



# Poverty and Education

At the AGM of 2008, the Institute took the decision to re-examine why the blight of poverty continued to have a detrimental impact on the educational opportunities of a worryingly high proportion of young Scots.

Although there was an increase in prosperity generally, the gap between rich and poor had never been wider.

As we publish this report into the links between poverty and educational underachievement, our public services face the prospect of contraction in the levels of investment for our schools, colleges and universities.

In many communities, as this report reveals, poverty persists. Many initiatives, referred to in this report, which to some extent managed to breach the wall of poverty and open up educational opportunity to some to whom it had been denied, are now under threat.

Poverty is a multi-faceted canker on the lives, not only of far too many young people individually, but on their families and on their communities. It is true many can and do overcome poverty's pernicious effects. However, many individuals, and even worse, many institutions, simplistically argue that all individuals are inherently equipped to overcome poverty's effects on self esteem, on aspiration and on educational attainment, even when the evidence, as we argue in this report, suggests otherwise.

We argue here, based on the evidence from a wide variety of sources, that underlying and recurrent patterns of poverty can often undermine the ability of pupils to learn and can pose challenges for teachers within impoverished communities to teach.

Since its founding in 1847 the Institute has promoted sound learning and has argued that sound learning requires positive engagement by those who learn and those who teach. Poverty can, and does often, undermine positive engagement. We will therefore continue to argue for its eradication.

Bill Ramsey
Convener Equality Committee

#### Background

Over many years there has been considerable effort, policy, strategy and legislation about poverty and on-going debate about the definition of poverty, how to measure it and the causes of and solutions to severe and persistent poverty.

Within Europe, there may be some people who experience extreme or 'absolute poverty' (that is, where people lack the basic necessities for survival) but the European Union uses a relative definition of poverty, namely.

"People are said to be living in poverty if their income and resources are so inadequate as to preclude them from having a standard of living considered acceptable in the society in which they live. Because of their poverty they may experience multiple disadvantage through unemployment, low income, poor housing, inadequate health care and barriers to lifelong learning, culture, sport and recreation. They are often excluded and marginalized from participating in activities (economic, social and cultural) that are the norm for other people and their access to fundamental rights may be restricted." European Commission, Joint Report on Social Inclusion 2004

While the Scottish Executive and Government have focused on economic strategies and policies to tackle the problem of poverty, definitions of poverty have moved away from conceptions based solely on a lack of physical necessities towards a broader understanding of what being poor means within the context of society. Concepts of social inclusion and exclusion have been used to determine policy at Scottish and UK level. The definition of poverty used by "Scottish and UK Governments, Households Below Average Income" takes relative income into account.

"Those with incomes below 60% of the UK median are considered to be poor as their incomes are so far from the norm that they face problems participating effectively in society." (Achieving Our Potential, Scottish Government, 2008)

The charity, Save the Children, in its 2009 document "Measuring Child Poverty in the UK", estimates that 9% (95,000) of children in Scotland were living in severe poverty. Save the Children define poverty as 'severe' when living on less than £12,220 per year (for a couple with one child).

#### Context

The EIS, the largest teaching trade union in Scotland, has always concerned itself with the provision of quality education to all pupils regardless of their background. One of its founding principles is 'the promotion of sound learning'. Therefore poverty, its causes and consequences and its impact on young people's ability to benefit from education has featured consistently on its agenda. The EIS has expressed its concerns over many years through articles and letters written in the EIS Scottish Education Journal, by motions to Annual General Meetings, through the work of its Local Associations and Branches, through its work within the wider trade union movement and its work with, and lobbying of, Scottish and UK Government and politicians.

In their response to two AGM resolutions of 2008 the Equality and Education Committees of the EIS established a working group to review its past policies and the practices within education in Scotland which may have an impact on the ability of young people to access education successfully. Despite much success there remain a significant number of children and young people who do not do so. The EIS does not consider educational success should be measured only by qualifications and attainment. Achievement in its broadest sense and the development of skills for lifelong learning should be recognised as key outcomes.

- "That this AGM call upon Local Authorities and the Scottish Government to develop and fully resource measures specifically designed to tackle the impact of deprivation on pupils' educational opportunities."
- "That this AGM instruct Council to investigate and report on the links between poverty and pupil attainment in Scottish schools."

In 1998, on the eve of the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, the EIS stated in its document, "Poverty and Education: Breaking down the Barriers", that

"Poverty denies people choices and it denies them access to fundamentals of health, housing and education." The EIS continues to hold to the belief expressed then "that education must promote principles of justice and equality."

The EIS also adheres to the view that a comprehensive system of education, free from setting and streaming, is the best means of promoting social justice and of countering inequality.

The EIS has supported inclusive policies when they make progress towards the goal of a more inclusive, equitable and just system of education, and where they improve access and outcome for all learners. It has become a partner in developing and improving many policies and initiatives at local and national level. However, it has continued to point out its concerns about them when necessary.

A number of reports from the Scottish Government, HMIE, researchers and voluntary organisations point to considerable improvements in attitudes towards and understanding of issues of equality and of poverty over the years. As well

as identifying and recognising those successes, they also point to persistent problems of poverty leading to significant attainment gaps. Over the past decade a number of policies and strategies have been adopted by governments in Holyrood and Westminster.

