

**Mobility, Equality, Diversity:
a study of pupil mobility in the
secondary school system**

Janet M. Dobson Claire E. Pooley

November 2004

© Janet M. Dobson and Claire E. Pooley 2004

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior permission of the publisher.

Janet M. Dobson and Claire E. Pooley have asserted their right under the Copyrights, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the authors of this work.

Published by

Department of Geography
University College London
26 Bedford Way
London WC1H 0AP
United Kingdom

www.geog.ucl.ac.uk

ISBN 0-904813-36-3



Printed and bound by Pims Digital/UCL

Contents

Acknowledgements	xi
Executive Summary	xiii
1 Introduction	1
2 Research questions, sources and methods	5
2.1 Introduction	5
2.1.1 Causes and circumstances of mobility	5
2.1.2 Mobility and achievement	7
2.1.3 Mobility variations between schools	9
2.1.4 Mobility and school responses	10
2.2 The research questions	10
2.3 Research methodology	12
2.3.1 Updating	12
2.3.2 Study of mobility in three LEAs	13
2.3.3 Studies of high mobility schools	14
2.4 The participant LEAs	14
2.5 Applicability of findings	15
2.6 The research timetable	16
2.7 The terminology	16
3 The scale and pattern of mobility	17
3.1 Introduction	17
3.2 The national picture	17
3.3 Pupil mobility rates in the three LEAs	20
3.4 How many children were joining and leaving schools? . .	20
3.5 Which year groups were most affected by pupil mobility?	23
3.6 School mobility rates and school communities	24
3.7 School mobility rates and the free school meals indicator	25
3.8 School mobility rates and achievement levels of standard intake	27
3.9 Mobility rates, English as an additional language and ethnicity	29
3.10 School mobility rates and other factors	30
3.11 Mobility rates and examination performance	31
3.12 Mobility rates and type of school	31

3.13	School mobility rates and change over time	33
3.14	Summary	35
3.15	Conclusion	36
4	Pupil mobility in three schools 2002–03	37
4.1	Introduction	37
4.2	Mobility at Goldsmith School, 2002–03	39
4.2.1	Characteristics of mobile pupils at Goldsmith School	39
4.2.2	Principal languages of mobile pupils at Goldsmith School	39
4.2.3	Mobility by month at Goldsmith School	39
4.2.4	Mobility by year group at Goldsmith School	41
4.2.5	Origins and destinations of mobile pupils at Goldsmith School	41
4.3	Mobility at Tennyson School, 2002–03	44
4.3.1	Characteristics of mobile pupils at Tennyson School	44
4.3.2	Principal languages of mobile pupils at Tennyson School	44
4.3.3	Mobility by month at Tennyson School	44
4.3.4	Mobility by year group at Tennyson School	46
4.3.5	Origins and destinations of mobile pupils at Tennyson School	46
4.4	Mobility at Masefield School, 2002–03	48
4.4.1	Characteristics of mobile pupils at Masefield School	48
4.4.2	Mobility by month at Masefield School	49
4.4.3	Mobility by year group at Masefield School	50
4.4.4	Origins and destinations of mobile pupils at Masefield School	50
4.5	Similarities and differences	53
4.6	Conclusion	54
5	Impact of mobility on one year group over five years, 1997–2002	57
5.1	Introduction	57
5.2	The case study	59
5.3	Total numbers joining the year group	59
5.4	Mobility within the year group	60
5.5	Mobility and the gender balance	62
5.6	Origins of mobile pupils	65
5.7	Destinations of mobile pupils	65
5.8	Mobility year by year	65
5.8.1	Pupils joining the cohort in Year 7	68
5.8.2	Pupils joining the cohort in Year 8	69
5.8.3	Pupils joining the cohort in Year 9	71
5.8.4	Pupils joining the cohort in Year 10	72
5.8.5	Pupils joining the cohort in Year 11	72
5.9	Attainment in relation to mobility	74

5.10	Summary of main findings from the Goldsmith School cohort study	78
5.11	Summary of main findings from the Masefield School cohort study	79
5.12	Conclusion	80
6	The nature and causes of pupil mobility in the three LEAs	83
6.1	Introduction	83
6.2	International migration	84
6.2.1	The overview	84
6.2.2	International migration for employment and study	85
6.2.3	Asylum-seeking children	86
6.2.4	Long overseas visits	86
6.2.5	Children out of school	86
6.2.6	Migration post-arrival	87
6.3	Internal migration	88
6.3.1	The overview	88
6.3.2	Blackpool LEA: causes of internal migration . . .	89
6.3.3	The London LEAs: causes of internal migration .	90
6.3.4	Institutional movement	92
6.3.5	Individual movement	94
6.4	Different schools, different intakes?	94
6.5	Conclusion	96
7	Why do schools have different mobility rates?	99
7.1	Introduction	99
7.2	Popularity and spare places	99
7.3	Recruitment at secondary transfer	100
7.4	Recruitment: community schools	101
7.5	Recruitment: schools which are the admissions authority	103
7.6	Cross border movement and the private sector	104
7.7	The role of the local authority	105
7.8	Conclusion	107
8	High mobility — does it matter?	109
8.1	Introduction	109
8.2	The school context	110
8.3	The mobile pupils	111
8.4	Managing mobility	112
8.5	Teaching and learning	113
8.6	The Year 7 effect	114
8.7	Key Stage 4	115
8.8	Staffing issues	115
8.9	Combined pressures and school failure	116
8.10	The characteristics of effective schools	117
8.11	Conclusion	119

9 Implications for secondary education policy	121
9.1 Introduction	121
9.2 Mobility and city schools	121
9.3 Mobility and the two diversities	123
9.4 Mobility, admissions and inclusion	125
9.5 Mobility, equality and resources	127
9.6 Mobility and future policy	128
9.7 Conclusion	129
A Pupil inflow/outflow diagrams	131
Bibliography	137
Production of the report	141

List of Tables

3.1	Numbers of children joining schools at non-standard times during 2001–02 in the three LEAs	23
3.2	Numbers of children leaving schools at non-standard times during 2001–02 in the three LEAs.	24
3.3	Schools grouped by mobility rates and local education authority	25
3.4	Schools grouped by mobility rates and percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals (FSM)	26
3.5	Schools grouped by mobility rates and percentage of pupils in the school’s standard intake who achieved Level 4 or above in Key Stage 2 English tests	28
3.6	Mobility rates 2001–02 and percentage of pupils gaining 5+ GCSE passes at grades A*–C in 2002 in the 3 local education authorities	31
3.7	Mobility rates 2001–02 and school type in September 2002 in the 3 local education authorities	32
3.8	School mobility rates in Westminster over the period 1998–2002	34
3.9	School mobility rates in Blackpool over the period 1998–2002	34
4.1	Pupils joining and leaving case-study schools at non-standard times 2002–03	38
4.2	Principal languages other than English spoken by joiners and leavers at Goldsmith School 2002–03	40
4.3	Number of joiners and leavers at Goldsmith School by month 2002–03	40
4.4	Number of joiners and leavers by year group at Goldsmith School 2002–03	41
4.5	Origin and destination countries of joiners and leavers at Goldsmith School 2002–03	42
4.6	Previous and next locations of joiners and leavers at Goldsmith School moving within the UK 2002–03	43
4.7	Principal languages other than English spoken by joiners and leavers at Tennyson School 2002–03	45
4.8	Number of joiners and leavers at Tennyson School by month 2002–03	45

4.9	Number of joiners and leavers by year group at Tennyson School 2002–03	46
4.10	Origin and destination countries of joiners and leavers at Tennyson School 2002–03	47
4.11	Previous and next locations of joiners and leavers at Tennyson School moving within the UK 2002–03	48
4.12	Number of joiners and leavers at Masefield School by month 2002–03	49
4.13	Number of joiners and leavers by year group at Masefield School 2002–03	49
4.14	Origin and destination countries of joiners and leavers at Masefield School 2002–03	50
4.15	Previous and next locations of joiners and leavers at Masefield School moving within the UK 2002–03	51
4.16	Pupils moving to and from Masefield School within Blackpool 2002–03	51
4.17	Pupils moving to and from Masefield School in 2002–03: places of origin and destination in the UK as noted in school records	52
4.18	Similarities and differences between the 3 study schools	53
5.1	Number of pupils with unrecorded dates of departure by time joining	60
5.2	Number of GCSE candidates by sex and year of admission to the school	74
5.3	Number of pupils by number of GCSE grades obtained and time of admission to the school	75
7.1	Reasons for leaving a low-mobility community school, between September 2002 and March 2003	102
8.1	Mobility rates 2001–02 and other school characteristics in the three local education authorities	110

List of Figures

2.1	The main causes of pupil mobility in schools	6
2.2	Some circumstances contributing to movement in primary schools with high levels of pupil mobility	8
3.1	Pupil mobility in secondary schools in England by LEA type, 2001–02	19
3.2	Distribution of pupil mobility rates in secondary schools in England, 2001–02	19
3.3	Pupil mobility rates in secondary schools in the three Local Education Authorities, 2001–02	22
3.4	Numbers of pupils joining and leaving secondary schools in the three Local Education Authorities at non-standard times, 2001–02	22
5.1	The movement of the pupil cohort up through the school over a five year period	61
5.2	Proportion of standard joiners, other KS3 joiners and KS4 joiners by year of leaving	62
5.3	Change in the number of pupils in the cohort as they moved up through the school over a five year period	63
5.4	Change in the gender balance in the cohort as they moved up through the school over a five year period	63
5.5	Gender balance of pupils who joined the cohort at the standard time, later in KS3 and in KS4	64
5.6	Gender balance of pupils leaving the cohort by the point at which they left	64
5.7	Origins of pupils joining the cohort at standard and non-standard times	66
5.8	Countries of origin of pupils joining the cohort from overseas	66
5.9	Proportion of standard joiners, other KS3 joiners and KS4 joiners by completion or destination on leaving	67
5.10	Change in the number of pupils in the cohort during Year 7	67
5.11	Proportion of pupils joining Year 7 at standard and non-standard times by origin	69

5.12 Change in the number of pupils in the cohort during Year 8	70
5.13 Origins of pupils joining the cohort in Year 8	70
5.14 Change in the number of pupils in the cohort during Year 9	71
5.15 Change in the number of pupils in the cohort during Year 10	73
5.16 Change in the number of pupils in the cohort during Year 11	73
5.17 Mobile and non-mobile pupil attainment at GCSE	75
5.18 Attainment of GCSE grades A*–C in core subjects by year of joining	77
5.19 Attainment of GCSE grades A*–G in core subjects by year of joining	77
5.20 Attainment of GSCEs by pupils joining from overseas compared to pupils moving from UK locations	78
5.21 Proportion of standard joiners, other KS3 joiners and KS4 joiners by origin, Masefield School	81
A.1 Movement of mobile pupils in Year 7 in Masefield School, 2002–03	132
A.2 Movement of mobile pupils in Year 8 in Masefield School, 2002–03	133
A.3 Movement of mobile pupils in Year 9 in Masefield School, 2002–03	134
A.4 Movement of mobile pupils in Year 10 in Masefield School, 2002–03	135
A.5 Movement of mobile pupils in Year 11 in Masefield School, 2002–03	136

Acknowledgements

The Nuffield Foundation supported this research and it is hoped that the findings will be of value to policy makers and practitioners. However, the views expressed in the report are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Foundation.

The research team would like to thank all those who have worked with us on the study. We are very grateful to the officers and advisers of Blackpool, Haringey and Westminster LEAs, who contributed in a variety of ways. In particular, we appreciate the help and commitment of those responsible for organising interviews and providing statistical data.

We are indebted to headteachers and school staff in the three authorities. Through their co-operation, it was possible to conduct interviews at every secondary school. At the three case study schools, we made demands on the time of many people and are immensely grateful for their willingness to assist in the midst of other pressures. Those who liaised with us on the provision of data and organisation of interviews are especially to be thanked.

We must also acknowledge the advice and support provided during the project by our Advisory Group: Professor John Salt (UCL); Professor Sally Power (Institute of Education); Colin Alston (Hackney Learning Trust); and Phillip Snell (London Leadership Centre). We are grateful to them and to others who made helpful inputs during the course of the research or commented on the draft report.

The final production of the report could not have been achieved without the assistance of James Clarke (Migration Research Unit, UCL), who also contributed to database development.

We hope that all the above will feel that their time and effort have been worthwhile and we accept full and sole responsibility for any mistakes or unintentional misrepresentations in reporting the findings.

Executive Summary

Background

This is a study of the state secondary school system in three education authorities, two in inner London (Haringey and Westminster) and one in North-West England (Blackpool). All have relatively high levels of economic disadvantage among their school populations and also high levels of pupil mobility. It investigates the way in which the migration system (international and internal) feeds into the school system and also at other kinds of pupil movement into and out of schools.

In so doing, it illuminates the great differences that can exist in the nature and stability of different school communities, even within confined geographical areas, and the processes that help to create them. This in turn has major implications for current national strategies aimed at promoting good schools for all in city areas. Reference to other sources indicates that most of the findings apply to other areas and schools where there are relatively high levels of population and pupil movement.

Research questions

The principal questions formulated at the outset were:

- Why is there pupil mobility in the secondary school system?
- What factors bring about the access of mobile pupils to some schools in much greater numbers than others?
- What are the difficulties facing high mobility schools in trying to meet the learning needs of mobile and non-mobile pupils?
- What are the implications of proposed changes in the secondary school system for access and achievement by mobile pupils?

Research methods

The study comprised four main activities:

- Updating on relevant work by others since our previous mobility study.
- LEA studies, involving extensive data analysis, interviews with LEA staff and visits to every secondary school.
- Detailed case studies of three schools with high mobility rates.
- Analysis of national policies, particularly on school diversity, related to the study findings.

Some key findings

Nationwide, many thousands of children each year move into, out of and between secondary schools in England at non-standard times: this can be inferred from the fact that over 3000 pupils in total joined and left secondary schools in our study authorities at other than the normal time during a single year. Even allowing for some of these movers being the same individuals and therefore double-counted, this scale of movement is far from insignificant.

Pupil mobility rates in 21 of the 27 schools in the three authorities were above the national median but varied widely within each LEA. In each, rates at school level ranged from over 26 per cent to under 5 per cent in the year we studied. In each, one or two schools took in more than 150 pupils at non-standard times. In each, the school with the smallest non-standard intake took in less than 20.

Schools with high mobility rates were also schools with high levels of disadvantage and lower-than-average achievement among those they admitted at secondary transfer — as were most of those in the middle of the mobility range. The lowest mobility schools tended to have more advantaged and higher achieving intakes compared to the majority in their authority, and in a few cases compared to national figures.

Most pupil mobility was not generated by school factors but by residential movement linked to personal, social, economic and political circumstances, such as escape from violence; the search for a better life or a better home; the end of a relationship or the start of a new one; and migration for work reasons. Many families were poor or dispossessed.

In London, international migration was important; in Blackpool, it was movement within the UK.

Some pupil mobility was not a consequence of family movement — for example, children taken into care or moving between foster parents, those moving between separated parents or relatives and those excluded from school and disaffected with formal education.

Different mobility rates in different schools were related to residential geography, school popularity and admissions policies and processes, which were interconnected. Data from two LEAs indicated that, over a four-year period, the ranking order of schools in respect of mobility changed little, though rates fluctuated.

Schools with high rates of mobility and high levels of disadvantage in their pupil communities had a difficult task to meet the learning needs of all their pupils while managing frequent movement. Problems associated with high mobility included the heavy demands on staff time, constantly changing learning needs, instability in Year 7 and intensive help needed by late joiners in Key Stage 4.

Six out of ten schools with specialist status at the time of the study (2002–3) and all four beacon schools were at the low end of the mobility range, and had been so before designation. One new academy and a new Church school had been created from existing high mobility schools.

The study distinguishes between pupil-community-diversity (i.e. school differences in respect of pupil background, achievement on entry, learning needs and stability) and school-type-diversity (i.e. school differences in such matters as funding, governance, admissions criteria and curriculum). School-community-diversity is being overlaid by school-type-diversity in ways which may or may not lead to a levelling up of educational quality and equality of opportunity. The existence of increasing numbers of schools which are their own admissions authority and striving for examination success could reduce access to school places by disadvantaged pupils both at normal entry time and at non-standard times, leading to an increasing concentration of mobility and disadvantage in particular schools.

Recommendations

In light of our research, the following are suggested as policy approaches to tackle some of the problems associated with high mobility and try to ensure that all schools have the capacity to provide a good education

for all their pupils. Points A and B are seen as complementary and not alternatives:

- A.** Accept that some schools will always have a bigger reception role where new migrants and other mobile pupils are concerned and:
- Give this role positive recognition and appreciation.
 - Establish criteria for evaluating how well it is performed.
 - Assess examination performance in ways that take account of it.
 - Determine ways of assessing the school's value added to short-stay pupils and to late arrivals with exceptional needs.
 - Provide the necessary resources and greater stability of funding.
 - Give staff the status and remuneration which is commensurate with the skills and commitment involved.
- B.** Implement policies which will reduce the extreme concentration of mobility and disadvantage in particular schools:
- Change policy and practice on school admissions where they contribute to this concentration.
 - Give local education authorities the powers necessary to be effective in the central co-ordination of information on spare places and the placement of children who are out of school.
 - Require all schools to share responsibility for hard-to-place pupils.

Other more general recommendations are made, concerned with:

- promoting parity of esteem between schools and not undermining the improvement process in schools with high mobility.
- taking account of the circumstances of mobile pupils in the changing pattern of 14–19 provision.
- monitoring the role of different schools in taking in mobile pupils as diversity of school type develops, given social integration and community cohesion issues.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The hard question that faces education ministers and local authorities is not: ‘How do we create a good school?’ but: ‘How do we create a system in which all schools are good schools?’. The present government has been particularly exercised over this question in respect of city areas with high levels of poverty and disadvantage.

Whatever definition of a ‘good’ school is enshrined in public policy, the question remains. This study does not provide a simple answer but it does have major implications for strategies currently being developed to raise standards across the board in city schools.

It examines the state secondary school system in three urban authorities with relatively high levels of disadvantage among their pupil populations and also high levels of pupil mobility. It investigates the way in which the migration system (international and internal) feeds into the school system and also at other types of pupil movement into and out of schools.

In so doing, it illuminates great differences in the nature and stability of school communities even within confined geographical areas and the processes that help to create them. The findings have important implications for “choice and diversity” strategies, currently advocated from both the left and right of politics as the route to better schools for all.

The significance of pupil mobility for some schools has been increasingly recognised since the late 1990s. The Ofsted report on Improving City Schools (Ofsted 2000), which focused on school effectiveness in disadvantaged areas, commented that:

‘Factors of school organisation can also have a potent influence. All schools in city areas can be affected by the ebb and flow of population movement and by patterns of parental

choice of schools. Many of the secondary schools in the survey group [schools with more than 35 per cent free school meals] are particularly affected, so that coping with varying year group numbers and profiles (for example, in the balance of boys and girls), often in a context of overall falling rolls and surplus places, is a major preoccupation, financial and otherwise' (op. cit. p.14).

The difficulties caused by pupil mobility have been mentioned by Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools in successive annual reports, most recently (2002/03, p.69) in the context of schools struggling to raise achievement. It was cited as a circumstance inhibiting raising standards in a recent study of the changing role of LEAs (Fletcher-Campbell, F. and Lee, B. 2003) and as a major concern of school leaders in research on educational leadership in London (Riley, K. *et al.*, 2004)

In spite of such observations, those planning the transformation of secondary education in England appear not to think of school populations as dynamic, requiring local school systems which can accommodate movement and change without creating some schools where the provision of good education for all is excessively difficult and designated failure a possible outcome.

There has been valuable work under the auspices of both Ofsted and the DfES (Ofsted 2002, DfES 2003b, 2003c) on managing mobility in individual schools with high levels of pupil turnover and a recognition of some of the problems in the *School Admissions Code of Practice* (DfES, 2003a). However, overarching strategies to develop and improve the education system as a whole tend to recognise high mobility as a problem for a few schools in 'exceptionally challenging circumstances' (DfEE 2001, para. 4.59) but not as the outcome of processes which are relevant to planning the education system as a whole.

The recent White Paper setting out a Five Year Strategy for Children and Learners (DfES 2004a) expresses concerns about current variations in achievement by pupils in the English education system and their links to social background:

'The gap between the best and worst performers in our system actually widens as they go through education; and it is both significantly wider and more closely related to socio-economic status in this country than elsewhere.' (para. 1.23).

It asserts that:

‘we fail our most disadvantaged children — those in public care, those with complex family lives, and those most at risk of drug abuse, teenage pregnancy and involvement in criminal activity’ (para. 1.24).

Such children are amongst those moving around within the secondary school system in city areas, often joining schools where others from deprived backgrounds are heavily represented. Thus, pupil mobility, and the way in which the education system accommodates it, can be seen to have direct relevance to equality, or inequality, of opportunity: schools which have both high levels of poverty and high levels of mobility have an immensely difficult task trying to develop the potential of all their pupils.

There is reference in the White Paper to sharing of responsibility between schools for hard-to-place and disruptive pupils (paras 5.26 to 5.28), which is significant in this context. However, it seems possible that other proposals for change in the school system could sustain and even increase differences between schools in terms of mobility and disadvantage.

The Five Year Strategy aims to tackle inequalities and to improve the quality of education across the board. It embraces all phases of learning and, for the secondary phase, the intended outcome of the proposals is that:

‘every student should, within their school, have excellent teaching that suits them, building on what they know, fitting them for what they aspire to, and helping them reach their full potential.’ (para. 5.1).

In the following pages, we examine the process and significance of pupil mobility, both within the school system and within particular schools. At the end, we consider the implications of our findings for key components of the Five Year Strategy and its intended outcome. Our principal focus is on the development of school diversity and the relationship between this type of diversity, mobility and equality of opportunity.

We have in mind the question posed at the beginning of this chapter. For present purposes, the quotation above may be taken as a specification of a system in which all schools are good schools.

The structure of the report is as follows:

- Chapter 2:** The background to the research; questions, sources and methods; the participant education authorities.
- Chapter 3:** The scale and pattern of mobility across schools; the current relationship between school diversity and mobility.
- Chapter 4:** The pattern of movement into and out of three high mobility schools during the school year 2002–03.
- Chapter 5:** The impact of pupil mobility on a specific year group over five years from school entry in Year 7 to the end of Year 11: a case study.
- Chapter 6:** The nature and causes of pupil mobility; the characteristics, origins and destinations of those who move and the schools they join.
- Chapter 7:** The factors that explain the differences in mobility between schools: an exploration of relevant issues.
- Chapter 8:** The significance of mobility for quality of education: does high mobility matter?.
- Chapter 9:** Some implications of the findings for secondary education policy.

Definitions

In this report, **pupil mobility** is defined as:

‘A child joining or leaving a school at a point other than the normal age at which children start or finish their education at that school, whether or not this involves a move of home.’

A **mobile pupil** is one who joins or leaves a school at a non-standard time; this does not mean that the child makes more than one move or is constantly on the move — though this is the case for some mobile pupils.

Chapter 2

Research questions, sources and methods

2.1 Introduction

The study reported here built on previous research by the Migration Research Unit (MRU) into pupil mobility in schools. An earlier project carried out a review of existing evidence relating to pupil mobility in the English school system; a postal survey of all English education authorities; and six case studies of LEAs and schools, concentrating mainly on the primary phase (Dobson and Henthorne 1999, Dobson *et al* 2000). The present project sought to provide a complementary picture of pupil mobility in secondary schools, but with a focus on children who have difficulties and disadvantages to overcome if they are to benefit from their education and fulfil their potential.

2.1.1 Causes and circumstances of mobility

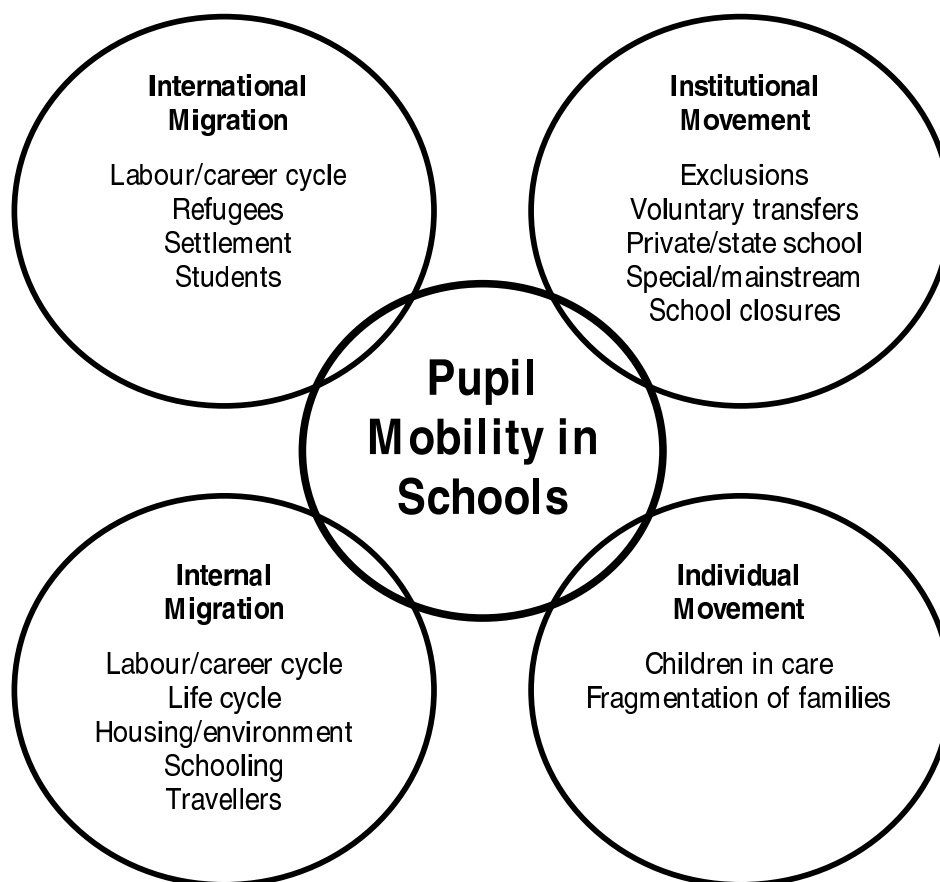
Our earlier work identified four main types of mobility affecting schools:

- **International migration** — Children joining/leaving schools as a result of families moving from/to countries overseas.
- **Internal migration** — Children joining/leaving schools as a result of families moving home within the UK, whether over long or short distances.
- **Institutional movement** — Children changing schools without moving home, including exclusions and voluntary transfers.

- **Individual movement** — Children changing schools as a result of moving alone, such as moves between separated parents or to live with foster parents.

Figure 2.1 represents our initial breakdown of the main causes and circumstances of movement.

Figure 2.1: The main causes of pupil mobility in schools



A more complex picture emerged from our research. The apparent clarity of the distinction between the four different types of mobility and their sub-groups proved to be a simplification. Thus, for example, individual movement includes, not only children in public care and children moving between separated parents or other adults within the UK, but also children moving internationally unaccompanied by a parent. International migration of families into the UK can be quickly followed by other moves within the UK, thus transmuted into internal migration. 'Fragmentation of families' can be either a cause or a consequence of all types of residential movement.

However, when the focus was placed on schools with *high levels of pupil mobility*, as distinct from pupil mobility in schools generally, certain

factors emerged as having widespread significance. Particular social groups tended to be present: poor or dispossessed migrants from overseas, including refugees and asylum seekers; low income families with parents born in the UK; armed forces families; and Travellers. The last group was not usually found in large numbers in individual schools but contributed to total movement.

There appeared to be a common link between children moving into and out of high mobility schools and particular social situations (poverty, debt, harassment, domestic violence and family break-up); housing situations (temporary accommodation, women's refuges, run-down estates and renting rather than owner occupation); and employment (especially seasonal work and the armed forces).

The patterns thus revealed plainly have logical connections. The poorest in our society, those in temporary and insecure employment and those who suddenly leave their homes without financial resources to fall back on are all liable to find themselves in impermanent accommodation or bad housing which they would wish to leave as soon as possible — or from which they may be forced to move, either by the public authority who housed them, the private landlord who evicts them or friends and relatives whose hospitality has been exhausted.

Housing accessible to the poor and dispossessed is not spread randomly across urban areas but tends to be concentrated in specific geographical locations. High pupil mobility tends to be found in particular primary schools situated in those localities (see Figure 2.2).

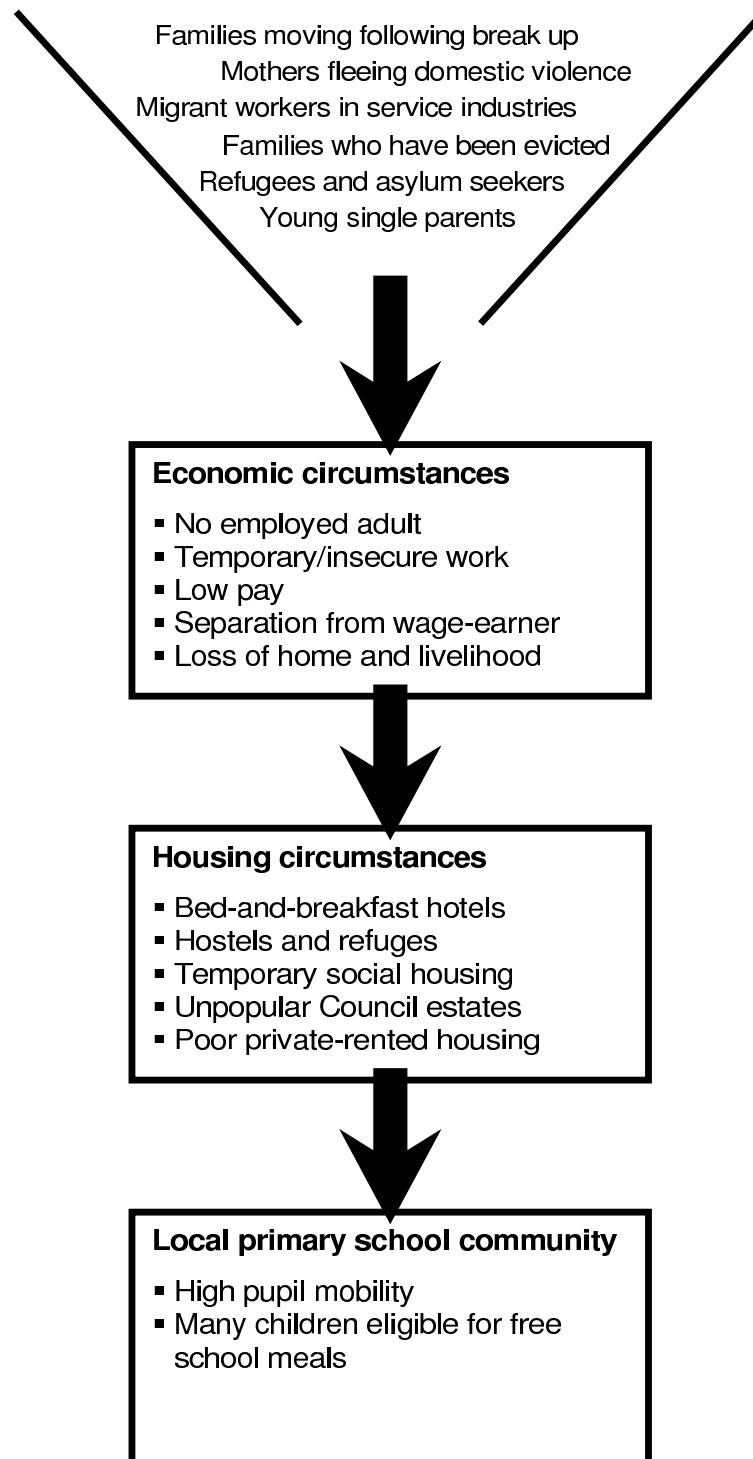
The circumstances of armed forces' mobility are, of course, quite different from this, with large numbers of families moving at the same time from the same location at the behest of their employer. Other job-related moves within large organisations normally involve people who are not all living in the same residential area and, although major relocations of staff can occur, they tend not to move concurrently in large groups: hence, the impact on schools is more widely spread.

