EDINA Country Report – UK (England)

INTRODUCTION

EDINA GoPro (EDucation of International Newly Arrived migrant pupils - Professionalization of teachers for higher proficiency of pupils) is an Erasmus+ project funded from 2019-2022 by the European Commission to build on the results obtained by the EDINA project (2015-18) by focusing on the development of teachers' professional skills in the participating European countries. Through cooperation between local/provincial authorities, schools and researchers from the Netherlands (Utrecht and Rotterdam), Belgium (Ghent and Liège), the United Kingdom (Leeds) and Spain (Oviedo), EDINA GoPro aims:

1) to promote the exchange of good practices by developing an innovative methodology,

2) to draw a more precise picture of the reception of newly arrived migrant students (NAMS) in Europe, by writing and updating country reports,

3) to fully exploit the toolset already available on the EDINA website, by designing a training module to develop specific teachers' competencies useful to optimize the reception, observation, transition and differentiation processes for NAMS, and

4) to provide new online tools for teachers.

By helping not only language teachers but also teachers from other fields to understand and rely on the intercultural and interlinguistic processes at work in diverse classrooms, the modular program of EDINA GoPro will develop tools for the education of newcomer pupils in a way that is in line with their cognitive abilities, so that they will be able to exploit their full potential.

This report into the reception, integration and assessment of NAMS in UK (particularly English) schools has been compiled by the Leeds-based team in fulfilment of aim (2). It begins with a brief summary of the national picture as regards refugee, asylum-seeking and other migrant students, and a summary of the key themes which emerge in their experiences of education in the UK. It then telescopes in on a single case study region (Yorkshire and Humber) and on the city of Leeds as a case study municipality. It explores the relevant policy at the national, regional and local levels, and uses interviews with teachers from school and key figures in the city council and local NGOs and community organisations, to examine how this policy is translated into practice on the ground. Key themes explored are the allocation, assessment and integration of young people in schools, and the availability of specialised teacher training in EAL and supporting the needs of NAMS.

The consideration that drives this report is one identified by Kakos and Sharma-Bryant (2018: 1): namely, that for young people entering the UK as asylum seekers, refugees or migrants of any kind, 'education is the most effective pathway that ensures social inclusion, financial security in future, access to careers and jobs, a reasonable standard of living and quality of life'.

NEWLY ARRIVED MIGRANT STUDENTS IN THE UK: THE STORY IN NUMBERS

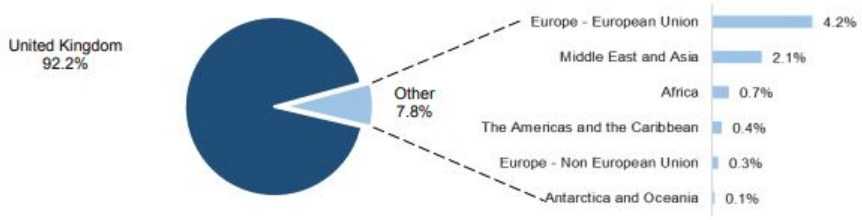
Schools in the UK have a relatively long history of integrating newly arrived migrant students (NAMS), because numbers of migrants have been considerable for many years. The overall statistics for migration indicate why many schools are receiving a steady increase in migrant students from outside the EU, and in particular in the numbers of young people from refugee or asylum seeking families.

The Office of National Statistics (ONS 2020) reports that both immigration to, and emigration from, the UK has remained broadly stable during the period 2016-2020 – with 642,000 immigrating and 402,000 emigrating during the year ending September 2019 – although patterns differ for EU migration (declining) and non-EU migration (increasing). In 2020 the largest inflows of migrants to the UK were from the following countries:

- India (58,000)
- China (52,000)
- Italy (27,000)
- USA (26,000)
- Romania (26,000)

Ascertaining the numbers and countries of origin of NAMS relies on a variety of data sources. The Office of National Statistics (2019) reports the proportion of children in state-funded UK schools who were born outside the UK: 7% in primary schools and 10% in secondary schools. The proportion is markedly highest in London boroughs than in other regions of the UK, although there is huge variation within regions. For two academic years (2016-17 and 2017-18) the government required schools to gather data on the countries of origin of all pupils. As not all schools complied with the request, the government considers the data to slightly underestimate the proportion of children born outside the UK, however they show the spread of countries of origin:

Figure 2: Percentage of pupils[3] with a classified country of birth[2] split by geographical region[5] January 2018



The cohort of children whose first language is other than English overlaps only partly with the cohort of NAMS, but the data here suggest a steadily rising long-term trend: the proportion of pupils with English as an Additional Language (EAL) in UK primary schools has risen from 12.5% in 2006 to 21.2% in 2019; in secondary schools it has risen from 9.7% in 2006 to 16.9% in 2019 (DoE 2019). Data gathered by the

Department for Education (2018) enables an understanding of the spread of language proficiency of students with EAL:

Figure 5: Percentage of EAL pupils[3] by proficiency in English assessment[2,7], January 2017 and January 2018

Children with (or seeking) protected status: asylum seekers and refugees

During the year ending December 2019, the UK granted forms of protection to a total of 20,703 people via asylum (12,565 people), humanitarian protection (1241 people), alternative forms of leave (1285) and resettlement (5612 people), which represents an overall increase of 30% on the previous year and brings these levels to their highest since 2003 (ONS 2020). The most common nationalities of people seeking asylum in the UK in 2018 were Iran, Iraq, Eritrea, Pakistan and Albania (Migration Observatory 2019). In 2019 there were particular increases in asylum applications from people from Iran, Albania and Eritrea (Home Office 2019).

Roughly 40% of people granted some form of protection are children (Home Office 2019), thus over 8000 children during 2019; since 2010, the UK has granted some form of protection to 41,000 children (Home Office 2020). Over half the 18,000 people resettled under the Vulnerable Persons' Resettlement Scheme since 2014 have been children. Unaccompanied asylum seeking children (UASC) accounted for 10% of all asylum applications (over 300 applications) in the year ending March 2019 (Home Office 2019). The Home Office (2020) declares itself to be 'absolutely committed to the family reunion of refugee families' and to have 'reunited over 27,000 family members with refugees in the UK in the last five years', including 3000 refugee family reunion visas issued to children.

NAMS' mobility: National Transfer Scheme and circular migrant children

The National Transfer Scheme (also called National Referral Mechanism), launched in 2016, provides for the transfer of UASC from one local authority to another, so as to relieve the pressure on authorities supporting larger numbers of UASC. In the scheme's first year, 555 children were transferred under this scheme. However, it has proved controversial since delays and flawed information resulted in disruption to children's lives and education, and even in the disappearance of some children (Bulman 2018); indeed recent data on the total numbers of young people involved in the scheme are difficult to obtain.