In 1999 the Scottish Executive published "Social Justice – Opening the doors to a better Scotland". It was followed in 2000 by "Social Justice – A Scotland where everyone matters". These led to the publication of "Closing the Opportunity Gap", the Economic Strategy of the Scottish Executive 2003-2006. It identified poverty as a major barrier in Scotland's economic performance and to its future economic development. "Closing the Opportunity Gap" recognised that there was significant prosperity and wealth in Scotland but also significant problems of poverty affecting people and communities. It stated that people living in deprived areas were four times more likely to be unemployed than people living in prosperous areas. It also stated that

"there are unequal education and health outcomes for people depending on where they live; and where discrimination and disadvantage still affect the lives of women, people from minority ethnic communities, disabled people and people of different sexual orientation."

The aims of 'Closing the Opportunity Gap' programme, similar to the UK Government's "Opportunity for all", were to prevent families and individuals falling into poverty, provide routes out of poverty and sustain families and individuals when free from poverty. It had six objectives and ten targets, all of which were evaluated in 2006. The evaluation of this key strategy indicated varied outcomes. With regard to education, it pointed to a complex picture of the under-achievement of boys and girls, suggesting social class as the single most important determinant of poverty. It indicated some success in the formerly named NEET (Not in Employment, Education or Training) programme which has been renamed as 'More Choices, More Chances'.

"As well as achieving lower tariff scores than young women, young men in deprived areas fare worse compared to their male peers in more affluent areas than young women in deprived areas do relative to young women in more affluent areas. Again the difference by gender is not as great as the difference that is made by deprivation. For example, young men in the 15% most deprived areas achieve 67% of the national average scores for young men, whereas young women in the 15% most deprived areas achieve 70% of the national average scores for young women. However, the 30% proportional achievement gap between young women in the Most Deprived areas and young women in general is much higher than this 3% proportional achievement gap between young men and young women in the Most Deprived areas."

This disparity in relation to home environment and area also was highlighted in the 'Poverty Site' (2008) (www.poverty.org. uk) "For example, only a fifth of school leavers in Glasgow City go onto full-time higher education compared to half in East Renfrewshire, while more than a third of school leavers in Argyll & Bute, Moray and Highland go into employment compared to

a fifth in many local authority areas.... 85% of those leaving independent schools continue with their education as opposed to 55% from the publicly funded sector".

Additionally, the 'Closing the Opportunity Gap' evaluation illustrated the experience of education of 'looked after and accommodated children'. It was not a positive outcome, finding that attainment levels were unacceptably low for this group of young people. 'Getting It Right for Every Child/ Looked After Children' (Scottish Government, 2008) notes that: "Looked after children and young people face many barriers to their success in education. Many do well in school despite the difficulties faced in other aspects of their lives. However, they are much more likely than their peers to be behind in their attainment and to leave school earlier and with fewer qualifications, and are at far greater risk of being excluded from school."

The OECD review of Quality and Equity of Schooling in Scotland, 2007, which indicates that Scotland 'performs well at a consistently very high standard', referred to the need to close the poverty gap to ensure all young people can benefit from education and pointed to the link between socioeconomic background and attainment.

"The socio-economic background of students was strongly related to their attainment. There is a continuing need to tackle problems of poverty and deprivation if students are to achieve their full potential."

The Scottish Government's Economic Strategy (2007) aims to use work as a means out of poverty. It intends to make Scotland wealthier and fairer, safer and stronger, greener, healthier and smarter. In making Scotland 'smarter', it refers to health, well-being and the achievement of young people and children, to skills' levels across the population and to the outputs of universities and colleges, all of which it considers crucial to sustaining economic growth.

"Taking forward the Scottish Government Economic Strategy: a discussion paper on tackling poverty, inequalities and deprivation in Scotland" (2008) elicited a large number of responses from many organisations, individuals and communities. These responses highlighted the injustice of poverty, the failure of strategies to deal with it, the persistence of neighbourhood or community poverty, the hidden poverty of rural and urban areas and the impact of gender, disability and race on poverty. They articulated common concerns about low income, opportunities missed and lack of access to services such as health, leisure and education.

They also stressed the fact that many families and individuals are faced with impossible choices in order to survive. These are as fundamental as struggling to pay a fuel bill, eating or funding a school trip; choices, which in a wealthy country, no family should have to make. They also refer to the humiliation of poverty and its devastating impact on mental health, self-esteem and confidence all of which are fundamental to attainment and achievement in education.

#### Inequality

The Equality and Human Rights Commission believes that challenging inequalities of race/ ethnicity, age, disability, sexual orientation and gender must be integral to any strategy to challenge poverty.

The final report of the UK Government's Equalities Review published in 2007, after considerable consultation, identifies 10 dimensions of equality which are essential to ensuring a more equal society - longevity; physical security; health; education; standard of living; productive and valued activities; individual, family and social life; participation, influence and voice; identity, expression and respect; legal security.

These views are echoed in the work of the Women's National Commission, in the Scottish Women's Convention and in organisations advocating disability and LGBT rights. Voluntary sector organisations working with and on behalf of children and young people have also expressed concern about the importance of challenging inequalities.