The present study did not include any areas with a large armed forces presence. However, it should be noted that schools attended by forces' children face many of the pressures described below and forces' families often move a number of times.

2.1.2 Mobility and achievement

What our earlier research also discovered was that statistical analyses carried out by a number of different schools and education authorities had revealed the same finding: that pupils who joined schools after the

Figure 2.2: Some circumstances contributing to movement in primary schools with high levels of pupil mobility



normal starting age performed less well on average in National Curriculum key stage tests and GCSE than those who had attended the same school throughout or who had completed a whole key stage in the same school. As observed at the time (Dobson *et al* 2000, p.91), these schools and LEAs did not in any sense constitute a random sample — the authorities concerned were all urban (mainly London) LEAs and the schools were ones with high levels of mobility. The difference in achievement seemed to be associated with social deprivation and/or lack of fluency in English, with educational disadvantage compounded by disrupted schooling. We reported that:

‘No conclusive evidence was found that changing school per se meant that children achieved less well than their peers in tests and examinations, though many factors could have a positive or negative impact . . . Some schools where mobility was linked to movement of the armed forces had relatively high overall performance levels.’ (op. cit. p.12)

Against this background, it was decided to focus the secondary school study on LEAs known to have comparatively high rates of mobility involving disadvantaged pupils. These are areas where raising achievement and the creation of good schools for all, key objectives of national policy, present major challenges to everyone involved. How the secondary school system responds to the arrival of deprived and disadvantaged children at non-standard times, and to others moving around within it, has implications for the life chances of many individuals and for society as a whole.

2.1.3 Mobility variations between schools

Our previous research indicated substantial variations between LEAs in respect of pupil mobility and also wide differences between schools within the same LEA. The case studies led us to conclude that, in regard to primary schools:

‘The geographical proximity of different types of housing to different schools is the major factor explaining why some primary schools have higher mobility levels than others. However, the school system itself and the operation of different admissions processes and criteria at normal age of entry to schools also explain the variations.’

‘Some schools recruit heavily to their nursery and reception

classes from the more settled parts of local communities, rather than taking in the homeless or others in temporary accommodation. Thus few children leave later on and there are few vacancies created for new arrivals.’ (op. cit. pp 81–2).

Given these findings and the greater diversity of secondary schools in terms of admissions criteria and practices, it seemed likely that mobility patterns in the secondary phase would have less to do with geographical factors and more to do with the school system than in the primary phase. This was one of the hypotheses we set out to investigate in the study.

2.1.4 Mobility and school responses

Staff of the case study schools which participated in our previous project all described a range of actions necessitated by their high inflows and outflows of children: conducting numerous admissions interviews; recording information and transmitting it to other staff as appropriate; meeting and getting to know parents; settling the child into school; arranging transfer of records for both joiners and leavers; assessment; arranging support as required; liaising with external agencies; promoting a welcoming ethos; marking departures.

Given the fact that secondary schools are generally larger than primaries, have different kinds of pastoral organisation and more complex teaching arrangements to cover different subject areas, it was anticipated that the management of mobility in a high mobility secondary school would present difficulties which did not apply, or were less significant than in the primary phase, and which could affect the learning opportunities of both mobile and non-mobile pupils. This was the second hypothesis we sought to investigate.

2.2 The research questions

In light of the above, the principal research questions formulated at the outset were these:

- Why is there pupil mobility in the secondary school system?
- What factors bring about the access of mobile pupils to some schools in much greater numbers than others?

- What are the difficulties facing high mobility schools in trying to meet the learning needs of mobile and non-mobile pupils?
- What are the implications of proposed changes in the secondary school system for access and achievement by mobile pupils?

In order to answer the main questions it was necessary to ask others. In relation to mobility and local school systems, there were the following:

What factors are consistently associated with high and low mobility in individual schools? Do the nature and causes of pupil mobility differ from school to school? If so, why? What is the role of admissions policies and procedures in relation to mobility in schools? What is the relationship between physical location, local housing characteristics and mobility levels in schools? Has the scale and pattern of mobility in schools changed over recent years and, if so, what has brought this about? Has the creation of new types of school or a change in the volume of spare capacity, including closures, had an effect? To what extent are mobile pupils, including exclusions and ‘voluntary’ leavers, currently outside the school system? Why?

Specifically in relation to high mobility schools, questions included these:

What are the causes and patterns of pupil movement and how are different year groups affected? How do the inflows and outflows affect the composition of the school community in terms of gender, ethnicity, English fluency, ability distribution and learning needs? What is the impact of mobility on the life and work of the school, including the learning of non-mobile pupils, the curriculum and extra-curricular activities? How do schools manage the induction and integration of late arrivals, get to know their parents/carers and foster their educational progress? How much contact with external agencies is necessary? How much staff time is involved overall? Is there a relationship between mobility and achievement or attendance?

We decided that it was important to ask *all* schools in our study, not only those with high mobility, about the induction and integration of children who came in at non-standard times, in order to build up a total picture and gain some insight into the impact of different levels of mobility.

The research was limited to children moving into and out of schools between the ages of eleven and sixteen. It did not attempt to encompass institutional mobility in the 16–19 age group, since this is extremely complex, partly driven by factors which do not apply to younger pupils, and could more appropriately form an area of study in its own right.

2.3 Research methodology

The study comprised four main activities: the first involved updating on relevant work by others which had taken place or been published since our previous project; the second explored pupil mobility in three LEAs, looking at the experience of all secondary schools in those authorities; the third was a detailed study of one high mobility school in each of the three areas. Finally, recent policy developments and proposals relating to secondary education were considered in the context of our findings on mobility.

2.3.1 Updating

In the last five years, there has been new work both specifically on, and relevant to, pupil mobility. Much of it has been done by local authorities such as Leicester (O'Neill *et al*, 2003), Milton Keynes (2002), Newham (2003), and Redbridge (Goubin, N., 2002). Some of this work has been in progress during the period of our own research and we have maintained contact with those involved. Reference is made to a range of sources in the following pages. Below are some examples of particular relevance:

- Ofsted guidance (2000) on managing mobility, presenting an overall national picture and implications for schools.
- Mott's research 'Children on the Move' (2002), which included a postal survey of LEAs similar to that carried out by the MRU in 1999 and collated a range of data from LEAs on mobility issues.
- The DfES 'On the Move' project, involving 48 secondary schools and three primary schools in different parts of England with fairly or very high numbers of mobile pupils. It aimed at improving the management of pupil mobility and trialling the role of induction mentors. The published guidance (DfES 2003) and evaluation of the role of the induction mentor (McAndrew and Power 2003) both contain valuable insights into issues of high mobility.
- Unpublished research by Millman (2003) on pupil mobility at Key Stage Three in Coventry LEA. This study involved the majority of Coventry secondary schools and thus presents a useful overview of mobility and its implications, including the pupil perspective.
- Research in the London borough of Lambeth (Lambeth LEA 2004), comprising a number of complementary studies. It provides an overview of mobility in both primary and secondary and covers

a wide range of issues, including causes, impact on achievement, school responses and policy implications.

2.3.2 Study of mobility in three LEAs

The aim of this part of the research was to build up a picture of the nature, scale and dynamics of pupil movement at non-standard times in the local secondary school systems of three education authorities. This involved drawing on statistics collated by the LEAs; information recorded by schools; published and unpublished documentation on related matters, including Ofsted inspection reports; and interviews with school and local authority staff with first-hand knowledge and experience of aspects of the mobility process.

It proved possible to conduct interviews at every secondary school in the three LEAs — a total of twenty-seven, including the three which were the subject of in-depth studies. In the majority of cases, the person interviewed was the headteacher or a senior member of staff with lead responsibility for admissions. In some instances, we talked to more than one person in the same school. Interviewees included heads of year, a head of English as an Additional Language (EAL) and three induction mentors, the last of these in schools participating in the DfES ‘On the Move’ project. At one school, we discussed the issues with the senior management team.

An interview guide was used to try to ensure that the same topics were covered at each school. Questions were asked about recent non-standard admissions and departures, causes of movement, origins and destinations, characteristics of mobile pupils and their learning needs and achievements. Other topics included admissions priorities and procedures and induction and support for newcomers. Recorded information was obtained where possible.

Some interviewees provided computerised data on mobility, while others had printed information in front of them to which they referred during the interview. This had the benefit of bringing some detail and precision to the responses. However, one of the difficulties encountered was the variability, in content and completeness, of data held by schools. Records of the destinations of leavers were especially thin — in part because some children left without prior notification, particularly in high mobility schools.

In addition to the school visits, interviews were also held with LEA staff who were personally involved with some aspect of pupil mobility — for example, with school admissions; exclusions; children in pub-

lic care; non-attendance and ‘disappearance’ of pupils; and support for Travellers and EAL. Interview guides were designed in relation to the particular roles of different individuals. Research and Statistics units provided extensive data and this was supplemented by some from other teams.

2.3.3 Studies of high mobility schools

The aim of this part of the study was to gain a detailed insight into the experience of schools with high levels of pupil mobility and the difficulties they face in trying to meet the learning needs of the mobile and the non-mobile. The research comprised three main activities.

Firstly, with the co-operation of staff in three schools, a detailed picture was collated of all joiners and leavers during the current school year.

Secondly, in two of the three schools, the cohort of pupils who had joined Year 7 five years previously was traced through the records as it progressed through the school to the end of Year 11. The pattern of joining and leaving over that five year period, the changes wrought in the composition of the year group and GCSE outcomes were all examined.

Finally, interviews to discuss pupil mobility were held with a total of thirty-three staff in the three schools. The purpose was to draw on the knowledge, experience and views of people fulfilling a range of different roles. These included senior management, administrative staff, experienced teachers, newly qualified teachers, year heads, heads of department, EAL teachers, special needs teachers, learning mentors and an induction mentor. Interview guides were adapted according to the roles and responsibilities of those interviewed.

2.4 The participant LEAs

The local authorities who participated in the study were Westminster and Haringey in inner London and Blackpool on the North-West coast of England. There were several reasons for choosing this combination. Since Ofsted data indicated that inner London had the highest average mobility rates in the country, especially in the secondary phase, it was logical to select some London LEAs.

At the same time, since international migration was known to be a key contributor in London, it was desirable to have a contrasting authority where there was comparatively high mobility but very little in-

ternational movement. In all three LEAs, there was evidence of socio-economic disadvantage and other obstacles to achievement among those who were 'on the move' in local state schools.

We deliberately chose three small authorities so that it would be possible to look at issues in some depth, seek to conduct interviews at every school and analyse a large amount of contextual information. It was necessary to find LEAs which had statistics on mobility for all secondary schools, collected in a comparable way, as well as other comparable information on school and pupil characteristics. Among eligible authorities, we tried to find three which had different patterns of school provision.

Finally, it was essential to involve LEAs which were interested in the issues, willing to provide the level of input required and able to identify a high mobility school which wanted to co-operate with us. Both local authorities and schools provided statistical data which they themselves had collected and without which we could not have constructed such a detailed picture. The observations and insights of those we interviewed, as well as documented information, were crucial to the study.

2.5 Applicability of findings

At present, there is no comprehensive picture of pupil mobility in the English secondary school system, although the data which Ofsted now collects (see Chapter 3) give some strong indications of the differences between LEAs — differences which are supported by information we have ourselves collated and by other studies referred to above. It seems unlikely, however, that even if we had had complete information, we would have been able to define a small number of authorities which were representative of all others in respect of pupil mobility in secondary schools.

To some extent, each education authority will have its own unique mobility patterns and characteristics, related in complex ways to such factors as the nature and history of its secondary school system; the amount of spare capacity in that system and patterns of expansion or contraction; the character, density and distribution of its population and housing; its interrelationship with the school systems of neighbouring authorities; and migration flows into and out of the area.

This study examines what happens in three particular LEAs with high rates of movement. In presenting the findings, we draw on other sources to try to assess how far they reflect the experience of other areas and their schools and the general applicability of the conclusions.

2.6 The research timetable

The fieldwork was mainly carried out during the school year 2002–03. Most of the statistical data available at that time related to the school year 2001–02, much of it from the annual school census in January 2002; hence, these are the figures used in many of the following analyses.

2.7 The terminology

Throughout the report, we have used the word ‘child’ rather than ‘young person’ in respect of secondary school pupils, simply for reasons of brevity. But it is important to have in mind that the children concerned are in fact going through a significant transitional phase from childhood to adulthood and that this is relevant to their total experience of movement, change and adaption to a new social environment.

Chapter 3

The scale and pattern of mobility

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the scale and pattern of pupil mobility in the secondary school system, starting with national statistics and going on to consider the experience of the three participant LEAs. It looks at the characteristics of different school communities in relation to mobility rates. Finally, it summarises the findings, bringing together the different parts of the picture.

The main questions it seeks to answer are:

- How much pupil movement is there in the secondary school system?
- To what extent are different schools affected by it?
- What are the characteristics of high and low mobility schools?
- How does school diversity relate to mobility?

3.2 The national picture

Since January 2000, Ofsted has been collecting data on pupil mobility prior to school inspections. While these statistics do not provide full coverage of all secondary schools in England, they represent the most comprehensive picture we have of mobility in different types of

authority, as shown in Figure 3.1 below. The exceptionally high rates of movement in inner London are clear, with shire counties having the lowest rates. There are also marked differences between different types of authority in the primary phase but they are not so great as in the secondary phase. Overall mobility is significantly higher in primary than in secondary schools.

Mobility rates here and in the rest of this report are measured by the following formula, applied to a school's population in any given school year. Joiners and leavers include only those joining and leaving at non-standard times.

$$\frac{\text{Pupils joining school} + \text{pupils leaving school}}{\text{Total school roll}} \times 100$$

Ofsted provides information on the distribution of mobility rates across all schools for which it has data. In 2001–02, the median rate and upper and lower quartiles were as follows:

Upper quartile:	9.7%
Median:	5.9%
Lower quartile:	3.7%

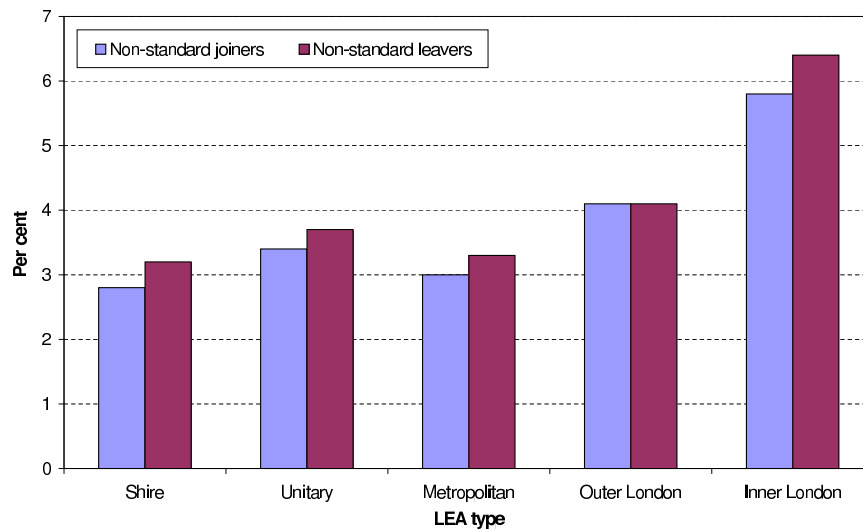
The 2001–02 figures are used in this report for comparative purposes because that is the school year for which we analysed LEA statistics. In 2002–03, the national figures were slightly lower, with the median given as 5.2 per cent, the upper quartile 8.4 per cent and the lower quartile 2.6 per cent. That could represent a real change in mobility or simply reflect the different coverage of schools.

Figure 3.2 represents the full distribution of mobility rates in 2001–02.

The totality of data presented here can be interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, it may be concluded that pupil mobility is an issue of only marginal importance because it is clear that high rates of movement only affect a minority of secondary schools. On the other hand, it can be observed that mobility represents a very significant aspect of difference between some schools and types of authority, one that has to be taken into account if valid comparisons are to be made.

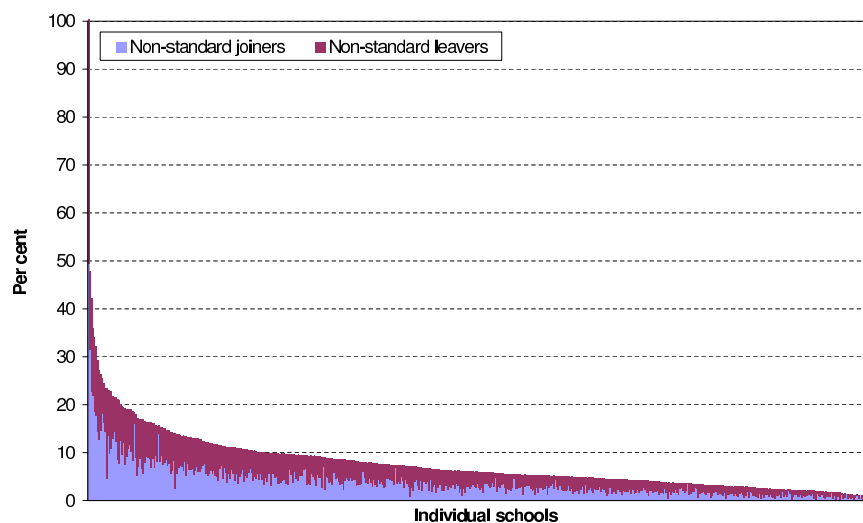
Furthermore, it is plain from this and other evidence that the kinds of area most affected include those with high concentrations of deprivation and large numbers of international migrants. Concern about

Figure 3.1: Pupil mobility in secondary schools in England by LEA type, 2001–02



Source: Ofsted, 2003, *Standards and Quality in Education: HMCI Annual Report 2001/02*

Figure 3.2: Distribution of pupil mobility rates in secondary schools in England, 2001–02



Source: Ofsted, 2003, *Standards and Quality in Education: HMCI Annual Report 2001/02*

achievement in cities and equality of opportunity requires that national strategies to address these issues pay some attention to mobility.

3.3 Pupil mobility rates in the three LEAs

The three education authorities in the study are significantly different from one another in many respects. Even the two London authorities have some very different characteristics. Yet interestingly, the pattern of mobility across their secondary schools is not vastly different, as Figure 3.3 shows.

Each authority has one school with a mobility rate clearly higher than the rest — over 26 per cent in every case. Below that, there is a spread of different rates, ending in each LEA with one or more schools below 5 per cent. There are differences, however, in the distributions.

In Westminster, six schools have rates above 10 per cent, while the other two have rates below 5 per cent. In Haringey, there are also six schools with rates above 10 per cent, but a further five with gradually diminishing rates, one below 5 per cent. In Blackpool, there are three schools above the 10 per cent level and five others with gradually diminishing rates, two below 5 per cent.

Comparing the figures with the national picture, it can be seen that all three authorities have mobility rates substantially higher than the national ones. Twenty-two of the twenty-seven schools have mobility rates at or above the national median. Fifteen have rates in the upper quartile. As the section on taking account of pupil mobility in the Handbook for Inspecting Secondary Schools (Ofsted 2003 pp 48–9) observes:

‘Schools with mobility percentages in the upper quartile have a high level of pupil mobility relative to other schools’

3.4 How many children were joining and leaving schools?

Mobility rates indicate the amount of movement in each school in relation to total school population. Thus, a school with 60 joiners and leavers and 600 pupils will have a higher mobility rate than another with 80 joiners and leavers and a total roll of 1,000 (10 per cent as compared to 8 per cent). In order to understand the part played by different

schools in taking in late entrants, or their experience of losing pupils, it is necessary to look at actual numbers of children joining and leaving as well as rates of movement.

Figure 3.4 shows numbers of non-standard joiners and leavers at each school in the three authorities in 2001–2. In both Haringey and Blackpool, the school with the highest mobility rate also had the largest number of admissions (178 and 158 respectively), whereas in Westminster, the school with the highest mobility rate had fewer non-standard admissions (114) than another, larger school which had 157.

The patterns of movement revealed here provide some interesting contrasts between LEAs. One common feature is that each LEA had one school which took in by far the largest number of children, whilst recording a significantly smaller outflow. Overall, Westminster schools had inflows and outflows which were fairly balanced, except in the two schools with the highest and lowest number of admissions. Haringey schools were much more varied in terms of the balance between joiners and leavers, with one school in particular losing twice as many pupils as it gained. Blackpool schools had a net inflow of pupils in every case except the school with the fewest admissions.

If we take the total number of children joining schools at non-standard times in each LEA and average it across all schools, the numbers are remarkably similar: 63 per school in Westminster, 57 in Haringey and 64 in Blackpool. However, if we calculate the average number of leavers per school, the situation looks rather different: 60 in Westminster, 48 in Haringey and 45 in Blackpool. It would appear that all the authorities increased their secondary school populations through pupil mobility in 2001–02, but to a differing degree. The total net gain of pupils was 26 in Westminster, 105 in Haringey and 146 in Blackpool — equivalent to five forms of entry in Blackpool's case.

These figures have significant implications for how we think about schools and about pupil mobility. Firstly, mobility is not an issue only for a minority of schools in LEAs such as these. In one school year, over half of the schools in the three authorities took in 50 or more pupils in addition to those who joined Year Seven on the appointed day in September. In nearly half of the schools, 50 or more departed, in addition to the leavers at the end of Year Eleven. Secondly, the scale of difference between schools at opposite ends of the range needs to be appreciated when comparisons are made. Schools with the highest intakes admitted over 150 children. Schools with the lowest took in less than 20.

Figure 3.3: Pupil mobility rates in secondary schools in the three Local Education Authorities, 2001-02

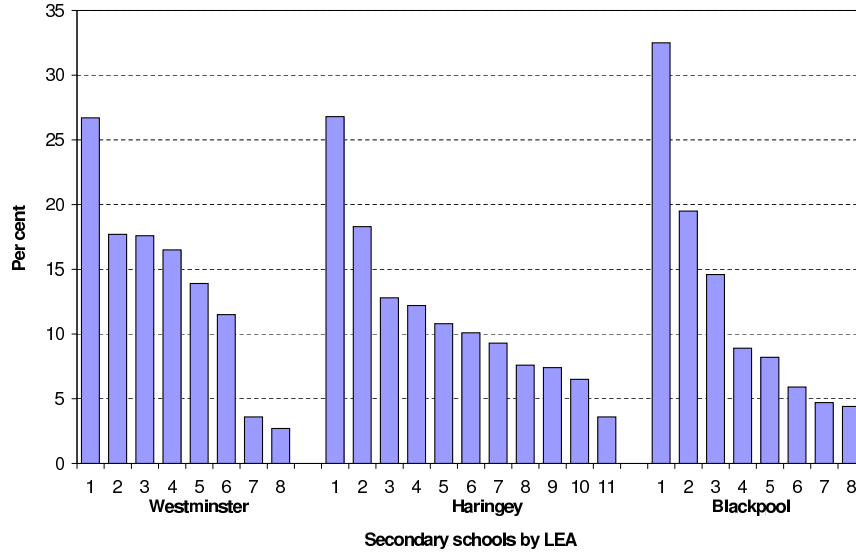
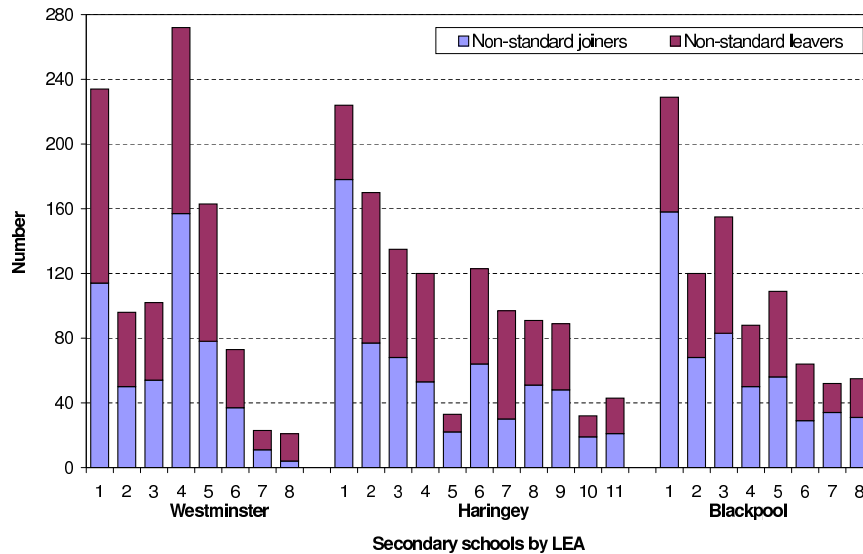


Figure 3.4: Numbers of pupils joining and leaving secondary schools in the three Local Education Authorities at non-standard times, 2001-02



3.5 Which year groups were most affected by pupil mobility?

Some year groups were affected by pupil mobility to a greater extent than others. The following table presents aggregate figures for children joining schools at non-standard times in the schools in each LEA.

Table 3.1: Numbers of children joining schools at non-standard times during 2001–02 in the three LEAs

	Year 7	Year 8	Year 9	Year 10	Year 11	Total
Westminster <i>number</i>	153	129	91	86	46	505
<i>per cent</i>	30.3	25.5	18.0	17.0	9.1	100.0
Haringey <i>number</i>	176	128	141	137	49	631
<i>per cent</i>	27.9	20.3	22.3	21.7	7.8	100.0
Blackpool <i>number</i>	116	129	138	102	24	509
<i>per cent</i>	22.8	25.3	27.1	20.0	4.7	100.0

Once again, there are interesting contrasts between the three authorities. In the two London LEAs, movement into Year 7 after the normal starting date was more significant than in Blackpool, though high in all three. However, only Westminster recorded a steady decline in number of admissions across the year groups. The Haringey and Blackpool patterns were much more similar.

In respect of individual schools, there was wide variation in numbers admitted to different year groups and no consistent pattern overall. School-by-school data, not reproduced here, show that Westminster's Year 7 figures were inflated by a very large intake of 60 late entrants to one particular school, while Haringey's Year 10 figures were inflated by the admission of 55 pupils to another. Although in the nature of things low mobility schools took in relatively small numbers, two community schools at the lower end of the mobility range in Haringey both admitted 14 pupils to Year 11 (the highest number joining any of their year groups). The data clearly indicate the differential impact that mobility can have on different year groups in any given school, with potential implications — for better or worse — for examination performance in different years.

Table 3.2: Numbers of children leaving schools at non-standard times during 2001–02 in the three LEAs.

	Year 7	Year 8	Year 9	Year 10	Year 11	Total
Westminster						
<i>number</i>	111	121	88	94	65	479
<i>per cent</i>	23.2	25.3	18.4	19.6	13.6	100.0
Haringey						
<i>number</i>	131	107	116	79	93	526
<i>per cent</i>	24.9	20.3	22.1	15.0	17.7	100.0
Blackpool						
<i>number</i>	73	88	104	70	28	363
<i>per cent</i>	20.1	24.2	28.7	19.3	7.7	100.0

The number of leavers also has an impact on year groups. Table 3.2 does not reveal any common pattern of departures from schools in the three LEAs. At the level of the individual school, there was variation in numbers leaving different year groups but no very large exodus to match the biggest inflows cited earlier.

In Westminster, the two schools with the highest number of admissions had outflows of 20–30 pupils from most year groups, with the largest losses in Year 7. In the rest of the authority's schools, patterns of leaving varied considerably. In Haringey, one high mobility school had a similar outflow in most year groups to that in the two Westminster schools just cited. Otherwise, there was also great variation in school experience.

In the case of Blackpool, the highest mobility school had a consistent outflow of 16–20 pupils from each year group except Year 11. All Blackpool schools recorded small numbers of leavers in Year 11 — the highest was seven. Five out of eight schools, mainly at the lower end of the mobility range, had their largest number of leavers in Year 8.

3.6 School mobility rates and school communities

One of the research aims was to find out what factors are consistently associated with different mobility rates in schools. What kinds of school

communities are most likely to have high levels of pupil movement? In order to answer this question, we studied the twenty-seven schools individually and also divided them into three groupings according to mobility level.

The cut-off point between the groupings had no special significance other than that it separated the schools into groups of equal size. By looking at the characteristics of schools in each of these groupings together, we hoped to discern any broad overall patterns that existed. We have also looked for apparent anomalies, being aware that this tripartite division could potentially distort as well as illuminate patterns of difference.

The number of schools from each LEA falling into each mobility grouping are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Schools grouped by mobility rates and local education authority

Mobility rate 2001–02	Number of schools			
	Westminster	Haringey	Blackpool	Total
Over 14% mobility	4	2	3	9
8-14% mobility	2	5	2	9
Under 8% mobility	2	4	3	9
Total	8	11	8	27

The following sections use these mobility groupings as the basis for analysis, as well as referring to LEA and school-specific factors. In considering the findings, it should be remembered that nearly all the schools ‘medium’ mobility category, as well as those in the ‘high’ mobility category, are in the upper quartile of schools nationally in terms of their mobility rates.

3.7 School mobility rates and the free school meals indicator

Does high mobility occur only in schools which have high levels of economic deprivation among their pupils? To try to answer this question, we looked at mobility rates in relation to free school meals (FSM) data, using eligibility for FSM as an indicator of the proportion of pupils from low income families attending each school. Table 3.4 summarizes the

information for the three mobility groupings. It may be noted that free school meal entitlement above 35 per cent is equated in many ‘official’ analyses with high levels of disadvantage — see for example Ofsted’s *Improving City Schools* (*op. cit.* p.5).

Table 3.4: Schools grouped by mobility rates and percentage of pupils eligible for free school meals (FSM)

Mobility rate 2001–02	Number of schools			
	Below 20% FSM	20–34% FSM	35%+ FSM	Total
Over 14% mobility	0	3	6	9
8-14% mobility	1	4	4	9
Under 8% mobility	5	4	0	9
Total	6	11	10	27

Overall, the table reveals a discernible pattern. A majority of schools in the highest mobility grouping were also in the highest FSM category. A majority of schools in the lowest mobility grouping were in the lowest FSM category. Schools in the middle mobility grouping appeared in all FSM categories but predominantly in the higher ones. (The one medium-mobility school with low FSM had had a mobility rate below 8 per cent in two of the three previous years). In spite of the clear overall pattern, the ranking of individual schools by mobility did not correspond neatly to ranking of schools by FSM in each LEA.

One of the most striking features of the data was the high levels of eligibility for free school meals in the majority of schools. Only six schools had less than 20 per cent pupils entitled to FSM. Only four schools — one in Westminster, one in Haringey and two in Blackpool — had less than 14.9 per cent, the national average. These four schools included the school in each LEA which had the lowest mobility rate of all.

The data have more meaning when put in their local context. The average FSM figure for inner London in 2001–2 was 39.9 per cent. In Westminster, the school with the highest mobility had 33.6 per cent of its pupils entitled to FSM, while the next three schools in the mobility ranking all had FSM proportions above 39.9 per cent.

In Haringey, the school with the highest mobility had 39.3 per cent FSM, while the next two in the mobility ranking had FSM levels above 39.9 per cent. So did two others in the middle of the LEA’s mobility range.

