Hertfordshire	1,102
Harrow	1,055
Bristol, City of	959
Hillingdon	944
Leeds	909
Barking and Dagenham	877
Barnet	806
Westminster	744
Tower Hamlets	667
Buckinghamshire	642
Walsall	635
Camden	621
Essex	612
Northamptonshire	594
Havering	585
Hounslow	576
Sutton	518
Leicester	513
Sheffield	500

Table 2. Number of Black Caribbean Pupils in Local Authorities

Number of Black Caribbean pupils	Number of LAs
1000+	26
500-999	17
100-499	36
11-99	42
0-10	29

As part of this study an extensive analysis was carried out using the NPD data on the number of Black Caribbean pupils at the end of primary and secondary education, as well as performance data relating to KS2 and GCSE by subject, FSM and gender.

KS2 and GCSE Attainment of Black Caribbean Pupils in Schools in England

This section considers underachievement of Caribbean pupils at national levels. Since the 1990s, there has been a marked improvement in the proportion of pupils attaining five or more higher grade passes in GCSE examinations at the end of secondary education. The proportion of 15 years olds attaining at least five higher grade passes rose from 37% in 1998 to 60% in 2013 in England (Demie and McLean, 2015 p23).

It is difficult to ascribe the above pattern of improvement to education reform alone but previous research confirms how significant the government policy measures were in raising standards (Demie and McLean, 2015). However, not all ethnic groups shared equally in the overall improvement in attainment at the 5+A*-C level (See Figure 3). As we will argue in the next section the government policy measures have also had a negative impact by increasing inequalities between different ethnic groups within the education system.

Broadly speaking, Chinese and Indian pupils are the highest achieving groups at GCSE followed by Bangladeshi, Black African and White British pupils. Black Caribbean and Pakistani are the lowest achieving groups. The national data in England suggests that Black Caribbean underachievement in education is real and persistent and they are consistently the lowest performing group in the country. Of real concern is that the gap in educational performance of Black Caribbean pupils is larger than for any other ethnic group.

Figure 3. Black Caribbean Achievement in England (5+A*-C including English and Maths)
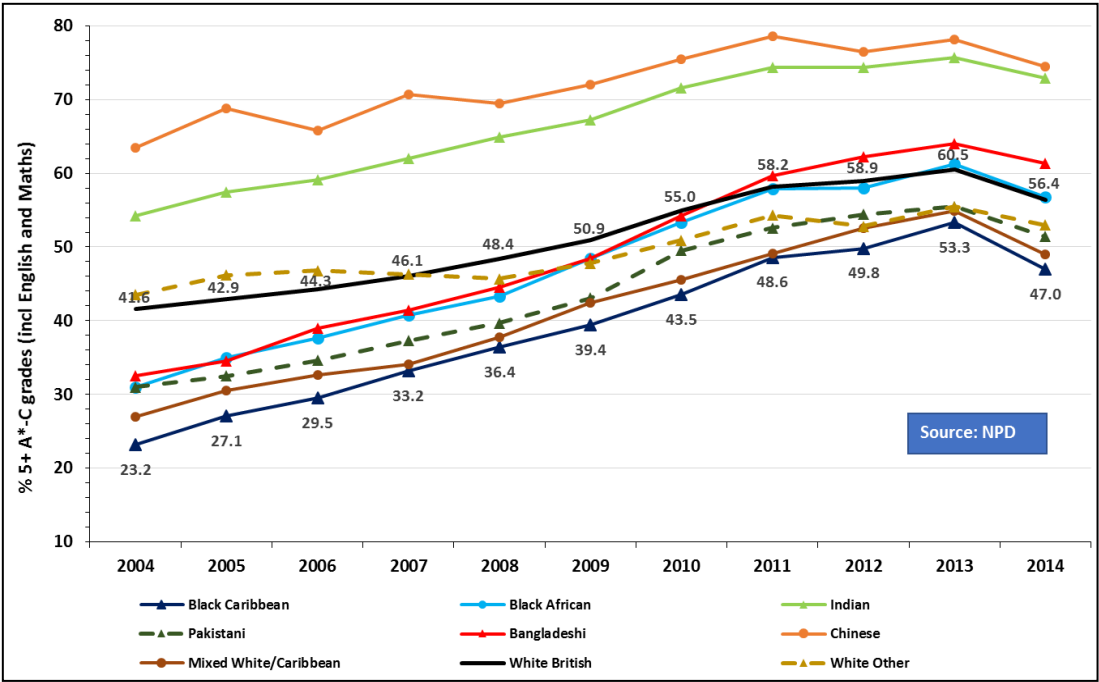
Table 3 shows the KS2 and GCSE results for each group at national level. As at GCSE, Black Caribbean pupils are one of the lowest achieving groups at KS2. The main findings show that at KS2, 75% of Black Caribbean pupils achieved level 4 and above compared to 80% for all of England. Similarly at GCSE, 46% of Black Caribbean pupils achieved 5+A*-C including English and Maths compared to the national average of 54%.

Table 3. KS2 and GCSE Performance by Ethnic Origin in England Schools (%)

Ethnicity	KS2 L4+ (Reading, Writing and Maths)				GCSE (5 + A*-C including English and Maths)					
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Bangladeshi	77	76	81	82	54	60	62	64	61	62
Black African	73	75	78	81	53	58	58	61	57	56
Black Caribbean	69	70	73	75	44	49	50	53	47	46
Chinese	84	85	88	88	76	79	77	78	75	77
Indian	83	83	86	87	72	74	74	76	73	72
Pakistani	69	74	75	77	50	53	54	56	51	52
White and Caribbean	71	82	75	77	46	49	53	55	49	49
White British	75	86	79	81	55	58	59	61	56	57
White Other	68	68	71	73	51	54	53	56	53	53
All Pupils	**74**	**75**	**78**	**80**	**54**	**59**	**59**	**59**	**53**	**54**

This is not surprising as the findings from a number of previous studies came to similar conclusions (Demie 2001; Gillborn and Mirza 2000; Gillborn and Gipps 1996). Perhaps the most important new finding from the national data is that there is evidence that Chinese, Bangladeshi and Indian heritage pupils are high achieving and continuing to improve. However, there have not been sufficient rates of improvement for Black Caribbean pupils to narrow the gap (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Black Caribbean GCSE Performance (5+ A*C inc. English & Maths 2004 -2015)
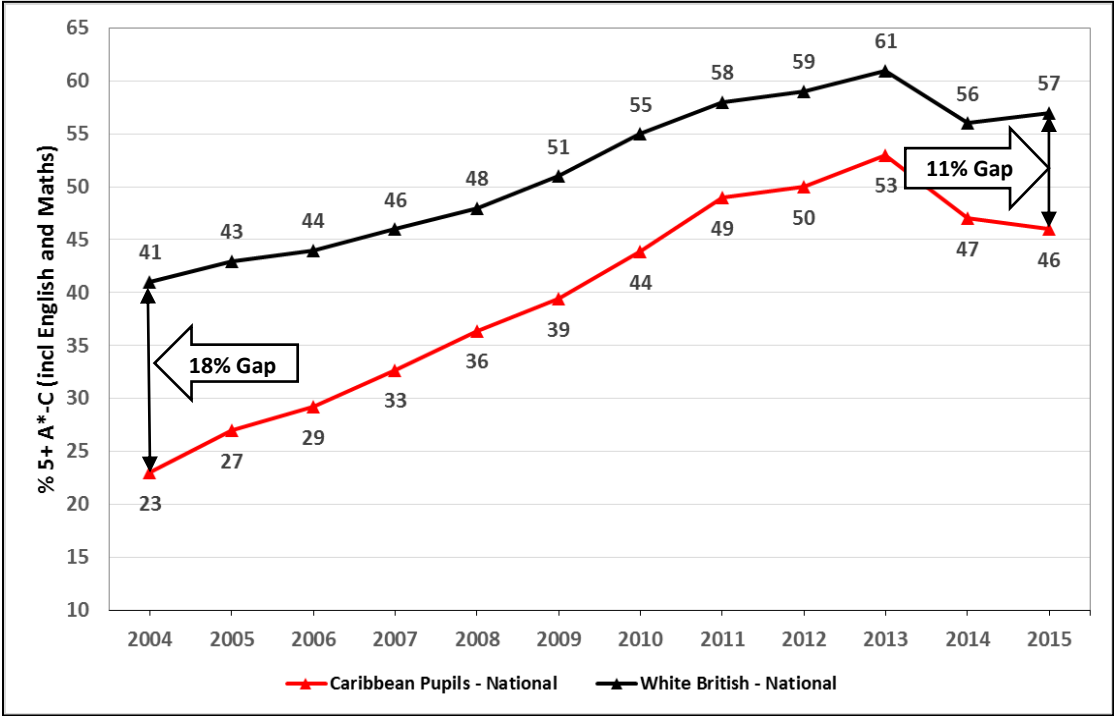
As with findings from previous studies the data highlights a particular disadvantage experienced by Black Caribbean pupils in the English Education system (Demie 2001; Gillborn and Mirza 2000; Gillborn and Gipps 1996). To date it has been difficult to draw generalised conclusions from research on Black Caribbean educational achievement but the new national data is at least helpful and confirms that Black Caribbean pupils have not shared equally in increasing rates of achievement at KS2 and GCSE (Table 3 and Figure 3 and 4). These findings have important implications for strategies of raising achievement, making it at least easier for researchers to examine the differences in experiences between pupils from different ethnic groups and for practitioners to identify appropriate strategies to tackle perceived problems.

Overall the national data supports previous findings that the gap is growing between the highest and lowest achieving ethnic groups and Black Caribbean heritage pupils are achieving significantly below the level of other main ethnic groups at KS2 and GCSE.

Gender and Black Caribbean Attainment

Table 4 repeats the pattern established earlier, whereby girls tend to outperform boys at each key stage (See Demie, 2001 and Gillborn and Gipps, 1996). Overall, the findings of the results between key stages indicate that girls achieve higher averages than boys by a quite noticeable margin. This is true for African, Caribbean and White British pupils' at all key stages. It also confirms that for Black Caribbean pupils, the gap in performance between boys and girls is higher than for Black African and White British pupils, suggesting the underachievement of boys. Overall, these findings question some of the previous studies which argued that only Black boys, and not girls, face inequalities. The data in Table 4 and Figure 5 confirm that Black Caribbean boys were lagging behind White boys and both groups were some distance behind White girls.

Figure 5. GCSE Performance of Black Caribbean Pupils in England by Gender 2010-15 (%)
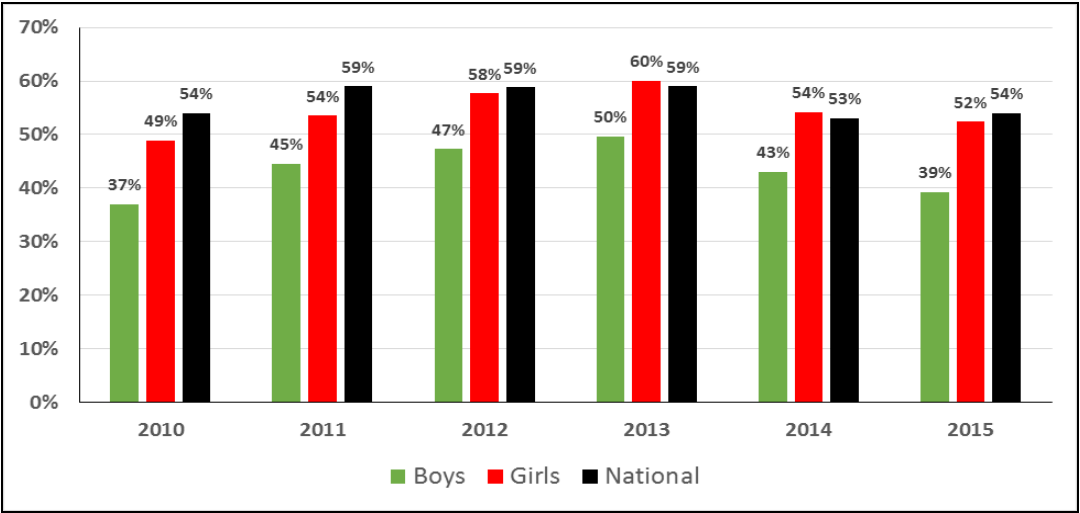
Table 4. KS2 and GCSE Performance in England by Gender and Ethnic Background (%)

Ethnic Group	KS2 Reading, Writing and Maths			GCSE 5+A*-C including English and Maths		
	Boys	Girls	GAP	Boys	Girls	GAP
Bangladeshi	80	84	4	58	66	8
Black African	78	83	5	51	61	10
Black Caribbean	71	80	9	39	52	13
Chinese	85	90	5	70	83	13
Indian	85	89	4	69	76	7
Pakistani	74	79	5	48	56	8
White and Black Caribbean	73	80	7	44	54	10
White British	78	84	6	52	62	10
White Other	70	75	5	48	57	9
All Pupils	**77**	**83**	**6**	**53**	**62**	**9**

Disadvantage and Black Caribbean Attainment

The free school meals variable is often used as a proxy measure of the extent of social deprivation in the backgrounds of pupils and has been linked to underachievement in a number of studies (see Gillborn and Youdell 2002; Demie 2001). The proportion of pupils taking KS2 in 2015 that were eligible for free school meals (FSM) was 41%, and for the GCSE cohort, it was 43%. Table 5 indicates that there is a marked difference in KS2 and GCSE performance between pupils eligible for free school 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 about 67% of Black Caribbean eligible pupils achieving level 4+, whereas 79% 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 32% 5+ A*-C, compared to 50% attained by those not eligible. Overall, the findings from the national data confirm that Black pupils eligible for school meals did considerably less well than their affluent peers and the gap at GCSE is 18%.

Table 5. KS2 and GCSE Performance in England by Ethnic Background (%) 2015

Ethnic Background	KS2 Reading, Writing and Maths (Level 4+)			GCSE 5+A*-C including English and Maths		
	FSM	Non FSM	Gap	FSM	Non FSM	Gap
Bangladeshi	80	83	3	56	65	9
Black African	75	83	8	46	59	13
Black Caribbean	67	79	12	32	50	18
Chinese	85	88	3	74	77	3
Indian	75	88	13	55	74	18
Pakistani	72	78	6	42	55	13
White and Black Caribbean	67	81	14	31	54	23
White British	63	84	21	28	61	33
White Other	64	74	10	38	55	17
All Pupils	**66**	**83**	**17**	**33**	**61**	**28**

There are also some striking differences within the main ethnic groups when the data is further analysed by pupils eligible for free school meals. Table 5 shows that at GCSE, 28% of White British pupils eligible for free school meals achieved 5+ A*-C, compared with 61% of pupils who were not eligible. The White British difference is higher with a gap of 21 percentage points at KS2 and 33% at GCSE. However, there are narrower gaps for Chinese, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Black African at KS2. This is despite a high number of pupils on free school meals compared to White British. This finding underlines the

importance of treating any measure of school performance which does not allow for the influence of background factors such social class and deprivation with skepticism. Social class data is particularly essential for the analysis of performance of White British and Black Caribbean pupils in addition to other disadvantage factors. As we have argued in the previous section, our analysis is not complete because of a lack of data on social class. Care must be taken in generalizing the results of particularly White British pupils from this study to a wider context. Further research in other populations outside inner London is clearly required. Overall the evidence from analyzing free school meals (FSM) data is that:

- Black Caribbean and White British children eligible for FSM are consistently the lowest performing ethnic groups of children from low income households

- The attainment gap between those children eligible for free school meals and the remainder is wider for Black Caribbean, White British and Mixed White and Black Caribbean than any other ethnic groups

- The gap widens particularly at the end of secondary education for White British and Mixed White and Black Caribbean pupils.

Figure 6. Black Caribbean GCSE Performance in England by Free School Meals 2015 (%)
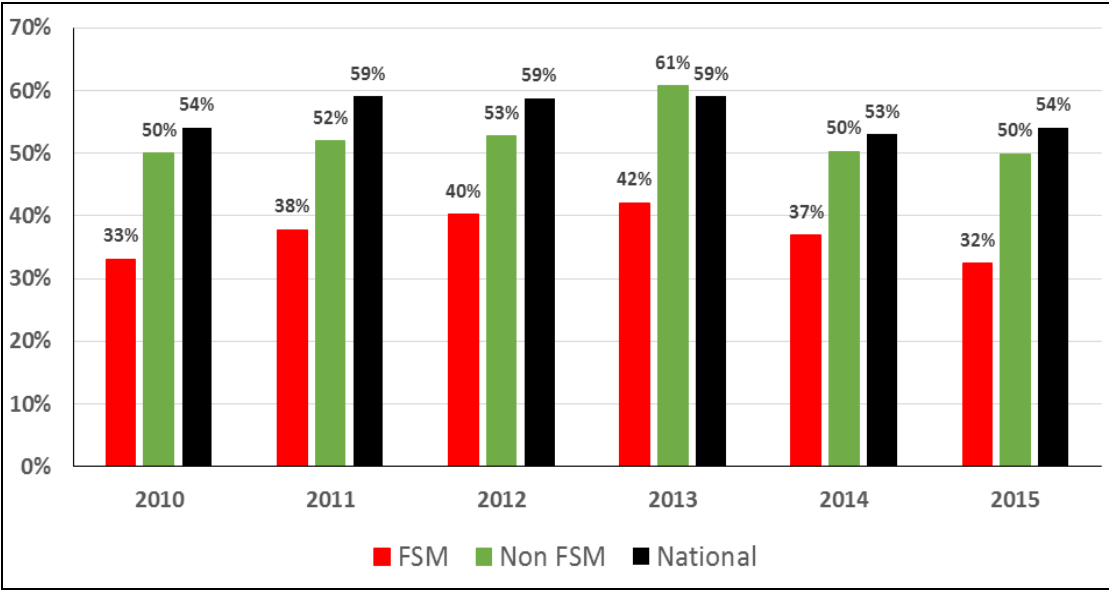
Black Caribbean Pupils Attainment by Region of England

Using the empirical data from the 2014 NPD, the achievement of Key Stage 2 and GCSE pupils was examined by the region of England they live in (Table 6).

Table 6. KS2 and GCSE Attainment of Black Caribbean Pupils by Region 2014

Region	GCSE (% 5+ A*-C)				Key Stage 2 (% Reading, Writing and Maths Level 4+)			
	Black Caribbean Cohort	Black Caribbean	White British	Region	Black Caribbean Cohort	Black Caribbean	White British	Region
East	388	51%	57%	47%	369	71%	79%	77%
East Midlands	340	41%	54%	50%	238	74%	79%	78%
Inner London	2373	47%	60%	60%	2777	75%	84%	82%
North East	5	80%	55%	45%	9	44%	81%	79%
North West	258	44%	56%	47%	213	73%	82%	80%
Outer London	2437	50%	61%	66%	2350	75%	83%	82%
South East	328	48%	58%	57%	284	74%	81%	79%
South West	129	35%	57%	54%	154	62%	80%	79%
West Midlands	1094	43%	55%	47%	1233	72%	79%	77%
Yorkshire and the Humber	254	42%	55%	52%	219	71%	78%	76%
National	**7606**	**47%**	**56%**	**53%**	**7915**	**73%**	**79%**	**79%**

The analysis of the achievement of Key Stage 2 and GCSE pupils by the region of England revealed wide variations in performance and in the achievement gap (Table 6, Figure 7). Key findings from the data show that at KS2:

- Inner London and Outer London have the highest density of Black Caribbean pupils in England

- The North East region has only 9 pupils with Black Caribbean heritage

- Black Caribbean pupils in outer London appear to perform better than Black Caribbean pupils in other parts of the country (Table 6). 75% of Black Caribbean pupils in Inner London and Outer London achieved expected levels or better at KS2

- Black Caribbean pupils overall do not perform as well as their peers, but the gap in achievement between Black Caribbean and White British pupils in the

Southwest was amongst the highest in the country, with only a 18 percentage point difference, whilst the average gap for all of England was six points.

- Black Caribbean pupils in Inner London performed similarly to those in Outer London.

The GCSE data also revealed that:

- There were 5 Black Caribbean pupils who took GCSE in the North East region compared to 2,373 in Inner London, 2,437 in Outer London and 1,094 in West Midlands.

- Black Caribbean pupils from all regions were performing below the national average for achievement at GCSE (Figure 7). Black Caribbean pupils living in the South West, were 18 percentage points lower than the national average.

- East Midlands and the North East also showed the biggest gap in achievement between Black Caribbean pupils when compared to the national average (Figure 7). Perhaps significantly, the percentages of Black Caribbean pupils in the regions with the largest gaps are much lower than in Inner and Outer London where the Black Caribbean pupil population is much higher. There does appear to be a correlation between the density of the Black Caribbean pupil population and their success at GCSE.

- Regions with the highest proportions of Black Caribbean pupils such as Inner and Outer London, but also the West Midlands appeared to have a higher percentage of their Black Caribbean pupils achieving expected levels, than for example the South West of England, where Black Caribbean numbers were much lower and which appears to have a negative impact on attainment.

There is only one region in the North East where Black Caribbean pupils outperform other regions at GCSE. In this region only five Black Caribbean pupils were recorded and the data cannot be compared with others as it is such a small number. However, the overwhelming evidence of the data shows that Black Caribbean pupils are underachieving in all regions of England. Similarly the variations in performance by Black Caribbean are also reflected when the data is analysed by LA areas (Figure 8).

Figure 7. Black Caribbean Pupils GCSE Performance by Local Authorities (5+A*-C including English and Maths)
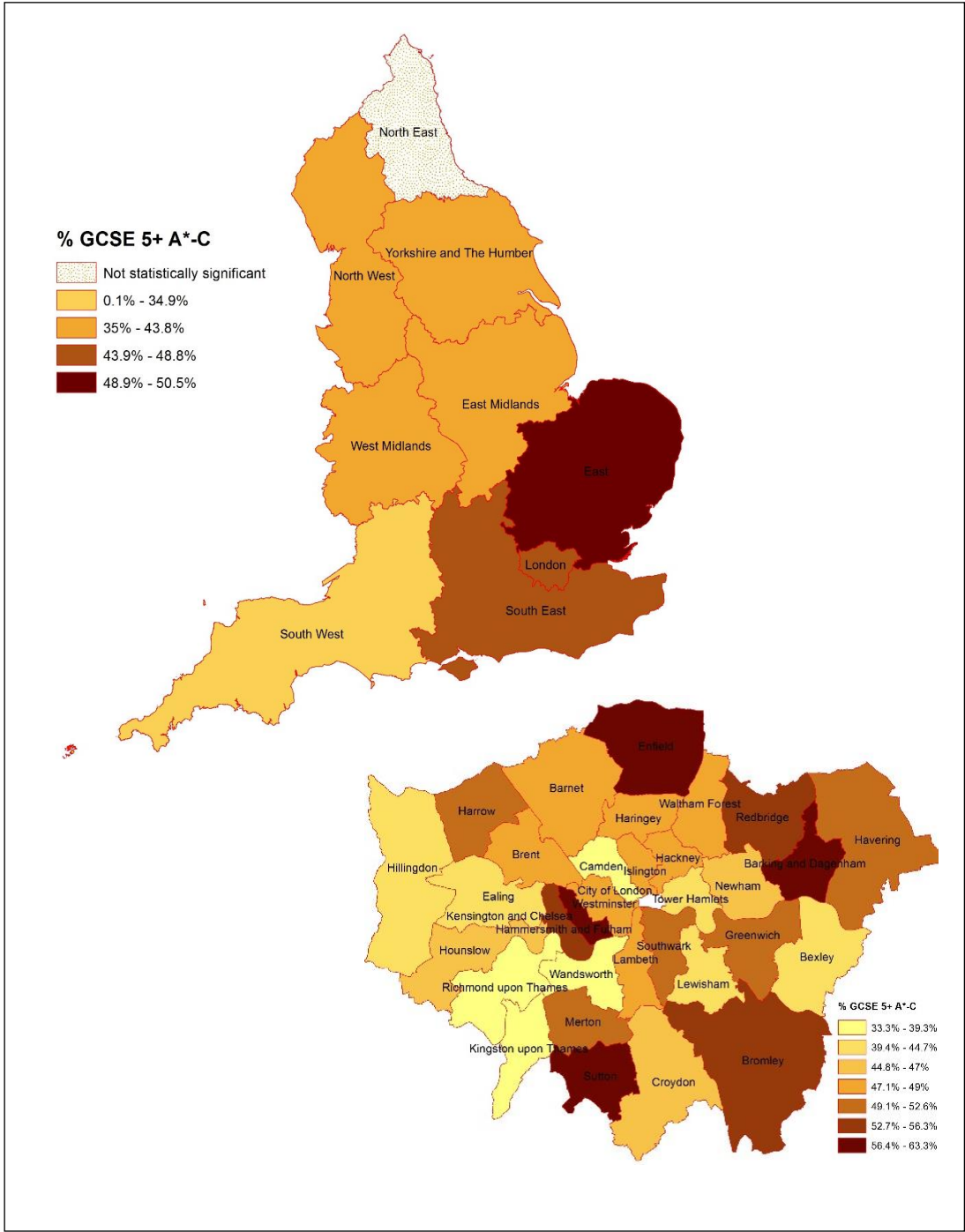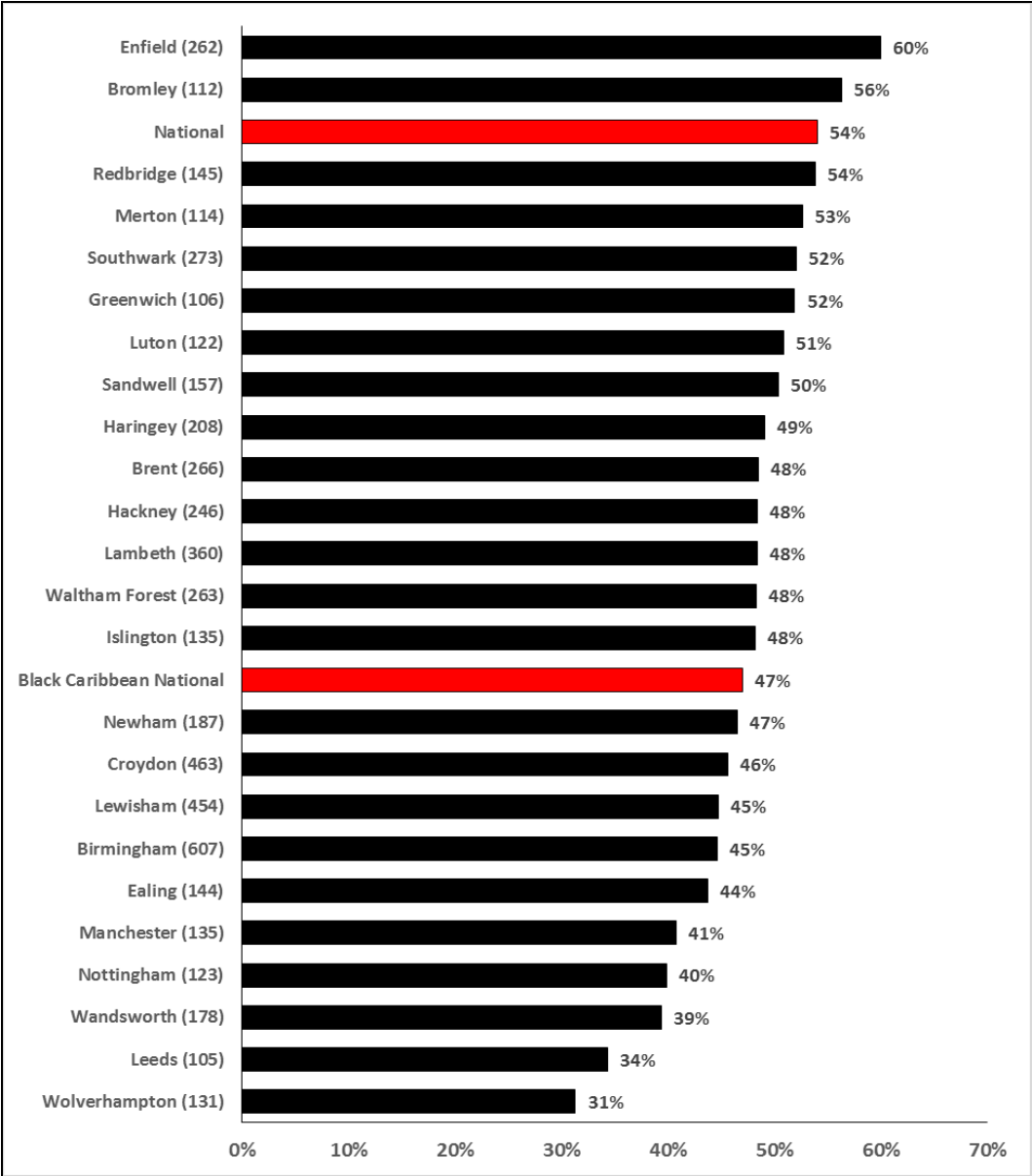
Figure 8 - Black Caribbean GCSE Performance by LA (5+A*-C including English and Maths)

Local Authority	Percentage
Enfield (262)	60%
Bromley (112)	56%
National	54%
Redbridge (145)	54%
Merton (114)	53%
Southwark (273)	52%
Greenwich (106)	52%
Luton (122)	51%
Sandwell (157)	50%
Haringey (208)	49%
Brent (266)	48%
Hackney (246)	48%
Lambeth (360)	48%
Waltham Forest (263)	48%
Islington (135)	48%
Black Caribbean National	47%
Newham (187)	47%
Croydon (463)	46%
Lewisham (454)	45%
Birmingham (607)	45%
Ealing (144)	44%
Manchester (135)	41%
Nottingham (123)	40%
Wandsworth (178)	39%
Leeds (105)	34%
Wolverhampton (131)	31%

Conclusions and Implications for Further Research

The national data in England also suggests that Black Caribbean underachievement in education is real and persistent and they are consistently the lowest performing group in the country, and the difference between their educational performance and others is larger than for any other ethnic group. The next section looks at the reasons for underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils in British schools.

CHAPTER 4. SCHOOL FACTORS THAT MAY CONTRIBUTE TO BLACK CARIBBEAN PUPILS' UNDERACHIEVEMENT

Headteachers' Poor Leadership on Equality Issues

For a number of years, researchers (Hall et al., 1986) and inspectors in the UK have been concerned about the wide variations in the practice of school leadership. Studies in the US indicate a similar breadth in interpretations of the role (Leithwood et al; 1992). The following quote illustrates that what school leaders do is most directly a consequence of what they think:

> *'Heads give indicators to others, to staff, pupils, parents, advisers, governors, as to their preferred or intended style by means of verbal, non-verbal and written communications in face-to-face encounters, informal and formal meetings' (Evetts, 1994, p.86).*

It is in this sense, in the day-to-day minutiae of school leadership, that the values and beliefs of individual school leaders are often conveyed to others. Sources in the literature indicate that there is a connection between thinking and doing in relation to leadership style. Being a Headteacher is currently a responsibility assigned to one person and how they attempt to fulfil that responsibility is an individual matter in which they have to draw as best they can on their own beliefs, understanding, experience and abilities. Leadership is part of a whole tradition and culture as well as being a manifestation of individual beliefs and styles of operation. While Headteachers communicate core beliefs and values in their everyday work, teachers also reinforce values in their actions and words. It is important to identify which aspects of the culture are destructive and which are constructive.

John MacBeath in 'Effective School Leadership – Responding to Change' argued that:

> *'School leaders need to be able to draw on a repertoire of styles and skills which changes and develops over time and is shaped by context and culture. To talk about 'the' or 'one' effective leadership style is certainly unrealistic and inherently dangerous…. 'The effectiveness of the School leader needs to be defined not only in terms of the qualities of the individual but also in terms of their fitness to a context which itself is subject to continuities as well as change and development both from forces 'within' the school and from those in the wider environment'…. 'We can also see how reforms may begin to modify behaviour by accentuating certain aspects of the job and downgrading others and where some of the resultant discomfort for school leaders may arise as they feel themselves pulled away from what they regard as effective practice towards new models dictated from the centre.'*

The past twenty years have witnessed a remarkably consistent, worldwide effort by educational policymakers to reform schools by holding them publicly accountable for improving student performance in national tests. For school leaders the main consequence of this policy shift has been considerable pressure to demonstrate the contribution that their work makes to such improvement. This pressure has not actually emerged from a widespread scepticism about the value of leadership; quite the opposite. Indeed, it would be more accurate to characterise this as a demand to 'prove' the widely-held assumption that leadership matters a great deal.

