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The role of the Pupil Premium grant in promoting educational achievements of disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in secondary schools in London. A critical analysis using the Capability Approach.

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Abstract

The analysis of the Pupil Premium (PP) grant using the Capability Approach (CA) focuses on the UK government initiative of the PP funding. The PP grant is an additional fund given to schools since 2011 to close the attainment gap between disadvantaged pupils and their peers. The study considers: first, how the Pupil Premium grant impacts the educational achievements of the disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in the context of three secondary schools in south London. Second, the PP Black girls' experiences and perceptions of the educational interventions provided due to the PP funding. The study uses intersectionality prism to highlight how gender, race and poverty affect the educational experiences of the disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. It analyses the provisions, impacts, perceptions and experiences of PP Black girls using the Capability Approach theoretical framework.

The research utilised a qualitative methodology. It collected data through interviews with twenty participants: fourteen PP Black girl students of African and Caribbean descent, three senior teachers responsible for implementations and evaluations of the PP funding, three classroom teachers from three different schools other than the main sites. The interviews were supplemented with the schools' public policy documents available on their websites: Pupil Premium Reports and Strategies, and Equalities, Diversity Policy.

Five themes emerged from the interviews: PP students' knowledge and understanding of the PP grant; educational activities offered to PP students; experiences and perceptions of educational provisions - of support provided, racial prejudice and stereotypes; motivation; home situation-deprivation and low income. All the findings were analysed using the CA framework, highlighting the inadequacy of the current evaluation of the PP grant's impact based solely on educational attainment and progress. Since the current evaluations focus mainly on examination outcomes, they fail to incorporate the intersections of challenges facing PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. For instance, racism resulting from teachers' conscious and unconscious bias and racial illiteracy; gender – girls' 'managed moved' and not recorded in the exclusion data; poverty – the PP funding is inadequate to cater for PP Black girl's needs beyond the school gates. Even when they are in school, the funds allocated for school meals are insufficient to purchase the adequate quantity and quality needed for a growing teenage girl. Additionally, the PP Black girls experience prejudice, stereotypes and the stigma attached to being classified as a disadvantaged students.

The study suggests that government policies aimed to improve Black students' educational achievement should consider the intersectionality prism of gender, race, and poverty. They should also use the Capability Approach to evaluate educational provisions to maximise the positive impact of interventions on disadvantaged students' educational achievement and attainment.

Impact statement

It is envisaged that the most benefits from this research will accrue to the staff and students at the schools in which research has been conducted and the institutions of the classroom teachers who contributed to the study. Additionally, it aims to contribute to educational provisions of the disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent to consider intersectionality prism and the capabilities approach (CA) framework. The study contributes to knowledge and professional practice in many ways. The process and the outcomes have a significant constructive impact on my professional role, and I hope they will also impact those who work in secondary schools.

The recommendations made here are derived from the research on three study sites and narratives from the three classroom teachers from other schools. Whilst all the schools in this study are committed to improving the educational provisions of the disadvantaged students and closing the attainment gap between the disadvantaged students and their peers; this study identified the barriers that may cause these efforts to have limited efficacy. The study is a crucial step to remove those barriers and generate visible progress.

The study findings have shown that schools predominantly use utilitarian approaches to measure the Pupil Premium grant's efficacy. Furthermore, the Ofsted would not award a school an 'Outstanding' grade if the inspection shows that the disadvantaged students do not make expected progress in closing the achievement gap. The provisions, such as employing extra teachers for Mathematics and English, providing one to one intervention, are all measured by the outcomes based on examination results. The utilitarian approaches lack comprehensiveness, hence missing on a range of issues impacting individuals and groups of Pupil Premium (PP) students' educational needs. For instance, the disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent are affected by race, poverty, gender, exclusions, inadequate number of racially literate teachers and exclusions. To understand the compounding effects of these issues on the disadvantaged Black girls' lives and education, the schools must consider using intersectionality. Intersectionality is a prism for understanding how multiple forms of disadvantages sometimes compound themselves to create obstacles that often are not understood within conventional ways of considering social justice advocacy structures (NAIS, 2018).

The study has shown that the disadvantaged Black girls' educational experiences are affected by intersections of racism, poverty and gender both within and outside school compounds. The PP grant alone is inadequate to consider all the intersections. Furthermore, the evaluation of schooling that focuses mainly on examination results, the number of students progressing to further and higher

education, and eventually to employment misses an essential element in young people's needs. It fails to account for educational processes and what an individual student values to do and to be. The current utilitarian approach to evaluating schooling's effectiveness should be accompanied by the capability approach (CA). The CA demands a re-examination of the relationships between students' competencies, freedoms and wellbeing (Hart and Brando, 2018). The CA is a comprehensive framework as it allows for an expansion of the evaluative space to understand education's role in promoting human flourishing (Drèze and Sen, 2013; Hart, 2018; Unterhalter and Walker, 2007). The CA provides a conceptual tool for reflecting on ways to reduce the present injustices in the current education systems and wider society, instead of waiting for all people to agree on what constitutes justice (Hart, 2012).

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Declaration

I, [redacted] submitted this thesis to the UCL Institute of Education in partial fulfilment of the Doctorate in Education requirements.

I certify that all material in this thesis that is not my own work has been identified. No material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

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Personal thanks go to the three schools: to the teachers, students and their parents, who kindly agreed to participate in the study; three classroom teachers who kindly agreed to share their knowledge and classroom experiences of dealing with the PP students. Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my late sister Dolphine Atieno and my late father, Martin Vincent Odhiambo, who sadly died during my EdD programme.

Reflective statement

Introduction

I embarked on an EdD journey five years after completing an MA programme at the UCL Institute of Education. My MA was in Education Gender and International Development. The dissertation was based on urban refugees' educational needs at the Bangkok Refugee Centre (BRC) in Thailand, where I did my internship as a mentor to the refugee teachers. The findings informed and improved the quality of educational provisions for the urban refugees at the BRC. The EdD (instead of PhD) route best suited my research interest as a reflective practitioner. I desired to work on a project that would inform and improve the quality of educational provisions at my workplace. The EdD programme route was through Postgraduate Diploma in Social Science Research Methods (PgDip SSRM). This course's taught elements reassured me that I was ready to carry out my EdD research. Entering EdD through PgDip SSRM was the best choice due to its structured nature and collaborative group support. The invaluable feedback from tutors, supervisors and fellow students challenged, supported and shaped my thinking into focusing on my research direction. My work throughout the EdD programme has been linked to the educational needs of disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. The course reassured me that this focus area was feasible, appropriate and potentially valuable for my professional development as a secondary school teacher. The course gave me an opportunity, through placement, in a team of experienced researchers to experience real-world research and sharpened my focus.

Progression through taught courses.

As stated above, my route into EdD was through PgDip SSRM, which is an intensive accelerated programme. It suited professionals like me, a teacher interested in developing research skills in social science. During the PgDip SSRM programme, I covered the following modules, which I will reflect on: Developing Research Questions, Methods of Investigation, Designing a Research Study and Developing a Research Proposal. Having completed the course, I embarked on the EdD programme that commenced with a taught module on the Foundations of Professionalism followed by Institutional Focused Study (IFS).

Developing Research Questions

As Bryman (2012) explains, social research and its associated methods do not occur in a vacuum; this module enabled me to consider my research interest in concrete terms. My research interests and motivation emanated from being a reflective practitioner as a teacher and from the MA programme. My initial research question was, 'What motivates or demotivates Black girls' achievements in Secondary schools in south London?' Having considered the research area, I began to consider relevant literature and identified the gap that my study would contribute to. Introductory readings to the course enlightened me on the role of literature review: to evaluate, synthesise and critically analyse the existing literature in the research area; it helps to identify the direction of further research, formulate research questions, narrow the gap or find solutions to the problem identified, help to identify relevant design, method, methodologies for research project (Robson, 2011; Randolph, 2009). The first assignment introduced me to operationalising good research questions to determine the appropriate methodology to address them and relevant research instruments for data collection (Bryman, 2012).

Methods of Investigation

This second module gave me hands-on experience working with a team of researchers. My second assignment was 'Methods of Investigation'. It was based on a research placement at the UCL Institute of Education in the Department of Education Practice and Society. I was attached to a team working on a three-year project in Nigeria. This assignment expected me to understand the social science project's choices and link a real-world research project and social science research theories. The placement gave me a glimpse into real-world research. I understood that there are many hurdles to go through from the research ontology conception until its completion. The research paradigm of the Nigeria project was clearly defined and outlined. The literature reviews identified, the study carried out and the area yet to be ventured into, and how the findings would contribute to policy-making, consequently improving girls' educational outcomes. I grasped the challenges of having research teams located in more than one country. For instance, whatever happens on the research ground affect other team members as they have to wait for the data to be collected while the process of collecting the data might be affected by various circumstances such as weather, political and security situations. Moreover, the project highlighted the significance of ethics in social science research. It is an ongoing process from the beginning until after the conclusion of the study. The project also showed the importance of teamwork and collaboration, especially on a more significant project like my placement. Additionally, I learnt the importance of having flexibility in choosing research methods and methodology

to let the research context supersede the investigator's method preferences. In this case, I realised the importance of mixed-method research design; it shows how qualitative and quantitative research methods illuminate each other in a relevant research project.

Designing a Research Study

The third module was Designing a Research Study. In this module, through my assignment, I had an opportunity to practice what I had learnt in modules one and two. It was a pilot study for my future research, 'What are the Black girl students' perceptions and experiences of the use of the UK government's Pupil Premium grant in a secondary school in south London?' My tutor's comments confirmed that my pilot study made an appropriate research focus for a more extensive study where more in-depth interviews could occur. In preparation for the pilot study, I learnt how to write a research proposal and consider ethical issues by completing the ethical form and submitting it to the ethics committee for approval. This assignment's feedback highlighted that I should critically engage with literature in my future research rather than accept previous research at face value.

Additionally, I understood that I needed to be more specific in methodology, focus on the rationale and the research process. This module enabled me to sharpen my research question by introducing the analytical framework of the capability approach to analyse how the PP grant impacts the educational achievements and attainments of the disadvantaged Black girls and their experience and perceptions of the educational provisions due to the PP grant. Through the pilot study, I learned that Focus Group Discussion was not an appropriate methodology due to the stigma attached to being classified as a disadvantaged student. These experiences helped shape the directions of the EdD thesis.

Developing a Research Proposal

My final PgDip SSRM module and assignment was Developing a Research Proposal. Practically, this assignment taught me how to write a research proposal for the EdD programme. It allowed me to peer-review a fellow student's research proposal and get peer feedback on my proposal. Through the peer-review process, I had an opportunity to see how others write their proposal, give them feedback, and learn from their writing styles. The tutor's feedback on my proposal highlighted my need to be more concise in my EdD research proposal. This feedback was invaluable in refining both my EdD and IFS proposal to meet the word count requirements.

Foundations of professionalism

My first assignment in the second year of the EdD programme was Foundations of Professionalism (FoP). The assignment was, 'What are the impacts of the government's education policies introduced in England since 2010 on teaching professionalism in secondary schools? A critical analysis using Capability Approach'. This assignment allowed me to consider the de-professionalisation and proletarianisation of teachers, my profession. Following my tutor's feedback on my first draft, I refined my assignment to focus on specific areas adversely affected by government changes: Religious Education and Personal, Social, Health and Citizenship Education. Additionally, it was an opportunity to consider the PP grant and analysis using the Capability Approach, the two elements I intended to consider in my IFS and EdD thesis.

Institutional Focused Study (IFS)

I had intended that the 'Designing a Research Study' module would be the first stage of an investigation, which would develop through IFS. The IFS was based on my place of work, a school in south London. It involved using interviews and document analysis, as I had learned from the pilot study that Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was not an appropriate data collection method. It entailed consideration of my position as an insider researcher and how to access the data ethically. It highlighted how the experiences of the Black girls of African and Caribbean descent are punctuated with intersections of race, gender and poverty. It showed how the evaluation of educational provisions that focus mainly on examination results misses out the processes that affect the academic achievements of Black girls. During IFS data analysis, I worked with a fellow student (PhD) to identify the interviews' emerging themes. It was a valuable experience and lessons that helped me in analysing the EdD data. I presented my IFS to the Critical Realism group at the UCL Institute of Education. The feedback reinforced my confidence in expanding my research to more schools in south London.

Thesis

My work throughout the EdD has been linked to the educational needs of disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. This study was inspired by experiences and observations of Black girls' academic underachievement, especially in GCSE examination classes. The underachievement persisted despite the various interventions offered in lessons and after school sessions. There is a wealth of well-documented literature on Black students' educational underachievement, especially in secondary schools in England. The studies showed that underachievement is due to an intersection of

poverty, race and gender (Perera, 2020; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). While at school, they face additional challenges such as conscious and unconscious differential treatment due to their race; inadequate numbers of Black teachers; Black students are often permanently excluded due to poor behaviour for learning (Gillborn and Drew, 2010; Runnymede, 2012; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). The study had three main aims: to describe the impacts of the PP grant on the educational achievements of disadvantaged Black girl students of African and Caribbean descent; to explore and describe the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's perceptions and experiences of how the PP grant is used in secondary schools in South London; to use the capabilities approach framework to evaluate whether the schools' provisions enhance or diminish the PP Black girls' capabilities of being and doing.

The IFS and thesis stages helped me in developing my skills. I learnt that in-depth interviews, triangulated with documentary and robust thematic analyses, could generate a significant amount of rich data and has the power to highlight what the current evaluation fails to consider.

Conclusion

Like other Professional Doctorates, the EdD programme aims to produce reflective practitioners, develop a practitioner's professional knowledge, work-based research whose findings should impact professional practice (Burgess et al., 2013). The genesis of my EdD studies with PgDip SSRM has seen my confidence and research interest grow. Having completed a pilot study on Black girls' perceptions and experience of the Pupil Premium grant at my school, my line manager tasked me with Action Research on Student Voice's role in improving teaching and learning in Religious Education. The research skills I had acquired during PgDip SSRM facilitated my Action Research project, whose outcome was implemented by many departments and the Senior Leadership Team at various levels in the school. Additionally, it allowed me to apply for and successfully secure the head of the Religious Education faculty post at my school. I consider this the beginning of a symbiotic relationship between my EdD study and professional practice and development, which I hope will grow further. The most rewarding part of completing EdD is that it has enabled me to contribute to my professional practice and help people. It has sharpened my awareness of the intersections of issues that pose challenges to Black students and the need to go beyond the utilitarian evaluative methods of measuring educational effectiveness. We ought to incorporate the capability approach framework as a comprehensive lens that combines the educational processes and achievements of what students have a reason to value.

List of abbreviations and Key terms

List of abbreviations

BME: Black and Minority Ethnic

CA: Capability Approach

CPD: Continuous Professional Development

DfE: Department for Education

EBacc: English Baccalaureate

ESFA: Education and Skills Funding Agency

FSM: Free school Meal

GCSE: General Certificate in Secondary Education

HoD: Head of Department

HoY: Head of Year

LAC: Looked after children

OFSTED: Office for Standards in Education

PISA: Programme for International Student Assessment

PP: Pupil Premium

PRU: Pupil Referral Unit

SENCO: Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator

SEND: Special Educational Needs and Disability

STEM: Science, Technology and Mathematics

Key terms

Some of the key terms used in this thesis that need clarifications are:

- **Pupil Premium (PP) students and disadvantaged students** are terms that are used interchangeably in this thesis.
- **Intersectionality lens and intersectionality prism** are also used interchangeably in the thesis.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Rationale for Study

1.0. Introduction

The study is practitioner research, which is concerned with how the Pupil Premium (PP) grant impacts the educational achievements of the disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in the context of three secondary schools in south London. The focus is on girls, not boys, for two reasons; first, the study was motivated by personal experiences and observations in the context of my place of work. As a teacher practitioner in an all girls' high school in London for at least fifteen years, I observed no differential academic achievements when students are taught in mixed ability groupings in years 7 and 8. However, students are taught in academic ability sets/tiers (a top set being one and a bottom set four) in Years 9, 10 and 11. Black girls of African and Caribbean descent seldom make it to the top sets in classes where students are taught in the ability sets. For instance, in an English or Maths top set class of 30 pupils, there would be none or a maximum of three Black girls, while in the bottom sets, one may find as many as fifteen or twenty Black girls. This observation inspired my initial area of interest to investigate what particularly demotivates Black girls post Years 7 and 8 classes. Second, most research on the underachievement of Black students has often focused on boys (Ball, 2008; Demie, 2019; DfE, 2016). Even though girls have made better educational progress; Black girls are still lagging behind their Chinese, Indian descent, and White ethnicity peers. Therefore, the study focuses on Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. Nevertheless, the analysis does not consider these two groups separately. It is acknowledged that not differentiating between student groups can mask differential educational experiences and outcomes within Black educational experiences.

The research aims to discuss the impacts of the PP grant on the educational achievements of the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent and their experiences and perceptions of the use of the PP funding. In order to answer the research question, the achievement is conceptualised by students' progress from a lower tier (set) to a higher tier (set). The study analyses the provisions, impacts, perceptions and experiences of PP Black girls using the capability approach (CA) theoretical framework. Since the introduction and inception of the PP grant in 2011, the Department for Education (DfE) and individual schools have evaluated its use and impacts on disadvantaged pupils' educational achievements (Carpenter et al., 2013). The evaluations have mainly focused on the educational outcomes, especially on examination results and the resources to facilitate the outcomes (Sutton Trust and EEF, 2015; Rowland, 2014). The Utilitarian-based evaluation fails to capture the individual students' capabilities and functionings: what they have a reason to value, do, and become. It also fails to consider how gender, race, and poverty intersect in individual PP Black girls' lives.

Furthermore, there is no evidence that evaluations conducted have specifically considered the student beneficiaries' experiences and perceptions of PP funding. This research attends to these gaps, focusing on the disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. Crenshaw (2011) argued that to gain a comprehensive picture of the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) group, one ought to use an intersectionality prism because the BME experiences are often punctuated with the intersections of gender, poverty and race. This study, therefore, incorporates the intersectionality prism. The study concentrates on three schools (sites) in south London because: first, there is a significant BME population of African and Caribbean origins; second, as a secondary school teacher of fifteen years, I have always taught in south London; hence, it was convenient to access schools for research participants in the region. Finally, I work in an all-girl school where I have witnessed some of the challenges experienced by Black girls in a school environment and the implementations of the government's initiatives to narrow the educational achievement gaps between the disadvantaged students and their peers. The study considers: first, the educational provisions offered to the PP students to close the achievement gaps between them and their non-PP peers; second, their experiences and perceptions of these provisions; finally, analyse to what extent the provisions enhance or inhibit the capabilities of being and doing of the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. The work then presents a justification of the CA as a desirable framework for evaluating the disadvantaged students' educational provisions in secondary schools. The thesis consists of a further five chapters. Chapter two examines the literature to generate a Conceptual Framework from which the research questions are formulated.

