

The Impact of Migrant Children in Glasgow Schools

Report by Stephen Dillon (2013)

Research conducted by the author in collaboration with COSLA Strategic Migration Partnership and Glasgow City Council EAL Service.

Final Report



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Introduction

This report is the culmination of a collaborative master's project between a student from the University of Glasgow, COSLA Strategic Migration Partnership, and Glasgow City Council's English as an Additional Language (EAL) Service in association with Glasgow Refugee, Asylum and Migration Network (GRAMNet). The study examined migration in relation to education and questions regarding the impact of migrant children in Glasgow schools. In addition, the study was located within a wider context in which the issue of migration was used to explore thematic issues in relation to vulnerability, resilience, societal security and governance within Glasgow. The findings related to this aspect have been omitted from this report.

Scotland is fast approaching a referendum on independence. Whilst education is a devolved matter, immigration policy is not and should the Scottish electorate vote for an independent Scotland then migration policy would become the responsibility of the Scottish Government along with education. Regardless of Scotland's decision on independence, contemporary Scotland needs an educated and skilled workforce within an increasingly global economy (Scottish Government, 2004, p.1). This aspect alone highlights the salient contribution this study makes. It explores the educational impact of migration on Scotland's future workforce found within Glasgow's publicly funded secondary schools in contrast to the corpus of previous research which has focused on migration in relation to the labour market (see, for instance, COMPAS n.d., for general research on migration and the labour market).

The central aim of the study was to contribute towards an evidence base to support anecdotal evidence that migrants have had a positive impact in Glasgow's schools (CSMP, 2013); and more specifically, to establish by way of comparatively examining two contrasting publicly funded secondary schools, along with the views of teaching staff experienced across the city as to whether migrant or native children are more vulnerable in terms of their educational attainment.

Methodology

The study, whilst acknowledging that migrants are not a homogenous group, defined migrant children as new arrivals who did not have English as their first language (regardless of their level of competency) *vis-à-vis* native children who were defined as locally born with English as their first language. Therefore this was not a study based on ethnicity.

The research strategy adopted was of a mixed methodology; allowing quantitative data to be subjected to statistical analysis, combined with a qualitative approach which gathered more in-depth subjective data. This strategy facilitated a triangulation of data and allowed comparison between statistical analysis of educational attainment; statistical analysis of the positive

destination of school leavers; and qualitative research which considered the experiences of education staff.

For quantitative analysis, statistical data was obtained in relation to Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) awards, the destinations of school leavers, and the numbers of pupils with English as an additional language. The data was collated, analyzed and subjected to a correlation calculation to ascertain whether a relationship existed between SQA results and migrant (EAL) children; and likewise between the destination of school leavers and migrant children. To retain focus, the analysis concentrated on the percentage of S4 pupils who attained five or more SCQF Level 5 awards or above for the period 2008 to 2012.

The research maintained further focus by selecting two publicly funded secondary schools within the Glasgow City local authority area, chosen for their contrasting experience of migrant pupils (see Figure 1). The samples chosen remain anonymous and are referred to within this report subsequently as School A and School B. EAL pupils comprise on average 42% of the total roll within School A in comparison to 8% within School B. School A has a 14% higher annual school roll than School B. As the study focused on two Glasgow secondary schools, it is not therefore entirely representative of Glasgow as a whole or indeed of Scotland.

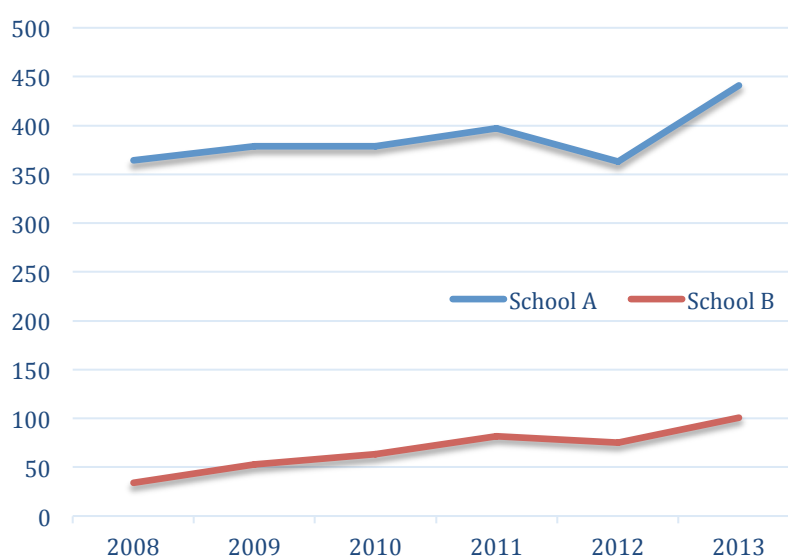


Figure 1. School A and School B comparative EAL Pupils 2008-2013.