How much leadership matters, is most often demonstrated in those schools serving areas of deprivation and high rates of unemployment. The challenges these communities face, create a combination of pressures for school leaders including difficulties in the recruitment and retention of staff, challenging behavior of pupils, lack of parental support and the lack of collegiality among colleagues. Add to this, the mix of competition between schools which has been engineered by successive governments' 'standards' agendas and the tensions this has created between the various types of schools, (free schools, academy chains), league tables and so on. It may be worth our while to remember that we once hoped that schools would create new models of community, encourage new commitments towards meaningful vocations, end racial discrimination, and open up new avenues out of poverty and unhappiness.

A happy and fulfilling school experience could stay with a child throughout their life and make it more likely that they would return to formal education as adults. Sadly, for many Black Caribbean pupils, their experience of school has been negative, their learning needs have not been addressed and sometimes their very presence is seen as a threat to others. Exclusion rates among even very young Black Caribbean pupils are now higher than for any other group of pupils in England.

The challenge for Headteachers is to respond to the school's inner life, troublesome as it may be, as well as meeting the demands of constantly changing internal and external constituencies which are often in uneasy relationships with one another.

The Headteacher of an inner city primary school illustrated the challenges presented by the community she serves:

> *'There are huge problems socially in this area, poverty, mental health, unemployment or low paid employment, poor housing. The school's largest groups are of Caribbean and African heritage. When I became Headteacher twelve years ago the behaviour of pupils was poor. There was a culture in this school of noise. I had children screaming and shouting in the hall and in the corridors. Some were Black Caribbean boys but not all. One boy would throw a tantrum and fling himself on the floor and at one time he tore down a wall display. At that time it was the culture of the school. Children copy each other. If they played up they were removed from class and went off to play*

therapy in another place. When the behaviour changes and becomes calm and this is the norm, then children conform to that.' (Headteacher, School A)

This is a successful school with exemplary leadership. The Headteacher has always lived and taught in inner city schools and has a thorough understanding of the cultural context in which she is working. This however, is not always the case where Headteachers are recruited to lead schools without the requisite understanding of its 'inner life', with little or no understanding of the cultural backgrounds of the families which make up the school community.

Our interviews revealed recent examples where Headteachers, successful perhaps in many respects, but lacking sensitivity to the cultural context in which they were working, were not mindful of their own stereotyping which caused offence to Black Caribbean parents, as the following example illustrates:

'When I went to the school, the teacher was there with the Headteacher and caretaker. The Headteacher asked me to come to her office for a chat. She asked me 'what Council Estate do you live in?' 'Are you a single mother'? She said: 'sometimes when children come from single parent families and live on an estate they are a lot rougher. I told her that you are extremely racist in what you are saying. I am in education myself and am educated. I asked why all the Black children were sitting on one table and being given different homework. My son's teacher was White, from outside London and was totally unable to relate to Black children.' (Parent H)

The reluctance that many Black Caribbean parents exhibit in engaging with their children's schools may be as a result of their own negative experiences at school in Britain, or because of incidents such as the above example, which can cause tension and lack of trust.

As we have mentioned earlier, it would seem to be an essential requirement in the recruitment of Headteachers to have experience of living or working in an inner city environment. The Deputy Headteacher of a secondary school in south London, described what motivated him and qualified him to become a teacher in a challenging urban environment:

'I grew up in London, New Cross. The school I went to in 1984 had a mixed intake. My dad was Headteacher of Deptford Park School. There were times that my dad brought children to our home after school because they hadn't been collected. I was always going to be a teacher from 13 years of age. I left school, went to University and started teaching at 22. I have taught for 18 years in inner city schools, I feel comfortable, I feel at home and I make a difference. I do a lot with families, I have a pastoral role. I say to the young Black students, people are judging you, what you are wearing, when you are in a group, it's important how people perceive you.' (Deputy Head Inclusion, School E)

The need for teachers and school staff to be knowledgeable about diversity and the need for training to increase understanding of pupils' cultural backgrounds was identified back in the 1970s:

> 'There are many primary schools containing upwards of 30% Asians and West Indians; most teachers at these schools are White. These teachers have been given very little training that would significantly help them to cope with the problems of teaching Asian and West Indian children. They probably have little intuitive understanding of the home background of these children and find it hard to communicate with the parents. They probably have little idea of how to go about teaching an Asian child who speaks no English, or a West Indian child who speaks in a strong dialect. They are facing an extremely difficult task with very little useful assistance. It is quite clear that there must be an intensive programme, backed by considerable resources, to develop appropriate teaching methods, to give future teachers the appropriate training and to arrange for re-training of present teachers in schools with significant numbers of Asian and West Indian children.' (Smith, 1997)

It seems extraordinary that in the 21st century, there is still a need to encourage schools and teacher training establishments to provide guidance on Equalities. It cannot be overstated—high-quality teacher professional development is essential to great teaching. Too few teacher training establishments, however, emphasise strengthening student/teacher interactions and/or help raise teacher awareness of their own biases so that they are able to develop higher expectations and change negative behaviours. There are a number of ways to provide teachers with development opportunities, but to be successful, such opportunities must offer adequate time for collaboration and support amongst colleagues.

 An Educational Psychologist we interviewed echoed the need for staff training, whether they are a diverse group or not, she said:

> 'Equalities training should be regularly updated as safeguarding is…. schools should be inspected in terms of equality issues by Ofsted or someone else. Critical conversations which say these are things that could be done better by the school, to encourage reflection.' (EP A)

The belief that teaching is a vocation is articulated by the Headteacher of another large secondary school in south London:

> 'I have the very old fashioned theory that teaching is a vocation and I believe that everyone who comes into your institution leaves better than when they came in. Wherever you come from you have an equal opportunity to achieve. I won't pander to a group of parents who make a noise. I pander to making sure everyone gets a good deal.' (Headteacher, School D)

Nonetheless, not everyone shares this view and other inducements to enter the teaching profession, both financial and/or for career development, may result in individuals being recruited to schools, without the requisite understanding of diversity and equality.

It was suggested in some of our interviews that Headteachers should be willing to open up the whole discussion about racism with their staff, as some teachers are fearful of being called racist by parents if they raise issues about a child's behaviour, as an Educational Psychologist pointed out:

> *'Language is important. We need to find ways of discussing it that makes people feel less threatened. It probably comes down to the Headteacher who should say to staff 'what are we going to do about this' and open it up. If you can talk about different groups all the time and put it on the agenda, disability, gender, ethnicity, religion. Our institutions do not recognise that racism still exists and it is deeply entrenched.' (EP A)*

Another Educational Psychologist added her views:

> *'We have come to a point where there is a myth that equality issues are behind us. People say things like 'colour isn't important to me' or 'colour doesn't matter.' People are in denial. You should have a safe place to talk about some of these things.' (EP C)*

The following account amply illustrates the need for equalities training in schools for staff at all levels:

> *'As a senior leader on one occasion, when I went in to observe a class, beforehand the Deputy Headteacher was giving me all this information about the teacher. He then said after about ten minutes observing the teacher 'this is unsatisfactory'. I said 'if we are making a judgement about this teacher, we need to give him longer and we should ask for a lesson plan. The teacher was Black African and his English wasn't perfect as he was not born in this country and this went against him.' (Former Vice Principal, Church Leader B)*

Ultimately, the failure by some Headteachers to address issues of inequality, either by turning a blind eye, or through ignorance or neglect, can have a detrimental impact on the achievement of Black Caribbean pupils and the well-being of staff in schools.

Teachers' Low Expectations

A growing body of research suggests that the expectations a teacher sets for an individual pupil can significantly affect the pupil's performance. Teacher expectations can, for example, be based on pupils' characteristics such as race, ethnicity, and family income level, or indicators of past performance. These expectations can cause teachers to differentiate their behaviour towards individual pupils, such that teachers set lower expectations for some pupils, provide briefer (or no) feedback on pupil errors - and less positive feedback after correct answers - and grant pupils less time to answer questions, or fail to give some pupils the opportunity to answer. All of these teacher behaviours, when repeated day in, day out, over the course of a year or multiple school years, can negatively impact student performance and ultimately perpetuate the achievement gaps that plague the education system. While varied expectations for pupils are rarely developed out of malice, teachers need to be aware of the consequences of different pupils' expectations and understand how to correct them.

There was a mixed response from those we interviewed as to the impact of teachers' expectations on the achievement of Black Caribbean pupils. A teacher who is of Caribbean heritage and is now an Adviser for Behaviour Management recalled that her own teachers had very high expectations of her success:

> 'I was an ILEA child, born and brought up in Islington and went to Barnsbury Girls' School. My partner grew up in Tottenham at the same time as me. He didn't do well at school and didn't go to College or University, whereas I did. High expectations are embedded in you early on – this expectation came from my teachers.' (Parent D)

Nevertheless, she recognised that this is not the case with some teachers:

> 'I remember hearing a Black teacher say 'she doesn't need to go to University'. I said 'hang on, would you say that if the child was called Annabel'? We should make any child feel that they can go to University. For me, I did not expect my child to do anything other than go to University.' (Parent D)

A number of people interviewed spoke about how they were told by teachers that they wouldn't stand a chance of getting to University or having a career:

> 'In the 6th form at parents evening, my mum was told that someone like my sister stood no chance of getting to University. She was extremely clever and went on to get unconditional offers from a number of Universities.' (Parent E)
> 'My father is Black and my mum is White and I was brought up by my dad. Teachers told me I wouldn't get anywhere. It knocked my self-esteem and knocked my belief.' (Deputy Head, School D)

*'My friend's child wanted to do A level English but her teacher did not accept
that she was capable of achieving this – she went on to get an A*.' (Governor)*

*'The Careers Adviser said I wouldn't amount to anything and wanted me to
go for a low level job but I thought 'no way.' (Parent D)*

In 1968, Rosenthal and Jacobson released an influential study, Pygmalion in the
Classroom, one of the first to provide overwhelming evidence that teacher expectations
can significantly affect student achievement. The researchers gave teachers false
information about the IQ results of select students and indicated that those students
were on the brink of rapid intellectual growth. The findings were startling. Those students
whom teachers expected to perform well showed significantly higher gains in intellectual
growth than their classmates at the end of the year.

Teacher training may be the ideal time to identify and weed out those teachers whose
perceptions of pupils' ability keep them from providing an equitable and highly
demanding education for all. To do this, schools and colleges must first be knowledgeable
about the potential impact of teacher expectations on pupil achievement and know how
to identify inflexible perceptions among student teachers. Colleges of education can
educate student teachers about the risks of inequitable expectations, offer training in
recognising and amending negative attitudes based on pupils' backgrounds, and counsel
those who are not appropriate teaching candidates to other professions.

When we asked our focus group participants if they felt that low teacher expectations
were a contributory factory in the underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils, there was
some variation in experience depending where in England, they had attended school. For
example, a parent who grew up in West Yorkshire in the 1980s noted:

*'I did not feel I was treated any differently as a Black pupil because of my
race. There was no racism from teachers it was mainly from pupils in contrast
to London schools where there is institutional racism. I think people in London
schools have a certain expectation of Black pupils as being less clever and
under-achieving.' (Parent C)*

This view was born out by a teacher who recalled her own experience of racism and her
teachers' low expectations of Black students at a secondary school in Hammersmith in the
1970s:

*'Racism was overt from teachers and pupils. We faced racism every day.
Africans called us 'baby slaves' or 'sons of slaves'. Although I had won an 11+
prize I was taken out of the maths group because we were deemed not to be
able to do maths, even though we were in the top class. I wasn't allowed to
go into the 6th form. I wanted to do journalism, but my teacher told my*

parents that he didn't think I would be successful in it. They were gullible and didn't know the system. In my class there were two Black girls, in the lower sets they were dominated by Black students. These pupils have gone on to be very successful in later life. My teacher told my parents I had to do typewriting and office studies and I was just broken by then. I was young and didn't know how to manoeuvre through the obstacles in my way. Mum was defensive of us even though she didn't know the system.' (Teacher, School F)

A parent, whose parents came from St. Vincent and Anguilla, who is now working for a local authority, shared his experience of growing up in LA2 in the 1980s where he attended a one-form entry school with a mixed intake of working class pupils:

'There were a few Indian, Pakistani and Somalian pupils. It was not a very good school. Some of my classmates were very bad and by the time I was 8, 9 and ten years the good children were seated on one table and the rest were over there. Our class teacher had given up. She didn't want to take us on school journey so the Headteacher had to do it….. Education wasn't a big deal for many people who went to our school. I had friends who came out barely able to read or write. I had a friend who asked me how to spell 'the' and he was about ten years old! My school experience at primary and secondary schools in the 1980s and 1990s was poor. Anything I learned wasn't from the school. Anyone who achieved anything they had got it from home with parents pushing them.' (Parent A)

A SENCo who grew up in an army school and attended many different schools in Germany and England stated:

'I was usually the only Black girl with two Black parents. School didn't have high expectations of me and they almost put me in a special school at age seven years. I woke up at that point and said 'No, I am not doing that!' (SENCo, School G)

A Black Caribbean teacher-governor in a boarding school in Sussex remarked on the low expectations of supply agency staff who do not expect the Black pupils at his school to be polite:

'They do not expect much of the pupils. Some staff, maybe through fear, do not challenge negative behavior.' (Teacher/Governor, School H)

'I do a radio programme and the person I was interviewing complained about the low expectation that teachers have of children in primary schools – even children as young as 5, 6 and 7 years. The problem starts at primary school.' (Governor, School H)

He continued…

> 'You need a staff team who understand the children and expect a lot of them. High expectations – you should believe in them.' (Governor, School H)

In some schools pupils faced different expectations according to the ethnicity of their teachers as the following comment by a parent illustrated:

> 'In Year 2 my son had a Black, female teacher. She just had high expectations for all the children and he blossomed for the next two years. Then in Year 4 he had a White teacher who was disinterested.' (Parent H)

A former Vice Principal of a secondary school in London who was born in Brixton and whose parents were from Guyana added his own experiences of teachers' low expectations of Black Caribbean pupils at his grammar school in Battersea in the 1980s:

> 'I was amongst the first generation born and educated in this country. Even though I was able to get into grammar school, I remember one incident stood out. I think it affects visible minorities. We had a teacher from Rhodesia who commented to a White pupil 'People like you should not misbehave because one day you will be leading this country'. From this I gathered I would not be running the country! This is a reason why people get discouraged, they have anglicised names, speak with an English accent and you can see this in operation at interview, they think you are going to be White – from then on you are judged by the colour of your tan.' (Former Vice Principal, Church leader B)

The Black Caribbean parents we interviewed compared expectations of teachers in their children's schools unfavourably with their own experiences of attending schools in the Caribbean. For example, a Trinidadian parent who is a Senior CAMHS Commissioner in a London borough explained how teachers' expectations are lower here for her own children:

> 'My son was in Year 2 doing some spellings. I came from a school where you learned tables by rote. We were learning ten spellings with him. He got to a tricky word and he said 'Mum, I don't need to get it right because I will get a sticker if I get one or two wrong'. In his mind that was good enough. That got me worried because back home in Trinidad you'd never do that you would be aiming to get 10/10!' (Parent E)

Despite her children attending what are regarded as the best schools in their local authority, LA3, she arranged for privation tuition for them both:

'I got a tutor for my daughter in Year 5 and my son has had a tutor from Year 3, for English, Maths and reasoning. He is a child who has to be told every day to do his homework. He plays football but my thing is you need to study. When we talk about careers he says he wants to be a footballer. I say, 'Fine, but you need to be able to read to be able to check your contract'! I suggested he become a Sports Doctor! Back in Trinidad I do not think I would have to struggle so much to get his homework done because they would push him more at school.' (Parent E)

A parent governor, who was born in the UK but sent to live with an aunt in Jamaica when she was nine years old, felt she was better off having being educated in Jamaica:

'If I am thinking of myself at school in LA 1 in 1969 and in the early 70s, I went to live in Jamaica when I was nine years old. My mother died and my father couldn't cope with four children so my sister and I were sent over to Jamaica to live with an aunt. I was living in a small rural place. I adapted. Looking back as an adult, I wasn't properly prepared. My aunt had been widowed after 25 years of marriage and she also fostered children. I was just one of the family and you just get on. I stayed in Jamaica until after my A levels and came back to the UK for my tertiary education, to my father and siblings. Looking at what I saw among Black Caribbean in the UK, their aspirations seemed low, people didn't think they were able or capable. In Jamaica if you want to be Prime Minister then you could, whereas here there was a ceiling. In Jamaica I developed confidence and a 'can do' attitude because expectations were high. Here is a stark contrast as my cousins didn't even think of going to University.'
(Parent Governor, School B)

A father, who was educated in Jamaica, contrasted his own schooling in Jamaica (where he said his teachers had the highest expectations of pupils) with his own experience with his son at school in London:

'The first time I realised how ingrained these low expectations are here with teachers, I had to face this with my own son. He had an operation when he was three years old and this affected his attendance at school. He had 50% attendance because he wasn't well and the school was contemplating taking legal action. An intervention was made but as this played itself out so many things came out. At secondary school, although my son was only attending 50% of the time he was still getting 'A's and 'B's but the school suggested that my son attend a school for excluded pupils. Why on earth would you put a child like this with excluded pupils?' (1st generation parent from Jamaica).

'Looking at the situation here in the UK I wonder could it be the subtle messages that pupils get here that cause them to give up? I have considered this. I remember an incident at my high school with a teacher who insulted us by saying 'you cannot do it'. I took her to task by getting 100% - she didn't last long at the school either. I think probably there was such a strength of feeling in our class that we were expecting to learn, to do well, that if someone came in who didn't expect us to do well, and wasn't up to the mark themselves, then we wouldn't take it.' (1st generation parent from Jamaica)

'By the time I found out about the issue it was too late for me to do anything about it. Low expectations and poor communication failed my child. I believe low expectations are institutional.' (Church Leader A and 1st generation parent from Jamaica)

'In primary schools they broaden children's horizons but they shut them down in secondary schools. If we as teachers spoke more in every lesson, that we explain the purpose of what we are doing, then pupils will understand. When you teach to examinations you miss the point. By Year 10, they should have an idea of what they are going to do. At least have it as 'I want to go to China'. If their horizons were opened up there might not be such a situation in education. There are teachers who have worked in industry before going into teaching and they do this. It's a good thing to share this with pupils and they can relate to the person in front of them – kids love to hear about my interesting life.'
(Teacher and Parent, School F)

Teachers need greater knowledge about pupils of Black Caribbean heritage. They need to know the history of Britain's involvement in the slave trade, the circumstances which led up to the arrival of people from the Caribbean to the UK and what challenges they faced, such as racism, difficulty in finding housing and employment and which many continue to face today.

Teachers who are keen to work in schools in inner city areas should receive higher remuneration and housing to retain their services, as a highly professional, experienced staff team is essential for the stability of pupils whose lives are otherwise chaotic.

'You need to have a very good team, experienced professionals. Schools simply cannot cope with the challenges pupils are facing.' (Educational Psychologist)

A school governor summed up the views of many:

'You need a staff team who understand the children and expect a lot of them. High expectations, you should believe in them.'

Curriculum Relevance and Barriers

In England, it has always been possible to secure a good education, through top comprehensive schools, grammar schools or independent schools. But it is socially disadvantaged pupils who have historically missed out, and found their life chances limited by the quality of education they received. Research by the Sutton Trust in 2014 showed that pupils eligible for free school meals who scored in the top 10% nationally at the end of primary school were significantly less likely to be entered for the EBacc than their wealthier peers who achieved the same level aged 11. Disadvantaged pupils, the very children most in need of an academic, knowledge-based curriculum were the least likely to be given the opportunity to benefit from it. A core academic curriculum should not be the preserve of a social elite, but instead the entitlement of every single child. Though there are some inequalities which schools cannot address, the unequal distribution of intellectual and cultural capital is one that they can. There are those who accuse the traditional, academic curriculum of being a relic of the 19th century, a 'factory model' of schooling, which squanders pupil creativity.

Daniel Willingham, professor of cognitive science at the University of Virginia, with reference to robust scientific evidence, contends that 'thinking skills' that are prized by schools and employers, problem-solving, creativity, inventiveness, are dependent upon considerable background knowledge. Thus, he makes the case for a knowledge-based curriculum.

In our discussions with 1st, 2nd and third generation Black Caribbean heritage persons, the quality of the education received in Britain and the relevance of the curriculum to themselves and their children was the subject of much concern.

A secondary school teacher who was born in Trinidad & Tobago but came to the UK in 1964 when she was six years old and went to primary and secondary schools in Hammersmith reflected on how she felt 'disconnected' from the curriculum:

> *'In the classroom I always wanted to know more about my culture and background. Once we had to do a project about food and I wanted to do food from Trinidad and the teacher marked me down. She said 'you live in England so why do you want to do a project on Trinidad?' It was ridiculous what she gave me for my project. In the history class we were attacked by a teacher who was later dismissed. We were doing history and I asked if we could do African or Black history. I said 'I don't know where I come from and I want to know about my part of the world'. He told me off and said 'what history am I talking about?' As I walked out of the class he slammed the door and it hit me in the chest, so a White girl jumped in and grabbed him. He picked up a stick and he hit her and split her cheek. He was dismissed.' (Teacher, School D)*

> *'I grew up in Jamaica. At five years of age I went to basic school on the grounds of the Baptist Church and I was already reading and writing because my mum had taught me. I learned Psalms 23, 1 and 100 by heart. My mum was an avid reader and was well-read. This helped inspire me to read. After that I went to a primary school one or two miles away. I had to walk to school. There was another primary school ten miles away that had a large number of pupils who pass the Common Entrance exams. So from ten years I travelled 10 miles to this school every day…'* He goes on *'I passed the Common Entrance and went to a grammar school in the 1970s…' 'We had some fantastic teachers… it was their command of the subject but also their sense of fun. They would bring into the class engagement; we felt part of the place'. …..'I achieved eight GCE's and studied Chemistry and Maths at A Level. The teachers were inspiring. The Deputy Head who was Jamaican had been to Oxford and the Sri Lankan Latin teacher had been to Cambridge. He inspired me in a broad sense because he knew so much, for example, we were in a Latin lesson about war horses and he would tell us about poetry – he would read it with a beat.'* (1st generation Jamaican father)

Parents who were well educated in the Caribbean find they have to work hard to instill high aspirations in their children, whereas this was not the case in their experience of school in the Caribbean:

> *'The thing I realise about my kids is they push the boundaries. He doesn't want to look in the dictionary for a word; he wants to ask 'Siri'. He will check words on the computer. Now he is not interested in paper. In my family the plan is you go to a good school – in fact most of us went to St. Joseph's Convent an excellent RC school in Trinidad. Then you are expected to go to University and then you do a Master's Degree.' (Parent C).*

Frustrations were expressed by teachers and governors at the constant changes to the curriculum in the UK over the last two decades and all the initiatives that have come and gone with successive changes of Education Minister:

> *'There is not a consistent approach to initiatives. Something starts well and it gets taken away. Then someone else gets a bright idea and then it gets taken away. There are shadows of vain hope and the money gets taken away – there is no consistent approach to education'.* (Teacher-governor, School S)

A teacher who had been involved in a successful initiative to tackle the underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils which abruptly ended gave an example of the lack of continuity schools face when targeting work with children and families:

> *'There were twelve teachers and schools could bid for one of these teachers for a year. Raising boys' achievement, leadership, getting parents involved. I think it worked well. I was able to work with parents, target individual pupils and develop resources. Parents had to be willing and able to come. You would get some but not all. Reading a book with their child and attend various workshops for parents. When the money ran out it ended.' (Teacher, RA, School M)*

> *'The new curriculum hasn't had sufficient time to impact. It has impacted a lot of children in Years 3 and 6 but it is too soon to tell.' (Retired Headteacher/governor, School Z)*

> *'The government do not make it easier by constantly changing things, the curriculum, assessment etc. It makes it difficult to recruit staff.' (Governor, School S)*

> *'The issue is that they change the curriculum too often. The school needs to take a panoramic view of what they are doing for these pupils.' (Retired Headteacher/ governor, School Z)*

The content and narrowness of the curriculum in the 1980s and 90s was criticised by some of those 2nd generation Black Caribbean heritage persons interviewed:

> *'If we are looking at education and race in inner cities, sometimes the curriculum felt narrow. When you are at University you meet people who have a much greater understanding of a subject. That can be a problem for ethnic minorities.'*

It has been suggested by some of those involved in our focus group interviews that the history of the enslavement of Africans who were sent to the New World has not been well-taught in our schools. This has left pupils who are descendants of those who came decades ago from the Caribbean confused about their own identity as British citizens of Caribbean heritage. There is a need for an honest re-appraisal of the history curriculum which would enable all pupils to see the connections between people from the Caribbean and Britain.

Those we interviewed were not always positive about the content of Black History Month topics:

> *'Black History Month is a joke. Children do not relate to it in any way. There are no role models that they relate to, especially if they are out of context. We do it because of Ofsted. We should have local role models in LA 1, such as Olive Morris – it puts it in context.' (Learning Mentor)*

There were questions from some of those interviewed as to why schools seem to focus on slavery during Black History Month:

> 'The mental state of mind amongst many youths (which unfortunately is being reinforced in schools today) is the perception that Whites are better than the Blacks. I remember once I went into the secondary school and when I asked about the curriculum I was told that history would include slavery and some other issues. I asked why is it always slavery that they are taught? Why isn't African history (which is rich) emphasised, so that children can have a balanced input? The Black child is thinking of himself as a victim and it reinforces White supremacy.' (Teacher and Parent C)

> 'Black History Month – I always raise this with schools; I ask them what they do. They said 'I am doing slavery' and I said I don't want this, I want something with positive role models. I said you don't have any Black positive role models here! So they employed a Black teacher in my child's class. I said they need Black teachers in other classes too.' (Parent I)

An Educational Psychologist felt that the lack of representation of Black Caribbean pupils in the curriculum resources currently found in classrooms was a hindrance to learning to read. She suggested that books and resources in classrooms needed to be audited to check for diversity and SATs papers and teaching materials need to reflect different communities. (EP D)

> 'If you are a poor reader, it could be the choice of books on the book shelf. Generally they show White children, or have fairies, or Black Caribbean heritage pupils do not see themselves represented'. (EP E)

Lack of Diversity in the Workforce

There is lack of diversity in the school workforce. The evidence from Table 7 shows that in England, 86% of teachers, 91% of the leadership, 87% of Teaching assistants and all school staff are White British. This national data shows a worrying picture and raises a question about the chances of headship by BME teachers and an issue of representation for students. It limits an understanding of diversity. In England schools have not yet recruited teaching and non-teaching staff that reflect the language, cultures and ethnic background of the pupils in the schools.

Diversity not only involves how people perceive themselves, but how they perceive others. Those perceptions affect their interactions. For a wide assortment of employees to function effectively as an organisation, school leaders need to deal effectively with issues such as communication, adaptability and change. Employees from diverse backgrounds bring individual talents and experiences in suggesting ideas that are flexible in adapting to the demands of the communities they serve. Perceptual, cultural and

language barriers need to be overcome and there will always be employees who will refuse to accept the fact that the social and cultural makeup of their school is changing.

Table 7. Percentage of Black Caribbean and BME Staff in Schools in England

	Black Caribbean	White British	Ethnic Minorities
Leadership	0.8%	91.3%	8.6%
Teachers	1.0%	86.3%	13.6%
Teaching Assistants	1.5%	86.4%	13.5%
Other staff	1.4%	86.5%	13.4%
All school staff	1.4%	86.5%	13.4%
School population	1.2%	69%	31%

Source: DfE School Workforce Census 2016

During the 1980s the Inner London Education Authority actively promoted an 'Equalities' agenda and efforts were made to recruit more Black Caribbean teachers and school staff. A retired (first generation) Headteacher, originally from Guyana, described that being a Black Headteacher herself was a positive factor in Caribbean heritage pupils' achievement:

> *'In 1990 I became Headteacher of a Catholic school in LA11 and stayed for twelve years. Children who have come back to visit me, all of them Black African, Caribbean and White, they have gone on to University. Their parents told me that we built a solid foundation in their children's lives. Two former parents I still see tell me I have been a great role model to their children. I got lovely letters from White and Black parents telling me how much they valued my work with the children. Having more Black Headteachers is critical for the success of Black Caribbean and African pupils in schools. It's not about appointing Black Headteachers because of their colour though; you need Black Headteachers who are equally good but with a good understanding of the local context in which the school is operating. Some Headteachers come from suburban and rural areas and they really don't understand what it is like to work in a multi-cultural environment.' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)*

She continued:

> *'In my school I had teachers from Sierra Leone, Jamaica and an Irish male teacher. It really did pull everyone together. It should reflect the makeup of the local community.' (Retired former Headteacher, School Z)*

In 1986 just after the second Brixton riots, there was recognition that more Black people were needed in the education system. A former Vice Principal recalled his experience:

'It was interesting because all the Initial Teacher Training Colleges had to come together to deal with issues of race and colour. We have 400-500 trainee teachers. One person commented: 'it's easier if you are a Black and disabled person to get a job than if you are a 'normal' person! The whole room went quiet. If she is now a Secondary School teacher, taking 150 pupils per year and that's her perspective, that the child in front of her is not 'normal', it begs the question what effect will she have on these children? It is important to understand the people and the context in which you are working.' (Former Vice Principal, Church leader B)

Some of the Headteachers we spoke to wanted to recruit more Black teachers but found there were very few people of colour entering the teaching profession.

'I am a White Headteacher and most of the teachers are White. We only have one Black teacher but we have a mixed staff. Although I interview teachers for LA 1 Schools, I have not interviewed any Black teachers and there are fewer Black Headteachers now in LA 1 than there used to be.' (Headteacher, School A)

We asked this one Black Caribbean heritage teacher at the school why there are so few Black teachers now:

'I have always been curious to find out why many of my friends do not want to be teachers. It is a lot of stress being a teacher. There were not many Black Caribbean people going through the system on my course.' (Teacher, School A)

In answer to the question as to whether there was any correlation between the lack of interest in becoming a teacher and their own negative experiences at school, she replied:

'That negativity could be expressed at home and it could put people off becoming a teacher.' (School A)

Another teacher commented:

'Sometimes I wonder whether Black staff want to get to senior leadership. My experience shows me that in all the schools I have worked in there is not Black representation in the SLT. We have Black administration.' (Teacher, School A)

The question of teacher recruitment and retention by BME groups was addressed in a briefing paper by the Runnymede Trust:

'Worryingly, whilst more likely to stay in the geographical area in which they are currently teaching, teachers from Black and minority ethnic communities reported that they were less likely to stay in teaching than their White counterparts – raising questions about the effectiveness of retention strategies and career progression for these groups. In terms of career progression, the IPSE survey found that teachers from Black and minority ethnic communities were more likely to be on main scale grades rather than having positions of greater responsibility. This was especially true when considering the careers of male teachers. While only 31.1% of White male teachers were found to be on the basic main grade, 46.3% of Asian male and 43.8% of Black males were in this lowest category. Taking into account experience (given the evidence that many teachers from Black and minority ethnic communities are likely to qualify at a later age), of the teachers surveyed who qualified before 1986, 10.7% of the White teaching population are Headteachers. Only 4.9% of Asian and 3.9% of Black teachers are heads. Small-scale qualitative research into the experiences of teachers from Black and minority ethnic communities suggests some of the difficulties that they face. They include · subject stereotyping · promotion only available through specialist routes that do not lead to headship · expectation that they will 'deal' with parents or children from minority ethnic backgrounds · expected to legitimise school decisions that they expect may have discriminatory origins · perception of teaching as low status among certain minority ethnic communities and encountering racism during training/teaching practice.'
(The Runnymede Trust)

There were instances where those interviewed expressed amazement when as pupils they saw Black teachers in schools. What is concerning is that this surprise was not just expressed when it happened to those at school five decades ago but by others with more recent experience of schools:

'I went to a Roman Catholic primary school in Clapham in the 1960s/1970s where Black pupils were in the minority. At one time we had a couple of Black teachers and I was amazed that we had qualified teachers who were Black!' (Parent C)

'I remember a Black teacher called Miss Pink and I thought 'wow a Black teacher'. Teachers were mainly Asians.' (SENCo, School P)

A former Vice Principal of a secondary school in LA1 contends that there are so few Black Headteachers now because:

'White people struggle with Black leadership. For me a sign of success would be to see a Black Headteacher leading an all-White school. A lot of people struggle under Black leadership, but Black-led Churches are very successful at

developing leadership. I went to a senior leadership training programme and we had to do a 'goldfish bowl' exercise. I was one of 28 candidates at NCSL. I noted that when we were working together and it came to my time to lead, I could literally feel people pulling against me. We had to do a critical incident exercise and the solution I offered was rejected. The next day there was another critical incident. The observing Headteachers said 'you allowed people to talk over you'. These were two observers who were of the same race as the group. A year later, in a similar situation, someone started speaking over me and I said 'excuse me, I was speaking'. The observers said: 'we saw the way you laid into Tory boy', it seems you are damned if you do and you are damned if you don't. This is just an anecdotal story of what people face day in day out. When you are working as part of a group this is a problem. Interestingly, I was taking part in a diversity programme at the Institute of Education, all involved were people of colour taking part in another goldfish bowl exercise. The observers said 'your group won by a country mile'. The thing I saw, it was the same exercise but in this one you had people who were not pulling against you and I saw how effective we were.' (Former Vice Principal, Church Leader B)

The lack of expectation that Black people can hold senior positions in school is illustrated in the following comment by a Deputy Head in a LA1 primary school:

'I am the Deputy Head but, for example, I may be walking down the stairs with someone who is White (it doesn't matter if they are a TA) and a visitor comes into the school, they will ask the White person for directions. It doesn't matter whether the visitor is Black or White. I tend to ignore it. They are not ready to accept a Black person as a leader. We are getting there slowly; we have Black politicians in this country. I do not know what we can do to change racism.' (Deputy Head, School B)

The Deputy Headteacher of a large secondary school feels that it is important for parents and the community to have a Black Headteacher, he commented:

'I have not questioned it before. If parents of any background have a trust in the school then it shouldn't be a problem.' (Deputy Head, School D).