1.1. **Research context and background**

Several studies (Perera, 2020; Social Finance, 2020; Weale, 2020; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020; Ball, 2008) show that various issues affect BME students: low educational attainment levels, poverty, inadequate number of teachers from BME groups, behaviour, and exclusion. Most of these factors consequently lead to the underachievement of BME students (Ball,2008). Black boys are twice likely to be labelled as having behavioural, emotional or social difficulty (ibid.). They face higher than average rates of permanent exclusions (Ball, 2008). Several studies have mainly focused on the exclusion of Black boys, while girls are twice as likely to be permanently excluded from school compared with the total school population and their White female peers (Rollock, 2007). Recent studies have shown that girls' exclusion is often missing from the official data as they are often managed-moved to other schools

(Perera, 2020; Social Finance, 2020). Gillborn and Drew (2010) study reveal that exclusion from school significantly impacts pupils' attainment levels. Excluded pupils are more likely to complete their education without academic qualifications; therefore, they have limited chances to further their education or access employment. Additionally, low academic achievements may facilitate a child's involvement in criminal activities (Runnymede, 2012).

1.1.1. Underachievement and government interventions

There is a clear connection between poverty and educational underachievement (Francis and Perry, 2010). Numerous statistical studies have shown that social class is the strongest predictor of educational underachievement in Britain (Kingdon and Cassen, 2007; Dyson et al., 2010; Sodha and Margo, 2010). The underachievement problem has attracted significant attention from various political parties. Successive governments have devised various initiatives to try to solve the problem. For example, in 2011, the government allocated funds to improve failing schools by turning them into academies (DfE, 2010; Francis and Perry, 2010). Additionally, the government introduced the PP grant, an additional funds given to schools to support disadvantaged pupils in catching up in their educational attainment and progress (Francis and Perry, 2010; Carpenter et al., 2013).

1.1.2. The Pupil Premium grant

The PP grant was introduced in April 2011 by the coalition government (2010-2015) of the Liberal Democrat and the Conservative parties (Carpenter et al., 2013). It is additional funding, outside the dedicated school grant, paid to publicly funded schools in England. The PP funding enables schools to close the achievement gap between disadvantaged pupils and their peers. The disadvantaged pupils are from a low-income household and are eligible for Free School Meals (FSM) or who had been 'looked after' continuously for more than six years (Jarret et al., 2016:4; Carpenter et al., 2013). The PP grant is unique compared to other forms of funding for disadvantaged pupils. It is aimed at supporting an individual, specific child. It is not ring-fenced, and its impacts are evaluated by schools, which are expected to publish detailed reports on their websites, specifying how the money has been spent. The Sutton Trust and EEF (2015) study findings show that PP funding supports all pupils' improved attainment to an extent. Furthermore, many schools feel that PP funding helps close the gap created by cuts in schools' capital funding (ibid.). Some evaluations of the PP funding's importance and impact have been conducted since its introduction in 2011 (Rowland 2014, Carpenter et al., 2013).

1.2. **Theoretical framework -The Capability Approach (CA)**

The literature reveals that the situation of PP Black girl pupils is more complex compared to other students. Their daily experiences both inside and outside educational institutions include challenges of intersections of race, gender, and poverty (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020; Ball, 2008; Perera, 2020). Due to the complexity of PP Black girl students' experiences and their perceptions of educational provisions, the analysis requires a multidimensional theoretical framework, which is more comprehensive than the current utilitarian approaches to evaluation in education (Kelly, 2012; Unterhalter, 2007). The contemporary evaluative framework used in education is predominantly based on utilitarian principles, which is arguable inadequate. The following section will briefly consider utilitarianism fundamental principle and explain why it is inadequate, hence argue for the CA.

1.2.1 Utilitarianism

Bessant (2014) argues that, in the Western world, for a long-time, education has been justified and deemed valuable through the lens of utilitarian tradition. It is a view that has been bolstered by economists and policy-makers utilising the language of investment in human capital promoted by neoclassical economists such as Becker (1993). In the utilitarian tradition, education and human well-being are valued insofar as they produce skilled workers for the labour market, enabling higher incomes and enhanced living standards for the individual and societal, economic growth (Bessant, 2014; Unterhalter, 2007).

Utilitarianism is an ethical theory whose classical form is associated with Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart-Mill (West, 2004; Crimmins, 2021). It has played a crucial role in shaping public life and core modern institutions, especially in English speaking countries (Bessant, 2014). The fundamental principle in Utilitarianism is the greatest good for the greatest number. It is a form of consequentialist theory: moral action is judged by the outcomes, which maximises the overall good (good of others and one's own). Although Utilitarianism is one of the most persuasive ethical theory in the history of philosophy, its features such as: focusing on the majority, outcomes, utility, impartiality and pleasure to moral evaluation or decision-making, has brought controversy and consequently changes in the classical version of Bentham and Mill (Bessant, 2014; Crimmins, 2021; Schneider, 2010).

The key themes in Bentham's version are what motivates humans, the principle of utility, and the hedonic calculus (Schneider, 2010). Bentham claimed that nature had placed humanity at the mercy of two sovereign masters: pain and pleasure. Humans are motivated to seek what gives them the most

pleasure and least pain; therefore, people should pursue what produces the most pleasure and avoid what brings pain (Crimmins, 2021). Having made this descriptive claim about human nature, Bentham proceeded to make a normative claim: when faced with ethical decisions, people should choose the course of action which maximises pleasure and minimises pain for the greatest number of people (Schneider, 2010). This is the principle of utility (or usefulness). Bentham proceeded further to devise a quantitative way of measuring pleasure and pain. He called it hedonic calculus, which is comprised of seven factors one must consider when calculating the actual amount of pleasure an act will produce (ibid.). Bentham's ethical hedonism was rejected by subsequent utilitarians, especially the idea that the good is whatever satisfies human desire (Bessant, 2014; West, 2004). Mill's version of utilitarianism tried to remedy the weaknesses of Bentham and suggested happiness instead of pleasure. He argued that not all pleasures are equal, hence rejected quantity of pleasure and instead focused on the quality of pleasure. Mill distinguished higher and lower pleasures. The former is the pleasure of mind and include art, philosophy, and literature (West, 2004). The latter are bodily pleasures, which include food, drink, or sex (ibid.). Since its inception, it has been challenging to find common ground amongst utilitarian philosophers. Further differences are articulated by contemporary and diverse thinkers such a Kagan, Smart, Singer and Railton (Bessant, 2014).

Other than the internal differences, Utilitarianism has been criticised by non-utilitarian philosophers such as Kant, Sedgwick, Green, Finnis Posner, Williams, and Sen. Bessant (2014) outlined five critiques posed by outsiders: First, reliance on happiness does not provide a stable ground for morality. There are too many ways to describe happiness (pleasure). What produces happiness is fluid: to claim morality can be determined by the degree to which an act satisfies desire or relieves pain, while side-lining the nature of action used to create happiness is inadequate. A good outcome might be brought about by repugnant actions. Furthermore, some actions which are pleasurable to others might cause others grief. Supporting such action can never be right. The second critique is whether there should be ethical weighting according to different degrees of happiness. The question is whether all happiness is equal, or some forms of happiness are superior to others – is the happiness of one group more important than the happiness of another group? Regarding the minoritised groups (such as the disadvantaged), utilitarianism leaves them at the mercy of the majority. The majority always has priority over minorities as they are only considered if securing their interest will enhance the utility of the majority. Third, applying utilitarianism in an education context restricts teachers' capacity to exercise their duty of care and to utilise their professional judgment. They are expected to focus on the greatest good for the greatest number, that is, to identify what contributes to their well-being and that of their

student. The problem with this view is whether the teacher can act morally when the source of their judgment is neither their own sense of morality nor conscience but focusing on what satisfies the majority. Fourth, the teacher and student naturally have a fiduciary relationship. Teachers have a duty to act in ways that protect the interests of students in their care. Utilitarianism limits teachers' capability to carry out their fiduciary duties as doing so might go against the interest of the majority or the well-being of an individual. Fifth, since utilitarianism work within the framework of the greatest good for the greatest number to secure the general welfare, it fails to recognise the distinction between people as it treats them as a single entity. It ignores the different desires and needs prevalent in every society; consequently, the capabilities and functions peculiar to individuals in the society are neither acknowledged nor respected (see Rawls, 1971; Bessant, 2014).

The current education system is preoccupied with evidence-based policy, which sustains the idea that the following practices in education are measurable: effectiveness, teaching and learning standards and progress. The focus on empirical evidence-based policy-making is obsessed with the relentless use of metrics when considering the rates of participation, demonstrable competencies, quantifiable learning outcomes (Bessant, 2014; Unterhalter, 2007; Kelly, 2012). This utilitarian approach, which is fixated with accountability and productivity, shows how education policy primarily acts as a technical exercise. It is inadequate as it fails to consider the complexities of educational experiences of different individual learners and teaching practices by focusing on standardised assessments and encouraging homogenising education at its policy-making level (Stronach, 2010; Lingard, 2011). It ignores the debate about the good of education and the political choices available (Bessant, 2014). This approach has a destructive impact on disadvantaged communities due to its use of the utilitarian ethical principle of the greatest good for the greatest number (ibid.). The fact that the educational needs of PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent is complex, and the utilitarian-based evaluation framework is limited points to the value of considering an alternative approach, that is, the capability approach.

1.2.2. The Capability Approach (CA)

The CA was pioneered by economist-philosopher Amartya Sen and developed, initially by philosopher Martha Nussbaum and, subsequently, several humanities and social science scholars (Robeyns, 2011). The analysis in this thesis uses Sen's and Nussbaum's CA due to their formative role in conceptualising the CA. They both draw from Aristotle's virtue ethics tradition to counter and reframe the utilitarian worldview (Bessant, 2014). Their CA's primary focus is on well-being, development, and justice. It approaches the task by asking what does a person value. For instance, what can a person do or

be as opposed to how much resources a person has or can acquire? The CA describes human development using the language of human capabilities and highlights the essentials of a good life and for promoting justice and equity in society. Sen and Nussbaum see individuals as an end in themselves in contrast to utilitarianism, which views people as a means to an end (Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 2009). The CA focuses on what a person can be or do, not what they have; what is needed for a person to be free to choose what they value; what it takes to achieve the 'doings' and 'beings' that people value (Sen, 1999). In a nutshell, the CA can be characterised by a normative claim that freedom is morally important. Freedom is imperative to achieve well-being, which is needed if a person is to have opportunities (capabilities) to do and become what they have a reason to value. Failure to facilitate freedom is morally wrong (Bessant, 2014). "This presents a powerful argument for the provision of certain 'forms of education through which a person can explore her own conception of what she has reason to value'" (Bessant, 2014:139).

Sen (1999) argues that the current evaluative accounts fail to consider the notion of what activities a person can do (doings) and the kind of person one can be (being). A theoretical framework that considers these two aspects is the capabilities approach, as it has a multidimensional nature. The CA's primary focus is on well-being, development, and justice. Capabilities are the real freedoms people have to achieve their potentials and be who they want to be. Real freedoms entail a person having all the required necessary means to do what they can and become whom they desire; it is a substantial opportunity to achieve one's desires of doing and being. The focus is not on resources and goods (means) but instead on the person (ends) and what they can do and be with the resources at their disposal (Robeyns, 2011). The CA central question is neither the satisfaction of an individual nor how many resources they have at their command but what they can do and be (Nussbaum, 2002). In an educational context, it does not solely focus on how much resources are at the disposal of PP Black girl students nor how satisfied they are with their educational provisions, but who they are and what they can become, the freedom to achieve their potentials. The fundamental concepts of the CA are capabilities and functionings. The former is the ability or opportunities to achieve, while the latter are the achievements (Saito, 2003).

Capabilities entail the freedom a person has to achieve their potentials. Nussbaum succinctly explains, "Human capabilities are what people are actually able to do and to be – in a way informed by the intuitive idea of life that is worthy of the dignity of a human being" (Nussbaum 2000:5). The CA highlights the significance of improving a person's substantive freedoms (real opportunities) to achieve

what they would like to be and do. It focuses directly on the quality of life individuals can achieve and has a reason to value.

The CA is the desired framework due to its person-centredness. For instance, the literature indicates that Black girls of African and Caribbean descent are often excluded due to their behaviour (Osler, 2010). However, the school authority often focuses on the behaviour, not on the causes of behaviour. For example, Osler (2010) study revealed that Black girls are more vulnerable to exclusion than their white female peers, who sometimes bully them. The Black girls take issue upon themselves to deal with the bully and risk being excluded by the school authority, who mainly focus on their angry outbursts, not what caused the anger. Since CA is person-centred, its use can highlight where the system fails and start tackling the issue from its root causes.

Furthermore, CA will be able to consider PP students home situation and school environments and how this impact the educational experiences of Black girls. Some studies (Demie, 2019; Maylor, 2020; Mirza and Reay, 2000) have highlighted some good practices in Black Supplementary Schools and school leadership that enable Black students to thrive. The analysis using the CA can highlight these practices and suggest how to cascade them for the benefit of all pupils, especially the Black African and Caribbean students who have persistently hit the headlines for underachievement, together with White working-class boys (currently).

As with any normative framework, the CA has not been immune to criticism. Sen's and Nussbaum's CA have been criticised by Pogge (2002), who argued that the CA does not sufficiently present a solid challenge to the resourcists theories such as Rawlsian. He claims that Sen and Nussbaum exaggerate the difference between the CA and resourcist approaches. They only focus their attention on asking whether natural human diversity should be compensated. He further accused the CA proponents of committing a strawman fallacy by comparing the CA to a form of resourcism that is not the most plausible. Pogge concluded that the CA could not be justified as it is less clear, workable, and plausible, just as Rawlsian principles. He argued that the CA criteria are still far from addressing and highlighting the horrendous injustices in the world. The CA has only advanced the discussion of social justice.

Nevertheless, it is observable that Pogge's criticisms do not condemn the CA but maintains that it is valuable as a reference point for the existing resourcist to revise their success criteria and refine their ideas (Barges, 2007). Pogge's criticisms were challenged by Berges (2007), who argued that the CA is justified. In comparison to resourcist theories, she asserted that the CA is superior, not just more plausible, as it gives a clear framework for dealing with people from deprived backgrounds suffering

from injustices. The CA is a more illuminating framework, which highlights compelling reasons to promote certain capabilities.

A further critique of the CA is often found in the writings of social scientists or philosophers who claim that the CA, just like any other neoclassical economics or liberal egalitarianism theory, is individualistic. The critique claims that the CA is individualistic. It does not regard individuals as part of their social environment who are socially embedded and connected to others, not atomised individuals (Robeyns, 2000). Robeyns (2000), in response to the criticism, explain that the critique suffers from the mistake of collapsing different kinds of individualism (ethical, methodological, and ontological) into one. Ethical individualism is concerned primarily with individual morality rather than society. The evaluation of the situation is mainly concerned with individual flourishing and how the states of social affairs affect them (ibid.). Methodological individualism is the idea that facts about individuals constitute social facts; social structures are collections of individuals and their behaviour; social explanations must be derived from individuals and their properties. Ontological individualism is concerned with what determines social properties or facts. It claims that only individual and their properties exist; social reality can be replicated with how things are with and between individuals; society is built from nothing other than individuals (Epstein, 2009; Robeyns, 2000).

Robeyns (2000) argue that ethical individualism is compatible with a personal ontology that recognises that interconnectedness between people and their social embedment. Furthermore, ethical individualism can also be compatible with a social policy targeting particular groups or communities. The CA incorporates ethical individualism but does not rely upon ontological individualism. Instead, it considers how societal and institutional structures influence social relations to create or limit opportunities for individuals. The CA recognises how the social and environmental factors influence the conversion factors of goods into achievements (functionings). It also distinguishes between the opportunities (capabilities) accorded to an individual to achieve their valued functionings and the achievements (functionings). For an individual to move from capabilities to functionings, one is required to make possible choices. To do this, it is necessary to consider the societal structures and limitations on those choices. Sen's CA is not individualistic as it considers the vital roles societal structures play in creating or limiting choices of opportunities for an individual to achieve their valued functionings. The CA is a complementary framework of choice. It is a method that facilitates interpersonal comparisons and argues for functionings and capabilities as the relevant evaluative space, where each application can be supplemented with other theories. For example, "theory of normative relevance of class, gender or race, which are in turn based on positive theories of human behaviour and societal processes"

(Robeyns, 2000:17). This thesis will supplement the CA with the intersectionality prism to consider how gender, race and poverty affect the educational achievements of the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. The CA framework is revisited in more detail in the next chapter and in the analysis in chapter five.

1.3. **Research questions**

The study uses a qualitative research methodology to analyse narratives collected through interviews and school policy documents available in the public domain to answer three research questions:

1. How does the Pupil Premium (PP) grant impact the educational achievements of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in secondary schools in south London?
2. How do the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent experience and perceive the use of the UK government's Pupil Premium grant in secondary schools in south London?
3. To what extent does the use of the PP grant enhance the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's capabilities of being and doing?

1.4. **Summary**

To summarise, this chapter has considered the research background and the questions it seeks to answer. It has outlined the rationale for focusing on PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in three schools in south London. It has briefly considered and justified the use of the CA, which is the theoretical framework employed in analysing the experiences and perceptions of PP Black girl students of African and Caribbean descent. The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one sets out the purpose of the research; chapter two considers the literature to generate a Conceptual Framework from which the research questions are formulated. Chapter three explores the research methodologies employed in this research. Chapter four presents the findings from interviews and school public documents of the PP grant and Equality Policies. The penultimate chapter critically analyses the data collected using the CA framework. The final chapter summarises the thesis and suggests that since CA is multidimensional, it is a more effective approach to evaluating PP Black girls' educational provisions. It also suggests that schools should consider using intersectionality prism to highlight how race, gender, and poverty play a significant role in PP Black girls' educational experiences.