In addition, ten interviews were completed in June 2013 with Glasgow City Council EAL staff, bringing a qualitative dimension to the study to complement the quantitative aspect. The chosen sample of interviewees collectively had considerable teaching experience within a number of schools across the city and as such offered a unique insight into the issues faced by migrant pupils, native children and mainstream teachers. A semi-structured interview format also allowed these participants to express their opinions fully within the context of the study. It had been intended to additionally include interviews with staff specifically from both school A and B (including mainstream teachers, pastoral

staff and head teachers) however this proved impractical due to time constraints within a limited window due to approaching school holidays. This impacted on implementing a fully comparative case study.

This report provides a summary of the findings from both the interviews and the statistical analysis, including implications for policy and recommendations for further research on the impact of migrant children in Glasgow schools. Although a small scale study, this report makes an important contribution to this area and provides a solid foundation for further more expansive research.

Qualitative Analysis of the Impact of Migrant Children in Glasgow Schools

Impact on learning and teaching

All interviewees expressed the opinion of having observed a positive impact of migrant children within the classroom, supported by examples of how cultural awareness was seen to increase amongst native children as a result of having migrant classmates, who in effect imparted an alternative world view on their peers and increased native pupil “*awareness of languages [and] cultures*” [I.7]. As one interviewee put it, “*sometimes a child can give a different angle to a story or an experience, so it can widen the global perspective of all children in the classroom*” [I.6]. The advantages of such exposure are also highlighted in the work of McGonigal and Arizpe (2007) who discussed the benefits of introducing pupils to different cultures. Likewise, Campano and Ghiso (2011) found migrant pupils to be “uniquely positioned to educate their peers and teachers about the world” and suggested that they ought to be regarded as “cosmopolitan intellectuals” (Campano and Ghiso, 2011, p.165-166).

Migrant pupils

- Widen global perspective of peers
- Increase cultural awareness
- Cosmopolitan intellectuals



In terms of teaching methodology, a strong appreciation of the challenges faced by mainstream teachers having EAL learners within the class, extended to highlighting a positive and proactive role displayed by some mainstream teachers (in some instances voluntarily seeking out additional training). But emphasis was placed also on the concept of inclusion and strategies for the benefit of all children within the classroom – principally that EAL strategies were beneficial to other learners and likewise strategies presently in place as a result of the Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) were good for migrant children.

Impact on attainment

A strong theme to emerge was that of EAL pupils being high achievers. Indeed, they were identified by some interviewees as having improved school statistics, particularly in more impoverished parts of Glasgow:

The migrant children who have come in with no English, have actually improved the statistics ... because they are high achievers [I.1].

I am in a lot of schools in socially deprived areas like in the East End of the city [where] they actually outperform the monolingual learners [I.3].

Such statements in relation to bilingual children outperforming monolingual children are supported by research undertaken by Willard and Leyendecker (2013), while they are also consistent with the findings of Cassells (2006) which highlighted the academic benefits gained by a child who speaks an additional language (Cassells, 2006, cited in McGonigal and Arizpe, 2007, p.7).

Migrant pupils



- High achievers
- Bilingual children outperform monolingual children

That said, there were also barriers identified which may impede migrant attainment. These include placing EAL pupils in lower ability groups (referred to as setting) which one interviewee described as “*blocks ... that can sometimes come from senior management*” [I.9]. This was elaborated upon by another interviewee:

I think the school have ... been concerned about it because they're trying to put the Roma kids for example into classes so they are not in the same classes as the kind of high flyers, so it doesn't affect their attainment [I.5].

The school in question referred to above is not unfamiliar with migrant pupils yet these comments suggest a school practice based on the assumption that migrant pupils (or at least Roma children in the example given) are detrimental to the academic success of other pupils. Such practice is at odds with Glasgow City Council EAL strategy and likewise research conducted by Ohinata and van Ours (2012) which concluded there to be no discernible advantage for native children gained from a policy of redistribution. This example suggests that there may be practice in place which potentially increases the vulnerability of some migrant children; as the interviewee who raised the issue went on to say “*I think the question then is how are these kids going to attain*” [I.5]. This point was echoed further by interviewees who identified the need for EAL pupils to be taught amongst good role models in order to support their development. As one put it, “*that is a concern for me, because they are not maybe getting good role models of English, and it also can affect their career pathways*” [I. 9]. Again, these observations correspond with the findings of Ohinata and van Ours (2012) who

identified the potential detrimental effect on migrant children in terms of host language acquisition if separated from native speakers.

Impact on vulnerability

Who would you say is more vulnerable (in terms of their education) migrant children or native children?