Poverty caused by lack of income is one in equality which impacts on children.

Kate Wareing, Director for UK Poverty at Oxfam, believes, 'Child poverty will not be ended if we do not tackle the root causes of why women – particularly mothers – are poorer than men. Ending child poverty requires us to raise the income of low-paid women, end discrimination against pregnant women and mothers at work and close the gender pay gap.' (quoted in Fawcett Society press release 12 May 2008)

One reason for the gender pay gap is occupational segregation. An essential theme in the Scottish Executive's Gender Equality Scheme (2007, revised 2008 for the Scottish Government) was tackling this continuing inequality.

"Tackling occupational segregation is seen as an integral part in not only closing the gender pay gap for women but also challenging gender stereotypes and social attitudes about the role of women and men. Removing occupational segregation is seen as important in the fight against poverty and low pay.

"Tackling occupational segregation in Scotland: a report of activities from the Scottish Government Cross-Directorate Working Group" (2008) notes that women make up 67% of the workforce in the public sector and are more likely to work part-time. The report states that.

"Removing occupational segregation is important to addressing poverty and low pay as this affects many working age women."

The divide in occupations continues the divide by subjects studied by boys and girls at school and further and higher education. Engineering, Architecture, Building and Property and Information Technology are much more likely to be studied by young men. Young women are very more likely to study Family Care, Personal Development, Personal Care and Appearance, Social Care, Social Work, Youth and Community

Care and Child Care, subjects allied to Medicine, and Business, Management Office/ Administrative Studies. Entering jobs in these areas is more likely to result in lower pay.

Structural inequalities of gender, race, disability and sexual orientation within society and at school level are now recognised as making an impact on outcomes, including attainment. One important area of research has considered the impact of gender segregation in subject choice and later occupation. However, it is important to remember that gender differences throughout the whole school experience of a young person from nursery to the point of transition to work or further education may impact on career, and income. Girls are more likely to enter further or higher education than boys after leaving school, while boys are more likely to enter the categories of training, employment or unemployed and not seeking employment or training.

The different occupations and subsequently-different salaries or pay of men and women often reflect the different subjects studied by boys and girls at school and in further and higher education. Even when the attainment of girls is equal to or higher than that of boys a pay gap opens within a few short years of leaving education.

Another inequality which can affect educational opportunities is health. While there are links between child poverty and health, poverty of itself does not lead to ill-health. There are a number of complex and interacting reasons for illhealth in children. The whole circumstances of the child need to be considered, in particular, how a child is cared for and nurtured. The immediate home environment and the neighbourhood environment are important influences in achievement and attainment. The HMIE publication "Missing Out - A report on children at risk of missing out on educational opportunities" lists deprivation and poverty along with sensory impairments, language difficulties, autistic spectrum disorders as among the many factors which can hinder effective learning especially during primary and early secondary years. For young people facing problems of poverty, emotional deprivation and ill-health, additional resources have to be provided to ensure they successfully achieve at school.

The concept of achievement has been broadened with the introduction of Curriculum for Excellence. From now on young people should get 'full recognition for all their achievements - not just their exam results.' (Curriculum for Excellence LTScotland website, Feb 2010)

Whatever the outcomes a highly motivated, confident and critically reflective teaching force is central to their successful delivery. The Standard for Full Registration (General Teaching Council Scotland 2006) recognises the importance of teachers engaging with issues of social justice. It states, in section 3, Professional Values and Personal Commitment that

"registered teachers show in their day to day practice a commitment to social justice, inclusion and caring for and protecting children."

In the illustrations of professional practice of this standard it makes clear reference to respecting children regardless of their background. Teachers should

"fully respect the rights of all children and young people as defined by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 1991, the Children (Scotland) Act 1995, the Standards in Scotland's Schools Act etc 2000 and the Additional Support for Learning Act 2005."

It further requires that in order to meet this standard that teachers

"value and soundly promote fairness and justice and adopt anti-discriminatory practices in all regards, including gender, sexual orientation, race, disability, age, religion, culture and socio-economic background."

Equality is central to and must be mainstreamed throughout the Scottish education system. Despite efforts over many years, however, statistics still point to an unacceptably wide gap in the educational attainment and achievement between the most deprived and the least deprived areas of Scotland.

#### **Education and Poverty**

The OECD report "Quality and Equity of Schooling in Scotland" (2008) identified considerable strengths in the Scottish education system but also pointed to the persistent gap in achievement between the poorest and richest children and communities. These aspects of education in Scotland were also referred to in the HMIE report "Improving Scottish Education," (2009). Indeed, OECD reports throughout many years note that

"children from poorer homes are more likely to under-achieve, disengage from schoolwork, leave school earlier than others, and – if they continue - study at lower academic levels and record lower pass rates." (OECD 2008)

The OECD report of 2009, 'Education at a Glance – OECD Indicators', states that

"Socio-economic background is related to performance for at least two reasons. First, students from families with more educated parents, higher income and better material, educational and cultural resources are better placed to receive superior educational opportunities in the home environment as well as richer learning opportunities outside of the home relative to students from less-advantaged backgrounds. Second, such families often have much more choice over where they can enrol their children and choose schools where the student body is drawn from a more advantaged socio-economic background."