A significant number of migrant young people in the UK belong to families which can be classified as 'circular migrant': travelling repeatedly between their countries of origin and the UK according to work opportunities. The majority of these families have tended to originate from the Indian subcontinent (Pakistan, India and Bangladesh) (Joxhe 2017); however, recent data on either numbers of children involved, or countries or origin is very difficult to obtain.

NATIONAL CONTEXT AND HEADLINE TRENDS

The following themes recur repeatedly in this report and are key to understanding the experience of NAMS in the UK:

'Super-diversity': Vertovec (2007) has coined the term 'super-diversity' to characterise the complex, diverse demographics and transnationally-connected social dynamics of UK society. Thus, for many years a high proportion of classrooms have included children from a range of diverse backgrounds, including NAMS. Teaching NAMS and supporting their language development has thus been regarded as a normal part of teachers' jobs to a greater extent than in many EU countries, with the paradoxical result that many feel they have not received appropriate specific training in supporting them.

Inclusion: The UK does not, by and large, make use of special 'reception' classrooms to support NAMS in their cognitive and language development; rather there is an emphasis on immediate inclusion.

Monolingual habitus: Despite the prevalence of languages other than English in UK society, and the existence of other indigenous languages (e.g. Welsh, Gaelic), English is the *de facto* official language (except in Wales and Scotland where Welsh and Gaelic have official language status). The English education system has a strongly monolingual habitus, in which the dominance of Standard English is largely unchallenged.

'Thin' policy framework: There is comparatively little explicit national policy to guide local authorities' or schools' responses to NAMS, leading to very high variability and diverse practices. Policy is also devolved to the assemblies of the separate UK nations (Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland) so the claims made in this report are largely relevant only to England. Policy is filtered down to local authorities and schools by regional umbrella bodies.

Decentralised education system: The influence of local authorities over education has decreased rapidly during the past decade, through the UK government's academisation and 'free school' programmes. Academies and free schools are largely responsible for their own curriculum, pedagogy and administration, including how they welcome and integrate NAMS. Many academies are part of chains or school clusters, resulting in a very diverse picture whereby there is excellent practice in some chains/clusters and weak practice in others.

Austerity: Cuts to all publicly funded sectors since 2008 have resulted in funding shortages not only in education and local authorities, but also in other organisations involved in the support of NAMS, such as child and adolescent mental health (CAMHS) and housing services. This results in a lack of specialist

services to support UASC or other groups of NAMS (RSN/UNICEF 2018) as well as generally oversubscribed services, and delays to young people's entry into school. Schools receive no specific funding to support NAMS, although they have the discretion to make use of targeted funds linked to the prevalence of disadvantage among their students bodies (called Pupil Premium Plus, Pupil Equity Fund and Pupil Development Grant) for this purpose.

Discourses on migration: As in many European countries, there exist complex competing discourses on migration in the UK public sphere. Hostility to immigration both from EU and non-EU countries is fairly widespread, bolstered by a print media which is largely anti-immigration. However, anti-racist, anti-radicalisation, pro-diversity and pro-inclusion discourses are strong within education.

Partnership: The range of stakeholders involved in integration of NAMS into the education system is broad, including:

- Long established organisations NALDIC, Nassea, Bell Foundation, which provide much of the national leadership on good practice in EAL teaching;
- Local authorities and the partnerships they coordinate; academy chains; individual schools;
- Professionals supporting UASCs: social workers, VSH, Independent Reviewing Ocers, school admissions officers and Special Educational Needs (SEN) departments;
- Virtual Schools for young people awaiting school places;
- Supplementary schools and community organisations (e.g. providing homework clubs translation, support services);
- Non-government organisations (NGOs) supporting families in the process of accessing education, e.g. The Children's Society, Refugee Council, British Red Cross;
- CAMHS services and educational psychologists.

The diversity, complementarity and patchwork nature of the landscape of statutory and voluntary services supporting migrant young people and their families is indicated by the map maintained by the Migrant and Refugee Children's Legal Unit at https://miclu.org/servicesmap

Obstacles: The three main obstacles to integration of NAMS located within the education system identified by RSN/UNICEF (2018) are

1) a lack of readily available places for NAMS with SEN;

2) a strongly assessment-driven educational culture, leading to a reluctance of schools to admit students at the upper-secondary level, due to fear of negatively influencing results profiles;

3) the demanding process of appeal to the Secretary of State when young people are refused a place in an academy school (in comparison to non-academy schools which are under local authority control).

Other sources discussed in this report identify additional educational obstacles, notably a lack of specific EAL training for teachers, a lack of support funding for NAMS, and the relative inflexibility of the

education system, which rarely allows NAMS to repeat a school year to give them time to catch up with their peers.

Beyond the education system, specific barriers affecting refugee and asylum seeking young people's education include lack of support for families' basic needs, 'challenges resulting from being placed in temporary initial accommodation (for children in asylum seeking families); participation (for UASC) in the National Transfer Scheme, when delays occur; mental health difficulties and ongoing age assessments' (RSN/UNICEF 2020).

THE ENGLISH EDUCATION SYSTEM: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Education is compulsory in the UK for all children aged between 5 and 16 years (4-16 years in Northern Ireland). The five stages of education throughout the UK are Early Years (ages 2-5), Primary (ages 5-11), Secondary (ages 11-16), Further Education (ages 16-adult) and Higher Education (ages 18+). The education system also employs the organising principle of 'key stages': Early Years and Foundation Stage (ages 2-5), Key Stage 1 (ages 5-7), Key Stage 2 (ages 7-11), Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14), Key Stage 4 (ages 14-16) and Key Stage 5 (ages 16-18).

Children are entitled to free nursery education from either age 2 or 3, depending on their socioeconomic circumstances, and almost all children attend nursery every weekday at the age of 3-4. At 16 young people take national examinations called General Certificates of Secondary Education (GCSEs) and at 18 most take either A-levels (academic qualifications) or a range of vocational options. English schools follow a National Curriculum and are examined on their delivery of it, as well as on all other aspects of their administration, by the government's school inspection service, OFSTED (the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills). The curriculum in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland differs in key ways from that followed in England; this report concentrates primarily on the situation in England.

The majority of schools are 'maintained' and under partial or full control of local authorities. There also exist 'voluntary aided' faith schools and grammar schools, which are also state-funded, and a minority (approx. 7%) of children attend private schools which are funded by parental fees. School admissions are determined by a combination of parental choice, geographically delineated school 'catchment' areas, and special factors affecting certain children such as special educational needs (SEN) or religious denomination. Schools which are under-subscribed may be flexible in their admissions policy.

School funding is determined by a formula in which schools receive funding according to the number of pupils they educate, with a 'pupil premium' awarded for pupils in categories of specific deprivation, vulnerability (e.g. being in local authority care) or special educational need. It is within headteachers' own discretion to decide how to make use of these funds.