The average FSM figure for the North-West was 19.3 per cent. In Blackpool, the school with the highest mobility rate had 28.2 per cent FSM, with the next four schools in the mobility ranking all having FSM levels above 19.3 per cent.

In summary, all high mobility schools in the three LEAs had high levels of FSM compared to national figures and most had high levels by local standards. Low mobility schools tended to have lower levels of FSM compared to others within their own LEA and, in some instances, much lower. One point of interest in comparing the three LEAs was that the London schools appeared to be more socially polarised than the Blackpool ones, judging by FSM data. Thus the FSM range in Westminster was between 51.5 per cent and 6.8 per cent; in Haringey, between 60.7 per cent and 8.9 per cent; in Blackpool, between 35.1 per cent and 11.3 per cent.

What FSM statistics cannot show is the full range of socio-economic backgrounds from which pupils are drawn in any particular school. Other information we collected on school catchments and admissions and our discussions with school and LEA staff clearly indicated that low mobility schools in each authority had a larger proportion of pupils from higher income families than most other schools in the same LEA. In some cases, they appeared to have a socially comprehensive intake, in the sense of having significant numbers of pupils from both higher and lower socio-economic groups. In others the intake was skewed towards children from more advantaged families.

This is not to say that only the schools with low levels of mobility had pupils from families who would normally be defined as ‘middle class’. In London, the fact that many schools have refugees and asylum seekers whose parents are highly educated but impoverished through leaving country of origin, in some cases working in jobs well below their credentials, is one aspect of a complex picture where social background is concerned. However, the overriding impression was that low mobility schools, as compared to others in their LEA, had larger proportions of children whose parents had incomes and education levels above the norm. By contrast, certain schools with medium and high mobility rates were said to have few if any such pupils.

3.8 School mobility rates and achievement levels of standard intake

Schools differ substantially in the achievement levels of children admitted at the normal time — that is, the standard intake at the begin-

ning of Year 7. One of the questions we wanted to explore was whether high mobility was occurring mainly in those schools in each LEA which had lower-achieving intakes than the rest. Table 3.5 shows the proportion of children entering schools in each mobility grouping at the start of Year 7 who had achieved Level 4 or above in English in National Curriculum Key Stage 2 tests. (Level 4 is the ‘expected’ level of attainment for children of this age.)

Table 3.5: Schools grouped by mobility rates and percentage of pupils in the school’s standard intake who achieved Level 4 or above in Key Stage 2 English tests

Mobility rate 2001–02	Number of schools			Total
	Over 80% of intake with Level 4+	71–80% of intake with Level 4+	70% or less of intake with Level 4+	
Over 14% mobility	0	1	8	9
8–14% mobility	1	1	7	9
Under 8% mobility	5	3	1	9
Total	6	5	16	27

A clear pattern is evident, with the vast majority of schools in the high and medium mobility groupings having 70 per cent or less of their intake achieving Level 4 in English. By contrast, the vast majority of low mobility schools admitted a higher proportion of Level 4 achievers than this, with five out of nine schools recruiting over 80 per cent. They were, in fact, the only five schools out of the twenty-seven whose intake included a higher proportion of children achieving Level 4 than the national figure of 75 per cent.

The circumstances of the individual schools who departed from this general pattern are worthy of comment. In the high mobility grouping, the only school intake with over 70 per cent Level 4 achievers was an all-girls cohort. In the medium mobility grouping, the only school with over 80 per cent Level 4 achievers was the one mentioned above which had had a sub-8 per cent mobility rate in previous years. The school in the 71–80 per cent category just squeezed into it, with 71 per cent Level 4 achievers. In the low mobility grouping, the only school in the 70 per cent or less category had admitted 69 per cent Level 4 achievers and was just below the 8 per cent mobility level — in other words, it was on the border-line in both respects.

The broad picture is clear. The low mobility schools had higher-achieving intakes than the vast majority of other schools. However, it should be noted that at the level of the individual school, there was considerable variation in the achievements of standard Year 7 admissions within mobility groupings and across the board. Thus, for example, four schools took in less than 60 per cent children achieving Level 4 in English at normal age of entry and three of these were in the medium mobility grouping.

Because of known gender differences in test performance by subject and the different proportions of girls and boys in the intakes of different schools — three were single-sex girls' schools and one a boys' school — we also looked at performance in Key Stage Two maths tests. This brought about a few changes in the ranking order of individual schools but tended to reinforce the link between low mobility and high achieving intakes.

It should be borne in mind that the low levels of attainment in English shown above are partly related to lack of fluency in the English language in the case of some children taking the tests — as may be deduced from the following section.

3.9 Mobility rates, English as an additional language and ethnicity

We also sought to establish whether high mobility was more likely to be found in schools where there were high proportions of pupils speaking English as an additional language (EAL) or of children from ethnic minority backgrounds, as opposed to those schools in the same authority where proportions were lower. In Blackpool, where numbers of both were tiny — 2.3 per cent was the highest proportion of EAL speakers in any school and 2.5 per cent the highest proportion of ethnic minority pupils — no meaningful conclusions could be drawn.

In the two London LEAs, the most obvious fact was that a high proportion of EAL speakers was to be found in the majority of schools. Eighteen of the nineteen schools in the two authorities had EAL levels above the national average of 8.9 per cent and thirteen had more than 50 per cent EAL pupils. The one school with very low EAL numbers was a Church school with pupils mainly of Caribbean origin. Apart from this one, schools with less than a third of EAL pupils were at the bottom of the mobility range.

Data on stages of English language acquisition indicate, unsurprisingly, that the schools with the highest numbers of pupils at the early stages of English acquisition were all schools at the top or in the middle of the mobility range, reflecting the fairly recent arrival of some children in the UK. Schools with the lowest mobility had the smallest numbers of beginners in English.

In almost all of the London schools, children placed in ethnic categories other than 'White UK' comprised over half of the school population, including significant numbers originating from southern and Eastern Europe, the Caribbean, the Indian Subcontinent and African countries. The lowest mobility schools tended to have larger numbers categorised as 'White UK' than other schools but patterns of ethnicity varied substantially from school to school. For example, certain Church schools appeared to have the highest proportions of African pupils. Because of numbers assigned to the 'other' ethnic category and reservations about the reliability of the data, the picture presented can only be seen as indicative.

3.10 School mobility rates and other factors

In addition to free school meals, English as an additional language, ethnicity and achievement levels of standard intakes, we looked at data on other aspects of school communities to see if there was a consistent statistical relationship between any of them and rates of pupil mobility. These factors included numbers of children on roll who had special educational needs, looked-after children, permanent exclusions, unauthorised absence and the gender balance in mixed schools.

However, while there was considerable variation between schools in respect of each, some with local explanations (e.g. schools located close to children's homes with higher-than-average numbers of looked-after children), there was no overall pattern linked to mobility across the three LEAs.

In the case of unauthorised absence, some relationship to mobility rates might have been anticipated because schools with high pupil turnover often have problems confirming whether children have left the area or are simply not attending. However, the figures do not show a systematic relationship between mobility and unauthorised absence.

Nor was there a consistent link between mobility and the proportions of boys and girls in mixed schools, nearly all of which had more boys

than girls. Three girls' schools were in the lowest mobility grouping but another in transition to becoming co-educational was not.

3.11 Mobility rates and examination performance

Table 3.6 presents data on one outcome measure of schools in relation to mobility. One school in the lowest mobility group was omitted because it was a recently-established institution in which the first cohort of pupils to enter had not yet reached Year 11.

Table 3.6: Mobility rates 2001–02 and percentage of pupils gaining 5+ GCSE passes at grades A*–C in 2002 in the 3 local education authorities

Mobility rate 2001–02	Schools by % of pupils gaining 5+ GCSEs A*–C						
	<25	25–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69	70+
Over 14% mobility	5	2	2	–	–	–	–
8–14% mobility	2	3	3	1	–	–	–
Under 8% mobility	–	–	–	3	2	–	3
Total	7	5	5	4	2	0	3

There is a visible pattern in these figures, although a direct causal link between mobility rate and achievement level cannot, of course, be assumed. The data set out in earlier sections made it clear that schools in the different mobility groupings tended to have differing characteristics, such as level of pupil achievement on entry, socio-economic background and fluency in English, which have been shown in many studies to be associated with examination performance.

3.12 Mobility rates and type of school

Table 3.7 summarises patterns of mobility in relation to school type. The main figures represent the total number of schools with each status in the school year 2002–3, the period during which our field work was carried out. The figures in brackets show how many of the total number acquired that status in September 2002. A further school was a Fresh Start school in 1999.

Table 3.7: Mobility rates 2001–02 and school type in September 2002 in the 3 local education authorities

Mobility rate 2001–02	Specialist Schools	Beacon Schools	Academies	Church Schools	Community Schools
Over 14% mobility (9 schools)	2 (–)	0 (–)	1 (1)	4 (1)	5 (–1)
8–14% mobility (9 schools)	2 (2)	0 (–)	0 (–)	3 (–)	6 (–)
Under 8% mobility (9 schools)	6 (3)	4 (–)	0 (–)	3 (–)	6 (–)

There is an overlap between the categories. Of the 10 schools with specialist status, seven were community schools and three church schools. Beacon status was evenly split between community and church schools. Three were all-girls schools.

Overall, those with specialist and beacon status were clearly concentrated at the low mobility end of the range. Church schools, on the other hand, were evenly distributed across the range, with one recent addition (change of status of an existing school) in the high mobility grouping.

An interesting fact in considering the likely impact of increasing diversity was that the four schools granted specialist status in the high and medium mobility groupings were four of the five schools in the 30–39 per cent GCSE pass group in the preceding table (i.e. schools with relatively good examination results by crude comparison with others). Dates of receiving this status were 1999, 2001 and 2002 (2 schools) — too recent for there to have been any causal connection between their examination performance and their new status, except possibly in the first case.

Ironically, in that case, the school's GCSE performance on the A*–C grade measure had fallen slightly since it became a specialist school and at the time of our interview, it was appealing against a decision to de-designate it. In a robust defence of its situation, the school provided evidence that — amongst other things — it had experienced a significant increase in the level of social deprivation of its intake and that it had a high and fluctuating level of pupil mobility.

“For example, of the 198 students who took KS3 SATs in 2002, 43 were not on roll at start of year 7. This represents

22 per cent of the cohort. Of the students taking GCSE exams in 2002, 50 were not on roll in year 7, some 27 per cent of the entry.

“In 2001–2, the stable population achieved 44 per cent GCSE grades A–C, while in the mobile population, the figure was 21 per cent only one member of the stable cohort had no passes . . . ”.*

[Excerpt from headteacher’s letter]

The head also emphasised the school’s “firm commitment to social inclusion”. In a particular subject associated with the school’s specialism, 80 pupils were entered for GCSE, including 24 who were mobile, 15 who were on the FSM register and 15 on the SEN register (four in all three categories).

At time of writing (Autumn 2004), all nine low mobility schools have now been granted specialist status, together with nine of the remaining eighteen — plus the academy. Another high mobility school is destined to be recreated as two academies.

3.13 School mobility rates and change over time

Later in the report, we will consider *why* certain factors seem to be related to school mobility rates. In seeking to establish what is cause, what is consequence and what is neither or both, it is desirable to find historical data and to see how consistent high or low levels of mobility have been over time in different schools. Westminster and Blackpool both have statistics for a four year period, as shown below (Tables 3.8 and 3.9).

It can be seen that, broadly speaking, the hierarchy of schools in terms of mobility rates has remained the same over the four year period in both authorities. There have been some changes of position by individual schools and one or two striking changes in mobility rates but no school has moved several places either up or down the ranking order. Where a school had exceptionally high figures in a specific particular year, this appears generally to be related to a particularly difficult period in the school’s history.

In the case of Westminster, there has been a clear overall trend of diminishing mobility rates, perhaps associated in part with the national

Table 3.8: School mobility rates in Westminster over the period 1998–2002

School	School mobility rates			
	1998–99	1999–2000	2000–01	2001–02
W1	45.9	29.6	25.3	26.7
W2	32.0	28.9	42.8	17.7
W3	33.3	28.8	17.3	17.6
W4	13.5	15.7	13.2	16.5
W5	11.6	10.1	10.4	13.9
W6	3.9	10.0	6.8	11.5
W7	6.7	6.6	6.7	3.6
W8	4.9	8.0	3.4	2.7
All schools	19.0	17.2	15.7	13.8

Table 3.9: School mobility rates in Blackpool over the period 1998–2002

School	School mobility rates			
	1998–99	1999–2000	2000–01	2001–02
B1	28.3	24.1	24.2	32.5
B2	31.5	37.2	23.6	19.5
B3	12.6	13.4	19.2	14.6
B4	11.4	9.5	9.4	8.9
B5	7.0	4.1	7.0	8.2
B6	7.1	5.7	4.9	5.9
B7	4.1	3.9	2.9	4.7
B8	3.3	3.7	3.0	4.4
All schools	13.2	12.7	11.8	12.3

policy of dispersing asylum seekers to other regions. In the case of Blackpool, the overall picture has been more constant.

Although there was no comparable data for the preceding years in Haringey schools, interviewees concurred in the view that schools in the low mobility grouping had had a relatively low level of movement during previous years. Three other schools were said to have taken in particularly large numbers of asylum seekers but dispersal was thought to have reduced the inflow to some extent.

3.14 Summary

Some of the main findings of the above analysis were as follows:

- 21 of the 27 schools in the three LEAs had mobility rates above the national median (5.9 per cent) in 2001–02, with 15 in the upper quartile of schools nationally.
- Each LEA had one school with a mobility rate clearly higher than the rest — over 26 per cent in every case. At the other extreme, each LEA had one or two schools with less than 5 per cent. In between, there was a range of mobility rates in different schools.
- Each LEA had a school with over 150 non-standard admissions in 2001–02 and over half the schools in each authority took in 50 or more.
- The impact of mobility on different year groups within schools varied from LEA to LEA and from school to school. Overall, Year 11 took in far fewer new entrants, but this was not the case in certain schools.
- Most schools in the three LEAs had relatively high proportions of pupils eligible for free school meals. Low mobility schools tended to have lower FSM compared to others in the same LEA, in four cases below the national average.
- In the majority of London schools, over half the pupils spoke English as an additional language. Schools with less than a third of EAL pupils were almost all at the lowest end of the mobility range.
- There was a clear association between high achieving intakes at the start of Year 7 and low mobility levels in schools. but a less consistent relationship between achievement of intake and mobility level in higher mobility schools.
- Schools with under 25 per cent pupils gaining 5+ GCSE passes at A*–C grades were mainly in the top third of the mobility range, whereas those with 40 per cent or more were almost all in the lowest third.
- Six of the ten specialist schools and all four beacon schools in the three LEAs were among the schools with the lowest mobility levels. Church schools were evenly spread across the mobility range.
- During a four-year period, overall mobility rates declined in one LEA and stayed constant in another. However, the ranking order of schools in respect of mobility changed little in either authority.

3.15 Conclusion

Several schools in each LEA played a significant role in taking in children who were 'on the move', with one or two admitting particularly large numbers. High mobility rates were found in schools with high levels of economic deprivation within their school communities and higher-than-average proportions of children achieving poorly on entry at age eleven. These same characteristics were found in most schools in the middle of the mobility range too.

Those schools with the lowest mobility rates had higher-achieving intakes than the majority and, though some had sizeable numbers of pupils from low income families, none was in the highest FSM category. The cut-off point of 8 per cent between the medium and low mobility groupings, initially an arbitrary division for analytical purposes, seemed to have some real significance in separating school communities with differing characteristics. However, certain schools on either side of the division shared some common features and one in particular seemed misplaced in the medium-mobility grouping rather than the lower one.

Six of the ten schools granted specialist status and all four beacon schools were in the low mobility grouping. Three were all-girls schools. This raises interesting questions about the potential of specialist status or other types of diversification to enable all schools to become 'as good as the best'. If the qualities and attainments associated with being 'good' require school communities which have low mobility rates, relatively advantaged intakes or all-female populations, then universal goodness in urban authorities like these will be unachievable.

The distribution of church schools and community schools across the three mobility groupings, with their widely differing intakes and outcomes, also suggests that it is the nature of school communities rather than school type that needs to be the key consideration in strategies to create good schools for all, as defined in our introduction.

Chapter 4

Pupil mobility in three schools 2002–03

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter analysed the scale and pattern of pupil mobility across all secondary schools in the three education authorities, providing an overall picture of movement in the school system in each authority. This chapter examines the characteristics of mobility into and out of three high mobility schools during one school year, in order to illustrate the patterns and flows of movement which such schools must be organised to manage and make provision for. This type of information is necessary for any assessment of the demands created by high levels of pupil movement and their significance for schools seeking to help all children achieve their potential.

For the purposes of this study, each school has been given a pseudonym: Goldsmith School in Westminster; Tennyson School in Haringey; and Masefield School in Blackpool. Mobility patterns in the three schools are analysed separately and then compared. The total scale of movement in each during 2002–03 is shown in Table 4.1 below. It should be noted that in every case there was a substantial net inflow. This reflects the fact that all had spare capacity and that there were large numbers of children within or coming into areas within travelling distance who were seeking school places after the normal point of entry.

These facts can be related to the school context in which the mobility was occurring. All three schools had had past problems and were in the process of building parental confidence and trying to establish a more positive image in their local communities. All had less than 70 per cent of children joining Year 7 at the normal time in 2001 with

Level 4 or above in Key Stage 2 English tests (the ‘expected’ level for the age group). But all were described by their LEAs as well-led and improving.

This judgement was endorsed by Ofsted inspectors. Two of the schools received full inspections during the year to which the following statistics relate. One inspection report stated that *‘the school has made remarkable progress over the past three years’*. It referred to the *‘dynamic leadership of the headteacher and the commitment and skills of other managers, staff and governors’*. Only 4 per cent of teaching observed during the inspection was judged to be less than satisfactory, while 70 per cent was found to be good or better. The other inspection report stated that *‘there is much good teaching, the school is well managed and the head teacher and senior staff provide very good direction for improvement’*. Again, only 4 per cent of teaching was found to be less than satisfactory, while 62 per cent was judged to be good or better.

These details are included to give an indication of the nature of the three schools affected by these high mobility levels and the circumstances in which they were striving to raise achievement. All the data in this chapter are derived from school records.

Table 4.1: Pupils joining and leaving case-study schools at non-standard times 2002–03

School	Pupils who joined at non-standard times	Pupils who left at non-standard times	Pupils who joined and left again within the school year*
Goldsmith School (Westminster)	120	59	5
Tennyson School (Haringey)	137	62	27
Masefield School (Blackpool)	162	92	34

*These pupils are included in the figures in the first two columns

Reference should also be made to Appendix A which presents the Masefield School data in graphical form. This gives a further appreciation of the scale and complexity of the movement.

4.2 Mobility at Goldsmith School, 2002–03

4.2.1 Characteristics of mobile pupils at Goldsmith School

As Table 4.1 shows, Goldsmith School in Westminster admitted twice as many pupils at non-standard times as it lost through departures — 120 joiners compared to 59 leavers. Only 5 pupils joined and left again within the year.

- 53 per cent of the joiners and 59 per cent of the leavers were boys. As a consequence, the school had a net gain of 28 boys and 33 girls.
- 35 per cent of the joiners and 15 per cent of the leavers were eligible for free school meals. The school had a net gain of 33 pupils entitled to FSM.
- 69 per cent of joiners and 68 per cent of leavers spoke English as an additional language. This meant a net gain of 43 pupils with EAL. Data on stages of English fluency were not complete but 16 per cent of joiners and no leavers were recorded as being at Stages 1 and 2.

4.2.2 Principal languages of mobile pupils at Goldsmith School

The languages, other than or in addition to English, which were spoken by more than 3 mobile pupils at Goldsmith School during 2002–03 are listed in Table 4.2. The dominant ones were Arabic, Bengali and Persian. In total, 22 languages were recorded for joiners and leavers during this school year.

4.2.3 Mobility by month at Goldsmith School

September was clearly the month with most movement, while joiners continued to arrive in significant numbers throughout the autumn term. The second largest monthly inflow was in January. September was the only month with a sizeable outflow (Table 4.3).

Some September joiners entered Years 8–11, others were children arriving in Year 7 after the normal entry and induction days. Although in

Table 4.2: Principal languages other than English spoken by joiners and leavers at Goldsmith School 2002–03

Principal languages spoken	Joiners	Leavers	All mobile pupils
Arabic	20	10	30
Bengali	12	5	17
Persian	12	5	17
French	3	2	5
Portuguese	3	1	4
Urdu	2	2	4

Table 4.3: Number of joiners and leavers at Goldsmith School by month 2002–03

Month	Joiners	Leavers	Net gain
September	34	37	–3
October	14	2	12
November	12	4	8
December	10	0	10
January	17	7	10
February	9	3	6
March	2	0	2
April	5	2	3
May	6	1	5
June	10	2	8
July	1	1	0
August	0	0	0
Total	120	59	61

the latter case this may seem a small difference from joining the school right at the beginning, it has significance for both pupils and teachers. Initial routines, such as recording and dispensing information and helping the child to find their way around, have to be repeated for every newcomer. The newcomers themselves may feel ‘out of things’ because they missed the start of term when their peers settled in and got to know one another. Relevant issues are discussed further in Chapter 8 below.

4.2.4 Mobility by year group at Goldsmith School

Year 7 had the highest volume of mobility, with a gradual decline in the scale of movement in the older year groups (Table 4.4). Thus, most of the coming and going occurred during Key Stage 3, with more stability in Key Stage 4. There were more joiners than leavers in every year group.

Table 4.4: Number of joiners and leavers by year group at Goldsmith School 2002–03

Year group	Joiners	Leavers	Net gain
7	48	18	30
8	35	15	20
9	21	15	6
10	10	6	4
11	6	5	1
Total	120	59	61

4.2.5 Origins and destinations of mobile pupils at Goldsmith School

Table 4.5 provides data for all those with recorded origins and destinations: that is, 118 of the 120 joiners and 39 of the 59 leavers. The term ‘origin’ means previous school or residential location, not the pupil’s family origins.

42 per cent of joiners with recorded places of origin came direct from overseas and 26 per cent with recorded destinations departed to other countries. A wide range of countries are listed, with no dominant one.

Table 4.5: Origin and destination countries of joiners and leavers at Goldsmith School 2002–03

Previous/next country	Joiners	Leavers	All mobile pupils
United Kingdom	68	29	97
Rest of World <i>of which:</i>	50	10	60
Iran	5	0	5
Jamaica	3	1	4
Eritrea	3	0	3
Ghana	3	0	3
Iraq	3	0	3
Australia	2	1	3
Brazil	2	0	2
China	2	0	2
Colombia	2	0	2
Jordan	2	0	2
Kosovo	2	0	2
Netherlands	2	0	2
Nigeria	2	0	2
Spain	2	0	2
Egypt	1	1	2
Namibia	1	1	2
Pakistan	1	1	2
Trinidad and Tobago	1	1	2
United States	1	1	2
Cameroon	1	0	1
Gambia	1	0	1
Guyana	1	0	1
Kazakhstan	1	0	1
Kuwait	1	0	1
Morocco	1	0	1
New Zealand	1	0	1
Portugal	1	0	1
Rwanda	1	0	1
United Arab Emirates	1	0	1
Czech Republic	0	1	1
Lebanon	0	1	1
Uzbekistan	0	1	1
Unknown	2	20	22

For those changing schools within the UK, almost all mobility was within London (Table 4.6), and almost all of that within Westminster, the adjoining boroughs of Camden and Brent and other north London boroughs.

Table 4.6: Previous and next locations of joiners and leavers at Goldsmith School moving within the UK 2002–03

Previous/next location	Joiners	Leavers	All mobile pupils
London	57	15	72
Essex	2	2	4
Manchester	2	0	2
Leicestershire	1	0	1
Liverpool	1	0	1
Norfolk	1	0	1
Scotland	1	0	1
Stevenage	1	0	1
Surrey	1	0	1
West Midlands	1	0	1
Portsmouth	0	1	1
Unknown	0	11	11

In the case of those moving within the London school system, the range of previous schools was diverse. 25 children transferred from other state secondary schools, 6 of them from girls' schools. 16 came from other Westminster secondary schools, mostly from one which had an uncertain future. 8 transferred late from primary school (perhaps having failed to obtain a place in a preferred secondary school); five from private schools (including a stage school and a religious school); and one from a special school. As far as leavers were concerned, three departed to other (high mobility) Westminster schools and eight to schools (mainly ones of high repute) in other LEAs, while two were recorded as transferring to private schools, one associated with an embassy.

The twenty leavers on whom we received no information may have included some who were moved by the National Asylum Seeker Service (NASS) at short notice to other parts of the country or children who attended briefly before taking up a place in another London school, but this is speculation. It is not known how many of the school changes within London were associated with residential moves, though it seems likely that many were not.

4.3 Mobility at Tennyson School, 2002–03

4.3.1 Characteristics of mobile pupils at Tennyson School

Tennyson School in Haringey took in more than twice as many pupils at non-standard times as it lost through departures — 137 joiners compared to 62 leavers. 27 pupils joined and left again during the school year, a high level of turnover.

- 72 per cent of the joiners and 64 per cent of the leavers were boys. As a consequence, the school had a net gain of 39 boys and 8 girls.
- 34 per cent of the joiners and 31 per cent of the leavers were eligible for free school meals. The school had a net gain of 28 pupils entitled to FSM.
- 63 per cent of joiners and 47 per cent of leavers spoke English as an additional language. This meant a net gain of 57 pupils with EAL. Data on stages of English fluency were not complete but 38 per cent of joiners and 11 per cent of leavers were recorded as being at Stages 1 and 2.

4.3.2 Principal languages of mobile pupils at Tennyson School

The languages, other than or in addition to English, which were spoken by more than 3 mobile pupils at Tennyson School during 2002–03 are listed in Table 4.7. The dominant ones were Turkish, Somali and Kurdish. In total, 28 languages were recorded for joiners and leavers during this school year.

4.3.3 Mobility by month at Tennyson School

September was clearly the month with most movement, while there was a continuing but diminishing inflow in the following months. January saw an upsurge in admissions, and also March. September and October were the only months with a significant outflow (Table 4.8). The data imply a very turbulent start to the school year and the following table (Table 4.9) indicates that a sizeable number of children arriving in the autumn term were late joiners to Year 7.

Table 4.7: Principal languages other than English spoken by joiners and leavers at Tennyson School 2002–03

Principal languages spoken	Joiners	Leavers	All mobile pupils
Turkish	22	6	28
Somali	17	3	20
Kurdish	8	3	11
Albanian	4	3	7
Persian	5	1	6
Spanish	5	1	6
Portuguese	4	1	5
Bengali	4	1	5
French	2	3	5
Urdu	4	0	4
Lingala	3	1	4
Polish	3	1	4

Table 4.8: Number of joiners and leavers at Tennyson School by month 2002–03

Month	Joiners	Leavers	Net gain
September	55	28	27
October	18	15	3
November	11	8	3
December	5	0	5
January	18	4	14
February	5	2	3
March	13	2	11
April	5	2	3
May	3	1	2
June	4	0	4
July	0	0	0
August	0	0	0
Total	137	62	75

4.3.4 Mobility by year group at Tennyson School

Year 7 had the highest volume of mobility, but there were significant inflows in Years 8, 9 and 10 (Table 4.9). 28 pupils joined in Year 10 — the first year of Key Stage 4. There were more joiners than leavers in every year group.

Table 4.9: Number of joiners and leavers by year group at Tennyson School 2002–03

Year group	Joiners	Leavers	Net gain
7	48	26	22
8	20	14	6
9	32	12	20
10	28	8	20
11	9	2	7
Total	137	62	75

4.3.5 Origins and destinations of mobile pupils at Tennyson School

Table 4.10 provides data for all those with recorded origins and destinations: that is, 102 of the 137 joiners and 41 of the 62 leavers. As stated earlier, the term ‘origin’ means previous school or residential location, not the pupil’s family origins.

58 per cent of joiners with recorded places of origin came direct from overseas and 7 per cent with recorded destinations departed to other countries. A range of countries are listed, with Turkey and Kenya the most significant origin countries. It is important to remember that previous residential location does not necessarily reflect national background. Thus, for example, seven of the nine children who had previously been living in Kenya were Somali nationals, as were some children transferring from other schools. In total, 18 of the pupils entering Tennyson School at non-standard times during 2002–03 were recorded as Somali, even though only five were listed as coming direct from Somalia.

For those changing schools within the UK, the major part of the movement was within London (Table 4.11), although one in five leavers departed elsewhere. Most of the transfers from London schools were

within the LEA: nearly two thirds (24) were children making a late entry from primary school, while five transferred from other Haringey secondary schools. One was a readmission to Tennyson, six came from other state secondary schools in north or east London and one from a private religious school.

Table 4.10: Origin and destination countries of joiners and leavers at Tennyson School 2002–03

Previous/next country	Joiners	Leavers	All mobile pupils
United Kingdom	43	38	81
Rest of World	59	3	62
<i>of which:</i>			
Turkey	12	0	12
Kenya	9	0	9
Somalia	5	0	5
Jamaica	4	0	4
Iran	3	0	3
Colombia	2	0	2
Dem. Rep. of Congo	2	0	2
Ethiopia	2	0	2
Guinea-Bissau	2	0	2
Iraq	2	0	2
Kosovo	2	0	2
Nigeria	2	0	2
Poland	2	0	2
Trinidad and Tobago	1	1	2
Angola	1	0	1
Bangladesh	1	0	1
Bulgaria	1	0	1
Cyprus	1	0	1
Ecuador	1	0	1
Netherlands	1	0	1
Syrian Arab Republic	1	0	1
Turkish Kurdistan	1	0	1
Uganda	1	0	1
Ireland	0	1	1
Portugal	0	1	1
Unknown	35	21	56

Table 4.11: Previous and next locations of joiners and leavers at Tennyson School moving within the UK 2002–03

Previous/next location	Joiners	Leavers	All mobile pupils
London	39	31	70
Surrey	2	0	2
Glasgow	1	0	1
Grimsby	1	0	1
Leicester	0	2	2
Bournemouth	0	1	1
Essex	0	1	1
Suffolk	0	1	1
Manchester	0	1	1
Nottingham	0	1	1
Unknown	0	0	0

Among the leavers known to have gone to London schools, three transferred within Haringey and the remainder went mainly to other state schools in central, north and east London. Two went to a special school and one to a private religious school.

4.4 Mobility at Masefield School, 2002–03

4.4.1 Characteristics of mobile pupils at Masefield School

Masefield School in Blackpool had the largest volume of movement of all, with 162 non-standard joiners and 92 leavers. 34 pupils joined and left again within the same year, a very high level of turnover.

- 57 per cent of the joiners and 64 of the leavers were boys. As a consequence, the school had a net gain of 34 boys and 36 girls.
- 35 per cent of the joiners and 42 per cent of the leavers were eligible for free school meals. The school had a net gain of 18 pupils entitled to FSM.
- 5.5 per cent of joiners and 1.1 per cent of leavers spoke English as an additional language, meaning a net gain of 8 pupils with EAL.