There is a consensus that poverty and deprivation have an impact on the ability of children and young people to access education. It is not the case, however, that socio-economic status, lack of income or poverty (however they are defined and measured) lead automatically to a lack of success at school. There is a complex interrelationship of factors which determine access to and outcomes of education. In addition to health, gender, ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation, parental attitudes specifically, the home environment generally and the attitudes of the community towards education may have an impact on education.

While lack of income may not be the cause of problems associated with poverty, it does put individuals and families at greater risk. Some of the poorest communities in Scotland have some of the most deep-rooted social problems. Crime, drugs and alcohol abuse, peer group pressure, family breakdown, domestic abuse, caring responsibilities of children and dysfunctional home environments all have a negative impact on children's ability to access and benefit from a broad-based education. Many teachers witness the disengagement of children as early as primary school due to factors within their home or community environment.

Poverty can create a sense of alienation and disengagement from formal structures like the education system which may be seen as irrelevant. Often, the causes of poverty can overwhelm individuals and communities. The home environment is a key factor in determining the educational outcomes for young people. Teachers working in schools in 'deprived' areas know there are considerable barriers to

overcome on a daily basis before teaching and learning can take place. This may involve relating to children who are unaware of how to use cutlery to eat, how to play or establish friendships or who are subject to ill-health.

Many schools serving areas of deprivation often become a central focus and resource for the community, providing more than a formal education to its young people. There is a clear understanding among teachers and parents in those communities that learning and teaching goes beyond testing, league tables, school comparisons and attainment levels. Many parents and pupils do value education highly and there are many young people who achieve success. However, a number do not.

'Destinations of Leavers from Scottish Schools (December 2008/2009)' indicates that just under 85.7% of school leavers entered 'positive destinations' i.e. higher and further education, employment, voluntary work or training. This is down from 87% in 2008. The survey shows a difference in destinations according to the area in which pupils live. Those from more deprived areas remain less likely to enter 'positive destinations'. Further analyses of these figures also reveal differences between local authorities and between schools in the private and public sector.

The data point consistently to differences in attainment according to area deprivation.

"Vulnerable school leavers, such as those from more deprived areas, with additional support needs, or looked after children, continue to be less likely to enter positive destinations."

"Staying-on in school past the minimum leaving age is a good indicator that the young person will enter a positive destination upon leaving school. Over 93 per cent of school leavers who left at the end of S6 entered a positive destination, compared with around 75 per cent of those who left at the end of S4."

"Living in one of the most deprived areas, as defined by the 2009 Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD), is a strong indicator that a school leaver is less likely to enter a positive destination. Around 75 per cent of school leavers from the ten per cent most deprived areas entered a positive destination compared with just over 93 per cent of those from the ten per cent least deprived areas. Similarly, around 14 per cent of those from the most deprived areas entered higher education, compared with over 61 per cent of those from the least deprived areas."

Aditionally school leavers with social, emotional or behavioural difficulties were the least likely to enter positive destinations at 55 per cent, (Destination of leavers from Scottish Schools, 2009). Boys are more likely to be diagnosed with social emotional and behavioural difficulties and there is a higher incidence of diagnosis of SEBD in areas of deprivation.

The Report of the National Equality Panel of Economic Inequality in the UK 2009 affirms the link between areas of multiple deprivation and low levels of attainment in all parts of the UK. It also points out the particular difficulties in urban areas which have the highest percentage of people living in poverty. The introduction to the report tellingly states

"Where only certain achievements are valued, and where large disparities in material rewards are used as the yardstick of success and failure it is hard for those who fall behind to flourish."

While attainment is important, one of the key concerns of the EIS articulated over many years has been the over-emphasis by others to measure attainment without reference to achievement or to the context in which schools operate. The 1998 Breaking Down the Barriers paper stated that

"it is essential not to reinforce a perceived cycle of failure by using crude measurements of attainment but ignoring achievement."

Now with Curriculum for Excellence this key focus on attainment which has at times contributed to the institutional factors within schools which have impeded their ability to respond to the needs of all children should disappear. Curriculum for Excellence provides for a broader understanding of attainment and achievement. It recognises 'the need to address underachievement and to provide more choices and more chances for all our children and young people, particularly those from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds.'

However, lack of money may still prevent many young people who have aspirations from remaining in education beyond 16 and achieving their full potential. The Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA) was introduced by the Government in 1999, initially as a pilot, in recognition of the fact that

"for some young people there are financial barriers to participating in education, particularly for this from low income households". (EMA – A Guide, 2008).

The full implementation of EMAs for 16 to 19 year olds from low income families occurred in session 2007-08. £33.3 million was paid out under the EMA scheme to school and colleges students who undertook a full-time course in that academic year (learners received £10, £20 or £30 a week). Around 39% of all 16-19 year olds at school received EMA support during that year (37,815 young people). Pupils and students from the most deprived areas were more likely to receive EMAs (22% of all students who received allowances were from the 15% most deprived areas in Scotland). Almost two thirds of those on the EMA scheme were at school. though more college recipients received £30 payments. (A National Statistics Publication for Scotland, Education Maintenance Allowances 2007-08 (2009)). This financial support has increased participation in post-16 education of young people from deprived areas.