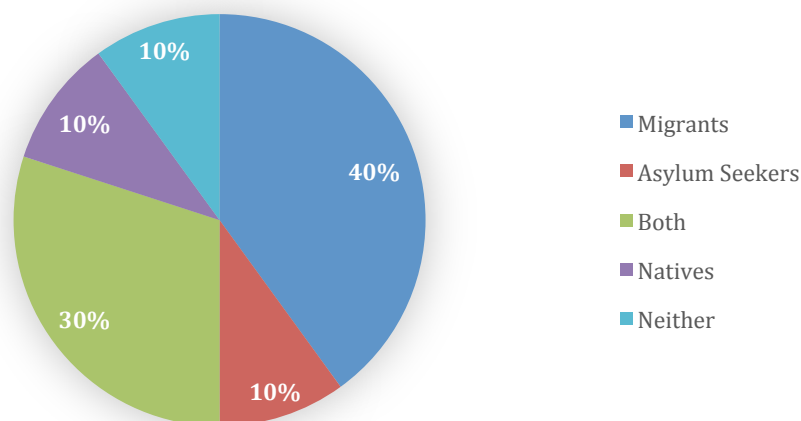


Figure 2. Responses of interviewees regarding vulnerability.

Vulnerability is an increased susceptibility to either physical or emotional exposure to risk or harm which may be experienced at the individual level or by a section of society. Although there were a variety of views on the question of vulnerability (see Figure 2) the majority of interviewees believed migrant children to be more vulnerable than native children. The reasons given included their age upon arrival; their reason for migrating; that many were or had been high achievers at home; and the problem of language.

The issue of language as an aspect of (EAL) migrant educational vulnerability was emphasised by one interviewee who felt that *“the migrant child [is more vulnerable] because they’re obviously coming to a school where the whole curriculum is in English”* [I.2]. This was echoed by other interviewees who identified migrants as more vulnerable *“because if they don’t have any English they cannot express their worries to the schools”* [I.4] and *“often they don’t fit in [and] can’t communicate with the rest of the class and peers”* [I.10]. Such issues can inevitably lead to isolation. Vulnerability from isolation resonated with other interviewees too: *“it’s a shame if a child comes into the school and they are the only Arabic speaker for example, that can be quite difficult, or the only girl that wears a veil”* [I.3]. Additionally, Roma children were cited as a particularly vulnerable group who were *“marginalised in their own country [and] marginalised over here to some extent”* [I.5].

Others found both native and migrant children to be vulnerable but qualified their statements with an emphasis on individual circumstances: *“there are some very vulnerable indigenous children”* [I.6] and likewise *“native children can be vulnerable depending on the circumstances, poverty, family breakdown, abuse ...”* [I.5]. Similarly, one interviewee commented that *“the EAL learners are from much*

more cohesive families, stable families ... they do not have the same social problems that I'd say a lot of the monolingual learners have, they don't have the same social issues in the background" [I.3]. A clear theme found within these responses was that each case is unique, and whilst one interviewee gave examples of migrant children unhappy about being uprooted from home, it was balanced with "For some they feel quite excited that they are in a new school, and I think it works both ways, for native and migrant children it's just a new experience" [I.10].

Issues of tolerance and racism were also highlighted under this theme with one interviewee commenting that *"it's just about how well accepted they are in the school because if they are not, you know, if there is a kind of basic racist behaviour or anything it's going to impact on their learning" [I.7].* This point underlines the importance of the school environment and ethos for migrant children.



Vulnerability

- Migrant vulnerability depends on:
- Age upon arrival
- Reason for migrating
- High achievers at home
- Problem of language

Impact on diversity and ethos

A prominent theme which arose from responses to being asked how well schools celebrate or embrace diversity was that it not only rested on a school's experience of migration (and migrant numbers) but was very much dependent on the school ethos.

An evident celebration of diversity was found by one interviewee who described events within a school which involved parents and children from both migrant and native families enjoying an internationally themed cultural event together. Likewise, another found that one particular school *"celebrates diversity of language ... celebrations of the different cultures and religions of the pupils ... the positive aspects of ... being a school with many diverse cultures" [I.6].* Similarly, *"In one of the schools it's so positive ... they are proud of every single language that is spoken in their school and they promote it" [I.10].* However, as another interviewee commented, experiences were mixed:

What I can say is they try their best and I've worked in a number of schools [which] organise extra curriculum activities where they try to involve bilingual kids, other schools especially with isolated learners, they just go by [unnoticed] [I.4].

In much the same way, another interviewee recounted a personal example of their own child's experience within a school which they felt had only "cared for the needs of white, middle-class Scottish pupils who were mainstream pupils who didn't have any additional needs, whether learning needs or EAL ... I feel they didn't celebrate ... differences were not valued" [I.7]. Similarly, another found the celebration or embracing of diversity varied between schools and was evident "in some schools more so than others" [I.8]. However, progress was also noted:

I think as a city now, from when asylum seekers started to come in, I think as a city we are better at embracing different [cultures] there's still no need for complacency, but I've seen improvement [I.1].