Chapter 2. Literature review

2.0. Introduction

Education is one of the fundamental capabilities, which has complex and multidimensional roles. It has both intrinsic and instrumental values and, as such, is part of the vital beings and doings that are crucial to well-being (Hoffmann, 2008; Sen, 1999; Unterhalter et al., 2007). It is the foundation on which other capabilities thrive, viz, by providing access to education and promoting basic outcomes such as reading and writing skills (Unterhalter, 2003). Nevertheless, learning that stops at the level of providing only necessary literacy skills would be insufficient in enhancing a person's capabilities to develop sustainably and fight poverty (Hoffmann, 2008). This chapter aims to review the literature available on issues affecting Black students. It will consider, in particular, problems affecting the educational achievements of disadvantaged/PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent and the impact upon these of the UK government's introduction of the PP grant. The chapter concludes that the utilitarian approaches currently used to evaluate educational provisions are inadequate (Kelly, 2012; Unterhalter et al., 2007). The study proposes that any educational provisions to improve Black students' educational achievements should incorporate intersectionality lenses and use the capability approach framework, which is more comprehensive and multifaceted (Nussbaum, 2011).

2.1. Issues affecting the educational achievements of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent

Various studies have highlighted persistent educational underachievement of the BME Students (Troyna, 1984; Gillborn and Drew, 2010; Ball, 2008; Runnymede, 2012; Strands, 2014). Their low educational attainment and outcomes are due to the various issues: permanent[1] and fixed period exclusions[2]; inadequate quality teachers who understand and care about the educational needs of BME children; an inadequate number of teachers from BME backgrounds; low teacher expectations; implicit

[1] "Permanent exclusion refer to a pupil who is excluded and who will not come back to that school (unless the exclusion is overturned" (DfE, 2016:3).

[2] Fixed period exclusion is when a pupil's school attendance is temporarily suspended. It could occur several times across the school year for a maximum of forty-five days within one year (Gill et al., 2017).

bias regarding race and lack of racial literacy[3] of all teachers. (Gilliam et al.,2016; DfE, 2016; Demie, 2019; Maylor, 2009; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). Most of these issues are interconnected; for instance, some of the permanent and fixed period exclusions are results of teachers conscious and unconscious bias, as studies both in the UK and the USA have shown (Demie, 2019; Maylor, 2009; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020; Okonofua and Eberhardt, 2015).

The DfE (2016) study findings concluded that Black Caribbean pupils, compared to the whole school population, are three times more likely to be permanently excluded. Furthermore, disadvantaged pupils eligible for free school meals (FSM) are four times more likely to be permanently excluded or receive fixed period exclusion than their peers who do not qualify for FSM. The statistics show that between 2006 and 2015, comparatively, the exclusion of the Caribbean boys was significantly higher than any other group. There was a repeat of similar patterns in terms of fixed-term exclusions as both Caribbean boys and girls are twice likely to have fixed-exclusions than pupils overall (Demie, 2019:3; Cf DfE, 2016). Even though the statistics are exact on permanent and fixed-term exclusions, it fails to give a complete picture. It does not account for the unofficial exclusions, which are not recorded in the national data (Cf. Gill, 2017; Social Finance, 2020; Perera, 2020). Unofficial exclusions include a managed move[4]: when a pupil is taken off the roll of their original school and enrolled into another mainstream school, or Pupil Referral Unit (PRU) [an educational provider outside the mainstream schools]. This alternative offsite provision is when the school chooses a pupil to be educated offsite after an agreement with parents. It could be at PRUs, at an independent school, or unregistered provision. The school remains legally responsible for a pupil's education and safety. An illegal exclusion is when the school encourages parents to take their child out of school. The school may persuade parents to sign a document agreeing to educate their child at home or enrol them into another school as though they have moved a house or decided independently to change a local school (Gill, 2017:11). The study further reveals that in PRUs, there is a higher proportion of Black pupils, followed by pupils from mixed ethnic origins (Black Caribbean and White) educated in these sites. The Black Caribbean population in PRUs is four times the rate expected, given the proportion they make of the national pupil population (DfE, 2017; Gill, 2017).

[3] 'Racial literacy' refers to the capacity of teachers to understand the ways in which race and racism work in society, and to have the skills, knowledge and confidence to implement that understanding in teaching practice (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020:2).

[4]This is when headteachers mutually agree to move pupil from one school roll instead of permanent exclusion (Gill, 2017).

Social Mobility study findings (Cf. Shaw et al., 2016) highlight a grim picture for the BME children: even though Black pupils start schooling with a performance mainly in line with the national average, they fail to maintain this as they progress with their education. They are most likely to fail Mathematics at GCSE, almost certainly be excluded from school, and least likely to achieve a good degree at university. In comparison, Black boys tend to perform far worse than girls, especially at the end of their secondary education. At the Advanced (A) level, Black pupils have the worst outcomes due to their low attainment at GCSE; they consequently attain low in Science, Technology, and Mathematics (STEM) at A level (Shaw et al., 2016). Black students are particularly vulnerable to dropping out (one in ten drops out in their first year) and attaining low grades at the university level (ibid.) Besides, BME children are most likely to grow up in poverty, with 25% eligible for FSM. The study further asserts that literature linked some of the causes of BME's educational underachievement to conscious and unconscious bias in treating BME pupils. The epitome of prejudice is that many BME pupils are classed as Special Educational Needs and Disability (SEND) (21.7% BME pupils compared to 15.2% of all pupils). A disproportionate number of BME pupils are categorised as SEND due to direct and indirect bias, including teacher attitude and behaviour – low expectations of BME in particular. For example, Black Caribbean pupils are disproportionately more likely than their peers to be placed in SEND (Strand and Lindsay, 2009). Long-term experiences of racial discrimination have been linked to a negative impact on the victims' mental health (Wallace et al., 2016). Gill (2017) claims that this could perhaps explain the fall in BME pupils' educational achievement as they progress in their educational journey (see also Shaw et al., 2016). Previous studies in the UK show that excluded pupils are among the most vulnerable young people in society. They are more likely to come from dysfunctional families; some of them will have spent time in the care system run by local authorities; some will have experienced abuse and neglect; some would have been categorised as SEND (Demie, 2019). This picture is not peculiar to the UK; it is also vivid in the United States of America (USA). Donovan and Cross's (2002) analysis of the US Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights Office of Special Education programmes reported that Black students were more than two times likely to be identified as mentally disabled and emotionally disturbed than their White peers. Consequently, they end up placed in the SEND system, which necessitates missing out on mainstream education.

The USA's Social Mobility study findings concluded that teachers' behaviour plays a significant role in the intersection of ethnicity and other vulnerabilities. Unconsciously biased teachers have racist stereotypical views and perceptions of Black pupil's personalities (Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015). Consequently, there are differential treatments when dealing with Black students' behaviour issues.

Black students who previously had only one infraction, even though infractions were minor and distinctive, were punished more than their White peers. The study observed that when punishing Black students (compared to their White peers), their infringements were not considered a separate activity but in relation to the previous infractions (Okonofua and Eberhardt, 2015). The study further highlighted the disparities in suspension rates. Black students who had had a single suspension were more likely to face further suspension in comparison to their White peers, as indicated in the table below:

Table 1. Disproportionality of Single and Multiple Suspensions From School in U.S. Public Schools as a Function of Race

Population	Black (%)	White (%)	Asian (%)	Latino (%)
All students enrolled (N = ~48,000,000)	16.7	54.9	5.2	22.3
Students suspended once (n = 1,488,753)	33.3	27.3	2.6	24.2
Students suspended multiple times (n = 1,108,910)	44.3	32.6	1.8	21.8

Note: The table shows the racial distributions of students in each of the three indicated groups. The database included students from prekindergarten to 12th grade. Data were obtained from the Office for Civil Rights (2012). Percentages for American Indians are not shown because the standard errors for these estimates exceeded 30% to 50%, and thus interpreting those results would require particular caution.

(Okonofua and Eberhardt, 2015:623).

In conclusion, racial differences in students' behaviour are not surprising due to the racial disparities in academic achievements, alienation from school and lack of trust in school authorities. To some extent, teacher responses is an escalator of racial differences in student behaviour as they may inspire repeated Black students' misbehaviour (Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015). Some scholars (Cf. Joseph-Salisbury, 2020; Maylor, 2009) have suggested that one solution to teachers' racial bias could be government policy change. To recruit quality teachers from diverse ethnic backgrounds who understand and treat Black students according to their individual educational needs with specific consideration for their ethnicity; to emphasise racial literacy for all teachers.

Teachers' prejudice against Black students is a well-documented study. For example, Chang and Demyan (2007) concluded that teachers hold low academic expectations of Black students' academic ability and performance based on previous studies over the decades. Teachers consider Black students as having SEND and their behaviour as highly disruptive - hence, Black students were disproportionately disciplined compared to their White peers. Due to their perceived disruptive behaviour, Black students comparatively received less teacher attention and often ignored in lessons regardless of their academic

performance (Chang and Demyan, 2007:92). The study further showed that teachers have mixed perceptions about Black students. On the one hand, some teachers viewed Black students as disobedient, aggressive and disruptive in the classroom; on the other hand, some described Black students as sociable/friendly, intelligent and athletic.

In comparison to their Asian and White peers, the distinguishing feature of Black students was their perceived athleticism and rhythmic gifts (an enduring stereotype of Black people as mostly physical and intuitive rather than intellectual beings) (Chang and Demyan, 2007:106-107). In conclusion, racial stereotypes associated with different academic expectations for achievements and behaviour exists. Therefore, the school psychologists,

> "Should consider the extent to which stereotypic beliefs are influencing teachers' referral practices and educational evaluations. Stereotypes may contribute to achievement discrepancies if they convey attributional information that impacts the way stereotyped individuals are treated by others as well as the way those being stereotyped perceive themselves" (Chang and Demyan, 2007:111).

School psychologists may help reduce the effects of racial biases by assessing the quality of the learning environment for children of various social and racial groups. Learning walks and lesson observations should form part of routine psychoeducational evaluations to consider institutional, social, psychological, and biological causes of child behaviour and learning problems (ibid.). The urgent need for thorough consideration of psychoeducational evaluation is once again highlighted in Verkuyten et al. (2019) study. They observed that ethnic and racial minorities often face negative stereotypes, rejection, and discrimination in many societies. These adverse experiences have negative ramifications for psychological well-being and academic engagement, and performance. They contribute to pupils' educational underachievements (Verkuyten et al., 2019: 268). If ethnic minority students perceive their co-ethnic peers being discriminated against, they might feel insecure in the school environment even if they are spared such experiences themselves. An epitome is the study findings in the USA that African Americans who are conscious of racial group bias in school disciplinary decisions gradually develop a lack of trust in school authorities (Verkuyten et al., 2019). Racial prejudice and discrimination in a school environment occur at different levels: between teacher and students and between peers. Teacher discrimination undermines ethnic minorities' sense of academic competence, while peer discrimination harms adolescents' attachment to the school. Both types of discrimination negatively affect students' achievements. However, the study of African Americans reported that peer discrimination is more

harmful than teacher discrimination. It affects students' sense of belonging and the value of education/school in general for them (ibid.).

Racial discrimination lowers the recipient's self-esteem as well as their value for their racial group. As shown in the study among African American adolescents, they feel that they are neither valued nor respected (Seaton 2010). The lower self-esteem resulting from discrimination leads to low self-expectations and underachievement as students perceive themselves as not good enough to succeed. Students are preoccupied with a failure mentality, which would confirm the negative images of themselves (Verkuyten et al., 2019; Major et al., 1998).

The achievement of Black Caribbean girls is further impacted by teachers' perception and placement in tiers, especially in Mathematics, Science and English subjects. Stand (2012) analysis of the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England showed that the achievement gap between White British and the Black Caribbean at the age of 14 could not be accounted for by socio-economic variables or a wide range of contextual factors. In comparison to their White peers, Black Caribbean students were the only ethnic group that appeared to be consistently under-represented in higher tier entry in Mathematics and Science. The under-representation was a reflection of lower prior attainment and under-representation in comparison to White British students with the same prior age 11 test score (Strand, 2012:86).

Students are often tested before they are placed in sets. The preparations for the test usually take at least a year. Nevertheless, Black Caribbean students often experience exclusion during the year prior to the test. Furthermore, a significant number of Black Caribbean students are identified as SEND and have a higher truancy rate during the first year of secondary school (Strand, 2010). These factors are evidence that points to systematic under-representation of Black Caribbean students' entry to the higher tier examinations at age 14 (Strand, 2012). The achievement gap widens further in the first three years of secondary school due to teachers' bias, and teachers allocate students based on their prior attainments. Strand (2012) explains that tiering decisions often take place sixth months in advance. Hence, the social consequences of tiering are that it makes explicit what the teacher expects of the students, typically revealed well in advance of the test. "The lower test marks for Black Caribbean students within tiers could be a response to the tiering decision, for example, to become demotivated and to try less hard" (Strand, 2012:88).

It is important to note that tiering results highlight the broader effects of teacher expectations and the social consequence of assessments. Teachers' perceptions of students often constitute a significant chunk of the academic judgements (Strand, 2012: Mortimore et al., 1988; Bennett et al., 1993; Thomas

et al., 1998). Students who are perceived to behave poorly are judged to be susceptible to poor academic performance (Bennett et al., 1993). Black Caribbean students may be disproportionately placed in lower test tiers because perceptions of their behaviour distort teachers' judgements of their academic potential. Teachers tend to underestimate the academic ability of Black Caribbean students simply because of their perceived behaviour as more challenging or problematic (Strand, 2012).

Strands (2012) argues that his findings are congruent with ethnographic studies in English secondary schools: the criteria for allocating students are behavioural, not purely cognitive. This practice particularly disadvantaged Black African-Caribbean pupils (Cf. Rollock, 2007; Gillborn and Youdell, 2000). Since this thesis's interest is on Black girls, the following sections shed some light on how the issues highlighted so far affect Black girls in particular.

2.1.2. Issues affecting the educational needs of Black girl pupils

In the past twenty years, the British media has often reported the story of 'failing boys' and 'successful girls' against the backdrop of the feminist drive to get girls into higher education and into courses that had been traditionally considered masculine (Ringrose and Epstein, 2017; Osler, 2010). The debate about 'failing boys' and 'successful girls' is a postfeminist educational media panic. It invokes and blames feminism for boys' educational underachievement (Ringrose, 2013). Ringrose and Epstein (2017) rightly assert that the binary understanding of gender formations – boys versus girls, and reductive organisation of gendered effect should be challenged, especially with the intersectional feminist approach of understanding power and difference. It is imperative to account for the intricate complexities of how economic and material contexts shape gender concerning class, race, sexuality and culture. Despite the postfeminist narrative of 'successful girls', various studies (Mirza, 2013; Mirza and Meetoo, 2018; Wilmot et al., 2021; Leath et al., 2019; Chavous and Cogburn, 2007; Morris, 2005; Watson, 2016) have highlighted various issues that affect the educational needs, especially of Black girls in schools. They include exclusion, discrimination, bullying and racialised sexual harassment, verbal abuse and Islamophobia.

Black girls' experiences of discrimination in schools have been relatively understudied compared to the boys. Compared to boys, Black girls have relatively high academic achievement and attainment outcomes (Leath et al., 2019; Chavous and Cogburn, 2007; Osler, 2010). Like Black boys, Black girls routinely experience differential racial treatment at school; for example, they are harshly disciplined compared to their female peers from other racial/ethnic groups (ibid.). Various studies (Leath et al.,

2019; Morris 2005, 2007) show that the differential racial treatment is due to teachers' racialised gender expectations. Teachers label Black girls as defiant, disruptive, loud, aggressive and combative. These behaviours are perceived as incongruent with White mainstream femininity norms – passive and quiet. Consequently, Black girls are more likely to be disciplined for violating these norms (ibid.).

Osler (2010) study findings assert that girls' experiences have been overlooked in schools. Instead, the focus has been diverted to White boys. Moreover, the media reinforce the widespread belief that girls have benefited from raising standards and that the focus on Black students' underachievement is misplaced (Cf. Ringrose and Epstein, 2017). Consequently, girls have been largely overlooked in school exclusion prevention strategies and research. For example, even though the national statistics on disciplinary exclusions show that four out five permanently exclusions were boys, it fails to give the same weight to 10,000 girls who were subject to permanent disciplinary exclusions between 2001 and 2005 in England (Osler, 2010).

The study further highlighted the consequences of schools' failure to acknowledge the intersections of gender and race. For instance, when referring to gender, educational psychologists in the study focused solely on White girls whom they assumed could not be loveable rogues but polite and compliant. On the other hand, for Black girls, the fundamental cause for their exclusion was bullying. Unlike professionals in the study, the girl participants' accounts of bullying, harassment and exclusion revealed that sometimes there is a racist dimension to bullying and exclusion. The study revealed that Black girls are more vulnerable to exclusion than White female peers, who sometimes bully them. The Black girls take issue upon themselves to deal with the bully and risk being excluded by the school authority, who mainly focus on their angry outbursts, not what caused the anger. The policymakers ought to rethink the exclusion definition related to disciplinary procedures (Osler, 2010). The resources and facility provisions at PRUs have been mainly focussed on boys whom the policymakers considered to be more vulnerable to exclusions. Due to inadequate facilities to cater to girls, many school professionals are reluctant to send girls to the PRU facilities. Even where facilities are designed for boys and girls, some girls are reluctant to use them due to their being dominated by boys. Many girls who need alternative provisions are not prioritised due to the pressure to remove those students who cause teachers the greatest problems. (ibid.). Osler (2010) argues for a redefinition of school exclusion to consider girls' schooling experiences, acknowledge behaviour patterns most commonly found in girls, and understand gender politics in schools that address race. In addition, bullying policies should acknowledge the psychological forms of bullying to which girls may be especially vulnerable.

Studies from the USA show that Black girls are disproportionately disciplined compared to their White and Hispanic peers. It is a pervasive problem that begins from elementary schools and extends to high school (Blake et al., 2011). Black girls are more likely to be suspended from school. They are frequently disciplined for less severe behavioural infractions: chewing gum, failure to comply with prior discipline sanction, and defiance (ibid.). The study suggests that it is conceivable that Black girls are disciplined more than their peers because their behaviour is more disruptive in the classroom and to the school management; therefore, they need adult intervention. This notion is supported by psychological and health literature,

> "For example, Black girls are perceived by teachers and peers as exhibiting elevated levels of relational and physical aggression …and have been found to report more involvement in physical altercations at school than White and Hispanic girls" (Blake et al. 2011:92).