#### EIS Seminar on Education and Poverty

An EIS seminar on education and poverty, held in October 2009, provided the opportunity for members of the Education and Equality Committees to explore and identify the complex issues involved. Linda Croxford, Centre for Educational Sociology, University of Edinburgh and Brian Boyd, Tapestry Partnership and Emeritus Professor of Education, University of Strathclyde addressed the seminar.

The key issues and barriers raised in the seminar discussions reflected the concerns of teachers working directly with children and families experiencing poverty. There were strong views about streaming and setting, about gender inequality, the economic situation of recent years leading to increased poverty and the increasing gap between rich and poor.

Given this context, there are implications for education at all levels as education providers are required by legislation to address differences and promote equality. It is necessary to tackle poverty, by putting equality at the core of strategies and to tackle discrimination, including in key areas such as education and employment.

In her presentation, 'Social Inequalities in Scottish Schooling', Linda Croxford noted that approaches towards educational inequalities have changed over time. A focus solely on equality of access to education may not have an impact on equality of outcomes. Research suggests that it is more difficult to achieve equality of outcomes because of different input: pupils enter the school system with different levels of advantage and disadvantage. She referred to the importance of evidence in campaigning about poverty and of data to measure the effects of policies and procedures including their unintended consequences.

She also referred to the various definitions of inequality over time; inequality of opportunity, of treatment and of outcomes. She suggested it is more difficult to achieve equality of outcomes because of the different input –

- pupils enter the school system with different levels of advantage and disadvantage
- the structures of society and schooling increase levels of advantage and disadvantage

In order to achieve equality of outcomes, a greater focus on overcoming disadvantage (e.g. early intervention and pupil support) is needed.

In order to measure and monitor equality of outcomes, better data is needed.

More recently, the focus has been on equity and fairness, e.g. Towards a Fairer Future, which looks at supporting diversity and choice. However, in her view, equality should be about outcomes, autonomy and process i.e. how individuals or institutions discriminate. The Single Equality Bill\* which was the result of the series of consultations about "Towards a Fairer Future" includes a socio-economic duty on public authorities which –

"... when making decisions of a strategic nature about how to exercise its functions, have due regard to the desirability of exercising them in a way that is designed to reduce the inequalities of outcome which result from socio-economic disadvantage."

She pointed out inequalities associated with poverty and deprivation have a cumulative effect – the gap gets wider - at each stage of schooling

- they influence baseline attainment
- prior attainment is the key factor influencing subsequent progress
- then after taking account of prior attainment, pupils in poverty and deprivation make less progress on average than their peers

Inequalities operate at a number of levels of the education system. How we explain the effects of poverty on education will influence the types of strategies we will put in place – and explanations occur at different levels e.g. a teacher may see the problem in terms of an individual child and explain the problem in terms of poor parenting or drug abuse. Others may see the failure of the school to recognise and support particular needs, or the effects of social segregation within the community, or the pre-occupation with academic achievement at system-level. Sometimes the focus on between-school differences obscures problems withinschool. Often quality assurance and HMIE place emphasis on attainment and compare schools. Such an approach ignores strategies to deal with poverty and prevents innovation.

She suggested that the EIS should consider effects and explanations at different levels – school, individual and system; the cumulative effects of inequalities at each stage and the widening gap; who gains and who loses most from the education system and why do inequalities persist in Scottish education.

In Brian Boyd's presentation entitled 'Breaking the link between poverty and under-achievement', he stated that the EIS needs to be bold and needs to confront contentious issues. He believes it is not an option to ignore poverty and under-achievement. There are moral and legal imperatives. It is necessary to target resources where they can make most impact and to bring about cultural change. He emphasised the importance of examining the research evidence. He referred to two views of education. One perspective, according to Bernstein is that "schools cannot compensate for society", another is from Rutter et al that "schools make a difference."

He stressed the importance of recognising the nature of the problem. Poverty accounts for 85% of the variance in achievement across schools, with the school effect being responsible for 15%. The connection between poverty and achievement is not a new phenomenon but there are no causal links necessarily and certainly no easy answers. In looking for evidence it is important to look at what has been done in early years' strategies and local authority initiatives

to tackle deprivation. It is also important to look at examples from abroad. The more evidence the stronger the case which can be presented.

He believed there is evidence against Setting. The impact of Setting is life long and it is anti-inclusive having a disproportionate impact on minority groups. It creates mindsets about ability which are difficult to break once established. He also suggested that Setting is challengeable under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, The Children's Act (1995) and the Education (Scotland) Act (2000). It is not the case that all pupils are valued equally in a system which insists on Setting.

If the EIS wants to contribute to ending the impact of poverty and deprivation on education, he stated that it must challenge existing belief systems. He suggested that it is necessary to develop a twenty year, strategic plan for the nation's schools; invest in schools, use surplus teachers to support schemes to tackle disadvantage; attract the best teachers and leaders to disadvantaged schools; ban the practice of setting by prior attainment; introduce successful pedagogical practices and CPD structures to support teachers and make the education process more seamless.