Since 2000 the UK government has pursued a policy of academisation, aimed at raising standards, under which schools are encouraged to become academies and join together in either school 'clusters', multi-

academy trusts, or 'chains' run by the private or social enterprise sector. As Kakos and Sharma-Bryner (2018: 6) explain:

> Academies set their own standards of student and staff performance, are largely free from the control of their Local Authority, have the freedom to set their own pay and conditions for their staff, have the freedom to decide the delivery of the curriculum, and the term period of schooling.

Schools can also be compelled to academise if they are judged by OFSTED to be failing under local authority control. As of January 2019, 72.3% of secondary pupils and 29.7% of primary pupils in England attended academies (Roberts and Danechi 2019). Two characteristics of academies which are particularly relevant to this report are their freedom to determine their own admissions policies, and the diversity of their pedagogical and teacher training approaches.

CASE STUDY REGIONAL CONTEXT: YORKSHIRE AND HUMBER

Yorkshire and Humber is a region of northern England with a total population of 5,479,600 people in 2018, concentrated in cities of which the largest are Leeds, Sheffield and Bradford, but also distributed across a large rural hinterland. Depending on which measure of immigration is used, 31,900-39,900 new long-term immigrants (expected to stay more than a year) arrived in Yorkshire and Humber in 2018 (Migration Yorkshire 2019), and net migration was approximately 20,000; the region's cities receive the vast majority of this immigration. The Office of National Statistics (ONS) predicts that this number will fall to 9200 per year in the coming years. Short-term migrants, including international students, are additional to this figure; there were 13,250 during 2017. Overall, the proportion of people in the region with a nationality other than British is 9%. 14% of the region's secondary school pupils, and 18% of primary pupils, have a first language other than English (Migration Yorkshire 2019).

The Home Office reports that in April 2019, 5,738 people were awaiting the results of an asylum decision in Yorkshire and the Humber, of whom 260 were unaccompanied asylum-seeking children (UASC) (Migration Yorkshire 2019). People seeking asylum are distributed across 11 local authorities throughout the region by the UK Government's dispersal scheme. Refugees in the region include those settled under the Syrian Resettlement Programme and the Gateway Resettlement Programme.

The umbrella organisation responsible for filtering policy from national government down to local authorities and schools is Migration Yorkshire. Its services include policy bulletins, data to support planning of services, research, legal advice, information for those supporting UASCs, recruitment of foster carers, and networking of local authorities and organisations.

CASE STUDY MUNICIPAL CONTEXT: LEEDS

Leeds is Yorkshire and Humber's largest city, with a population of 798,200. Migration Yorkshire's data reveal that migration to Leeds continues to increase, with net migration of 4100 in 2018 (though this is likely to decrease dramatically in the wake of Brexit), with the majority of migrants originating from Romania, India, Italy and Poland. Leeds' overall diversity exceeds the national average as well as the Yorkshire and Humber average. 23% of primary school pupils and 17% of secondary pupils had a first language other than English. In 2018 the city hosted 830 asylum seekers, of whom 55 were UASC (Migration Yorkshire 2019b).

It has not been possible to obtain statistics on the mobility of NAMS in Leeds (e.g. through circular migration or the National Transfer Scheme), however teachers and other stakeholders interviewed noted that there are considerable numbers of young people present in the city for relatively short periods, which causes challenges in assessing them, integrating them into education, and accrediting their learning.

Within the Yorkshire and Humber region, Leeds is considered to be a centre of relatively good practice, having developed a dense network of local partnerships to maximise resources in supporting newly arrived families. Indeed Leeds has been awarded City of Sanctuary status (a process laid out at cityofsanctuary.org). The headquartering of Migration Yorkshire in the building of Leeds City Council facilitates intensive partnership working. The council-led Leeds Migration Partnership coordinates the efforts of all local organisations active in Leeds to support newly arrived families, while the smaller Leeds Migration Taskforce provides day-to-day coordination of those organisations most closely involved in this work. The Leeds Refugee Forum provides a coordinating function for all the numerous refugee community groups. Charities My Bright Kite, the British Red Cross, Leeds Asylum Seekers Support Network, City of Sanctuary, Positive Action for Refugees and Asylum Seekers, and the Refugee Council run a range of services and initiatives in partnership with communities, schools and statutory organisations. The council provides Welcome Packs for newly arrived families, a Migrant Community Networkers' Training Programme, and an award-winning Migrant Access Project to support community development.

Challenges faced by Leeds include:

- A lack of school places, and a strong clustering effect whereby NAMS are concentrated in particular schools known to offer good support, or to be popular with particular communities, which can result in certain schools becoming overwhelmed and without financial resources to cope.
- The relative inaccessibility of training in EAL for most teachers, depending on the priorities of their school or academy chain, as schools prioritise training
- A general lack of funds available even for basic support services for newly arrived families. The predominant pattern is one of great resourcefulness and goodwill-based cooperation (often on a shoestring budget) between the council, NGOs, grassroots community organisations and in many cases schools, with considerable blurring of the boundaries between the statutory and voluntary sectors. However this approach is heavily dependent on the energies of particular

organisations and individuals, and results in gaps in provision, as will be discussed in greater detail below.

PRIMARY RESEARCH

As stated in the introduction to this report, the research methodology followed consists of bringing together desk-based research with primary research so as to examine how policy is enacted in practice at local level, and to understand the reasons for any gaps between policy and practice. Interviews were held with key figures at a school in Leeds, Lawnswood School. Our intention had been to interview staff from a primary school in addition to this, however given schools' need to prioritise their communities' needs during the COVID-19 crisis it proved impossible to make contact with a further school. Mitigating this limitation is the fact that Anna Mason, the school's EAL coordinator, has extensive contact with other schools throughout the region through her consultancy work with Leeds City Council, and through the EAL training she offers to trainee teachers and as Continuing Professional Development for established teachers. This allows her to contextualise Lawnswood's approach with that of other schools.

Lawnswood School is a comprehensive, mixed secondary school with 1035 pupils aged 11-18. Its student body is relatively deprived, with higher than average proportions of pupils qualifying for the pupil premium. It also has much higher than average proportions of pupils from minority ethnic groups and with EAL. The school is a member of a cluster of schools named the Red Kite Teaching Alliance and is judged by OFSTED to be a 'good' school. Unlike many schools in which coordination of EAL is just part of a member of staff's job description, Lawnswood employs a full-time EAL coordinator and specialist teaching assistants (TAs). Both because of the support it is known to provide to NAMS and because it is under-subscribed, the school welcomes a large number of migrant students each year, and regards them as an enriching asset to the school. Interviews were held with:

- Anna Mason, EAL Coordinator, Lawnswood School, 02/03/2020
- Anna Mason, EAL Coordinator, Lawnswood School, 22/11/2017
- Sarah Davies, teacher of English, Lawnswood School, 02/03/2020
- Jo Bell, Headteacher, Lawnswood School, 22/11/2017

In addition, it was possible to draw on interviews held in 2017-18 with key figures in the local authority and local NGOs/community organisations, and to update these rich data by using more recent sources to cross-check interviewees' observations. The following were interviewed:

- Sadiya Salim, Leeds Children's Services, 01/02/2018
- Pria Bhabra, Migrant Access Project, Leeds City Council, 17/02/2018
- Ali Mahgoub, Leeds Refugee Forum, 03/12/2017

REGULATORY AND POLICY FRAMEWORK

Kakos and Sharma-Bryant (2018) provide a comprehensive overview of the legal situation of asylum-seeking and refugee (RAS) young people in the UK, and how this impacts upon their access to education.