As a White Deputy Head we asked whether he thought White people might find it difficult to work under Black leadership and he replied:

'I have seen racism towards the Black staff, particularly to those who have to deliver hard messages. If that were told to White families or it were given by me it might be difficult. I think it is important that the makeup of the leadership team reflects the area. We have Black members of the senior

leadership team and in terms of gender and ethnicity there is a good mix across our faculties.' (Deputy Head, School E)

In one instance, a Jamaican contributor queried why there hadn't been a strategy to recruit teachers from the Caribbean to raise the achievement of Black Caribbean pupils in Britain, such as that adopted by Tower Hamlets and its Bangladeshi community.

'A Harvard study on Tower Hamlets showed that the Local Authority recruited Bangladeshi teachers and this made a huge difference to the achievement of Bangladeshi pupils.'

A White Headteacher wondered why there appeared to have been so little done in the past to teach schools about the cultural context of people from the Caribbean who were invited to come to the UK to work in hospitals and London Transport:

'In the late 1990s when there was a large influx of people from Madeira in LA1, strenuous efforts were made to teach schools about the context in which they lived in Madeira, from rural farming communities. The Portuguese Embassy was involved and resources made available to support schools to raise the achievement of pupils. As a result Portuguese speaking pupils made dramatic progress. For Black Caribbean people, this needed to happen fifty years ago.' (Headteacher, School A)

Those interviewed were generally of the opinion that there was a need to have more Black teachers in schools:

'It's about identity. If you put a young White female teacher from outside London in a class with secondary Black Caribbean boys they know that they can wind her up and she'll easily leave within a couple of weeks. If you put a mature Black teacher in there, it will be different.' (Parent H)

A Teacher/Governor took his own children to schools abroad and thought that Black parents ought to do the same:

'Why not let them go abroad, what about schools run by Black people for Black people? I see a lack of belief in that child's ability in some people. When my daughter came back to school in the Secondary state sector in this country she said, 'This school knows nothing about competition'. Although it doesn't have to be Black staff – just staff who believe in the children. If you want to make a difference be a Black Headteacher in an all-White school. They need the ability to connect with the children in front of them. I teach children I don't teach a subject. If you focus on the subject you have lost the plot already.' (Teacher/Governor, School H)

Lack of Targeted Support

There was a general feeling amongst staff, governors and parents that little support was targeted at Black Caribbean pupils in schools. There are no national strategies or little targeted support to tackle low attainment. Until the mid-sixties central government had no policy on the education of children from Commonwealth countries. The main concerns were to teach English to non-English speakers and to disperse immigrant pupils, partly to prevent individual schools having to cope with large numbers of them and partly to facilitate their assimilation into British society. Birmingham LEA and the Inner London Education Authority having large numbers of immigrant children rejected this dispersal policy.

Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act made funds available '*to help meet the special needs of a significant number of people of Commonwealth origin with language or customs which differ from the rest of the community*'. This included funding to support the education of EAL and bilingual learners. In general, support for early stage bilingual learners took place in specialist and separate Language Centres or through withdrawal from mainstream classes in schools. Specialist language support was subsequently provided in schools and usually in the context of mainstream classes from the mid-1980s onwards.

Many LEAs and schools began to develop their own policies and practices, mainly concerned with the teaching of English as a second language. ILEA in particular achieved a considerable reputation for its equal opportunities policies.

Towards the end of the 1980s 'assimilation' was replaced by 'integration' in policy documents which began to refer to diversity, tolerance and equal opportunity and attempted 'to give at least some recognition in schools to the backgrounds of ethnic minority children.' (Swann 1985:191)

Consequently there was a mixed picture of how schools and LEAs used funding to target support for Black Caribbean pupils from the 1960s until funding was eventually withdrawn in 1999 and replaced by the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant. This grant was distributed to local authorities on a formula basis relating to the number of EAL learners and the number of pupils from 'underachieving' minority ethnic groups in local authorities, combined with a free school meals indicator. The EMA grant was intended '*to narrow achievement gaps for those minority ethnic groups who are underachieving and to meet particular needs of pupils for whom English is an additional language.*'

The generations of Black Caribbean people we interviewed who attended school in Britain in the 1960s, 70s and 80s did not appear to have had any specific targeted support that they could recall:

> '*I know people who went to……. (*A large secondary school in LA2) *in the 1980s and they couldn't do the basics. I remember a teacher in a maths lesson asking us to answer a question on the board and we didn't have a clue! A boy who had come from another primary school came up to the board and was able to do it and I thought 'hello'! I came out of …………. Just before I was 16 years. When I went to Southgate College there were some good teachers there and they were able to explain things clearly and I found it easy. My experience at primary and secondary schools in the 1980s and early 1990s was poor. Anything I learned wasn't from school. Anyone who achieved anything they got it from home, with parents pushing them.'*
> *(Parent A)*

> '*I went to a Roman Catholic primary school in Clapham in the 1960s/70s where Black pupils were in the minority. My mum said to me 'at the end of the day, you have got to achieve much more than Kate (a White, English girl), she will get a job and you wouldn't, so you have to study'. At school I just existed in the system and didn't learn much. I was in the second lowest set in the school and it was my mum who pushed me with spelling and reading but it was inconsistent. What I notice about myself is that all my friends were Black not White. We felt left out.'…. 'I always felt stupid at school – I didn't understand and I was too scared to put my hand up and ask any questions.'*
> *(Parent C)*

During this period 'supplementary schools' began to appear as parents of children from the Caribbean became concerned that their children were not achieving as well as they expected in the UK education system. The supplementary schools, which were run by community groups and parents on a voluntary basis, were also designed to combat the racism that children experienced growing up in British society.

In terms of regarding the supplementary schools as part of the process of adaptation of the West Indian community to a hierarchical school structure, it is interesting to note the contribution of Austin and Garrison to this discussion in *The Times Educational Supplement* in 1978, they offered the analysis that the West Indian community was responding to educational failure, high unemployment and both local and central government indifference to the plight of urban Black youth. They wrote:

> '*The community has responded by starting its own supplementary schools, to provide the skills it considers lacking in formal educational institutions. These supplementary schools have developed professionalism and expertise. Basically, they were manned by interested parents. Eventually Black teachers and other professionals in education took over their running and related what was being taught to that taught in the conventional schools. They also expanded the basic curricula to include African and Caribbean history, creative writing and Black literature.'* *(Austin & Garrison, TES 1978)*

It is telling that supplementary schools still exist today almost five decades later and the same concerns about Black Caribbean pupils' underachievement have not gone away. There have been initiatives from time to time to try to address this issue, for example The Raising Achievement Project which targeted Black Caribbean pupils in LA1 schools in 2006 and provided much needed support for children and families but this intervention ground to a halt when the funding ran out. A retired Headteacher from LA1 who is now a governor commented:

> *'Most good schools have intervention groups for their pupils. No good school would ignore the fact that some of their children are failing to make progress.' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)*

Nevertheless, the mother of a child who was in a Year 1 class in 2008 in a school (recognised as outstanding by Ofsted) complained that:

> *'all the Black children were on the same table in my son's class.'*

A number of those interviewed mourned the loss of the Sure Start programme:

> *'The government should reintroduce Sure Start and target Black Caribbean pupils from age one and there should be free nursery education.' (Governor, School K)*

> *'If we are looking at five year olds and you do have to look at different cohorts, I think some schools have been struggling to meet learning needs. It coincides with the increased formalisation in EYFS. A lot of these children haven't had access to Sure Start. I think there is a rising rate of autism in children; it's possibly because of early identification or because of better medical care, more premature babies and changes in environment. You are seeing children with more complex needs and profiles.' (EP D)*

> *'I used to work in Sure Start and I still have parents who telephone me. It was like a home from home for young parents and teenage mums as they were children themselves.' (Parent D).*

> *'You can have all the support in school you need but if you are not going to make an equivalent intervention in the home through Sure Start then it won't work. The problem is not just in the home but there are housing issues, mental health issues.' (Governor, School K)*

> *'If you could have literacy classes for parents, providing you didn't make them feel embarrassed about learning it would have a huge benefit, especially for Jamaican parents from rural areas. I am working for an organisation that thinks we do not have to worry about equal opportunity because we are all integrated now! It's all about money.' (Governor, School R)*

Negative Peer Pressure

Most academics recognise that a child's peers can have an impact on achievement, but the extent of that effect has been an open question. Further, few studies have focused on quantifying the academic outcomes associated with the peer effect.

Children are socialised by the people with whom they associate; through daily interaction over the course of many years, acceptable social customs are taught and fostered. Other children as well as adults can have a great impact on a broad range of issues in the child's life, including achievement in school. Understanding the way social interactions affect academic achievement is important for parents, educators, and policymakers.

Persons of Black Caribbean heritage we interviewed had much to say about the negative influences around Black Caribbean pupils and the pressure they experience to conform to them. A mother, who is also a teacher wanted to move her son out of the inner-city school that he attended, to prevent him being drawn into the gang and drug culture in their area:

> '*When my son was in Year 10, I put my flat on the market with a view to moving out of London to get him into a decent school but I couldn't sell it. He was telling me all kinds of stories, growing weed in cupboards, some girls selling their bodies, being rude to teachers who were new and weak. He wasn't in detentions, he was the gentle giant. There were no expectations of this set. The difference when I was at school was that we could be involved in all kinds of sports but not at this school, they did nothing. I had to take him outside school.'..... 'I arranged for him to get work experience at King's College during his summer holiday and as a result of that he got on to an apprenticeship. He loved it after two days he wanted to stay. I didn't want him as a Black boy to be hanging around during the holidays. You cannot blame it solely on the teachers and the school. The behaviour in school can be awful. The association with groups is one thing and the lack of control in the classroom.'.... 'From Year 7 they were all smoking weed and they were growing it. They were listening to Rap music which is negative and there were negative influences outside the school. To this day I take him to Sports Clubs. It seems everyone is smoking weed now; it is skunk. People on the Council Estates are growing it and dealing it into primary and secondary schools. They go into the park and smoke and drink, that's why I take my son out.' (Parent H)*

The Senior CAMHS Commissioner we interviewed echoed the problem of drugs:

> '*I think drugs are an issue. They have an idea that they do not expect anything, they cannot see a future. A lot of young men end up being influenced by the negative behaviour of friends. There is a perception by*

schools and professionals that because these boys are big and tall that they are scary. Psychosis can be helped. People can recover. We have to change the perception of psychosis. People tend to write them off. There is probably a misunderstanding about what young Black kids need. Sometimes they are torn between home and society in terms of what is acceptable – on how you fit in. Everyone wants to belong. Professionals may have the wrong perceptions about the potential threat of the young Black men who are loud and laughing. There is general misunderstanding among social workers and professionals in the Criminal Justice System.' (Parent E)

'The major influence by peers, older brothers and sisters is massive, and so are the media and social network sites for both boys and girls. Girls are more aspirational than boys for the future. It's not that they don't care. Some find it difficult. We have got groups of children who feed off each other and they are aspiring to go to college – they say they want to be good people, doing the right thing. More girls than boys.' (Headteacher, School E)

'Angell town is renowned for its unsociability. Gangs – boys from Year 5 upwards get involved. Sometimes older brothers and sisters play out without any parental supervision.' (Governor, School S)

'The problem is gangs, older siblings who influence. They see that as more important than a good education. It's more cool to be in a gang than to be educated.' (Governor, School S)

A Headteacher gave an example of the influence older siblings and their peers can have on very young children:

'There is a five year old child in Reception, who is collected by an older brother. He comes into school with chicken and chips, with his friend, and is rude to everyone. Mum doesn't come in; she drops the five year old at the gate in the morning.' (Headteacher, School A)

'There is a 'Yardie' perception. They have a certain idea of things that you ought to be like, or sound like. Because the home lacks influence the street takes over.' (Behaviour Mentor, School A)

'We as teachers say 'it's not cool to be dumb'. There is one particular pupil who went to Jamaica for three weeks and he has picked up the accent. Maybe he sees gang culture and uses this as being attractive because he is not doing so well. Having said that there are Jamaican heritage pupils who are really smart and are proud to be clever. We need to do more to promote this. I think we have lost kids already that's why they joined gangs.' (Teacher, School A)

Cultural Clashes and Behaviour

Cultural tendencies impact the way pupils participate in education. Teachers who lack knowledge about cultural differences may cause them to inaccurately judge students from some cultures as poorly behaved or disrespectful. In addition, because cultural differences are hard to perceive, students may find themselves reprimanded by teachers but fail to understand what they did that caused concern.

In her book published in 1981 entitled 'The Education of the Black Child in Britain', the author, Maureen Stone wrote:

> *'It is well known that in British schools, West Indian children are seen as boisterous, hyperactive children who present teachers with particular problems of classroom management and discipline. Many West Indian teachers and parents regard the schools themselves as being responsible for this state of affairs. They see English schools as being too 'free and easy' and offering children no real discipline. I was therefore interested to see how teachers and others in supplementary schools managed the problems of maintaining order and discipline amongst the children who attended them. I should have realised that these problems would hardly exist in a voluntary project which children attended either because they wanted to or to please their parents. It may be that trouble-makers just do not go to Saturday schools, but during all the time I spent observing these projects I did not see any boisterous or hyperactive behaviour; in fact, the children were unnaturally 'good', sitting quietly working alone or in small groups or attached to an adult. Teachers said they had no problems with discipline; children knew they came to work and they worked.'*

A former Vice-Principal spoke about how a Church-based supplementary school led him into a career in teaching:

> *'Being involved with a supplementary school, it highlighted the achievements of people who looked and sounded like me. At the supplementary school one of the teachers there suggested I go into teaching because I was good at it.'*
> (Former Vice-Principal, Church leader B)

He reflected on the importance of understanding the people and the context in which teachers are working:

> *'I have seen far too often what is inside a teacher by the way they discipline children. Why is it if it's a Black child who is underperforming, or has behavioural issues that they are excluded? Children will rise to your expectations and perceptions of them. Why is it children will behave for some teachers but not for others? Is it the way they are treated and responded to? Children need to feel loved by their teacher. There was a teacher at St. M's*

and he would say 'I am going to knock your block off' but they loved him because they knew he was joking. Sometimes children would disobey other teachers but they would do it for me. What children pick up is whether a teacher likes them and expects them to behave. One teacher in a class with just one White child said 'I want to send someone responsible on an errand' and he chose the one White child. Empathy is really important; you cannot be dispassionate towards children. What is inside of you, children will pick it up. How you encouraged, how you supported them.' (Former Vice Principal, Church Leader B)

'I wonder whether teachers have enough insight or understanding of the behaviour they see in the classrooms. Could it be down to a learning need or an emotional need that hasn't been identified or something going on at home?' (EP E)

'When I look at the type of teachers now you get the 'old school', then you have the career teacher – the fast track teacher; these two groups. Then you have got people who don't know the impact of their behaviour on children. They don't understand the cultural backgrounds of pupils.' (SENCo, School R)

During our interviews with three male Behaviour Mentors, of Caribbean heritage, in a large secondary school, we heard the same message about how students' behaviour varies according to the teacher:

'I go into classes and they behave differently from one teacher to another. They almost want you to be strict but then you have to find a balance… they will test you.' (Behaviour Mentor A, School E)

'I have sat down and had a heart-to-heart with them and I say to them straight 'you wouldn't do this in a Jamaican system – you wouldn't get away with what you get away with here.' (Behaviour Mentor B, School E)

'London schools understand the issues but in other places they don't. Parents say 'we will send them back to Jamaica – they will sort them out'! Corporal punishment has been abolished. African children are smacked at home. At school we wouldn't. They do not think we have authority.' (Governor, School H)

'We had an incident where a father started to beat his son in front of us. We had to call Social Care. It was heart-breaking – it's an awkward thing. The law changed about corporal punishment but it wasn't explained what the new expectations are.' (Governor, School E).

'I have had experience in the Caribbean system for 15 years and am also learning the system here. I find the young men ask me what is the system like in Jamaica? In schools in Jamaica you have uniform inspection. There you have parents who are more supportive of the school system. They trust the system to manage their child. Yes you do have those that rebel against the system.'…. In Jamaica there are issues there too, it's not a perfect scenario. You don't find parents disputing the school system there. There's more respect. I think this system has not helped our people, it has brainwashed them into an entitlement mentality because of the benefits system. The system in Jamaica is more rigid but if we had more earning of things… they take things for granted here so they throw things away. Parents in Jamaica tell children education is the key to success. Here girls will say 'the system will give me a flat if I'm pregnant.' (Behaviour Mentor C, School E)

Some schools have gone the extra mile to build up parental trust whilst others seem to have given up. An assistant Headteacher in a secondary school expressed his concerns that in Year 7 the school was:

'inheriting a problem from the primary school perspective; they would say some of the Black Caribbean pupils have a problem with anger. The parents are unwilling to sign anything re: the Educational Psychologist. I have managed to get parents to agree to sign any forms for assessment because trust has been built up – they trust the relationship.'
(Assistant Headteacher, School E)

There is a sense that parents and pupils have a fresh start when the child who has had difficulties in primary school, transfers to secondary school:

'The impressions I have got from the schools I have spoken to I get a sense they have tried hard. There's a sense of a second chance here. We are fortunate at the moment because we have the staff that has that skill of engaging parents. Without those staff we would find it very difficult to deal with the social problems that pupils are bringing to school. I do not think class teachers would be able to manage. It would be difficult to have an impact.' (Secondary Curriculum Specialist, School E)

The newly appointed Headteacher of another large secondary school gave his views on why there is parental mistrust by Black Caribbean parents and pupils of the education system in Britain:

'From the first generation there is a sense of bafflement… they say 'in Jamaica we had to walk six miles to school and we cannot understand why our kids are doing this.'

In society there is institutional racism and to some extent it permeates into school. You have children of those who had a bad experience in the 1970s, 80s and early 90s. When they went to school there was very clear streaming. Those parents have a negative attitude to school. 'It was bad for me and these people are out to get you'. Parents say 'it was awful for me and I am going to make sure it doesn't happen to my children'. They do not trust you. 'I don't trust you when you say you are going to do this for my child'. They don't want anything to do with the school and they are the hard to reach parents.' (Headteacher, School D)

'There is a big culture gap between ethics, religion and behaviour. You need to show respect to people and have good behaviour. This seems to have got lost over generations. Our third generation parents, where the matriarch is still around, Granny can bring them back.'
(Vicar/Chair of Governors, School C)

Exclusion Issues and Racial Equality

A key factor influencing the attainment of Black Caribbean children is the extent to which they are excluded from school and learning opportunities. Black Caribbean children are most likely to be excluded from school and represent the most excluded group of pupils in British schools (Gillborn and Youdell 2000; Cabinet Office 2007 and EHRC 2015).

Table 8. National Permanent Exclusions 2006-2015 - Percentage of School population

Ethnic Background	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
White British	0.13	0.12	0.12	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.07	0.09
White Other	0.10	0.09	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06
White/Black Caribbean	0.36	0.36	0.32	0.25	0.24	0.22	0.22	0.19	0.18	0.22
White/ Black African	0.18	0.20	0.17	0.1	0.14	0.11	0.11	0.09	0.09	0.08
Indian	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01
Pakistani	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.07	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.05
Bangladeshi	0.08	0.08	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.03
Black Caribbean	**0.41**	**0.38**	**0.36**	**0.3**	**0.34**	**0.23**	**0.24**	**0.22**	**0.24**	**0.28**
Black African	0.16	0.13	0.16	0.11	0.11	0.09	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.07
Black Other	0.30	0.26	0.32	0.2	0.22	0.16	0.13	0.14	0.11	0.11
All Pupils	**0.14**	**0.13**	**0.12**	**0.1**	**0.09**	**0.08**	**0.08**	**0.07**	**0.07**	**0.08**

Table 9. National Fixed-Term Exclusions 2006-2015 - Percentage of School Population

Ethnic background	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
White British	8.58	6.4	5.9	5.62	5.14	5.01	4.8	4.2	4.21	4.67
White Other	6.47	4.2	4.1	4.05	3.5	3.32	2.93	2.65	2.52	2.85
White/ Black Caribbean	20.04	13.8	11.9	11.4	10.8	10.6	9.75	8.42	8.14	8.86
White and Black African	13.60	8.1	7.0	6.42	6.31	5.79	5.19	4.57	4.23	5.14
Indian	2.74	1.8	1.5	1.33	1.28	1.07	1.01	0.86	0.74	0.8
Pakistani	6.77	4.3	3.8	3.55	3.37	3.05	2.77	2.59	2.44	2.77
Bangladeshi	5.10	3.3	3.1	3.2	2.7	2.55	2.27	1.92	1.79	1.83
Black Caribbean	**16.99**	**12.7**	**11.1**	**11.2**	**10.8**	**10.6**	**9.23**	**8.22**	**8.21**	**9.64**
Black African	9.79	6.5	6.0	5.63	5.37	5.27	4.56	3.79	3.42	3.84
Black Other	15.69	10.6	9.6	9.18	8.27	7.46	6.4	5.17	4.98	5.76
All Pupils	**10.39**	**6.3**	**5.8**	**5.5**	**5.03**	**4.91**	**4.59**	**3.99**	**3.96**	**4.39**

Source: Permanent and fixed-period exclusions in England: 2006 to 2015, DfE SFR26/2016

The most recent DfE statistics on exclusion show that Black Caribbean pupils are over-represented in both permanent and fixed term exclusions (Table 8 and 9). Nationally in 2014-15, 0.08% of pupil enrolments resulted in a permanent exclusion. However the figure for Black Caribbean pupils was 0.28%, indicating that they were more than three and a half times as likely to be permanently excluded as pupils overall. When breaking the statistics down by gender, Black Caribbean boys were even more over-represented in the permanent exclusion statistics. The only ethnic group that had higher rates of permanent exclusion nationally were "Gypsy/Roma", a relatively small ethnic group. When considering the fixed term exclusion data, a similar pattern appears. Both Caribbean boys and girls were over twice as likely to have fixed term exclusions as pupils overall. (See DfE 2016)

The over-representation of Black Caribbean pupils in the exclusion statistics has been noted for many years. Black Caribbean pupils were nearly four times more likely to receive a permanent exclusion than the school population as a whole and were twice as likely to receive a fixed period exclusion. (DfE 2016).

Figure 9. The Exclusion Gap: Permanent Exclusion Rate for Black Caribbean and White British Pupils in England
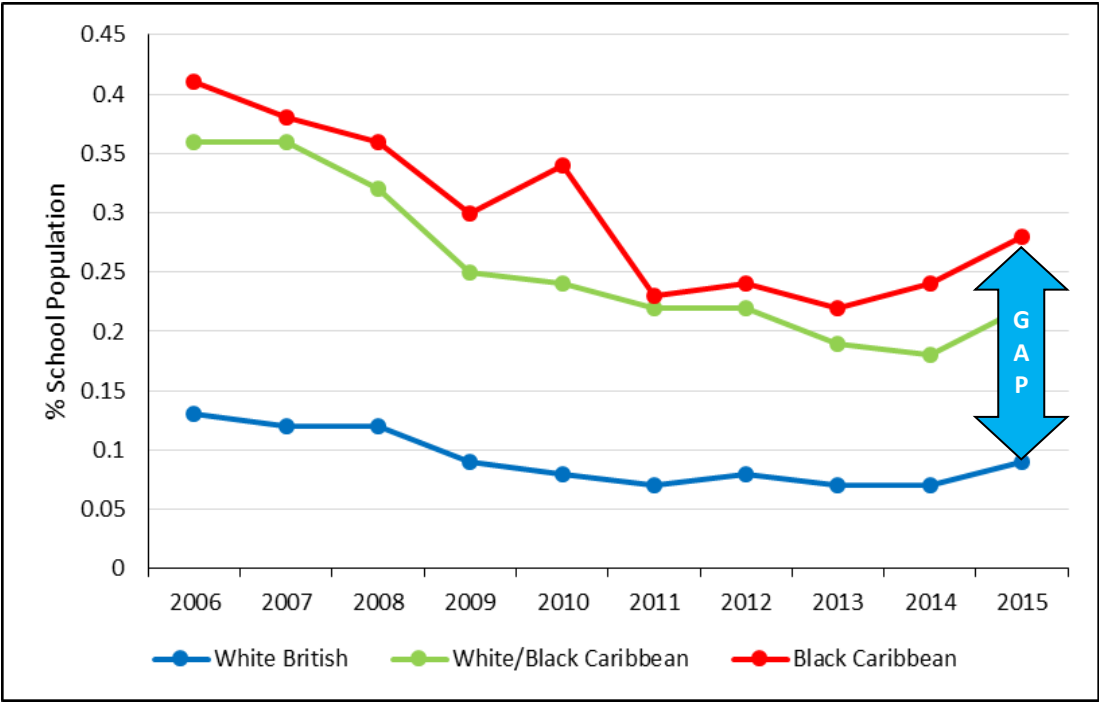
Black Caribbean pupils are often excluded for challenging what is racism, teachers' low expectations and institutional racism. For example, a briefing on ethnicity and educational attainment by the Runnymede Trust (2012) revealed that:

> *'Black Caribbean boys are far more likely to be excluded from school – the Office of the Children's Commissioner found that they are 37 times more likely to be excluded than girls of Indian origin. Also in 2009-10 if you were a Black African-Caribbean boy with special needs and eligible for free school meals you were 168 times more likely to be permanently excluded from a state-funded school than a White girl without special needs from a middle-class family.*
>
> *Being excluded from school has a massive impact on a pupil's attainment levels. For example, research by David Gillborn and David Drew found that excluded pupils are 4 times more likely to finish their education without having gained academic qualifications. Subsequent access to higher education and employment is therefore limited. Furthermore, if a child has lower academic achievement they are more likely to become involved in criminal activity.' (The Runnymede Bulletin 2010).*

'A reason for educational attainment differences could be unconscious bias from teachers, leading them to assume that children of certain ethnic groups are more (or less) likely to misbehave or work hard. There has been concern from a sizeable number of newly trained teachers that their training does not well prepare them for teaching pupils of different ethnicities, improved teacher training on this issue may improve outcomes.' (The Runnymede Bulletin 2010)

Research by the former Department for Education and Skills (*Getting it, Getting it Right, 2006)* suggests a number of reasons why Black pupils are disproportionately excluded, including institutional racism. The report argued that:

'Black pupils encounter both conscious and unconscious prejudice from teachers – for example, research has found that throughout their education Black pupils are disciplined more (both in terms of frequency and severity) and often for milder offences than those leading to their White peers being punished. The report recommended that to help decrease exclusions of Black pupils there should be consistent and continued monitoring of pupil progress to identify problems early on, more teacher training on matters of race equality, involving pupils in designing and setting rules and providing support from academic mentors.'