\* The Single Equality Bill passed into law as the Equality Act 2010

#### Examples of good work

A request by the Equality Committee to the 32 EIS local associations for information about policies and initiatives to address issues of poverty and access to education in their areas produced a list of very similar interventions. Most are based on Scottish Government and local authority policies and strategies as well as education and equality legislation e.g. Raising Achievement, Getting It Right for Every Child, Achieving our Potential, Additional support for Learning (Scotland) Act, Standards in Scotland's Schools Act etc. Many of them are exciting and innovative, demonstrating clearly the quality of teachers within Scottish education. They have been instrumental in changing parent, pupil and community attitudes towards education in areas of deprivation, thereby benefiting the most disadvantaged pupils. They have raised attainment and achievement for many individuals. The level of commitment, energy and enthusiasm of staff at all stages, and across the country, in ensuring success is clear. What is also clear is the vulnerability of such strategies to short term funding and to cuts at a time of constraint. When initiatives are not mainstreamed into schools as part of core provision it is difficult for them to be retained. It is not acceptable to expect teachers and allied professionals, voluntary groups and others, working in their own time, or spending their own money, to carry the burden of, or expectations of, educational change required by governments.

#### Some initiatives identified

- Extra staffing in Areas of Disadvantage
- Smaller class sizes
- Early Intervention strategies
- Nurture clubs
- Breakfast clubs
- · Learning Centres which focus on healthy eating
- Multi-agency interventions
- School clubs
- · Outdoor activities
- Eco schools
- Parental involvement
- Community involvement
- Specific interventions for most vulnerable groups e.g. looked after and accommodated children and young people
- Pupil and family support workers
- Free and healthy school meals

#### Conclusions and recommendations

The EIS believes that education is the right of every child. The success of education for most of Scotland's young people is recognised world wide and Scotland's teachers should be proud of that achievement.

Regrettably, it is also recognised that there is a persistent socio-economic divide which denies some young people this right.

There is no doubt that a complex interaction between social and economic factors has an impact on children and young people's ability to access education successfully exists. Neither is there any doubt that there has been considerable effort and commitment at a variety of levels to address these serious issues.

Educators and policy makers must assess strategies, policies and initiatives to determine their impact at different levels. It is important to evaluate whether or not they have an impact on attitudes and structures or if they reinforce failure of access to a largely exclusive system of education. It is important to address systemic issues like assessment, the value society puts on all learning and education, and the definition of mainstream education.

As Curriculum for Excellence develops in our schools and colleges, we can work to make the curriculum we teach more relevant - and thereby more engaging - and continue to build the confidence and skills of the most disadvantaged children and young people and help them to gain qualifications. However, they will need more than evidence of achievement and attainment when they leave school if they are to avoid poverty in their future lives.

Cuts in public expenditure are already taking their toll on service provision including that of education in local authorities throughout Scotland. It is a matter of major concern that these have a disproportionate impact on those in society who are most vulnerable and least able to influence events.

The EIS believes Government at UK and Scottish level must take responsibility for closing the gap between aspiration and reality. Until there is a significant challenge to the global economic structures which perpetuate and depend on socio-economic difference, interventions will remain at the individual and community level, and will be limited in what they can achieve.

## There are a number of important challenges for the EIS.

#### The EIS

#### Believes that

- Education is a right not dependent on socio-economic status, income, gender, race, disability or sexual orientation
- As children progress through the education system, it becomes more difficult to address problems in literacy and numeracy, and any disengagement with education
- Curriculum for Excellence is a new context for education, providing the opportunity to move away from the singular focus on attainment that has been detrimental to pupils and schools
- Setting and streaming should be challenged
- Education is an investment in society. Key responsibility for tackling issues does not lie exclusively with schools and teachers but also with politicians, local and national, who determine economic and fiscal policy.

#### Recognises that

- It is essential to create the conditions in schools to ensure that mixed ability teaching and all its benefits can be fully realised
- It is important to tackle the 'target driven culture' and value instead the progress of the whole pupil
- The structure of a school time table can have an impact on how teachers engage with pupils, monitor their progress and attendance
- Successful pilots which are introduced to improve educational aspirations need to be rolled out on a fullyfunded basis
- It is important to fully examine institutional reasons why some children and young people struggle to engage successfully with the formal education structure.
- Early years' education is regarded as the most important stage in a person's educational journey.
- Setting and/or streaming is common in certain subjects and is supported by influential groups including HMIE.
   Little research evidence supports the belief that these forms of classroom organisation can benefit all children.
   On the contrary, there is considerable evidence to suggest setting and streaming are not inclusive.

#### Recommends that

- Targeting expenditure and restoring ring-fencing for education is essential to address specific issues of poverty
- The EIS policy on class size should be promoted widely as an important statement of principle
- There must be a challenge to HMIE on their approach to evaluating how schools address inequality including poverty
- EIS policy on setting and streaming be reaffirmed
- Detailed research should be undertaken on the social contexts of schools in order to develop clear anti-poverty strategies at school and authority level.
- A more targeted and focused approach to funding be should be taken, especially for schools in areas of deprivation
- Understanding the nature of and the impact of poverty and deprivation is essential for teachers. This should be part of what is offered in Initial Teacher Education and also in continuing professional development
- It is necessary to examine fully through research whether or not education as a whole, given its organisation, data collection, identification and labelling of 'the poor', contributes to the persistence of poverty.