This assertion highlights teachers' perceptions, calling for further investigations and analysis to decipher whether it holds any water. On the contrary, the study suggests that Black girls are perceived and referred to be disruptive more because of teacher bias than students' actual behaviour, leading to disproportionate discipline sanctions and referrals (ibid.). Teachers would reprimand Black girls for being "unladylike" because they perceive them to be loud, defiant and precocious "characteristics consistent with stereotypical images of Black females", therefore, need monitoring (Blake et al. 2011:93).

Chapman and Bhopal (2019) study in the USA and England further reiterate that racial minority students who attend White majority schools face unique challenges in their learning environment due to their race. Black girls specifically were aware of differential adult scrutiny of their behaviour and discipline at school. The Black girls observed their male counterparts often labelled negatively by teachers as trouble-makers. Once negatively labelled, it is hard to shift this label. The observation has consequently made Black girls develop a survival strategy in a predominantly White environment. The Black Caribbean girls tried not to draw attention to themselves by blending in to avoid being characterised as discipline problems. Nevertheless, the Black girls are acutely aware of the few possibilities of becoming invisible. For instance, Black girls reported being more likely to be sent home for common infractions, such as dress code violations. "African American girls asserted that their shapes, namely their hips and buttocks, exacerbated their dress code infractions (leggings and "bootie shorts") because the white girls lacked the same physical features" (Chapman and Bhopal, 2019:1123). The Black girls explained that they would be sent home within 30 minutes after being spotted in leggings while

their fellow white students could wear them for a whole week before teachers say a thing. Any attempt to blend in and avoid negative labelling harms the education of Black girls; for instance, the girls explained that over time they become less likely to participate in class discussions or give answers as they feared being labelled as aggressive. This is clearly explained,

> "Students' behaviour modifications to deflect attention, counter stereotypes of low intellect and avoid confrontations demonstrate how students create mechanism and strategies to navigate school. However, their strategies, such as remaining silent in class, so that are not perceived as challenging the teacher, limit their opportunities to learn and engage with the course instruction and content knowledge." (Chapman and Bhopal, 2019: 1124).

Due to differential treatment in punishment compared to their white peers, the Black girls' school completion rates are comparatively lower than their White counterparts throughout America (Watson, 2016). In addition, Black girls' educational progress and achievements are stymied by many race-based policies and practices that impede their male counterparts; however, most research has focused on Black boys and efforts to improve their educational experiences and achievements.

Watson (2016) analysed her findings using Black Feminist Theory, which centres Black women as creators of knowledge while providing a framework to contextualise and understand their nuanced realities. Black Feminist Theory's four components are self-definition, lived experience, dialogue, and Personal Accountability. On the self-definition tenet, the study found that Black students aim to resist negative controlling images of Black womanhood advanced by Whites and discriminatory social practices. One of the study participants categorically rejected images of Black girls as is what holds them back. They are stereotyped as "loud, ratchet and ghetto and do not have any class or manner" (Watson, 2016: 246). Black girls are engaging in self-definition and rejecting preconceived mental models. In terms of lived experience, not all Black girls have similar experiences of schooling. Some experience school as an uncaring environment, while others can decipher hopefulness in their context and situations. In the tenet of dialogue, Black girls find consolation in each other when they feel misunderstood and not listened to either by their White peers or teachers. Finally, personal Accountability: Watson (2016) argues that since Black girls have been under-researched, it is upon the current researchers to acknowledge Black girls' voices and their varying realities to provide tools to dismantle the systematic nature of oppression common in many schools. In a nutshell, Black boys and

Black girls experience discriminatory treatment daily at school; however, nature and frequency vary across gender groups (Leath et al., 2019).

Another challenging Black girls' experience in school is sexual harassment (Wilmot et al., 2021). Wilmot et al. (2021) study found that Black girls are repeatedly harassed for their bodies, especially their race, ethnicity, skin tone, weight and physical impairments. They receive constant racialised verbal assaults and a belief that Black girls lack femininity. Black girls reported being bullied for their race, the hue of their skin colour and told to go back to Africa because that is where they belong. Their race and body were targeted; they were positioned as unwanted due to their differences from white femininity. Racial, sexual harassment evokes cultural and historical stereotypes about Black femininity. Verbal assaults were intended to construct Black girls' bodies as less desirable because of their race – a form of sexualisation.

> "Black girls embodied differences from the norms of both white boys and white girls, and that difference was imagined as a deficit. Hence ableism, racism, and misogynoir played a large role in the sexual harassment of Black girls. These raced, gendered, and abled constructions of Black girls' bodies as deviant were enforced in schools and classrooms, resulting in them being sites of sexual and gendered politics" (Wilmot et al. 2021:355-356).

The study further highlighted the inefficacy of addressing racialised sexual harassment towards Black girls. Black girls were instructed to ignore racist and sexist violence towards them and their bodies, which is a form of punishment. Hines and Wilmot (2018) assert that schools remain exclusionary and traumatic sites for Black girls as they still find themselves regularly at the intersections of racial and gendered violence in schools. Wilmot et al. (2021:347) study conclude that "educators' response and education policy create a nexus of subjugation that makes Black girls increasingly vulnerable to experience racialised sexual harassment at the hands of adults and peers, while largely failing to protect from or recourse for such harassment."

Further research shows that Muslim Black girls face another challenge, Islamophobia, as shown in Mirza and Meetoo (2018) study of two comprehensive schools in London. The first school focused on Muslim girls who recently migrated from African countries such as Somalia, Burundi, and Sierra Leone and Asian countries – Afghanistan and India. The second school was an all-girls state school in an economically deprived borough, with 94% Muslim students. Although the student population of the latter school reflected the low socio-economic status of the migrant population that defined the area, the school's inspection report showed a high national score and high academic performance plus a high

number of students progressing to higher education. Despite the positivity in academic performance, the BME young Muslim girls in schools have been a focus of the UK government of PREVENT strategy aiming to eradicate the radicalisation of girls in schools. Muslim girls have been considered at risk of radicalisation and becoming 'jihadi' brides, groomed through social media. "They are seen to be drawn by the excitement, romance and promise of immortality as 'mothers' of new Islamic caliphate " (Mirza and Meetoo, 2018:228). The BME Muslim girls are caught between virulent racialised Islamophobia debates and postfeminist discourses of female equality, both of which interplay in the everyday microcosms of the multicultural British schools. "Within multicultural approaches, Muslim girls are constructed without any agency, as the 'oppressed other' in need of protection and thus open to pastoral intervention" (ibid.). Schools have been tasked to identify young women who are vulnerable to violence and forced marriage. They are accountable to the government and the public for keeping girls safe (Mirza and Meetoo, 2018).

2.1.3. BME parents' experiences and perceptions of their children's educational establishments

Negative experiences of educational establishments in the UK and the USA is not limited to pupils. Parents also experience it and more so in their efforts to negotiate and challenge the status quo to find a better deal for their sons' and daughters' education. In their study, Vincent et al. (2012) clearly show a significant difference between how Black middle-class and White middle-class parents engage with the school in their children's education. The difference is vivid in their perception and orientation towards it. Both Black and White parents perceive schooling as a risk: their children may not fully realise their academic potentials.

Nevertheless, the perception of risk for Black parents is pervaded by their awareness of racism and teachers' low expectations of their children's academic abilities (Vincent et al., 2012). Through their interactions with teachers, Black parents discover that their sons and daughters routinely face subtle yet pervasive racism; "that is, degrees of misrepresentation and misrecognition of both parent and child which could be highly insidious in their effects" (ibid. p267). Teachers' racial prejudice is often vivid in teachers' comments to parents: they limit children's educational potential and capabilities. This type of racial bias has led middle-class Black parents, particularly mothers, to lose trust in the education system's capability to educate Black children to achieve their true potential. Vincent et al. (2012)

highlighted Black middle-class parents' negative experiences in three main areas: Stereotypes of Black parents, low teacher expectations, and racism.

Black parents' stereotypes are shown in teachers' caricatured and racist assumptions that Black mothers lack knowledge, sophistication, and calm. Teachers perceive them as lower class and lone parents. A Black father, on the other hand, is viewed as a potential threat. Teachers stereotyped Black parents as being uninterested in and lacking in knowledge about education. Moreover, when Black parents engage with the school, they are often considered apathetic, confrontational and antagonistic (Vincent et al., 2012). Other than stereotypes, Black parents experience that teachers have low expectations for their children. As shown in previous sections, a disproportionate number of Black students of African and Caribbean descent are excluded from school and are in low-ranked teaching sets (Okonofua and Eberhardt, 2005; Demie, 2019; Vincent et al., 2012; Gillborn, 2014). Black middle-class students appear to attain fewer GCSE qualifications than their White peers. One of the reasons for Black students' underachievement is low teacher expectations: in schools where students are ranked according to their abilities, lower sets are often disproportionately populated with Black students; Black students are often told not to have high aspirations as regard to their career choices; they are often entered for low-status exams, and minimum exam grades are accepted as a pass (Vincent et al. 2012). Black parents and their children also experience racism in schools. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry defined Institutional racism as,

> "…. consists of the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people" (Macpherson, 1999:369).

Black students experience racism during their schooling, both from their teachers and from their peers. However, this has changed from crude and overt to a subtler type, such as name-calling. Vincent et al. (2012) study findings succinctly explained, "…manifestations of racism in schools were now more likely to be subtle, embedded in often taken for granted, unaware assumptions and actions; in other words, institutionalised" (Vincent et al. 2012: 143). The deduction from these assertions is that race is socially constructed. Racial differences are invented, perpetuated and reinforced through various structures, actions and assumptions that operate in White people's interest. In order to understand and combat

racial inequality in education, great attention must be given to the experiential knowledge of BME people (Vincent et al., 2012:263; see also Maylor, 2009).

2.1.4. Black Africans and Caribbean educational aspirations

As shown in the literature considered in the preceding sections, Black African and Caribbean students and their parents experience various challenges in their education. Nevertheless, they have not just sat back and accepted their lot. The Black African and Caribbean communities have often sought ways to change the narratives. Mirza and Reay (2000) study assert that the Black community (African, Caribbean and Black British) are passionate about education. They are involved in the education of their children at every stage. Many Black Caribbean women migrated to the United Kingdom for better education and a future for their children. The efforts of the Black African and Caribbean community to improve the educational outcomes for their children are vivid in the introduction and running of the Black supplementary schools (BSSs) and in the successful leadership in schools that genuinely consider the educational interest of their Black pupils.

Black supplementary schools (BSSs)

The National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE, 2021) defines supplementary education as all learning that takes place out of school. It focuses on the provision of additional support for curriculum subjects, including all languages, history and cultural enrichment activities (faith-based, art and sports). Supplementary schools operate on Saturdays and in the early evenings of weekdays, within the context of a specific ethnic, national and faith community. Learners are taught in small groups or one to one. They supplement lessons taught in mainstream schools in mathematics, sciences and English, as well as complementary provisions of subjects not taught at the mainstream schools, such as maintaining cultural heritage through language, music, dance and faith (Maylor, 2020). Since they are community-based organisations, they have a crucial role in providing information and advocacy for adults and children. There are currently about five thousand supplementary schools in England, and BSSs are one group (NRCSE, 2021).

BSSs was initially established in England in the 1960s as an African response to racism experienced in the form of low teacher expectations for Black students, which contrasted with parents' high expectations, and a national curriculum advocating Black assimilation and exclusion of Black students' experiences (Coard, 1971; Dove, 1993; Maylor, 2020). The Black community discovered that a

disproportionate number of their children were being referred to schools for educationally subnormal[5] pupils. In some cases, especially in London, pupils were transferred directly to these schools from the Caribbean without any assessment (Dove, 1993). Coard (1971) highlighted culturally biased testing and racism that landed Black pupils in schools for educationally subnormal. A decade later, Tomlinson (1983) investigation further highlighted that the process of assessing and placing Black pupils in subnormal schools was racially motivated. Headteachers referred Black pupils to these schools as they believed Black pupils innately have behavioural and learning problems. Coard (1971), Tomlinson (1983) and subsequent findings convinced Black African parents that they could not trust their children's education in the hands of the British education system and white teachers who held racially biased views against their children. Dove (1993) argued that resistance of African parents against state schooling should not be considered in isolation. The undermining of African children in state schooling has resulted in the form of resistance behaviour amongst African children, which has been considered pathological by school authorities. Instead of schooling institutions challenging the causes of child behaviour from their side, Black children have been labelled as problems due to their ethnicity.

Black African and Caribbean parents have responded to the discrimination in the state education system by creating supplementary schools. The supplementary schools were run by parents and Black teachers who understood, aspired and considered the interests of Black children. Dove (1993) study showed that Black children were inspired to achieve and perform in BSSs much better than in state schools. Parents viewed BSSs as places to improve their children academic performance: places where Black pupils could learn their cultural heritage, learn Black history, places that exposed Black children to positive images of Africans, places where both parents and children received support and guidance, places to keep children off the streets and involved in something positive, and places to build Black children confidence (Dove, 1993; Gerrard, 2013; Maylor, 2020).

The BSSs are considered the centres for social, cultural and education, with a holistic approach to catering for the educational needs of learners. They are inter-generational autonomous spaces for community education, which incorporate high numbers of women and provide the opportunity for Black women and girls to thrive and be active knowledge creators (Gerrard, 2013). Furthermore, BSSs also point to important gendered dimensions of Black history in Britain. Mirza and Reay (2000) study

[5] 'Educationally subnormal' was a phrased in the 1944 Education Act to categorised children with low educational achievement at school. The Act expected each Local Education Authority to identify all educationally subnormal children and create for them a separate education provision, which cater for their special educational needs (Williams, 1965).

found that the running of BSSs was primarily women's work, who collectively came together as a communal response to the mainstream education system perceived as failing Black children. Their actions challenged the dominant discourse that the urban working class (both Black and White) are apathetic masses, inactive and uninformed.

BSSs remain a crucial strategy and avenue for Black African and Caribbean parents to support their children's educational needs. The DfE (2019) report shows a persistent educational achievement gap between Black students and their peers (Cf. Roberts and Bolton, 2020). Although Black parents and students have high educational aspirations, and Black students have high achievement potentials, mainstream education still fails to capitalise on this, hence the key priority of the BSSs (Maylor, 2020). Other than responding to the mainstream schools' failures, BSSs are spaces of hope and transcendence, where Black children's self-esteem and a positive sense of being black is developed. The knowledge is imparted to them regarding their ethnic background, culture, Black history, and Black role models (Maylor, 2020; Dove, 1993, Mirza, 2009). Black supplementary schools are considered free of 'white bias' and develop Black students' ability to challenge educational racism, consequently improve Black children chances in life.

Excellent leadership capacity and diverse workforce in schools

Demie (2019) study of schools in an inner London Local Authority (LA) shows that it is not all doom and gloom for Black Caribbean students, especially in schools with leaders committed to removing the barrier and ensuring no student is left behind on their educational achievement journey. The study found that Black Caribbean pupils in the schools studied did well compared to the national achievements of the same group. Four factors contributed to the success.

First, provision of excellent leadership: school leadership had a clear understanding of the OFSTED criteria, a clear vision of their schools and excellent leadership skills to realise their vision. The school leaders focus on high standards and achievements. They devoted time and resources to staff appointments and training, build stronger teams and delegated duties. Some of the leaders were of Black Caribbean heritage and had similar values as the community they serve. Although the schools were in one of the most deprived areas in the country, they worked with the communities to raise their hopes, aspirations and for their students. The school leaders refused to accept the challenging context as a barrier to success (Cf. Strand, 2012).

Second, commitment to multicultural education and a clear approach to tackling racism. The national statistics show that the school teaching workforce is predominantly White British. Many

teachers find it challenging to tackle racial issues due to their background and racial illiteracy (Cf. Salisbury, 2020). Consequently, there is systematic racial discrimination in the application of disciplinary and exclusion policies. Contrary to this, students in the schools studied thrived as their leadership was strong in equality issues and tackling racism. They had a well-developed multicultural curriculum, which was inclusive and reflected pupils' diversity in terms of culture, ethnic background and historical experiences. Moreover, there were ample opportunities for all staff to reflect on the achievements of the Black Caribbean pupils using data and their own experiences and knowledge about pupils and their progress. The schools had high expectations of Black Caribbean pupils, had a high level of support to achieve and committed to equal opportunity policy and practice.

Third, effective use of diverse multi-ethnic workforce. The school leadership teams are aware of the many pressures and challenges that young Black Caribbean face in their daily lives. They actively consider these issues in their approach to education and discuss them in their meetings at different levels. The workforce in schools studied was diverse; for instance, one school's leadership team was 50% Black Caribbean. Nevertheless, for many schools in England, it is often difficult to find teachers that reflect the diverse nature of the school population. In Demie (2019) study, school leaders reported the difficulty of recruiting teachers and leaders to reflect their population.

Fourth, the celebration of cultural diversity. The schools used various approaches to celebrate cultural diversity: assemblies, Black History Month events, curriculum and quality displays. Leadership also organise an annual international day when pupils, parents and neighbours celebrate cultures from across the globe at school. It is an opportunity for the school community to share aspects of their culture, including food, music, clothing, and talk to each other. In sum, the study shows that the diversity within the school community is a genuine asset to life in schools as it enriches learning and widens pupils' understanding. Black Caribbean students thrive and flourish in a multicultural environment that recognises and nurtures their potentials and celebrate their cultural heritage (Demie, 2019).

A further positive picture of the achievements of Black African and Caribbean students is painted in the DfE report. The DfE commissioned a report to establish trends in ethnic achievements between 2003 and 2013. Focusing on the GCSE outcomes showed a significant closing of the gap for the Black Caribbean and African against their White peers (Strand, 2015). The improved outcomes were noticed both in both Black boys and girls. The report emanated from the analysis of data drawn from DfE Statistical First Releases (SFR) and National Pupil Database (NPD) files (ibid.). The report indicated that closing the achievement gap between Black and White students was faster for Africans

than in the Caribbean. Black African closed the gap relative to White British in 2009, and in 2013 they slightly exceeded them. Although the Black Caribbean made significant progress, a small gap remained. The gap was equally narrowed for the FSM students (Strand, 2015).