4.4.2 Mobility by month at Masefield School

September was the month with the largest number of joiners, while there was a continuing but diminishing inflow in the following months. January and February saw very few new admissions, with an upsurge in March. Masefield School had significantly higher inflows than the other two schools from March onwards. September, November and January had the biggest outflows (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12: Number of joiners and leavers at Masefield School by month 2002–03

Month	Joiners	Leavers	Net gain
September	41	17	24
October	26	5	21
November	15	13	2
December	10	7	3
January	4	17	-13
February	5	10	-5
March	20	8	12
April	8	7	1
May	11	6	5
June	10	2	8
July	12	0	12
August	0	0	0
Total	162	92	70

Table 4.13: Number of joiners and leavers by year group at Masefield School 2002–03

Year group	Joiners	Leavers	Net gain
7	49	21	28
8	40	24	16
9	40	23	17
10	19	16	3
11	13	8	5
Total	161	92	69

4.4.3 Mobility by year group at Masefield School

As Table 4.13 shows, there were remarkably similar inflows and remarkably similar outflows in Years 7, 8 and 9, with a decline in movement in Years 10 and 11. Even here, however, there were 32 joiners in Key Stage 4. The number of joiners exceeded the number of leavers in every year group.

4.4.4 Origins and destinations of mobile pupils at Masefield School

Unlike the London schools, Masefield's mobile pupils were overwhelmingly moving within the UK, as Table 4.14 shows. Table 4.15 summarises places of origin and destination within the UK. Table 4.16 specifies origins and destinations within the Blackpool education system, including seven late joiners from primary schools. Table 4.17 spells out the huge range of locations from which Blackpool pupils came and to which they departed on leaving.

Table 4.14: Origin and destination countries of joiners and leavers at Masefield School 2002–03

Previous/next country	Joiners	Leavers	All mobile pupils
United Kingdom	144	67	211
Thailand	2	0	2
Ukraine	2	0	2
Hungary	1	0	1
United States	0	2	2
Canada	0	1	1
Ireland	0	1	1
Spain	0	1	1
Unknown	0	1	1

Table 4.15: Previous and next locations of joiners and leavers at Masefield School moving within the UK 2002–03

Previous/next location	Joiners	Leavers	All mobile pupils
North West England	59	24	83
<i>of which:</i>			
Blackpool	22	13	35
Fylde	10	1	11
North East England	4	1	5
Yorkshire and Humberside	13	6	19
West Midlands	24	2	26
East Midlands	11	3	14
South West England	9	5	14
Eastern England	5	0	5
South East England	7	2	9
London	4	1	5
Scotland	4	4	8
Wales	4	4	8
Northern Ireland	1	0	1
Unknown	0	15	15

Table 4.16: Pupils moving to and from Masefield School within Blackpool 2002–03

Previous/next location	Joiners	Leavers	All mobile pupils
Blackpool Secondary School	15	10	25
Blackpool Primary School	7	0	7
Blackpool Special Provision	0	3	3

Table 4.17: Pupils moving to and from Masefield School in 2002–03: places of origin and destination in the UK as noted in school records

Atherstone	Grantham	Porth
Bacup	Grimsby	Portsmouth
Bangor	Halesowen	Poulton-le-Fylde
Barnsley	Halifax	Preston
Bedford	Harlow	Reading
Bedworth	Heywood	Redruth
Birkenhead	Hindley	Rochdale
Birmingham	Hornchurch	Rotherham
Bishopbriggs	Huddersfield	Runcorn
Blackburn	Huntingdon	Ruthin
Blackpool	Ilfracombe	Scotland
Bolton	Kilmacolm	Sheerness
Boston	Leeds	Sheffield
Bradford	Leicester	Shirley
Bridgnorth	Leyland	Sleaford
Bushey	Lichfield	Slough
Cannock	London	South Wales
Carnforth	Lytham St. Annes	St Helens
Chadderton	Manchester	St Stephen
Chapel-en-le-Frith	Milton Keynes	Sutton-in-Ashfield
Chesterfield	Newark	Tamworth
Cleethorpes	Newcastle upon Tyne	Thornton Cleveleys
Coventry	Newton Abbott	Torquay
Crewe	Newton Aycliffe	Torrington
Dagenham	Newtownabbey	Wales
Darlington	Nuneaton	Walsall
Derby	Oldbury	Warrington
Devon	Oldham	Wednesbury
Dundee	Oxted	West Bromwich
Earlston	Pemberton	West Wickham
Edgeware	Penrith	Weymouth
Falmouth	Peterlee	Willenhall
Fleetwood	Plymouth	Wythenshawe
Glasgow	Port Glasgow	Yeovil

4.5 Similarities and differences

The Table 4.18 summarises some similarities and differences between the three schools studied.

Table 4.18: Similarities and differences between the 3 study schools

Similarities	Differences
In every case, the number of joiners was substantially greater than the number of leavers.	Tennyson and Masefield had higher numbers who joined and left again within the same year.
More boys than girls were on the move: this applied to both joiners and leavers at every school.	Goldsmith and Masefield both had a slightly larger net gain of girls; Tennyson had a net gain mainly of boys.
Most movement occurred in Key Stage 3 (Years 7 to 9) in every school.	Tennyson maintained a comparable inflow in Year 10.
Year 7 was the year group which took in the most non-standard joiners in every school.	Tennyson received far more late transfers from primary school than the others.
The proportion of new arrivals eligible for free school meals was close to 35 per cent in every school.	Tennyson (31 per cent) and Goldsmith (15 per cent) had a lower proportion of FSM among leavers; at Masefield, it was higher (42 per cent).
All schools had mobile pupils with English as an additional language.	At Goldsmith, there was a similar proportion of joiners and leavers with EAL; at Tennyson, a higher proportion of joiners; at Masefield, very few of either.
Residential movement from or to other areas was a significant factor in pupil mobility in every school.	At Tennyson (58 per cent) and Goldsmith (42 per cent), many new arrivals were from overseas; at Masefield, most (86 per cent) came from outside the LEA but within the UK.

Comparative analysis demonstrates clearly that 'high mobility schools' are not a uniform category in terms of the nature and effects of pupil movement. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this study is the

difference between the two London schools. Though superficially similar in that they have high numbers of international migrants, children with English as an additional language and children eligible for free school meals, the mobility that they experienced during 2002–03 had some significantly different aspects.

Adding the above information to details about pupil origins, destinations and languages, it appears that Goldsmith had a more varied intake than Tennyson in terms of social and school background, no dominant national group, a smaller proportion of beginners in English, a better balance of boys and girls, and fewer late transfers from primary school. Tennyson, on the other hand, had a sizeable intake of Turkish, Kurdish and Somali children (groups about whose achievement there has been general concern), with a preponderance of boys and a significant number of late transfers from primary school.

It may be noted here that this mobility data reflects differences between the two schools which are evident from statistics on the two school communities as a whole. Goldsmith is comparatively more advantaged than Tennyson, with a higher-achieving intake at the normal time of transfer from primary school and higher GCSE results.

In all three schools, the relatively long-distance movement of many mobile pupils as shown by their origins and destinations are worth noting. These high mobility rates cannot, for the most part, be attributed to ‘parental choice’ in the sense of dissatisfied parents transferring their children between local schools.

However, the meaning of some data can only be the subject of speculation. The data on FSM and school leavers at Goldsmith, for example, would suggest the departure of some more affluent pupils. In the case of Masefield school, the high proportion of low income children among the leavers suggests that the most mobile pupils — those who come and go again — were disproportionately among the poorest.

4.6 Conclusion

The data analysed in this chapter give an indication of the nature of pupil inflows and outflows in some city schools striving to raise achievement. Bearing in mind the existence of schools with very low mobility in the same LEAs, the analysis underlines the wide variation in the character and stability of school communities within some city education authorities. This variation is sometimes overlooked in discussion about ‘good’ schools and ‘bad’ schools and about making all schools ‘as good as the best’.

The present leadership and management and much of the teaching in the study schools have been commended by external inspection but in all of them the examination results at the time of this research were below the national average, in two cases well below it. Some of the implications of the above for a school's examination performance are self-evident but they are explored further in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 5

Impact of mobility on one year group over five years, 1997–2002

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the changes that can occur over a five year period in a single cohort of pupils as it moves up a high mobility school from Year 7 to Year 11 — changes to which the organisation of teaching and support must be constantly adapted. It also sheds some light on the relationship between mobility and school examination results.

The main analysis uses data for the cohort of pupils who joined Year 7 at Goldsmith School in Westminster in September 1997 and constituted Year 11 in 2001–02. At the end of the chapter, a comparison is made with Masefield School in Blackpool, where a similar cohort analysis was carried out. Unfortunately, there was no comprehensive information on the achievement levels of those who arrived and departed at different times over the period in the two schools. However, it is evident from the statistics and from our interviews that many of the mobile pupils at Goldsmith had the barrier of language to overcome if they were to succeed in the English education system, while many at Masefield came from economically deprived backgrounds and a significant number had special educational needs. Chapter 6 provides further insights into these issues.

Particular year groups in particular schools can vary considerably from year to year in their composition and stability. It is fairly certain that if we had carried out the same exercise on another year group in the

same school, it would not have produced an identical picture. However, in broad terms, the experience of this school does not appear untypical of what has been reported by other high mobility schools.

The scale of movement over the five years is, in the wider national context, extreme but not unique. Data analysed during our earlier research (Dobson and Henthorne, 1999, pp 75–77) indicated that in certain London boroughs, it was not exceptional for pupils who had spent five years in the same secondary school to constitute only 50–60 per cent of the GCSE candidates at their school. Some schools from other parts of the country quoted similar figures.

The DfES's Managing Mobility project reported that:

'Seven schools who participated in the evaluation of the induction mentor role had more than a third of their Year 11 cohort join after 1 October in Year 7 or later.' (DfES 2003b, p.9).

In four of the DfES project schools, the proportion of the Year 11 cohort who were late joiners was given as 47 per cent, 49 per cent, 58 per cent and 62 per cent respectively.

As our primary school case studies showed (Dobson *et al.*, 2000), patterns of movement can differ even when rates of mobility are high. Thus, for example, one school may have a stable core of 80 per cent of pupils, while the rest come and go frequently. Another may have a stable core of 60 per cent but less frequent movement among the rest. This should be taken into consideration in reading the following case study and assessing how typical it might be.

The impact that mobility can have on gender balance in schools has been remarked elsewhere, in a variety of circumstances. An illustration of this from a South Yorkshire school was given in our 1999 report:

'The school had come out of special measures but was finding the "failing school" image difficult to lose. It had noted the tendency for parents to transfer girls to other schools to a greater extent than boys because it was perceived to be (or to be becoming, because of the balance of pupil loss and gain in terms of behaviour and gender) an unsatisfactory social environment for them.' (op. cit. p.79)

The relationship between length of time in school and examination performance has been extensively studied — Mott's research (2002) contains a number of examples from different education authorities, while

very detailed analyses have been carried out in Lambeth (Demie and Strand 2004). The general pattern of higher achievement being linked to an unbroken career in the same school has been repeatedly noted. The significance of lack of fluency in English and/or poverty and deprivation, as distinct from movement per se, is indicated by much of the analysis. However, 'movement' in the case of some children included in these studies has involved missing periods of education and, in that sense, mobility can be seen as a cause of poor achievement in its own right. Demie and Strand's Lambeth study indicates that, not only do mobile pupils joining secondary schools in deprived areas have average achievement levels below their peer group, but they make slower progress than their peers in their new school.

All these points should be borne in mind when considering the implications of the following study for school management, teaching and learning in high mobility schools.

5.2 The case study

Goldsmith School provided us with data consisting of the sex and age of every pupil admitted to the cohort between September 1997 and July 2002, the date of admission and departure where these were available, the previous school or country of residence of joiners and the destination of leavers. This information has been used to describe the scale and pattern of pupil movement into and out of the school as the cohort moved up from Year 7 to Year 11 and the scale and pattern of movement within each year.

The information has also been linked with the results of the 111 pupils who took GCSE examinations at Goldsmith School. This allowed some relationships to be established between mobility and attainment in those examinations in Summer 2002.

5.3 Total numbers joining the year group

Goldsmith School went through a difficult period in the mid-nineties, although its reputation and popularity have greatly improved since then. In 1997, the number of pupils enrolled in Year 7 at the start of September was only 98, though the standard admission number was 205. During the following five years, this year group took in a further 139 children, while there was a concurrent outflow. In other words, during the five years this cohort was progressing through the school, there

were 237 different pupils in the year group, and of these 3 arrived and departed twice.

It should be noted that 11 of the 237 pupils admitted to the year group had no date of leaving recorded, which accounts for some minor discrepancies in figures quoted in this chapter. It may be that these pupils enrolled but never arrived or arrived but stayed very briefly. Table 5.1 shows the year of joining for these pupils with unrecorded departure. They are not included the flowchart (Figure 5.1): hence the number of starters at the standard time in the chart is given as 97.

Table 5.1: Number of pupils with unrecorded dates of departure by time joining

Year of admission	Joiners with unrecorded dates of departure
Standard admissions	1
Non-standard admissions:	
Year 7	2
Year 8	4
Year 9	2
Year 10	2
Year 11	0
Total	11

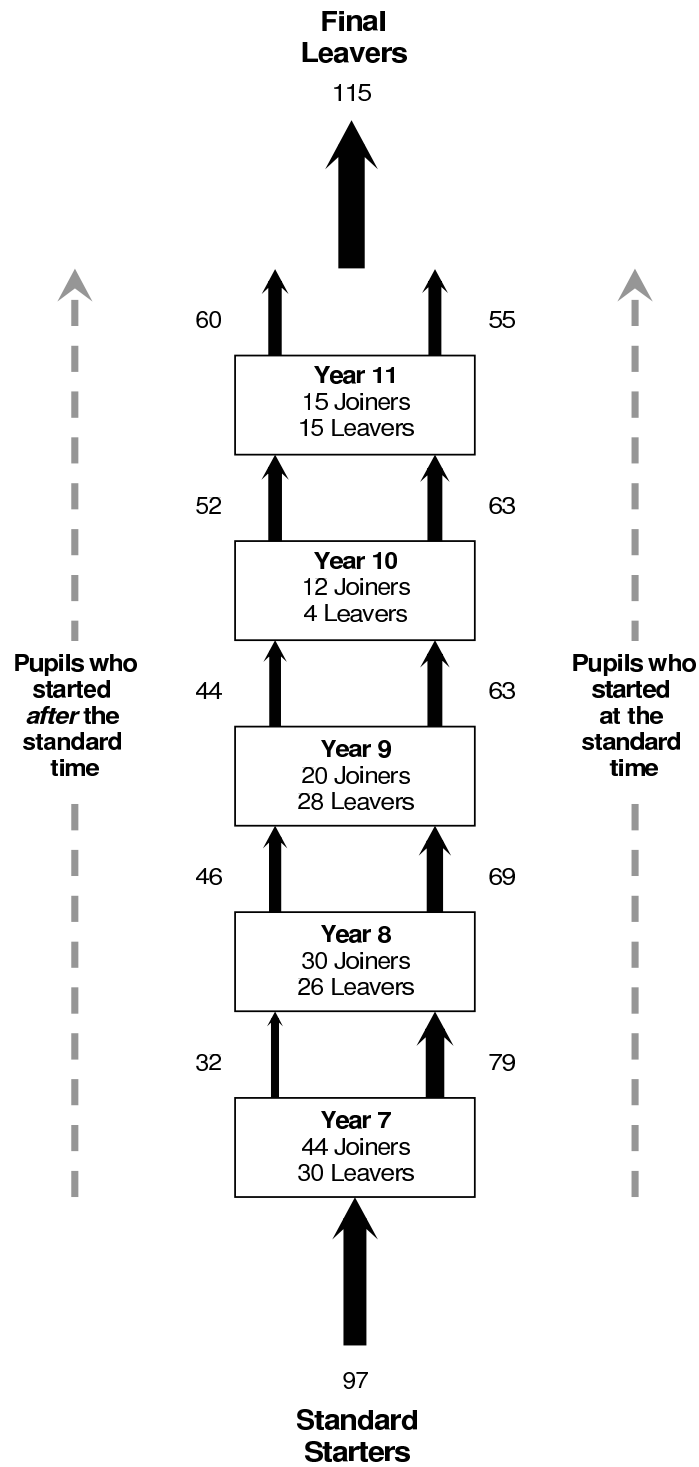
5.4 Mobility within the year group

As Figure 5.1 shows, just over half of the pupils completing Year 11 at the school had joined it at some point after the beginning of Year 7. Of those pupils starting at the standard time in Year 7, 56 per cent sat for GCSEs at the school.

The levels of movement were particularly high in Year 7, with 46 children joining the year group late and 30 leaving it. Thereafter, the numbers of late joiners gradually declined year on year, while the number of leavers was fairly constant in Years 7 to 9, dropped in Year 10 and rose again in Year 11.

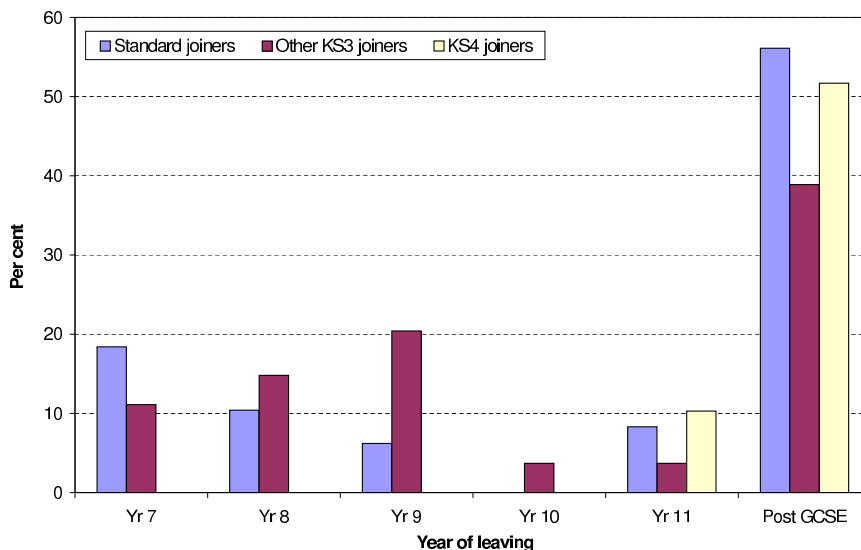
Those pupils who joined the school at the standard time in Year 7 were more likely to remain in the school to complete Year 11 than those join-

Figure 5.1: The movement of the pupil cohort up through the school over a five year period



ing at a later stage (Figure 5.2). Only 39 per cent of pupils joining the cohort in KS3 after the beginning of Year 7 completed Year 11 at Goldsmith School. Of those pupils joining in KS4, 52 per cent completed Year 11 at the school, but 48 per cent had left again within the two years.

Figure 5.2: Proportion of standard joiners, other KS3 joiners and KS4 joiners by year of leaving



The variation in the total roll during the five years is evident from Figure 5.1. However, Figure 5.3 shows how it varied month on month. These data exclude the eleven pupils without a recorded date of leaving and late arrivals in Year 11 taken into a special Year 12 access group.

5.5 Mobility and the gender balance

The cohort as a whole was clearly male-dominated throughout the five years (Figure 5.4). However, the proportions of boys and girls fluctuated over time as a result of mobility. Figure 5.5 shows that the unequal balance of girls and boys among those joining the school reduced during the five years and that over half of the pupils joining the school in Key Stage 4 (KS4) were girls. Figure 5.6 shows that more boys than girls left at every stage, although the gender of pupils leaving became slightly more balanced among KS4 and standard Year 11 leavers.

Figure 5.3: Change in the number of pupils in the cohort as they moved up through the school over a five year period

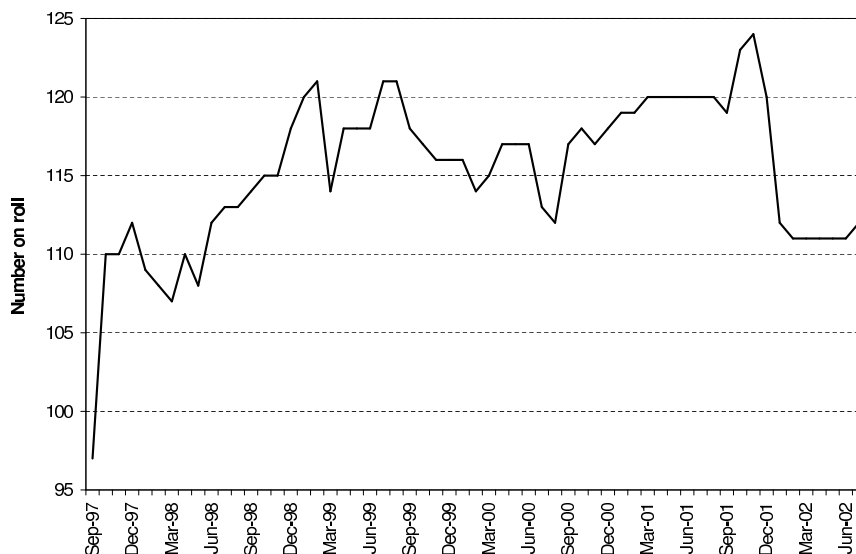


Figure 5.4: Change in the gender balance in the cohort as they moved up through the school over a five year period

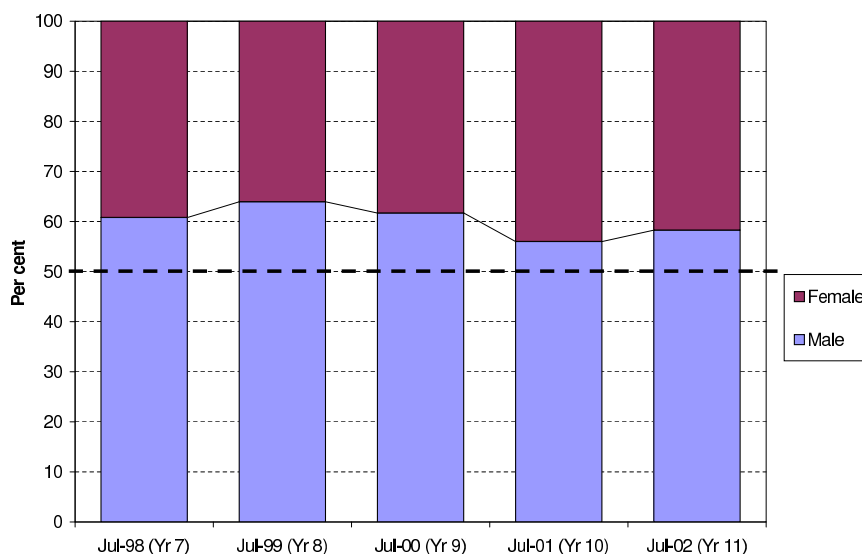


Figure 5.5: Gender balance of pupils who joined the cohort at the standard time, later in KS3 and in KS4

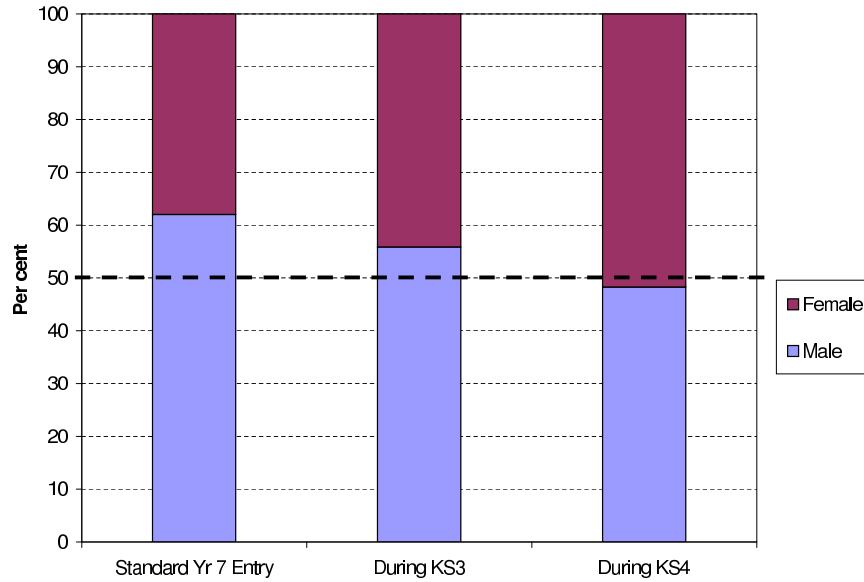
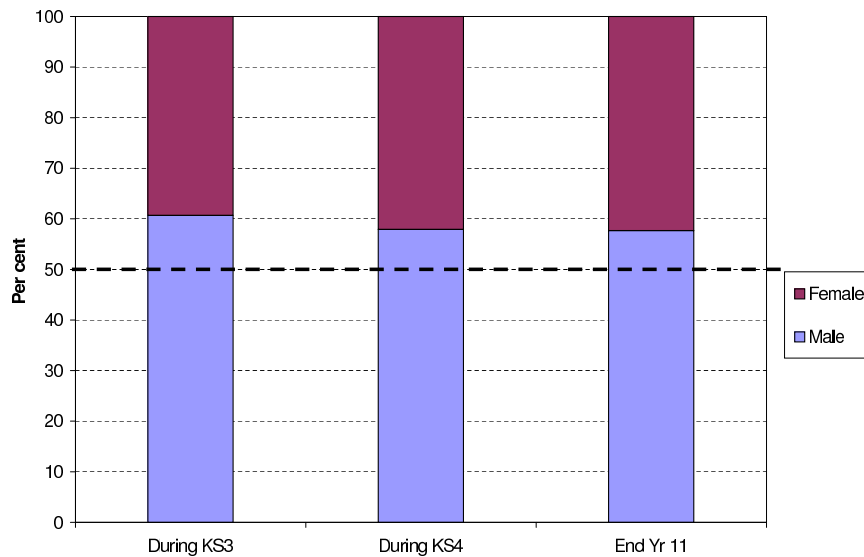


Figure 5.6: Gender balance of pupils leaving the cohort by the point at which they left



5.6 Origins of mobile pupils

The term ‘origins’ is used here to mean previous school or, if previous school was overseas, last country of residence. The 237 pupils admitted to the cohort during the five years, including those joining at the start of Year 7, originated from 50 different primary schools, 20 secondary schools and 33 different countries.

The pupils joining Year 7 at the standard time were drawn almost exclusively from primary schools in London, whereas those pupils who arrived at a later stage were drawn almost equally from overseas locations and London schools (Figure 5.7). Five of the latter (or 4 per cent of non-standard arrivals) came from five different schools in the private sector.

Figure 5.8 shows the 33 countries from which the 68 overseas pupils arrived. It can be seen that there was no particular concentration of national groups. Some children were refugees or asylum seekers, coming from war-torn countries such as Kosovo, Afghanistan and Somalia. Some are likely to have been children of embassy staff living in the vicinity of the school and others coming to London for reasons associated with parental employment.

5.7 Destinations of mobile pupils

Pupils left the cohort at a variety of different times and moved to a variety of different locations. It is impossible to analyse in detail the destinations of pupils leaving the school because of lack of information, as Figure 5.9 shows: 73 per cent of pupils who left at a non-standard time had unrecorded destinations. It is clear, however that pupils joining at the beginning of Year 7 were more likely to complete their GCSEs in the school than those joining at a later date.

5.8 Mobility year by year

Having analysed the cohort as a whole, it will now be useful to look at the characteristics of mobile pupils joining the cohort year by year, as some major differences exist. The group of pupils joining Year 7 at the standard time will be contrasted with those joining during the rest of Year 7.

Figure 5.7: Origins of pupils joining the cohort at standard and non-standard times

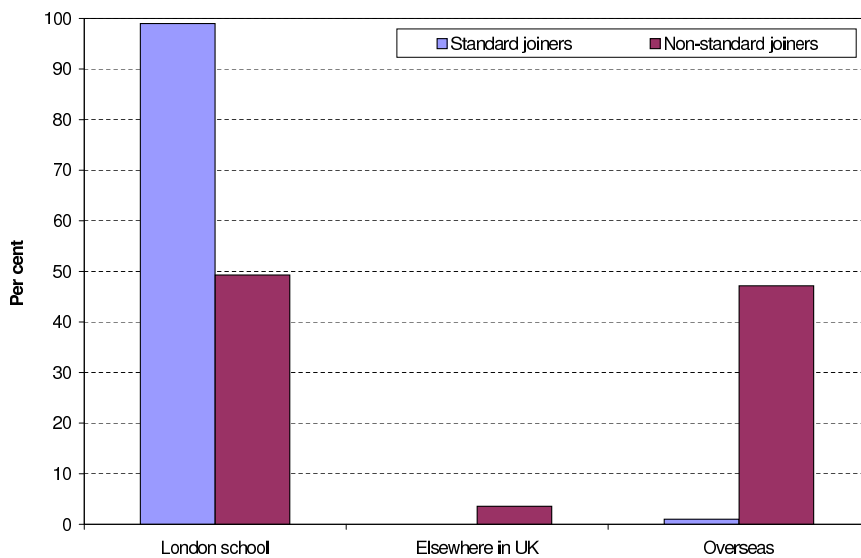


Figure 5.8: Countries of origin of pupils joining the cohort from overseas

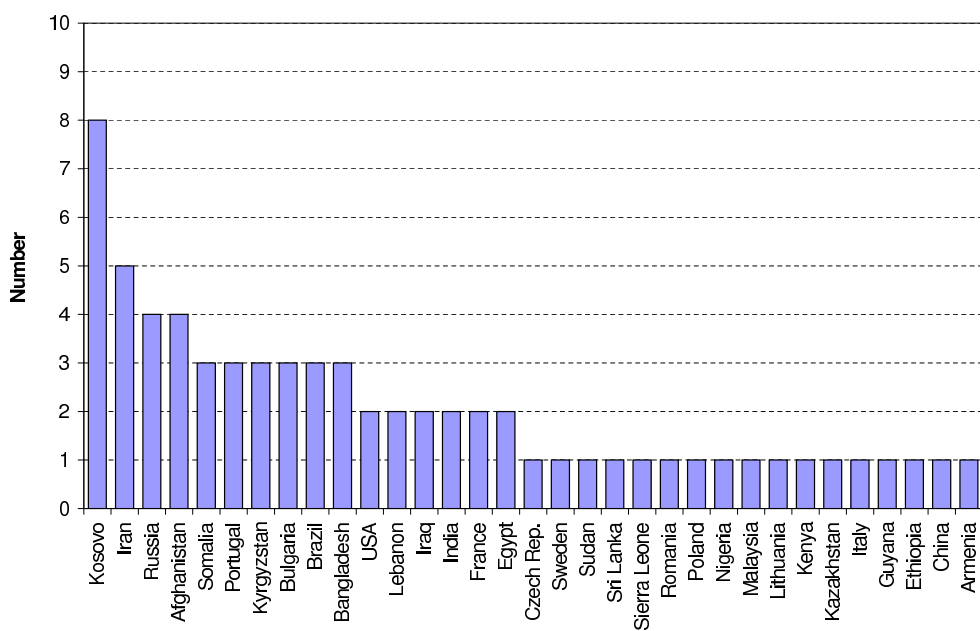


Figure 5.9: Proportion of standard joiners, other KS3 joiners and KS4 joiners by completion or destination on leaving

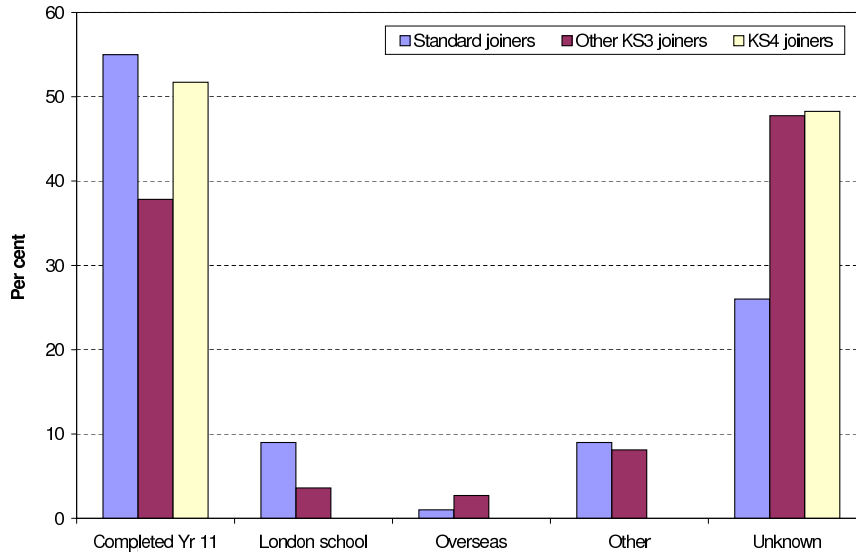


Figure 5.10: Change in the number of pupils in the cohort during Year 7



5.8.1 Pupils joining the cohort in Year 7

98 pupils joined Year 7 at the beginning of the school year in 1997. There were 24 admissions during September following the start of term and 12 departures. By the end of September, there were 109 pupils on roll. From the 1st October to the end of the school year, there were a further 22 admissions and 18 departures.