#### Recommends also

- Support for the development of a twenty-year strategic plan for schools
- Support for the socio-economic duty as contained in the Single Equality Act
- Support for full funding in all local authorities for Curriculum for Excellence

#### Appendix 1

Linda Croxford presentation to the EIS Poverty Seminar 31/10/09



#### **Social Inequalities in Scottish schooling**

Linda Croxford Centre for Educational Sociology University of Edinburgh

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#### What do we mean by (in)equality?

efinitions have changed over time

- equality of opportunity eg comprehensive education
- equality of treatment
- equality of outcomes
- 'equity' (fairness) eg OECD Review
- equality of autonomy in the degree of choice and
- equality of process treatment/discrimination by individuals, groups, institutions or systems

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#### The UK context



Public sector duties - public bodies incl. schools

- Race equality duty (introduced 2000 after McPherson report which identified institutional racism in police)
- Disability equality duty (2006)
- Gender equality duty (2007)

Precise duties vary across the types of equality (and countries of GB) but generally include

- Eliminate discrimination
- Provide equality of opportunity
- Promote good relations, attitudes, participation
- Specific duties (eg monitoring, codes, training)

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#### The UK context

Aims of presentation

inequalities

Review 2007

• To outline changing definitions of educational

• To emphasise the need to understand - and

Scottish education- drawing on a range of

explain - inequalities at different levels

• To demonstrate the persistence of

inequalities in Scottish education

Fairness & Freedom: the Equalities

"An equal society protects and promotes equal,

real freedom and substantive opportunity to

live in the ways people value and would

An equal society recognises people's different

needs, situations and goals and removes the

barriers that limit what people can do and can

choose, so that everyone can flourish.

• To demonstrate cumulative inequalities in



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Commission on Equality and Human Rights Statutory body, replaced separate commissions (2007)

- To protect, enforce and promote equality across seven
- areas age, disability, gender, race, religion and belief, sexual orientation and gender reassignment
- GB body with Scottish Committee and office

#### Single Equality Bill

- In 2011, existing duties will be subsumed into a 'single equality duty' - covering 7 areas
- New socio-economic duty

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Measuring inequalities in socioeconomic outcomes



At what levels should we measure inequalities?

- pupil-level
- school-level
- community-level
- system/society-level

Linked to explanations of inequality eg individual failure or system failure?

Linked to policies for addressing inequalities eg parenting classes, focused funding or curriculum change **CES** 

Measuring inequalities in socioeconomic outcomes

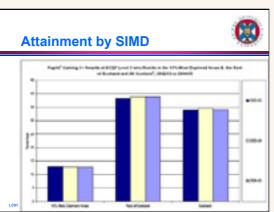


Aspects measured also influence explanations/policies

- Poverty entitlement to free school meals or clothing grants - pupil and school level indicators
- Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) concentrations of deprivation
- Advantage; % of mothers with degree-level education in catchment – used to create comparator schools for STACS
- Social class of parents' occupation used by SSLS allows us to see who gains most from school system

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**Equal opportunities in Scottish** schooling



Scotland has long prided itself on its egalitarian education system, & "opportunity for all"

- long history of public provision
- comprehensive system
- reforms of curriculum and qualifications

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#### **OECD Review of "Quality and Equity of Schooling in Scotland"**



- Overall relatively high levels of attainment but very
- Challenge of achievement gap that widens P5 onwards
- Association of underachievement with low socioeconomic status and poorer communities
- Inequalities in post-16 participation and pass rates
- Too many young people leave school with minimal qualifications and enter precarious transitions

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#### Where do inequalities start?

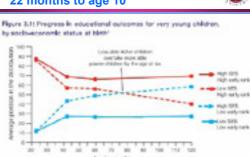


- P5 onwards?
- A key source for OECD review was PISA data (pupils aged 15)
- Lack of data at primary and early secondary stages misled the review team
- Inequalities start in early years and the gap widens thereafter

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Research on inequalities at start of primary school





- Baseline Assessment introduced as part of Early Intervention Programme in some local authorities
- Analysis demonstrated attainment gap associated with poverty and area deprivation is evident at start of primary
- · Analysis of progress demonstrated the attainment gap widens in course of primary school

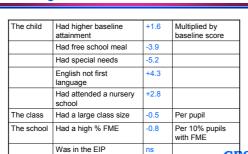
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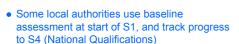
## Net effects of factors on baseline reading scores in P1, 1998

The child	Was male	-2.1	
	Younger than average	-0.5	Per month
	Had free school meal	-5.0	
	Had special needs	-7.0	
	English not first language	-6.9	
	Had attended nursery school	+2.8	
The school	Had high %FME	-1.3	Per 10% of pupils with FME
	Was in EIP	-7.2	

#### Net effects on progress in reading in P1 1998-99



#### Similar evidence at start of secondary school



- In one authority, value-added analysis demonstrated attainment gap associated with poverty and area deprivation widens S1-S2 and S1-S4
- School differences relatively small once prior attainment and poverty taken into account

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#### **Evidence from the Scottish** School Leavers' Survey (SSLS)