A further report commissioned by DfE highlighted the progress FSM students of Black African and Caribbean descent made in 2013. They outperform their White peers as they saw the most significant increase in their attainment (Stokes et al., 2015). The report highlighted the following factors associated with ethnic minority resilience: parental and student's high aspirations and expectations to achieve, and these enabled students to engage with schooling and improve behaviour for learning; regular school attendance and positive behaviour for learning and school environment, even though the evidence suggests the significant factors are parental, family and student (ibid.).

Critical Race Theorists have often criticised these findings. They argue that the DfE research is often ambitious in scope and include the use of multiple regression statistical techniques, which claim to quantify the separate independent influence of factors such as ethnicity, gender and poverty (Gillborn et al., 2017). They argue that the research has shortcomings in the conceptualisation of race and racism in traditional quantitative approaches. "In particular, quantitative research tends to treat ethnic origin as if it were a causal factor rather than a social identity often associated with discriminatory treatment at the hands of educational institutions" (Gillborn et al., 2017: 854). Race is not a fixed category; its meaning and use are contingent and historical. It is social construction concept (Cf. Apple, 2001).

2.2. **Issues affecting the educational needs of BME pupils and the UK government policy**

The experiences of Black students of African and Caribbean descent in UK schools have been the subject of research for over two decades. The findings indicate that Black students attain lower outcomes persistently at 16 than their White counterparts. The educational attainment gap has widened, and Black students are more likely to be excluded (suspended or expelled) than their White classmates (Youdel, 2003; Gillborn, 2014; Vincent et al., 2012).

Gillborn (2014; 2013) claims that even though the coalition government (Conservative and Liberal Democrats, 2010-2015) set to deploy a colour-blind strategy in improving standards in schools, the strategy weighted against the interests of Black children. The school reforms focused mainly on

expanding the academy schools and introducing the English Baccalaureate (EBacc). EBacc is a term applied to GCSE achievement at grades 9-1 across a core of academic subjects: English, Mathematics, History or Geography, Sciences and a Language. It was part of the 2010 Governments education reforms in England and intended to encourage schools to offer these suite subjects to more pupils (Greevy et al., 2012). Gillborn et al. (2013) study findings claimed that each time the government made the benchmark more demanding, the result is often an immediate and negative impact on race inequality, especially Black students. The introduction of EBacc widened the existing inequalities. It wiped out seven-year progress that had been made in closing the educational attainment gap between Black students and their White peers (Gillborn 2014). Gillborn argued that the politics of divergence influenced the government's changes in education. Guinier (2004) explains the politics of divergence as,

> "Those most advantaged by the status quo have historically manipulated a race to order social, economic, and political relations to their benefit. Then and now, the race is used to manufacture both convergences and divergences of interest that track class and geographic divisions. The racialised hierarchies that result reinforce divergences of interest among and between groups with varying social status and privilege, which the ideology of White supremacy converts into rationales for the status quo. Racism normalises these racialised hierarchies; it diverts attention from the unequal distribution of resources and power they perpetuate. Using race as a decoy offers short-term psychological advantages to poor and working-class Whites, but it also masks how much poor Whites have in common with poor Blacks and other people of colour" (Guinier, 2004:114)

On the other hand, Bell (1980) explained the interest-convergence: Black people's interests in achieving racial equality are only accommodated when it converges with White people's interests. However, when the provisions of equality for the Blacks threatens the superior societal status of the middle and upper-class Whites, interest-convergence is not all authorised.

The politics of interest-divergence are evident in England: politicians and the media campaign to refocus the debate on the White people's supposed needs (Gillborn, 2014). The recent debates have focused on controlling immigration and the supposed problems of multiculturalism. Before and during his time as the Prime Minister, David Cameron, in his speech on anti-terrorism, criticised multiculturalism as divisive and unfair to White people:

> "First, it would be easier to promote a national identity if everyone felt like they were part of one country – not a "community of communities," as one government-commissioned report argued. We need to bring our country together, and that means moving away from the wrong-headed doctrine of state multiculturalism by, for example, making sure all new arrivals to our country can speak or will learn to speak, our common language" (Cameron, 2009).

This view led to subsequent Conservative government termination of efforts made by the previous government to promote community cohesion through investment in multicultural education and celebration of diverse British nature. Further, successive government education announcement has portrayed White working-class children (especially boys) as victims. Campaigns have led to funding cuts to multicultural education and an increase in special programmes to improve the educational achievement and attainments of White students (Gillborn, 2014).

Under David Cameron as the prime minister, the government made a series of education reforms, which asserted race equality as an aspiration but, in reality, a miss in the policy process (Gillborn, 2014). For instance, the Prime minister asserted that it was acceptable to promote education policies that discriminate against the minority and disadvantaged society. However, the same government announced new policies no longer subject to equality impact assessments intended by law to identify whether policies will harm minoritised groups. The Prime minister described them as “bureaucratic nonsense."

> "Equality impact assessments" were introduced by Labour to make sure officials took account of disability, gender and race in their decisions. But the prime minister said there was too much "bureaucratic nonsense" and policy-makers should use "judgement" rather than "tick boxes" (BBC, 2012).

This assertion was particularly an alarming direction to take since past experiences have shown that unless equity safeguards are consciously included, the effect of new policies is frequently to reinforce existing race and class inequalities, as shown in the introduction of EBacc (Gillborn, 2014). The introduction of EBacc has widened inequalities in achievement in the English education system as most students cannot attain an EBacc. Due to its nature, the EBacc favours more able students who take high-status subjects like Triple Science, which most schools restrict to the students they judge to be most able. Although the judgements teachers and schools make genuinely reflect the differences in

achievement, the research has shown that teachers often focus on one group of students who are considered more able than the less able. This plays a crucial role, especially in relations to social class and ethnic origin; as summarised,

> "Put simply, teachers' expectations of Black students and their White working-class peers tend to be systematically lower than warranted by their performance in class. These stereotypes exert a powerful influence on students' opportunities to succeed, making it less likely that they will gain access to high-status courses and resulting in their being disproportionately placed in the lowest teaching groups, where teachers cover less of the curriculum, thus giving students a reduced chance of achieving the highest grades" (Gillborn, 2014:33-34).

The majority of the students affected by the introduction of the EBacc are SEND and FSM. Most of the SEND students find the demands of the new GCSE challenging and inaccessible due to its lack of adequate differentiation. FSM students are at a disadvantage due to their disadvantaged family background, hence not able to access all the resources required to meet the demands of the EBacc. Other than these groups, Gillborn (2014) argued that EBacc has a particularly racialised impact, as shown in the students of Black Caribbean and African descent's outcomes. 84.3% and 80.6%, respectively, of these students who were successful in the old measure, are now excluded from the EBacc success (Gillborn, 2014).

A further negative impact is vivid in Doharty (2019) study. Her critique of the Black History curriculum in English schools is an excellent example of how education reform has hurt the educational needs of Black students of African and Caribbean descent. The history curriculum changes were seen as one of the main areas to reinforce British identity and national pride. Black History became part of the curriculum in 2008, only to be removed two years later when the Key Stage three curriculum was revised. A statutory focus also accompanied the revision of the curriculum on Fundamental British values: democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs (Doharty 2019; DfE, 2014). The government claimed that the revised history curriculum would promote social cohesion as all students would relate to each other by sharing 'British identity.' It worked in the opposite direction as "the new curriculum promotes exclusivist version of British history, culture and identity in which Anglo-centric narratives are centred and prioritised as the only version of British history students are required to know and learn" (Doharty, 2019:114). This narrow view excludes and ignores the diverse nature of Britain and its histories. Consequently, it

contributes to the failures to promote social cohesion and equality interest of ethnic minorities' interest in the study of British history (Doharty, 2019; Cf. DfE, 2014). Doharty (2019) concludes,

> "The Key Stage 3 History curriculum represents the most explicit demonstration of a curriculum that privileges Whites: that is, its mono-cultural construction creates British subjects who are white and therefore makes the successes, achievements and conquests in history white. Thus, whiteness becomes the marker by which a British identity is judged and ostensibly equally shared" (Doharty, 2019:114).

Black students could only feel part of British society when the curriculum's intent is inclusive and considers their Black heritage and as part and parcel of British society. This argument reiterates Maylor (2009) that the government education policy should consider recruiting Black teachers to the middle and senior leadership team. Black students need teachers who care about Black children. Teachers committed to seeing Black children as 'children' - not letting their stereotypes and notions about Black children influence them; teachers who have the knowledge and pedagogic skills to make Black children learn and achieve. The government policy should focus on recruiting more good quality teachers from diverse ethnic backgrounds (Cf. Maylor, 2009).

2.3. **The Pupil Premium grant**

The Pupil Premium (PP) grant is additional funding to the school budget. The UK government introduced it in 2011 to reduce education achievement and the attainment gap between pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds and their peers, increasing their social mobility (Macleod et al., 2015; Jarret and Long, 2014; Craske, 2018). The government provides additional funding to schools to cater to disadvantaged students and those whose parents have served in the armed forces with the primary objective of boosting their attainment. The PP grant is not ring-fenced at the school level as the government believed that schools know their disadvantaged students and their specific educational needs. The PP funding is protected until the end of the Spending Review period. Nevertheless, schools are accountable to the parents for spending PP funding (DfE, 2010:81; Craske, 2018).

The PP funding shows how the government intended to tackle inequality in schools due to deprived backgrounds. Since the 1960s, a range of policies was introduced in schools to raise disadvantaged students' attainment standards. The PP grant policy is different from the previous

policies due to its non-ring-fenced nature. The government provides a PP grant to schools on the following conditions: to raise the attainment of disadvantaged pupils to reach their potentials; to support children and young people with parents in the regular armed forces. There have been changes made to the eligibility criteria and funding levels of PP since its introduction. The PP grant is allocated to maintained schools, including infant, junior, primary, middle, secondary, high school, special school, and pupil referral units. Maintain schools does not include general hospital schools or other alternative provision. The Education and Skills Funding Agency (ESFA) allocates the PP grant to schools and local authorities. The grant has increased from £430 per pupil in 2011-12 to £1,345 per primary pupil or £955 per Secondary pupil in 2020-21. The outline for the eligibility and level of funding are: pupils in reception until the end of primary school (Year 6) recorded as Ever 6 Free School Meal (FSM) receive £1345 per pupil annually; children in Secondary school (Years 7 to 11) receive £955; Looked After Children[6] (LAC) in reception to Year 11 receive £2,345; and children of service personnel (or whose parents receive a pension from the Ministry of Defence) receive £310 (DfE, 2021).

2.3.1. Eligibility

The following groups are eligible for PP grant: Ever 6 FSM; Children adopted from care or who have left care; and Ever 6 service children. A pupil considered disadvantaged can be considered eligible for a PP grant at the beginning of the school census year, which is January. However, children who have been receiving FSM for six years are eligible for the PP grant. They are known as 'Ever 6 FSM.' Apart from the January school census, there is an alternative provision census for looked after children in English and Welsh local education authorities. The alternative census occurs immediately before the adoption or for those who left local authority care on a special guardianship order or child arrangement order (Post-LAC). The final eligibility criteria are the Ever 6 service child: children who have been eligible for service child premium for 6 years "as well as those recorded as a service child for the first time on the January school census. Where national curriculum year groups do not apply to a pupil, the pupil will attract PP grant if aged 4 to 15 as recorded in January school census" (DfE, 2019). Maintained schools receive their Pupil Premium funding through local authorities, while academy schools receive theirs directly from the ESFA.

[6] Children Act 1989 Section 31, defines a looked after child (children in care) as a child looked after by local authority having been granted care order to place a child in care.

The government states that a child may be eligible for FSM if the parent(s) or guardian(s) receive the following: the Universal Credit (provided their annual income is below £7,400; Income Support; Income-based Jobseeker's allowance; Income-related Employment and Support allowance; Support under Part VI of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999; The guaranteed element of Pension Credit; Child Tax Credit (provided they are not entitled to Working Tax Credit and have an annual gross income of up to £16, 190). A pupil is only eligible for FSM if their school and the local authority has verified their application (DfE, 2018). The government provided a PP grant to schools based on the number of children entitled to and registered for FSM, and children looked after continuously for more than six months. Schools are to use this additional funding to support PP eligible pupils and close the attainment gap between them and their peers (Carpenter et al., 2013).

FSM is arguably considered the best way to measure economic disadvantage (Gorard, 2012). The research so far shows that the PP funding positively impacts disadvantaged pupils' educational achievement (Britton et al., 2019; Williams and Grayston, 2018). Nevertheless, some specific vulnerable groups should attract higher funding. A more targeted approach is vital, as suggested by the Teachings Schools Council (TSC) in 2016. TSC asserted that the most effective schools recognised that disadvantaged pupils are not a homogenous group; hence, they use targeted approaches for the groups or individuals facing the barriers. Many schools use PP grants to raise low-performing pupils' attainments; however, more able disadvantaged pupils are at risk of underachievement. The research shows that disadvantaged pupils who performed positively in primary schools fall badly behind their secondary schools' peers. A further reflection is evident in the low proportion of disadvantaged pupils progressing to higher-ranking universities after their high school education (TSC, 2016; Martindale, 2019). Ofsted has highlighted a lack of support for more able disadvantaged pupils, especially at Key Stage 3, which schools must address:

> "It was evident that some school leaders did not use the pupil premium effectively in Key Stage 3 to ensure that gaps between disadvantaged pupils and their peers continued to close on the transition to secondary school. Instead, any additional support was typically focused on intervention activities in Key Stage 4, which often sought to compensate for ineffective practise in the earlier years of secondary education" (Ofsted, 2015:6).

Other groups TSC study identified explicitly as needing targeted interventions are LAC, children adopted from care and service children. These three groups of learners may face similar challenges. However, the

research shows that schools must identify the barrier to learning for each individual for the PP interventions to succeed (TSC, 2016).

Schools have the potentials to reduce the level of social and economic inequality prevalent in the UK. When pupils receive a good quality education and leave schools with excellent grades, they can progress to good Higher Education institutions and consequently land in employments with better pay (Barret, 2018). Research shows that those with GCSE, including English and Mathematics, earn over £200,000 more during their lifetime than those without qualifications: "Restricting the comparison group to just those with no qualifications boosts the returns to five or more good GCSEs (including English and maths) to £283,000 for men and £232,000 for women" (Hayward et al., 2014:9). Conversely, Barret (2018) argues that school can also exacerbate social and economic inequality. Pupils who leave school with poor qualifications are more likely to be unemployed, get low-paid jobs, or be imprisoned as adults (Hopkins, 2012). Social Mobility Commission (2018) report showed that by the end of secondary education, 40% of FSM eligible students attain grade 4 compared to 68% of non-FSM eligible peers. A further analysis considered the Attainment 8 measure highlighted a starking gap where FSM eligible students scored an average of 34.4 points compared to all other students, 48.3% (ibid.). The evidence clearly shows that at the moment, the education system in the UK reinforces social and economic inequality as disadvantaged students gain minimum qualification levels, therefore, more likely to maintain the status quo of staying in poverty (Barrett, 2018:62).

2.3.2. Accountability

As stated earlier, headteachers have the freedom to spend the PP grant according to their disadvantaged students' needs. In most cases, schools determine the use of PP grant in their existing forms of provisions for tackling educational advantage and often complex funding streams through which it supports provisions (Carpenter et al., 2013). The DfE expects headteachers to make informed decisions on the nature of provisions suitable for their PP eligible pupils. They could draw from sources such as the Education Endowment Foundation (EEF), Sutton Trust, Teaching and Learning Toolkit, all of which accumulate evidence on what works (Carpenter et al., 2013). Each school is accountable for the use of the PP funding: First, under the new Ofsted framework, it is clearly stated that:

> "Inspectors will gather evidence about the use of the pupil premium, particularly regarding: the level of pupil premium funding received by the school in the current academic year and levels of funding

> received in previous academic years; how leaders and governors have spent the pupil premium, their rationale for this spending and its intended impact; the learning and progress of disadvantaged pupils, as shown by published outcomes data" (Ofsted, 2019:67).

The schools account for the PP funding. They provide evidence of the PP grant's expenditure and its impact on disadvantaged students' achievements and attainments compared to their non-disadvantaged peers. Since September 2013, the schools that fail to show impact are required to work with leaders of schools judged Outstanding and with a track record of narrowing the achievement gap between disadvantaged students and their peers to draw up new spending plans. Other than the Ofsted, schools must also be accountable to parents and carers. They must publish information (on their website) on their PP funding expenditure and its impacts. Lastly, school performance tables must show PP eligible students' performance compared to their non-PP peers (Carpenter et al., 2013; Lupton and Thomson, 2017).

Carpenter et al. (2013), in their evaluation of the PP funding, reported that schools' definition of disadvantage is not limited to students receiving FSM or LAC. The definition is widely ranged and mostly related to economic and situational disadvantages. They included: low-income families, families in receipt of benefits, lone-parent families, and families in poor accommodations, not having English as a first language, having a parent in armed forces, being a child or refugees or asylum seekers. Most schools use PP funding to support disadvantaged pupils. However, some use it for specific and targeted interventions, especially on low attainers and those not making satisfactory academic progress. The support offered includes: paying for additional teaching staff to teach catch-up sessions in English and Mathematics; additional Learning Support Assistant for groups of PP pupils outside lessons; employ additional attendance staff to monitor and encourage attendance of PP students; pay for resources such as sports kit; pay for mentors and measures to increase emotional well-being and confidence (e.g. counsellor, psychologist and behaviour and anger management strategists); school trips; after school or out-of-hour activities; provide teaching and learning materials and resources; parental support; and support from specialist services. Primary and Secondary schools with a high population of disadvantaged pupils tend to offer more support. The needs of the pupils determined the nature of support. The study concluded that all support had a positive impact, but the most effective was the employment of additional staff (Carpenter et al., 2013; Barret, 2018). Moreover, over 50% of the institutions studied (82% of PRUs, 70% of special schools, 66% of primary schools and 56% of secondary schools) would endeavour to continue with their provisions to the disadvantaged students, although at a reduced level,

without the PP funding (Carpenter et al., 2013:26). All the provisions are currently possible due to the flexibility schools have in their PP funding expenditure due to its non-ring fenced nature.