UK policy is guided by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and local authorities' obligations to RAS children are clearly set out; for example, UACS should have a Personal Education Plan initiated within ten days, be allocated to a good quality school or college within 20 days, and be accorded the highest possible admissions priority (RSN/UNICEF 2018).

Other key policy includes the National Transfer Scheme, which since July 2016 has allowed for the transfer of UACS between local authorities so as to alleviate pressure on individual authorities, and the Vulnerable Persons'/Children's Resettlement Scheme, which resettles refugees from identified countries. UACS are, since 2018, entitled to legal aid to assist in claiming and protecting their rights.

However, an overarching theme highlighted by Kakos and Sharma-Bryant is the frequency of changes to policy in relation to RAS young people, resulting in uncertainty around organisational responsibilities and inconsistencies in their treatment:

> The experience of how the family of a RAS child can access education and respond to it is much related to the changes in the law that filter down to the policy level, withdrawal of funding in schools due to such changes in policies, start of new programmes that don't have a clear understanding in vision, aims and delivery, rushed and inadequately time-framed activities related to language skills and difficulties in understanding the welfare society. (2018: 13)

A further characteristic of the policy landscape is that policy is filtered through to local authorities and schools by regional umbrella bodies such as Migration Yorkshire; local authority officers may not be aware of the details of a policy change affecting young people unless regional bodies pass it on to them, and schools are often further along in this chain of policy.

In relation to the broader picture regarding NAMS, there is an almost complete lack of policy guidance on EAL teaching in schools. EAL provision is not mentioned in the Ofsted inspection framework; there is no requirement for a staff body to comprise EAL expertise; no EAL code of practice; no mention of EAL in the ITT Core Content Framework (Mason 2019). This brings both vulnerabilities and strengths to English educational policy in that it allows independence and flexibility in response to local needs, as is demonstrated by Lawnswood School's approach. Most schools do include coordination of EAL in the job description of a named member of staff, but this may compete with many other pulls on this individual's time.

There is a strong rhetorical preference for inclusion over segregation of NAMS, putting England ahead of many other European countries in relation to inclusion. There is a policy of immediate inclusion as opposed to the use of reception classes common in many countries, although this can create challenges for schools in the absence of specialised teaching assistants or other support.

In Leeds the key coordinating structures for implementing policy on supporting migrant families are the Leeds Migration Partnership (a large body which meets periodically) and Leeds Migration Task Force (a more focused, smaller group of key partners in welcoming migrant families, which meets regularly). As at school level, local authority provision is very variable and relies on key figures, great resourcefulness and strong community relationships. Local authorities often, of necessity, adopt the approach of using

their very limited budgets to support the work of community organisations (known as 'asset based community development work). For example, the key responsibility of interviewee Pria Bhabra, an employee of Leeds City Council, is the Migrant Access Project, which won a Eurocities award in 2017 for its work supporting the initiatives of volunteers within various migrant communities. The Project's Migrant Community Networkers scheme trained 87 volunteers from diverse communities in such skills as safeguarding, understanding services, and supporting vulnerable people. While these 87 volunteers were not employed either as staff or volunteers by the council, this training enabled them to develop or strengthen initiatives such as homework clubs, supplementary education provision, social events and work training opportunities. There is thus a widespread blurring of statutory and voluntary, paid and unpaid sectors. In both local authorities and schools a common pattern can be traced in which the emphasis in the early years of welcoming large numbers of migrants is on structures (task forces, written policies), whereas integrated inclusive practice predominate in the later stages.

Such dense networks as exist between community orgs and the local authority in Leeds can create opportunities for migrant communities to influence city policy and service provision. Pria Bhabra explains:

> *And what the communities do say is that "You talk a lot about integrating us. What about from the other perspective? Why isn't the Council doing anything about that?" But we are. We are. And we're giving them the opportunity to say "Okay. What do you think is going to work? How are you going to get people to come and listen to your story?"*

UASCs, TRANSFER STUDENTS AND TEMPORARY MIGRANTS

The challenges faced by UASCs in education cannot be separated from those they encounter outside it. A report by RSN/UNICEF (2018) draws upon interviews with 86 refugee and asylum seeking children to highlight numerous institutional, contextual, bureaucratic and systemic barriers which hinder these young people's access to education. The report notes that

> Proponents of the NTS emphasize that a consideration of the best interests of the child should be central to decision making and transfer. However, various organisations, including the British Association of Social Workers (BASW) and the Refugee Children's Consortium (RCC) have raised concerns about the practical implementation of the scheme. Both the RCC and BASW consultations noted delays in transfer: while comprehensive statistics are not available, in one Local Authority no transfers took place within the recommended two weeks and the majority took place between two and four months after arrival (RCC 2017).

Further, RSN/UNICEF (2018) identify the presence of a committed, caring adult, who will support RAS young people over an extended period of time, as the single most important factor determining the educational wellbeing and success of UASCs in particular. Yet there exists a shortage of foster care placements for UASC throughout the UK, including in Leeds.

It is also the case that austerity has led to a significant gap between policy and practice in local authorities' support of UACS more generally. During the period in which they are not yet in education, asylum-seeking children exist in a considerable state of uncertainty, as Kakos and Sharma-Bryant (2018) identify. Yet as of 2018, no region of the UK had met the 20-day target for accessing education for all of the UASC in their care (RSN/UNICEF 2018). This delay owes partly to the considerable administrative challenges of meeting this rightly stringent deadline, but also to the fact that the funds Local Authorities receive from the Home Office currently only cover 50% of the real costs of caring for UASC (Association of Directors of Children's Services 2016) and typically 63% of the costs of supporting 18-24-year-old UASC who are care leavers (East Midlands Councils 2020).

UASCs who are moved under the National Transfer Scheme face the further difficulty of having to make the adjustment to at least two different schools or colleges. As of 1st October 2017, 555 UASC had been transferred away from local authorities with particularly dense populations of UASC (RSN/UNICEF 2018).