Figure 5.10 shows the way in which the number of pupils in Year 7 changed during the year. The following months had small fluctuations in the number on roll with a decline from January to March 1998 and an unsteady increase from April onwards. At the end of Year 7 there were 113 pupils on roll, the largest number during that year.

The average length of time that pupils joining Year 7 spent in Goldsmith School was different for those who joined at the normal time and those who joined later. Of those joining at the beginning of Year 7, 56 per cent stayed until completing GCSEs, 18 per cent left again during Year 7, whilst the remainder departed over the following years, eight during Year 11.

Children joining after the beginning of Year 7 were a more mobile group. Nearly 25 per cent left during the remainder of Year 7 and a further 25 per cent during Year 8; only 33 per cent completed their GCSEs in the school.

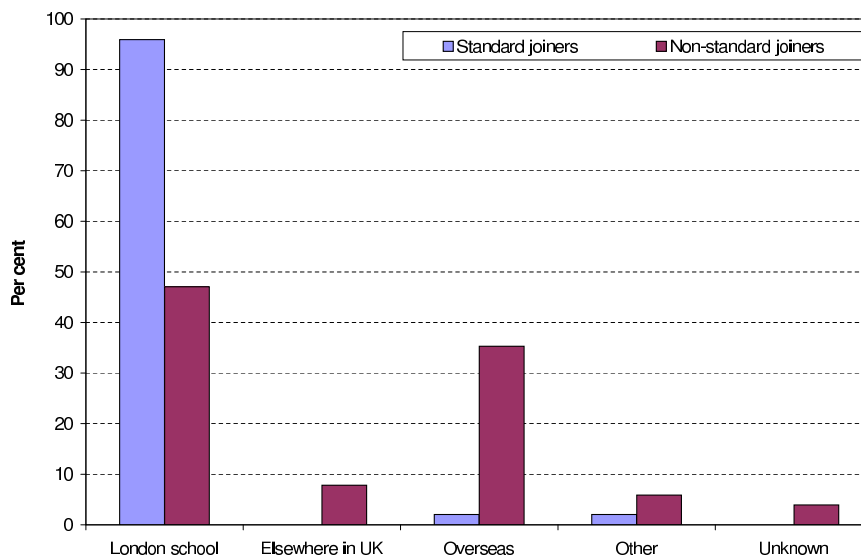
The gender profile of both standard and non-standard joiners in Year 7 was male-dominated, with over 60 per cent of standard joiners and over 55 per cent of non-standard joiners being male. Of the leavers, 54 per cent were male. There were 37 girls in the initial intake of 98 in September, of whom 7 had left by July. Between September 1997 and July 1998, the number of boys increased from 61 to 71, and the number of girls from 37 to 45 as a result of net movements.

The origins of Year 7 admissions show a clear difference between those arriving at the beginning of the school year and those arriving subsequently (Figure 5.11). Those who joined at the beginning of September came overwhelmingly from London schools, with just 3 per cent originating elsewhere. Those who joined after that time came from a much wider variety of locations, 47 per cent from London schools and 35 per cent directly from overseas.

The overseas pupils arriving at Goldsmith School during Year 7 after the normal starting date came from 14 different countries. There was no dominant national group among these arrivals. Two pupils came from each of the following: Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Russia and the USA. One came from each of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Brazil, Bul-

garia, Czech Republic, Egypt, Iraq, Italy, Kenya and Sweden. Two more pupils who started at the beginning of term had come from Bulgaria and Lithuania.

Figure 5.11: Proportion of pupils joining Year 7 at standard and non-standard times by origin



5.8.2 Pupils joining the cohort in Year 8

There were 113 pupils in the Year 7 cohort when it moved up to become Year 8. Throughout Year 8, the number on roll fluctuated around 120 (Figure 5.12). From November 1998 to February 1999, the total rose to 121. In March it fell to 114, a net loss of 7 pupils in one month (eight leavers, one joiner). From March to August 1999 the number on roll climbed gradually back to 121. There was therefore a net increase of 8 pupils between the beginning and end of Year 8, although this disguises the fact that 34 pupils joined the year and 26 pupils left it.

The origins of the mobile pupils in Year 8 were less varied than those of Year 7 (Figure 5.13). Just over half of the admissions to Year 8 transferred from another school in London, with 16 of the remaining 18 pupils arriving direct from overseas.

The overseas pupils again arrived from 14 different countries. There were two each from France and Somalia and one from each of Armenia, Bulgaria, China, Egypt, Guyana, India, Kosovo, Nigeria, Poland, Portugal, Romania and Russia.

Figure 5.12: Change in the number of pupils in the cohort during Year 8

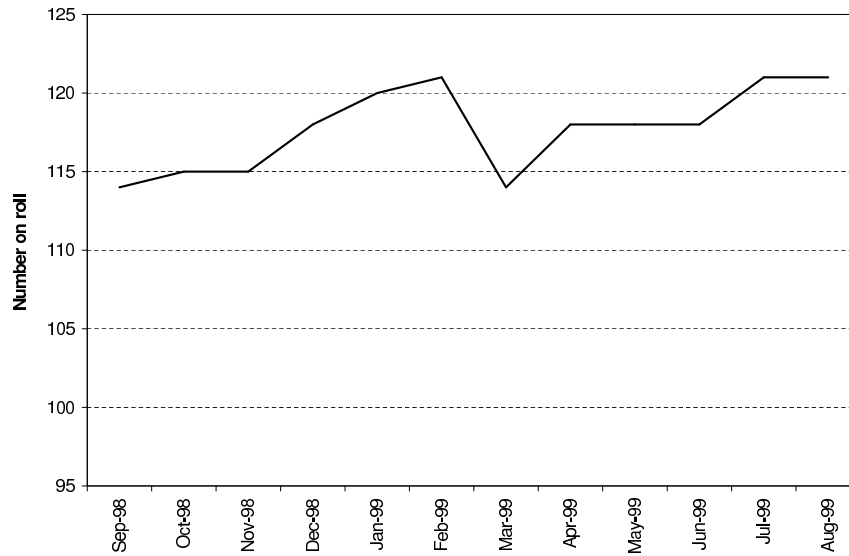
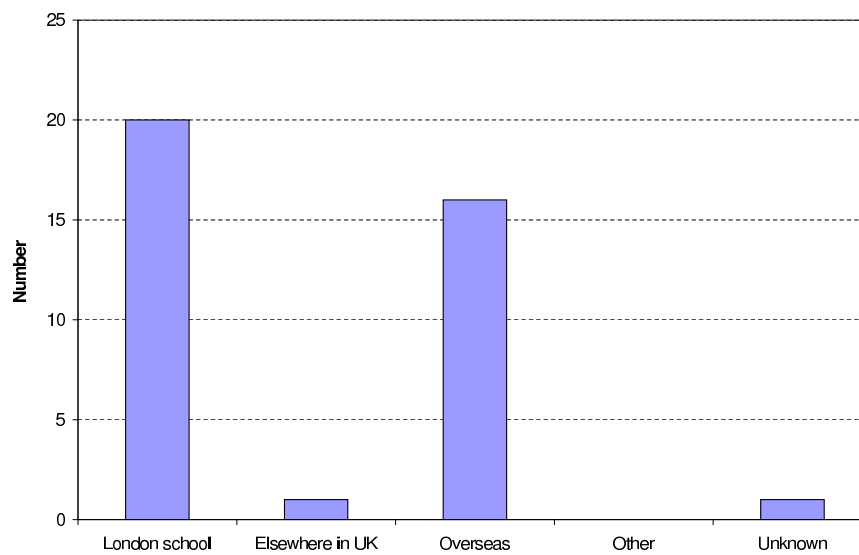


Figure 5.13: Origins of pupils joining the cohort in Year 8



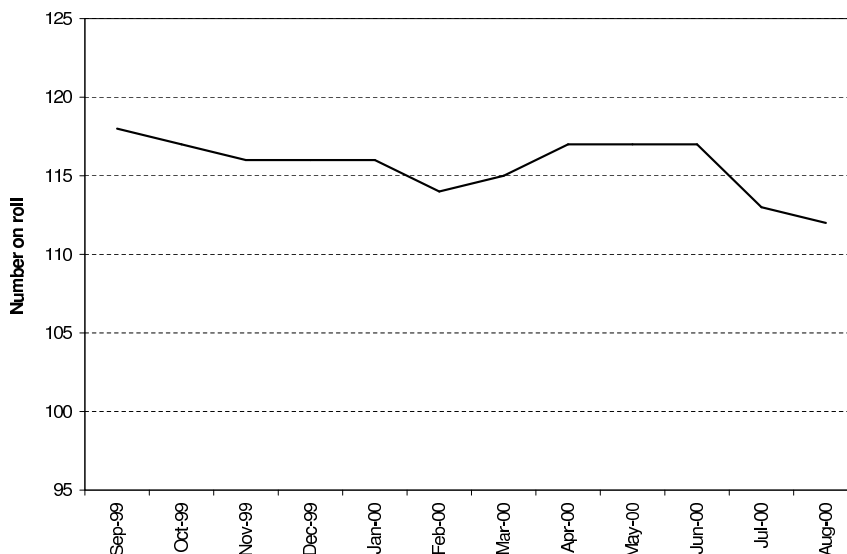
Pupils joining Year 8 again comprised a majority of boys: nearly 70 per cent were male, compared to 54 per cent of leavers. This added to the continuing gender imbalance within the cohort. There were 81 boys and 41 girls on roll in July 1999.

Pupils who joined Goldsmith School during Year 8 were also a relatively mobile group, as nearly 50 per cent of them had left again by the end of Year 9. 44 per cent of those arriving in Year 8 completed their GCSEs at the school.

5.8.3 Pupils joining the cohort in Year 9

The cohort moved up to become Year 9 in September 1999. The number of pupils on roll fell from September to November, was steady from November to January 2000, rose again until April, remained stable for two months and finally fell from 117 to 112 in the two months to August 2000 (Figure 5.14).

Figure 5.14: Change in the number of pupils in the cohort during Year 9



The gender balance of admissions to Year 9 was the opposite of the previous two years with over 60 per cent being female. At the same time, only 25 per cent of leavers were female. This pattern of movement improved the gender imbalance within the cohort, although the total number of admissions to Year 9 was only 22 and the total number of leavers 28. There were 66 boys and 47 girls on roll in July 2000.

18 of the 22 admissions to Year 9 came directly from overseas. Their origins were again diverse, including 9 different countries. Five came from Kosovo, three from Iran, two each from Afghanistan, Brazil and Portugal and one from Ethiopia, India, Somalia and Sudan. It would appear that a higher proportion than previously were refugees and asylum seekers.

Of the 22 pupils who joined Year 9, 11 completed their GCSEs at Goldsmith School. Of the other nine whose date of leaving was recorded, four left within the year, three during the subsequent year (Year 10) and two during Year 11.

5.8.4 Pupils joining the cohort in Year 10

The cohort moved up to become Year 10 in September 2000. The number of pupils on roll rose from 117 in September to reach a total of 120 in March 2001, and then it remained constant for the rest of the year (Figure 5.15). With the exception of September, when 7 pupils joined the year group and 2 left, there was very low mobility during this year and no pupils joined or left the cohort between March and August 2001.

Of the 14 pupils who joined Year 10, six transferred from other London schools, whilst eight came directly from overseas. Two pupils from overseas came from Bangladesh and the remainder from Iraq, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Russia, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka.

The gender balance of pupils admitted in Year 10 was similar to that in Year 9 with 64 per cent female, although this represented only nine girls. The balance of pupils leaving in Year 10 was also predominantly female (75 per cent) but this meant just three girls. Therefore it made little difference to the overall gender imbalance of the cohort. There were 69 boys and 52 girls on roll in July 2001.

Nine of the 14 admissions to Year 10 completed their GCSEs at the school. The other five left during Years 10 and 11 to unknown destinations.

5.8.5 Pupils joining the cohort in Year 11

The cohort moved up to become Year 11 in September 2001 and the number of pupils on roll rose initially to 124 in November, then fell to 111 in January 2002 (Figure 5.16) and subsequently remained steady. Some joiners went straight into a Year 12 access group.

Figure 5.15: Change in the number of pupils in the cohort during Year 10

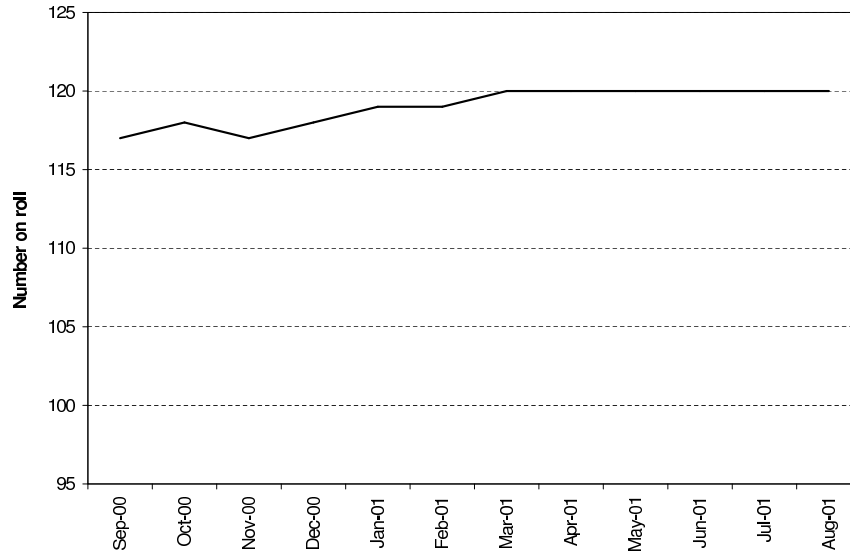
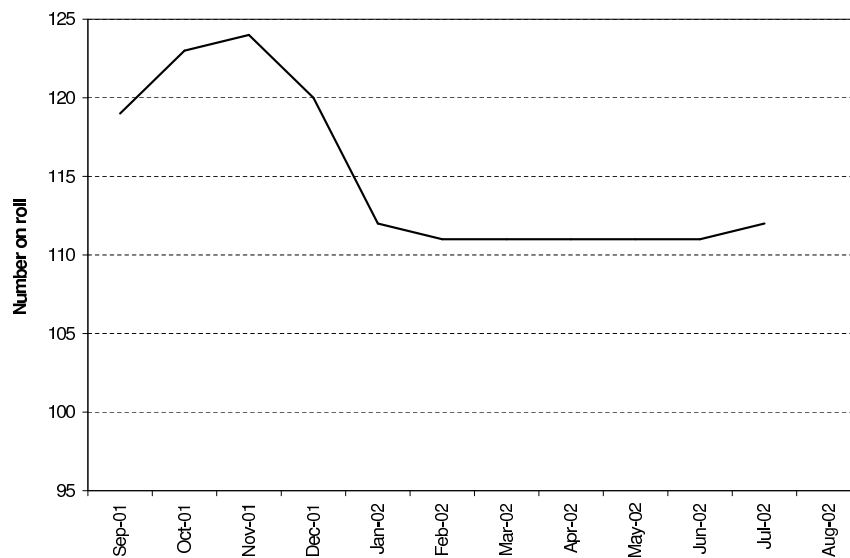


Figure 5.16: Change in the number of pupils in the cohort during Year 11



The gender balance of the Year 11 admissions returned to the pattern seen in Years 7 to 9, with 60 per cent (9 of 15) male. The leavers were also mostly male — 66 per cent (10 of 15). So the cohort remained male-dominated, with 64 boys and 48 girls on roll in July 2002.

Of the 15 pupils admitted to Year 11, seven transferred directly from other schools in London, two had an unknown origin and six arrived directly from overseas. The children from overseas came from four different countries: two from Kosovo, two from Iran and one each from Afghanistan and Kyrgyzstan. Six of the pupils who joined Year 11 sat for their GCSEs in the school in 2002.

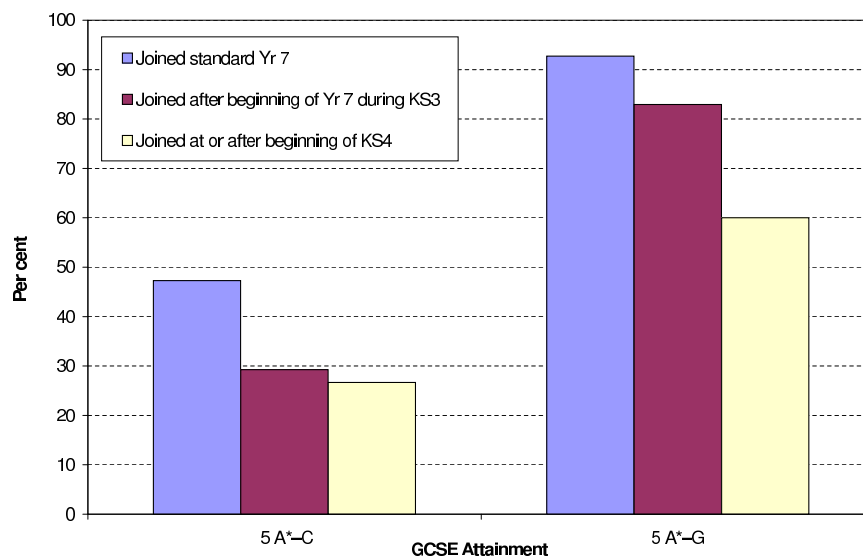
5.9 Attainment in relation to mobility

Pupils completing their GCSEs at Goldsmith School joined throughout the five years, although as Table 5.2 shows, half joined at the standard time at the start of Year 7.

Table 5.2: Number of GCSE candidates by sex and year of admission to the school

Year of admission	Number of pupils	Male	Female
Standard admissions	55	33	22
Non-standard admissions:			
Year 7	16	10	6
Year 8	15	8	7
Year 9	10	5	5
Year 10	9	3	6
Year 11	6	5	1
Total	111	64	47

Attainment at GCSE was directly correlated to length of time in the school (Figure 5.17). The proportion of pupils gaining 5 A*–C and 5 A*–G grades was higher for those joining the school at the start of Year 7 and progressively declined for more recent arrivals. The difference in percentage of pupils gaining 5 A*–C between standard and non-standard arrivals was quite large. However there was little difference between the attainment of those arriving at non-standard times in KS3 and those arriving in KS4.

Figure 5.17: Mobile and non-mobile pupil attainment at GCSE

At the 5 A*–G level, the difference between non-standard arrivals in KS3 and KS4 was over 20 per cent, therefore the period of time spent in the school appears more significant in the 5 A*–G results. This discussion relates to the aggregate results of each group joining Goldsmith School: however, the range of results for individuals within each group was very large, as can be seen in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Number of pupils by number of GCSE grades obtained and time of admission to the school

Number of passes	Standard joiners		KS3 non-standard joiners		KS4 non-standard joiners	
	A*–C	A*–G	A*–C	A*–G	A*–C	A*–G
0–2	21	1	24	5	8	2
3–7	19	14	11	14	6	5
8–11	15	40	6	22	1	8
Total		55		41		15

The proportion of pupils gaining 8 to 11 A*–C grades at GCSE was clearly greater for the pupils who joined Year 7 at the standard time, and the proportion who gained 0 to 2 A*–G was greater for those pupils joining at a non-standard time. However, individual performances spanned the full range of achievement within all three admission groups, from pupils achieving less than 3 A*–G grades to pupils achieving 8 or more A*–C grades.

A separate analysis of results in each of the core subjects, English, Maths and Science, was carried out (Figures 5.18 and 5.19), and it became clear that at both A*–C and A*–G level, the pattern was not quite so simple as the aggregate data suggest. In English at the A*–C level, the pupils joining at the standard time achieved in aggregate better results than any other group of joiners. With the exception of non-standard joiners to Year 7, the decline in the percentage achieving an A*–C grade in English was consistently related to the time spent in the school. However, this pattern did not continue at A*–G level in English as all joiners to all years except non-standard Year 7 and Year 10 arrivals achieved an A*–G grade. The levels for the non-standard joiners to Year 7 and Year 10 were 94 per cent and 89 per cent respectively.

In Maths and Science at both A*–C and A*–G levels, there was no consistent relationship between length of time in school and the proportion gaining these grades. In Maths, a slightly higher proportion of those joining in Years 9 and 11 gained A*–C grades than those joining in Year 7 (at both the standard and non-standard times), although the actual numbers of Year 9 and 11 joiners were small. The proportion of Year 9 and 11 joiners gaining good science grades was also relatively high. By contrast, the performance of those who joined in Year 7 after the normal starting date seemed conspicuously poor.

Some features of these patterns may be due to a lack of fluency in English on the part of otherwise able pupils from overseas. Those whose attainment at GCSE was curtailed by their lack of English fluency rather than general ability were likely to perform better than expected in Maths exams when compared to their overall GCSE pass rates.

The importance of lack of English as a factor in poor performance at GCSE can be inferred from Figure 5.20. Focussing on GCSE A*–C pass rates, it can be seen that the difference between overseas pupils and ‘home’ pupils in Maths was only 5 per cent, compared to a 23 per cent difference in English. This differential between overseas pupils and home pupils was not replicated in the A*–G pass rates, where pupils from overseas did nearly as well or better overall than home pupils.

It should be borne in mind that some of those categorised as ‘home’ and not ‘overseas’ pupils because they did not arrive at Goldsmith School

Figure 5.18: Attainment of GCSE grades A*-C in core subjects by year of joining

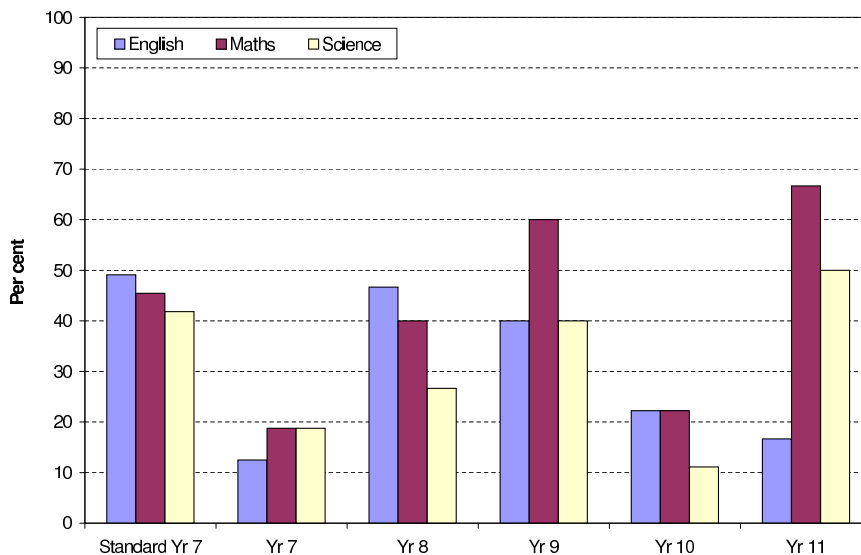
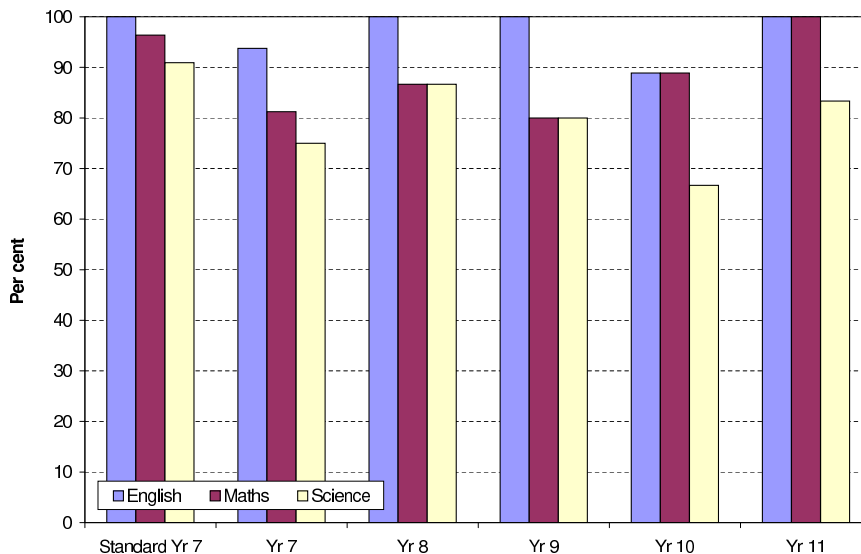


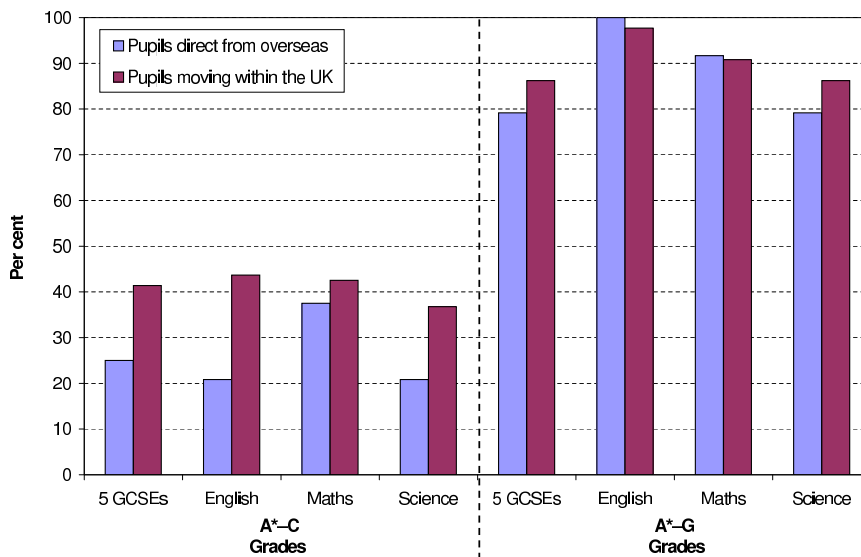
Figure 5.19: Attainment of GCSE grades A*-G in core subjects by year of joining



directly from another country would almost certainly have been born abroad, including some of those who transferred from primary school at the start of Year 7. Some will have arrived at Goldsmith School

with limited English fluency and perhaps limited prior education, even though they are recorded as transferring from another London school, primary or secondary. This makes judgements about achievement levels even harder to make.

Figure 5.20: Attainment of GCSEs by pupils joining from overseas compared to pupils moving from UK locations



5.10 Summary of main findings from the Goldsmith School cohort study

Below are some of the main points that emerged from this study of a cohort of pupils at Goldsmith School in Westminster:

- At the beginning of September 1997, 98 pupils joined Year 7 at Goldsmith School — a year group with 205 places. A further 46 joined and 30 left during the remainder of that school year.
- As the year group moved up the school, mobility remained high though diminishing. In total 237 pupils were admitted from the start of September 1997 to the end of July 2002, 3 of them twice, giving a total of 240 admissions to the year group over five years.
- Total numbers in the year group at any one time fluctuated mainly in the range 111–120.

- The 237 pupils joining the year group came from 50 different primary schools, 20 secondary schools and 33 different countries.
- 48 per cent pupils joining at non-standard times were recorded as coming direct from overseas. There was no concentrated inflow from one country in particular.
- Boys outnumbered girls in the year group throughout the period but the proportions of each fluctuated according to patterns of mobility. The gender balance of those joining improved in the later years and girls outnumbered boys joining Key Stage 4.
- Only half of the pupils taking GCSEs at the school had been there from the start of year 7.
- Overall, those who joined the school at the normal time in September 1997 clearly did better in GCSE examinations than those who joined later. However, at the level of the individual pupil, there were high and low performers among those who joined at the normal time, those who joined later in Key Stage 3 and those who joined in Key Stage 4.
- Those who joined in Year 7 after the September starting date performed relatively badly overall at GCSE, as did Year 10 joiners.
- The pattern of performance by pupils coming from overseas suggests that many were able students who were hampered by lack of fluency in English.

5.11 Summary of main findings from the Masefield School cohort study

For the purposes of comparison, the following are some of the main points that emerged from our study of a cohort of pupils at Masefield School in Blackpool. It is interesting to note that this particular year group experienced less movement than the Goldsmith cohort, even though in 2002–03 Masefield had a higher rate and volume of mobility than Goldsmith in the school as a whole.

- At the beginning of September 1997, 128 pupils joined Year 7 at Masefield School — a year group with 182 places. A further 10 joined and 25 left during the remainder of that school year.
- In total, 199 pupils were admitted from the start of September 1997 to the end of July 2002. The highest mobility was in Year

8, with 24 joiners and 18 leavers. The scale of movement was similar but slightly lower in Years 9 and 10. In Year 11, 6 pupils joined and 5 left.

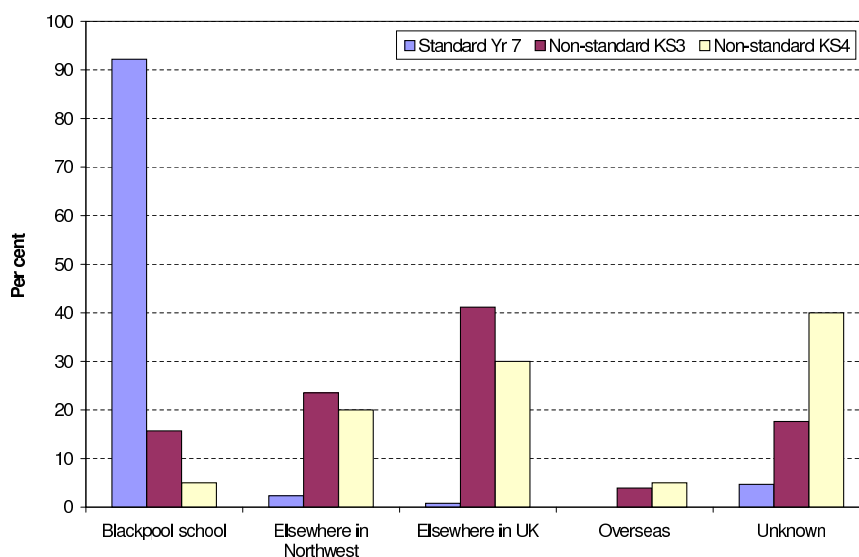
- Total numbers in the year group at any one time fluctuated in the range 113–129.
- The 199 pupils joining the year group came from 25 different primary schools, 55 secondary schools and 5 different countries.
- 25 per cent of all pupils joining the cohort at non-standard times stayed in the school for under a year.
- Pupils joining at the start of Year 7 and leaving at a non-standard time were more likely than others to have transferred to another school in the Blackpool area but more than half of them left Blackpool.
- The majority of non-standard joiners came from schools outside the Blackpool area and most of those came from outside the North-West.
- Only 70 per cent of pupils taking GCSEs at the school had been there from the start of Year 7.
- Overall, those who joined Year 7 at the normal time in September did better in GCSE examinations than those who joined later. However, at the level of the individual pupil, there were high and low performers among those who joined at the normal time, those who joined later in Key Stage 3 and those who joined in Key Stage 4.