The trend whereby very young children are now being excluded from school and sent to Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) was highlighted by those we interviewed as a serious concern, but it is significant to note that it is mainly Black Caribbean boys that are being excluded: Educational Psychologists expressed their concerns:

'One of the things we need to do as a profession, quite often we are brought in during a crisis situation and we have to think about how we work proactively or assertively. In Reception and Year 1 what can we be doing systematically, offering a supportive challenge, being critical friends to think about what might make a difference early on? Some of it is to do with mismatch in school about attainment and progress, whereas diversity issues and other major issues such as disproportionality are not picked up. We can refuse to go into schools at the eleventh hour to say that this child is a problem – if you want a piece of paper to say we have seen the EP therefore they have emotional and behavioural issues so they are out! You can feel pressured but we wouldn't do it.' (EP E)

Another Educational Psychologist gave an example of this worrying trend:

'We are asked to do an assessment on a child and the next week the school excludes them – in some cases permanently. I have had this happen five times personally. I have just had a Black Caribbean child in excluded in Year 2. His learning needs were not addressed and he had emotional needs. I contacted the Educational Psychologist who covers the PRU and she said 'I'll see if he turns up here'. I am confused about the system. If the schools are Academies we cannot do anything about it. There are a lot of illegal exclusions, e.g. a child coming into school for mornings only, or a Headteachers says 'take them home to calm down' or 'managed moves' to another school or 'transfer'. The issue for Black Caribbean boys or other disadvantaged groups is that they do not have parents who know the system, so they do not have the power to say this is wrong you are not allowed to do that. They say 'the school is threatening to exclude my other children in the school' – they are powerless.' (EP A)

'My understanding of a PRU is that it is supposed to be a temporary measure to enable pupils to reintegrate back into school but it seems many of them stay there. When they leave, people say they have been to a PRU and even if their behaviour has improved, there is a stigma that this carries.' (EP D)

We asked those interviewed for their views about the reasons why there is over-representation of Black Caribbean pupils being excluded from schools:

'I think there are a number of different reasons. My personal view is I think there is quite a lot of institutional racism, particularly against boys of Black Caribbean background. In one school I have two children behaving in the same way, one from a middle class White background and the other Black Caribbean and the Black Caribbean child was excluded. About the Black Caribbean boy they were saying: 'the family is very traditionally Jamaican'. When I asked her what that meant she said: 'there's a lot of violence in the family and mother wears a lot of different wigs every day'! When challenged schools can get defensive. People get sensitive about being called racist…' 'It is important to question when your referrals are coming from a particular group and you should be asking why this is. For me, I think there are Black Caribbean boys who are excluded because of their needs which haven't been assessed.' (EP A)

'When we talk about behaviour issues, there are a lot of youngsters Black and White who misbehave. Because of stereotyping and the

media, as far as teachers are concerned, we are talking about a system that has taught them that the Black male has a problem, or is difficult, so as soon as a young Black boy picks up something and throws it, he is regarded as being a difficult child. If a White boy does it, they say he's having a bad day. It's the branding. LA1's gentrification is going backwards. If we are having people in LA1 who have no general understanding of the population in LA1, with all its people groups and people managing who have no idea of the local community, then they are going to be branded.' (Parent B)

Another Educational Psychologist gave her views about the over-representation of Black Caribbean pupils being excluded:

'I would say that racism is a factor in this. A school is not in isolation of community and racism exists in our society at large. We have families under stress that the child is exposed to and the child might be more likely to themselves have stress, and exhibit symptoms or behaviours which the school finds difficult to manage. An identical behaviour might be perceived as being more aggressive if it is coming from a large Black boy than a small White girl. It's what is described as 'challenging behaviour'; the attributions teachers might have for Black pupils might be seen more negatively. It could be about perceptions. The school feels powerless. They do not want to exclude but they have reached a point where they cannot do anything with the child. There seems to be less tolerance now in schools, perhaps because of the demands on teachers.' (EP B)

On the question of why there were so many Black Caribbean pupils excluded from mainstream primary and secondary schools, it was proposed that it was because these pupils do not know their own history and identity:

'The problem is history and how it is taught. Why are you not aware of your history? Where is your story? How can you continue to move forward if you don't know about yourself? This is not being addressed.' (Learning Mentor)

Another difficulty expressed was the complexity of relationships which are a feature of the Black Caribbean community, which result in children moving between family members when conflict or difficulties arise:

'In LA everyone is related to everyone else. There is so much conflict within the family and the community and they bring that into school. They are all related somehow. It is hard to find these children because they are not in a stable situation. They live with an aunty and there is a

problem, so they are moved to another… they constantly move because of their circumstances. You cannot find them because they are always moving from various relatives. This is another barrier to their achievement.' (Learning Mentor)

We suggested that family connections like this exist in Caribbean countries also, so why is it a problem here? The Learning Mentor responded:

'There is more disconnect here because they do not have the support systems. There are also other issues around housing, and poverty. What is expected here is very different compared with the Caribbean – there are different expectations.' (Learning Mentor)

A Senior Educational Psychologist commented:

'This is not a new issue. When African Caribbean people first came to this country, the challenges they faced have all had an impact, the disaffection, disengagement from the curriculum, discrimination in society. Now there is quite good achievement in Primary Schools but as pupils have more access to information when they get to Secondary School they start to see things differently. Over my time in LA1 I have certainly seen five year olds, pre-school children at Nursery level excluded from school for being violent, not being able to socialise, kicking and biting other children, putting themselves and others at risk, not being able to work in a classroom even with individual support from an adult, not being socialised. You look at issues behind this, substance misuse, domestic violence, there are lots of reasons why the child cannot cope. It wouldn't be right to blame the schools for this. The Primary Pupil Referral Unit is unable to pick up all the support schools need. We have picked this up, we visit schools and offer advice and support.' (EP C)

We asked for a case study example of a pupil which would help us to understand what had happened in the child's life which had led to them being excluded from school:

'A fifteen year old girl of Jamaican heritage who is pregnant, she is an able girl, who came here from a good school. She is creative and independent. The father was a pupil here last year. When she realised she was pregnant, the father of the unborn child said 'go and find M……..' (A member of staff). *When I heard about this I thought: "We had the father, the mother and soon we will have a baby because of the chaotic life they lead". 'The girl is in Care and thankfully she has a very good Health Visitor and a good Social Worker. She doesn't have any contact with her own mother or any other relative. She has a couple of brothers but doesn't*

know them. She has been permanently excluded from school. She is bright and if her circumstances were different she could have gone into the 6th Form. Apparently she and a group of girls stole a teacher's credit card and used it.' (Learning Mentor)

With regard to the father of the unborn child, a sixteen year old former PRU pupil, she described his circumstances:

'The boy's own father comes from the Congo and they have many issues. His mum had mental health issues and was not allowed to keep the children. The father didn't have the skills or understanding to cope with the structures for living here, for example the son said "Miss.. why is he buying steak when we do not have an oven". It is ridiculous he is growing up in a dysfunctional situation. This father has a new young wife from the Congo with two young children and they have told the father of the unborn child that he couldn't live with them anymore and he has been sent to a hostel. He will be a father of this new baby due in a few weeks. This lad's father saved all his money to send £5,000 to the Congo to have this young girl and they are expecting the young lad to respect her. The boy himself is able, educated but underachieving, he got a C in Science at GCSE and a D so it wouldn't have taken much to get him to achieve better grades if he had come to school every day. If he had food every day or was clean when he attended school - he could have attended 6th form.' (Learning Mentor)

We asked a Church Leader whether the Church should have a bigger role in addressing issues of child exclusion from school and he replied:

'Yes. The established Church has negated its responsibility. I cannot see how schools can exclude a five year old. Something cannot be right if you are going to do that. Yes they may be rude, mischievous and disruptive; you have to begin to mentor that child into the right way of behaving. The Black Caribbean pupils were at one time well-disciplined at home – taught to have good manners and be respectful to everyone. I am not sure that exclusion of pupils was as prevalent as it is today. The question for schools is 'are you interested in the child or are you just interested in your mark-ups'? The Church has negated its role to the Government; all schools were started by the Church. When we go back in history, we see that prisons were started by the Church but were designed to rehabilitate. Then the Government took them over and it began to punish. If you look at history, Robert Riggs started to take children to Sunday school. Six year old children were sent down the mines and into factories. This is how school started in England. It was through Christians who started them. We have

negated our responsibilities and hence we have what we have today in our society. Many people may not like this and one of the things the Bible tells us is you should not spare the rod – children will remember the smack but won't remember the conversation. Do not underestimate what is happening. The power that has been taken away from parents in disciplining their children, it is very necessary and if this cannot be done at home, then it will happen at School. Children are challenging authority.'
(Church Leader A, 1st generation)

A retired Headteacher, who is now a governor, gave a school's perspective on exclusion:

'You always felt guilty after you excluded a Black Caribbean child. But you have a behaviour policy and you have to follow it. You have to ask why this is happening to a particular child, so you unpick the behaviour. Sometimes the parents do not have enough influence to want to work with you. Sometimes the child's attitude has developed to such an extent that it's almost impossible to change. This happens early in Primary, so goodness knows what happens at secondary school.'
(Retired Headteacher, School Z)

An Educational Psychologist believes that there are very few teachers now that would hold overtly racist views but within that there is the 'I' and the 'me'. She reflected:

'Sometimes it's about cohort beliefs. It could be about what teachers decide to notice or not notice. Sometimes we notice that three or four children are presenting challenging behaviour and there might be occasions where the Black Caribbean child misbehaves and he might be noticed. What we have to ask ourselves and the school system is, why this child and why now? It's for us to take a self-critical approach to ask 'why is the school stating this now', with this particular child. What we have to do is try to unpick. We have to ask difficult questions 'why this child now'? We have to take ownership of that and ask difficult questions. We also have to integrate our own views and practice which we in do regularly.' (EP A)

We asked whether SENCo's are challenged by Educational Psychologists if they make wrong judgments about pupils.

'We do as Educational Psychologists do that, but might do it through the types of questions we ask and raising it as a question can allow you time to reflect. Our policy requires us to raise it directly if there are overtly racist issues.' (EP A)

'There are illegal exclusions, say for half a day, or parents are advised to take the child to another school or they will be permanently excluded.'
(EP C)

Secondary schools report that this can result in children attending many different primary schools:

'Parents chop and change schools and children are increasingly moved sometimes up to seven primaries. Some are told to just go and they have home schooling. It's an indictment of the system.' (Deputy Head, Secondary School, School E)

'The numbers of Black Caribbean students who come in to us (PRU) have undiagnosed SEND, ADHD, MLD, SLD – a disproportionate number. The question is when our Black children with SEND act up they are excluded. Some children have been to 3 or 4 primary schools because parents are told to remove them, so this is how they remain undiagnosed. The additional needs are seen as behavioural problems rather than special needs.' (SENCo, School R)

According to an Adviser on Behaviour Management working with schools in a London borough, fixed term exclusions whereby a pupil is sent to a partner school, is something schools are using:

'They send pupils to a partner school so that the statistics don't go up. They say can you hold this child until somebody does something? You sometimes have a child there for up to six months, in limbo. Schools are thinking how are we going to get this child off roll. Eventually as he was in an isolation room and didn't cause any trouble they put him in a classroom.'

The Runnymede Trust in their briefing paper to the government 2010 "Exclusion and Discipline in Schools" highlighted concerns about the efficacy of alternative provision for pupils excluded from school because of their behavior. They stated:

'Research suggests that there is a gap in our knowledge generally about the ethnic make up of onsite units, the length of time that students are placed in them and the educational support received by students once there.'

In response to the question of why the number of permanent exclusions of Black Caribbean pupils is so high, the Adviser for Behaviour Management commented:

'A lot of people find Black Caribbean pupils threatening. History is being brought to bear on this. Black children mature earlier, they look bigger so they present as a threat. Everybody thinks that. Very few people can see

them as a child. A teacher can see a White child and a Black child both misbehaving but it's the Black one that gets into trouble. It's not just a White thing. I know Black teachers who are the same. I grew up in a house of women, so my first experience of a man was my husband. When I had a son I thought what am I going to do with a boy? Seeing him as a baby and then a child I know more. A lot of people don't see them like that.'

When there is an exclusion 'hearing' a Chair of Governors said that he is interested in who turns up to speak up for pupils:

'Always someone supports the children. I do not get any sense of lack of aspiration in fact they are very committed.' (Chair of Governors)

The Runnymede Trust's publication, 'Behaviour and Discipline in Schools 2010) warns that given the extremely negative impact exclusions have on a pupil's life chances, it is a concern that the abolition of the Independent Appeals Panels, seen as undermining Headteachers' authority, could result in miscarriages of justice and parents' voices not being heard. It states that only 2% of exclusions were overturned by Appeals Panels and approximately 90% of exclusions were simply not brought before these independent groups, thus highlighting that the situation is far from a widespread undermining of teachers' authority. It is crucial that teachers are held to account on exclusions decisions, particularly give the massive impact such decisions can have a on a child's future.

Schools Ability Grouping and Lower Tier Entry Issues

The impact of ability grouping or setting pupils according to ability on pupils' attainment has been the subject of research for decades. Schools in the UK have for many years been responsible for the form of grouping they adopt nevertheless the evidence from previous research indicates that the effect of ability grouping on pupil attainment is limited, as the following report illustrated:

'British studies (Acland, 1973; Barker Lunn, 1970; Fogelman, 1983; Kerckoff, 1986; Newbold, 1977) and international reviews (Kulik & Kulik, 1990; Slavin, 1987; 1990) indicate mixed findings for the effects on academic achievement. Two important British studies were based on data from the National Child Development Study. The first found little difference in performance on standardised tests of achievement in mathematics and reading when ability level was controlled, but there were differences in the patterns of entry in national examinations and in access to the curriculum (Fogelman, Essen & Tibenham, 1978; Fogelman, 1983). The second study compared pupils attending four types of secondary school, secondary modern, grammar, comprehensive and private (Kerkhoff, 1986). Data were collected at ages 7, 11 and 16 years. Standardised tests of reading and mathematics, and verbal and non-verbal scores from a general ability test administered at age 11

were used. Children attending grammar schools showed relatively greater improvement in mathematics over time, compared with those in the secondary modern schools. In schools that grouped pupils by ability, there was a marked divergence of attainment, with students in remedial classes falling further behind, while those in the high ability groups increased their average performance beyond that exhibited by comparable pupils in ungrouped classes. The pattern was sufficiently clear that it was possible to differentiate between the effects of a two and a three-group system, the latter producing a greater divergence of attainment scores.'

'On a wider level, structured ability grouping can be perceived as denying educational opportunity to particular groups of pupils. There is evidence that low ability groups tend to include disproportionate numbers of pupils of low socio-economic status, ethnic minorities, boys and those born in the summer (see Hallam & Toutounji, 1996; Ireson & Hallam, 1999). There are also difficulties associated with the allocation of pupils to streams or sets. Selection error is a particularly serious problem in a selective school system, where small differences in test performance may lead to substantial differences in opportunity to learn and in future employment. In a non-selective but streamed, or tracked, system the effects of selection error may be less marked but nevertheless significant. Allocation to groups is based not only on prior academic achievement or ability but also on school organisational constraints (Jackson, 1964). In theory movement between groups is possible, but in practice it is restricted, because of the increasing gap in curriculum covered.' (Ability grouping in the secondary school: the effects on academic achievement and pupils' self-esteem. Ireson, Hallam, Mortimore, Hack, Clark and Plewis 1999).

Research in both the United States and Britain overwhelmingly concludes that Black pupils and their working class White peers are likely to be over-represented in lower-ranked teaching groups, for example, where schools adopt 'setting by ability' or other forms of selective grouping. Their disproportionate concentration can be mapped by tracing the process of selection inside schools. Research has documented how these processes are significantly influenced by teacher expectations, which tend to be markedly lower for these groups of pupils. The pupils' subsequent placement in lower ranked teaching groups, in both primary and secondary schools, institutionalises these differences and can create additional barriers to achievement. Even in schools that do not embrace setting, some form of selection is increasingly common. The structure of the GCSE examination itself now requires most subject areas to enter pupils for one of two different 'tiers' of exam, where the highest grades are only available to pupils in the top set.

The changes in the UK education system over the past twenty years have led to a rekindling of interest in the ways that pupils might be grouped within schools. There is a perceived need to raise standards nationally whilst retaining a comprehensive system. In

addition, some schools have been experiencing difficulties in relation to the behaviour and attendance of some pupils. Grouping arrangements are needed that enable pupils of all abilities to make maximum progress without increasing alienation and disaffection.

A School Improvement Consultant whose son had undiagnosed hearing loss until it was detected that he only had 70% function in one ear when he was ten years old, talked about his experiences of secondary schooling:

> *'He started secondary school and was put into the middle set for most subjects, but the bottom set for maths. In his last two years he had 13 different maths teachers. With his other subjects the quality of his work was terrible. I thought if I was a teacher and saw this quality of work I would think this was terrible. The assignments he was given didn't even meet the criteria for GCSE and this is when I learned about predicted grades. There's a big difference between expecting excellence and failure. If you are a top set child and you go into secondary school you are guaranteed a good education. If you go in as middle or bottom set you might find the behaviour is so bad that they do not learn anything. They base these predicted grades on Year 6 SATs results so they tell us what their grades are going to be at GCSE. A lot of parents are not educated so they don't know what is going on.'*

A father whose son also had health problems which made his attendance erratic at secondary school, but who, nevertheless was getting 'A's and 'B's told how his son was put into a lower set for English literature, without his knowledge:

> *'In Year 10 I realised he was not doing English Literature. I said 'I know nothing about this'. When I contacted the teacher he said he would give him a mark when my son had done the test. Why are you going to give this to him afterwards? I asked'. I contacted the Head of Department and that meeting wasn't coming fast enough so I contact the head of the school. I told them they were discriminating in terms of illness. My wife had told the school to send her work and she would do it with him at home. I had to fight to keep him at school and they were not supportive. Finally I was very forceful because my wife was very emotional. We were leaving work to come to the school for meetings. From that day on they have played a different role. I am not pleased with it. The school is close to home but even though I didn't like what was going on, I had to weigh up everything at least he could hobble home when he is feeling unwell. The school may have felt intimidated because in my email I was forced into a position of being assertive. I am a very calm person, I measure my words carefully but I knew I had to get my message across somehow. My point was why do you put my son in a lower group for English Literature because you don't have a mark for him? He did his English Literature examinations at GCSE. They could have put him in a*

higher set as they had no marks. They could have had a higher expectation of him. Why not be a little supportive? ' (Church Leader A and 1ˢᵗ generation father from Jamaica)

The mother of a daughter at a secondary school in London, who achieved Level 6 in English at the end of Year 6, talked about her experiences with setting in ability groupings and the confusion it causes when communication is unclear:

'She achieved Level 6 in English. When she subsequently went to secondary school she was put in Set 1 for everything. At the end of Year 7 I got a letter to say she was missed off a list for extra work – she is quite competitive. She is good at sports but was put in set 2 for PE even though she represented the school. In Year 8 she was disappointed that she didn't get a gifted and talented prize. She got prizes and recognition for Geography and French. She has had a series of English teachers but marking isn't done. She is doing well in science also.' (Parent E)

Labelling of Pupils

In the study '*Two Strikes: Race and Disciplining of Young Students'*, by Professor Jennifer Eberhardt of Stanford University, published in the journal *Psychological Science* two experimental studies showed that teachers are likely to interpret students' misbehaviour differently depending on the student's race.

In the studies, primary and secondary school teachers were presented with school records describing two instances of misbehaviour by a student. In one study, after reading about each incident, the teachers were asked about their perception of its severity, about how irritated they would feel by the student's misbehaviour, about how severely the student should be punished and about whether they regarded the student as a troublemaker. A second study followed the same protocol and asked teachers whether they though the misbehaviour was part of a pattern and whether they could imagine themselves suspending the student in the future.

The researchers' assigned names to the files which suggested that the student was Black (with a name such as DeShawn or Darnell) and in other cases that the student was White (with a name such as Greg or Jake).

Across both these studies, the researchers found that racial stereotypes shaped teachers' responses not after the first misdemeanour but rather after the second. Teachers were more troubled by a second incidence of misbehaviour they believed was committed by a Black student rather than by a White student.

Our interviews revealed a worrying picture of schools labelling pupils in much the same way in the UK as the research in the US described:

'Black people are seen as violent, they are seen as physically stronger, whereas they have poorer health than Whites. They are thought of as being strong. It translates down into school. A Black Caribbean pupil would be excluded rather than a White child. Now that schools have to write down how many days pupils are excluded, schools find another way, so they have to stay in a classroom on their own and officially it's called internal exclusion. I advised a friend whose son had been excluded to ask to see the official school figures for exclusions. He was never excluded again. He was autistic.' (Parent C)

'I was working in some schools in LA11 it was a shock to me how teachers talked about children in the staffroom and how information was shared, named and shamed and circulated amongst staff. Sometimes teachers from White middle class backgrounds might try to understand but they cannot because of their lack of experience. There seems to be a threat by teachers about how Black masculinity presents itself. There is a lack of understanding about this, how this can impact on how their behaviour is perceived by educators.' (Parent B)

'My son has always been bigger than the average child. From Year 1 onwards he got labelled, stereotyped from Year 1. They put all the Black children on the same table in his class. From then on I felt I needed to fight. There was a particular incident where my son told me his teacher kept calling him 'Violent'. At Nursery they called him 'Orange'. For a long time it didn't click until one day I went into school and they said he was rough and needed to watch his behaviour. I once told him to become careful because he was so big. Then I had a telephone call to say he was traumatising a child by locking him in the toilets (he was only five years old). I asked him explain what had happened and he said the boy had kicked him and called him a 'black monkey' and because he had been told not to fight he pushed him into the toilets. It turned out his teacher called him a 'violent' liar.' (Parent H)

An Educational Psychologist felt that parents were right to be worried about labelling:

'The Conners Scale which is given to the parent and the teacher to fill in (about the child) is used to diagnose ADHD. Black Caribbean pupils are coming out as anti-social. There is discrimination in the tools that are being used. Paediatricians evaluate the scale but it is faulty and contextually inappropriate as research has shown that teachers sometimes rate children higher with African American backgrounds in the US. This is now happening with Black Caribbean pupils here. I do not blame parents for being worried or terrified of psychologists. My doctoral research project was on SBD difficulties. We have changed the labels but they come from an historical context, still a stigma… it is called, social,

emotional and mental health now. The problems now focus on behaviour rather than on the child's learning. Schools will often say we need the behaviour to improve before they can learn. I tell them it's chicken and egg, we need to look at both.' (EP A)

'I believe there has been some labelling of children – many years ago when I first became Headteacher of this school, I was given the label for a child as having 'oppositional defiance order' – I said 'sorry, he is just naughty!' He was behind with learning, his literacy and basic skills were below par, and he had low self-esteem. I believe this school had failed him. To me the focus was on the wrong things. That boy ended up in prison, he turned up here a year ago and it was like he was returning to his family.'
(Headteacher, School A)

'It seems to me that Black males, both Black African and Black Caribbean are a bit more penalised on issues compared with their counterparts from other countries. When children are naughty, the Black African and Black Caribbean boys get into trouble, while their counterparts who do the same thing, they wouldn't get the same penalty. With under-fives there are a lot more Black Caribbean and an increasing number of Black African underachieving. The distinction is getting more blurred.' (Parent D)

'I have some concerns about the labelling of Black Caribbean boys. A paediatrician said he was looking at a child having ADHD but we were worried about his speaking and listening skills. There is a big issue about labelling ADHD if it is a Black Caribbean boy. It becomes self-reinforcing for a Black Caribbean boy to be labelled, whereas a little White girl it's a different view. Terms such as 'attitude', 'rude', they are enforced by saying to a child 'you are rude.' (EP A)

'There's an issue with boys in particular. We know that boys are later than girls in picking up their reading skills. The reasons for Black Caribbean boys picking up these skills later though are interpreted in a different way. Schools would say 'they probably don't read at home' and we try to unpick that.' (EP A)

Overall the people interviewed expressed strongly about the damaging effect of labelling Black boys as a result of what they wore, who their friends were, how they spoke or whether they were in trouble before. Once the Black boys gained a reputation for behaving badly, it was difficulty to convince teachers of genuine change for the better.

CHAPTER 5. FAMILY AND HOME FACTORS THAT MAY CONTRIBUTE TO BLACK CARIBBEAN PUPILS' UNDERACHIEVEMENT

Lack of Parental Aspiration and Low Expectations

One of the notable phenomena in the field of education is the impact of pupils' home background on achievement. The home background identified influencing Black Caribbean achievement includes lack of parental support, low literacy levels, poverty, poor housing, absent fathers and single parent families. These are discussed below by people interviewed and in the focus groups:

'I think social background has a massive impact on achievement. Your background shapes how you feel about yourself and how you think you can attain. Breakdown in families in BME and ethnic minorities that is a factor, but successful people have come from single parent backgrounds. It can have massive impact for some but not for others. I think the problem is more to do with lack of support networks or extended families and the lack of aspiration within your circle, if you don't know anyone who is successful then you are unlikely to achieve.' (Parent B)

'Mothers do try. Homework is online so it can be accessed. The general picture is I don't see much parental involvement. Only five parents contacted the school to see what is happening about homework. The interest isn't there.' (Head of Year, School E)

'I believe parenting is a determinant. We tried going home to Trinidad to live in 2007. It was a shock for my daughter. She had been used to going to a Montessori Nursery but at age three she was not used to having a sleep in the afternoon. In Trinidad I think they would do well. There's a lot of pressure there though. The amount of work that they get at the Church school there … and they get lots of homework every night.' (Parent E)

'My friend who was born from a Ghanaian background had problems with her son's school. A new Headteacher was involving Social Services regarding the parents' discipline of their children. Some of these parents didn't understand why this was happening. One of the things I realise is that cultural background comes into it. As a CAHMS commissioner, a lot of the cases I get are of Black children who might experience abuse, psychological/emotional abuse because of their parents' mental health or religious beliefs. There are a lot of undisclosed traumas, particularly with looked-after children and mixed-race children in care. I see that as a pattern in some places, it's a cultural thing. People not knowing what is appropriate. In my mother's day children got 'licks' if they were naughty that was

accepted. If I had been brought up here I would have turned out very differently. My father has another family – he didn't live with us. I do not think I would have achieved so much had I lived here as a child.' (Parent E)

'I have always had a tactic when working with Black Caribbean youngsters there is always someone who is the disciplinarian focus. I have found in White working class families that seem to have gone. Say to a Black Caribbean pupil 'what would your Grandad say about this?' They would say 'hold on'… but with White working class they say 'so what'? Now the parents have values and really good values. If you are in low paid work you are working long hours and your energy is low and you haven't got the energy to deal with kids. I am in a relatively well paid position compared with other families. There is absolute lack of understanding about the circumstances in which people are living.' (Governor, School R)

'There is a big culture gap between ethics, religion and behaviour. You need to show respect to people and have good behaviour. This seems to have got lost over generations. Our third generation parents, where the matriarch is still around, Grannie can bring them back.'
(Vicar/Chair of Governors, School C)

Low Literacy Levels and Language Barriers

In his book 'Racial Disadvantage in Britain' written in 1977, David J Smith on the issue of language wrote:

'Poor spoken English may be a source of disadvantage to both Asians and West Indians. Although the mother tongue of virtually all West Indians is a variety of English, this language is significantly different from Standard English and people in this country generally find it hard to understand...'
(Smith, 1977)

He continued:

'At the time when the migration occurred there was no immigration programme and no social policies directed towards helping immigrants to settle in Britain and to learn the skills – including language skills – that they would need in order to adapt successfully. Some effort and resources are now being channelled into the provision of language training, but these programmes reach rather a small number of people. We should therefore expect to find that there is a substantial language problem remaining to be tackled.'

David Smith argued that it was the people who came to Britain after their young adulthood who tended to have the poorest English. During our interviews we learned that there is an assumption that the children of Caribbean heritage in our schools are now from the 3rd, 4th or even 5th generation, but this is not always the case, there are many children in schools who are recent arrivals, primarily from Jamaica, who lack familiarity with Standard English. The Headteacher of a LA1 school explained this phenomenon in more detail:

> *'We have taken 32 children since the beginning of the year and only six are English speakers. As far as Black Caribbean pupils are concerned we target these children in the Children's Centre. There is an assumption that they speak English, not English as an additional language and there is an assumption that they do not need support as there is an issue of language deprivation. If you are in the Black Caribbean group of pupils (we classify Black Caribbean and White Caribbean mixed together) there is not many of them who do not fall into another category, e.g. single parent, absent father, pupil premium, ASD. There is a higher incidence of social, emotional health issues and challenges of engaging parents, so we have to work them through everything, as they see it as a threat, label or a tag'…. 'Some of our Black Caribbean pupils here are 3rd, 4th or 5th generation but others aren't. Many are Visa over-stayers mainly disengaged from the system'… 'Trying to get support for these families is difficult as it takes so long to get any support from social care and this can be quite oppressive.' (Headteacher, School B)*

> *'We have found it difficult in the past to get parents to engage with the school. We are improving but it is still a challenge. Social background plays a big part in it. We have problems where pupils are struggling with literacy it is because their parents are illiterate. Sometimes where both parents are working, they are doing better. They are more aspirational….There isn't a typical attitude. We have some who are very, very aspirational for their children and for the group as a whole. There are some however, who have very poor literacy skills themselves and they cannot fill in forms or read newsletters. There are disengaged, very engaged, aspirational parents. We tend to make the wrong assumptions regarding literacy. A child had been doing wrong things on Facebook, when we spoke to the mum she couldn't read what her child had written.' (Headteacher, School B)*

> *'Some parents need basic skills in reading, writing and maths. Some parents say the way we teach is so different from the way they were taught at school and they cannot understand it. We struggle to get parents on board sometimes. I think this links back to parents own literacy skills. In a group they are fine, e.g. assemblies and events; we get a good turnout of parents, but they find 1:1 chats intimidating.' (Headteacher)*

We asked why there are such low levels of literacy amongst the Black Caribbean parents at this school – did they go to school in this country?

> *'No, the parents were born and grew up in Jamaica.' (Headteacher, School B)*

> *'As a Black Caribbean person myself (my parents came to this country in 1959) but most pupils here are of Jamaican heritage and there is a difference between those and the earlier arrivals. For example, we have a child in Year 4, he came into school in Yr. 4 barely able to read and write. He had been staying with his Gran in rural Jamaica and didn't have much schooling.' (Headteacher, School B)*

> *'Parents would say to me that they avoid school because they themselves may be dyslexic and cannot help their child or they had a bad experience at school and didn't go there. There are lots of factors at play.' (EP A)*

> *'Much depends on parents' own experience of school. They may feel that they do not understand the system or know what to do to help their children, but others might be very different. Schools can reach out to them through coffee mornings, community and family learning; the schools that do this well are unlikely to have parents with a negative attitude.' (EP C)*

> *'If you listen to groups of Black Caribbean kids talking and the language they use, people think they are arguing.' (Governor, School R)*

> *'If you could have literacy classes for parents, providing you didn't make them feel embarrassed about learning it would have a huge benefit, especially for Jamaican parents from rural areas.' (Governor, School R)*

The evidence from the focus group in general suggests that there is a lack of academic language to access national curriculum. Many also write in a colloquial way. This was given during the interview as a great barrier to achievement and a causative factor in low achievement throughout their school year for some group of Black Caribbean heritage pupils.

Absent Fathers

Black Caribbean children were more likely to have an absentee father, or live in a single parent household than many other ethnic groups. The *Millennium Cohort Study* found that age 11, about 86% of South Asian children were living with both natural parents. However the figure for Black Caribbean children was substantially lower at 30%. Black Caribbean children were most likely to be living in single parent families (61%), compared with about 25% of White children and less than 10% of Indian or Bangladeshi children (*Connelly et al 2014).*

The Runnymede Trust (2014) quotes similar figures, with 59% of Black Caribbean children growing up in single parent families, a rate nearly three times as high as the overall average of about 22% in the UK. It further noted that fathers may not be living with the mother of their children but will still continue to be involved in parenting.

Other researchers have also found that for children, the prevalence and devastating effects of father absence is nothing short of disastrous, along a number of dimensions, with regard to social and emotional well-being in particular an article in Psychology Today, *'Father absence, Father deficit, Father hunger'* written by E. Kruk, PhD reported that:

> *'Children's diminished self-concept and compromised physical and emotional security (children consistently report feeling abandoned when their fathers are not involved in their lives, struggling with their emotions and episodic bouts of self-loathing). Behavioural problems (fatherless children have more difficulties with social adjustment, and are more likely to report problems with friendships, and manifest behaviour problems; many develop a swaggering, intimidating persona in an attempt to disguise their underlying fears, resentments, anxieties and unhappiness).'*

> *'Truancy and poor academic performance (71 per cent of high school dropouts are fatherless; fatherless children have more trouble academically, scoring poorly on tests of reading, mathematics, and thinking skills; children from father absent homes are more likely to play truant from school, more likely to be excluded from school, more likely to leave school at age 16, and less likely to attain academic and professional qualifications in adulthood). (Kruk, 2012)*

Our research reveals that many of these elements applied in the lives of the Black Caribbean pupils they were involved with. A Jamaican Church Leader who grew up in Brixton commented:

> *'Today many males do not grow up with a father. They boast about how many children they have but they do not know where they are. The African home is more of a family with a father. Among the Asian community there is a family with a father. The Black Caribbean community are without fathers and that is the difference. I have heard it said it's because of slavery where the slave master could take your wife. I think it is just a selfish idea – they don't want to take the responsibility and they want to move on to the next available woman.' (Church Leader A, 1st generation)*

A Headteacher described the devastating effects of a boy's father being in prison:

> *'Some of our parents are in prison. I am now so used to it. I have one child at the moment that gets into a bit of trouble. He is so difficult I don't know*

what to do with him. His dad is in prison for three years. When we met dad he was lovely, so of course the child is upset because he hasn't seen his father and won't be seeing him for another three years.' (Headteacher, School A)

'In previous generations, communities were smaller so you couldn't get away with doing anything wrong. When I was growing up they were smaller and I used to go to a youth club. Many pupils now don't know how to socialise e.g. through playing table tennis. At boarding school one young man flipped out and head-butted his dad. He lives with his dad's parents. I communicated with my dad through talking.' (Teacher governor, School D)

A secondary school in LA1 is tackling the issue of absent fathers in the following example:

'The majority of the project work we do is with single parent households with no father present… we seek out those errant fathers. We ask mothers if we can contact father, especially if there's been a gap, or they have shown no interest in the children. We encourage them to be involved. I telephone the father as well as the mother to tell them what is going on at school. They are growing up in a predominantly female household. Mothers tend to nag a lot, whereas dads use a few words. They hear the message once from their dad and they tend to adhere to that message but when they hear it from their mum a hundred times they ignore it.' (Teacher, School D)

A Behaviour Mentor in the same school gave his observations:

'49% of families are led by women. This has a massive effect on our boys. I work with hundreds of pupils each day. The boys and girls have a particular bond with you as a man. The most predominant question is 'what do you think'? I try to give them the best opinion I can. The average pupil goes home, he doesn't eat with his family, and he eats alone. They are latch-key kids. This has been brought about by Black Caribbean culture. If the family foundation is not solid you have lots of problems.'…. He continues: 'On Saturdays I go and work with kids. Their parents have lots of problems, mental health, poverty, low paid jobs. The kids get no guidance. They all have mobile phones and are looking at all the wrong things. We tell them 1: Attitude – we don't want no street in here. 2: Correct behaviour – men and women behave differently. 3: Character of the people is important, what the women bring is nurturing – men bring in discipline. 4: Working together.' (Behaviour mentor, School E)

Another Behaviour Mentor, who was brought up in Jamaica, compared the differences between boys brought up in Jamaica and those here in Britain:

> *'Our Black boys are not prepared for the challenges of life here because of the absence of their fathers. I listen to them and I compare both systems. I have the advantage because I was brought up differently. I hear some of the parents dealing with their sons and you sense a sort of aggression. They mix up aggression with assertiveness. In Jamaica they have cadets. What do they have here to engage in as young Black men? Their fathers are involved in drugs and negative things. I tell them 'dress like a prospect, not as a suspect'! We have to teach people how to approach us. I have never been called 'boy' by a policeman. We walk the talk. I think if the system here had more disciplinary measures in place it would help them – they do it because they can get away with it'. In Jamaica there are issues there too – it's not a perfect scenario. You don't find parents disputing the school system there. There's more respect. I think this system has not helped our people, it has brainwashed them into an entitlement mentality because of the benefits system. The system in Jamaica is more rigid but if we had more earning of things… they take things for granted here so they throw things away.'*
> *(School A)*

As if to link the absence of a father with low achievement in school, a Head of Year at a LA1 secondary school, who came to the UK when he was 12 years old, contrasts his own home with a father present, with that of a friend who didn't:

> *'I came from Jamaica at aged 12 years. When I arrived in the school up the road, there was another boy who came at the same time. One of us made excellent progress and achieved well and the other didn't. I put that down to what I wanted out of school and my family's beliefs. This is the issue and the ultimate driving factor. Family attitudes and aspirations make all the difference. My father said, 'after a certain age you are going to have to leave and you need to be able to stand on your own two feet.' My mum was in Jamaica and came to live with Dad. The other boy didn't have a dad.' (Head of Year, School D)*

An Aspire to Achieve project run by a LA1 secondary school teacher, addresses the anger some boys feel about the absence of a father:

> *'A young man may have a mum who makes a lot of noise, a dad who doesn't live with him but will come down to school. One boy said 'I hate home, I hate school… everything'. When he has issues in the classroom he hits himself on the lockers, he gets so angry… he hates home.' (Aspire to Achieve Project Leader, School E)*

This teacher has successfully run a similar 'restorative approach' project in another school in Forest Hill and is passionate about the difference it makes to children. Her views about the reasons for Black Caribbean pupils' underachievement are as follows:

'Dysfunctional families, single parents, the role of mother and the fact that mothers give sons a false sense of manhood. In an Afro-Caribbean home, if it's a single parent family, it is typical for the boy to feel supportive of mum; he is the man of the house. We have a theory that women can grow sons but they cannot teach them to be men. There seems to be a conflict. A young man said: 'I do not speak to my dad; he is not part of my life'. I am mentoring him and so I said 'clearly you are missing your dad'. He said 'I tell you what; if I saw my dad today I would thump him down'. There is a deep anger among young men and it's about dads. Anger over generations.'