Other young people, migrating to the UK temporarily following their parents' work or study opportunities, face similar challenges. Lawnswood School teacher Sarah Davies feels that the assessment system does not recognise or validate the considerable achievements of this cohort of young people, or the schools that manage to help them progress in education:

> *We have some that come in and out and I feel that their time with us has been really useful, but sometimes it feels as if it doesn't count if you're not taking a qualification, or if you're not part of the system in how much you count. [....] I just think they're such an enriching thing for a school that there should be something in place that means that all of their previous experience can in some way be quantified […] so that they come with something that relates to how much progress they've made, so we're not just saying in relation to all the other students in school, who've been in the British education system since they were 4 years old, and they might come to us at 15 and doing exactly the same qualification and having the same experiences but are 7, 8 years behind everyone. […] And then very often, sometimes they're then uprooted and all of that unsettledness is passed on to them. That does make me a bit upset for them, like they get counted as an 'other' – just another column you get filtered by. Whereas they are some of our most successful students, and I'd like a little more recognition for them, how much they contribute to school, and the knock on effects, if you are a truly comprehensive school – there are still a number of schools in Leeds that have very little experience of EAL, and I think that's sad for them as well.*

ADMISSIONS

School choice is driven in some part by parents, who in many cases choose to apply to a school which is known to be supportive to NAMS, or which is favoured by their particular community, even if it is not their nearest school. An unfortunate side-effect of certain schools being preferred by particular communities is a degree of ghettoisation, whereby certain communities concentrate in certain schools. Some schools, even those which consider NAMS a great asset in the long run, are over-stretched.

However many young people arriving in the UK face difficulties gaining admission to the school of their choice, or indeed to any suitable school, because there has been for some years a national shortage of school places in many local authorities, including Leeds. While young people involved in the Vulnerable Persons' Resettlement Scheme (either as unaccompanied minors or children in families) tend to be placed fairly rapidly in schools, children in asylum-seeking families frequently face long delays, partly because they are not classed as residents of an area while they are living in temporary accommodation (RSN/UNICEF 2018). An appeals procedure exists whereby parents can challenge a school's decision via their local authority, but if the school is an academy the process is very bureaucratic, involving an appeal by the local authority to the national Secretary of State for Education. The observation by a local authority officer that "there's a perception that academies know they can refuse and get away with it for a much longer period of time" (RSN/UNICEF 2018: 29) is fairly widespread.

Some local authorities and community organisations provide interim or Virtual School education. Examples given by RSN/UNICEF (2018) include the 4-week Oxford Orientation Programme (a collaboration between Oxford City Council and education provider Key 2), the 8-week Glasgow Chrysalis Programme run by the British Red Cross, and Croydon Virtual School, which is funded through Pupil Premium and operates within an existing school building. Community organisations also provide a plethora of services on widely differing scales. In Leeds, Ali Mahgoub of Leeds Refugee Forum describes some of the services his organisation provides for young people as follows:

> (We run a) Homework Club. And this is supporting parents and children in primary schools. We run also a youth group, this is for the ages of 14 to 18. And also we do some work in educational activities, just supporting them… Yeah. To raise their attainments, and doing - helping with their educational courses, within the city and within the schools. To support them, we have - we do some work with Leeds City Council, and this is mainly as… connecting with primary schools in the area. We do some work with The Children's Society, and we're working with […] supporting them for applying for places in the schools. So some of them, they started here, learning English, but it's a more formal way to support them until they can find the places within the schools in Leeds.

Certain groups of NAMS experience specific additional difficulties. Firstly, older children in Key Stage 4 (14-16 years), and those just below this age, are disadvantaged in the heavily assessment-driven English education system because it is very hard for a school to integrate a pupil with limited English or understanding of the school system into an exam class. Schools are permitted to exclude recently arrived pupils' results from league table data, but as Lawnswood EAL Coordinator Anna Mason confirms, they receive no additional support to teach a newly arrived pupil, and may fear the impact of including this pupil on other children in the class whose English and academic performance is not yet secure. Mason points out the lack of parity with funding for special educational needs (SEN), which are graded according to the severity of need. Schools do make innovative uses of Pupil Premium Plus, Pupil Equity Fund and Pupil Development Grant, which are attached to NAMS, but there is no differentiation according to pupils' stage of English language acquisition, educational stage or specific needs, so a 15-year-old UASC with no English will receive the same level as an 11-year-old of a highly-educated family

with good English. An education professional interviewed by the authors of the RSN/UNICEF report stated that

> *We had a lad here last year who arrived in the UK in April desperate to go to school - and this is off-the-scale unacceptable, he was 16, so should have been in Year 11, and there was no school in Birmingham who wanted a GCSE aged child who didn't speak a word of English, in April of Year 11.* (2018: 28)

Secondly, young people with both EAL and SEN are in a particularly difficult situation. Schools may feel they lack the resources to adequately support these pupils, and the RSN/UNICEF report notes that the families of these young people often face lengthy negotiations with local authorities in order to access a school place. The numbers of young people occupying this intersection may be considerable: RSN/UNICEF notes that

> Amongst the Syrian parents consulted who had been resettled to the UK through the VPRS, over one third had children with SEN, notably autism, mobility and hearing difficulties. Almost all of the delays accessing education at primary level experienced by resettled Syrian parents are in relation to children with SEN, who experienced delays of up to 6 months. (2018: 28)

Thirdly, as mentioned in a previous section, UASC undergoing age assessment procedures can face considerable delays in being admitted to a school.

ASSESSMENT AND MONITORING OF NAMS' LEARNING AND NEEDS

For a brief period during 2017-18 a framework developed by NASSEA (2016) was used to assess NAMS' English skills using 'codes'(A-E), however this was phased out in 2018. This is lamented by EAL Coordinator Anna Mason who felt this was a valuable guide not only to the needs of individual pupils, but a potential resource to guide policy and funding. Lawnswood School continues to make use of this framework as part of its assessment of newly arrived students.

Regardless of which approach to assessment is used, Mason underscores the need for high quality, ongoing assessment of NAMS' learning needs – comprising not only their English skills but their levels of literacy, numeracy and all other subjects, which can be shared with all a child's teachers in the form of a 'language plan'. Such a plan makes these children 'visible' to all key figures in a school and enables schools to chart their progress as well as their ongoing needs over the approximately seven years it takes NAMS to catch up with their peers who have been in the English education system since early childhood:

> *Part of my job is looking – are they making progress? If they're not, why not? What can we do? Or if they're doing too well, we need to move them up.*

Mason notes too that it is not just academic assessment which must continue to be monitored over time; the trauma and other mental health issues experienced by NAMS are often not initially obvious, and will emerge over time within trusting relationships with staff.