Figure 5.21 shows the origins of mobile and non-mobile pupils at Masefield School over the five year period, illustrating the sharp difference between the Blackpool and London schools as far as overseas recruitment is concerned.

5.12 Conclusion

This chapter provides further evidence that schools with high levels of pupil mobility constitute very different learning communities from those with little or no mobility and present very different challenges to school management and staff. As in Chapter 4, the data show that mobility can have a substantial impact on the settling in of the new Year 7 cohort of pupils and also on the organisation of teaching and learning throughout the school.

Figure 5.21: Proportion of standard joiners, other KS3 joiners and KS4 joiners by origin, Masefield School



Comparative data indicate that, even in schools labelled ‘high mobility’, the experience can differ from one institution to another because of differences in the scale and nature of movement. Different year groups can differ from one another. Consequently, assessing the impact of mobility on aggregate school performance cannot be done in a mechanistic way which assumes that a given rate of movement will have predictable consequences.

Mobility makes it impossible to infer from examination results that a school has improved or declined unless an analysis is made which takes account of the length of time pupils have spent in the school, their achievement on entry, prior education and other factors. Mobility also invalidates some of the comparisons made between schools on the basis of crude performance data.

Chapter 6

The nature and causes of pupil mobility in the three LEAs

6.1 Introduction

The case studies reported above give some indication of the circumstances and characteristics of mobile pupils in high mobility schools in the three LEAs. This chapter looks at these subjects in more detail in respect of *all* schools in the three authorities, trying to build up a picture of the dynamics of movement into, out of and within the local education systems in each area.

The principal sources of information were our interviews with staff of the LEAs, particularly those working with different mobile groups, and with headteachers and other staff in schools. In both cases, some were able to provide recorded information. This does not represent an in-depth exploration of why children move but a broad-brush picture of relevant factors. As Millman observed, pupils can be assigned to multiple categories in explaining movement and may be differently assigned by different people (*op. cit.* p.212) — for example, is an asylum seeker moved by the National Asylum Seeker Service (NASS) to a new location moving for asylum, housing or public policy reasons?

At school level, those in the front line tend, understandably, to call to mind mobile pupils with particularly intractable problems, rather than those with none. We sought in the interviews to elicit a complete picture and encouraged participants to focus on joiners and leavers during the current and previous school year.

The main questions that this chapter seeks to answer are:

- Who are the mobile pupils in secondary schools?
- Why are they joining and leaving schools at non-standard times?
- Where do they come from and go to?
- Do different schools take in different groups of mobile pupils?

6.2 International migration

6.2.1 The overview

International migration appeared to be the biggest single explanation of the arrival of pupils at non-standard times in the London schools, especially those with high mobility levels. This was not true of Blackpool, where such movement was a tiny part of the total. No Blackpool school reported a higher volume of international movement than Masefield School (see Chapters 4 and 5): all schools said ‘little or none’.

By contrast, the two case study schools in London recorded 42 per cent and 58 per cent respectively of new arrivals as joining the school direct from overseas, together with departures abroad. Another high mobility school which we visited in March 2003 had recorded 109 non-routine admissions since the previous September, 50 of them (46 per cent) direct from overseas.

Data on departures was generally less complete than on joiners, partly because some children left suddenly without informing the school. However, the impression gained was that the nature and causes of international migration varied to some extent from school to school and this had an effect on the balance of joiners and leavers from/to countries abroad. Statistics from one school showed more children going overseas than coming in, while in another, international inflows and outflows were more or less in balance. These were both Church schools in the medium mobility grouping.

In the latter case, those leaving were to some extent different in background from those arriving. There were African, Latin American and European children going in both directions. But the biggest group coming in was from Africa, while the biggest group leaving the UK was going to Ireland. Three children went to the USA — two of African origin and one from the Philippines. These details reflect the complexity of

international movement, involving migration both into and out of the country by British and non-British citizens. (Dobson *et al*, 2001).

Some children were moving on to a third country, while others had already lived and studied in more than one country before coming to the UK. Many such examples given in our interviews related to asylum-seeking children but there were other families moving from country to country too. Those in the diplomatic service were a predictable group but others were also mentioned. Examples were cited of British families who had been living abroad for a time and returned and others who were going overseas for employment or other reasons. Some families moved by their employers did so for a fixed period; for others, length of stay was more open-ended.

There were a variety of circumstances in which children entered schools direct from overseas, such as: return to the UK by a British citizen separating from a foreign spouse; return of a family after failure to settle overseas (e.g. in Spain); and marriage to a UK citizen by a foreign citizen with children. Some children other than asylum seekers were coming without a parent to live with relatives or other adults.

6.2.2 International migration for employment and study

A parent or parents moving to work in the UK was mentioned as a reason for children arriving at non-standard times (sometimes qualified by 'occasionally') by every school but one in the London LEAs and four in Blackpool. In the latter case, reference was made to employment in the NHS and in a large company, to a child with a parent in the armed forces, to the circus and to two families who came to open hotels.

In London, schools tended to be more vague about the nature of parental employment, perhaps because migrants from overseas were so numerous. However, it was clear that it ranged from the diplomatic service to cleaning services and from highly-skilled jobs in medicine, teaching and information technology to low-skilled work in the catering industry. Movement from all over the world was indicated, including within the EU (Portugal was the main country mentioned). In some instances, children were coming to be reunited with a parent already working in the UK.

Ten London schools and one in Blackpool said they had admitted children of parents coming from overseas to study, though half said that it happened only occasionally. A low mobility school mentioned a senior academic coming to do a year's research in London.

6.2.3 Asylum-seeking children

None of the Blackpool schools had received asylum seekers, as far as they were aware. However, in the two London authorities, asylum-seeking children were a major component of the movement in all high mobility schools and were identified as being among recent non-standard admissions in fifteen out of nineteen schools. LEA staff working with refugees and asylum seekers said that most schools were fairly positive about taking pupils from this group, since prior experience had shown their conduct and commitment to study to be an asset in many cases. This was confirmed in the school interviews, although there was a general concern about the capacity of schools to integrate and support very large numbers.

Many schools told a similar story of new pupils' countries of origin changing over the last few years as civil conflict and persecution erupted in different places. Some children came direct from country of origin, some from refugee camps in third countries, some had spent time in other intermediary countries. Thus, reference was made in our interviews to Kurds who had come from Denmark and Sweden and Somali pupils who had already spent a period in Dutch schools. Some were with a parent or parents. Significant numbers were unaccompanied by a parent and were living with friends and relatives or in the care of the local authority. A few were members of Roma families from Eastern Europe.

6.2.4 Long overseas visits

Fourteen London schools and two in Blackpool had taken in children returning from long overseas visits, though again, several said it was only occasional. For others, it was a bigger issue, with children arriving after lengthy absences expecting a place to have been kept open for them. Certain times of year were favoured for trips to country of origin, often explained in terms of the sickness of relatives. One headteacher remarked that there were 'large numbers of dying grannies' each year in July and September in various parts of the world.

6.2.5 Children out of school

Reference was made at the beginning of this section to children joining schools 'direct from overseas'. This was intended to imply that the children in question were attending their first UK school after entering this country. However, it is important when considering access to

schooling and the organisation of the school system to recognise that many new arrivals do not immediately find a school place. The following were some of the scenarios cited in interviews:

- Parents contact a school before leaving country of origin.
- Parent/carer finds a school place for child soon after arrival.
- Child remains out of school for a period of time.

Two schools said they had been contacted by parents while still in country of origin. In one case, parents were interested in the specific religious character of the school and had heard about it through that connection. In the other case, a Church school with a very mixed intake said that parents had seen its website on the internet and formed the impression that it was a socially exclusive institution: they were invited to visit before making a formal application.

Having arrived in the UK, some children were said to remain out of school for considerable periods of time. This could be because a place was not sought but it was also because parents and carers who sought a place did not manage to find one. Those interviewed spoke of children waiting at home for months, having put their name on a school waiting list. The problem was exacerbated by a shortage of places in particular year groups across London LEAs.

This was an issue of concern that LEAs were actively engaged with at the time the research was carried out. High intakes of pupils recorded in the statistics of particular schools at particular dates were in some instances the result of LEA action to locate and place children who were out of school.

6.2.6 Migration post-arrival

International migration was identified earlier as the biggest single explanation of school entry by pupils at non-standard times in the two London LEAs. The preceding paragraphs have considered children joining schools direct from overseas. However the total picture involves, not only initial arrival and admission to a school, but subsequent changes of accommodation and school.

6.3 Internal migration

6.3.1 The overview

Internal migration — that is, changes of residential location within the UK, whether over long or short distances — was the dominant explanation of the arrival of pupils at non-standard times in the Blackpool schools. It was also significant in London but the nature and pattern of movement was very different. In the London situation, movement within the Greater London area accounted for the vast majority of moves which were within the UK. In the two London case study schools, the proportions of internal migrants with a previous residential location in London was 84 per cent and 91 per cent respectively, while London was the destination of leavers in 83 per cent and 82 per cent of cases. Other London schools indicated a similar picture. Movers into inner London from other parts of the UK seemed to be a rarity in both London LEAs.

By contrast, much higher proportions of mobile pupils at Masefield School in Blackpool were moving fairly long distances with the UK. 102 different UK locations were recorded as the origins and/or destinations of joiners and leavers in 2002–03 (see Chapter 4 for details), many beyond Blackpool and its immediate hinterland. While about a third of these migrants were moving within North West England, other regions were significantly involved as both origins and destinations. Out of 162 non-standard joiners, only 22 came from other Blackpool schools, with or without a residential move, and seven of these were late joiners from primary school.

Other Blackpool schools painted a fairly similar picture. A school which had recorded 38 non-standard admissions during the first two terms of the school year 2002–3 had taken in 16 children from other Blackpool schools and the rest from outside. The headteacher said that the pattern of origins had been similar over the previous five years: these included Scotland, East Lancashire, Coventry, Milton Keynes, the South Coast and a few from Northern Ireland. An interviewee at another school initially said ‘everywhere’ as the source of migrants, with Manchester as possibly the main one. Several schools mentioned families from cities in the north of England or coming from Scotland, though one said that the latter seemed to be less numerous than formerly.

6.3.2 Blackpool LEA: causes of internal migration

The dynamics of family migration to Blackpool were described by those interviewed in terms of ‘pull’ and ‘push’ factors. On the ‘pull’ side of things, there was the availability of cheap residential accommodation, especially out of season, and the actual or supposed availability of employment, together with positive memories and perceptions of the resort as a good place to be. On the ‘push’ side was a whole variety of individual and family circumstances. Every school cited employment and family break-up or new parental relationships as principal factors in pupil mobility. Migration was said to be facilitated by social networks and the advertisement of accommodation outside Blackpool.

In respect of employment, the most emphasis was placed on the leisure and tourist industries, although reference was also made to transfers within banks, building societies, the Church and a large international company, as well as people moving to take up Council or hospital posts. One headteacher remarked that those managing pubs often had to move at difficult times from the child’s point of view — Christmas in Year 11 in one case. Parents acquiring or coming to manage hotels received several mentions: for some, it did not work out and they left again. Many migrants were thought to be coming ‘on spec’ in the hope of finding a job, rather than having one pre-arranged.

Seasonal employment was mentioned by several schools as generating family movement and specific examples were given, but other respondents thought its significance was declining. In Masefield School, the overall pattern of inflows and outflows in 2002–03 could be interpreted as linked to the Spring/Summer seasons and the period of the illuminations in the Autumn, leading up to Christmas: taking joiners and leavers together, there was a net inflow of more than ten pupils in September, October, March and July, with a net outflow in January and February. However, these movements could equally well be accounted for in other ways: those attracted to the seaside in the summer might well find it less congenial in mid-winter! Other information suggested that many different circumstances were involved.

The ‘push’ factors covered a wide range of situations in place of origin, including domestic and other violence, the break-up of relationships and the establishment of new ones. Some children had to adapt to a change of school, a change of home and a change in the family unit. For some adults, movement seemed to be the opportunity for a fresh start. For others, mobility was a way of life and children had attended many different schools, missing periods of education along the way.

At one secondary school, it was noted that some children who joined during Year 7 from elsewhere had come direct from primary school:

parents who were moving from another area had not thought it worthwhile to start them in another school. Thus, one girl with a reading age four years behind her actual age had joined Year 7 in January with no prior schooling between September and December. Another school referred to a family moving from Scotland, where children had been out of school for a year. Some families disappeared and then reappeared: in the year of our study, one school had readmitted five children from four families who had been away for several months and had not attended a school in that period.

Residential moves *within* Blackpool were also cited as part of the total picture of internal migration, with reference mainly to movement within or into the Council sector in order to obtain better accommodation and a better environment. Most moves in the owner-occupied sector were perceived to be associated with parents moving to new jobs.

Travellers were a component of movement in Blackpool schools but a tiny one. Four schools said they had had Travellers among their non-standard joiners and leavers but qualified their responses with 'one or two', 'occasionally', 'very occasionally' and 'not recently'. One interviewee distinguished between children from a Gypsy Traveller background whose families were fairly settled in the area and those whose parents were employed on the pleasure beach and in the circus, who came and went. The number of pupils involved was very small. Circus children (from Russia and the Ukraine, and therefore international migrants) were mentioned very positively by two schools.

6.3.3 The London LEAs: causes of internal migration

The dynamics of family migration as it affected secondary schools in the two London LEAs seemed to owe more to housing circumstances and to the specific situation of asylum seekers than to any other factor. As mentioned earlier, there appeared to be little movement of children from other parts of the UK into state schools in these authorities. Given that most families with children of secondary school age coming from outside London would be unable to afford the price of suitable housing in inner London, whether purchased or rented, this is unsurprising. Also, many highly-paid professional and managerial staff would seek the kind of residential environment found in the outer suburbs and the commuter belt.

However, a few employment-related moves into London were mentioned by schools, including cases where accommodation was provided by the employer. Moves of 'middle class' families were more likely to be cited

by low mobility schools. There were also instances of asylum seekers returning to London from another location and London-born parents who had moved out and wanted to return to live near their extended family.

Interviewees made only limited reference to families moving *out of* London as a cause of children leaving schools. The exception to this was movement initiated by NASS as part of the dispersal programme. However, even this was not widely mentioned as a current cause, perhaps, as was suggested by one respondent, because much of the dispersal was taking place from hotels or other temporary accommodation before children entered schools.

Residential movement within the Greater London boundary seemed to be the dominant pattern of internal migration among secondary school pupils and much of it was perceived by schools to involve movement under the auspices of either NASS or local Councils and housing associations. The movers were recent migrants from overseas and other families who were homeless or in poor or short-term housing situations. Interviewees in Haringey referred to the extensive use of private rented accommodation in the borough by NASS and by other local Councils to house families for whom they were responsible — in addition to Haringey's own housing activities.

Many schools remarked on the long distances that some children were travelling in order to remain at the same school after they had moved to another area of London. This also applied to some who had moved following family break-up. Schools at all levels of the mobility range mentioned family division and reconstitution as affecting many of their pupils but some felt it was significant, and others not at all, in pupil mobility.

The movement of Traveller children did not seem to have much relevance to pupil mobility in Westminster but was a fluctuating part of the picture in Haringey. It was stated that families were becoming settled in housing and the three official sites were also settled, although other families still came through. East European Roma living in temporary accommodation were said to be the most mobile group in schools at time of interview. Seven schools said that their mobile population included Travellers or Roma, if only occasionally.

No school in Haringey cited movement of children from armed forces families. However, three schools in Westminster noted this as an occasional contributor to their mobility.

6.3.4 Institutional movement

Every school in the study had children transferring both to and from it without moving home, albeit very few in some cases. There was a blurred line between ‘voluntary’ and ‘involuntary’ changes of school within the state sector. One interviewee said that transfers where children (or their parents) positively wanted a change of school tended to be brought about by one of three concerns: academic standards, bullying or distance of travel. All these factors were cited by other schools as well.

However, it was also said both in London and Blackpool that parents frequently gave ‘bullying’ as the reason for seeking entry to a new school when other difficulties were involved, difficulties which often emerged after the child had been admitted. Relations between home and previous school had broken down in many instances and some parents had been anticipating exclusion or action over non-attendance.

The number of permanent exclusions from our study schools was not large during the research period but all the Blackpool schools and most schools in the London authorities said they had admitted excluded pupils in recent times, if only occasionally. Some schools in all three LEAs said they were receiving (or being asked to receive) children excluded from schools in other authorities, some of whom were residents of the LEA and some not. In addition, there was said to be a larger movement of ‘unofficial’ excludees — those encouraged or choosing to move to avoid exclusion.

A minority of schools in both the medium and high mobility groupings saw children moving from other schools because of conflicts and behavioural difficulties as a significant element within their non-routine intake; most identified them as one of the hardest groups to integrate and support. Certain schools in each authority took in greater numbers of such children than did others, in addition to residential movers with difficulties. Given that boys are more numerous than girls among the excluded and those presenting behavioural problems, the existence of girls-only schools was one factor fostering their concentration in schools taking boys.

In all three LEAs, there were schools who said they had co-operated in ‘managed moves’ — giving a fresh start to a child from another school, with the agreement of all concerned. One London Catholic school said such arrangements could involve other Catholic schools or other local non-Catholic ones. Another London respondent said their involvement was with other ‘similar’ schools, meaning community schools, implying that some voluntary aided schools would not be interested in such an arrangement. Some fresh starts occurred via pupil referral units.

The schools which received children whose parents were seeking a transfer because of perceived academic standards were mainly low mobility schools, though not exclusively so. Some schools were seen as better than others even if they were not the most prestigious. In London, patterns of transfer crossed borough boundaries and Catholic schools lost a few pupils to schools in other LEAs which were higher up the ladder of prestige within the Catholic system. At the same time, a few children moved *from* heavily oversubscribed institutions because they were not happy there.

Late entry during Year 7 effectively involving direct transfer from a local primary school was mentioned by many schools. Reasons seemed to be diverse, including parents keeping their child at home in the hope that a place would become available at a preferred secondary school. Some children were admitted late on appeal. Moves between secondary schools also occurred in Year 7 when a place was offered in a preferred school after the start of the school year.

Transfers to or from special schools were infrequently mentioned in interviews but moves involving private schools were more often cited, particularly by Blackpool schools. One low mobility school in London had lost three pupils to the private sector in the months prior to interview but most movement seemed to be in the opposite direction, *into* the state sector. A number of the private schools cited seemed to be small and what one head described as 'fringe' or 'slightly odd' institutions. Some had particular religious affiliations.

Inability to afford the fees was one reason for moving to a state school. Encouragement to leave because of behavioural problems, the inability of a school to meet a child's needs (in the case of a child with special needs) and the fact that children were not happy were perceived to be others. It was said at one school that a few pupils came from the private sector into Key Stage 4, encouraged to do so because they were not expected to succeed at GCSE.

One headteacher referred to a number of circumstances in which recent migrants from overseas sought a school transfer. They included Muslim families wanting a place in a girls' school; children wanting to transfer to be with other family members; and parents learning that other schools had a better academic reputation than the one their child attended. In the two London authorities, impending school closures and schools in well-publicised difficulties were a source of pupil movement between schools within and across London borough boundaries, with both origin and destination schools generally being in the high mobility category.

6.3.5 Individual movement

Children moving alone and not as part of a family unit were identified as an element of mobility in most schools, though least evident among non-standard joiners in London's lower-mobility Church schools.

Looked-after children (those in the care of the local authority) joining secondary schools after the normal starting age in the three LEAs were relatively small in number. Nevertheless, they were mentioned by nearly all Haringey schools as among those joining at non-standard times, if only occasionally, and by half of the schools in each of the other two authorities. Unaccompanied asylum seekers were a significant group among looked-after children in London and were particularly emphasised by certain high mobility schools. Boys outnumbered girls. Several schools referred to children leaving because of changes in care arrangements.

Children moving between divorced or separated parents was a situation familiar to the majority of respondents but was most often cited as a cause of changing schools by those in Blackpool. Children moving to live with grandparents, on a temporary or permanent basis, was also mentioned — for example, where a marriage was going through difficulties or parents had gone to prison.

In London, much of the movement between family members appeared to be international. Children joined schools after coming to live with parents, relatives and other adults in the UK: recent arrivals from Jamaica and China were among examples given. At the same time, others were sent to country of origin leaving parents behind, in some instances because there were concerns about their behaviour and the company they were keeping. A few girls also returned to country of origin for marriage in Years 10 and 11.

Overall, it was clear that most school entrants in this category were not only joining a new school but were coping with other difficult changes in their lives. In some cases, movement had been caused by the death, departure or imprisonment of parents or by violence and abuse in the family. Children from overseas had a new country, culture and, often, language to adapt to, as well as new relationships in the home.

6.4 Different schools, different intakes?

The preceding sections have looked at broad types and causes of mobility in the secondary schools systems of the three LEAs. Some gen-

eralisations can now be made about differences of intake by different schools.

It seems true to say, on the basis of our interviews and school records, differences between schools in the composition of their intakes at non-standard times were not as great as might have been expected. The key difference was one of numbers, or numbers as a proportion of total school roll. Thus, the majority (if not all) of schools took in children with difficulties, familial, educational or both, but the numbers entering the lowest mobility schools were tiny, whereas the numbers joining the highest mobility ones were huge by comparison. In London, almost all schools took in children who were not fluent in English, but the lowest mobility schools took in single-figure numbers while those joining the highest mobility ones could rise to three figures in one year.

Placing children in categories such as 'not fluent in English' for analytical purposes can, however, conceal differences in school intakes. For example, two schools with low mobility which controlled their own admissions said that they occasionally took in children with little English but the two cases cited were both young people with particular talents and a commitment to succeed academically. By contrast, schools which took in much larger numbers of EAL children reported a wide range of abilities, prior learning and motivation.

Most schools admitted they were reluctant to take pupils with a history of behavioural problems and low mobility schools with few places to offer were in a strong position to avoid them, particularly where the school was the admissions authority. At a few Church schools, reference was made to the discipline and ethos of the school, with which some attitudes and behaviour was felt to be incompatible: this could affect admissions and also mean that pupils were occasionally encouraged to leave. There was little doubt that the highest mobility schools were taking in disproportionate numbers of children with learning and behavioural difficulties.

Specialist status did not generally seem to affect non-standard intakes. One school filled specialist places, if they were vacated, by an applicant who could demonstrate the appropriate aptitude. A very small number of instances were cited where aptitude had been taken into account in an admission.

Different schools, irrespective of type, were said to be more or less helpful about finding room for children from particular backgrounds, such as Travellers or looked-after children. Often, this seemed to depend on links between central teams and individual heads or teachers in schools. In one case, a governor was the link between a women's refuge and a school. Some schools had links with particular migrant commu-

nity organisations. All three LEAs were actively involved in trying to ensure that hard-to-place children were settled in schools and this is discussed further below.

Children from higher-income families moving within the UK were a minority among school joiners and seemed to secure some of the few available places in low mobility schools: this was partly a function of residential geography and partly a matter of children being deemed to have priority according to criteria for Church school admission. Medium and high mobility schools also had a few ‘middle class’ joiners. However, only one school out of twenty-seven said that non-standard admissions, from home or abroad, were invariably high achievers who had a positive effect on examination performance.

Movement between schools because one was perceived to be better than another — what would normally be described as ‘parental choice’ — seemed to be on a small scale, although the loss of a single high-achieving pupil could be felt keenly by a school striving to raise standards and meet targets. It was not a dominant explanation of pupil mobility, except in instances where schools were closing or in dire straits. However, it appeared to have the overall effect of shifting able, well-supported children away from the least well-regarded schools and into the more prestigious ones.

6.5 Conclusion

Our findings on the causes and circumstances of mobility in secondary schools in these three LEAs broadly reflect earlier findings on mobility in urban primary schools (Dobson *et al*, 2000). Children joining high mobility schools at non-standard times, and most medium mobility ones too, include many with disadvantages to overcome if they are to fulfil their potential. Significant numbers have language or learning difficulties, discontinuity in education and the kind of backgrounds which the recent White Paper described as ‘complex family lives’ (DfES 2004a, para. 1.24).

The predominant mobile groups identified by the DfES project in high mobility secondary schools (DfES 2003b, p.7) accord with our own findings. That project listed: the socially deprived (looked-after children, homelessness, housing relocation, fragmentation of families, unemployment); excludees, official and informal; refugees and asylum seekers; immigrants (defined as pupils newly arrived from overseas who were not refugees or asylum seekers, some coming for finite periods); and Gypsies/Travellers. Our research indicates that these groups are not only significant in schools at the high end of the mobility range but re-

flect the main components of movement in the secondary school system in city areas like these.

The causes and circumstances of movement described in this chapter are not new and many are increasing in significance. International migration of children and families to and from the UK has been an established feature of the education scene in London and other urban areas throughout the post-war period and is likely to grow rather than decrease in the future. Few, if any, of the other factors generating movement seem likely to diminish (sadly, in some cases). It is therefore essential that mobility is recognised as a 'normal' characteristic of school populations and that strategies to develop and to improve the school system take this into account.

Chapter 7

Why do schools have different mobility rates?

7.1 Introduction

It has been shown that schools have very different rates of pupil mobility and very different numbers of children joining and leaving each year, ranging from over a hundred to single figures. Why does such great variation exist between schools? This chapter looks at some of the factors which explain the differences. It also considers the potential impact of LEA action on mobility.

7.2 Popularity and spare places

The most obvious explanation for differences in mobility is that some schools fill all their places at secondary transfer and others don't: therefore the most popular schools have no room to take in late-comers, whereas the less popular have spaces available. Not only do the most popular and prestigious schools fill all their places but they are sometimes required to take additional pupils on appeal. This means that if children leave later on, it will simply bring the school roll back down to its intended size without need of further recruitment.

Other factors can also limit recruitment by popular schools at non-standard times. If a school is almost full, it does not feel under the same pressure to fill vacancies immediately to keep up pupil numbers and funding. While legally required to admit children who want to attend if there are places available, it may be able to avoid admissions at inconvenient times (or the admission of inconvenient pupils). In the

case of a community school, it may delay notifying the LEA of children leaving. In the case of a school which is itself the admissions authority, it may delay action to fill places. To some extent, all this will depend on relations with the education authority and the extent of co-operation in placing children who are out of school.

The popular and prestigious school suffers little from the problem of expected children not turning up at the start of Year 7 because they have gone elsewhere and is unlikely to have many leavers who have suddenly been offered a place in a preferred school. Even the most sought-after institution has pupils who don't like it when they get there and choose to move to a different one but parents are less likely to seek a transfer to a supposedly better school if the current one is reputed to be good.

Some of the movement in high mobility schools, as described earlier, involves children who join after the normal time and then leave again because their stay in the area is impermanent. Little of this serial movement affects schools which admit few late arrivals in the first place.

7.3 Recruitment at secondary transfer

The previous analysis does not explain how it is that some low mobility schools manage to recruit most of their pupils from stable parts of the community at the normal entry time. Children who transfer from primary school to secondary schools with very low mobility do not, for the most part, disappear overseas or to another part of the country, are not moved by NASS or Social Services to another area and are not rehoused in some distant and inaccessible location by a housing authority. Thus, there are few vacancies available for mobile pupils as a result of children leaving.

It was emphasised by one low mobility school in our study that many children did move home during their time at the school but chose to travel back because they valued their places there so highly: hence a low rate of departures. In fact, the great majority of schools made a similar point about children travelling back. This was not only about retaining a place in a school of high repute: other considerations came into play. For example, it appeared that recent migrants from overseas and children with difficult and disrupted home backgrounds were often keen to maintain the support and the friends they had found at their school and were understandably reluctant to start again somewhere else.

It may nevertheless be the case that low mobility schools retain a higher proportion of children who move home within travelling distance than high mobility ones, particularly if the movers in the former case are from higher socio-economic groups. The Education and Skills Committee report on school admissions (2004, p.17) noted evidence that families living in social housing and low income families were more likely than the better-off to place importance on travel convenience and cost of travel. However, our research showed that many children who left high mobility schools moved well beyond daily travelling distance. The explanation for the stability of the pupil populations that low mobility schools recruit at age eleven is considered separately below for community schools and for those which are their own admissions authority.

It should be mentioned here that, although the lowest mobility schools have small numbers of leavers compared to others, there is considerable variability in the outflows from different schools across the mobility range and in the proportion they represent of total school populations. This was shown in Chapter 3. In one case, a very small number of departures reflected the very small size of the school. In another, a very large inflow was accompanied by a relatively small outflow.

7.4 Recruitment: community schools

In the case of the community schools with low mobility in our study, residential geography was important because priority for admission in case of oversubscription was mainly on the basis of residential proximity — that is to say, children who lived nearest to the school had prior claim to a place. All were located in areas with fairly settled populations, at least as far as families with children of secondary school age were concerned, and relatively little temporary housing. For example, a map showing the distribution of children of secondary age placed in short-term housing by the local authority in Haringey showed little in the western half of the borough and the same was said to be true of accommodation used by NASS. In Blackpool, houses in multiple occupation and hotels were likewise concentrated in particular locations.

As Chapter 3 showed, the low mobility schools in our study had different intakes at secondary transfer in terms of social and achievement characteristics compared to those with higher mobility. While all the low mobility community schools recruited pupils from a range of social backgrounds and housing types, all drew on areas which had sizeable middle class populations. At least two of the schools were mentioned by estate agents in listing the attractions of buying a house in the locality. Local Council estates were also mentioned by interviewees in two

cases as having stable populations. In other words, most of the pupils recruited to the community schools with the lowest mobility rates appeared to be well-housed and well-settled. Many were from families likely to be keen on maintaining continuity of education for their children at the secondary stage — and in a position to make that choice.

Large community schools with good reputations sometimes draw their pupils from quite a wide geographical area, particularly if they are single-sex schools. Aspirant and well-informed parents from other localities may try to get a place in them, whereas transient families in those localities may be more likely to apply to the nearest school, especially if education is not high on their list of priorities. This may be a further factor affecting school intakes and fostering differences in mobility rates. One low mobility girls' school in our study, on the borderline between our low and medium mobility categories, had an extensive catchment area, partly because of an admissions policy which combined a distance criterion (priority for those living closest) with another apparently designed to give entrance opportunities to girls from a large number of primary schools.

Data on departures from a large, low-mobility community school in Haringey between the start of the school year in September and our interview in the following March suggested that the reasons for leaving were similar to those given at high mobility schools but the leavers were a tiny proportion of total school roll (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Reasons for leaving a low-mobility community school, between September 2002 and March 2003

Reason	Number of pupils
Transferred to another state school	3
Transferred to a private school	3
Looked after children moved by the local authority	2
Moved out of London (one family)	3
Taken into youth custody	1
Sent to live with family overseas	2
Family moved overseas	4
Other reasons (unspecified)	9
Total	27

7.5 Recruitment: schools which are the admissions authority

Unlike the community schools, where admissions at secondary transfer were determined by the local authority in line with its stated policies, the voluntary aided schools in our study authorities were their own admissions authority — that is to say, they were each responsible for managing their own admissions, with reference to their published criteria. There were in total five schools with Church of England associations (plus one that took on this status in 2002); three Roman Catholic schools; and one other Christian school. Different schools had differing criteria, requirements and admissions processes.