One interviewee highlighted that for some schools "it is just part of the ethos, you are not even aware of it, it's not contrived" but made the additional point that "the curriculum even demands that anyway" [I.9]. This reference to the curriculum relates to the Curriculum for Excellence which encompasses a "positive ethos and climate of respect" (Education Scotland, n.d.). However, another interviewee made reference to HMI inspections, and suggested that, for some schools, the celebration and embracing of diversity could become a box ticking exercise rather than part of a genuine ethos:

[For] some schools I think it's just another thing they think 'I've got to do, another task' ... it's probably ... not really [a] priority. It will be if they are going to be inspected ... they'll want to tick the box then, but if they are not getting inspected ... I think they don't do it [embrace diversity] enough [I.3].

Significantly, a central and important benefit of the EAL service in promoting positive attitudes and behaviours also emerged:

I think in schools where they have a permanent EAL staff member or more than one, that's when that happens [embracing diversity] because they have all the wall displays ... and they make sure the parents are made welcome and things going on that celebrate culture and diversity [I.8].

Such comments are very much in line with the findings of Mohammed (2011) which identified the key role played in this respect by bilingual teachers.

A geographical pattern also emerged. Having earlier referred to Glasgow's East End as being less familiar with migrant pupils, other areas of the city were identified as having more experience of receiving migrant pupils. This, in turn, seemed to have an impact on how diversity was celebrated:

Schools on the Southside and schools in the West End, a lot of schools in the area[s] that have traditionally had migrants for years ... they embrace it and they make sure that they've embraced all the different cultures in their school [I.1].

Schools with large numbers of EAL pupils celebrate diversity, I think those with small numbers of EAL pupils don't, it's a sweeping statement but I think it covers the schools I've been in [I.3].

Although the interviewee cited above may have qualified their response as sweeping, it is however consistent with much of the interview data.

Overall, responses were mixed in terms of the impact on diversity and ethos but on balance, were more positive than negative, albeit with a clear sense that more needs to be done in some schools to build an ethos which genuinely celebrates and embraces diversity. This is consistent with the findings of the Portfolio of Integration project which identified a lack of cultural awareness throughout European education (POI, 2012, p.4). The significance of a school ethos for migrants that celebrates and embraces diversity, was succinctly highlighted by one interviewee who commented that *"if the ethos is there then the pupils... as soon as they enter the school gate they have to feel safe and welcome"* [I.9].

Diversity and ethos

- Celebration of diversity varies across the city
- Experience of individual school central
- School ethos important for migrant pupils

Impact on social behaviour, interaction and changing attitudes

Interviewees were asked about the interaction they had witnessed between migrant and native children, including any observed changes in attitudes. This was followed up by a question about changes in colleagues' attitudes towards migrants, before they were asked if their own attitudes had changed.

Interviewees, in terms of interaction between children, had witnessed solidarity amongst some migrant groups:

Polish kids all look out for each other, so even if you are the only child in S1 that's new to English, all the other Polish children will talk to you at interval time ... [they are] very, very supportive of each other [I.3].

This happened with both small and large numbers of migrant children:

Quite often when there are a large number of one migrant group in a school, less mixing goes on [I.1].

In some of the more periphery schools with very small numbers, even small numbers of Polish kids, Polish kids just migrate towards each other [I.1].

In terms of native pupils response, altruistic behaviour was observed amongst some children who wanted to “sit beside the other child and help the child who’s just arrived” [I.1] and who were “aware of the new to English pupils [and] were very patient in trying to get them involved” [I.9]. On the other hand, less positive examples were also provided:

In some classes it’s been challenging, you know the whole respecting each other and tolerance ... it can still be a bit separate, girls from whatever community here, boys from same community here, other kids from other communities here, and I think teachers just have to work their seats around [I.5].

As far as negative attitudes in the classroom ... I have seen where you would have a group, if the teacher says, ‘right go into groups’ and lets them freely choose their groups, you will find if there are children from the same background [the] Scottish kids will be in another group [I.1]

Despite such comments, the general thrust of the interviewee responses was positive and negative examples were mainly provided further to prompting by the interviewer. What is more, examples were often provided to illustrate how EAL teachers were able to encourage and foster positive interaction:

We are always getting the classes to work with the migrant children and the non-migrant children in groups [I.6].

When I work in a classroom I try to pair up the pupils with either somebody who speaks the same language who has been there a wee while ... if that’s not the case then next to a good example of a monolingual pupil who’s sympathetic who would be a good role model for language and I think would help them [I.7].

Interviewees were also asked if they had observed a change in attitudes amongst native children. Such questions elicited a variety of interesting responses that suggests a distinct shift in native children’s attitudes towards being more accepting of migrants. For instance, one interviewee referred to a colleague’s experience of how they had witnessed racist behaviour at the time the Asylum Seeker dispersal programme commenced in Glasgow, but how there was now more acceptance shown amongst native pupils. Such a perspective reflected the views of a number of interviewees:

Yes, I think it’s very positive, a lot more open and embracing and proud of their friendship groups [I.9].