It can be particularly difficult for schools to obtain a clear picture of the learning needs of EAL students who also have SEN, as the headteacher of Lawnswood School highlights in relation to his prior teaching experience in other regions of the country:

> *You would never – you very rarely got any disclosures about history, or their academic performance. It was almost a made-up child on paper, and then when you met the child... And I think it was about the stigma that was put on special needs in particular in different countries […] and the worry that they thought the school might say "No, we're not going to take them." Whereas actually, as we kept saying to the parents, "We need to know everything that you know in order to support this child effectively."*

As the scarcity of school places and resources already discussed may indeed make schools anxious about accepting a young person with EAL and SEN, this reticence on the part of parents may in fact be partially justified. It also, however, highlights the more general point that information is often not travelling with pupils, so only in some cases will schools have access to a previous school report. Some schools, such as Lawnswood with its careful assessment and screening procedures, feel able to compensate for this lack of information, as the headteacher explains:

> *Because the screening that we have and the baseline testing that we have is quite sophisticated here. And it can pick out the language needs, the SEN needs, the academic needs. And then we build that profile, as you say, from talking to class teachers.*

However, from Anna Mason's experience delivering EAL training and support to other schools in Leeds through the local authority and the Red Kite Alliance, it appears that this structure exists in relatively few schools.

At the same time, there is a risk that NAMS without SEN may be placed in SEN classes or 'bottom sets' because schools feel they lack the resources to support them in higher-achieving classes. Worse still, RSN/UNICEF (2018) found that at least seven local authorities were placing some UASC in Pupil Referral Units, which primarily educate pupils excluded from school because of emotional and behavioural difficulties, and can be a highly disruptive and inappropriate environment for NAMS. Lawnswood School places most NAMS, following assessment, in 'top' or 'middle' sets, and tries to ensure all teachers are equipped with a repertoire of strategies to support their language and subject learning simultaneously. English teacher Sarah Davies freely admits that this was a steep learning curve for the first three years, but that the ongoing support and training provided by the EAL Department has enabled her to develop integrated pedagogies that not only support EAL learners, but work well for the whole class (for example, pre-teaching key terms, providing visual aids and language grids). However from Anna Mason's wider experience among other schools in the region, she observes that this is far from the norm:

Schools obviously have some sort of assessment when a child would start, and I would think on any of those assessments it's not looking specifically at different areas of language development or taking into account the home language, some of the tests are culturally biased, so they would be scoring weakly on them, possibly put into SEN departments, possibly being put into low sets, which again is not going to help them develop. Some schools, again, have systems where these children are kept very separate, and it's not across the board, but I think we're a lot more inclusive than other schools.

In considering issues around initial reception and assessment of NAMS in schools, it is important to foreground young people's own experience of their early days in school in the UK. Kakos and Sharma-Bryant (2018) point out that it is a lot to expect from children to make a quick adjustment to a school system that may be dramatically different from what they are used to. In the case of some children or adolescents from remote or conflict-ridden regions it may be their first experience of schooling of any form. English teacher Sarah Davies describes the intensity of a pupil's first days at Lawnswood:

They are introduced into the EAL department, buddied up straight away. They are initially assessed and labelled in terms of where their English is at, so it is probably busy and disorientating to be surrounded by so many people. Welcoming but also quite overwhelming. A lot of them find people similar to themselves very quickly, but they're also introduced to people in classes which are quite an immersive experience, quite quickly – so I think that's quite a positive experience for them. They'd be struck by how different everything is, but how everyday everything is too, how people just carry on – seems like such a normal thing for the school and the people that work with them to welcome these people, wanting them to find their place in school really quickly. Some of those students are coming into Key Stage 4, being thrown into a GCSE subject, and having to just get on with it. You're at the same expectations as everybody else.

Such an experience has the advantage of including children straight away in the life of the school, but as Seeberg et al (2010) point out, transitioning so directly into school life without any opportunity to talk about or process one's experiences as a migrant may be an alienating experience. In this respect Lawnswood School's EAL Department plays a key role. The EAL classroom overseen by the department is not a 'reception class' in that pupils also attend mainstream classes from the beginning, and are free to leave the safety of the EAL classroom as soon as they wish. The EAL teachers get to know the pupils and are available to discuss their individual needs, experiences and difficulties with them.

STAYING AND THRIVING

As the previous section has highlighted, while there is a strong preference for integration over segregation of NAMS in the UK, children's actual experience may vary. While some experience this full integration, others find themselves 'struggling alone' in a mainstream class, undergoing de facto segregation by ethnicity (owing to the clustering of certain communities in certain schools), or being

placed in SEN or bottom sets. Thus, even once children have begun their school careers in the UK, there are additional issues which can affect the degree to which they thrive here.

Lawnswood teachers Sarah Davies' and Anna Mason's observations confirm the view of Puttick (2016) that migrant children contribute valuable, diverse cultural capital to the life of a school, enriching learning for all students. English teacher Davies discusses the richness of understanding brought by young people with an experience of conflict to studying the Power and Conflict Poetry syllabus, although she adds the caveat that teachers need to develop an acute sensitivity for when it may be inappropriate or triggering for a particular young person to study a certain poem. Mason gives a further illustrative anecdote of the value of intercultural dialogue in learning:

> *Last week they were doing about perspectives and views. I asked, "Where do we stand on men and woman? Do we all agree that they're equal?" And all the Saudis shot their hand up: No! Then a Brazilian girl said, We are stronger! And I was thinking, I'm really lucky to teach a diverse class like this….*

Practices to integrate NAMS are woven into the fabric of school life, including buddy (peer mentoring) schemes, intercultural events, staff training and support organised by the EAL Department, close cooperation with community organisations, and coffee mornings for recently arrived families. Lawnswood's practices contribute to all six of the criteria identified by UNICEF/RSN (2018: 46) as contributing to NAMS' ability to remain and thrive:

- The presence of a committed, caring adult, who will support them over an extended period of time (for UASC in particular);
- Participation in education programmes where content and curriculum have been adapted to meet their needs;
- High levels of pastoral care and mental health support within the school setting;
- Partnerships between schools/colleges and specialist voluntary sector organisations to provide on-site advice, guidance and support;
- Creative approaches to peer support, including buddy schemes and school-wide awareness raising;
- Training on meeting the educational needs of refugee and asylum seeking children included as standard in teacher and other school/college staff continuing professional development

Yet even with this fully integrated approach, difficulties remain. One challenge highlighted by Anna Mason is that schools have little or no flexibility to give more time to NAMS to catch up with the English language and the education system, for example to allow a pupil to take A levels over three years instead of two, or to place a student a year below their age-mates.