2.3.3. Impacts of inadequate socio-economic resources.

Limited economic resources are a crucial limiting factor in the performance of disadvantaged children, as it leads to deprivation in other areas which significantly hamper pupils within their schools: children not having enough to eat; lack of adequate clothing; limited support-network for families and poor housing and accommodation (Barrett, 2018). The consequence of an inadequate house is children sharing an overcrowded bedroom with much older siblings, which means they have inappropriate bedtimes and insufficient sleep. Further, various studies show that disadvantaged children are less likely to partake in cultural capital as they cannot afford it (Barrett, 2018; Sutton Trust, 2014). Cultural capital is imperative as a cultural experience, and participation activities such as music, dance, and sports can positively affect achievements, attainments and career outcomes (Sutton Trust, 2014). For example, disadvantaged students, due to lack of exposure, may not have experience and vocabulary to base their stories, as one of the respondents in Barrett's study explained,

> "What our children struggle with is actually being able to write, but they have not had the experiences from which to draw, to talk about, to formulate ideas, to discuss and then write about them…If you have never been to the seaside, and built sandcastles or played in the sea, how can you ever discuss it? And if you cannot discuss it, if you cannot talk about it, you are never going to be able to write about it" (Barrett, 2018:63).

Disadvantaged pupils lack exposure to cultural experiences as a direct consequence of the lack of economic resources. Due to financial constraints, the family cannot engage in trips to see performances, visit places of interest such as museums and city centres, participate in events and pay for holidays. The disadvantaged pupils in deprived areas and schools do not always get a wide range of experience, which becomes a limiting factor of developing and enriching their vocabulary and interacting with others (Barrett, 2018).

2.3.4. Accountability mechanisms can act to narrow the scope of the pupil premium.

As stated previously, the government expects schools to be accountable for using the PP grant by showing the impact of their use. The data and Ofsted inspections are the measures of the impact. Data accountability involved "records of pupil premium children's performance in English and maths and comparisons to national averages and other schools. These are publicly available on the government websites for use by parents, local authority and the government" (Barrett 2018:70). The focus on English and Mathematics has a considerable influence on how schools use the PP grant (ibid.). In itself, it has a knock-on effect as less attention is given to more able pupils, schools are busy trying to meet the expected standards set by the government.

Furthermore, pupils are given English and maths interventions during the times allocated for other subjects; for instance, some schools withdraw pupils from history and Religious Education lessons. Therefore, it narrows the child's curriculum experiences to just being literacy and numeracy, not experiencing a broad and balanced curriculum (Barrett, 2018). The impacts of the use of the PP grant is more than showing progress in English and maths. Many schools feel under pressure to demonstrate government policies' implementations through data and Ofsted inspections (Braun et al., 2011; Barrett, 2018). The pressure results in anxiety, especially around the PP spending on non-academic or soft outcomes such as more comprehensive social and cultural capital and growth in confidence, which are not quantifiable (Barrett, 2018). Soft skills are vital in students' education and their future lives; unfortunately, they are the most likely skills that a disadvantaged student may lack (ibid).

The introduction of the PP grant was the government's flagship policy to reduce the socio-economic attainment gap. It replaced most of the government's previous programmes, which had 'narrowing the gap' elements: National Strategies, health partnerships, start-up costs for extended schools, amongst others (Lupton and Thomson, 2015). By introducing the PP grant, the government set to undo most of the previous New Labour government's initiatives, such as Every Child Matters (ECM) language and well-being Craske, 2018). They replaced them with a specific focus on achievement. The PP policy focuses on how the disadvantaged pupils achieve through measurable academic attainment rather than their well-being. This assertion is clearly stated in the 2010 White Paper as,

> "At the same time, we will seek to focus more firmly on how well disadvantaged pupils do and make sure that schools are held fully to account for using the Pupil Premium to raise the achievement of eligible children. So, we will report specifically in the performance tables on how well those eligible for the Pupil Premium do in the basics at primary and secondary school. We

> will review performance measures for those special schools whose intake performs in the main below the levels of National Curriculum tests or GCSEs" (DfE, 2010a:68).

This document clearly states that schools should be judged on their interventions with disadvantaged pupils through performance tables on how much value they add and what they learn.

The 2019 annual report on education spending in England shows that school spending per pupil in England has fallen significantly since 2009. The spending cuts were due to a 57% reduction in spending per pupil on services that the local authority provides (Britton et al., 2019; Williams and Grayston, 2018). The real term capital funding to schools has raised concern that it will impact the expected progress due to the PP grant. The National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) survey showed that schools are using the PP grant to cover daily costs for their students (Williams and Grayston, 2018). Diverting the PP grant to plug the real term capital funding gap defeats the government's pledge that the PP grant would be from outside the school's budget for the disadvantaged children; it was meant to be an extra-money to the school's funding pot (Lupton and Thomson, 2015). Lupton and Thomson (2015) study show that PP funding has had a redistributive effect on school funding. However, some schools with a very high number of disadvantaged intakes have also seen funding reduced. The study concluded that PP funding had not had a noticeable effect on educational inequalities at the time of the research. Perhaps it was too soon to see any effect as the PP policy was only four years old and was still under review. They assert,

> "assessments of a government's record in tackling educational inequalities cannot be confined to its additional flagship policies, but must also include mainstream educational policies and wider social policies affecting the distribution of income and, in particular, the circumstances of the poorest children whose attainment the targeted flagship policies are intended to raise. Results to date show that, at best, these policies in combination have made a very modest impact on socio-economic attainment gaps, with some evidence that they have made things worse for some groups of students – that is, low attainers from low-income families and LAC" (Lupton and Thomson, 2015:17).

Therefore, the debate around socio-economic equality in education should shift from the sustainability of the PP funding to whether it can have any meaningful impact in reducing disparities in disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged pupils' educational outcomes. The outcome could only be positive when the

government considers family poverty and the mainstream school activities and interventions provided due to the PP grant (Lupton and Thomson, 2015).

2.3.5. Evaluation of the use of PP funding

Some studies have claimed that many schools have made excellent use of the PP grant to close the disadvantaged pupils' attainment gap (Hutchinson et al., 2016; Williams and Grayston, 2018). In some cases, the 'reverse gap' is visible where the disadvantaged pupils outperformed their non-disadvantaged peers. This was visible at a national level where the schools with large proportions of disadvantaged pupils with borderline attainment made incredibly substantial progress. These schools focused on closing the gap and raising all pupils' attainment with a specific focus on disadvantaged pupils' faster progress. The results were due to following the PP policy's vital principle: schools have autonomy in spending the PP grant according to their pupils' needs (Hutchinson et al., 2016:29).

The schools that have experienced positive outcomes of PP funding are the ones that effectively analyse the barriers to learning for their disadvantaged pupils as their starting point. Some of the barriers were identified during the 2015 PP conference in the south-west as follows:

> "limited language, restricted vocabulary; poor attendance; mobility – many moves between schools; issues within the family; Medical issues, often undiagnosed; Lack of sleep; Poor nutrition; Poverty; Lack of family engagement with learning; Education not valued in the local community; Low aspirations; Low expectations; Narrow range of opportunities outside school; Lack of role models, especially male role models; Lack of self-confidence and self-esteem; poor social skills; Other skills gaps; Inadequate support from teachers and teaching assistants" (Hutchinson et al. 2016: 29-30).

The findings stressed that it is essential to note that not all the PP pupils have all or even some of the barriers outlined. For instance, some PP students have very supportive families who do their best to support their children. However, due to their limited resources, their provision cannot go far enough to expand pre and outside school experiences of their children, hence the gap with their better-off peers (ibid.). Furthermore, it is equally important to acknowledge that the PP pupils are not a homogenous group; they have their specific backgrounds and needs; hence, they ought to consider each PP pupils' contextual background (Hutchinson et al., 2016).

In their analysis, Hutchinson et al. (2016) argue that the above list of barriers is commonly cited by teachers and schools who have low aspirations and expectations. For a school to successfully close the gap, it must develop a culture of high expectations and aspirations for all learners, regardless of their economic, social, racial, and religious or gender backgrounds. It might involve challenging the school staff unconscious bias, engaging parents in a meaningful way, sharing the school expectations, and educating them on what their children are learning and experiencing. It might involve employing a parent champion to facilitate this. Additionally, there ought to be a whole school policy to raise the attainment in conjunction with raising aspirations and expectations to successfully close the gap (Cf. Hutchinson et al., 2016).

Macleod et al. (2015) study what constitutes effective use of the PP grant as demonstrated by schools who have improved their results. They identified 'seven-building blocks' that made these schools successful[7]:

> " First, they promote an ethos of attainment for all pupils, rather than stereotyping disadvantaged pupils as a group with less potential to succeed; Second, they have an individualised approach to addressing barriers to learning and emotional support, at an early stage, rather than providing access to generic support and focusing on pupils nearing their end-of-key stage assessments; third, they focus on high-quality teaching first rather than on bolt-on strategies and activities outside school hours; fourth, they focus on outcomes for individual pupils rather than on providing strategies; fifth, they deploy the best staff to support disadvantaged pupils; develop skills and roles of teachers and TAs rather than using additional staff who do not know the pupils well; sixth, they make decisions based on data and respond to evidence, using frequent, rather than one-off assessment and decision points; seventh, they have a clear, responsive leadership: setting ever higher aspirations and devolving responsibility for raising attainment to all staff, rather than accepting low aspirations and variable performance" (Macleod, et al., 2015:4).

The Macleod et al. (2015) research clearly shows that more successful schools saw raising disadvantaged pupils' attainment as part of their commitment to helping all pupils achieve their potentials. They put quality teaching for all at the core of their activities. Attendance, behaviour for learning, emotional support is necessary but not sufficient for academic success. They provided personalised learning,

[7] "More successful schools are those where the attainment of pupils eligible for free school meals or looked after by the local authority was better than expected, after taking account of the characteristics of the school and the pupil cohort" (Macleod et al. 2015:4).

having deciphered and understood the learner's context as an individual pupil with specific learning needs. The successful schools linked teaching and learning interventions to classwork. They monitored attainment, identified the gaps and addressed them as soon as they arose. They equipped their teaching assistants through training and expertise to deliver interventions, provide feedback and monitor progress.

On the contrary, Macleod et al. (2015) found that some schools were less successful in closing the gap between disadvantaged students and their peers through interventions. Due to the senior leaders' attitude: they had low expectations of the PP students' potentiality to achieve – they consider it impractical to meet the students specific learning needs. Some schools with a low population of PP students claimed they lacked adequate funding to initiate expensive changes; some leaders felt inadequately prepared to account for the progress, attainment and achievement of the PP eligible students.

Having identified what makes schools more successful in closing the gap, Hutchinson et al. (2016) identified the following success criteria for a successful implementation of the use of the PP grant in schools: focusing on closing the attainment gap between PP and their peers; accelerating progress; improving attendance; improving behaviour; improving engagement of parents and carers in their children's education; extending opportunities; easing the transition between separate phases of schooling; supporting the PP students to move to good destinations, especially for secondary school leavers (Hutchinson et al., 2016). It is important to note that not all schools use all the success criteria; they choose ones that apply to their context, according to the barriers to learning that their PP students experience.

It is apparent from this chapter so far that intersections of race, gender and poverty impact the educational achievement and attainment of the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean girls in particular. The UK government's attempts to close the gap between the disadvantaged students and their peers have focused mainly on the measurable interventions to close the gap. However, the literature on PP interventions considered solely focuses on the disadvantaged group in general without considering ethnic groupings, which points to a weakness in the intervention. Furthermore, the interventions are inadequate as they are not comprehensive enough to consider all the intersections and schooling processes within secondary schools. An additional multifaceted framework that sheds light on all the intersections and processes would suffice. This study, therefore, suggests the capability approach framework.

2.4. **The Capability Approach (CA)**

The literature reveals that the situations of PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent are more complicated than other students. Generally, the intersection of poverty, gender and race impact their daily lives. They face numerous challenges: low level of educational attainment, material poverty, cultural barriers, inadequate numbers of teachers from ethnic minority groups, behaviour and exclusion (Ball, 2008; Runnymede, 2012; DCSF, 2009; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). Due to the complexity of the disadvantaged Black girl students' experiences and perceptions of educational provisions, the analysis of their experiences and perceptions requires a multidimensional theoretical framework. There are various approaches to evaluate the effectiveness of schooling systems and how well society is served by what schools are doing: progress made, and attainments achieved by pupils over time; progression to higher education; employability; social mobility; what people say they would like to gain from schooling; resources, including how much money is spent on a child; and outcome in the form of examination results (Kelly, 2012; Unterhalter, 2007). These utilitarian approaches to evaluating education fail to capture a person's real freedoms or opportunities to achieve what they have a reason to value (capabilities and functionings) (Unterhalter et al. 2007; Kelly, 2012). Due to these limitations, this study proposes to use the capability approach (CA) framework.

What is the capability approach?

The CA is a theoretical framework whose primary focus is on well-being, development and justice. It is an evaluative framework for individual welfare and social arrangements (Sen, 1993). The CA highlights the significance of improving a person's substantive freedoms (real opportunities) to achieve what they would like to be and to do. It focuses directly on the quality of life individuals can achieve. CA's key components are functionings, capabilities, freedom, and agency (Dang, 2014; Unterhalter, 2007). Functionings refer to what a person can do or become with ample opportunities. They include achievements such as being well-nourished, healthy, not suffering from a lack of self-respect and taking part in social life.

On the other hand, a person's capabilities are the opportunities a person has to achieve various functionings (achievements). Capabilities incorporate the idea of freedom – they are real opportunities to live a life a person has reasons to choose and value. Freedoms depend on the social environment and the possibilities of variation (Sen, 1999). The variability entails conversion factors: the ability to

translate commodities or resources into functionings and capabilities. Several types of conversion factors may be grouped into three categories: personal, social and environmental. Personal conversion factors include physical conditions, age, and gender; social conversion factors include institutions, cultural and social norms; environmental conversion factors, including climate, pollution, and public facilities. The conversion factors have a significant influence on the process of converting the available resources into well-being (Sen, 1993; Dang, 2014). The CA framework could be an ideal evaluative tool for the educational experiences and perceptions of PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent due to its comprehensive nature in considering the conversion factors. It can incorporate how the intersections of gender, race, and poverty impact PP Black girls' educational achievements. The CA framework's primary focus is social arrangements, which should aim to expand a person's capabilities to achieve functionings vital to them.

The CA emanates as a "response to approaches to human development that focus exclusively on resources, utility, desire satisfaction and aggregated markers or advantage" (Hart and Brando, 2018). Sen has consistently argued that freedom and a person's value play a crucial role in assessing the quality of life (Sen, 2009). The CA asserts that freedom to achieve well-being is a matter of what people are able to do and to be (functionings), and thus the kind of life they are effectively able to lead (Robeyns, 2011; Unterhalter, 2007). Therefore, "An evaluation of the quality of human life should look at both the process whereby an individual's outcomes are achieved and the outcomes themselves" (Hart and Brando, 2018:294).

The CA is a valuable tool to evaluate and assess equality in daily life, including education, because other assessment tools like the human capital framework have numerous limitations (Unterhalter et al. 2007). The CA pioneers formulated it as a response to the limitations of assessments that measure only desire satisfaction, resources, or outcomes. For example, in education, the most standard evaluation tool is founded upon what people say they want to gain from schooling; resources – for example, the amount of money spent per child; and the outcomes of examination results (ibid.). The use of the CA as an evaluation tool in education alerts us to assess schooling aspects deemed valuable rather than the narrow description of education limited to access and examination outcomes (Unterhalter and Brighouse, 2007). The use of the CA as an evaluation tool would consider the PP Black girl students as individuals whose intrinsic values are ends in themselves. It avoids excessively utilitarian approaches that focus on instrumental values and considers humans mainly as means to ends. The CA acknowledges that PP Black girl students have different abilities to convert the resources available to them into different capabilities due to personal, social or environmental factors, such as physical,

mental and legal status, social norms and customs (Nussbaum, 2002). It is a means of exploring the quality of educational provisions regarding individual freedoms (Vaughan, 2007). The CA is multifaceted with multidimensional functions. It enables a researcher to use diverse approaches to investigate multidimensional poverty and well-being in a concerted and conceptually coherent manner (Alkire, 2007). The CA's application to education emphasises not the freedom children have now but, preferably, the ones they will possess in the future. Children are still growing and need guidance from significant adults, such as parents and teachers (Saito, 2003). White (1973) explains,

> "Making no effort to teach a child anything since we do not know what is good or bad for the child does not lead the child to improve his/her well-being; letting the child learn what they wanted in this way might well restrict the range of possible things which they might choose for their own sake. *They* might fail to learn other things which might also have been included" (White, 1973:22).

Education is a capability and plays a significant role in expanding a person's other capabilities. For example, it can enable a child to acquire the capability to swim. The expansion of opportunities may enable the same child to learn mathematics and, as a result, have more opportunity to become a mathematician, physicist or banker (Saito, 2013). The study proposes using the CA to investigate the extent to which the PP grant's use enhances PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's capabilities of being and doing. It aims to analyse their experiences of the use of the PP grant in schools, whether it limits or expands their capabilities and functionings. One of the aims of education is to make a learner autonomous in creating a new capability set, not a compulsory education that proceeds through a top-down approach, aimed at passing exams but restricting a child (Saito, 2013).

2.5. Conclusion

Based on the current literature, I have argued that education is one of the fundamental capabilities, necessary right from the beginning of a person's life. Education has intrinsic and instrumental values and can expand the central human functional capabilities when considered in its entirety. The reviewed literature indicates that poverty, gender, and race intersections significantly impact BME students' educational attainments and achievements. There have been numerous UK government initiatives to curb the low educational attainments of BME pupils, one of which is the PP

grant. While schools in England are implementing the UK government's PP grant initiative, their approaches, based on educational outcomes, progression to higher education, and employability, are limited. They miss out on considering the full range of intersections that hinder the expansions of human capabilities. I have suggested that a multidimensional approach is needed to fully cater to quality, equality, and measurements in the education of PP Black girl pupils. Therefore, the capabilities approach, I believe, is a better way forward in analysing the complexity of the educational needs of PP Black girl pupils of African and Caribbean descent. CA alerts us to consider the necessary educational provisions so that PP Black girl pupils have a reason to value, hence distributing the necessary resources accordingly. The following chapter will focus on the methodology undertaken in this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.0. Introduction

The literature reviewed in the preceding chapter shows a completed and ongoing evaluation of the PP grant's impact. Nevertheless, none of the studies has specifically considered the impact of the PP grant on the achievements of the disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. Furthermore, no study has considered how this named group perceive and experience the PP grant's use in closing the educational achievement gap in secondary schools. Therefore, this study aims to focus on the gap and evaluate the experiences and perceptions of the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent using the CA framework. The study also employs an intersectionality lens as one cannot deliberate on Black girls' educational issues without considering the intersections of gender, race, and poverty. This study has three main aims: first, to describe the impacts of the PP grant on the educational achievements of PP Black girl pupils of African and Caribbean descent; second, to explore and describe Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's perceptions and experiences of how the PP grant is used in secondary schools in south London, and finally to use the CA framework to evaluate whether the school's provisions enhance or diminish the Black girls' capabilities of being and doing. The study will answer the following three research questions to address the aims:

1. How does the Pupil Premium grant impact the educational achievements of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in secondary schools in south London?
2. What are the perceptions of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent and their experiences of the use of the UK government's Pupil Premium grant in secondary schools in south London?
3. To what extent does PP grant enhance Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's capabilities of being and doing?