'I chair a group on the achievement committee and we check the data. I wonder how much it is about background or family life. Getting parents to understand the importance of school is a big issue. Role models are very important, especially for boys. Having role models to show them are important. We try and have Dads Days. A lot of dads are not engaged with education. If they are engaged then the whole family are.'
(Governor, School L)

'Here in the UK I went into a school to support a child of a family member without a dad, to talk to them about what was going on. I took on the role that a parent would have done. The support systems here have broken down.' (Church Leader A, 1ˢᵗ generation Jamaican father)

'I think it is good when a child has two parents. A lot of these children do not have a father figure. Lately my son is saying he misses his dad.' (Parent H)

Single Parent Families and Teenage Pregnancy

Single parenting is a very important social issue that can have significant effects on a child's academic achievement. Children who are raised in a single family home are sometimes at risk of not reaching their full potential. They have to rely on one parent to meet most of their needs including limited finances, time and parent availability to provide adequate support for their child to perform to the best of their ability. The Runnymede Trust research (2014) shows 59% of Black Caribbean children are growing up in single parent families, a rate nearly three times as high as the overall average of about 22% in the UK.

'A lot of our parents are very young. By the time they are in their mid-twenties they have several children'… 'We see our pupils come back with their children. In one instance we have a former pupil whose own childhood was neglected. We are seeing the same pattern emerging, but in this case she is doing a better job than her parents did, but even so…'
(Headteacher, School A)

The above schools staff visit the homes of children starting school in the reception classes in order to develop a positive relationship with parents, but this often reveals the challenging home circumstances children experience:

> *'Yes members of staff make home visits and then the parents and children are invited to visit the classroom before they start school. I do not know what the family story is but there is a single parent, I have not seen dad. The visit revealed a chaotic home. These staff were ushered up to a bedroom and the discussion about the child took place sitting on a bed.'*
> *(Headteacher, School A)*

The Headteacher continued….

> *'Some of our parents do not seem to think school is important because of the issues we have discussed. It doesn't matter if the children are late for school, doesn't matter if the reading diary is signed. We have lots of single mums, baby mums. Fathers are not involved. There are issues of domestic violence, mental health and drugs. A child in Year 5's father was shot! The first time we saw the mother about lateness we had a chat and asked how can we support you? In that family it was about housing and we got the Family Support Worker involved.' (Headteacher, School A)*

> *'One parent has to be both mum and dad.' (Teacher, School A)*

> *'When the single parent is busy working and the child is looked after by someone else, then there may be less input from parents in terms of homework. They are doing their best in difficult circumstances.' (Teacher, School A)*

> *'Black Caribbean parents' aspiration is high despite the low income. We have lots of cases of single parent families not involved in their children's lives, families are good at rallying around but when your child gets away from you, you don't know what they are getting up to.' (School Governor)*

> *'Some of our strongest parents are single. It is easy to say they are an issue but in fact they are some of our most dedicated parents.' (Teacher, School A)*

A teacher commented on the narrow range of experiences some pupils have in their homelife, which was highlighted when she took some LA1 secondary school pupils on a team-building trip to Essex:

> *'The youngsters were mesmerised by the open land, they asked me if they were real horses in a field. They didn't get out of London. I wanted to broaden their experience. Most of these parents were born here. They were*

young girls who got pregnant and they didn't have these experiences themselves. Unless we take ourselves out of the cocoon and attune ourselves things won't change. If you ask some parents if they have been to a museum they say 'no'.' (Teacher, School A)

'I have a problem with lack of parenting skills and lack of stimulation. Some just do not have the skills. A lot of parents are bringing up friends, not children.' (Behaviour Mentor, School A)

'Parents in Jamaica tell children education is the key to success. Here girls will say the system will give me a flat if I am pregnant.' (Behaviour Mentor. School E)

'In my year group at the moment, the biggest issue is the single parent for girls and boys. At age 14 years mum doesn't have control over decisions. We have a shift of balance. Achievement for them isn't high on the agenda.' (Behaviour Mentor, School E)

'I heard a group of girls in a secondary school talking and they were saying 'get a good looking guy, get a baby, dump the man and you get the flat'. These girls used to put alcohol on the tip of their babies' mouths and put the babies together in one bed so they could go out partying. The government made it easy for girls to get flats by themselves. My son says he doesn't want a girlfriend from London because they are horrible – they dump you just like that when they are tired of you.' (Parent H)

'With regard to the Black Caribbean pupils I work with. I tend to find they have quite low aspirations. I am going to generalise, so forgive me. One of the girls didn't have the expectation of being married and having children but of having children without a husband. There is so much to say about stable home environment. It depends what you consider the norm.'
(Teacher, School D)

'There is a picture in school of single women who are not academically bright and first generation immigrants from Jamaica. Fathers are nowhere to be seen. They seek to be friends with their children. When we seek to bring order to them, we get resistance. We try to treat all children as individuals, to push them to success. We also focus on the community as a community, but within the school the children look after each other. Single mothers, who are not entitled to benefits, visa over stayers or for another reason they are below the radar, working unsocial hours, fathers not around, grandmas not around. They try to bribe their children to behave, perhaps they feel guilty.'
(Chair of Governors, School C)

'We have many single mothers and absent fathers – there are strong single mothers…..' 'When these families fall into crisis it is serious, as it is becoming much harder to operate outside the system and there are no cash in hand jobs available.' (Headteacher, School C)

In one focus group, opinions were mixed about single parent families:

'I don't want it put that if you are from a single-parent, Black Caribbean background that you will not succeed, because some of those kids have done very well and have gone on to University. What I am thinking is that we have had it instilled into us and we have done this with our children. I have told them that I want them to travel and visit other countries and get a better house than we have.' (Parent F)

'A few years ago a child came here at 4.50pm with her sister's Secondary Transfer application form; she said her mum had gone on holiday and she had been told to get the form in by that date. They have different priorities. This is why I say, it starts at home. If you cannot spend time with your child at home, why should you expect someone else to do it? Some parents are smoking weed and dressing up… they say to their kids 'I'm going out raving'…. That's what kids experience.' (Parent A)

'Why is it that you are having more Black teenage pregnancies than Whites? Why aren't you looking at what can be done to tackle the roots of the matter? You are having grandmothers at the age of 40. Working with children and parents a lot of the issues that we are talking about wouldn't want to arise, but because they want to continue stereotyping and perpetuating the problem.' (Parent A)

'We have a lot of single parents and some may have four children under the age of eight.' (Learning Mentor, School D)

'Sometimes they do not seem interested when they pick up their children, they are on their mobile phones – usually single parents in their 20s.' (Headteacher, School A)

'There is pressure on single parent families, having to go to work; some parents take on night jobs. Some are in high-powered jobs and they do not spend the time with their children. Grandparents do not seem to figure.' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)

Socio-Economic Disadvantage and Effects of Poverty

Persistent socio-economic disadvantage has a negative impact on the life outcomes of many British children. In the UK, poverty is defined as relative rather than absolute. Those people who are described as living in poverty have (in the main) the basics such as an adequate diet or somewhere to live. What these people lack is sufficient income to be able to participate fully in society. People in poverty are said to be 'socially excluded'.

Over the years research has reported noteworthy associations between low income and psychiatric disorders, social and academic functioning, and chronic physical health problems. One of the key areas influenced by family income is educational outcomes.

School readiness reflects a child's ability to succeed both academically and socially in a school environment. It requires physical well-being and appropriate motor development, emotional health and a positive approach to new experiences, age-appropriate social knowledge and competence, age-appropriate language skills and age-appropriate general knowledge and cognitive skills. It is well documented that poverty decreases a child's readiness for school through aspects of health, home life, schooling and neighbourhoods. Six poverty-related factors are known to impact child development in general and school readiness in particular. They are the incidence of poverty, the depth of poverty, the duration of poverty, the timing of poverty (e.g., age of child), community characteristics (e.g., concentration of poverty and crime in neighbourhood and school characteristics) and the impact poverty has on the child's social network (parents, relatives and neighbours). A child's home has a particularly strong impact on school readiness. Children from low-income families often do not receive the stimulation and do not learn the social skills required to prepare them for school. Typical problems are parental inconsistency (with regard to daily routines and parenting), frequent changes of primary caregivers, lack of supervision and poor role modelling. Very often, the parents of these children also lack support.

A primary school Headteacher spoke about the decades of disadvantage that some Black Caribbean families have experienced:

> 'Our Black Caribbean parents work but they are not high earners. If you look back over four or five decades and you treat someone badly at the beginning, it creates a culture. People who came over from the Caribbean were treated in such a way they have had to become tough…' 'When the first people arrived here from the Caribbean they had to live in squalid conditions and were abused by racist comments. Maybe the following generations have seen that and become hard. The poverty started way back and got handed down.' (Headteacher, School A)

Settling into the London community was not easy, as Caribbean people could experience physical and racial abuse, and found it hard to get work. Some had to accept jobs with low wages that no one else wanted to do. London Transport and the National Health Service were the main employers of the first Caribbean immigrants who had been invited to come to

the UK to work.

When British industries did start to employ Caribbeans in larger numbers they often came into conflict with trade unionists who objected to working with Caribbean people. To keep the peace, many employers enforced a cap on the number of Caribbeans they would employ.

> *'Parents who were originally from the Caribbean have very high expectations – whether it can become a reality for them depends on a number of factors. Sometimes they are so busy fighting for housing, work and then poverty etc. Those with Caribbean heritage still do have high expectations – it's probably because society is changing, that those aspirations are changing. There are socio-economic reasons, e.g. working unsocial hours, low pay, parental education, knowing how to deal with their children, problems in partnerships, lack of knowledge, not knowing where to go to support them. If people do not have that support for themselves then they take it out on their children. If they work unsocial hours, they may not be at home when the child comes home from school.' (Governor, School S)*

> *'We have a lot of pupils here who are new arrivals of Jamaican heritage. When we were looking at lists in each year group, I wouldn't say it was a scary list … but there are examples of extreme deprivation.' (Deputy Head, School E)*

> *'There is a lot going on in this area. We send out details of Family Fun and most of it is free but it is not used by Black Caribbean families. Most of the children have very limited understanding of the world. I take six of them to horse riding lessons – they have never been up close to a horse. They don't know that horses eat grass. We were doing a project on water and eight children in the room had never seen a wave or a beach. Little things we take for granted that you think they would have done.' (Learning Mentor, School A)*

The Bishop of a Pentecostal Church, who came to the UK in 1964 from Jamaica and grew up and lived most of his life in Brixton, gave an historical perspective on this:

> *'I do not want to make a blanket statement because there are exceptions but I would think the failure is based, in my experience on parental background. If I may give you an example, when I came into this country first, most Black people were not business minded. They had no great structure or planning. Coming from Jamaica, people would say 'I am going to the UK for five years but they didn't understand the culture or economic structure. People who went before them sent money back home and they didn't realise it was sacrificial; they thought it would be easy until they arrived here and found it wasn't so.' (Church Leader A, 1st generation Jamaican)*

> *'Black Caribbean pupils are underachieving because of poverty.' (Librarian)*

'There needs to be much wider understanding about well-being. If you have children who are stressed in the classroom they are not going to do well.' (EP C)

'Are the areas where Black Caribbean pupils are living seen as deprived area – or they go to schools in deprived areas? Some of these schools might struggle to recruit high quality teachers. There are issues re high staff turnover, supply teachers, so there may be an issue of the quality of education they provide.' (EP E)

'I think the geographical area affects them. Angell Town estate has few play or green spaces. Life is tough. Not financial poverty, environmental and social poverty. A low income affects all groups.' (School governor, School S)

'So many children don't go into central London and experience the amount of history here. I find it incredible that so many children never go. We walked past Southwark Cathedral, the Golden Hind and walk down by the Thames. We make an effort to do this because they just don't go there. We take children out as much as we can, even though it can be a challenge.' (Primary School Teacher, School C)

The above views on the effect of poverty are also supported by previous research. For example, Bhattacharya et al argued that economic deprivation appear widely prevalent among Black groups. Many Black Caribbean pupils are further disadvantaged by the fact they attend under-resourced and less successful schools in inner cities (Weeks-Berand, 2007). Cassen and Kingdon (2007) also suggest that where schools have an opportunity to select children, this operates to the determinant of economically disadvantaged Black Caribbean and other Black pupils.

Poor Housing

First encounters for people from the Caribbean with London were often less than welcoming. New arrivals soon faced several hardships that they neither expected nor were prepared for. Finding a home or a room to rent was a difficult task for Caribbeans. Landlords would not rent to them and banks would not authorise their mortgage applications.

If they were to secure accommodation, then rooms were often in bad condition and they were charged extortionate rents. To overcome this, many Caribbean people started to use the 'Partner' system, as they had done in the Caribbean. This allowed them to raise the capital to buy a home as a group. As someone who arrived in LA1 during this era, a local Bishop recalled:

'In the 1960s Black people found it very hard to get accommodation. Many of them would have a shift system, just occupying one room. They were not interested in investment (those that I knew). We were more interested in the clothes we wore, the bling and the nice car. We would look down on the Asian population and criticise them and say 'they all live in one room and buy a bag of lour'. We didn't realise they came in to do great things. I don't think that the

> *Black Caribbean community understood that. We had no mentors to advise us to buy a house, invest in property, you don't need a lot of furniture – save and invest!' (Church Leader A, 1st generation)*

> *'As a young man I had no mentors and most of the young men around me were the same. We were more interested in partying than setting down a foundation. We lived in one room with a kitchen and bathroom and the landlord would not share or advise us to get ourselves a house. He would complain about how hard it was being a landlord, so it put you off. So getting a Council flat – one becomes satisfied. Most people bought houses because they were forced to because they couldn't get accommodation from the Council or they had sub-standard rented housing. There was no-one to counsel people about how you bought a house. The banks were not very favourable to Black people at that time and again that could have been lack of knowledge on the part of the Black Caribbean community. This is not a blanket statement.' (Church Leader A, 1st generation)*

A retired Headteacher in LA11 who came to the UK from Guyana, aged 18 years recalled:

> *'At that time there were signs around in Leytonstone saying 'no Irish, no Blacks, no dogs'. It was Jewish people who helped Black people to find accommodation and to buy houses.' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)*

Housing difficulties continue to affect Black Caribbean families and can impact significantly on their childrens' schooling, as one parent observed:

> *'Some of them have got a lot of things going on in their lives, they may be temporary housing and there might be domestic violence. Some have been moved to East London and then they are late because they are travelling to school from there, and then they move again to Peckham. Sometimes in temporary accommodation there is five in one room. They cannot do homework because they don't have any space any access to the internet. We have some families with no recourse to funds. Many have moved here from other boroughs.' (Parent A)*

> *'There are housing problems and if your surroundings are not conducive to work, and you have to look after younger siblings… when your life is like that; education is the last thing you are thinking about'. (Parent A).*

> *'I was in during half-term trying to find accommodation for a child with autism. The family is dossing on someone's floor. I had one family living in a car. I asked them 'why is it better living in a car than living in the Caribbean?' It is the fear of what they might face if they return.' (Headteacher, School B)*

> *'Parents and young people do not understand how the system works. They do not know. Sometimes they live 3 or 4 to a room. They have become used to somebody else sorting things out for them.' (Learning Mentor)*

CHAPTER 6. WIDER SOCIAL ISSUES AND OTHER FACTORS THAT MAY CONTRIBUTE TO BLACK CARIBBEAN PUPILS' UNDERACHIEVEMENT

Institutional Racism

Institutional racism was explained in 1967 by Kwame Ture and Charles V Hamilton in '*Black Power: Politics of Liberation*, stating that while individual racism is often identifiable because of its overt nature, institutional racism is less perceptible because of its 'less overt, far more subtle' nature. Institutional racism '*originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society, and thus receives far less public condemnation than individual racism.*'

In our focus groups and school visits we asked, 'do you believe institutional racism is a factor in the underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils'?

> '*Absolutely! How many Black policemen have we got, or how many Black teachers have we got? You can imagine the difficulties they would face if they joined the Police force. I suspect strongly if you went back to the 1970s there would have been teachers who had one or two Black children in their class and they would be called racist names. Racism was probably rife in the 1960s and 1970s. They had an expectation that children were going to be difficult. They expected bad attitudes. It comes right back to people thinking Black people are inferior. Even now in parts of this country they think the same.*' (Headteacher, School A)

Some examples of overt racism in the 1970s and 1980s which was the experience of pupils of Caribbean heritage in London schools are given below:

> '*I went to a primary school in LA10 in the 1970s. It was blatantly racist! There were few Black children and you were definitely made to feel different. When it came to school dinners they would say 'you don't eat that kind of thing at home do you'? When it rained our hair would go curly and teachers kept touching my hair. Children would ask 'can you wash your skin colour off?' It was awful when I was in Year 6, there was a very racist teacher who said 'Black people are guttersnipes' and 'you come from the pits of the earth'. We had just got a school band and he was a classical pianist, so he used to say 'this isn't music, this is what Black people use – they play on dustbin lids'. Other teachers in the school were nice. They knew he was racist but he was nearing retirement and I think the other teachers felt sorry for us. We were prepared because we knew he was racist. He used to hit the Black boys and run their heads under the taps.*' (Deputy Head, Inclusion, School B)

'I went to a primary school in Shepherd's Bush and someone called me a 'wog' so I beat her up because I knew it wasn't right. At that time there was a lot of racism. My class teacher called me a 'savage' because I was fighting… until she met my mum! My mum told her we were not savages; we were from a civilised society. My teacher said 'I did notice that Celia speaks English' and my mum said 'what did you expect?' This teacher later announced to the class that I lived in a house… she was trying to compensate for what she had said because she was shocked that my mum was educated. Then I became the favourite student!' (Secondary school teacher, School D)

'I grew up in LA1 but started grammar school in Battersea in 1972 at a time of a lot of change. The first generation of Black Caribbean people struggled with identity. People like Muhammed Ali made them feel positive when society wasn't making you feel positive about your identity. Brixton had such a strong West Indian presence, but in my Battersea school there were only fifteen Black and Asian pupils out of several hundred Whites. Racism was overt. A practice was to round up any non-European Blacks and Asians and put them in a squash court. On one occasion I saw a lot of my friends inside this court and others throwing food at them. Thankfully I wasn't part of it but it did register with me. I remember all the racist name calling. If you are in an environment where people are encouraging then it affects your ability to prosper – in rich soil you can grow. Attitudes are conveyed. I was crying in my second year at secondary school and I didn't know why. In Year 10 there was only one Black student in that year group and he told me when he started in Year 7, he had been beaten up every single day. He would eat his food in a hiding place. He began to do every kind of martial arts and when I saw him recently he was still doing all he could to keep fit to protect himself. I found it more favourable working by myself. I didn't get it in the classroom, but there was always an undercurrent of racism even in my friends. I did well, getting 'A's until I was fifteen years, but then things began to deteriorate and by the time I was sixteen my work was non-existent. I tried to work at home. In the 6th form I didn't do well and stopped going to College. There were racial slurs around me and I only felt comfortable in Brixton – I felt safer there.' (Former Vice Principal, Church Leader B)

'In the 1980s racism and the concept that a teacher might be racist was just coming to the fore. I think there is now more fear that teachers might be deemed as racist as young people are more aware now. When I attended school there were one or two incidents where teachers' behaviour towards a pupil was deemed to be racially motivated. What teachers tend to do is label pupils. It can become a self-fulfilling prophecy. This has an impact on the Black school experience than other ethnic groups. That Black thing is becoming more of a shared experience of other ethnic groups now'… 'As a

professional working in schools, I have seen teachers being unfair to pupils who are of darker complexion; they are singled out if a group of pupils are misbehaving. It has become an issue now in the ethnic minority community about what you name your child because of racial profiling, e.g. at the airport my friend was stopped while leaving an on arrival because he is Black with a Muslim name. I am mixed race with an English name and I didn't. It can affect your chances of getting an interview for a job if you don't have an English name.' (Parent B)

'I thought things had got a bit more equal until I moved to London in the 1990s and encountered the education system. I had never seen anything like it in my life. People of Black Caribbean background who are the same age as me and went to school in London in the 1960s and 1970s, the standards of spelling and grammar are so poor. Also there's a sense that people do not really care. I was thinking what went on in London schools at that time that raised a generation of pupils with such low standards of education?' (Parent C)

A retired Headteacher spoke about her own experiences of institutional racism in schools in LA12 and LA11 in the 1980s and 1990s:

'I was teaching in an RC school. I was the resources co-ordinator in the 1980s and I also shared the role of Literacy co-ordinator with another teacher. The substantive post was going to be advertised. I went to see the Headteacher and spoke to her about my interest in the post. She didn't encourage me to apply. My colleague said 'why get another person to do the job when they don't know what they are doing?' I didn't say anything but I spoke to my friend who was an Inspector when she visited the school and she told me I needed to move on and get promotion elsewhere. I didn't bother to apply in view of what had happened. I heard about another Literacy Co-ordinator role in another borough and I applied and got that post. The Headteacher was really shocked when I said I was leaving'

However, this wasn't the end of the story, she continued….

'When I went to the new school the Caretaker saw me – he was speaking to the Deputy Head and I heard him say 'I see they have appointed a Nig-Nog!' I didn't say anything to anyone about it. Later when the Deputy Head was leaving the Headteacher came and invited me to apply for Deputy Headship. I said 'I've only just come' but she said 'from what I have seen you are more than capable of doing the job'. I applied for and got the job, however, the Deputy Head who was leaving tried to put up barriers towards me.' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)

'Several generations of people are told you shouldn't achieve… you cannot go to University… you have no reason to aspire. Your child is told this and their child the same. That's a bigger barrier to overcome than for a new immigrant. My hypothesis is if you have been subjected to racism over several generations then this is going to make your hopes and dreams more difficult. Black Africans tend to be first and second generation so they still have that hope. Work situations are difficult, zero hours contracts, trying to make ends meet. These are the problems our parents face.' (School Governor)

One would have hoped that institutional racism was a thing of the past, but our findings show that this is not the case. Indeed, the extent of institutional racism was highlighted by former Prime Minister David Cameron who rattled Oxford University last year when he described its low intake of Black students as 'disgraceful'. He was wrong to claim it only accepted one Black student in 2009 – it actually took one 'Black Caribbean' person out of a total of 27 Black students for undergraduate study that year. Nevertheless, everyone seemed to agree with his assertion: 'We have got to do better than that.' In January 2016, writing in the Sunday Times, about race bias in Universities, he said:

'Discrimination should shame our country and jolt us to action. I don't care whether it's overt, unconscious or institutional; we've got to stamp it out.'

A School Governor who has been involved in a College of postgraduate students said:

'There you would think there was no issue with Black Caribbean underachievement. Students from London with Black Caribbean and Asian background formed 40% of our students. The issue was not so much underachievement as they were academically successful but finding it difficult to move on to the next stage of becoming lawyers. I started to look in more detail. I was aware that there were a series of institutional barriers, i.e. being in the right place at the right time with the right people at the right time.'

'A school in Islington wanted to twin with a school in the Barbican. The parents objected and said we don't want our children mixing with them!' (Parent A)

'Racism is almost an integral part of this society. An article I read in the newspaper talked about a lady who applied for thousands of jobs and didn't get an interview and she decided to change her name and made it sound English! There is a lot of stereotyping especially of Black Caribbean boys – especially in the media. If they are showing a Black man they would just choose someone with braided hair and ear-rings and this reinforces stereotypes.' (Parent A)

'Racism in society is still an issue. Currently it is blatant racism. My daughter works in the same school where she was a pupil and I am a governor in this Infants' school. A child came in with some sweets and said 'my mother said they are only for the Polish children, they are not for the Black children'. My daughter told her to take them back to her mother and tell her to give out the sweets outside the school gate at the end of the day. Another teaching assistant queried why she had said this and my daughter said 'this is a Roman Catholic school and there is no place for racism here.' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)

'I believe there is racism among Eastern Europeans because it is inherent in their history and culture and they lack the experience of living and working in a multi-cultural city. The majority are Catholics so Roman Catholic schools employ them.' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)

'Institutional racism is a major issue – in our own services, Paediatricians, society at large. Partly it's about not wanting to self-reflect. Often we do not do this enough as a team. When we go into schools, my supervisor who is Jamaican, our view of the school is seen very differently. I get a different conversation with SENCos – they will say things to me as a White person that they wouldn't say to her.' (EP A)

An article in 'The Independent' in January 2012 entitled 'Race in Britain 2012: Has life changed for ethnic minorities?' presented the argument that social class is as much an issue as race in the UK:

'The major dividing line in Britain today is not race but class, and that Stephen's (Stephen Lawrence) *killing captured the nation's interest only because he was from a 'nice' middle-class family and had aspirations to be an architect.*

But the statistics for ethnic minorities are bleak: Black men are 26 times more likely than their White counterparts to be stopped and searched by police, while Black men and women in their early twenties are twice as likely to be not in employment, education or training as White people. And Black and Asian defendants are still more likely to go to jail than their White counterparts when convicted of similar crimes – and they serve longer sentences. A Ministry of Justice (MoJ) analysis of tens of thousands of cases found that in 2010, 23 per cent of White defendants were sent to prison for indictable offences, compared with 27 per cent of Black counterparts and 29 per cent of Asian defendants.

The report, Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System, also found that ethnic minority defendants received longer sentences in almost every offence

group. For sexual offences, White defendants received an average of just over four years in jail, but Black defendants were sent down for more than five years. For violence against the person, the average breakdown was 16.8 months for Whites, 20 months for Blacks and almost two years for Asian defendants. The MoJ insisted that 'the identification of differences should not be equated with discrimination', claiming that the disparities between ethnic groups could be explained by the seriousness of the offences, the presence of mitigating or aggravating factors and whether or not a defendant pleaded guilty.'

With regard to the issue of race, class and employment, the same article read:

'In 1993, the British economy was emerging from the end of a recession that hit most of the population, but the ethnic communities were still suffering disproportionate levels of unemployment. A TUC survey in that year estimated that, while the jobless rate had risen to nearly 12 per cent for Whites, the figure for Black people was twice that number. A period of growth improved employment and narrowed the gap between ethnic groups – although the latest 13.3 per cent unemployment rate among non-Whites is still almost double the figure recorded for Whites.

A new recession has triggered fresh concerns that any progress could be reversed: for example, council cutbacks are likely to have a disproportionate impact on the high numbers of Black and minority ethnic (BME) workers at local authorities. Activists have complained that groups have been lagging behind in crucial areas of the labour market even during the boom years.

Black people in their early twenties are twice as likely to be not in employment, education or training (Neet) as White people; although 14 per cent of the working-age population in England are from ethnic minorities, only 7 per cent of apprenticeships were filled by BME candidates. BME workers, even many graduates, are generally paid less than White counterparts. Rates of self-employment among Black workers are significantly lower than the national average.

For some, this is compelling evidence of institutionalised racism in the labour market. But others point to an equally troubling development: self-imposed limits on aspirations.' (The Independent, January 2012)

The Headteacher of a primary school observed that:

'Racism does still exist in some parts of London, particularly on White estates in Charlton and South East London; in large White areas. My two boys are in a school with a really good mix of pupils. All their friends come around to the

> house – all different colours. My sons always ask me 'who did you tell off today mum'? Then I was shocked when one day he added 'was he Black or White'? My son said the word 'blick' the other day – apparently it is a word used to describe someone whose skin is more Black than others. I wonder where they pick things like that up.' (Headteacher, School A)

> 'One of our longest standing 4th/5th generation Black Caribbean communities are in a unique position. The racism they faced is now less in your face, but it is harder to tackle. One school I worked with, they will talk about White children being in the minority and do they feel OK. This is White fear, but it's also racism. That is pertinent to LA1 50 years down the line.' (EP A)

> 'I have lived in London for twenty years. My mother reads the 'Sun' newspaper and lives in Southend. There is a large Polish community there and she will say 'they have opened all the shops'. My mum is 74 years old from a different generation but these racist attitudes come down to the next generation. Racism exists in all. Sometimes I see a bit of racism of West Indians against Africans. As far as parents are concerned I am quite racist if I tell a Black child off and not a White… as they see it.' (Headteacher, School A)

> 'Everyone is frightened of being called 'racist'. Girls who say to teachers 'you are only doing that because you are racist', they use the race card to get away with things. There was a boy in a secondary school who called everyone racist. He was very tall and big and when he was at primary school he was stopped by the Police. He had a bad experience of authority figures and so he perceived everyone as being racist.' (EP D).

We asked why do people fear being called racist?

> 'They do not have the tools or language to understand the impact of race and culture and cannot discuss it. It is unfounded fear based on a racist position. There may be some subconscious position that may be I haven't communicated with them well beforehand, or have a negative image of the child.' (EP C)

Social Class Issues

Parents' social class has a greater impact on how well their children perform at school than 'good parenting' techniques such as reading bedtime stories, researchers have shown.

A study of 11,000 seven-year-old children found that those with parents in professional and managerial jobs were at least eight months ahead of pupils from the most socially disadvantaged homes, where parents were often unemployed. The researchers, from the

University of London's Institute of Education, took into account factors such as ethnicity and family size. They found that parents' social class had a bigger influence on a child's progress between the ages of five and seven than a range of parenting techniques, including reading before bedtime.

Alice Sullivan, the main author of the study, said the research showed that *'while parenting is important, a policy focus on parenting alone is insufficient to tackle the impacts of social inequalities on children'.* (The Guardian, Dec. 2010)

With regard to ethnicity, some people from a racial minority group or a lower income family do not have a family history of higher education. If the parents or grandparents have not had access to education, the child that comes from such a family is not likely to have had anybody read to them or even have had an opportunity to be exposed to many books, or visited museums and places of interest. Teachers have to be aware of these crucial factors and ensure that children are not labelled as having special educational needs or being 'difficult' students.