I think it’s definitely changing, I think the wider spectrum of different nationalities you have, the more open minded you become ... you get to know different ways of thinking or seeing different issues [I.10].

I think the native children now ... they discuss, you know, in Modern Studies, they discuss EU or migration as well, and I think a lot of children realise that it works both ways, so they can go to Spain, or they can go to Portugal, but that at the same time somebody from Bulgaria, Romania or Poland [can come to Scotland]. So I think the attitude is changing, they're becoming more open to migration [I.10].

However, there was also identification of discrimination: *"there still is racism witnessed, that and really negative attitudes"* [I.9]. Such behaviour was clearly challenged, but there was also a pragmatic recognition that schools reflect what happens outside and in the home:

You have to face it, you can't deny that exists and schools do work hard [I.1].

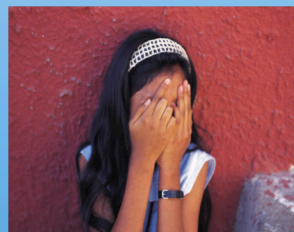
There's always a few who will be racist ... perhaps because of their parental attitudes [I.1].

I think you get hardened racist attitudes from parents – 'these Polish people are taking all our jobs' – it's the home, it depends on the kid's home background [I.3].

On the other hand, it was also acknowledged that reactions could be more simply a consequence of ignorance. As another interviewee put it, *"sometimes you see signs of bullying ... I think that they are so young and I don't think they realise how hurtful the words they are saying are, they will just say something randomly and they don't realise that it's actually a bit racist"* [I.10].

Negative attitudes

- Racism
- Bullying
- Prejudice
- Outside influences



Asking someone about their own attitudes towards migrants is a sensitive question, therefore it was broached by firstly asking interviewees to what extent they had seen colleagues' attitudes towards migrant children change. A firm distinction was made between mainstream as opposed to EAL service colleagues – generally the interviewees made this distinction themselves. For some, a change in attitudes amongst mainstream staff had been observed: *"I think it's happening, and again I think that for schools who are exposed to working with migrant children it's so nice to see like-minded people who are so open and just*

want to support pupils" [I.10]. Others had observed a growing appreciation amongst mainstream teachers that EAL children have something to offer in the classroom and have tried to change their practice as a result.

For others, a more explicit shift in attitudes was clear: *"I think they have changed quite a lot ... I have to say before, several years ago, it was more of a challenge"* [I.2]. There was also a sense that there had been a change towards an appreciation that *"it takes time for bilingual kids to learn English"* and also that even the more confident speakers *"still need support to achieve their results"* [I.4]. Crucially, the positive changes in attitudes were seen as having been driven by migrant children themselves through their own motivation. As one teacher put it, *"[they] ask for extra homework – most teachers collapse at that in a secondary school, 'can I do more, I've finished this, can I have something more to do'"* [I.3]. This suggests evidence of migrant children bringing a very positive influence.

Although most interviewees identified a positive change in attitudes some felt there were still a few exceptions amongst individuals whose behaviour and attitudes were described as negative, resistant or displaying prejudice:

I have noticed an improvement ... [but] I do think there are teachers who ... are not as embracing of working with EAL pupils as others [I.6].

Sometimes it comes from worry rather than resentment but for whatever reason they are resistant to having a pupil in their class that comes from another country and can't speak much English ... I have seen some cases where it's like prejudice [I.8].

That said, this second interviewee (cited above) added that *"when [these teachers] talk to pupils and they hear their story they do change their attitudes"* [I.8] which again suggests migrant children facilitate a change in attitudes. Likewise for one interviewee:

The majority of colleagues that I work with embrace, welcome [and are] desperate to find out how can I support this young person ... but at the same time I have to be honest there are some, I would say [there is] a personal issue with them and it filters into their professional dealings ... but sometimes people bring their own personal issues ... I would say on the whole [attitudes towards migrant pupils are] very positive with a few exceptions [I.9].

These views are consistent with the findings of McAdam and Arizpe (2011), which highlighted the need for teachers to be aware of the influence of their own personal background.

Changing attitudes

- Appreciation of what migrant children bring to the classroom
- Positive change in attitudes
- Migrants drive change



Amongst the interviewees themselves, overall there was no suggestion of a significant change in personal attitudes towards migrant children, although some upon reflection considered themselves to have become more informed regarding migration. The attitudes they expressed were evidently based on their own life experiences, and of having worked with different groups: *“I’ve become more informed though, I would say, about the actual proper numbers of people coming and going and who’s claiming this and that and benefits ... so definitely more informed to the actual facts”* [I.8].