This chapter, therefore, considers how the study was designed and implemented. It presents the methodology employed to address the above research questions and focuses on the findings' processes. First, it presents the context in which the research has been conducted; second, the researcher's position regarding the research and its informants; third, the philosophical foundations underpinning the research; fourth, it describes and justifies the methodological choice for data collection and analysis.

3.1. **The study sites**

The study sites were three secondary denominational (faith) schools, and data was collected through interviews and document analysis. Face to face, one to one interview data was collected from students and senior teachers in charge of the evaluation PP grant in schools. Besides the three main sites, further interviews were with three classroom teachers from three different secondary schools in south London. The rationale for the selection of the schools is outlined. The study sites were chosen following Rowley (2002) and Yin (2006) assertion that having multiple case studies might help a researcher strengthen the findings from the entire study. Multiple schools were chosen for contrasting comparisons and as a replication. The schools were sufficiently different in several respects: Site one was situated in an affluent area. It had a below national average number of disadvantaged and 21.5% of school population identified as Black African and Caribbean descent (School Denominational Inspection Report, 2018; School Equality of Duty Policy). Unlike site one, the second site was a mixed school in a deprived area with a significant number of disadvantaged students, and a half of the student population were from the BME background (Denominational Inspection report, 2019; School's Pupil Premium strategy 2019-2020; School's Ofsted report, 2013). The third site was an all-girl school located in an affluent area but admits students from some deprived communities lacking economic and social resources. 22% were identified as disadvantaged and received FSM, and 10% from BME background (see teacher interviews; Ofsted Inspection dashboard, 2018). Rowley (2002) argues that the more cases are used, the more robust the research outcomes are.

Nevertheless, there is no simple answer as to how many cases should be used in a multiple case study, as long as cases are carefully chosen to select extensive detailed data about each site or individual (Rowley, 2002; Creswell, 2013). The intent of the qualitative research is often not to generalise the information but to reveal the specific or issue (Creswell, 2013). Yin (2006:114) adds that generalising from case studies is not statistical but reflects substantive topics or issues of interest and making logical inferences (analytical generalisation). Creswell (2013) suggest that up to four or five case studies are sufficient in a single study. In this light, this study contends that the number of the study from three sites and interviews from three individual teachers (all from different schools) is credible for analytical generalisations, especially if the findings reveal commonalities across the study sites that might be applicable to more schools across London. This section gives a glimpse of the three main study sites and the individual classroom teacher's sites.

Site one: All-girls school in south London

Site one is a voluntary aided (denominational/faith) comprehensive school for girls in south London with over 1400 pupils, including over 200 students in the Sixth Form (11-18). The school was established over 125 years ago. Although the school is located in an affluent area, it has a wide catchment area and does not select pupils based on ability. 48% of pupils are from ethnic minority groups, which is well above the national average. 21.5% of the pupils are of Black African and Caribbean descent. 8% of pupils are entitled to FSM, below the national average of 15% (School Denominational Inspection Report, 2018; School Equality of Duty Policy).

This study site was chosen because of the availability of research participants who fits the purpose and criteria for this project. Having gained access through the gatekeeper, I was directed to the deputy headteacher tasked with evaluating the PP grant. I requested the deputy headteacher to randomly select ten students in Year 10 who were of Black African and Caribbean descent in receipt of PP funding. Having sent the school, the research briefing, the deputy headteacher drafted a letter to parents with a school letterhead, which accompanied the study information, briefing them. Five pupils accepted participating in face-to-face, one-on-one semi-structured interviews (Cohen et al., 2011; Robson, 2011). The study participants were pupils in Year 10 (ages 14/15) because they had had an experience of PP grant for four years of their secondary schooling and were best positioned to narrate their perceptions and experiences. Furthermore, their teaching tiers would show their achievements (top, middle or lower sets). The tiering was not criteria for selection but explored during the interviews and in the discussions, findings, and analysis. The purpose and selection criteria of the participants were mainly based on their gender (girls), ethnicity (Black Africans and the Caribbean) and socio-economic status (recipient of PP funding).

Site two: A mixed comprehensive school in south London

Site two is a Voluntary Aided (denominational/faith) mixed comprehensive school in a deprived area of south London, opened in 2011 due to an amalgamation of two schools. The school takes pupils from 11 to 18 years and has a capacity of 1200 pupils; however, the current school population is just under 600 pupils. The school is in the top quintile for deprivation with significantly above average the number of pupils (43.2% receive PP funding) with a Statement of SEND or an Educational Health Care Plan (EHCP). 90% of the pupils are from an ethnic minority, with over 50% from the BME group

(Denominational Inspection report, 2019; School's Pupil Premium strategy 2019-2020; School's Ofsted report, 2013).

This site was chosen for the study due to its convenient access. Like site one, having gained access through the headteacher and the deputy headteacher, the study information was sent to the senior teacher who was tasked with the access arrangements for this study. Nevertheless, the information was not passed to the student participants until the day of the data collection. I was invited to go in for data collection three months after the initial contact. The interview took three different days. Participants were called from their lessons into a senior teacher's teaching room/office. I briefed the participants and asked for their voluntary informed consent (BERA, 2018; Cohen et al., 2011). Although this was a mixed school, the data was collected from disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in Year 10. The group was chosen for the same reason as site one and in line with the research questions and title

Site three: All-girls school in south London

Site three is a single-sex girls' secondary faith school in south London (age range 11-18). The school is located in an affluent area, but its catchment regions include deprived communities lacking economic and social resources. The school has about 1360 pupils, 22% of whom are PP recipients, and 10% of the school's total population are from BME communities (see senior teacher interview; Ofsted Inspection dashboard, 2018). I chose this study site for the following reasons: first, it is my place of work; second, the accessibility to the research participants, following the permission from the headteacher (Bryman, 2012); third, there is a significant number of Black girl pupils of African and Caribbean descent in the school for this project. Having gained permission from the headteacher, I briefed the senor/Lead teacher tasked with implementing and evaluating the PP funding. I then requested a list of Year 10 PP grant recipients of Black African and Caribbean descent. I contacted the students through email, and 4 out of 14 students volunteered to participate in an in-depth, face to face, one-on-one semi-structured interview (Cf. Creswell, 2008; Robson, 2011). The research participants were pupils from Year 10 (age 14/15) and a senior/lead teacher in charge of evaluating the PP grant. I chose Year 10 students as they had experienced PP funding for at least three years of their secondary schooling and were better positioned to narrate their perceptions and experiences. Furthermore, their teaching tiers would show their achievements (top, middle or lower sets). The tiering was not criteria for selection but explored during the interviews as well as in the discussions, findings, and analysis.

I was fully aware of the ethical implications of being an insider researcher, including the tension between my roles as a practitioner and researcher. As a teacher practitioner (head of a department), I am actively involved in school life: running the department, monitoring pupils' progress and checking the quality of teaching and learning, amongst other responsibilities. As a researcher, I am expected to take a critical stance, which might undermine my loyalty to my line managers (Floyd and Arthur, 2012). I tackled ethical issues by following BERA ethical guidelines and seeking ethical approval from UCL's Institute of Education ethics committee.

The teacher participants in the three sites were chosen due to their expertise in understanding the PP funding: its aims, implementations, evaluations, and accountability. Each school has specific teachers tasked with the work of overseeing the implementation of the PP funding. Sites one and two have the deputy headteachers in charge of the PP funding, while site three has a senior/lead teacher in charge of the PP funding. As the literature revealed, the PP is not ring-fenced, and the government does not prescribe how it is used or who should oversee it. However, each school is accountable for its use by showing the positive educational outcomes of its disadvantaged students in the academic results (Carpenter et al., 2013). Due to this open-endedness, each school decides who oversees the use of the PP funding and its educational outcomes.

Teachers from other schools

The rationale for involving classroom teachers: first, to get views and understanding of PP grant from practitioners who are directly involved with the teaching and learnings of the disadvantaged students; second, they were from different schools to expand the scope of the study. The three teachers were from different schools in London. The teachers were all selected randomly from various Continuous Professional Development (CPD) meetings across London. One of the teachers, Arua (pseudonym), works in an all-girls school in London. It is a mixed ability comprehensive 11-18 school of about 1000 students, including 213 in the sixth form. 17.2% of pupils are eligible for FSM (School's Ofsted report, 2019).

The second teacher participant was Musungu (pseudonym). He teaches in a Comprehensive Voluntary-aided mixed school in outer London. The school's takes pupils from 11-18, and the current school population in 1215 pupils, including 257 in the sixth form. The attainment of most pupils on entering the school is significantly below average. The school has 275 pupils eligible for PP funding. The latest inspection report shows that the school has 40% White British, 12% White Eastern European and

12% Indian heritage. The report did not mention Black pupils, yet they have many Black pupils (School's Denominational Inspection Report, 2020).

The third teacher participant was Hayes (pseudonym), who taught in an all-girl voluntary aided school in south London. The school is an 11-18 school, with 545 pupils. 19% of pupils are eligible for PP funding, and the school is in the top 10% for disadvantaged pupils nationally. 99% of pupils are from an ethnic minority, predominantly Black African, Black Caribbean and Asian backgrounds (School's Denominational Inspection Report, 2019). All the teachers in this study participated in face to face, one-on-one semi-structured interview (Cohen et al., 2011)

3.2. The researcher

This is a practitioner enquiry, therefore, required self-reflexivity (Green, 2014). The study considered self-reflexivity because it involved how the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent perceived and experienced the use of the PP grant. I am a Black male teacher of African descent who is also in a middle leadership role, accountable for all students' progress, including PP students. This essentially classifies me as an insider. To understand the researcher's position in this study, it is worth considering the significance of reflexivity and Positionality in qualitative research.

3.2.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to the researcher's systematic attention to how knowledge is constructed, especially the researcher's effect in the study process. It means a researcher actively acknowledges that their actions and decisions will influence and impact the study's meaning and context (Horsburgh, 2003; Lincoln and Guba, 2003; Kacen and Chaitin, 2006; Flick, 2006; Green, 2014).

Reflexivity operates from the premise that a researcher cannot detach themselves from the research process as they are an integral part of the research. A researcher is an essential part of data collection, analysis and interpretation (Horsburgh, 2003; Berger, 2015). The question about reflexivity is vital and part of a broader discussion about ontological, epistemological and axiological components of the self, intersubjectivity and colonisation of knowledge (Berger, 2015:220).

Reflexivity is a self-appraisal in qualitative research: it entails a researcher self-awareness and sensitivity concerning the study. Reflexivity obligates a researcher "to carefully monitor the impact of their biases, beliefs and personal experiences on their research; and maintain the balance between the

personal and the universal." (ibid.). It requires a researcher to do an introspection and to take responsibility in recognising how one's situatedness within research may influence or affect the setting, research participants, questions being asked, data collection and interpretation (Berger, 2015).

While carrying out this study, my role was that of a Middle Leader at my school (Head of Religious Education department). Prior to the commencement of the study, I contacted a few schools to seek access to the research participants. Some responded but did not allow access. Those who allowed access were the ones I had made face-to-face contact with their teachers through Middle Leaders' meetings. Although they facilitated the access, the study was guided by BERA (2018) guidelines to minimise my positional influence on the research. Additionally, the student participants in sites one and two perceived me as a researcher from UCL, not a teacher. The study also utilised public documents since they were publicly available and could be used to verify the validity of the study and triangulate with the interviews. During the interviews, I checked with the participants the accuracy of my recordings from their viewpoints. This is done to minimise imposing my own understanding of the use the PP funding in schools as a teacher. In Site three, my workplace, I treated it like other sites by contacting the headteacher before conducting the study. When conducting interviews, I closely followed the protocols and assured the participants that the study was for my EdD research and not commissioned by the school. The interviews with teachers from other schools began by first developing a trust point (McConnell-Henry et al., 2010). I explained the aims of the study and what it hoped to achieve. This was done both verbally and through the information and consent form (Appendix VI). I carefully examined my own philosophical beliefs and those that might be challenged and dealing with challenges – focus on the generated data, not the perceived data. I checked the correctness of the information gathered after transcription. Finally, I enlisted the assistance of a fellow student as means of debriefing while observing confidentiality. I used pseudonyms (ibid.).

Reflexivity expects a researcher to consider their positioning in terms of gender, race, affiliation, age, sexual orientation, beliefs, biases and emotional responses to the participant (ibid.). It is imperative to consider these positions as they may impact the study in the following ways: first, access to research participants, for instance, this study was made possible because it was a practitioner enquiry in my field as an educator; the relationship between the researcher and the participants which might influence the information the participants are willing to share; third, the researcher's world view may affect data analysis, interpretation and report (Kacen and Chaitin, 2006). This study, being practitioner enquiry, seriously considered reflexivity and Positionality.

3.2.2. Positionality

It is imperative to acknowledge the researcher's background, using an intersectional lens to describe salient social identities. One could not carry out a study without acknowledging the researcher's theoretical perspective (Showunmi et al., 2016; Showunmi, 2012). Germane identities worth highlighting relate to ethnicity (Black African), gender (male) and education. I am a Black male teacher, born and bred in an African country, in an economically and socially disadvantaged family. I began my professional teaching career in the UK. I identify myself more strongly with being a professional African rather than 'Black British.' This study project was motivated by experiences at my place of work. I saw many Black girls in the bottom sets and few in the top sets, observing significant numbers of Black girls experiencing temporary and permanent exclusions from education for the reasons outlined in the previous chapter. Besides, during MA studies, I used the CA to highlight the inadequacy of evaluation frameworks that focus mainly on education's instrumental values. Since the CA is a multifaceted lens, it can highlight what other strategies miss. It can highlight the intersectionality: the impact of the PP grant on the educational achievement of PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent, how their perceptions and experiences of the use of PP funding are influenced by factors such as poverty, gender and race.

My position and background as a professional Black male researcher exploring educational issues affecting PP Black girl pupils of African and Caribbean descent influenced the process of this study in some ways, for instance, how some participants responded to the study during interviews: some pupils took the opportunity to narrate their personal experiences within the school due to their race as Black pupils; some complained about school meals thinking I was in a position to do something about it; some trusted me with personal information about experiences of poverty at home due to low income. Influenced by Showunmi (2012) experiences during her study on why British Black women have difficulty finding employment, I developed the role of a 'friendly listener' while interviewing PP Black students. It entailed using semi-structured interviews that enabled participants to feel at ease and ensure that their voices were gently encouraged towards the semi-structured questions that needed to be covered.

Other than the students, my experiences interviewing teachers were different. All senior teacher participants were White, while two of the classroom teachers were Black Africans. Most White teacher interviewees were careful and guarded, especially in their responses to race questions. However, being a professional, one of the teachers saw me differently when referring to PP Black girls; the language was microaggressive, ignoring my racial identity. An example of microaggressive language

could be seen in the teacher's assumption that Black girls of African and Caribbean descent miss school because their parents take them outside the country during term time, implying they don't care much about their children education; a generalisation that Black girls often kiss their teeth in comparison to other races, which is impolite, consequently giving a negative impression of themselves and of their community (see Appendix IV, interview responses from Ms Hayes). Thus, I was facing a conflict between being an impartial researcher and a Black male teacher wanting to make a difference in the lives of the disadvantaged Black girls through my study and recognising that the problems they experienced reflected larger socio-economic issues (Showunmi, 2012). Despite the conflicts, I did not consciously use my professional attributes and racial identity to justify my position as the researcher. Instead, I was grateful that I could carry out my study as a reflective practitioner, aiming to contribute to the teaching profession positively.

3.3. Philosophical foundations underpinning the research

This section focuses on ontology, epistemology, and qualitative case study to get a comprehensive picture of this study's philosophical underpinnings.

3.3.1. Ontological and Epistemological considerations

Ontology, as a term, refers to the reality to be discovered or researched. It is the 'what' or 'being' that exists to be known (Bryman, 2012; Cohen et al., 2011). The two leading schools of thoughts emerge when considering ontology. First, ontological objectivism claims that reality exists independently of people: it can be known, investigated, coded and recorded. Traditionally, this view has been linked to the epistemological position of positivism and empiricism. Second, ontological constructionism/interpretivism: those who argue that people are different from the phenomena studied by natural science. People construct social reality by the meanings and interpretations they assign to them (Bryman, 2012; May, 2010). The meanings are continually changing and revised by social actors. It emphasises the ability of the individual to construct meaning.

This study follows the ontological constructivism stance. It makes three main assumptions: first, that PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent have their own understanding of what it means to be classed as disadvantaged – how it affects their educational achievements in comparison to their peers; second, they have their own experiences and perceptions on how the use of the PP grant

impacting upon (or not) their educational achievement – whether it enhances their capabilities of being and doing; third they also have their own understanding of how their ethnicity (BME) may influence their status and experiences of the use of PP grant. Some of the questions that research participants were asked included their understanding of the PP grant, why they were classified as PP or disadvantaged, whether the educational interventions provided considered their ethnicity, and the support they received at school, home, and during school holidays. Questions for student participants were not very much different from senior teachers and classroom teachers. From the assumptions and questions, the study deciphered that the participants continuously construct and interpret their world views about ethnicity, poverty, and gender.

Ontology is concerned with reality, while epistemology, on the other hand, considers how knowledge of reality is acquired. Epistemology focuses on 'how,' methods, or ways in which our social world, including tools we use to acquire this knowledge (May, 2010; Bryman, 2012). There are three stances of epistemology in social research. First, epistemological positivism/empiricism, mainly used in natural sciences to study a social reality. The researcher is considered neutral. Second, epistemological interpretivism/constructivism. It claims that we cannot know the social world; people only name and interpret/construct their understanding of reality. Third, realism/critical realism, which accepts that there is a reality out there that can be studied and that natural and social sciences should use the same approach of data collection and explanation in their attempt to understand it (Bryman, 2012).