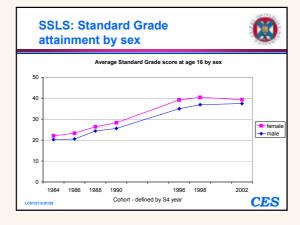


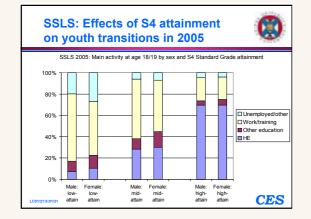
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- Commissioned by Scottish Government from 1970s to 2007 – now discontinued Nationally representative data on young people's
- education and post-school transitio
- Provided evidence of effects of gender, social class and school context on curriculum, attainment, attitudes and aspirations, post-16 participation, entry to higher education, experiences in the labour market
- Long-term trends shown by time-series data from surveys 1985-2005

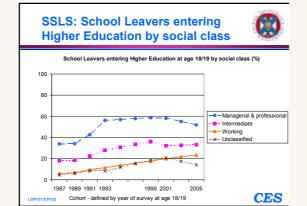
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### **SSLS: Standard Grade** attainment by social class Average Standard Grade score at age 16 by social class 1984 1986 1988 1990 1996 1998 Cohort - defined by S4 year **CES**





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Segregation between schools



- Social segregation between schools undermines the comprehensive system
- Greater segregation in cities
- Segregation in Scotland as a whole lower in 2002
- Segregation in cities pre-dated parental choice and has not declined
- Segregation influences school-context which has additional effects on each pupil's attainment

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How can we measure social inequalities without SSLS?

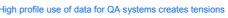


- The SSLS has been valuable for highlighting inequalities in the system and evaluating policies
- SSLS discontinued what potential of administrative sources?
- Are existing data on social inequalities adequate? Is there scope for using data collected by schools and local
- Most data used for performance management & Quality
- How are they analysed?
- Can data be used more effectively to identify and address problems arising from social inequalities? (eg Early Intervention)

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#### **Dilemmas created by quality** assurance systems



- Fear of league tables has been an obstacle to improving assessment in primary stages
- Comparison between schools hides inequalities within schools
- Pressure to improve performance indicators can exacerbate inequalities (eg setting)
- Focus on performance indicators can be a barrier to innovation Better data on inequalities – linked to outcomes - are needed to
- evaluate effects of policy and practice

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#### Finally

EIS investigation of "Poverty and Education" should

- Effects and explanations at different levels: individual, school, system etc
- Cumulative effects of inequalities at each stage and the widening gap
- Who gains and who loses most from education
- Why do inequalities persist in Scottish education?

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For further information see

http://www.ces.ed.ac.uk/

**CES** 

#### Appendix 2

Brian Boyd presentation to the EIS Poverty Seminar 31/10/09

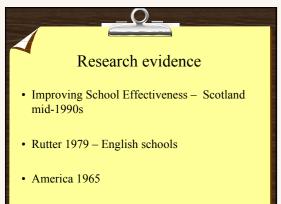
EIS POVERTY SEMINAR Breaking the link between poverty and underachievement Is schooling part of the problem or part of the solution?

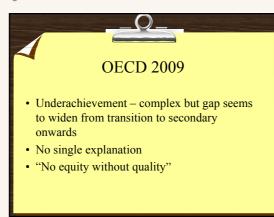
Advance organiser Tackling this issue is not an option; there are legal and moral imperatives Recognise the nature of the problem; acknowledge our successes and our failures Look at the evidence...from practice and research · Identify good practice...from Scotland and beyond Change the culture where necessary and target resources where they can make most impact

Perspectives "Education cannot compensate for society" (Bernstein)

"Schools make a difference" (Rutter et al)

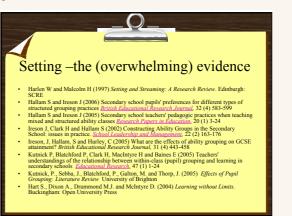
Recognise the nature of the problem Poverty accounts for 85% of the variance in achievement across The school effect is estimated at 15% Poverty/underachievement connection: not a new phenomenon no easy answers



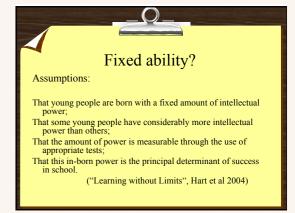


Evidence from practice LA initiatives Family Support Nurture groups Supported Study...a cautionary tale? Views from abroad

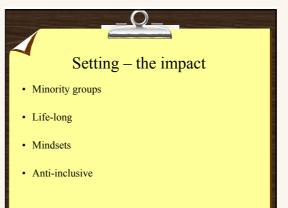
The pernicious, self-fulfilling prophecy of the 'normal curve' Setting.....the elephant in the room?



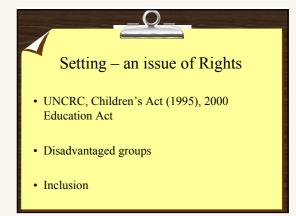
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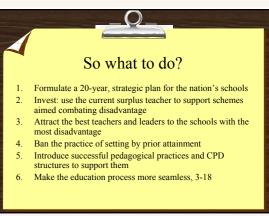


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Dorothy Finlay Addie Thomson
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