Additionally, a measure of empathy was displayed *“I’ve always been quite sympathetic”* [I.8] and *“I think being a migrant myself, I know how they feel and I know how difficult it is to live in a different country”* [I.10]. This view was accompanied with a particular understanding of the difficulties an EAL child faces: *“I have studied languages in the past, I know it’s a very complex process and doesn’t happen within a week, so I can totally empathise with them”* [I.10]. Likewise: *“I think I have realised, although I was quite sensitive as to how difficult it was, since I’ve been shadowing some of the pupils you realise how difficult it is to access the curriculum if you are new to English and how much support is needed”* [I.6].



EAL Service

- EAL staff play vital role in promoting positive attitudes
- Uniquely positioned to understand problems faced by migrant pupils
- Service mitigates migrant vulnerability

Along with the noticeable shifts in attitudes (of both children and mainstream teachers), two further themes emerged from the responses; namely the

centrality of language and the important role played by the media. In terms of language, it was recognised as being crucial to the interaction between migrant and native children, with the relationship between language and acceptance clearly expressed:

Once English is very developed, in a lot of cases the kids just accept [migrant pupils] [I.3]

Similarly, accent was also viewed as important:

I think it's most interesting about the Glasgow accent ... because the EAL pupils start very quickly to develop a Glasgow accent and the monolingual kids love this, 'ah Miss did you hear her say ...' ... and they love it when the kids actually say something really Glaswegian [I.3].

Although such colloquial speech was discouraged “*it does I suppose make them accepted in the classroom*” [I.3]. The importance of having a particular accent can be found within a number of studies. For instance, McCrone and Bechhofer (2008) writing about the Scottish context, note that accents are a marker of identity: “Having a Scottish accent makes a significant contribution to having one’s claim to be a Scot accepted” (McCrone and Bechhofer, 2008, p.1,257).

The media too was identified by some interviewees as being complicit in misrepresenting the facts regarding immigration, with the Daily Mail in particular coming in for criticism in this regard:

I think I blame the media in a lot of cases as well, stirring things up [I.1]

I don't think it's as problematic as the Daily Mail would like to make you believe [I.8].

One interviewee gave the example of an organised classroom discussion on terms relating to migrants and immigration within the media, in order to address “*the lies in language which is used in press and language they might use outside of school*” [I.6]. This suggests a proactive attempt to positively influence native children’s opinions of migrants.

Quantitative Analysis of the Impact of Migrant Children in Glasgow Schools

As highlighted in the introduction, the quantitative component of the study considered two publicly funded secondary schools with contrasting experiences of migration: School A which had seen high numbers of migrant pupils over many years and School B which had a small but rising number of migrant pupils.

Attainment

Analysis of attainment for School A in terms of the percentage of S4 pupils who gained SCQF Level 5 or above, found a general steady increase for the period 2008 to 2012. The same analysis for School B showed a comparatively stable level of attainment during the same period (see Figure 3).

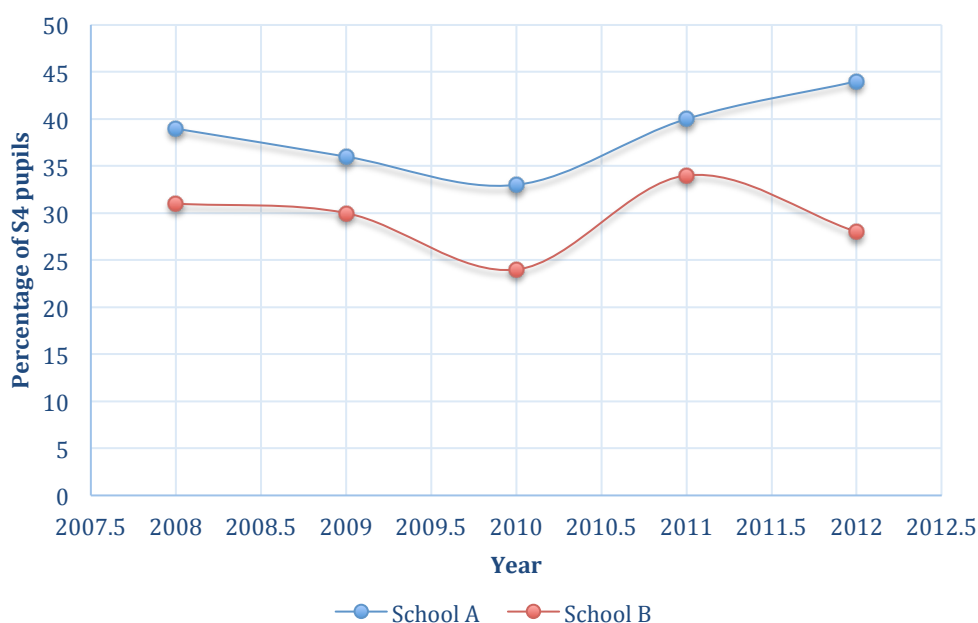


Figure 3. The percentage of S4 pupils awarded SCQF level 5 or above for School A and School B.

Statistical analysis of the quantitative data in relation to numbers of EAL pupils for both schools found there to be no relationship to S4 pupil attainment during the period 2008 to 2012.