A first generation Jamaican great-grandfather gave his views on how further education was viewed by his generation:

> *'In Jamaica we believed that once you are educated you get by. There were those who thought that education was not that important... once you have a piece of land to cultivate, that's all you need and then there were those who thought no, you need to be educated. Most people came here to be educated or further educated. I could be wrong but this is the way I see things'... 'One of the reasons could have been at the time, further education, I am not sure it was free at the time. If I remember rightly, most of my peers went into a trade but this is what I know. I do know of a man who was a bus conductor who sent all his children to University.'*

We asked how important education was to those people who came to the UK from other Caribbean islands.

> *'We were one of the first Caribbean countries to gain independence. It had a lot to do with Dr Eric Williams, our first Prime Minister, that education is so good in Trinidad and Tobago. He set up the foundations, 'Education, Education, Education'. There are natural resources in Trinidad, gas, oil and so the country has more money compared with some of the other islands. We have some excellent schools, Queen's Royal College, Latimer, top schools run by Orders of Priests and Nuns. My brother is an academic. He grew up in Trinidad and came here to do his first degree, his Masters and PhD. Education was stressed from the setting up of the country. Secondary education was endorsed by Eric Williams. Common Entrance still exists there.' (Parent E)*

'In the 1960s Guyana suffered a brain drain with many people emigrating to Canada and some to the UK. We were highly educated and continued our education after we left.' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)

The question of why people who came here from the Caribbean were not business minded but tended to be involved in the service sector came up in a number of our interviews:

'For the most part when it comes to Black Caribbean families coming to this country from abroad, they came here to work. They are not business minded, unlike Asian families who were successful in business at home, so they came here and did the same. What you see are low expectations of work, low paid jobs. You couldn't tell your children what other jobs are available if your social group is at that level – it's all you know. Take for example the social control through music that people listen to, most of it is negative but they want to be part of a group. Their music is a sound track to their lives 'this reflects me'.. A lot of people from inner cities like to dress like their peers, socially it means more to them to look like a person with good clothes. You want to be like them with nice trainers because they are popular. Parents buy their children £100 trainers because in their circle it carries a lot of weight. In the Black community looking good is important, it doesn't matter that you can't read.' (Parent A)

A first generation Black Caribbean Church leader recalled:

'The only business that I can remember Jamaicans having would be restaurants. I have never thought about that really but I don't remember them ever doing any great planning. There were opportunities to a point, it was more like finding a job and once you had a job that was it. Whether they were afraid of investment I don't know. You wonder whether it was the five year syndrome 'I won't be here long enough'. In my generation we had no long term plan to stay in England it was always going back home. As time went on a lot of disillusionment came in when I consider that I haven't achieved what I thought I would. You may not have paid for your winter coat or your furniture! You might have children and the situation has changed.' (Church Leader A, 1ˢᵗ generation)

Over the last few decades though things have moved on as more and more businesses have been established by Caribbean heritage people. Many of today's Caribbean Londoners have become business people, running their own restaurants, barbers, nightclubs, bookshops and grocers. Others have achieved high positions in big business and public life. If you check UK Black links you will find that London is home to thousands of businesses owned by people from many of the Caribbean islands. The strength of the

Black pound is so great that it can no longer be ignored and Caribbean Londoners find themselves singled out for attention by advertisers.

Whilst there are many success stories, a parent who talked about her own son's experiences, identified issues that prevent so many Black youngsters getting into successful careers:

> 'My son is very clever and was head-hunted by a Company but he said 'mum I am the only Black person in the Company'. I ask you: 'Why should he have to say that? Many youngsters say 'what's the point because I haven't got the same chance in getting a job? – even if they are clever.'

There are obstacles to even getting an interview, to be in with a chance of getting a job by some who are changing their names to sound more English:

> 'My son changed his name to his grandmother's surname which is English when he was applying for jobs because he said he would stand more chance of getting an interview with an English name.' (Parent C)

Some of those interviewed felt that the limitations imposed by the community in which they are living, hindered the aspirations of Black Caribbean children:

> 'It's about your community. When you are applying for a school, you do not want your child to go to a school in point A, even if you live there. You could have the neighbours from hell but that is not an issue for them. I noticed that in Stamford Hill the Jews have their own schools and they are self-contained. The Greek Cypriots they are the same. Where a child lives you have crime, drugs, when you go home you have no-one there, the electricity has gone off because your parent hasn't paid the bill. I believe it's the communities. If the foundation isn't conducive to improvement then you are stuck. When you have kids here and there it's not frowned upon by the community – and the music is terrible.' (Parent A)

> 'It could be a social class issue also that impacts on their achievement. We have a social system here. There are a lot of single parent families here and so if they do not have additional family, it is very difficult. A lot of it has to do with westernisation and urbanisation.' (Parent B).

> 'The language the child uses at home is rejected by the school. When you're doing phonics in school and people pronounce words differently, we would accept a Scottish or Liverpudlian background and the way they speak but not if they come from a Jamaican or working class background. It is criticised. If you lesson is about full-stops, then it would be wrong to pick up something

that is cultural. If you think within the school you are not accepted then you become ostracised and become an outcast.' (EP A)

'In Britain there's a strong class system which hasn't evolved much in the last hundred years. Social mobility is poor in Britain. Britain is still run by elites. A lot of teachers are middle class and it plays a big part.' (Parent C)

Cultural and Identity Issues

Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, Antigua, St. Vincent, Guyana and St Lucia are just a few of the Caribbean islands represented in London. The strength of Caribbean culture can be felt across the capital - from arts to food and language.

London would be quite different if Caribbean people had not come here. The relationship between the Caribbean and Britain has been long and sometimes troubled. The slave trade, and later the colonisation of the Caribbean by the British Empire have contributed greatly to the prosperity of Britain today. The distance between Britain and the Caribbean soon closed when Caribbean people answered the calls from British industries to help rebuild a post-war nation. It is through immigration that the real relationship between the two communities began. When people started to arrive in larger numbers form the Caribbean in the late 1940s, they left the ships with a passion and excitement for the place they considered to be the 'Mother Country'.

Over half a century since people from the Caribbean started to arrive in London in large numbers, their influence is widespread throughout London's social and cultural life. A host of actors, musicians, presenters, sportspeople and politicians who are second and third generation Caribbeans, are dynamic role-models for future generations.

Caribbean people have become one of the threads holding London together. One of the best illustrations of that is the Notting Hill Carnival with its roots firmly in the Caribbean tradition. One Trinidadian parent was concerned to ensure that her children should retain their cultural heritage with regard to food and Carnival:

'They now won't eat Pilau they want other foods – they like chips! I hardly ever try to correct them when they speak with a South East London accent. My daughter is very determined, very tech savvy. They think I am a bit slow if I am texting with one finger. They are moving up with the technology. I try to get them involved with the Carnival. My husband and a friend have a band which takes part in Carnival. We are involved in the food and the children play 'mas' and my daughter mocks me when I am dancing. I took my costume to a cultural day at their school and everyone loved it but they are becoming British. They are proud of being Trinidadian heritage but they see themselves as Londoners, British.' (Parent E)

Nevertheless could it be the troublesome history itself of slavery and colonialism that have resulted in the underachievement of so many pupils of Black Caribbean heritage in Britain?

Those we interviewed had this to say:

'There are many reasons for the underachievement… the confidence of parents engaging with society, low self-esteem, parents not getting good jobs, racism and that putting them off going forward and depending on the area where they live, not engaging with people outside their community.'

'It also depends on where in the Caribbean we are talking about. People from Guyana and Trinidad and Barbados tended to be a lot more ambitious than others, whereas countries like Jamaica were poorer islands. They came to this country to graft and work rather than get a better job.' (Deputy Head)

'In the 1960s Guyana suffered a brain drain with many people emigrating to Canada and some to the UK. We were highly educated and continued our education after we left. Jamaicans tended to work on the land. The Jamaican population was always the largest group in the UK and came from agricultural backgrounds. Many Jamaicans started allotments here. Jamaica was one of the oldest British colonies. The British pirates used Jamaica as a base. It had a huge sugar cane industry and a wide spectrum of involvement by Britain in Jamaica. Jamaicans took a leading role in standing up for the rights of Black people in this country. Jamaicans developed their own sub-culture in Brixton. They were an independent, strong force in this country. They have their own language, music food and lifestyle.' (Retired Headteacher – 1st generation, from Guyana, School Z)

'Probably in the initial stages of coming to this country they were oppressed. I could tell you stories of people whose faces are scarred as they were attacked by Teddy Boys. There is resilience inside and this leads to them maintaining their cultural differences – it's when people don't recognise them. If we are looking at youngsters as they come up – my child is five years old, he is doing very well, he is Afro-Caribbean, as he grows I am wondering what will happen, growing up round here in the neighbourhood.' (Governor, School R)

'Many of the Asians that came here also came out of a slavery thing. Britain went in and had a dominating factor. I wonder whether it comes down to family structure. How influential the family structure is in pushing children to get a good education rather than getting a job. Bus driving, working on the railway, working in London Transport, hospitals, these are the jobs that most Black Caribbean people did. All service jobs. Even the man from the African continent would come here and work on two bases – work and go to College

as well. I wonder whether it's a slave mentality. Is it slavery that caused that? For example, something happened and we didn't like it. Why didn't I try and change things for my children? Why is it that a Black man is in a top job as US President but you still have to ask why is Black Caribbean child underachieving? I would like to know the real cause but I wouldn't say it was slavery. We have had every opportunity – why don't we take advantage of all this? The Asians came and did it, the Africans came and they did it. I do not know if its cultural difference, but I know a lot of it was 'we want fun'.. 'we want to party' – in other words we do not build a foundation.' (Church leader A, 1st generation)

'I believe there are generational issues. The first wave to Black Caribbean immigrants had aspirations but no opportunity. The next generation had less aspiration and opportunity, the next generation have neither. The outcome of all this is mistrust. A fear of authority from the parents' side and fear from the staff of bolshie parents.' 'I have come through where these kids are coming from. I had difficulties at school. I had a child when I was 18 years old. Our Black Caribbean parents are loud, I call them passionate not rude or aggressive. I am a bridge in the middle of parents and school.' (Family Support Worker, School A)

'Where I came from (Trinidad) the men came home at weekends because they were working away from home during the week. This is a legacy of slavery and colonialism. When I look at the legacy of slavery and many of us have moved on but we do not all have the desire to be as good as we can be. I grew up partly in the Caribbean and partly in the UK. I came to the UK in 1964 as a six year old child with my younger brother. I had been living with my Gran in Trinidad and Tobago and when she died I came to live in Shepherd's Bush with my mother. I didn't know my father until I got here. I came on a ship called the Queen Mary with my four year old brother and we were at sea for 3-1/2 weeks. There was a woman on the ship who was supposed to look after myself and my brother but she didn't do it. I would go into the dining room on the ship and I was so small I couldn't see the food on the table; I remember baskets of bread and Tabasco sauce. I still have dreams about it. They told me you are going to England and you have to wear warm clothes so I arrived in woolly socks in August. We docked at Southampton and my mum was there to meet us.' (Secondary School Teacher)

Another concern expressed in our focus group interviews was the issue of identity. This is not helped by the various categories used by government agencies and others, to classify different ethnic groups. There seems also to be unwillingness by some in British society, to accept a person's own definition of who they are. For example:

'My husband who is from Trinidad has a range of different cultural heritage and my daughter was surprised when I told her his mother (her grandmother) had a Chinese background. I try to expose them to Trinidadian culture, we have a party at our house and put on the costumes we wear for Carnival and cook food.' (Parent E)

'I do not have problems relating to people of different races and backgrounds. The motto for Jamaica is 'Out of many – one people'. It's on our money, all the different races, Jamaicans, Jews, Indians, Chinese, Lebanese, Whites, everyone speaks Patois. It does work out in some social class in Jamaica and still a bit of colour. The Blacks there could be top lawyers in the country or own a big house there, but here you couldn't see yourself as Prime Minister because my face wouldn't fit.' (Jamaican parent)

'I am Jamaican. I am a British citizen but I have never wanted to be anything other than Jamaican. My children would say 'I am half Jamaican and half British)'. Their identity as being Jamaican would have been stronger had I been able to spend more time there'.. 'It is natural for me to speak English and at home Jamaican. I told my children that I needed to speak Patois to them. I wanted to make a statement. You cannot recover it, and so we have that joke in the house.' (Jamaican parent)

'Born in Harrow of Barbadian and Swiss parents, I didn't experience any racism at school. I left school at 16 years and played basketball at a high level and entered the 'Black' world. My identity was an issue and they told me I was Black and wouldn't accept a mixed-race identity. I became Black and affiliated with it. When I was 19 years I got a scholarship to college in Miami and I experienced extreme racism, overtly expressed by Black Americans. When I came back to England and re-evaluated things I said 'I am me and will not accept anyone else's definition.' (Parent H)

'Schools are about middle class professional ways of presenting yourself. Children are taught that the way you speak at home is not the way you get on in life. From the grassroots you are told you are not right, so children put on a different persona.' (Family Support Worker, School A)

'I think a lot of youngsters don't want to be seen as African as it is not cool.' (Parent C)

'An article I read in a newspaper talked about a lady who applied for thousands of jobs and didn't get an interview and she decided to change her name and made it sound English. There is a lot of stereotyping especially of Black Caribbean people, especially in the media.' (Parent I)

'My son changed his name to his grandmother's surname which is English when he was applying for jobs because he said he would stand more chance of getting an interview with an English name.' (Librarian)

'People ask me 'where are you from?' I say 'I was born in London'. They say, 'no, no, where was your mum from'? I would describe myself as Black British of Caribbean heritage. They do not want to accept this.' (EP D)

'In terms of society, we have taken their identities and given them a negative one and it is largely down to the media. How can you raise aspirations when you are battling against a system?' (Headteacher, School D)

'When my son applied for University on the UCAS form, where it asked which ethnic group he belonged to he put down Black Caribbean, but he was born here. I said 'Wayne why have you ticked the box as Black Caribbean? He said 'Yes mum, but no-one sees me as Black British'! Even though I was born here I tend to do the same. How many generations down does it have to be before the Government changes these categories?' (Parent I)

Media Negative Profiling

The media do not stand in isolation from the society on which they report. In fact, they are an integral part of society. They utilise the same stock of knowledge that is part of that pool of 'common sense' which informs all of our lives. It is common sense to expect punishment if one has committed a crime; it is common sense to have a system of law and order; it is common sense that some people will make more money than others. This pool of common sense knowledge is a reservoir of all our unstated, taken-for-granted assumptions about the world we live in. It is filled with historical traces of previous systems of thought and belief structures.

An inherent part of that historical legacy is the way in which the media positioned and represented peoples who were different; different from what was considered acceptable in British society. That difference covered the entire span of peoples – the Irish, Jews, Black people, etc. Any difference was constructed as a negative sign and imbued with connotations of threat, invasion, pollution and the like. People who were different were positioned as 'others.' 'They' were the criminals; 'they' were dirty, unkempt; 'they' caused trouble and disease. 'They' had to be kept out or contained in a separate area away from 'civilised' society. Critical to the media discourse of the time was the opposition between 'them' and 'us.' What 'they' were, 'we' were not and vice versa.

This is the legacy that informs the media's reservoir of images and filters regarding people of colour but the situation has not changed drastically. Media coverage pertaining to people of colour tends to cluster around particular themes - crime, deviance, exotica and

negatively valued differences. The historical legacy continues to bear influence in the ways in which particular groups are represented, as a LA1 Headteacher stated:

> 'The other massive issue and we cannot do anything about this is the power of the media. The South London Press is full of negativity and it always has articles about Black men with guns or knives. I am not saying it doesn't happen but our children are at home and see things on the news. Also, the culture of MTV of girls running around over-sexualised, guns, rappers, we are being led to believe that Black people are scary. This is what we are fed. These are role models and they are not positive. They are harmful, materialistic and negative. We want to show children that they can have a nice watch or whatever, but they have to work hard to get it.'
> (Headteacher, School A)

Stereotyping is one very common and effective way in which racism is perpetuated. Thus, there is a preponderance of representations of these groups within circumscribed categories, e.g. athletics, entertainment, crime, and so forth. Stereotypes are one-dimensional. They only highlight specific characteristics and these are often used to typify whole groups of people. Other elements, absent from the stereotypes, are similarly absent from the coverage. This leads to a situation where assumptions are made about people on the basis of stereotyping.

> 'Today's media and what people see in terms of successful Black people, it's entertainers and footballers that are pushed.' (Parent A)

> 'A lot of people who are up there in the music business are African and they come out with it. I think a lot of the music Black Caribbean pupils listen to is damaging; you think 'is that what they are saying?' (Parent A)

There are other specific ways in which the media reports on issues relating to 'race' and racism that fit the prevailing commonsensical definitions of these terms and serve to reinforce them over time:

> 'Racism is getting worse now because of the political situation. The media has a lot of influence over the average person. When they are portraying anything negative, they choose a black face, even when discussing Islamisation, to reinforce stereotypes. There has now been a change in that it has shifted more towards Europeans who are on the receiving end of racism. From my perspective, the Asian population has not been targeted as much as the Black population. This has happened in the media. I don't know where they get their information from but they seem to be bent on making sure that racial stereotyping goes on.' (Parent B)

'There's a lot of stereotyping especially of the Black Caribbean. Especially in the media. If they are showing a Black man they would just choose someone with braided hair and ear-rings and this reinforces stereotypes.' (Parent B)

'A lot of the images we see of Black Caribbean in the media are stereotypical and negative. Even Ride Along 2 which is an action comedy gives out a very violent, aggressive, negative image of Black people. It is divisive in many respects.' (Governor, School M)

'The media: Hollywood stars are boycotting the Oscars because of racism. The Masai have to kill a lion to prove they are a man but Tarzan is portrayed as White. If you only ever see success identified in White people you cannot identify with them. All these things have an impact. Britain has always been a master of social control and the class system is there which affects everybody. If you are a visible minority you cannot escape. You cannot stop peoples' prejudices but you can stop people from practising what they believe if it is negative.' (Former Vice Principal, Church leader B)

'Even in primary schools, children are quick to pick up on which jobs will bring in a lot of money. They do not want to worry about money. The media has a lot to answer for in that they are pushing get this.. get that.' (Headteacher, School E)

'The media – music and film. Our youngsters are not great readers of newspapers. Social media has a tremendous influence on youngsters.' (School H)

'I believe the media is responsible for negative images of young Black people and they believe the images of gang members.' (Governor, School H)

'The media is a huge problem.' (Governor, School H)

'Programmes like the Cosby Show used to present positive images of professional Black family life with good, high expectations. There is nothing on TV like that now. All the media present of Black people is robbers, criminals and sportsmen. Racism is insidious. The media encourage youngsters to think they can make money easily.' (Governor, School X)

'All that hip-hop and those who think they can make it in music. They are taken in by it.' (Deputy Head, School D)

'There are a lot of negative connotations attached to them by the media in order to feel important. Unfortunately there is a sense that material gain far exceeds academic gain. A nice car and trainers is more important than getting a good job.' (Deputy Head, School D)

Police Stop and Search and its Negative Impact on Race Issues

The police have the power to stop and question a person at any time. In order to be allowed to search the person they must have reasonable grounds. The Home Office provides ethnicity statistics on stop and search, with individuals self-classifying in broad groups (Black, White, Asian, Chinese or other and Mixed). These categories are not based on national census categories and are not useful providing statistical evidence on the numbers of Black Caribbean that are involved in police stop and search. Nevertheless, data from 'Metropolitan Police in London' suggests that Black people were stopped and searched at almost 4 times the rate of White people across London in 2015/16, Mixed heritage were searched at almost twice the rate of Whites, Asians were searched at marginally higher rates than Whites, and people from Chinese or Other backgrounds were searched at lower rates than Whites (see Table 10).

Table 10. Stop and Search Disproportionality Ratios by Ethnic Background

Ethnic groups	Ratio
White : Black	1 : 3.6
White : Asian	1 : 1.2
White : Mixed	1 : 1.7
White : Other	1 : 0.7

Source: Stopwatch (2015). http://www.stop-watch.org/your-area/area/metropolitan

Overall the UK Home Office lacks detailed national statistics which would be useful for trend monitoring. A more recent worrying trend is the use of Tasers by the Police and fears have been expressed by campaigners that Black youngsters living in England are more likely to be tasered compared with the rest of the population. In particular, the death of the 48-year-old Black ex-Aston Villa striker, outside his parent's house in Telford (Shropshire) in the early hours one morning, added to tensions that were already running high in the wake of last summer's 'Black Lives matter' protests. The incident has prompted calls for Prime Minister Theresa May to lead an 'urgent and fundamental' review of how police use a weapon that can deliver a 50,000-volt shock and was fired 1,921 times in England and Wales last year.

An article in *The Independent* 15th August 2016 by Lusher and Watts, reported on this incident:

> *'A leading campaigner against excessive police deployment of Tasers has now told The Independent that the way the weapons are being used generally is 'a reflection of institutional racism within the police. Matilda MacAttram, the director of the human rights campaign group Black Mental*

Health UK, said: 'If you are Black and living in England, the likelihood of you being tasered is off the scale compared to the rest of the population.'

'There is no indication that the officers who attended the incident involving Mr. Atkinson discriminated on racial grounds or acted inappropriately in any way. But Ms MacAttram said that when it came to the use of Tasers generally, an October 2013 report for the London Assembly found that Black people represented half of those subjected to Taser deployment, despite making up only 10 per cent of the capital's population.' (Lusher and Watts 2016:1)

The fact that the above incident seems to have taken place in Shropshire throws some further light on an article published in the Guardian newspaper in August 2015:

'Black people are up to 17.5 times more likely than White people to be stopped and searched by the police in certain areas of the UK. This enormous disparity is no great surprise. The issue of stop and search has dogged the police service for decades, sparking riots in Brixton in 1981 and in various parts of the country in 1985. Despite Theresa May, the then Home Secretary pledging to tackle the issue, there has been little faith that much would change. What is surprising about these figures, however, is which police forces are the worst offenders.

Police forces in large urban areas such as London, the West Midlands and Greater Manchester have received a myriad of complaints and protests over their dealings with Black communities. It is in these areas that tensions and resistance have sparked, creating uneasy relationships between the police and the community, which go beyond stop and search to include issues such as deaths in custody and harassment.

Urban police have, at times, been compared to an occupying force, overseeing Black communities. But in the latest figures, while Black people are still two to three times more likely to be stopped by police in cities, it is in rural areas that the biggest disparities are found. In Dorset, Black people were 17.5 times more likely to be stopped and searched, in Sussex 10.6 times and Norfolk 8.4 times. Given that the last response to stop and search figures by some forces was an attempt to stop collecting the data, some will suspect urban results might reflect forces being better able to massage the figures. But whatever the case, the rural numbers are illuminating.' (Andrews, 2015:1)

The following incidences of Police stopping and searching Black youngsters were described to us:

'My granddaughter has a sports car and she was pulled over by the Police. She had been wearing a cap with her hair pulled under it and they thought she was a boy. The policeman asked her to stop. When he realised she was a girl he apologised. It seems if you are driving a nice car they will stop you. They like to stop and search. Even my youngest son was stopped and they searched him – they asked him to empty out his pockets and he had a bible in his jacket pocket!' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)

*'I was stopped going into my own home with my key in my hand. I had to ask my parents to verify this to say I was living there. Frequently this has happened to me. I was probably about thirteen years of age when it first happened. I was just talking to friends and plain-clothed police stopped us and asked us what we were doing. 'Is this your house?' they said. You get used to it after a while. We have been stopped in broad daylight and people look at you and you haven't done anything wrong. It is difficult to challenge that. It is sad. You would have thought that sort of thing happened back in the 1980s. There seems to be an inherent problem about colour, or gathering in the street by people of colour. It seems to be a problem for the Police.'....
'Where I used to live there was a wall outside our house. A number of times Police challenged us just because we were sitting in that locality – it was ridiculous. Random stop and search after the London bombings. The Police stopped every ethnic minority person coming off the Tube carrying a ruck sack. No White people were stopped. I asked 'what is random about this?'* (Parent B).

'When I was 17 working in a shop in Atlantic Road, four Black Caribbean youths, one carrying a gun and a truncheon came in to rob and they fired two shots as they were leaving. They ran into Railton road... the front line. All we shop assistants had to go to Brixton Police Station to try to identify the robbers. What struck me was a high percentage of people that I knew were already in the Police 'mug books'. I just wonder what happened to them over the years and what caused them to go down that path.' (Former Vice Principal, Church leader B)

'On the few occasions that he goes out in the evening, I tend to pick him up. Any Black boy walking on the streets late at night, the chances are he will get stopped. He's been stopped four times in the last year. The first time it was during the day when he had been to the cinema. He was 13 years old but 6'2'. On another occasion he came home with a grazed face. He told me the Police had made him lie down and pushed his face on the ground. He didn't tell me for a few weeks as he got embarrassed because I went to the Police Station the first time it happened and complained.' (Parent H)

'The Police 'stop and search'. A lot of the time they may have had this experience on their way to school. There is nowhere to go with this…'
(Deputy Head, School D)

'There is a need for education on both sides; education on the young peoples' side; on how they should try to have different facets to their personality and make that process easier for themselves if they get stopped by the Police. Some Black boys and women think they have been targeted and so they have to act in a particular way. In some of the conversations I have had with them, I explain that when I have been stopped by the Police, I do not get out of the car aggressively or swear at them for stopping me. I present them with my driving licence before I am asked for it. Early in the conversation I tell them what I do for a living. If you can have a different facet in your reactions then the interaction hopefully will be different. I try to tell the boys you have to have a certain way about you; it doesn't take away from you as an individual. The Police need educating too.' (Deputy Head, School D)

'Our most difficult pupil says he has been stopped and searched by the Police 70-80 times almost on a daily basis. He is 15 years old.' (Headteacher, School D)

Overall available evidence from the study interviews reported here showed that ethnic minorities are still being disproportionately targeted 16 years after the Macpherson report into the investigation of Stephen Lawrence's murder denounced "institutional racism" in the Met and other police forces. The evidence from our research confirms that such racial bias continues. This is further supported by Andrews (2015:1) Guardian article which suggests that '*the disproportionate rates of stop and search for Black communities continue to demonstrate institutional racism in British policing.'*

The Pressure of Government School Standards Agenda

The standards agenda, is an approach to educational reforms which seeks to 'drive up' standards of attainment, including workforce skill levels and ultimately national competitiveness in a globalised economy. The force with which this agenda has been pursued has led some commentators to describe England as a 'laboratory' for educational reform (Finkelstein & Grubb, 2000).

'*Whilst in principle higher standards of attainment are entirely compatible with inclusive school and educational system development, the standards agenda has concentrated on a narrow view of attainment as evidenced by national literacy, numeracy and science tests. Further this agenda is intimately linked to other aspects of policy: the marketization of education; a directive relationship between government and schools that potentially bypasses the participation of teachers in their own work and disengages schools from their local communities; and a regime of target setting and inspection to force up standards.'* (Ainscow et al, 2006)

Since schools are held to account for the attainments of their pupils and are required to make themselves attractive to families who can exercise choice of school for their children, low-attaining pupils, pupils who demand high levels of attention and resource and students who are seen not to conform to school and classroom behavioural norms become unattractive to many schools. This may go some way to explaining why levels of disciplinary exclusion remain problematic (National Statistics, 2005).

The Deputy Head of a large south London secondary school explained the challenges their school faced with regard to local academies 'cherry picking' students:

> *'You now have a situation where people are selecting intakes. We have a good, comprehensive list in our intake but schools are cherry picking and are offering parents promises of bursaries or 1:1 tuition in maths or music. The academisation of schools has caused this. A school down the road has put on their website that they are taking 370 pupils. A parent is not going to turn down these inducements if they send their child to that school. It is a concern for us, it is not right. The system is very much 'every man and woman for him/herself' now and it would be worth people looking at a balance regarding ethnicity of pupils. They have done away with catchment areas and it's a free for all.' (Deputy Head, Inclusion, School E)*

> *'Schools are not looking at the underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils because they are looking at the statistics and the need to improve all the outcomes. I think Headteachers are bogged down with Ofsted and examination results.' (SENCo, School E)*

Recruitment and Training Issues of Teachers, Educational Psychologists and SENCos

Institutional culture has a clear impact on the equality and diversity expertise of academic teaching staff who teach or support learning, with leadership, teaching and learning strategy, and student engagement as strong enablers. Schools and Universities in Britain are becoming globalised, diverse and multicultural and it is important that teaching staff be adequately prepared to handle the challenges that come with this in order to ensure that all students receive fair treatment and do not feel that they have somehow been treated differently because of who they are.

A retired Headteacher expressed her concerns that some school leaders do not appear to be aware of the need to induct new staff with regard to equality issues. She commented:

> *'Teachers and staff need an induction course to show them how to relate to children from other ethnic groups. In Catholic schools you get children from every background. You need to make them feel valued and build their self-esteem not make them feel inferior. Anyone employed in a school, who is not White British, Black British or African but is from Eastern Europe and South*

> *Africa needs to be inducted if they are to be employed to work in a diverse community.' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)*

Teachers' understanding of diversity varied according to where they did their initial teacher training:

> *'I did my PGCE in Manchester last year. There was no focus on inclusion or of teaching in a diverse community. My first placement was in a school with mainly Bangladeshi pupils and the other was all White. One of the reasons I came to London to teach was because I wanted to teach in a diverse community. I was nervous when I first started in case I couldn't do it.' (Teacher, School D)*

> *'I have come across teachers from all over the country who came to work in LA10. It was such a culture shock they didn't even last a year.' (EP D)*

> *'I speak to teachers who remember doing half a day on inclusion in their training.' (EP D)*

> *'I trained at the Metropolitan University in London and I was sent off to schools all over the place, East, South and West London! My friends in Northern Ireland are quite impressed and amazed at the diversity in our schools.' (Secondary HOD, School D)*

> *'People think that you can pick up a successful Headteacher from here and put them there, but it doesn't work that way, it's contextual. I was in a school near Heathrow and the racism was rife! The degree of racism I experienced in a School in Eltham was awful. You cannot go anywhere and teach in a school. You have to understand the community you are working and they have to accept you. I would hire anyone who had a love for children. Children will generally respond to those teachers. When schools are successful it's because there are leaders who are aspirational and want everyone to do well.' (Former Vice Principal, Church Leader B)*

Educational Psychologists commented on their own professional training with regard to inclusion/diversity:

> *'Anyone trained after 2006 would have a Doctorate. Training prior to that was at Masters Level. On our training it was largely White women training and we had one day on diversity at IOE which was presented by a Black man.' (EP A)*

> *'At UCL they were quite strong on inclusion and equality issues and the use of appropriate resources for testing.' (EP C).*

There is also a question about whether the ethnic composition of the Educational Psychology Service reflects the general population as one Educational Psychologist noted;

'There are bigger issues within educational psychology – they did a survey on the demographics in the UK, but only on age and gender, but nothing on ethnicity. I do not think Educational Psychologists represent the general population. People want to see a connection.' (EP A)

'If we had a more diverse profession would the problems go away? Is there institutional racism? I believe there is in individuals, so yes definitely. Styles of speaking are more valued by our institutions and universities are no different.' (EP A)

'Educational Psychologists tend to be women and have been in teaching, who have had their babies and re-train to become Educational Psychologists; White, middle-class women. Their experience of Black people is limited so when they see a Black Caribbean child they think that's how Black people are. In the 1960s they were viewed as ESN – Educationally Sub-normal. But now a lot of Black families resist having a label for their child and refuse an Educational Psychologist's assessment.' (SENCo, School Q)

'Inclusion is a whole school issue. As teachers we don't get time with the Educational Psychologist. It's about what we say – the Educational Psychologist is probably acting on information that they are given. We could say they need an assessment or a referral. ADHD, ADD in terms of mental health, a lot of the time it is developing in the parents and passed down to the students because it's behavioural and a pattern of thinking. As West Indians we have had trauma and brutality over generations. It has not got better. We need justice. If you focus on equality you do not acknowledge.' (SENCo, School Q)

We asked are there institutional barriers which prevent Black Caribbean applicants from becoming Educational Psychologists.

'A Black Caribbean girl couldn't get on to any of the Educational Psychology courses at any of the Universities despite having exactly the same qualifications as me. On my course there was one Black Caribbean man and a Black African girl among 15 White women. They saw themselves as 'the quota'. (EP A).