The three low mobility schools were all oversubscribed, two of them immensely so, and all interviewed applicants for places. A number of factors could explain the stability of their intakes: each of the following examples were relevant to at least two of the schools in question. Admission requirements relating to religion would have ruled out or reduced the chances of entry of some migrant children. Interviews which identified values or lifestyles deemed not to be congruent with those of the school might have eliminated others. Where tests were administered, albeit only for banding purposes to try to ensure a comprehensive entry, this may have put off parents whose children were not fluent in English or lagged behind in academic achievement — characteristics of many children in our study schools who were in short-term housing. People from whom parents sought advice might have discouraged them from applying to schools where they were thought unlikely to gain a place. Selection for specialist places on the basis of aptitude might have favoured applicants from more stable backgrounds.

This study was not focussed on the secondary transfer process, so we cannot be definitive about why certain schools took in few children who subsequently departed. We can only note that this was the case and consider some of the reasons why it might have been so. There is a large volume of research by others which gives credence to the factors suggested above, much of it cited in the Education and Skills Committee's Report on secondary education and school admissions (2004). For instance, the Director of the Catholic Education Service, Oona Stannard, observed to the Committee that:

“If you have interviews, they are by their very nature an exercise in personal discernment. You cannot interview someone in that sort of scenario and not be able to discern much information about social class, intellectual ability and probably a whole lot of lifestyle things as well.” (para. 91, p.32)

Professor Anne West, drawing on her own research into school admissions (West *et al*, 2003), noted that:

“Under the current School Standards and Framework Act, the banding, where it is carried out at school level, is carried out on the basis of those who apply to the school, and those who apply to the school are not necessarily representative of that area.” (para. 190, p.61).

Selection of some kind comes into play when there are more applicants than places. The majority of voluntary aided schools in our study were not oversubscribed in the year preceding our research and, as our data shows, they were all in the medium and high mobility categories.

7.6 Cross border movement and the private sector

No explicit mention has been made above to children travelling across LEA borders to attend schools after secondary transfer. The nature of the traffic both into and out of a local authority area to attend secondary schools is relevant to the social character and stability of school populations within that LEA. Thus one of the schools in our study which had a very low level of mobility recruited from a wide area beyond the borough boundary and only took in a minority of pupils from within the authority: hence, it was unsurprising that its pupil population was very different from most other local schools.

Conversely, there was reference in our interviews to parents living in the vicinity of specific schools who opted to send their children to state secondary schools further away or to private schools; in the two London authorities, this often meant out of the LEA. Given the social character of some neighbourhoods in the areas studied (family housing in Westminster ranges from bed-and-breakfast to Buckingham Palace), this was perhaps unsurprising. The choice of girls' schools by Muslim parents was another factor mentioned. These kinds of parental choice had implications for the sections of the local community served by some schools and the filling of places by other, sometimes highly mobile, pupils from other districts.

It was not only less popular schools that experienced rejection by parents. It emerged from the interviews that some parents living close enough to obtain a place for their child at the most highly-regarded community schools (and in some cases receiving an offer of a place)

nevertheless opted for a selective school in another authority or for private education. This did not mean that the community schools in question ended up with empty places in their new Year 7, since their heavy over-subscription made it possible for all vacancies to be refilled well before the start of the Autumn term and from no great distance away. It did not therefore affect their mobility levels. But the situation is mentioned here because it challenges some of the assumptions that inform policy debate about inner city schools and the reasons why parents opt out, assumptions which are relevant to decisions about change in the school system.

In all three LEAs, private secondary schools recruit from stable sections of the local population. Some of those in London also recruit from high-income international migrants coming to the capital for limited periods and one was specifically mentioned in an interview as having high levels of mobility. Diverse small schools exist catering for particular religious groups, some of which also recruit from migrants of recent overseas origin. Since the private sector was not part of the study, it is not possible to say how far private schools affects the composition of state school populations in specific areas or the balance of mobile and non-mobile pupils therein.

7.7 The role of the local authority

Local authorities have a duty to ensure that all children have access to the education to which they are entitled. In fulfilling this duty, they are instrumental in guiding children towards schools with reported vacancies and, in so doing, place heavy pressure on some because of both the volume and the nature of their additional intake. LEAs are limited in the scope they have to alleviate this pressure but some are now pro-active in trying to see that schools at the lower end of the mobility range play as full a part as possible in meeting the needs of the mobile population and in devising other ways of managing the situation.

Blackpool LEA has been actively engaged over a period of years in trying to develop systems which support access of mobile pupils to the local education service and minimise the numbers out of school. Strategies have included: securing the consent of all schools to take in a number of additional pupils to a year group in which there were no remaining vacancies across the LEA; agreeing a protocol with all schools to share the admission of children with significant needs; and establishing a unit to give intensive help to newcomers whose lives and education have been particularly disrupted, as a stepping stone into a mainstream school. Its efforts to spread the responsibility have been

helped by the fact that seven out of eight schools (now six, as one has become a Church of England school) were community schools.

The London authorities have also established arrangements to facilitate the entry to schools of children without a place. Haringey has a Social Inclusion Panel involving admissions officers, Social Services and a range of support services concerned with children in this age-group. Westminster has a 'Pupils without a School Place' panel, similarly constituted, and has produced a guidance document setting out processes in some detail. In addition, local authority staff with specific remits for the education and welfare of particular groups — for example, looked after children, refugees and asylum seekers and Travellers — work directly with parents and schools to obtain places and support attendance.

The School Admissions Code of Practice (DfES 2003a) contains guidance on issues to do with children seeking school places at non-standard times. It states, for instance, that Admissions Forums must discuss how local admissions arrangements might work to allow all schools to admit a more even share of children with challenging behaviour and admissions authorities must have regard to their Admissions Forum's advice:

'Schools and their LEAs should together agree strategies, for example, by being prepared to admit some pupils above the admission number during the year in popular schools. We expect admission authorities to comply with any locally-agreed protocols for the admission of pupils.' (para. 7.6)

It further states that:

'If a school is asked to admit a pupil outside the normal admission round, under a co-ordinated scheme or by an agreement reached through the Admissions Forum, that child has priority over pupils on the waiting list [of an admissions authority]'. (para. 7.9)

However, the development and implementation of any such strategy for sharing the responsibility for mobile pupils with particular needs and difficulties depends on the willingness of every school to be involved in a collaborative approach. As one headteacher commented: it would be easier to secure that collaboration if examination results were published for LEAs as a whole instead of on a school-by-school basis.

Local authorities can also seek, through Admissions Forums and discussion with individual schools, to bring about changes in admissions

policies and procedures at secondary transfer. This could in some circumstances result in children living in short-term housing and other mobile groups gaining access to more schools. But again, this depends on the voluntary co-operation of schools who are their own admissions authorities.

Housing and planning policies have direct significance for the nature of school communities: in all our study authorities, this fact was recognised and under discussion across departmental boundaries.

7.8 Conclusion

Differences in school mobility rates relate to the relative popularity of schools, residential geography and admissions policies and processes — all of which are interconnected. The heavy pressures experienced by particular schools as a result of pupil movement can be alleviated to some extent if all schools accept a shared responsibility for the educational needs of children in the area, including those who are mobile, and if LEAs take a leading and co-ordinating role.

However, the Code of Practice on School Admissions largely relies on voluntary compliance with its guidance on matters to do with admission of pupils at non-standard times. As the Education and Skills Committee observed:

‘The LEAs’ role in managing casual admissions and the placement of excluded pupils relies heavily on co-operation and goodwill between schools and the LEA.’ (p.21, para. 48).

Likewise, changes in admissions policies and practices which operate at normal time of transfer to secondary school might have some effect in reducing social polarisation and extremes of mobility in schools but this again is dependent on voluntary co-operation by interested parties.

Our findings confirm the hypothesis that we put forward at the beginning (para. 2.1.3). Mobility patterns in the secondary phase do appear to have less to do with geographical factors and more to do with the school system than in the primary phase, although residential geography is still important. Children are more able and more likely to be allowed to travel long distances to school unaccompanied at secondary level.

Schools which recruit from 'settled' families across wide areas of the city or beyond are among those with the most stable pupil populations. The fact that children from such families are 'filtered out' of the pupil population by some state schools and the private sector affects the nature and stability of other school communities, especially in areas with many transient households.

Chapter 8

High mobility — does it matter?

8.1 Introduction

In previous chapters, we have studied the nature and causes of pupil mobility in three city authorities and explored the very high levels of mobility in certain schools. In this chapter, we consider the question: ‘Does high mobility matter?’ Can schools with high mobility rates nevertheless be good schools — that is, ones in which every child has *‘excellent teaching that suits them, building on what they know, fitting them for what they aspire to be, and helping them reach their full potential’*?

It has been noted above that the majority of schools in our study areas have mobility rates above the median, or mid-point, when compared with others nationally. Having some children joining and leaving at non-standard times is normality for most schools, related to the nature and circumstances of local populations. Here, however, we are concerned with the situation of schools which have very large numbers joining at non-standard times, together with others which have somewhat lower numbers of joiners but enough to constitute a significant proportion of their total school roll.

In other words, we are talking about the kind of schools included earlier in our high mobility category. These schools tend also to have sizeable outflows, though many have a net inflow, as did our three case study schools. In considering factors to be taken into account when an answer is given to the above questions, we have drawn on the observations and reflections of staff in our case studies and also on other school and LEA interviews. We have also referred to studies by Ofsted, the DfES and others, such as those mentioned in the first two chapters.

8.2 The school context

Pupil mobility does not take place in a vacuum but in the context of a particular school community made up of particular human beings. If the host community that mobile pupils join includes many who find learning difficult, face barriers to achievement and need a high level of help to succeed, then teachers and support staff will be stretched to give each child the attention they require.

What is clear from our findings (see Table 8.1) is that schools with high mobility in the types of areas studied have high levels of poverty and deprivation among those who join at the start of Year 7. The proportion of children transferring to them from primary schools achieving the expected levels in the national curriculum is below the national average, in some cases well below. In one of our case study schools, a third of the pupils were on the SEN register. In another, large numbers belonged to ethnic minority groups whose underachievement is a cause of national concern, requiring focussed action. All the study schools had more boys than girls, an imbalance found in many other high mobility schools. Some of those transferring from primary schools in London were relatively recent arrivals from overseas themselves who were being held back by the language barrier and needed help to overcome it.

Table 8.1: Mobility rates 2001–02 and other school characteristics in the three local education authorities

	High mobility schools	Medium mobility schools	Low mobility schools
Total number of schools	9	9	9
<i>of which, those with:</i>			
35%+ pupils eligible for free school meals	6	4	0
70% or less Yr.7 intake with Level 4 English	8	7	1
under 20% pupils eligible for free school meals	0	1	5
over 80% Yr. 7 intake with Level 4 English	0	1	5
under 25% pupils gaining 5+ GCSE A*–C grades	5	2	0
40%+ pupils gaining 5+ GCSE A*–C grades	0	1	*8

*One low mobility school was a recently established institution whose first cohort of pupils had not yet reached Year 11.

Table 8.1 summarises data presented in Chapter 3 and makes it very clear that high (over 14 per cent) mobility schools faced major challenges in helping children to fulfil their potential, at the same time as managing high rates of movement.

In assessing the demands that mobility makes on a school in terms of management, teaching and support, it must be remembered that even in schools with high levels of movement, at least 50 per cent of children who join at age eleven are usually there throughout the next five years and often a higher percentage than this. Thus, it must be considered whether schools with a given level of resources can reasonably be expected to provide both the movers and the stayers with the same quality of education that they could expect in a school with less mobility.

This is particularly important when national policies are focussed on trying to raise the achievement of specific categories of pupil (children from poor socio-economic backgrounds, from particular ethnic minorities, and boys) who are well-represented in high-mobility schools.

8.3 The mobile pupils

The implications which mobility has for the educational provision a school must make will vary considerably depending on who the mobile pupils are. If the new child is fluent in English, comes from another school that is following the National Curriculum and is progressing well, there may be no need for any special arrangements to facilitate his or her learning — unless entry is at Key Stage 4, when various problems may arise (see Key Stage 4 below). However, new arrivals who have learning difficulties or emotional and behavioural problems, who have missed periods of schooling, who are not fluent in English, or who have experienced a different education system (or none) will require attention to their individual needs and appropriate support if they are to settle down and learn.

Home circumstances can make this easier or more difficult for the child concerned. Both our own research and that of others has made clear that the needs and family backgrounds of mobile pupils are extremely varied but that significant numbers of those entering high mobility secondary schools require some kind of additional support if they are to benefit from their schooling. As Millman (2003, p.126) noted in her Coventry study:

‘adjusting to the new school was only one of a number of minor or major changes in their lives to which most late entrants had to adjust’.

8.4 Managing mobility

A school can manage pupil mobility well or badly, with implications for the quality of education received by all. Different schools organise their admissions processes in different ways but a large number of people are directly involved with each new admission, for example: the senior member of staff who initially interviews parents and admits the child; the Head of Year; the tutor of the group to which the child is allocated; Heads of Faculty or subject departments (for allocation to appropriate teaching groups or sets); all the teachers who will teach that child; support staff (e.g. for language or special educational needs); administrative staff; lunch-time supervisors and catering staff.

Information about the new child must be collated and disseminated to those who need to know. Assessments may have to be done to place the child in the right groups and ensure necessary learning support. Contact needs to be made with previous school to send on records and in some cases with external organisations such as Social Services. The entry of excluded pupils and others with particular needs and difficulties may involve contact and continuing collaboration with off-site provision or education welfare officers and social workers. Even where no known problems exist, staff need to establish and develop a relationship with the child and their parents and monitor their early progress.

Good organisation and co-ordination of all this activity can help to achieve a good start for the newcomer and the minimum of disruption to teaching and learning in the school. It is, nevertheless, hugely time-consuming when replicated. Earlier analyses suggest that September is the period of peak inflow, including late joiners in Year 7 and new arrivals in other year groups, but there are continuous demands on staff throughout the year in some schools. One Head of Year 7 in a study school said that he had interviewed forty prospective parents and pupils during the first two terms, mainly after school, and the teacher who had taken over his role was still interviewing one or two parents a week in the summer term. Also, the point was made by several people that a lot of time and effort could go into preparing for children who never arrived.

The induction mentor initiative funded by the DfES in 2002–03 was intended to see what difference would be made by having a dedicated person responsible for welcoming and supporting new arrivals in high

mobility schools and carrying out or co-ordinating many of the functions touched on above. As McAndrew and Power (2003) reported in their evaluation of the initiative,

‘Another central aspect of the post was seen as to ensure that teachers and senior managers who might otherwise be involved in the induction programme would be freed up from those responsibilities in order to concentrate on their primary functions, teaching and strategic roles respectively’. (op. cit. p.4)

The evaluation was positive about the benefits of the post in terms of reducing pressures on staff and senior management, as well as emphasising the demonstrable benefits to mobile pupils themselves, both personally and academically. This was also our own finding at Masefield School, which took part in the initiative. Staff repeatedly mentioned, without being prompted, the huge difference that the Induction Mentor had made, not only in enabling them to concentrate on their primary roles but also in helping them to be more effective through the timely provision of information about the child’s needs and abilities and the co-ordination of action and support.

Having said all that, it cannot be denied that even in the best-led school and with a highly-competent person in a co-ordinating role, high rates of pupil movement place extra and frequent demands on staff at all levels.

8.5 Teaching and learning

The effects of mobility on classes and teaching groups is cumulative and tends to be uneven. Thus one class may change little over two years, while another has several leavers who are replaced by several newcomers. Teachers who were interviewed were not, in most circumstances, concerned about having a new child in the classroom but about the diversity of learning needs that existed in some of their classes and the difficulty of meeting them all: this was exacerbated if new children arrived with significant problems or with little spoken English. The whole ethos and dynamics of a class could change — for better or worse — if there were several new arrivals.

In London schools, the issue of language and communication was raised repeatedly in our meetings, both by newly qualified and by experienced teachers. Different schools in our study organised language support differently and in a combination of ways. Generally speaking, it was

felt that support for language learning was good but that it was insufficient. Many children made rapid progress and some achieved well after a relatively short period. The main concern of classroom teachers was that, at times when there was no in-class support, they could not help recent arrivals in the early stages of English acquisition while also maintaining the pace of the lesson and covering the necessary topics with the rest of the class.

Another issue raised, particularly by high mobility schools in Blackpool, was that some new arrivals had special educational needs which had not been adequately addressed in the past, perhaps because of frequent movement, and required a great deal of help for which there were no extra resources. And, as noted earlier, in all the LEAs there were pupils who had changed schools because of previous conflict with authority, who were very disaffected and who could be difficult and demanding in their new setting. Some had long-standing attendance problems and trying to tackle these was often time-consuming and unproductive.

8.6 The Year 7 effect

As shown above, mobility often has a big impact on Year 7. This fact has consequences for any attempt to create good work habits and a shared ethos from the outset. ‘This is how we do things here’ and ‘this is what we aspire to’ must be constantly reiterated and reinforced with each new arrival. Given the importance currently attached to a well-planned primary-secondary transition if progress and achievement are to be sustained (Galton *et al*, 1999), high mobility schools are at a disadvantage from the outset.

Within tutor groups, social relationships which have been established may be disturbed by new arrivals and cause children to feel unsettled or distressed. On the other hand, newcomers may develop friendships with more isolated children, perhaps from the same background, and their entry to the group may be beneficial. Either way, the fact that the tutor group spends months expanding and settling down is not ideal when the school is trying to focus on learning.

Children leaving can also have negative effects, unless they are disliked. Several respondents referred to unhappy reactions by pupils when others departed. Sometimes, the departing child was supposedly going to a ‘better’ school and effectively rejecting the school community of which they were a member — a not uncommon event in Year 7, when some parents were still hoping that a place would become available in their first choice school.

8.7 Key Stage 4

Children entering schools after the start of Key Stage 4 may need a great deal of tailored help to prepare for GCSE examinations. Even those transferring within the English education system may find that some subjects (e.g. a particular foreign language) may not be taught in the receiving school; preferred option groups may be full; modules may be taught at the new school in a different order from the previous school; or a different syllabus may be followed. In one school visited, a Year 11 English group was run as two separate groups in the same classroom with the help of a learning mentor, because 14 of the 24 pupils had arrived since the previous September.

Schools in our study made all kinds of arrangements for pupils to catch up or fill in gaps, including lunch-time, after-school and holiday tuition; help from learning support assistants working in collaboration with subject teachers; and preparation of special worksheets. Overall, this involved vast amounts of dedicated effort by all concerned, in addition to the teaching and support given to the rest of the pupil community.

During our interviews, an adviser in Haringey emphasised the importance of developing different kinds of provision matched to the diverse needs of children who arrive at different points in the secondary phase and establishing pathways which will keep them within the system until they have the skills and qualifications they need for employment or higher education. This is clearly an essential but complex task requiring continuous modification as pupil inflows change.

There is anecdotal evidence from many sources that schools are increasingly unwilling to take children into Years 10 and 11 because of the 'league tables'. Those schools with the lowest results, striving to reach 25 per cent GCSE passes at grades A*–C, have a strong disincentive to do so, unless the newcomer appears likely to do well. However, they are more likely than other schools to admit pupils, even at this late stage, because they have spare places. Thus, these schools have to meet added demands when they are endeavouring to improve the examination achievement by which they are judged, often from a low baseline.

8.8 Staffing issues

We collected some data on staff mobility during our research to see how it related to levels of pupil mobility. The exercise proved unilluminating because many schools in our study had been undergoing various

kinds of change, including recent changes in leadership, which had led to staffing change. One low mobility school said it had lost several good middle managers to more senior posts and DfES initiatives. Crude comparisons of staff turnover between schools without exploring the underlying causes would have been meaningless.

What can be asserted, however, is that where schools have high rates of pupil movement, teachers and other staff have to work very hard to maintain a school's ethos and a stable learning environment. If both staff and pupils are on the move, then 'there is no stability anywhere', as Newsam observed many years ago. (Newsam, P., 1977). Established rules, procedures and expectations will only be effective if people know what they are.

8.9 Combined pressures and school failure

Some of the pressures and problems which schools face when there is frequent pupil movement are outlined above. There are others. Classes and tutor groups sometimes have to be reorganised or new ones created to respond to changing numbers. Managers have to keep the deployment of staffing and the pattern of learning support under constant review and make changes in line with change in the school community, sometimes seeming to benefit some at the expense of others.

Medium and long-term planning are difficult when both pupil characteristics and the size of the school budget can change unpredictably as a result of population movements and a rise or fall in recruitment at secondary transfer. This problem is compounded by the fact that high mobility schools with disadvantaged intakes often qualify for special funding or initiatives which are time-limited (such as the induction mentor initiative), adding further instability to the situation. More generally, time spent on dealing with mobility issues is not time spent on other aspects of school development and innovation, whether at whole-school or classroom level.

The arrival of new pupils in a school can bring other kinds of pressures, reflecting attitudes and prejudices outside the school gates. This tends to occur where significant numbers of children join over a relatively short period of time and constitute or add to a recognisable minority group, defined for example by nationality or ethnic origin. In these circumstances, it can be extremely hard to sustain an inclusive ethos, combat racism and deal with conflict.

Both leading and teaching in high mobility schools with many disadvantaged pupils is demanding on the energies and reserves of all in-

volved. Schools which rise to the challenge most successfully tend to be those which McAndrew and Power identified as ‘including mobile pupils in their identity’ (2003, p.27) — in other words, those who accept that all pupils are part of the school community, however long or short their stay, and shape their provision accordingly. Such schools can be exceptionally welcoming and positive places.

However, even the schools which manage best are fragile. The publication of examination ‘league tables’ and unfavourable comparisons with other schools with more advantaged intakes can be demoralising for dedicated staff. A change of headteacher or loss of other key members of staff can sometimes have serious consequences. Almost all of the schools in our high mobility category had been in special measures or found to have serious weaknesses in the recent past.

8.10 The characteristics of effective schools

Research on school effectiveness and school improvement has identified various factors associated with both. Many are self-evidently essential in the context described above, such as high quality leadership and management. However, where more specific prescriptions are offered, it becomes clear that a high mobility environment makes some of them difficult to implement.

For example, in their review of school effectiveness research, Sammons *et al* (1995, pp. 13–14) reported that a number of measures of use of time in schools had been found to be positively correlated with pupil outcomes and behaviour, including:

- *‘proportion of the day devoted to academic subjects or to particular academic subjects’;*
- *‘proportion of teachers’ time spent discussing the content of work with pupils as opposed to routine matters and the maintenance of work activity’;*
- *‘teachers’ concern with cognitive objectives rather than personal relationships and affective objectives’;*
- *‘freedom from disruption coming from outside the classroom’.*

All of these items are liable to be affected by high rates of pupil mobility, given the demands it makes on staff time and attention.

The Ofsted report on Improving City Schools (2000) also talked about good use of time and was explicit about the approach used by good teachers:

‘Teachers provide full and practical help to enable pupils to meet these [high] expectations: they are not left to flounder or to fail. Typically, sessions are clearly introduced and conclude with a review of progress. The structure reflects the emphasis given to encouraging pupils to be explicit about their thinking, to show what they have done and to explain what they have learned. Teachers are adept at focusing and re-focusing the activities of groups and individuals during the lesson, using questions to diagnose difficulties, consolidate learning and extend ideas. A premium is placed on maintaining a good pace.’ (p.21)

All this seems unexceptionable but not easily accomplished with classes where pupils have very diverse prior educational experience, knowledge and English language fluency. The report emphasised in many places the need for intensive support:

‘the quality of one-to-one and small group work is often critical to some pupils’ progress’ (p.21).

It put a lot of emphasis on consistency — for example:

‘good discipline promoted through clear policies understood by all’ (p.24)

This is also hard to achieve where policies have to be constantly reinforced with new arrivals and even more so where there is a high turnover of staff. Much of what was said to be good in the schools identified as improving had staffing implications, for instance, the use of home-school liaison teachers, a valuable resource for high mobility schools.

Ofsted was positive about the work of teachers and classroom assistants supporting SEN pupils but, echoing a point raised in our own study, observed that:

‘the weight of numbers and sometimes the increasing complexity of pupils’ difficulties make it hard for them to respond adequately’ (p.31)

A final matter raised in the Ofsted report concerned shortages of books and inadequate library stock. Our own research suggests that high mobility can compound this problem through loss of books when children move.

Overall, it may be concluded that the challenges faced by all schools serving disadvantaged populations are greatly increased where there is also a high level of mobility.

8.11 Conclusion

It may be strongly argued, on the basis of our own findings and other studies, that schools with high pupil movement and disadvantaged intakes have difficulty in fully meeting all the different learning needs of their pupils, whilst managing the frequent movement. If all secondary schools are to be able to offer all their pupils an equally high standard of education, then conditions must be created to make this possible and sustainable.

Perhaps with sufficient resources, a high mobility school with many disadvantaged pupils could provide the amount of individual support and small group work necessary for all to fulfil their potential or, at least, to make good progress towards further study post-sixteen. However, it is not a setting conducive to the pursuit of this ideal.

Our research has confirmed our hypothesis (para. 2.1.4) that managing high mobility in secondary schools is in some ways more difficult and complex than in primary schools, if only because of the pressure to prepare children for external examinations and the fact that some new arrivals, being older, have a vast amount of ground to make up.

Chapter 9

Implications for secondary education policy

9.1 Introduction

Nationwide, many thousands of children each year move into, out of and between secondary schools in England at non-standard times: this can be inferred from the fact that over 3000 pupils in total joined and left schools in our study authorities at other than the normal times in year of study. Even allowing for some of these movers being the same individuals and therefore double-counted, this scale of movement is far from insignificant.

This chapter explores the implications of such mobility for current secondary education policy, with a focus on school diversity. It summarises some of the project's findings in the three participant education authorities — findings which appear to concur with those of other projects and studies and our own previous research. At the end, it suggests policy changes to address some of the problems associated with high mobility and to try to ensure that all schools have the capacity to provide a good education for all their pupils.

9.2 Mobility and city schools

People talk often about (inner) city education authorities and (inner) city schools as if they were a generic category, but give much less attention to the differences between them. Yet the populations of urban areas and of schools located within them differ hugely, with major implications for strategies to develop and improve local school systems.

The frequency and scale of movement are aspects of difference between area and pupil populations which receive little systematic consideration in this context.

The residential movement of families and of children without their families, together with school transfers, have widespread implications for schools in LEAs such as the three we have studied. The impact on some schools is miniscule but children coming and going at non-standard times is commonplace for many and a dominant issue for some.

Within each of our study authorities, rates of pupil mobility at school level ranged from over 26 per cent to under 5 per cent during the year we studied. In each, several schools took in more than 50 pupils at non-standard times. In each, one or two schools took in more than a hundred and fifty. In each, the school with the smallest non-standard intake took in fewer than twenty.

For the most part, this movement was not generated by school factors but by personal, social, economic and political circumstances in the wider world — circumstances which are enduring features of human existence, such as escape from violence; the search for a better life or simply a better home; the end of a relationship or the start of a new one; and migration for work reasons. The LEAs that we have studied, and some adjacent authorities from which their schools draw pupils, have a particular function as reception areas, places of refuge or the locus of short-term housing from which families later move on.

All this means that, in areas such as these, mobility is a factor which needs to be considered as inherent in parts of the population for which schools are being provided. Population transience is a well-established feature of inner London and of some coastal resorts and the education system has to take account of it. It may be that, over time, the scale and geographical pattern of movement in particular localities will change as the nature, tenure and occupancy of local housing changes, perhaps as a consequence of deliberate strategies on the part of local authorities. Educational provision will then need to adapt accordingly.

Pupil mobility is not just a consequence of family movement. Local authorities such as the ones we have studied also have relatively large numbers of vulnerable children who move in and out of schools at non-standard times for other reasons: for example, children taken into care or moving between foster-parents; children moving between separated parents and relatives; children excluded from school and disaffected with formal education.

Whatever happens to the pattern of school provision, mobility will still remain. The fact that a high mobility school is closed, or is given a new status which increases its popularity and decreases spare places, will not bring an end to migration, exclusion, family break-up or any other of the factors that generate pupil movement. The school system will still have to accommodate it.

9.3 Mobility and the two diversities

Currently, the intended ‘transformation’ of secondary education is seen to require the promotion of ‘greater diversity of provision and provider’ (DfES 2004a). The arguments advanced in support of this strategy variously emphasise parental choice, the scope for children’s needs to be matched to provision and the importance of a ‘distinctive mission and ethos’ (DfEE 2001 p.42). Choice and diversity is expected to lead to the flourishing of ‘successful and popular’ schools, whose expansion is being facilitated as a matter of policy, and the ultimate demise of schools which are undersubscribed and judged to be poor.

The word ‘diversity’ can be used to denote many things. It seems important, in planning improvement to the school system, to distinguish between the two kinds of diversity which we refer to below as ‘pupil-community-diversity’ and ‘school-type-diversity’. As this study has illustrated, schools in city areas are already extremely diverse in terms of their pupil communities: that is to say, in relation to social background, achievement on entry, learning needs and stability (pupil-community-diversity). This kind of diversity is now being overlaid by diversity of school type, such as specialist schools, academies and Church/faith schools, distinguished by various factors including funding, governance, admissions criteria and curriculum (school-type-diversity). The way in which these two diversities interrelate and the timescale over which they develop in each city authority will be highly significant for progress made towards the levelling up of educational quality and equality of opportunity — or the polarisation of schools.

Approaching the issue from the angle of mobility, we have illustrated the fact that, at present, some city schools take in far more mobile pupils than others and that those with the highest mobility rates are also schools with high levels of disadvantage and lower-than-average achievement among the children they admit at secondary transfer. By contrast, those schools at the low end of the mobility range, which have fewer vacancies for newcomers because of their popularity, generally have higher achieving intakes and, in certain instances, have poverty levels (as measured by free school meals entitlement) below the na-

tional average. The designation of schools for different kinds of new status and its relationship to pupil-community-diversity may have major implications for the access of mobile pupils to schools and for the quality of education that different schools provide in the future.

In this regard, the granting of specialist status in our three study authorities up to the period of the study (2002–03) is an interesting illustration of the point being made. It was schools in the low mobility category which had been the principal, though not exclusive, beneficiaries of specialist status up to that time. Six low mobility schools had become specialist schools, together with two each in the medium and high mobility categories. At point of designation, these latter four all had higher performance than most others in the same mobility categories in terms of higher-grade GCSE results (see Chapter 3).

It can be inferred from other evidence that this may not be untypical of experience in some other city authorities, particularly prior to 1997. The study of specialist schools by West et al (2000, p.4) reported that the ratio of applicants to entrants in year of designation was 1.52, indicating that most specialist schools were ones that were popular and oversubscribed.

The later Ofsted evaluation (2001, para.19) gave a more modified picture, stating that over 40 per cent of schools visited were oversubscribed. It quoted the Technology Colleges Trust report, which had stated that *'half of specialist schools are located in the hundred most deprived areas of the country'* (para. 5). However, it also reported that the proportion of pupils in all specialist schools gaining five A*–C passes at GCSE in 2000 ranged between 47.4 per cent and 63.5 per cent in schools with different specialisms, suggesting that many of them were not among the most deprived institutions. Of the nine schools in our own study with more than 40 per cent A*–C passes, eight were in the low mobility category.

Specialist schools, according to studies cited above, have been able to recruit around two additional full-time teachers and nearly two full-time equivalent non-teaching staff, acquire new equipment and facilities and, in the majority of cases, enhance the quality of teaching and learning. It is likely that some able and enthusiastic teachers have been attracted to them and some able and enthusiastic pupils likewise, particularly where the benefits of the specialism have been shared with local primary schools.

The example of specialist schools has been discussed to illustrate how school-type-diversity may relate to pupil-community-diversity in ways which do not obviously result in the 'levelling up' of educational quality and equality of opportunity across schools. Specialist status is now

being rapidly extended to many more schools and its future impact remains to be seen. At time of writing, all nine low mobility schools in our study areas are now specialist schools, together with nine others.