In a wider context, statistical analysis of S4 SCQF Level 5 results shows attainment generally increased within Glasgow's publicly funded secondary schools between 2008 and 2011. Glasgow attainment, in relation to neighbouring local authorities, such as North Lanarkshire for instance, displays a similar trajectory (albeit from a lower starting point, with North Lanarkshire exhibiting historically higher results). This is despite Glasgow having

considerably more EAL pupils than North Lanarkshire. Again, this would suggest that there is not a relationship between the number of EAL pupils and attainment levels.

Destination of leavers

Analysis of attainment is an important area for research, with implications for employment and the economy, but such focus on SQA attainment is only part of the overall picture in measuring the success of pupils within Glasgow’s schools. This was reflected with inclusion of analysis of the Destination of Leavers from both schools in relation to numbers of EAL (migrant) pupils. Destination of Leavers from School A between 2008 and 2012 (as shown in Figure 4), shows an overwhelming majority of leavers continued on to Further or Higher Education. Looking at the data for 2011 alone, a figure of 64% for School A is notably above the Glasgow wide figure of 56.8% for the same year. This is in the context of School A having a well-established history of EAL migrant learners.

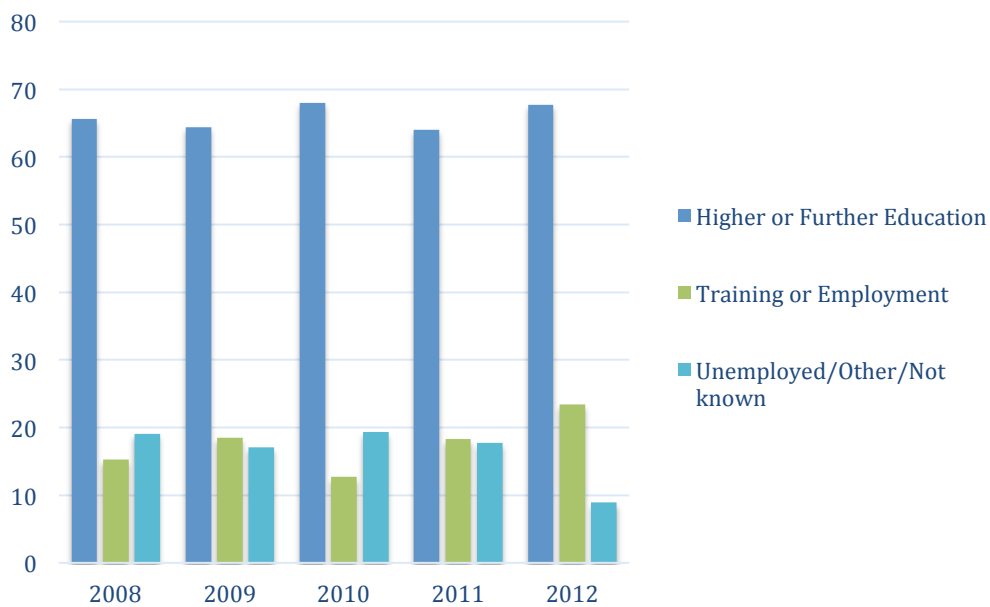


Figure 4. Destination of leavers for School A 2008-2012.

For School B (as shown in Figure 5) consistently over 50% of leavers continued on to Further or Higher Education accompanied by an average of 32.4% proceeding on to Training or Employment between 2008 and 2012: this denotes a consistent figure in comparison to Glasgow overall for Higher and Further Education, but slightly higher than the Glasgow average for Training and Employment.

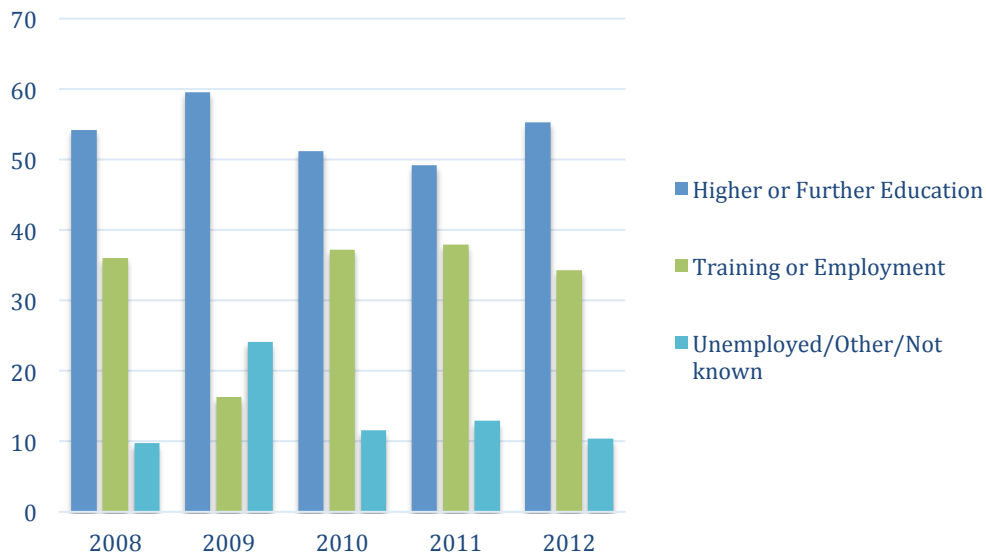


Figure 5. Destination of leavers for School B 2008-2012.