'If you are in a position to study for a doctorate, you have to be in a position to provide the social capital. There are things that restrict you, not least finance. As a profession since the sixties, it is to promote equality. It was present in everything we did. I did clinical training, a systemic model with emphasis on culture and diversity. The Educational Psychology Service reflects the wider education service in that it is female dominated.' (EP B)

'I had seven years teaching experience (prior to becoming an Educational Psychologist) and I applied four times to get on the course… every year for four years. I am a determined person.' (EP B)

We asked about the selection process using by one institution, for training Educational Psychologists:

> '*Since 2009 I have seen a reasonably diverse group emerge. It is not fully proportional though as yet. Wherever we have a local teacher who expresses an interest in becoming an EP we will talk to them and encourage them and help them to prepare. We do our best to encourage. There are gender issues as well. Most of the EPs are women*'…. '*One of the issues at … Is that we shortlist with the applicants names on the forms. I do not think this is helpful. There are also other factors, such as applicants needing to have had teaching experience. They may be competing against people who have the money or the family are able to provide the financial support during training. Those who come from less affluent backgrounds or family commitment, they are at a disadvantage. We know that …… is not perfect. We have a responsibility to challenge the section processes however.*' (EP C)

Efforts should be directed towards the recruitment of more Black Caribbean Social Workers and Educational Psychologists to train in these professions with added incentives as outlined to encourage them to work in inner city schools. The training of all those entering these professions should include knowledge and understanding of the cultural context in which Black Caribbean pupils are living. Currently there appears to be an issue about the lack of understanding some have:

> '*I am not happy with social work – it is not their fault it is the system. They are not ready to take on the challenge of young people. It doesn't matter where you come from but you do need an understanding of the people you are dealing with. There is a complete disjointing, expectations do not fit, understanding of the system and education in general, no knowledge of how schools operate. You just can't take a child out of class because you have five minutes visiting time.*' (Learning Mentor).

> '*Educational Psychology is a White middle class, female dominated profession. It is unusual in LA1 that we have Black Educational Psychologists. We have more than other places. You understand the families you are going to work with. Assessment of pupils from the West Indies was wrong in the early days and often this is the case now.*' (EP C).

Lack of Positive Role Models

The is a general agreement among researchers and practitioners that Black Caribbean children do not have enough male role models (Demie 2003,2005,2016; Blair et al 1998). There is also an argument that Black children are underachieving in schools because they feel that the curriculum doesn't relate to them. For example, the author of '*The Problem of Black Men*' Lee Pinkerton wrote:

'The first role model for a boy should be his father; but what if you are growing up without a father, as too many Black boys are? Then you have to find someone else to fulfil that role. It is this vacuum that leads so many of our young to turn to gangs – looking for a father figure – a phenomenon called 'father hunger'….. He continued.. *'There is an argument that Black children are underachieving in schools because they don't have enough role models there either. Not enough Black male teachers and not enough Black people on the curriculum. Black educational underachievement, they argue, is partly because Black children feel that the curriculum doesn't relate to them. However, I would ask, 'How come Indian and Chinese children do not have the same problems, when they are equally ignored by the curriculum?' Chinese children in fact have the best educational outcomes from the UK school system, despite there being very few Chinese teachers, or Chinese historical figures on the curriculum. Could it be that Chinese and Indian children are not relying on the UK school system for their sense of self?*

We can see many examples of more recent immigrants to both the UK and US, who after only one or two generations leave the indigenous Blacks far behind, strangely unencumbered by the racism and discrimination that indigenous Blacks complain prevent them from progressing. The real reason why we, as a community, are doing less well than our Asian brethren is because they are not relying on the host community to define them or to give them a job/success.' (Pinkerton 2013:1)

A parent who was born and went schools in LA2 and now lives in LA1, supported this view:

'The trouble is for boys there are no men as good role models. Your big brother may be into crime and so you want to do it. If the role model is poor or non-existent then it just continues. Positive role models around you can influence you even if you do not have them at home; it depends on your circle of friends and the role models they have in their household or community. For example, if you friend's family ask you how you are doing at school and they have a lawyer in their circle; it makes you think about what you are doing.' (Parent A)

'I wonder if some of our children see their parents not working and don't realise that there is more out there and know what they could achieve. Where there are positive role models at home they can see where it's going. Those on Benefits cannot see it.' (Phase Leader, School B)

'*If you listen to groups of Black Caribbean kids talking and the language they use, people think they are arguing. The way they talk about girls and women, so we are bringing people in to talk about how you treat women. You have 16-18 year olds on the fringes of petty crime and kids are drawn to these things and will claim affiliation. These things seem to be glorified by them. If you imagine that*

spread among the culture there are negative effects. What can we do to stop them? Why are they heading in that direction?' (Governor, School R)

'Poor role models, gang culture (people want to feel they belong, if not at school, then in a gang), older siblings who failed at school, lack of self-worth, at school they are told they are not good enough and grow up angry and resentful. Money factors, low income, mental illness, depression, this filters down to the child. The media telling them that they have to have this thing or that thing.' (Deputy Head, School E)

'I chair a group on the Governors Achievement Committee and we check the data. I wonder how much it is about background or family life. Getting parents to understand the importance of school is a big issue. Role models are very important, especially for boys. Having role models to show them are important. We try and have Dads days. A lot of dads are not engaged with education. If they are engaged then the whole family are.' (Governor, School L)

'I have worked in London schools and they don't see Black male role models reflected in the teaching staff nor in society. They cannot see the purpose of what they are trying to achieve at the end of all that.' (Governor, School D)

'As a boy growing up in the Caribbean you would know that Gary Sobers was batting and everybody wanted to be Gary Sobers or Brian Lara. Someone you want to emulate. Here in the UK there are not enough people to emulate. I do not see it. Successful Black Caribbean people are not known. Who are the successful West Indians that I know here in England?' (Church Leader A, 1st generation)

'This school hasn't judged me on my colour, as I have been given a place on the leadership team and I am studying for a postgraduate course, despite not doing a first degree. I am now a role model to our pupils. I grew up on an estate and did not have any positive role models. Children wouldn't take it seriously if they are in a school with Black role models. There is no point in saying you should be a teacher, doctor, or whatever, if they do not see themselves reflected in those professions.' (Parent-Partnership Co-ordinator, School A)

'If I say to children 'picture God – who do they see'? It is social conditioning. That's why I took my children to Gambia, so they would see positid7ve role models. This education system is not suitable for children of this generation.' (Teacher-Governor, School H)

'I think back to my own Primary education in LA10. My Headteacher was a Black Caribbean female. As a child seeing a Black woman in authority was not unusual for me. She is someone I will always remember though.' (EP D)

'When my daughter was in Year 1 in a school in LA3 and she said to me 'Mummy can I be a teacher?' She said, 'Well there are no Black teachers in my school'. I was shocked! To me you can do anything. I told my friend who teaches 'A' Levels in LA4 and I found myself having to give examples of Black people achieving. At home in Trinidad you can see all Black people achieving. I think I over-dosed on 'Aunty … is a Vet, Uncle…. Is a doctor' to try to make up!' (Parent E)

'My daughter's school had to do a project on a successful Black person and she came up with a pop star that had died and I had a go at her, I said 'what about Rosa Parks or Martin Luther-King'? I ranted on at her because I thought she was putting forward something that made Black people seem stupid.' (Parent C)

'Children need to see famous role models like Rosa Parks. I think its key for them to see people of colour achieving. The amount of Black authors I meet who are not getting through to produce the right materials that can get used in schools, it's such a shame.' (Librarian)

'I went to Tulse Hill boys' school in the 1980s. There was just an understanding of the difficulties of being young and Black. We had a Black Headteacher. I think it made a difference. The person running the ship was a Black person. I thought 'wow he's running the ship'. The Deputy Head was White. I am still friends with him so the relationship still exists. He was an example of how teachers had an understanding. Whether it came from the school or the staff I do not know. I cannot remember ever hearing a teacher being negative about my achievement and what I could or couldn't do. I was fortunate in that respect. At the time we had someone running the show that was Black and I could relate to that and all the teachers sang from the same song sheet. I didn't have teachers saying you cannot, I got a sense of just do your best.' (Deputy Head, School D)

'I went into teaching because I wanted to make a difference. I have always taught in LA1 schools although I live in Ealing, because I like to teach in a multi-cultural school as a Black role model. A lot of the parents feel comfortable about talking to me about personal matters.' (Deputy Head).

'I try to project myself as a role model. I tell them without qualifications you won't be going anywhere. Guidance from home is lacking. Parents are working when they go home from school and no-one is there.' (Head of Year, School E)

'Let children know that things are possible. If you can instil a dream in a child, it is difficult to remove it. Role models should be Black, White, Asian – someone at the top of their profession so that each child will not only feel identified but part of a bigger picture. It's important to them all.' (Admissions Officer)

CHAPTER 7: HEADTEACHER, TEACHER, GOVERNOR AND PARENT VIEWS ABOUT BLACK CARIBBEAN PUPILS' UNDERACHIEVEMENT: FOCUS GROUP EVIDENCE

Focus group discussions were carried out with parents, community groups, Headteachers and school staff, governors, Educational Psychologists and SENCos. The main aim of the focus groups was to understand why Black Caribbean pupils are underachieving in British schools and to ascertain their views about the barriers to learning and to identify what practical steps need to be taken in order to raise achievement. Focus groups were run separately to encourage open discussion. Group discussions were centred on the following four questions:

- What might be the reasons for Black Caribbean underachievement in schools?

- What are the reasons for over the representation of Black Caribbean pupils in exclusions?

- To what extent do you believe lack of parental support is one of the major reasons for the underachievement?

- What can be done to narrow the achievement gaps of Black Caribbean pupils?

The main findings are summarised below.

Headteachers' and Staff Views

Five serving Headteachers in the case study schools and two retired Headteachers who are now governors were interviewed, offering a range of perspectives from community, Church of England and Catholic schools in LA1 and LA11. Deputy Headteachers with responsibility for inclusion and phase leaders were also interviewed. We found that the Headteachers we interviewed were mainly White British, with only one being from the Caribbean. One Headteacher was married to a partner from the Caribbean. Only one Deputy Head was of Caribbean heritage. Their answers illustrated a secure understanding of the issues facing Black Caribbean children and families and their schools demonstrate exemplary practice in raising the achievement of Caribbean pupils. For example, they were aware of the historical trials experienced by previous generations school in England, whose children were labelled as Educationally Sub-Normal (ESN) and sent off to special schools, because schools did not understand differences in behavior and culture.

Other issues of deprivation, poor housing, absent fathers and single mothers and the lack of trust that parents have in the school system were raised by Headteachers in answer to the question 'what might be the reason for Black Caribbean underachievement in British schools?' Individual Headteachers and Deputy Heads commented:

'There are many reasons, the confidence of parents engaging with society, low self-esteem, parents not getting good jobs, racism and that putting them off going forward, and depending on the area where they live, not engaging with people outside their community. It also depends on where in the Caribbean we are talking about. People from Guyana, Trinidad and Barbados tended to be a lot more ambitious than others, whereas countries like Jamaica, was a poorer island. They came to this country to graft and work rather than get a better job.' *(Deputy Head, School B)*

A Headteacher echoed the challenges faced by previous generations of Black Caribbean parents when they came to Britain:

'When the first people arrived from the Caribbean they had to live in squalid conditions and hard. The poverty started way back and got handed down'… she continued.. *'If you look back over four or five decades and you treat someone badly at the beginning, it creates a culture. People who came over from the Caribbean were treated in such a way they have had to become tough. Authority has proved itself to not being a good thing. Our families have not had a good experience themselves. From the perspective of a child, the school didn't know anything about him and therefore negative attitudes towards school started to develop because of this and it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy. For example, there is a five year old child in Reception, who is collected by an older brother. He comes into school with chicken and chips, with his friend and is rude to everyone. Mum doesn't come in; she drops the five year old at the gate in the morning. I wrote mum a nice letter and she's coming to see me tomorrow. I can already detect an attitude there. Sadly there's nothing good coming on for that child. She is a lovely little vessel but all that negativity coming in.' (Headteacher, School A)*

After five decades, the legacy of discrimination and racism in the education system still continues to affect relationships between schools and parents as another Headteacher explained:

'When I came to this school two years ago, I felt that there was a tension between the school and Black Caribbean families. It took me a little while to sort out the issues. A lot of it was about staff being scared of talking to parents. Lots of things. There have been a few incidents, parents and staff and parents and the Headteacher. Significantly there is a high number of Black teaching staff. It didn't appear to be anything to do with the ethnicity of the staff. I think there are a number of social and economic issues that Black Caribbean families face'…He continued, 'my view about Black Caribbean boys in particular is that they like to know what the boundaries are and firm structures. The idea that you can 'love them into learning' – that's fine, but the love is when they get good examination results and are moving on, but

> *we are here to equip them to do something better. We are the sling shot into the wider world.' (Headteacher, School D)*

Racism in society as experienced by a retired Headteacher from Guyana is suggested as a reason for Black Caribbean pupils' underachievement:

> *'Racism in society is still an issue. Currently it is blatant racism. My daughter works in the same school where she was a pupil and I am a governor in this Infants' school. A child came in with some sweets and said 'my mother said they are only for the Polish children, they are not for the Black children'…* She continued. '*I believe there is racism amongst Eastern Europeans because it is inherent in their history and culture and they lack the experience of living and working in a multi-cultural city. The majority are Catholics so Catholic schools employ them.' (Former Headteacher, School Z)*

An area of great concern is the issue of the over-representation of Black Caribbean pupils being excluded from school. We heard of children as young as five years of age being excluded from primary schools, without any involvement of an Educational Psychologist. We also heard from Educational Psychologists that some of the reasons for pupils being excluded were because their learning needs had not been addressed and this had affected their behaviour. Labelling of young children as having difficult behaviour at a very early age, was leading to self-fulfilling prophecies as they grew older.

There appears to be a tendency for some schools to suggest to parents that they should move their children to another school or they would be excluded. We asked whether this was one of the main reasons for Black Caribbean underachievement. Headteachers commented:

> *'Parents chop and change schools and children are increasingly moved sometimes to up to seven primaries. Some are told to just go and they have home schooling. It's an indictment of the system.' (Headteacher, School E)*

> *'Older pupils have more of a sense of injustice, what is right for them and they rebel. Little ones tend to accept a situation.' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)*

> *'You always felt guilty after you excluded a Black Caribbean child, but you have a behaviour policy and you have to follow it. You have to ask why this is happening to a particular child, so you unpick the behaviour. Sometimes parents do not have enough influence to want to work with you. Sometimes the child's attitude has developed to such an extent that it's almost impossible to change. This happens early in primary, so goodness knows what happens at secondary school.' (Retired Headteacher, School Z)*

We asked Headteachers to what extent do you believe lack of parental support is one of the major reasons for the underachievement?

> *'The social background and the area are significant. We recognise that in particular we do have an issue with parenting. Early on this was a Girls' school, nine years ago. It is now a mixed school. We were going to take in boys and we saw that the representation of staff did not reflect the intake. We thought we needed to recruit TAs and Specialist Assistants who were young males. However, we soon realised we should recruit older staff and this has helped not only pupils but parents also. Absentee fathers and single mothers struggling perhaps never had a male around or one that comes and goes and is a disruptive force. By recruiting this large team of parent advisers with a mentoring role for pupils and parents, parents appreciate that. They work with them. There is consistency of message however; it's no low expectations, firm boundaries, messages of consistency. We have a lot of pupils here who are new arrivals of Jamaican heritage… there are examples of extreme deprivation. But then some parents are professionals and are smart and articulate but they still have a mistrust of the school and they are suspicious. That makes relationship a difficult one you almost have to defend what you do. When you are a White woman in charge of a school like this, or a White male, for some parents it's difficult to get that message across, despite the fact that you may have worked in schools like this for 30/40 years. It is important to have support staff to tell it like it is.' (Headteacher, School E)*

Another Headteacher felt that parents taking children on extended holidays to the Caribbean was a contributory factor in their underachievement:

> *'The biggest issue for me is parents taking their children out of school to go back to the Caribbean – umpteen funerals! I say 'didn't that granny die last year'? Yet they cannot afford the dinner money. These families are not visa over-stayers. They leave in November and return at the end of January or June until the end of term. They will go anyway and just pay the fine.' (Headteacher, School B)*

> *'We have found it difficult in the past to get parents to engage with school. We are improving but it is still a challenge. Social background plays a big part in it. We have problems where pupils are struggling with literacy and it is because the parents are illiterate.' (Headteacher, School B)*

The reasons for the low levels of literacy among some parents we were told was because they were recent arrivals from rural parts of Jamaica, where their own schooling had been erratic. Therefore there is a lot schools have to do to support parents, for example filling out forms and secondary school applications. Also some parents are very young.

'A lot of our parents are very young. By the time they are in their mid-20s, they have several children.' (Headteacher, School A)

'A lot of our young people are in the estates and that is a real challenge for kids and parents, to keep them away from gang culture. We are finding pupils are getting involved younger and younger and the age range is 11-15 year olds in these gangs.' (School A)

On the question of 'how gaps in achievement could be narrowed for Black Caribbean pupils, Headteachers have focussed on developing positive relationships with parents and have gone the extra mile to enlist their support :

'I have a Family Support Worker and a Parent Partnership worker on my senior leadership team. They can talk with the parents more effectively than I can because I represent authority as a Headteacher. They do very well in building relationships with parents. Usually problems do not reach me unless it gets to the stage that the situation needs a bit more weight. For example, a year 1 child who was quite needy and had a young mum who gets very angry because the child's jumper was lost – our Parent Partnership Worker has done wonders with this parent, she got her involved in the Christmas Fair doing hotdogs. This is because we took the time to build a relationship. If you cannot get your child to school on time, what can we do to help? So many good things in place…. the professional development of staff brings lots of knowledge, highly trained TAs, don't just turn up at 9a.m. and they are involved in the discussions about individual pupils. They might come to pupil progress meetings. We are up for trying anything new. I don't mind change so for example we did a literacy programme here, it worked for us to raise levels of literacy but then it was time to leave it and move on. We are not afraid of change.' (Headteacher, School A)

A further example of a Headteacher actively seeking parental engagement is detailed below:

'We had a massive attainment gap of 20% between Black Caribbean pupils and White pupils. Black Caribbean achievement in maths was 19%. The gap this year was only 5% and progress this year is good. What did we do differently? We did a number of tiny things. I did see a lot of the Black Caribbean Year 11 students' parents on a 1:1 basis. I am doing that again this year with a broader remit with other parents. I asked them 'how have you found your experience here'? I give them a chance to give out. We started Target Tuesdays with Year 11, these de-personalised the reasons why you were coming into school. To look at specific things. This made it more open. I have always said to parents 'whenever you want to come and talk I will speak to you'. That has created a positive relationship.' (Headteacher, School A)

Parents' Views

All the parents interviewed (including a great-grandfather) were either of Black Caribbean, African, or mixed Black Caribbean/White, or African/Caribbean heritage. Black Caribbean parents referred to themselves as 'Black Caribbean' or from their country of birth i.e. Jamaican, Trinidadian but with British citizenship. Their children on the other hand would refer to themselves as 'Black Caribbean' even though they were born in this country, as they thought this was how others defined them.

Every parent interviewed felt that it was important for their children to get a good education but many felt there were many barriers to learning that made this a challenge. Frustration was expressed by those parents and grandparents who had been educated in the Caribbean at what they saw happening to their children and grandchildren in British society. Almost all the parents who were born and went to school in this country suffered overt racism from teachers and pupils in their schools. They were not expected to achieve and even when they expressed the desire to go to University, some teachers actively discouraged them. The underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils over five decades was a cause for concern for them all.

The most common reasons for underachievement identified by parents were:

- The low expectations that schools have of the achievement and the behaviour of Black Caribbean children
- Institutional racism within British society which impacts so significantly on Black people by presenting a glass ceiling to their aspirations
- The labelling of Black boys in particular as being difficult behaviourally, which can lead to their exclusion from school at a very young age
- Schools' lack of understanding of the historical, social and cultural context of the Black Caribbean community in Britain and parental mistrust of schools.

The Black Caribbean parents we interviewed compared expectations of teachers in their children's schools unfavourably with their own experiences of attending schools in the Caribbean. For example, a Trinidadian parent who is a Senior CAMHS Commissioner in a London borough explained how teachers' expectations are lower here for her own children than in Trinidad:

> *'My son was in Year 2 doing some spellings. I came from a school where you learned tables by rote. We were learning ten spellings with him. He got to a tricky word and he said 'Mum, I don't need to get it right because I will get a sticker if I get one or two wrong'. In his mind that was good enough. That got me worried because back home in Trinidad you'd never do that you would be aiming to get 10/10!' (Parent C)*

Despite her children attending what she regarded as the best schools in their local authority, LA3, she arranged for privation tuition for them both:

> *'I got a tutor for my daughter in Year 5 and my son has had a tutor from Year 3, for English, Maths and reasoning. He is a child who has to be told every day to do his homework. He plays football but my thing is you need to study. When we talk about careers he says he wants to be a footballer. I say, 'Fine, but you need to be able to read to be able to check your contract'! I suggested he become a Sports Doctor! Back in Trinidad I do not think I would have to struggle so much to get his homework done because they would push him more at school.' (Parent C)*

A parent, who was born in the UK but sent to live with an aunt in Jamaica when she was nine years old, felt she was better off having being educated in Jamaica:

> *'If I am thinking of myself at school in LA1 in 1969 and in the early 70s, I went to live in Jamaica when I was nine years old. My mother died and my father couldn't cope with four children so my sister and I were sent over to Jamaica to live with an aunt. I was living in a small rural place. I adapted. Looking back as an adult, I wasn't properly prepared. My aunt had been widowed after 25 years of marriage and she also fostered children. I was just one of the family and you just get on. I stayed in Jamaica until after my 'A' levels and came back to the UK for my tertiary education, to my father and siblings. Looking at what I saw among Black Caribbean in the UK, their aspirations seemed low, people didn't think they were able or capable. In Jamaica if you want to be Prime Minister then you could, whereas here there was a ceiling. In Jamaica I developed confidence and a 'can do' attitude because expectations were high. Here is a stark contrast as my cousins didn't even think of going to University.' (Governor, School B)*

A father, who was educated in Jamaica, contrasted his own schooling in Jamaica (where he said his teachers had the highest expectations of pupils) with his own experience with his son at school in London:

> *'The first time I realised how ingrained these low expectations are here with teachers, I had to face this with my own son. He had an operation when he was three years old and this affected his attendance at school. He had 50% attendance because he wasn't well and the school was contemplating taking legal action. An intervention was made but as this played itself out so many things came out. At secondary school, although my son was only attending 50% of the time he was still getting 'A's and 'B's but the school suggested that my son attend a school for excluded pupils. Why on earth would you put a child like this with excluded pupils?' (Parent F and 1ˢᵗ generation parent from Jamaica).*

'Looking at the situation here in the UK I wonder could it be the subtle messages that pupils get here that cause them to give up? I have considered this. I remember an incident at my high school with a teacher who insulted us by saying 'you cannot do it'. I took her to task by getting 100% - she didn't last long at the school either. I think probably there was such a strength of feeling in our class that we were expecting to learn, to do well, that if someone came in who didn't expect us to do well, and wasn't up to the mark themselves, then we wouldn't take it.' (Parent F and 1st generation parent from Jamaica).

'By the time I found out about the issue it was too late for me to do anything about it. Low expectations and poor communication failed by child. I believe low expectations are institutional.' (Parent F, 1st generation parent from Jamaica)

The parent of a child in primary school whose son had been put on a table with all Black children when he was in Year 1 commented:

'In Year 2 my son had a Black female teacher. She just had high expectations for all the children and he blossomed for the next two years. Then in Year 4 he had a White teacher who was disinterested.' (Parent H)

One would have hoped that institutional racism was a thing of the past, but our findings show that this is not the case. Indeed, the extent of institutional racism was highlighted by parents in the following comments about racism in schools, by the police, by employers and by universities.

'I thought things had got a bit more equal until I moved to London in the 1990s and encountered the education system. I had never seen anything like it in my life. People of Black Caribbean background who are the same age as me and went to school in London in the 1960s and 1970s, the standards of spelling and grammar are so poor. Also there's a sense that people do not really care. I was thinking what went on in London schools at that time that raised a generation of pupils with such low standards of education? '

There was a recent example of a LA Headteacher not being mindful of her own stereotyping which caused offence to a Black Caribbean parent, as the following example illustrates:

'When I went to the school, the teacher was there with the Headteacher and caretaker. The Headteacher asked me to come to her office for a chat. She asked me 'what Council Estate do you live in?' 'Are you a single mother'? She said: 'sometimes when children come from single parent families and live on an estate they are a lot rougher. I told her that you are extremely racist in what you are saying. I am in education myself and am educated. I asked why

all the Black children were sitting on one table and being given different homework. My son's teacher was White, from outside London and was totally unable to relate to Black children.' (Parent H)

In an attempt to overcome obstacles of even getting an interview, to be in with a chance of getting a job, some Black Caribbean youngsters, are changing their names to sound more English.

'Racism is almost an integral part of this society. An article I read in a newspaper talked about a lady who applied for thousands of jobs and didn't get an interview and she decided to change her name and made it sound English. There is a lot of stereotyping especially of Black Caribbean people, especially in the media.'

'My son changed his name to his grandmother's surname which is English when he was applying for jobs because he said he would stand more chance of getting an interview with an English name'. (Parent C)

'When my son applied for University on the UCAS form, where it asked which ethnic group he belonged to he put down Black Caribbean, but he was born here. I said 'Wayne why have you ticked the box as Black Caribbean? He said 'Yes mum, but no-one sees me as Black British'! Even though I was born here I tend to do the same. How many generations down does it have to be before the Government changes these categories?' (Parent I)

The following incidence of institutional racism by the Police in stopping and searching Black youngsters is described by a grandmother:

'My granddaughter has a sports car and she was pulled over by the Police. She had been wearing a cap with her hair pulled under it and they thought she was a boy. The policeman asked her to stop. When he realised she was a girl he apologised. It seems if you are driving a nice car they will stop you. They like to stop and search. Even my youngest son was stopped and they searched him – they asked him to empty out his pockets and he had a bible in his jacket pocket!' (Former Headteacher, School Z)

Parents expressed their concerns at the way Black Caribbean boys were being labelled as troublemakers:

'It seems to me that Black males, both Black African and Black Caribbean are a bit more penalised on issues compared with their counterparts from other countries. When children are naughty, the Black African and Black Caribbean boys get into trouble, while their counterparts who do the same thing, they wouldn't get the same penalty. With under-fives there are a lot more Black Caribbean and an increasing number of Black African underachieving. The distinction is getting more blurred.

Another parent described a very worrying example of her son's school labelling her son from a very young age calling him violent and rough:

> *'My son has always been bigger than the average child. From Year 1 onwards he got labelled, stereotyped from Year 1. They put all the Black children on the same table in his class. From then on I felt I needed to fight. There was a particular incident where my son told me his teacher kept calling him 'Violet'. At Nursery they called him 'Orange'. For a long time it didn't click until one day I went into school and they said he was rough and needed to watch his behaviour. I once told him to become careful because he was so big. Then I had a telephone call to say he was traumatising a child by locking him in the toilets (he was only five years old). I asked him explain what had happened and he said the boy had kicked him and called him a 'black monkey' and because he had been told not to fight he pushed him into the toilets. It turned out his teacher called him a 'violent' liar.' (Parent H)*

The following comment illustrates how undiagnosed special educational needs are interpreted as behavioural difficulties, which can lead to a pupil's exclusion. One parent noted:

> *'Black people are seen as violent, they are seen as physically stronger, whereas they have poorer health than Whites. They are thought of as being strong. It translates down into school. A Black Caribbean pupil would be excluded rather than a White child. Now that schools have to write down how many days pupils are excluded, schools find another way, so they have to stay in a classroom on their own and officially it's called internal exclusion. I advised a friend whose son had been excluded to ask to see the official school figures for exclusions. He was never excluded again. He was autistic.' (EP A)*

Some parents felt that schools did not always understand the historical, social and cultural context of some Caribbean families and the different expectations with regard to discipline:

> *'A new Headteacher was involving Social Services regarding the parents' discipline of their children. Some of these parents didn't understand why this was happening. One of the things I realise is that cultural background comes into it. As a CAHMS commissioner, a lot of the cases I get are of Black children who might experience abuse, psychological/emotional abuse because of their parents' mental health or religious beliefs. There are a lot of undisclosed traumas, particularly with looked-after children and mixed-race children in care. I see that as a pattern in some places, it's a cultural thing. People not knowing what is appropriate. In my mother's day children got 'licks' if they were naughty that was accepted. If I had been brought up here I would have turned out very differently. My father has another family – he*

didn't live with us. I do not think I would have achieved so much had I lived here as a child.' (Parent E)

Lack of understanding about the social and cultural background of pupils was mentioned by another parent:

'I think social background has a massive impact on achievement. Your background shapes how you feel about yourself and how you think you can attain. Breakdown in families in BME and ethnic minorities that is a factor, but successful people have come from single parent backgrounds. It can have massive impact for some but not for others. I think the problem is more to do with lack of support networks or extended families and the lack of aspiration within your circle, if you don't know anyone who is successful then you are unlikely to achieve.'

Another parent voiced her concerns about the over-emphasis on slavery in the History curriculum:

'Black History Month – I always raise this with schools; I ask them what they do. They said 'I am doing slavery' and I said I don't want this, I want something with positive role models. I said you don't have any Black positive role models here! So they employed a Black teacher in my child's class. I said they need Black teachers in other classes too.'(Parent I)

Governors' Views

We interviewed eighteen school governors, these included parent, foundation, and teacher governors. Interviews took place in the case study schools and in focus groups. With regard to the question of 'what might be the reason for Black Caribbean pupils' underachievement?' they responded as follows:

'From a governor's perspective its Black Caribbean boys, particularly in writing that underachieve. Whilst all the other things do have an impact. Teachers do use a range of teaching styles but they are still underachieving.' (Governor, School S)

'Is it a boy's issue? Boys are an issue generally – or is it a socio-economic issue? Working class children are an issue. The same could be said for socio-economic status, e.g. pupil premium pupils. What about cultural issues? How much does the new curriculum reflect Black Caribbean pupils, but what about other cultures too? Teaching styles? Do Black Caribbean pupils respond to particular teaching styles? Is it the best approach? Parental involvement – the role of parents and getting them involved in schools more. Having time to be involved though because of time.' (Governor)

> *'There is not a lot of support from fathers. The problem is gangs, older siblings who influence. They see that as more important than a good education. It's cool to be in a gang than to be educated. We wonder whether it's being disengaged with learning, definitely not expectations. Great teachers do have more strategies.'* (Teacher-Governor)

Another governor, felt that institutional racism and the historical 'glass ceiling' imposed on Black Caribbean pupils, were important aspects of their underachievement:

> *'My hypothesis is if you have been subjected to racism over several generations, then this is going to make your hopes and dreams more difficult. Black Africans tend to be first and second generation. They still have hope. Work situations are difficulty, zero hours contracts, trying to make ends meet. These are the problems our parents have'...* He continued.. *'Several generations are told you shouldn't achieve and you cannot go to university; you have no reason to aspire. Your child is told this and their child the same. That's a bigger barrier to overcome than for a new immigrant.'* (Governor, School S)

We asked 'why are there high numbers of Black Caribbean pupils excluded from school?' Many felt that schools' hands are tied as there are very limited deterrents they can use, which makes exclusion the only answer. A governor who is a retired Headteacher commented:

> *'You always felt guilty after you excluded a Black Caribbean child. But you have a behaviour policy and you have to follow it. You have to ask why this is happening to a particular child, so you unpick the behaviour. Sometimes parents do not have enough influence to want to work with you. Sometimes the child's attitude has developed to such an extent that it's almost impossible to change. This happens early in primary, so goodness knows what happens at secondary school.'* (Governor, School S)

The cultural differences in terms of discipline were raised by some governors. The parents of children in Caribbean and African families would adhere to corporal punishment as a biblical context, for example 'spare the rod and the spoil the child'. They find it difficult to understand why schools in the UK are prevented from disciplining children in this way but then impose drastic measures such as exclusion. One governor commented:

> *'Parents say 'we will send them back to Jamaica – they will sort them out!' Corporal punishment has been abolished. African children are beaten at home. At school we wouldn't/can't hit them. They do not think we have authority.'* (Governor, School S)

A teacher governor agreed:

> 'We had an incident where a father started to beat his son in front of us. We had to call social care. It was heart-breaking. It's an awkward thing. The law changed about corporal punishment but it wasn't explained what the new expectations are.