9.4 Mobility, admissions and inclusion

Chapter 7 discussed the relevance of school admissions policies and processes to the variations in mobility across schools. One of the distinguishing characteristics of some new types/designations of school is that they are their own admissions authority. In addition, there is an increasing emphasis in national policy on greater independence for all schools and encouragement for schools to take on foundation status. This means that a shared acceptance of responsibility for some groups of pupils seeking places at non-standard times is likely to be increasingly difficult to achieve because it is dependent on an increasing number of independent or semi-independent establishments who are striving to demonstrate their success through their pupils' performance.

It also means that any change in admissions criteria and processes which might give disadvantaged children, including those in temporary housing situations, wider access to schools at secondary transfer (e.g. a banding system or a network of primary-secondary links) would require the voluntary agreement and goodwill of schools. In these circumstances, change which might reduce social polarisation of intakes or the more extreme levels of mobility in particular schools seems unlikely to occur.

In the same month (July 2004) that the Five Year Strategy was published, the Department for Education and Skills produced guidance on 'Identifying and Maintaining Contact with Children Missing or At Risk of Going Missing from Education'. Drawing on existing good practice in local authorities, it sets out steps recommended to LEAs to locate children outside the education system and facilitate their entry. The reasons given for their being outside the system are: failing to start at the appropriate time; ceasing to attend due to exclusion or withdrawal; or failing to complete a transition between providers (e.g. being unable to find a suitable school place after moving to a new LEA). The guidance states that:

'There is general agreement that some children who have experienced certain life events are more at risk of going missing from education' (p.13)

and goes on to list them, covering many of the mobile groups identified in Chapter 6, such as children living in temporary accommodation and women's refuges, asylum seeking children and children with a Gypsy/Traveller background.

The process set out in the document starts with locating children out of school through close working between schools, LEAs and other agencies, followed by assessing their individual needs and finding appropriate educational provision for them. In the last phase, the weakness of existing structures and the voluntary nature of action required becomes evident.

Thus, it is stated that information about available places is best held centrally *if at all possible*. Admissions Forums are said to have an important *advisory* role in considering how well admission arrangements serve parents and children, including those joining at non-standard times, and *will aim to reach a local consensus* on how best to meet the needs of those seeking a place in their area. Admission Forums are *encouraged* to broker agreements on protocols which ensure that all mainstream schools play a part in the admission and education of potentially vulnerable children, such as those who have been permanently excluded (DfES 2004b pp. 22–23).

The Five Year Strategy states that:

'We will also address the issue of schools that are asked to take on large numbers of hard-to-place or disruptive pupils throughout the year' (paras 5.26 and 5.27)

but the mechanism is once again the Admissions Forum and it is not clear how the active and equal participation of all is to be secured if some are reluctant.

Increasing independence of schools, coupled with a diminished LEA role, make it seem doubtful that mobile pupils in city areas will be better served by the secondary school system in the future. Indeed, it could be that children from 'settled' families will become increasingly concentrated in some schools, while others cater increasingly for those on the move.

The way in which the system provides access to education for mobile children has major significance for the most disadvantaged sections of the urban population — both for those who are mobile and for those who aren't, since they are often found in the same schools. The Green Paper 'Every Child Matters' set out policies 'designed both to protect children and maximise their potential' (DfES 2003d, p.5). These objectives will only be accomplished if all children are educated in schools

which have sufficient stability and capacity to meet their very diverse needs.

9.5 Mobility, equality and resources

Amongst other things, diversification of school type is a mechanism for allocating resources. New types of school have received large amounts of additional funding, both capital and revenue, and continue to do so. Whilst specialist status had been skewed towards the low mobility end of the spectrum among our study schools, a new city academy had been created from a school with high pupil mobility and two more academies were in prospect to replace another in the high mobility category. Thus the resource benefits of school-type-diversity have not been confined to one part of the pupil-community-diversity pattern.

It was also the case that many other schools in our study which had not taken on a specialist or academy designation had received substantial additional resources. The widespread investment in new buildings and facilities, including some for joint school-community use, was very evident when we visited schools to carry out interviews and staff were proud to show us their new or improved provision. And all schools were involved in one way or another with nationally-funded initiatives aimed at raising standards in city schools.

What was less obvious was how the *overall* pattern of resource allocation related to pupil-community-diversity and to the ultimate aim of creating equally good schools for all. Looking at things from a mobility perspective, high mobility schools seemed to have benefitted to varying degrees from different funding sources.

A number of our study schools were involved in the DfES project on managing mobility. The scale of work indicated by the handbook for induction mentors produced by that project (DfES 2003c) effectively makes the case for permanent additional funding to manage mobility. The need for additional resources goes beyond induction, as earlier chapters in this report have shown. The additional requirements of schools differ according to the differing nature of their mobility: for example, in London, they are likely to include bilingual help to communicate with both pupils and parents; in Blackpool, they will include support for children with gaps in their education and special needs.

It is unclear how future school funding arrangements cited in the Five Year Strategy will address the particular circumstances of schools with fluctuating populations and a high level of movement.

9.6 Mobility and future policy

In light of our research, the following are suggested as policy approaches to tackle some of the problems associated with mobility and try to ensure that all schools have the capacity to provide a good education for all their pupils. Points A and B are seen as complementary and not alternatives:

- A.** Accept that some schools will always have a bigger reception role where new migrants and other mobile pupils are concerned and:
- Give this role positive recognition and appreciation.
 - Establish criteria for evaluating how well it is performed.
 - Assess examination performance in ways that take account of it.
 - Determine ways of assessing the school's value added to short-stay pupils and to late arrivals with exceptional needs.
 - Provide the necessary resources and greater stability of funding.
 - Give staff the status and remuneration which is commensurate with the skills and commitment involved.
- B.** Implement policies which will reduce the extreme concentration of mobility and disadvantage in particular schools:
- Change policy and practice on school admissions where they contribute to this concentration.
 - Give local education authorities the powers necessary to be effective in the central co-ordination of information on spare places and the placement of children who are out of school.
 - Require all schools to share responsibility for hard-to-place pupils.

There are some more general recommendations that could be made. These would include the need to implement school-type-diversity policies in ways which promote parity of esteem between schools and which may thus spread both popularity and mobility. Schools with high mobility which have had difficulties but are in process of improvement could easily be undermined by the creation of a new high-profile, highly-publicised establishment close by. There is also the need for change in the pattern of 14–19 provision to take account of the circumstances of mobile pupils, as noted in Chapter 8.

The rationale for the above proposals can be expressed in terms of the benefit to the individual child or the benefit to society if the school system enables all children to develop their skills and talents to the full. However, there are the further issues of social integration and community cohesion, to which change in the school system could be highly relevant.

In so far as mobility involves international migration, schools are sometimes the only places where new arrivals from overseas get to know members of the host community in a social setting, and vice versa. The more that international migrants are channelled into particular schools, the more their contacts will be confined to other migrants. And the more that these schools are struggling with a combination of pressures and demands, the harder it will be for them to be effective. The reception role of different schools will need to be kept under review as school-type-diversity develops. An increase in different types of Church/faith school could be significant in this context, increasing the segregation of different migrant groups from one another as well as the wider community.

9.7 Conclusion

We live in a world where people are constantly on the move from place to place, whether from choice or lack of choice. Our school system has to be organised to accommodate this. Most city schools in areas such as those we have studied are accustomed to receiving new arrivals at non-standard times, whether migrants or children joining in other circumstances. Schools with a strongly inclusive ethos welcome all-comers, try to meet their diverse needs and work hard to make every child in the school feel equally valued.

This reception role has not been given much recognition over the years and the introduction of targets and performance indicators has further devalued it. Schools striving to improve their examination results may hesitate before admitting a child with learning difficulties or little English. Those which take in large numbers of needy children at non-standard times are often pilloried when performance tables are published.

Perhaps it is time to think carefully about this situation and what its long-term consequences might be — both for individuals and for society at large.

Appendix A

Pupil inflow/outflow diagrams

The following diagrams represent the movement of mobile pupils into and out of a school during the course of one school year. Their aim is to display the complexity of the movement of mobile pupils in high mobility schools. They take their inspiration from the theoretical concepts of *Survival* and *Arena* developed by Torsten Hägerstrand (1978) to demonstrate the movement of people through an institution (in his case, a farm). Here they are adapted to capture better the specific characteristics of pupil movement. Only pupils who either join or leave (or both) at non-standard times during the course of that year are included.

Pupils who are present at the start of the year enter the diagram from the left; those joining at a non-standard time in the year (i.e. any other time than the beginning of the year) enter the diagram from below, their month of joining reflected by where on the X axis they enter. Pupils who complete the year exit the diagram at the right whereas those who leave beforehand leave through the top, again the relevant month reflected by their exit point on the X axis. There are 5 diagrams below, one for each of the school years 7 to 11 at Masefield School in Blackpool, during the school year 2002–03.

Figure A.1: Movement of mobile pupils in Year 7 in Masefield School, 2002–03

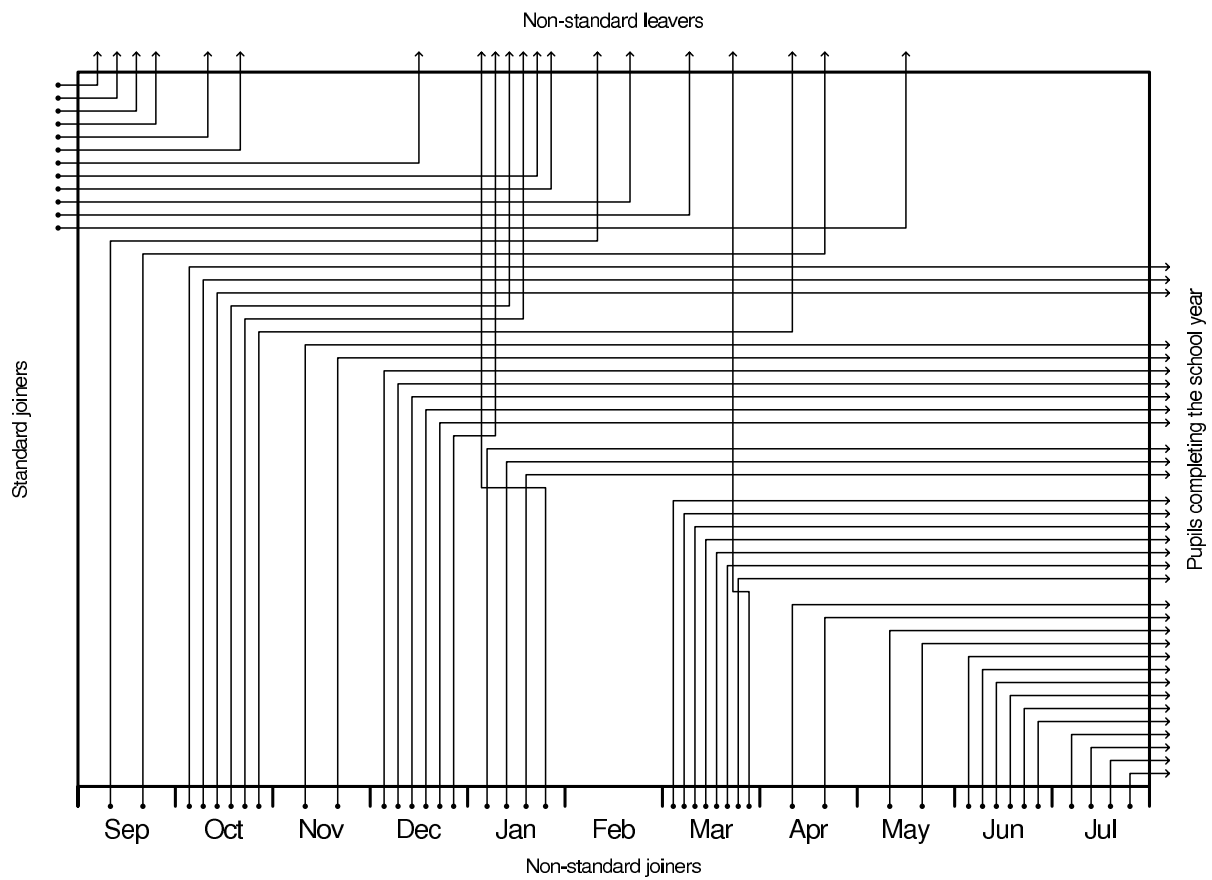


Figure A.2: Movement of mobile pupils in Year 8 in Masefield School, 2002–03

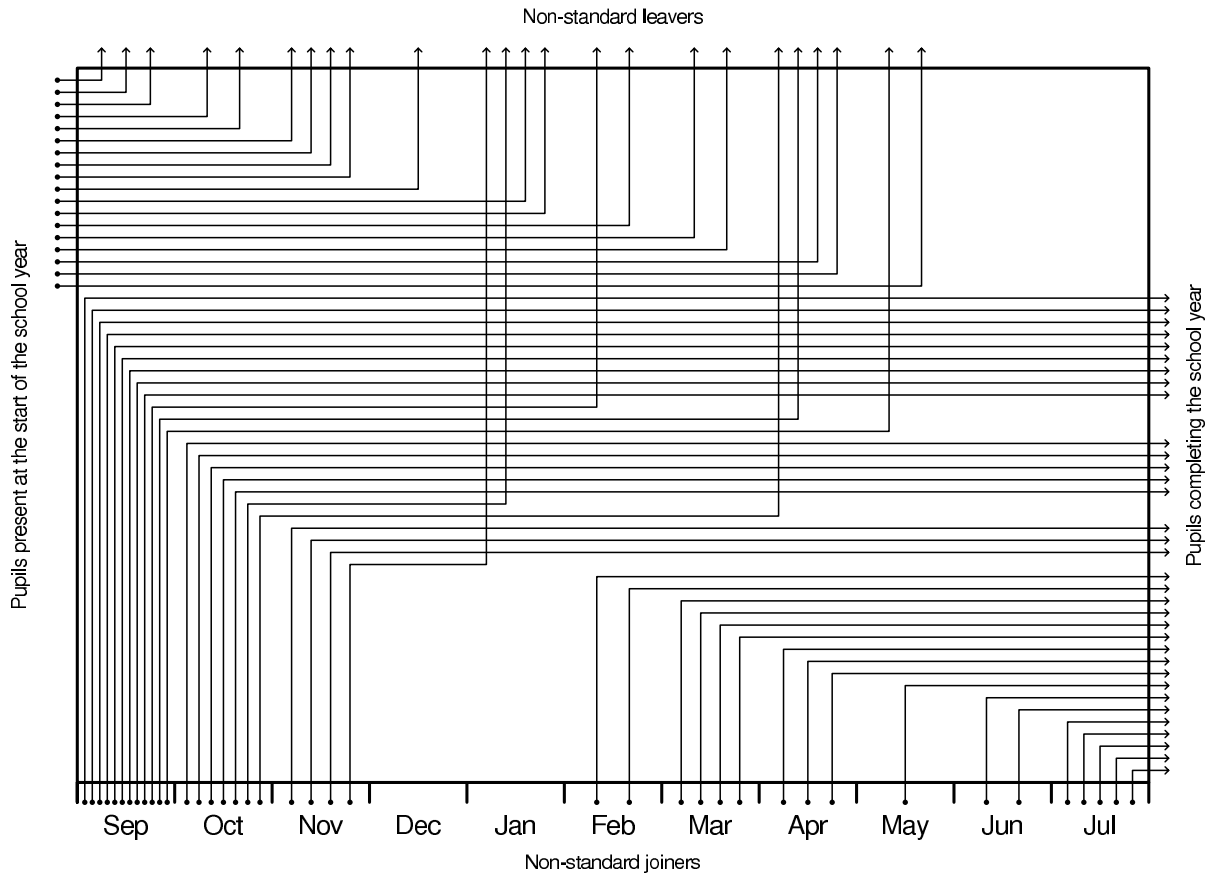


Figure A.3: Movement of mobile pupils in Year 9 in Masefield School, 2002–03

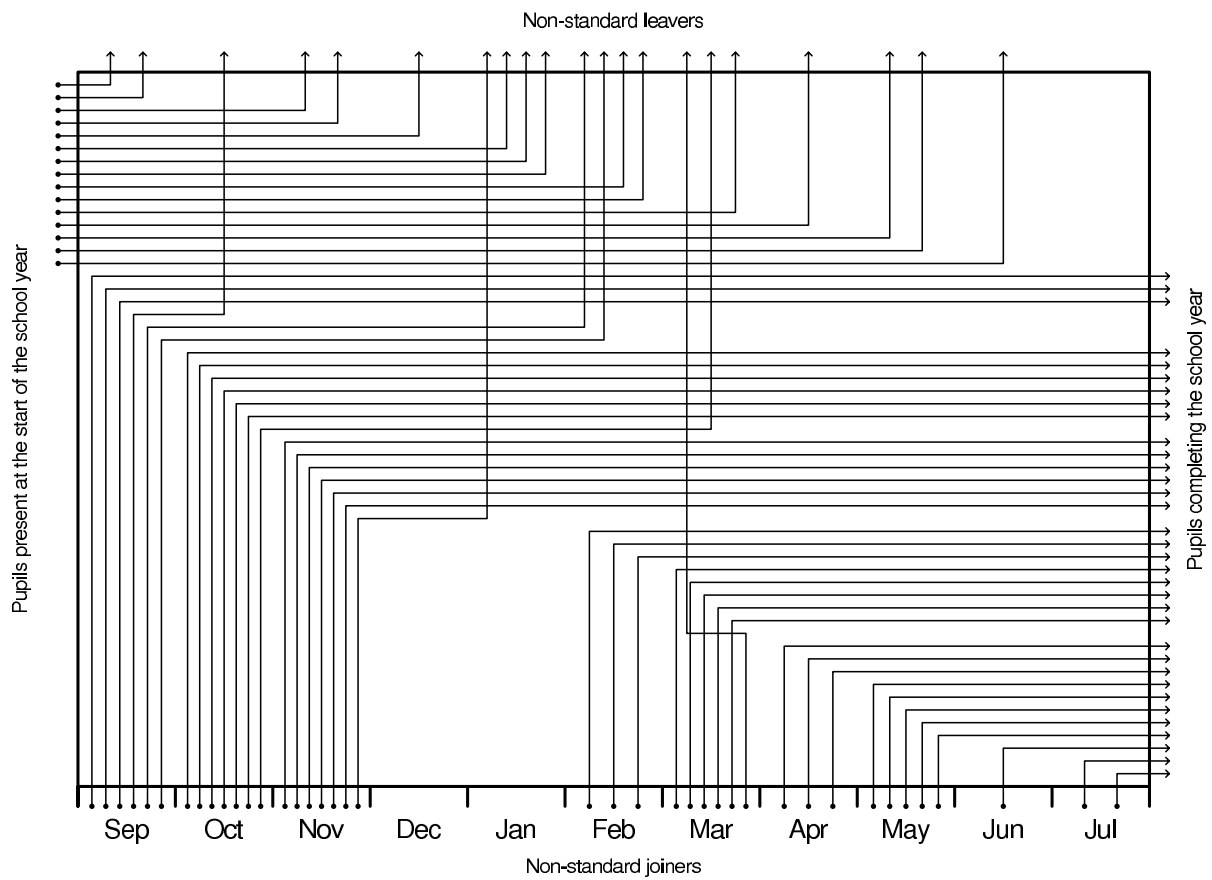


Figure A.4: Movement of mobile pupils in Year 10 in Masefield School, 2002–03

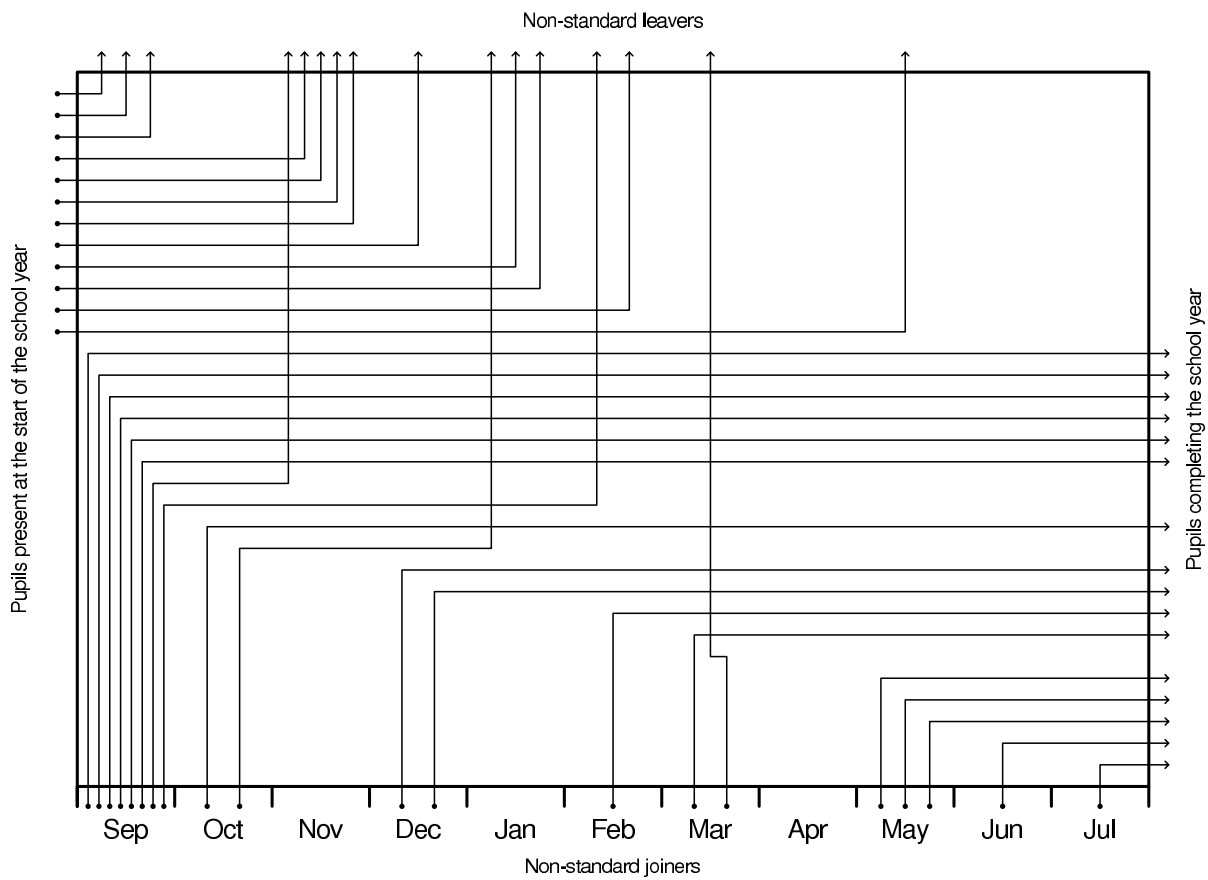
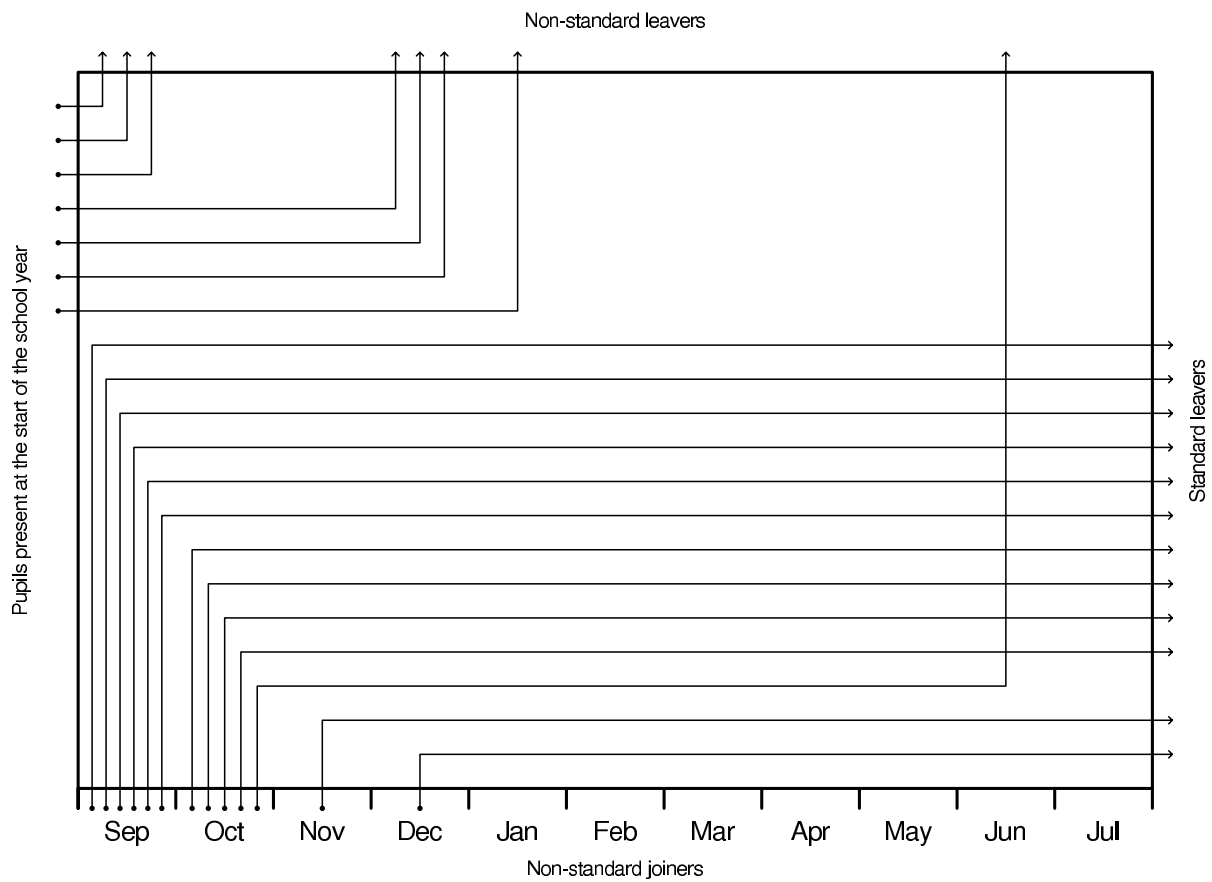


Figure A.5: Movement of mobile pupils in Year 11 in Masefield School, 2002-03



Bibliography

Demie, F. and Strand, S. (2004) *Pupil Mobility and Educational Achievement in Lambeth Schools*. Lambeth Education.

Department of Education and Employment (2001) *Schools Building on Success*. Cm. 5050. The Stationery Office.

Department for Education and Skills (2003a) *School Admissions Code of Practice*. London: DfES.

Department for Education and Skills (2003b) *Managing Pupil Mobility: Guidance*. London: DfES.

Department for Education and Skills (2003c) *Managing Pupil Mobility: A handbook for induction mentors*. London: DfES.

Department for Education and Skills (2003d) *The Childrens Green Paper: Every Child Matters*. London: DfES.

Department of Education and Skills (2004a) *Five Year Strategy for Children and Learners*. Cm. 6272. The Stationery Office.

Department of Education and Skills (2004b) *Identifying and Maintaining Contact with Children Missing or At Risk of Going Missing from Education. Process Steps: Good Practice Guide*. London: DfES.

Dobson, J. and Henthorne, K. (1999) *Pupil Mobility in Schools: Interim Report*. Research Report 168. London: DfEE..

Dobson, J., Henthorne, K. and Lynas, Z. (2000) *Pupil Mobility in Schools: Final Report*. [www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/mru]

Dobson, J., Koser, K., Mclaughlan, G. and Salt, J. (2001) *International Migration and the United Kingdom: Recent Patterns and Trends*. RDS Occasional Paper No. 75, The Home Office.

Fletcher-Campbell, F. and Lee, B. (2003) *A Study of the Changing Role of Local Education Authorities in Raising Standards of Achievement*. Research Report 453, London: DfES.

Galton, M., Gray, J. and Ruddock, J. (1999) *The Impact of School Transition and Transfer on Pupils Attitudes to Learning and Their Progress*. Research Report 131. DfEE.

Goubin, N. (2002) *Pupil Mobility in Redbridge: Patterns and Good Practices*. Redbridge Education Service.

Hägerstrand, T. (1978) 'Survival and Arena: on the life-history of individuals in relation to their geographical environment' in Carlstein, T., Parkes D. and Thrift, N. *Human Activity and Time Geography*. London: Edward Arnold Ltd.

Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools (2003) *Standards and Quality in Education: Annual Report 2001/02*. London: The Stationery Office.

Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools (2004) *Standards and Quality in Education: Annual Report 2002/03*. London: The Stationery Office.

House of Commons Education and Skills Committee (2004) *Secondary Education: School Admissions*. London: The Stationery Office.

Lambeth L. B. (2004) *Pupil Mobility in Lambeth Schools: implications for raising achievement and school management*.

McAndrew, E. and Power, C. (2003) *The Role of the Induction Mentor: An Evaluation*. DfES.

Millman, V. (2002) *Transient Pupils: The Induction and Support of Key Stage 3 Late Entrants*. Unpublished thesis for Doctor of Education (EdD), University of Warwick Institute of Education.

Milton Keynes Council (2002) *Changing Faces in Our Schools: Meeting The Needs of Mobile Pupils in Primary Schools*.

Mott, G. (2002) *Children on the Move: Helping High Mobility Schools and their Pupils*. Slough: NFER

Newham L. B. (2003) *Managing Mid-Phase Pupil Admissions: A resource and guidance folder for schools*.

Newsam, P. I. (1977) 'A Counter View' in Raynor, J. and Harris, E. (eds) *Schooling in the Inner City*. Ward Lock Educational in association with the OUP.

Office for Standards in Education (2000) *Improving City Schools*. London: Ofsted.

Office for Standards in Education (2001) *Specialist Schools: An Evaluation of Progress*. London: Ofsted

Office for Standards in Education (2002) *Managing Pupil Mobility*. London: Ofsted.

ONeill, M., Webster, M. and Woods, P. (2003) *New Arrivals : Report of research on effective inclusion of newly arrived families and pupils to Leicester City Education*. Report commissioned by the Government Office East Midlands and Leicester Education Authority.

Riley, K. and West-Burnham, J. (2004) *Educational Leadership in London*. National College for School Leadership.

Sammons, P., Hillman, J. and Mortimore, P. (1995) *Key Characteristics of Effective Schools*. London: Ofsted.

West, A., Noden, P., Kleinman, M. and Whitehead, C. (2000) *Examining the Impact of the Specialist Schools Programme*. Research Report 196 DfEE.

West, A. and Hind, A. (2003) *Secondary school admissions in England: exploring the extent of overt and covert selection*.
RISE: [www.risetrust.org.uk]

Production of the report

This report was typeset using $\text{\LaTeX}2_{\epsilon}$. Thanks to Jeremy Penzer for giving invaluable advice on solving various tricky \LaTeX layout issues. The report was processed and converted to PostScript[™] and PDF[™] formats using tools in the Cygwin shell environment.

The pupil inflow/outflow diagrams were produced using the PostScript[™] language by a specially written program and were processed using GhostScript. Thanks to Paul Schooling (UCL) who shared his expertise to help produce these graphs.

\LaTeX , Cygwin and GhostScript are freely available and can be downloaded from the internet.

All other graphs and diagrams were drawn in Microsoft Excel and Microsoft PowerPoint respectively. The cover was produced in Quark Xpress by Cath D'Alton (UCL), to whom we are grateful. The report was printed and bound by Pims Digital/UCL.