The result of statistical analysis of destinations of leavers and migrant pupils found no statistically significant relationship between positive destinations of leavers and migrant pupils for both schools.

Conclusion

Analysis of the qualitative data gained from EAL teachers working across the city, found migrants had imparted an increased and broader social awareness on native children; and had also effected a positive change in the attitudes of both native children and some mainstream teachers (in relation to the issues of acceptance and tolerance towards migrants). Migrant children were also found to enhance classroom discussion through introducing a different perspective, in effect imparting a world view not only on their native peers but also on some mainstream teachers.

It was also found from the interview data that migrants who did not have English as their first language beyond a high level of competence were vulnerable in terms of accessing and fully engaging with the curriculum. This was compounded further by the issues of setting and in some cases separation from native pupils. This is at odds with EAL strategies which advocate having migrants within classes of mixed ability to take advantage of good native role models.

Although vulnerability (due to socio-economic factors) was found to be an issue for some native children, most participants regarded migrants as more vulnerable to bullying and racism. It was further noted that specific migrant groups, such as Roma children, were further marginalised through separation from native pupils.

The study also brought out the central importance to the experience of migrant pupils of the role played by Glasgow City Council EAL Service. The EAL Service was found to mitigate migrant vulnerability through bridging the gap for migrants who arrive after the primary to secondary school transition, identified by Dustmann, Machin and Schönberg (2010) as a significant period for minority groups. Significantly, EAL staff were found to play a key role in fostering a sense of community and cultural awareness, commensurate with wider research findings. Education plays a key role as a means of promoting tolerance and social cohesion. There is therefore a risk to social cohesion if Glasgow schools fail to promote tolerance.

Statistical analysis of the quantitative data for the two schools that were studied found there to be no relationship between the number of migrant (EAL) pupils and S4 pupil attainment during the period 2008 to 2012. This significantly underlines that there has been no negative impact on attainment as a result of migrant pupils in both selected schools. Likewise Glasgow has more EAL pupils than North Lanarkshire yet maintains a similar trajectory in terms of attainment. Therefore it cannot be asserted that migrant children have a detrimental impact on the attainment of native children throughout Glasgow.

In terms of the destination of leavers, the example of School A showed that despite a sizable cohort of EAL pupils (relative to School B), positive destinations of leavers, in particular to Further and Higher education, were notably higher in comparison to Glasgow overall. There was no statistically significant relationship

found as a result of a correlation calculation, which further highlights a lack of evidence to suggest any negative influence as a result of migrant children.

Having explored the educational impact of migration on Scotland's future workforce found within Glasgow's publicly funded secondary schools, this study has demonstrated that there is more than merely anecdotal evidence that migrants have a positive impact in Glasgow schools. Whilst statistically it cannot be said migrants have improved attainment within the two cases examined, conversely it cannot be said that migrants detrimentally impact on general attainment. What is more, the qualitative research findings suggest that migrant children tend to enhance classroom discussion through introducing a different perspective; in effect imparting an increased and broader social awareness and world view not only on their native peers, but also on some mainstream teachers. This in turn, impacts upon native children and teachers attitudes towards migrants more widely. Thus there are significantly strong markers of a positive impact and therefore a firm suggestion that migrant children should be celebrated as Glasgow's very own 'cosmopolitan intellectuals'.



Policy implications

- Given increasing numbers of EAL students in Glasgow, there is a resource consideration for Glasgow City Council if the EAL Service is to continue to fulfil its vital role in the educational experience of migrants.
- Migrant children's own languages should continue to be valued within educational settings.
- New arrivals who are being supported to acquire English as an additional language should be given opportunities to communicate in their mother tongue where possible. This will not only create opportunities for other pupils to learn about different languages, but also ease some of the transition difficulties faced by some migrant pupils.
- Practice of setting and the resulting impact on EAL pupils should be reviewed.
- Recognition of migrant pupils' existing languages through academic credit may open up opportunities for them beyond school.
- Scotland will benefit from the linguistically diverse future workforce presently found within Glasgow's schools if the educational potential of migrant children is fulfilled.

Recommendations for further research

There is a need for comparative case studies at both local and national level to fully assess all dimensions of this important research area; including interviewing both EAL and mainstream teaching staff and senior management. The scope of the research could also be broadened to include study of attitudes towards migration and education expressed through social media.

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