Another governor commented:

> 'When the government took away corporal punishment there was nothing there to use instead. They have taken away youth clubs too. We have focused on the rights of pupils but not their responsibilities. They say 'you can't touch me.'

In response to the question 'To what extent do you believe lack of parental support is one of the major reasons for the underachievement?' One governor said:

> 'The school gets blamed for everything, particularly around behaviour. I do not feel the government has really accepted that parents struggle with their children's behaviour, whatever colour they are. Many cannot manage their 3, 4 or ten year old. The government doesn't recognise it; they say schools need to do something about it. The school only has the children for five hours a day. All the other factors influence the child. The government does not understand how families work in London. Because they live in their lovely houses away from all the nastiness.'
> (Governor, School S)

A teacher-governor contrasted his own experience growing up with that of the pupils he teaches at a boarding-school in Sussex:

> 'There is a huge difference in terms of the expectations my parents had for me and the parents now have for their children. I had to go and study myself, independently, as my parents expected this of me. I have passed this on to my own children and they are doing very well. Much depends on what your parents have instilled into you. A number of Black Caribbean parents do not maintain this, so when they have children it isn't there. Children are not supported. This might be because the system isn't set up for Black Caribbean children to achieve. As a teacher we find it hard to see. To know who they are as a person. What is going on for them emotionally? They do not understand why they need to do x, y, and z in order to get where they need to get.' (Teacher-governor, School H)

Governors recommended a range of measures to narrow the achievement gaps of Black Caribbean pupils such as literacy classes for parents, and to reintroduce Sure Start. One said:

> *'You can have all the support in school you need but if you are going to make an equivalent intervention in the home through Sure Start, then it won't work.' Governor, School S)*

Another governor felt that teachers and staff need an induction course to show them how to relate to children from other ethnic groups. She said:

> '*In Catholic schools you get children from every background. You need to make them feel valued and build their self-esteem not make them feel inferior. Anyone in a school who is not White British, Black British or African but is from Eastern Europe or South Africa, needs to be inducted if they are to be employed to work in a diverse community.' (Teacher Governor, School Z)*

With regard to teacher recruitment and retention so that Black Caribbean pupils get the best teachers, another governor recommended higher rates of pay for teachers to teach in London schools or affordable housing, as they were *'losing some great teachers who cannot afford accommodation*.' Governors also felt that there was a need to recruit teachers who have either been raised in London or have had experience of teaching in London schools, because of the need to understand the children and expect a lot of them.

Educational Psychologists' and SENCOs' Views

Five Educational Psychologists and two SENCos were interviewed in focus groups. The Educational Psychology Service, like the wider education service is represented predominantly by White, middle class females. The Education Psychology Workforce Survey by NAPEP in 2013, records that 84% of EPs are female. No data is collected on ethnic background. As all training for Educational Psychologists is at Doctorate level, one has to be in a position to provide the financial and social capital to gain entry to the profession. As a profession it is designed to promote equality, but it would seem that there are examples of inequality when it comes to the selection process and the training of Educational Psychologists and the tools they would use to assess pupils. The following comments made by individual Educational Psychologists provide some examples of the equality/diversity issues mentioned:

> *'Anyone trained after 2006 would have a Doctorate and training prior to that was at Masters Level. On our training it was largely White women training and we had one day on diversity which was presented by a Black man.' (EPS A)*

A psychologist involved in the selection of suitable candidates for entry to University Educational Psychology courses described some examples of the obstacles BME applicants might face:

'We shortlist with the applicants names on the forms. I do not think this is helpful. There are also other factors, such as applicants needing to have had teaching experience. They may be competing against people who have the money or the family are able to provide the financial support during training. Those would come from less affluent backgrounds or family commitment, they are at a disadvantage.'

'Now to train as an EP it is very costly to train over three years. Now it's a three year doctorate and you no longer have to have teaching experience but it excludes many people because of the costs. It's becoming less equal as many cannot afford it.' (EP A)

Many Educational Psychologists find themselves in a difficult position because they are aware of the need to challenge schools where they see disproportionality in terms of the pupils referred to them, at the same time, as a traded-service, they aware that schools could refuse to buy in their service if they were too challenging. A Senior Educational Psychologist observed:

'An inexperienced Educational Psychologist might find it daunting.'

'Schools seem to like our service and they do buy back but there have been schools where they do not welcome the challenge.' (EP C)

On the question of the over representation of Black Caribbean pupils being excluded from school, Educational Psychologists suggested the following reasons:

'It is an issue and the differences started appearing in the EYFS. Clearly it's a combination of lots of different factors. You cannot take for granted stereotypes that go unchallenged, 'they are going to be like that'. It's how African Caribbean pupils are seen by African families in terms of different perceptions. There is Black on Black discrimination that has come into play. In one school now parents from the Caribbean, are saying that TAs of African background are discriminating against them. There is that kind of interface and the interface of how young people are portrayed in the media. There is also the massive socio-economic issue a lot of the families are not living in good accommodation and may be in low economic jobs.' (EP D)

'The African-Caribbeans have been here the longest and their experiences are slightly different. You cannot help but see what is going on in America and what's happening there, with what's going on in terms of mental health and prisons.'

The current situation where the Local Authorities have no longer any remit with regard to the exclusion of pupils in academies and free schools and the non-involvement of LA Educational Psychologists in these schools is a cause for concern:

> *'The exclusion process in LA schools is a bit of a mess and schools are excluding pupils without the involvement of the EP. It is no longer the responsibility of the LA because of academies and free schools. For us we think there needs to be something done as the most vulnerable groups are being excluded. The LA no longer has the power to stop schools from doing this. There is no longer any funding available. We do not have the mechanism to stop it. As a service we are 'buy-back' so we don't have the capacity to provide something that schools will not buy into. We get so bound up in statutory work, converting statements into EHCs. We do not have the capacity to deal with the ten-fold increase in our work. We do not have the time to do preventative work which really is what is needed.'* **(**EP A)

> **'***It is important to question when your referrals are coming from a particular group and you should be asking why this is. For me, I think there are Black Caribbean boys who are excluded because of their needs which haven't been assessed. There are illegal exclusions, say for half a day, or parents are advised to take the child to another school or they will be permanently excluded'. (EP A)*

> *'I would say that racism is a factor in this. A school is not in isolation of community and racism existing in our society at large….' 'It's what is described as 'challenging behaviour'; the attributions teachers might have for Black pupils might be seen more negatively. It could be about perceptions. The school feels powerless. They do not want to exclude but they have reached a point where they cannot do anything with the child. There seems to be less tolerance now in schools, perhaps because of the demands on teachers'. (EP E)*

We were given examples from Educational Psychologists of institutional racism in schools, for example, a SENCo describing a parent as 'very traditionally Jamaican'. When she asked what that meant the SENCo replied: 'there's a lot of violence in the family and mother wears a lot of different wigs every day'.

We asked why do SENCos categorise Black Caribbean pupils and were they being stereotyped? Another Educational Psychologist commented:

'Disproportionality we are aware of, we have the data but have not been able to use it. I imagine if you started having the questions with schools and get them to reflect on this, I believe you would have some interesting conversations. In some of my schools there is institutional racism. They have particular expectations of certain groups and this comes out. There are other schools where that is taken out of the SENCos hands. I have a number of cases where the SLT do not even discuss things with the SENCo; they just make those decisions about behaviour on their own. The problem is always located in the child and the family, never in the school. Schools are good at saying 'that family is like that…' (EP D)

We asked whether having more Black Headteachers or SENCos would make a difference:

'I think it would in some respects. I have been an EP in schools where the Headteacher was from a Black African background and a lot of the staff from a Black Caribbean background. If you are in a school where you are a Black teacher in a largely White school, you could be accused of being biased in favour of Black Caribbean pupils. It shouldn't fall into the hands of one Black teacher to do this. It is important for the school to reflect and ask what is happening with particular groups.' (EP A)

On the topic of whether there should be more Black Educational Psychologists, a SENCo commented:

'Educational Psychologists tend to be women and have been in teaching, who have had their babies and re-train to become Educational Psychologists. White middle-class women. Their experience of Black people is limited so when they see a Black Caribbean child they think that's how Black people are. In the 1960s they were viewed as ESN – educationally subnormal! But now a lot of Black families resist having a label for their child and refuse educational psychologists assessment.'

In our discussions with SENCos we asked for their views on why the numbers of permanent exclusions of Black Caribbean pupils was so high?

'A lot of people find Black Caribbean pupils threatening. History is being brought to bear on this. Black children mature earlier they look bigger so they present as a threat. Everybody thinks that. Very few people can see them as a child. A teacher can see a White child and a Black child both misbehaving but it's the Black one that gets into trouble. It's not just a White thing, I know Black teachers who are the same. I grew up in a house

of women, so my first experience of a man was my husband. When I had a son I thought what am I going to do with a boy? Seeing him as a baby and then as a child I know more. A lot of people don't see them like that.'
(SENco, School R)

The issue of undiagnosed special educational needs was frequently referred to by Educational Psychologists and SENCos. It seems that sometimes primary schools neglect to raise the question of a child's special needs with Black Caribbean parents. Consequently children are being excluded from primary school or they are moving from school to school, as a SENCo who works in a Pupil Referral Unit and advises schools on behavioural issues explains:

'A Black Headteacher has arranged a managed move for a Year 8 ASD child. The numbers of Black Caribbean students who come in to us have undiagnosed SEND, ADHD, MLD, SLD, a disproportionate number. The question is when our Black children with SEN act up they are excluded. Some children have been to 3 or 4 different primary schools because parents are told to remove them so this is how they have been undiagnosed. The additional needs are seen as behavioural problems rather than special needs.'

An Educational Psychologist commented on how the word 'psychologist' can be a terrifying word to parents:

'It's about how you engage parents in the process of getting a child assessed. I go to parents meetings now and when I meet them I say 'Hi, I am 'J' and they will sign the form.' (EP A)

One of her main concerns however, is when she is asked to do an assessment on a child and the next week the school excludes them, just to provide the evidence needed of Educational Psychologist involvement:

'We are asked to do an assessment on a child and the next week the school excludes them – in some cases permanently. I have had this five times personally. I have just had a Black Caribbean child excluded in Year 2. His learning needs were not addressed and he had emotional needs.'
(EP A)

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATION FOR SCHOOLS AND POLICY MAKERS

Conclusions

The English school system has produced dismal academic results for a high percentage of Black Caribbean pupils over the last 60 years. Over the past four decades, national research has shown that their achievements persistently lag behind the average achievement of their peers and the gap is growing at the end of primary and secondary education. This research was an ethnographic study of Black Caribbean underachievement in English schools. Three complementary methodological approaches were adopted, comprising of detailed statistical analyses, case studies and focus group interviews. A total of 124 people participated in the interviews and focus groups, consisting of a range of school staff, pupils, parents, governors, educational psychologists and church leaders. The majority of the staff interviewed were White, while almost all the parents and pupils were Black or mixed White and Black. Seven schools took part in the case studies, and twenty two participated in the focus groups. A key finding from the analysis was that, at GCSE, 46% of Black Caribbean pupils achieved 5+A*-C including English and maths compared with 54% of pupils nationally. The KS2 data also showed a similar pattern, with Black Caribbean pupils having the lowest levels of achievement of any ethnic group. Overall, the data shows that Black Caribbean underachievement is real and persistent with consistently low levels of attainment, and the difference between their performance and that reported nationally is the largest of any ethnic group.

The reasons for the underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils are wide-ranging and complex. The following factors were identified as main reasons for underachievement in English schools:-

1.   Headteachers' poor leadership on equality issues
2.   Institutional racism
3.   Stereotyping
4.   Teachers' low expectations
5.   Curriculum relevance and barriers
6.   Lack of diversity in the work force
7.   Lack of targeted support

Other underachievement factors include:

8.   Exclusions issues and racial equality
9.   Lack of parental aspiration
10.   Low literacy levels and language barriers
11.   Absent fathers
12.   Single parent families

13.   Socio-economic disadvantage
14.   Poor housing
15.   Social class issues
16.   Lack of role models and peer pressure
17.   Negative peer pressure
18.   Cultural clashes and behavior
19.   Schools ability grouping and lower tier entry issues
20.   Cultural and identity issues
21.   Media negative picture and stereotyping
22.   Police stop and search and its negative impact on race issues
23.   The pressure of the government's school standards agenda
24.   Recruitment and training issues of teachers, Educational Psychologists and SENCOs

All of these factors can perpetuate low attainment and disengagement from learning for Black Caribbean pupils. Each of the above factors were explored in detail in the report to reveal exactly how it contributed to Black Caribbean pupils' underachievement in English schools.

Implications for Policy Makers and Schools to Improve Educational Attainment

The challenge from this research for national policy makers is that the government needs to recognise that the underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils is an important part of raising standards in schools. Although there is now greater recognition of the underachievement of Black Caribbean pupils in schools, there is less intervention work on the ground to support this group. It is now rare to find nationally these days a project relevant to the needs of pupils of Black Caribbean heritage. To tackle underachievement the DfE and schools need to develop targeted initiatives to identify and address the needs of pupils of Black Caribbean heritage.

We would argue that the government has not been effective in using evidence from previous research, London Challenge and Black Achievement Projects to tackle equality issues (Tickly et al 2006). Lessons from previous audits and enquiries into race issues and underachievement, suggest that successive governments have had a track record of ordering audits, research and enquiries when they do not want to do something (see Rampton 1981, Swann 1985, Macpherson, 1999; *Gillborn and Mirza 2000, Gillborn and Gipps 1996,* Parekh, 2000, EHRC 2015). Recently the Prime Minister (2016) has also launched another '*unprecedented audit of public services to reveal racial disparities and help end the burning injustices many people experience across Britain'* instead of acting on the previous evidence. Previous evaluation of some of these enquiries and audits confirms that within 2 or 3 years every single one of these is forgotten without any action taken by the government to tackle inequality and race issues.

We have now research evidence to tackle inequality and there is no need for more audits and research. We have also evidence to show that the performance of Black Caribbean pupils consistently lags behind that of their peers. This should not be allowed to continue. Our research shows the reasons for underachievement. We need to take action to tackle the problem. The recommendations for the DfE, for schools with ethnically diverse population, LAs and Multi Academy Trusts emerging from this study are given below:

Recommendations:

Department for Education (DfE)

Establishing Raising Achievement Projects

Building on the lessons learnt from what works research on raising achievement of Black Caribbean pupils, London Challenge and National Raising the Achievement of Black Caribbean pupils project 2003-2010 (Demie and McLean 2016; Tickly et al 2006; Mayor et al 2009; Demie 2005;DfES 2003; McKenley et al 2002; Ofsted 2002; EHRC 2016), the DfE needs to establish a national Black Caribbean Raising Achievement project where there is the highest concentration of Black Caribbean pupils to support schools and LAs to address underachievement of Black Caribbean children. Elements of the strategy should include:

1. The provision of national strategic officer posts within the DfE or regions to support delivery of the work of raising the achievement of Black Caribbean pupils at national level.
2. Ensuring there is adequate advisory staff provision such as Black Caribbean achievement consultants or EMA advisory teachers to support schools.
3. Ofsted monitoring and evaluation of the above programmes and during inspections.
4. The provision of community led Black mentoring projects in order to ensure an adequate level of appropriately trained and ethnically matched mentors to serve in different regions where there are high numbers of Black Caribbean pupils.
5. Targets should be set by the DfE for recruitment and retention and of Black teachers, Black Headteachers, middle and senior managers and support staff and in schools.
6. The government should reintroduce Sure Start in areas where there are significant numbers of Black Caribbean families.

Establishing Ring-Fenced Funding

7. The DfE should introduce ring fenced targeted funding to schools where Black Caribbean pupils are underachieving and where schools are able to demonstrate the capacity for effectively leading the work, carrying out an audit and developing

and delivering an action plan to redress any inequality and narrowing the achievement gap.

8. The provision of funding delivered by schools and community groups which is focused on raising the attainment of Black Caribbean pupils, including training on parental rights and responsibilities, understanding exclusions and working in partnership with class teachers.

Addressing Black Caribbean Exclusion Issues

9. The DfE should review its guidance to schools on exclusions. Headteachers should be advised that pupils should not be excluded in the first instance unless there are instances of serious offences such as the use of knives and guns.

10. Headteachers should be required to demonstrate that they have made adequate attempts to meet the pupil's pastoral and learning needs in the year prior to the proposed permanent exclusion.

11. Headteachers should provide details of pastoral and academic achievement support plan and records of activities provided to improve unacceptable behaviour and raise levels of attainment.

12. The DfE should set national and regional targets for reducing Black Caribbean permanent and fixed term exclusions.

13. The DfE should review the provision in pupil referral units with particular focus on quality of provision and overrepresentation of Black Caribbean pupils and developing a strategy to address the issues.

Tackling Racism and Addressing Diversity Issues

Many of the people we interviewed in the focus groups reported that they had experienced racism in varying forms and that institutional racism is one of the factors that hindered the achievement of Black Caribbean pupils. Many pointed out the forms of racism which have contributed to this underachievement and which manifested itself most harshly in the form of: being overlooked for answering questions; verbal aggression from teachers; harsher reprimands for Black Caribbean pupils compared to other ethnic groups and White British pupils for the same misdemeanour; racist stereotyping; low ability grouping; racial harassment and exclusions. To tackle these issues:

14. The government should provide leadership and guidance to tackle institutional racism in public service and schools

15. The government needs to take a stance against racism in the public and private sectors and in schools

16. The government should lead in community cohesion and provide guidance to schools on the importance of valuing all communities and celebrating the background experiences of every child.

17.   The government needs a curriculum that reflects this nation's rich cultural diversity. We need more teachers from ethnic minorities in our classrooms, and we need them to be more than role models. We need to recognise that certain groups of students will need extra support and that the schools teaching them will require increased funding as a result.

Local Authority (LA) and Multi Academy Trusts (MAT)

18.   Local Authorities and Multi Academy Trusts should audit the current workforce and pursue strong diversification at all levels including senior management and ensure that it reflects the community served by the LAs and MATs. Diversity in the workforce is particularly important for those LAs where there are high numbers of Black children.

19.   LAs should continue to use data effectively to identify underachieving groups and to improve teachers and management awareness in understanding the roots of Black history in general and in particular Black Caribbean culture. This should aim to improve teachers understanding of Black children as learners, how and why some underachieve and what teachers can do to target these issues.

20.   LAs and the Multi Academy Trusts should ensure that they provide schools with programmes of centrally based training to share good practice to raise attainment and narrow the achievement gap.

Schools

To help raise the achievement of Black Caribbean children, schools should:

21.   Conduct an audit to determine their capacity for implementing whole school change to raise the achievement of Black Caribbean pupils. The audit should cover the achievement of Black Caribbean pupils in comparison with other groups; awareness of Black Caribbean achievement issues and of a race equality framework amongst senior managers, teachers, parents, pupils and governors; perceptions of behaviour management policy and practices; staff - pupil relationships; staff training needs and involvement of Black Caribbean parents.

22.   Audit current workforce and pursue strong diversification at all levels and ensure that it reflects the community served by the school.

23.   All teachers should have access to robust and quality training to meet the educational needs of Black Caribbean pupils and on race equality.

24.   Discuss openly race issues and ethnic diversity within lessons and as an integral part of the whole school staff professional development

25.   Celebrate cultural diversity through assemblies, Black History month and International days.

26.   Gather and debate the views of staff, pupils and the community about the barriers to achievement and encourage the active involvement of parents.

27.   Schools should develop strong recruitment, retention and promotion strategies for Black staff and set annual targets. Diversity in the school workforce is particularly important for those schools where there are high numbers of Black children.

Black Caribbean Parents and Communities

28.   Black Caribbean parents and communities should substantially increase levels of involvement in their children's education. This should be through active involvement as a member of the governing body, parents' associations, and local churches and through networking with other parents to make good sense of what is happening in schools.

Teacher Development Agency (TDA), School Teaching Alliance (STA) and Universities

29.   The TDA and STA should develop mandatory training and guidance for trainee teachers concerning the barriers to achievement facing Black Caribbean pupils in particular and Black pupils in general on effective classroom strategies for overcoming these as part of a whole school approach.

30.   Explicit reference needs to be made as part of the professional standards framework to the need for teachers and leaders to be aware of the barriers to achievement facing Black Caribbean learners and strategies for overcoming these.

31.   Universities do not train enough Educational Psychologists from BME communities and need to set targets to recruit more Educational Psychologists from the Black Caribbean community.

32.   Universities, the TDA, and schools should offer inducements to attract more Black Caribbean males to enter the teaching profession and the Educational Psychology service.

Acknowledgements

References:

Acland, H. (1973). Streaming in English primary schools British Journal of Educational Psychology, 43 (2), 151-159.

Andrews, K. (2015). Stop and Search is a disgrace across the UK – not just in our cities, The Guardian newspaper, August. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/07/stop-and-search-uk-rural-black-people-police?CMP=share_btn_link

Ainscow, M.; Booth, T.; Dyson, A. (2006). Inclusion and the standards agenda: negotiating policy pressures in England, International Journal of Inclusive Education Vol. 10, No. 4–5, July–September, pp. 295–308

Austin, S. & Garrison, L. (1978). Times Educational Supplement (24 February)
Barker, J. C. (1970). Streaming in the Primary School Slough: NFER.

Blair, M. & Bourne, J. with Coffin, C., Creese, A. & Kenner, C. (1998). Making the Difference: Teaching and Learning Strategies in Successful Multi-Ethnic Schools. Department for Education & Employment.

Carmichael, S. (Ture Kwame), Hamilton, C.V. (1992). Black Power. The Politics of Liberation in America, Vintage Books, Random House

Coard, B. (1971). How the West Indian Child is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System. London: New Beacon Books.

Connelly, R., Joshi, H and Rosenberg, R. (2014). Family Structure. In Platt, L. (ed) Millennium Cohort Study Age 11 Survey Initial Findings. London: Centre for Longitudinal Studies.

Curtis, P. (2008).Education: Black Caribbean children held back by institutional racism in schools, Guardian, September.

Demie, F. (2015). The Underachievement of Black Caribbean Heritage Pupils in Schools: Research Brief, https://www.lambeth.gov.uk/rsu/sites/www.lambeth.gov.uk.rsu/files/The_Underachievement_of_Black_Caribbean_Heritage_Pupils_in_Schools-_Research_Brief.pdf

Demie, F. and McLean, C. (2015). Transforming Education: The Lambeth Story, Research and Statistics Unit, Lambeth LA.

Demie, F. (2005). Achievement of Black Caribbean pupils: Good practice in Lambeth schools, British Educational Research Journal, Volume 31, Issue 4, pages 481–508, August.

Demie, F. (2003). Raising the Achievement of Black Caribbean Pupils in British Schools: Unacknowledged Problems and Challenges for Policy Makers, London Review of Education, Vol. 1, No. 3, and p. 229-248.

Demie, F. (2001). Ethnic and Gender Difference in Educational Achievement and Implications for School Improvement Strategies, Educational Research, 43, 1, 91-106

DfE. (2016). Permanent and fixed-period exclusions in England: 2014 to 2015, DfE SFR26/2016

DfE. (2014). Permanent and Fixed Period Exclusions in England: 2012/2013), National Statistics DFE SFR 2014.

DfES (2006). Getting it, getting it right: exclusion of Black pupils: priority review, DFES

DfES. (2003). Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of African Caribbean Pupils: Guidance for Schools London, Department for Education and Skills

Eberhardt, J and Okonofua, J. (2015). Two Strikes: Race and Disciplining Young Students, Stanford University, SAGE EHRC (2015). Is Britain Fairer, Equality and Human Right Commission https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/britain-fairer/britain-fairer-report

Evetts, D. (1994). In Gunter, Helen, (2002) Leaders and Leadership in Education, SAGE Foster, D. (2016). Briefing Paper: Teachers Supply Retention and Workload, House of Commons Library

Finkelstein, N. D. & Grubb, W. N. (2000). Making sense of education and training markets: lessons from England, American Educational Research Journal, 37(3), 601–631.

Gillborn, D. (2002). Education and Institutional Racism, Inaugural Professorial Lecture, Institute of Education, University of London.

Gillborn, D. and Drew, D. (2010). "Academy Exclusions", Runnymede Bulletin, Summer edition 2010. pp. 12 – 13 http://www.scribd.com/doc/35298622/Runnymede-Bulletin-Summer-2010-Final 6

Gillborn, D. & Youdell, D. (2000). Rationing Education: Policy, Practice, Reform and Equity. Buckingham, Open University Press.

Gillborn, D. and Gipps, C. (1996). Recent Research on the Achievement of Ethnic Minority Pupils, OFSTED Reviews of Research, HMSO, London.

Gillian, K. and Richardson, R. (2003). News and Comments, Race Equality Teaching, Vol.21, No 2, Spring, p4-5.

Gillborn, D. and Mirza, H.S. (2000). Educational Inequality: Mapping Race and Class, OFSTED.

Gillborn, D. and Gipps, C. (1996). Recent Research on the Achievement of Ethnic Minority Pupils, OFSTED Reviews of Research, HMSO, London.

GLA. (2004). The Educational Experiences and Achievement of Black Boys in London Schools 2000-2003, Greater London Authority, September

Ireson, J.; Hallam, S.; Mortimore, P., Hack, S.; Clark, H. and Plewis, I. (1999). Ability grouping in the secondary school: the effects on academic achievement and pupils' self-esteem, Institute of Education, University of London, Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association Annual Conference, University of Sussex at Brighton, September 2-5 1999

Hallam, S. & Toutounji, I. (1996). What do we know about the grouping of pupils by ability? London: Institute of Education.

Ireson, J. & Hallam, S. (1999). Raising standards: is ability grouping the answer? Oxford review of education.

O'Neill, O. (2002). Called to account. Lecture 3, Reith Lectures 2002 (London, BBC). Available online at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/reith2002/lecture3.shtml

Kerkoff, A. (1986). Effects of ability grouping in British secondary schools. American sociological review, 51, 842-858.
Kulik, C. & Kulik, J. A. (1982). Effects of ability grouping on secondary school students: a meta-analysis of evaluation findings American educational research journal, 19, 415-428.

Kulik, J. A. & Kulik, C. (1992). Meta-analytic findings on grouping programs, Gifted child quarterly, 36(2), 73-77.

Kruk, E. (2012). 'Father absence, Father deficit, Father hunger' Psychology Today

Leithwood, K. (1992). The Move Towards Transformational Leadership, ASCD Journals

Lusher, A. and Watts, J. (2016). Dalian Atkinson death: Black people 'off the scale more likely' to be Tasered by police, campaigners say, Independent Newspaper: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/dalian-atkinson-death-Black-people-off-the-scale-more-likely-to-be-tasered-by-police-campaigners-say-a7192611.html

MacBeath, J. (1998). Effective Leadership, Responding to Change, Paul Chapman

Macpherson, W. (1999). The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. CM 4262-I. London, the Stationery Office.

McKenley, J., Power, C., Ishani, L. & Demie, F. (2003). Raising the Achievement of Black Caribbean Pupils in British Schools: Good Practice in Lambeth Schools, Research and Statistics Unit, Lambeth Education, February.

Maylor, U., Smart, S. , Kuyok, K.A. & Ross, A. (2009). Black Childrens' Achievement Programme Evaluation - Report [Report commissioned by the DCSF] , London, DCSF .

Newbold, D. (1977). Ability Grouping: The Banbury Enquiry. Slough: NFER Publishing Company.

NHS. (2011). Statistics from the Count Me In Censuses, the Care Quality Commission

OFSTED. (2002). Achievement of Black Caribbean Pupils: Three Successful Primary Schools. OFSTED Publications HMI 447, April.

OFSTED. (2002). Achievement of Black Caribbean Pupils: Good Practice in Secondary Schools, OFSTED Publications HMI 448, April.

OFSTED. (2001). Managing Support for the Attainment of Pupils from Minority Ethnic Groups, OFSTED Publications HMI 326, October.

Parsons et al. (2005). Minority Ethnic Exclusions and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, DfES, RR616.

Prime Minster Office (2016). Prime Minister Teresa May orders government audit to tackle racial disparities in public service outcomes, Press release, Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street, August.
https://www.gov.uk/government/news/prime-minister-orders-government-audit-to-tackle-racial-disparities-in-public-service-outcomes

Prison Reform Trust (2014). Race and Prisons,
http://www.prisonreformtrust.org.uk/PressPolicy/News/vw/1/ItemID/214.

Rampton, A. (1981). West Indian Children in Our Schools. Cmnd 8273. London, HMSO.

Rosenthal, R & Jacobsen, L (1968). Pygmalion in the classroom: teacher expectation and pupils' intellectual development. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

The Runnymede Trust research (2014). Fatherhood Facts Sheet,
http://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects-and-publications/parliament/past-participation-and-politics/david-lammy-on-fatherhood/fact-sheet.html accessed March 2017

The Runnymede Trust (2010).
https://www.scribd.com/document/35298622/Runnymede-Bulletin-Summer-2010-Final

The Runnymede Trust (2012). Briefing on ethnicity and educational attainment, June
http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/Parliamentary%20briefings/EducationWHdebateJune2012.pdf
Sewell, T. (1997). Black Masculinities and Schooling: How Black Boys Survive Modern Schooling. Stoke-on-Trent, Trentham.

Slavin, R. E. (1987). Ability grouping and student achievement in elementary schools: a best evidence synthesis Review of educational research, 57(3), 293-336.

Slavin, R. E. (1990). Achievement effects of ability grouping in secondary schools: a best evidence synthesis Review of educational research, 60, 471-490.

Smith, D. (1977). Racial Disadvantage in Britain, The PEP Report, Penguin Books

Stone, M. (1981). The Education of the Black Child in Britain, the Myth of Multiracial Education, Fontana.

Strand, S. (2015). Ethnicity, Deprivation and Educational Achievement at age 16 in England: Trends Over Time, University of Oxford. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/439867/RR439B-Ethnic_minorities_and_attainment_the_effects_of_poverty_annex.pdf.pdf

Strand, S. (2012). The White British-Black Caribbean Achievement Gap: tests, tiers and teacher expectations. British Educational Research Journal, Vol.38 (No.1). pp. 75-101.

Sullivan, A., Ketende, S. and Joshi, H. (2013). Social Class and Inequalities in Early Cognitive Scores, IOE

Sutton Trust (2014). Attainment Gaps between Deprived and Advantaged Schools

Swann, Lord (1985). Education for All: Final Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. Cmnd 9453. London, HMSO.

Pinkerton, L. (2013). The Problem with Black Men
 http://www.bteg.co.uk/content/footballers-rappers-and-drug-dealers-%E2%80%93-need-positive-role-models

Taylor, M.J. (1981). Caught Between: A Review of Research into the Education of West Indian Origin, Windsor and National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER).

Tikly, L.; Haynes, J.; Caballero, C.; Hill, J.; and Gillborn, J. (2006). Evaluation of Aiming High: African Caribbean Achievement Project, Research Report 801, DfES.

Tomlinson, S. (1983). Ethnic Minorities in British Schools: A review of literature 1960-82, Policy Studies.

Willingham, Daniel T (2007). Critical Thinking, article in American Educator, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/505e7a18e4b0a01995610030/t/54cfebe6e4b0c38f7e17b132/1422912486218/Crit_Thinking.pdf (accessed 6 March 2017)

Glossary- A guide to acronyms

ADHD	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder
ASD	Autistic Spectrum Disorder
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
CAMHS	Child & Adolescent Mental Health Services
DfE	Department for Education
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
EAL	English as an Additional language
EP	Educational Psychologists
EYFS	Early Years Foundation Stage
FSM	Free school meals
FSP	Foundation Stage Profile
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
HLTA	Higher Level Teaching Assistant
ICT	Information Communication Technology
INSET	In Service Educational Training
KS1	Key Stage 1
KS2	Key Stage 2
KS3	Key Stage 3
KS4	Key Stage 4
LA	Local Authority
LM	Learning Mentors
MLD	Manual Lymphatic Drainage
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education
PP	Pupil Premium
PSHE	Personal, Social and Health Education
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SENCO	Special Educational Needs Coordinator
SLD	Severe Learning Difficulties
SLT	Senior Leadership Team
SMT	Senior Management Team
TA	Teaching Assistant