Language issues are, of course, only one obstacle faced by young people in beginning a new chapter in their education in the UK. For many, particularly RAS young people, emotional and mental health difficulties resulting from trauma and anxiety will form a significant barrier to integration. Ali Mahgoub of the Leeds Refugee Forum discusses the issues which can continue to undermine the mental health of young people with whom he has worked during their first months or years in the UK: bullying and social

isolation (sometimes leading to young people not attending school), parental unemployment or underemployment, financial worries, the difficulty of obtaining long-term accommodation. Kakos and Sharma-Bryant (2018) cite various authors (Gaulter & Green, 2015; McCarthy & Marks, 2010; Sanchez-Cao, Kramer & Hodes, 2012) who highlight the additional impact on RAS young people's health of long gaps in their education, resulting both from unstable situations in their country of origin and subsequent delays in entering education in the UK.

Mahgoub's experiential knowledge supports the finding of Fazel and Betancourt that 'the multidimensional and collective character of challenges facing refugee children and families calls for comprehensive psychosocial interventions' (2018: 121). However, the experience of Lawnswood School staff underlines the reality that a lack of funding for CAMHS and local authority support means schools are having to meet NAMS' emotional and behavioural needs largely alone, or in partnership with communities. Lawnswood's EAL coordinator Anna Mason describes the situation as follows:

> *I've got kids sitting GCSEs that have issues that are social and emotional, and the exam people are wanting them to go to a doctor to get extra time, a different room for focusing, to talk about all this trauma that they've been through – either it's a learning need, or if it's a mental health thing you need something from the doctor to say you've had this trauma. I've looked, so I know there a lot of research to say they can't focus, they can't sit down, they're always in this flight mode because of what's happened, which then affects how can you teach them. But if you're a practitioner, a teacher looking for what you can do to help them, there's really not a lot available….We had one kid, it took two years to get an ed psych to come and have a look. And I just don't feel there's enough research, enough information for schools.*

Staff often feel ill-equipped to deal with the profound trauma which young people have experienced, as one Oxford-based teacher describes:

> *Last year I had 5 year 11 boys that were all UASC...I didn't know that some of them had experienced such huge trauma, I didn't know what they had suffered on their journeys, didn't know about their nightmares… I didn't know what was going on in their heads. On the first day things were absolutely fine, then something happened, and [one of the boys] was rocking under the table, putting his arms around me and crying...I don't feel trained in that either, all I can do is nurture and provide pastoral and kindness and time, but I don't feel equipped for young people who have experienced these horrendous journeys.* (RSN/UNICEF 2018:44)

Lawnswood's experience has been that the academic, language, pastoral and social support NAMS require to integrate is long-term but changes over time. Thus true integration is not a matter of simply placing NAMS in a mainstream class and leaving them to cope. The overarching approach of providing an EAL 'home' base in school allows NAMS to draw on the support in this space for as long as, and in the ways that, they need it. More broadly, NAMS and their families, particularly (but not only) those from RAS backgrounds, need ongoing support in different forms from schools, community organisations and local authorities. Lawnswood's regular coffee mornings are one example of an initiative to build community among families. Beyond school, the role played by migrant organisations in supporting

homework, navigating systems, maintaining home languages, providing English language learning, training and volunteering opportunities for parents, and forming friendships, is essential.

BILINGUALISM POLICY AND PRACTICE

An excellent overview of UK policy on bilingualism in education is provided by Cunningham (2017). During the 1950s and 1960s, the prevalent approach was to place NAMS with a first language other than English in government-funded 'induction centres' (also called 'English as a Second Language Units'). A distinct change of philosophy was signalled by the Bullock report (DES 1975), which endorsed multiculturalism and pluralism:

> No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as though school and home represent two separate and different cultures, which have to be kept firmly apart. (286)

However a monolingual and assimilative approach was reasserted in the 1985 Swann Report (DES 1985), which proposed approaches such as 'Partnership Teaching' between specialised EAL teachers and subject teachers. Its overriding values were:

> First, any linguistic and cultural disadvantage that minorities were suffering should be overcome, e.g. through the teaching of English as a second language. Second, all children, minority and majority, should be encouraged to respect the richness of minority cultures. Third and most consequentially for the teaching of languages other than English, there should be no ethnic segregation within the public schooling system. (406-7)

These goals of preventing segregation and discrimination through integrating EAL pupils in mainstream teaching, while maintaining the dominance of English, have continued to set the tone in English schools in recent decades (Cunningham 2017).

While in the second half of the last century only some regions and cities experienced significant levels of immigration, government policies of dispersing migrants to 'non-choice' locations in the post-2000 period have required the vast majority of local authorities and schools to develop strategies for integrating children with EAL. Yet simultaneously, the resources available for doing so have been substantially reduced. Between 1999 and 2011, ring-fenced Ethnic Minority Achievement Grants (EMAG) were provided to schools, and some entitlement was established for children with EAL to be supported by Higher Level Teaching Assistants or EAL specialist teachers, but at a limited level which forced schools to concentrate these resources on children with the lowest levels of English proficiency. Yet further funding cuts and policy changes have meant a dramatic reduction in the number of teaching assistants or specialist teachers, and left most of the decisions as to how to support EAL learning up to schools themselves. Cunningham summarises the situation as follows:

> (T)he educational focus on children who speak languages beyond English has, in fact, waned since the publication of the last of the governmental guidance documents for EAL in 2009, and

> the removal of the EMAG funding in 2011 (Arnot et al., 2014), followed by the removal of most references to 'EAL' from the inspectorate documents for schools in 2015. (2017: 34)

Many UK schools see NAMS' bilingualism and heritage as an invaluable learning resource, and there is warm policy support for doing so, supported by Jim Cummins' 'Quadrant Theory' and other conceptual models which have been widely disseminated by Naldic, Nassea and the Bell Foundation. Broadly speaking, this approach encourages teachers across all subjects to provide tasks with a high level of cognitive challenge to EAL learners by providing contextual support to their language understanding, and to catalyse the synergies between learners' home language and English language skills.

It is much less common that EAL pupils are actively encouraged to speak their home language in class, apart from in the initial stages of learning English. At Lawnswood a primarily pragmatic approach is taken, in that there is an acceptance that NAMS will initially make best progress by mixing languages (e.g. sitting beside a fellow speaker of their home language), but that this will gradually fade out as their own English improves. Indeed acquisition of English is associated, perhaps uncritically, with gaining 'independence' as a learner, and teaching approaches making positive use of translanguaging remain fairly marginal. However teachers report drawing on their home language and cultural experience in other ways, as English teacher Sarah Davies describes:

> *We had a year 10 student who was really finding the English language exam a challenge, in that she felt that in Polish she could really look at the language and analyse it, but she couldn't do it in English […] I said, go back and read something in Polish, and tell me what you learn about it, it's the same question. I think finding the ins and outs of their language is really helpful – for her, she didn't see it as – she saw it as a barrier, as if she'd been told "this is not my first language, and therefore I can't understand it the same way" […] Linking it, and not avoiding the language, is important – talking to them about what they've done in their previous education, previous language is important.*

Lawnswood's approach to translanguaging reflects the wider policy picture in England, in which a monolingual habitus has sat alongside educational integration as dominant principles; it also reflects pragmatic necessity, as there is a lack of specialist teaching assistants to support EAL students. As Cunningham (2017) finds, this monolingual way of working has become internalised in teacher attitudes in England. This undoubtedly contributes to the fact, observed by Pria Bhabra of Leeds City Council, that despite the efforts of complementary schools and community organisations, language shift and attrition are an issue for most migrant families:

> I was going to give you an example about the Afghan Women's Association. What she said was… She talked a little bit about intergenerational issues, and she said that actually, the young people here now are not speaking their mother tongue, it's difficult for them to communicate with their parents. She said "I want to have a class for the young children" - so these are young refugee children - "so they can learn their own language." So they had a successful few months doing that, but then the children didn't really want it.

AUSTERITY AND FUNDING CUTS

A crucial feature of the background to all the policy and practice discussed in this report is the twelve years of public sector austerity affecting all relevant sectors from housing to mental health to social services to English language classes for adults. The pattern of voluntary collaboration between public services, NGOs and community organisations leads to some great high points in practice but also to delays and gaps in compliance with policy, so that policies can often better be understood as aspirations than prescriptions. Kakos and Sharma-Bryant (2018) report that 'there are many instances where the NGOs have reported that some of their programmes were suspended mid-way due to funding issues' (10) and that the fragmented picture of support for refugee and asylum seeking (RAS) young people in particular leaves some under-supported:

> The space of network and collaboration between policy-making bodies, practitioner organisations and schools often is filled with gaps. Policy bodies must demonstrate their responsibility of executing the policy frameworks; practitioner agencies strive to help their target groups of marginalised populations; schools are limited by their own resources and adherence to structural approach. The 'lost in translation' exercise of integrating RAS children into education becomes an uphill task for all the concerned stakeholders. The educational experiences of RAS children become multi-layered. (11)

Some examples follow:

- **Cuts to further and higher education:** Gateley (2015) identifies the risks to refugee young people's access to education and social inclusion arising from general funding cuts to further and higher education. RAS young people often need additional pastoral and academic support to access and thrive at these levels of education, and these layers of support are particularly at risk in an environment of cuts.
- **Under-funded local authorities:** The funds local authorities receive to care for UASCs only add up to 50% of the true costs (East Midlands Council 2020). The lack of appropriate foster care placements in most areas (RSN/UNICEF 2018) exacerbates this situation and threatens young people's wellbeing in multiple ways.
- **An overstretched education workforce:** Since 2011 there have been year-on-year increases in pupil:teacher ratios, pupil:teaching assistant ratios and decreases in teacher retention (Department of Education 2019b), particularly pronounced in secondary schools where low retention rates have been attributed to excessive teacher workloads and stress (Sellgren 2018). The 'de-skilling of the EAL workforce' identified by Cunningham (2017), whereby lower level teaching assistants are taking on more and more of the responsibility for supporting EAL young people, is particularly concerning.

In this resource-constrained context, the devolution of funding decision-making to school level means the support available to NAMS is heavily dependent on the priorities of particular head teachers and the energies of individual staff members. Lawnswood Anna Mason describes the difficulty of keeping up to

date with transitory funding opportunities to which schools can apply to support migrant families and young people.

TEACHER TRAINING

The situation in the UK as regards teacher training in supporting NAMS and learners with EAL can best be described as uneven. NALDIC, NASSEA and The Bell Foundation provide high quality training resources both for initial teacher training (ITT) and continuing professional development (CPD). However, there is a discrepancy between the stated requirement for newly qualified teachers to be skilled in teaching strategies for young people with EAL, and the teacher training standards which make little or no provision for the development of these skills. Moreover, OFSTED inspections do not stipulate any assessment of a school's EAL provision, providing little incentive for schools to prioritise it unless their numbers of EAL children are large enough to justify it. Therefore, in schools where numbers of NAMS have been high for some time, such as Lawnswood where successful peer-to-peer training has been underway for many years, good EAL practice may be increasingly integrated into everyday teaching; problems more likely to arise where there are few NAMS. Anna Mason, who as an EAL coordinator and former consultant to Leeds City Council, leads significant amounts of ITT and CPD, describes the situation as follows:

> *So I think, schools that don't have those numbers as we do, why would they invest the time in training? We're training teachers, and on their standards it says they've got to be able to teach EAL kids, but on the training standards it doesn't actually say, part of this training programme needs to be….and a lot of the trainee teachers are saying, wow this is just as important as SEN, but we've not had a lot of training on it. [The University of] York just do a two-hour block in a lecture theatre where I just stand. I've been talking to the lady that runs that. Whereas with the Red Kite trainees, they'll come in for a day, I'll put them in the position of the EAL students so they know what that feels like, we'll then go through all the pedagogy and all that kind of information, they'll then get the opportunity to meet the students and talk to them, so they have that empathy with them. We'll then talk about the social and emotional things, we'll talk about strategies, resources.*

Local authorities have tended to offer termly CPD sessions for subject teachers, but not EAL-specific ones, and as growing numbers of schools become academies, local authorities are able to provide much less CPD to teachers in general. Even within the Red Kite Alliance, a school cluster which does prioritise EAL and the integration and NAMS, Mason describes the difficulty of competing with other calls upon scarce CPD time, so that many teachers do not receive any explicit training in EAL.

Mason underlines that training needs to be experiential as well as theoretical, and allow opportunities for teachers to understand and empathise with NAMS' experiences, as well as learning key teaching strategies (e.g. pre-teaching, word banks, talk for writing, thinking maps, vocabulary lists, writing frames, subject-specific approaches) (Mason 2019).

SUPPORTING PARENTS AND FAMILIES

Many schools are using their own time, financial resources and community connections to provide flexible solutions to wider issues faced by NAMS' families as local authority funding has decreased; this is a considerable burden and not the case in all schools. Many families do not have (or are not aware that they have) a case worker and schools end up effectively filling this role (or not managing to and leaving families alone to navigate the system).

Building initial and ongoing relationships with families is crucial, to help them trust the school and navigate the system. Lawnswood School's EAL Department offers initial meetings, six-week check-ins and twice-termly coffee mornings to parents of NAMS, with the result that newly arrived families can turn out to be some of the school's most engaged parents. Without a budget for interpreters, Mason draws on bilingual sixth form students, or on her relationships with community organisations, to provide translation support during these meetings as required. Indeed the school operates almost as a 'one-stop shop' for many families in their early months of settling into the UK, providing them with support and guidance in matters unrelated to education. Although this generates a considerable workload for her department, she considers it to be a valuable investment of time, in that it establishes an excellent working relationship between most newly arrived families and the school.

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