This project utilises the second stance of epistemology: epistemological interpretivist/constructivism. It aims to investigate how the Black girl students of African and Caribbean descent experience and perceive the use of the PP grant in secondary schools in south London. The research analyses the experiences and perceptions using the CA. In this case, there is a reality out there. It is interpreted and constructed differently by the participants in their own contexts (different schools). Other than pupils and teachers, other stakeholders in education have their own interpretation of reality; for instance, their measurements and evaluation of pupils' achievements are mainly based on educational achievements and progress of pupils (Kelly, 2012; Unterhalter et al., 2007), which is somehow limited as they measure only desired satisfaction, resources and outcome. The proponents of the CA framework challenge the limited construction of reality. There is a need to go beyond describing access to education based only on achievements. It must also consider aspects of education deemed valuable, such as distributing resources (Unterhalter and Brighouse, 2007). The CA considers PP Black girls as individuals whose intrinsic values are ends in themselves. It avoids excessively utilitarian approaches that focus on instrumental values and considers humans mainly as means to ends. CA

acknowledges that PP Black girls have different abilities to convert the resources available to them into different capabilities due to personal, social or environmental factors, such as physical, mental status, social norms and customs (Nussbaum, 2002).

3.3.2. Case study

A case study is one of the research approaches used by social scientists in quantitative and qualitative inquiries. Due to its being broad, doing a case study remains one of the challenges of all social science approaches (Yin, 2018). A case study is a qualitative approach in which a researcher considers a single case or multiple cases over time through detailed, in-depth data collection. Data collection might involve various methods such as interviews, observation, focus group discussions and document analysis. The data is analysed, constructed, interpreted, and reports as case descriptions and case-based themes (Creswell, 2007). A case study involves exploring an issue through one or more cases within a bounded system such as context or settings (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2018; Baxter and Jack, 2008; Ponelis, 2015). There have been various views on what a case study is. For instance, Stake (2005) argues that a case study is not a methodology but rather a choice of a case to be studied within a context (bounded system). Some scholars (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003) consider a case study a strategy of inquiry, a methodology, or a comprehensive research strategy. Creswell (2007) chose to view a case study as a type of design or an object of study and a product of inquiry. The study of PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's perceptions and experiences of the use of PP grant follows Creswell's consideration: it is a case study that is an object of study and a product of inquiry.

Baxter and Jack (2015) explain that rigorous qualitative research gives researchers opportunities to explore or describe a phenomenon in a context using a variety of data sources. It permits the researcher to do an in-depth investigation and exploration of a case and supports the deconstruction and subsequent reconstruction of various phenomena. A qualitative case study is a valuable tool to investigate professional practice such as education and healthcare, develop a theory to evaluate programmes and develop interventions since processes, problems can be studied to promote understanding that can improve practice. Furthermore, it has the strength of being flexible, rigorous, and using various methods (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin, 2003; Stake 2005; Ponelis, 2015). Since exploring a phenomenon is done within its context using various data sources, it ensures that the issue is investigated through various lenses, therefore revealing and understanding multiple facets of a phenomenon (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

The case of this study is the use of the PP grant in secondary schools in south London. This study followed Yin (2003) and Stake (1995) suggestions that the case needs to be bound to make it manageable and credible. It was bound by place (Creswell 2003): the location of this study is south London; it was also bound by the activity, definition and context (Stake, 1995; Miles and Huberman, 1994): The focus was Black girls of African and Caribbean descent, identified as disadvantaged on the ground of economic poverty, hence, are the recipient of the PP grant to support their educational needs and consequently close the achievement gap between them and their peers; the study considered the understanding of the PP grant and focused on PP Black girls (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

Baxter and Jack (2008) explain that other than identifying the case and the type of case study, a researcher must also be prudent in conducting a single or multiple case study. The former entails focusing on a single case in an only particular context. The latter, on the other hand, involves considering more than a single case. This study used a multiple case study as it focused on more than one study site, collected, analysed, and interpreted data from 20 participants. The data was collected and analysed within their settings as well as across parameters. Even though multiple case studies had the disadvantage of being time-consuming and recruiting research participants, it is advantageous because the evidence created is considered robust and reliable (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

3.4. Methods

Ontological and epistemological positions influence methods and methodology. This study used interviews and document analysis.

3.4.1. Interviews

An interview is one of the methods of data collection in qualitative social research. It considers knowledge as inseparable from humans but generated between humans, mainly through conversation (Cohen et al., 2011; Opdenakker, 2006). It involves an exchange of views between two or more persons on a topic of mutual interest. Its purpose is to gather descriptions of the real world as lived and experienced by the respondents. In their interpretations of the data collected, the qualitative researcher ought to respect the interviewee's descriptions of the phenomena as they perceive and experience them (Anyan, 2013; Kvale, 1983; Opdenakker, 2006).

Moreover, an interview is vital as a data collection method as it enables respondents to narrate their predicaments, needs, expectations, experiences and understandings (Anyan, 2013; Nunkoosing, 2005). Even though positivists perceive interview as unscientific because it appears not to be objective and the data is not reproducible, Anyan (2013) and Kvale (1996) reject the positivists' views as qualitative research interview can be objective by "letting the investigated object speak" in expressing real nature of the object of discussion.

The interview's defining key is that knowledge is constructed and generated between participants (both interviewer and interviewees); therefore, data is situated in a social context. The use of interviews in this study enabled the participants and I (a researcher) to discuss our interpretation of the world in which they live and express how they perceive and experience PP grant's use from their viewpoints. The exercise shows that interview is part of life itself; its human embeddedness is inescapable (Cohen et al. 2011:409). This study is centred on the real world of the interviewee's life; its subject is the perceptions and experiences of the use of PP funding as described by both the disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent and their teachers. These are the main objects of the analysis, interpretations, reporting and recommendations (Kvale, 1983). Qualitative research seeks to understand the meaning of the world as described by the interviewees; it relies on the description given by the interviewees of their life-world; it is specific as it focuses on the use of the PP grant as experienced by Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. Furthermore, it is pre-supposition-less as I did not begin with a hypothesis to prove nor with ready-made themes but relied on their emergence as the research progresses (Kvale, 1983). Careful consideration of these modes aims to result in rich and detailed data for understanding participants' experiences, how they describe those experiences and the meaning they make of those experiences (Castillo-Montoya, 2016).

The common types of interviews are: structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Robson, 2011). This study uses semi-structured, face to face interview. In a semi-structured interview, a researcher uses a checklist, which would enable them to cover all the relevant areas that would capture the need s of research questions to guide the conversation (Robson, 2011; Alshenqeeti, 2014). The checklist's advantage is its allowance for in-depth probing while keeping the interview within the study's parameters (Alshenqeeti, 2014). The wording and order of the questions are often modified depending on the flow of the conversation. In this study, I used interview protocol (Appendices V-X) with more straightforward questions sequenced towards the beginning and those that required detailed descriptions in the middle. Additional unplanned questions are asked to follow up on the interview (Robson, 2011:280). The study chose a semi-structured interview due to its flexibility. It allows the

interviewer to gain an in-depth understanding by probing interviewee to expand their responses (Alshenqeeti, 2014). Due to its standardised open-ended nature, the participants are asked the same questions. However, they can contribute as much detailed information as they desire, fully expressing their viewpoints and experiences (Turner, 2010).

Face to face interview was used in this study due to its many strengths: first, social cues such as voice intonation, the body language of the interviewees can give an interviewer extra information that can be added to verbal responses to the questions. The interviewee is well-versant with the relevant information that might help answer the research questions; second, the response is spontaneous. An interviewer can immediately ask for clarification; third, using a tape recorder makes the interview more accurate. This is more effective as it goes hand in hand with note-taking. It helps check if the questions have been answered and if the tape does not work correctly. Fourth, it gives the interviewer many possibilities to create a good interview atmosphere, modify the inquiry line, follow-up interesting responses, and investigate underlying motives. Fifth, data are complete for each person on the interview topics, reducing the interviewer effect and bias when several interviewees are used. Finally, since interviewees answer the same question, it increases the comparability of responses. (Opdenakker, 2006; Bryman, 2012; Robson, 2011; Cohen et al., 2011).

3.4.2. Purposive interview sampling

This research uses purposive sampling to focus on a specific, unique aspect of PP funding. Purposive sampling entails a researcher deliberately selecting study sites and a particular section of the wider population for study because they can purposefully inform and understand the research phenomenon (Creswell, 2007; Cohen et al., 2011; Silverman, 2005). Purposive sampling confers greater depth on the study but lesser breadth than probability sampling (Cohen et al., 2011). The samples for this study were collected from three study sites (schools) in south London for the following reasons: first, I work in south London; therefore, it a commutable distance within the school time given to meet the participants; second, the schools chosen had a significant number of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent, some of whom were the recipients of the PP grant; third, the participants were accessible having had permission from the gatekeepers (Bryman, 2012).

There are different types of sampling, and single research can use more than one. This study deploys criterion and intensity samplings. First, the study used criterion sampling since all cases met some criterion (Creswell, 2007)- the student participants were all Black, girls, disadvantaged families,

and the PP grant recipient. Furthermore, the participants had experienced the same phenomenon: the use of PP funding in a secondary school for at least three years. It uses criterion sampling because PP funding has been lauded as an excellent government initiative (Carpenter et al., 2013) to close the achievement gap. Using the CA framework to evaluate the PP grant's use reveals how it could be improved (Cohen et al., 2011; Ritchie et al., 2003). Second, the study used intensity sampling. It is a case study that focuses on the individuals mentioned above to explore the impact of PP funding on their educational achievements and their perceptions and experiences of the PP grant.

I concur with Creswell (2007) that sampling can change during the study, and the researcher needs to be flexible. However, the researcher must plan as much as possible for the sampling strategy. Initially, I had intended to collect data from 5 sites. Three sites responded to my letter but did not go beyond them. Further contacts did not yield any response; therefore, I had to scale back the number of participants from 25 students to 14 students and from 5 to 3 senior teachers. Moreover, I had also intended to interview 5 classroom teachers, but only 3 responded. In total, the data was collected from 20 participants instead of 35. The number of participants in this study is sufficient. This qualitative research aims to obtain insights into PP funding's impact on educational achievements and how its use is perceived and experienced by PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. The study endeavoured to extract meaning from the data collected (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007).

Besides, there are no clear rules on the sample size in the qualitative research; size is informed by 'fitness-for-purpose.' (Cohen et al., 2011:161). Ritchie et al. (2003) aver that qualitative research samples for a single study involving individual interviews should be small, preferably, under 50 to allow quality data collection and analysis. The nature of the study influenced the decision upon the number of interviewees. Since this is a qualitative study, the sample size of 5 students and one teacher per study would allow sufficient time for data collection and in-depth analysis (Cohen et al., 2011; Ritchie et al., 2003; Creswell, 2013). Additionally, the interviews could only take place during school time. Having a small number also allowed time to travel to the location and allowed the interviewees to carry on with their learning and teaching activities.

3.4.3. Document analysis

A document may be defined as a record of an event or process produced by an individual or a group (Cohen et al., 2011). Documentary sources of information include newspapers, policy documents, official statistics on crime, reference books and government publications (Scott, 1990; Bowen, 2009; Bryman, 2012). The two broad divisions of the documents are private and public. Private documents

include diaries, letters; an example of public documents is memoranda, minutes and reports. A further distinction is between primary (published and policy reports) and secondary documents. The former is produced as a direct record of an event or process by a witness or people directly involved. The latter are formed by analysing primary documents to provide an account of the event or process in question, often concerning others (Cohen et al., 2011). The documentary sources used in this study included the policy documents and reports of the study sites. The documents included: Pupil Premium policies and strategies, Inspection reports, and Equality policies. These documents are available in the public domain and accessible on the website of the schools studied.

Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents. It involves analysing and interpreting the data to elicit meaning, understand and develop empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009; Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Various documents can be used for analysis, such as programme proposals, institutions report and policy documents (Bowen, 2008). Document analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods such as interviews, observation and FGDs. This study has used document analysis to triangulate the data and corroborate and augment evidence from face-to-face interviews so that the findings can be robust and more credible (Bowen, 2008; Yin, 2018). Pupil Premium and Equality policy documents provided historical insight and the reference point against which the educational achievements are measured and the treatment of all pupils (Bowen, 2009).

This study used document analysis in conjunction with face to face interviews due to its strengths. It is an efficient method because data was readily available on the school websites; therefore, there was no extra time wasted travelling to the study sites. The documents were unaffected by the research process. Unlike the interviews, they were already there where my position and presence might have altered the research process, such as participants' behaviour. Finally, it was unobtrusive as the documents were not created due to a case study (Yin, 2018; Merriam, 1998). Other than the advantages, this study also took into account the weaknesses of document analysis: biased as documents may be aligned to some organisation policies, procedures and agenda (Bowen, 2009; Yin 1994); documents might not be retrievable as in some cases, an organisation might block them; documents may also lack sufficient detail, therefore, unable to give a complete picture of the phenomena under study (Bowen, 2009; Yin, 1994; Strauss and Corbin, 2008). This was a case of one of the sites, as their Equality Policy lacked sufficient details.

3.5. Ethical considerations

The study is a qualitative case study involving human subjects whose welfare should be protected, hence ethical considerations (Yin, 2018). Ethical considerations require researchers to protect participants' identities in the final report and findings (Silverman, 2006). Ethical guidelines are vital for preventing the research's potential negative consequences, such as physical harm, anxiety and stress. Furthermore, ethics safeguard the quality of data collected and ensure scholarship involved in its production (Robson, 2011; Yin, 2018). Social research ought to adhere to an institutional ethical procedure to ensure the study strives for the highest standard in its process and production (Cohen et al., 2011; BERA, 2018; Mason, 2018). This research study followed UCL Institute of Education ethical review procedures before, during and after the research. Since researchers at the UCL are required to specify the guidelines they adhered to, this study was designed to comply with both the British Educational Research Association Ethical (BERA) Guidelines (BERA 2018) and the UCL Institute of Education Research Ethics policy.

The study began by completing the UCL Institute of Education ethical review form then submitting it to the committee for approval (Appendix XI). The form contained the research working title, research questions, the intended group for data collections, data collection methods, briefing for research participants and interview questions (Appendix V-X) (Cohen et al., 2011; BERA, 2018). Once the plan's approval was obtained (Yin, 2018), the research commenced and adhered to BERA (2018) Guidelines. Some of the guidelines that this study adhered to are,

First, transparency: entails being honest and open with participants and other stakeholders (BERA, 2018). Once the ethics approval was obtained from the university, the next step was to approach school gatekeepers to conduct research (Cohen et al., 2011). The contacts were made through formal letters clearly explaining the research's purpose, when the research would be conducted, the research duration, the desired groups of research participants, and the research's intended audience (appendix XII). Seeking permission from the gatekeepers is imperative as the research participants (students and teachers) are in their care; therefore, they are accountable and responsible for their wellbeing. Furthermore, the gatekeepers will live with the research's daily consequences and its effects on participants (Cohen et al., 2011). All participants were informed of the study's focus, which was outlined on the research instruments: the title, aims, purpose, duration and the contacts of the UCL supervisors if they had any concerns (Appendices V-VII).

Second, Voluntary Informed Consent: involved seeking the participants' cooperation and consent through the research instrument, whose "principles are based on the premise that consent in knowledgeable, exercised in a non-coercive situation, and made by competent individuals" (Barbour, 2008:77), and asking them to sign it if they were willing to participate. Voluntary informed consent is vital in social research as it respects participants' right to exert control over their lives and make decisions for themselves. Informed consent also implies informed refusal as a participant can withdraw or refuse to participate in the study (BERA, 2018; Yin, 2018). Voluntary Informed Consent was sought in this study through the study instrument (Appendices V-VII) and verbally during the interview.

Third, the right to withdraw (BERA, 2018). The participants have the rights to weigh up the risks as benefits of being involved in a piece of research and decide for themselves whether to take part. Informed consent also implies informed refusal as a participant can withdraw or refuse to participate in the study (Cohen et al., 2011). This study, as expected of any social research, was conducted in honesty. The participants were fully informed of their right to withdraw from participation without fear of any repercussions. They were informed that they could withdraw their consent at any time of the process whenever they felt uncomfortable (BERA, 2018; Willing, 2001).

Finally, Privacy: All participants were assured, along with confidentiality and anonymity before and during interviews. The information provided verbally and on the research instruments assured participants that all information gathered through the interview would be completely confidential and kept private. Additionally, they were assured that it would not be used for any other purpose than the intended study. They were also assured of anonymity in the final report, as I would use pseudonyms (BERA, 2018; Creswell, 2006; Willing, 2001).

3.6. Piloting

This study has followed a process from its inception. It began with a pilot study, one of the modules for the Postgraduate Diploma in Social Science Research Methods (PgDip SSRM) course at UCL Institute of Education. The pilot study was a small scale implementation of a research design to ensure the quality of future data collection procedures and identify the possible challenges in the actual study's data collection instruments (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009; Maxwell, 2008). The pilot study involved testing the interview questions for their comprehensibility and coherence. I made some amendments post piloting following the feedback received (Creswell, 2008). The summary of the main points of

ethics, recruitment, data collection, data analysis and outlines how the pilot project informed the thinking behind this study.

Ethical considerations: First, I completed the UCL Institute of Education ethical form and submitted it to the ethics review committee for approval. Second, I designed a briefing sheet to approach the gatekeeper (headteacher) of the research site. Third, once I gained access, I formulated an interview instrument with the aims and purpose of the research and questions. The instrument was designed to seek the voluntary informed consent of the participants. The study followed the BERA Guidelines (BERA, 2018). The pilot study was insider research which required a great deal of self-reflexivity (Greene, 2014).

Recruitment: The pilot study Participants comprised a purposive sample. The study site was a school in south London, which was conveniently chosen as it was my place of work with several PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. The sample size was 2 participants: a PP student and a senior teacher in charge of evaluating the PP's impact on targeted pupils' educational achievements. The pupil was randomly selected from the Black girls who have been beneficiaries of PP funding for at least four years. The selection of a school and a senior teacher was a convenience sample as the participant was the only one available and accessible.

Data collection: the primary method of data collection was through interview. I had intended to use Focus Group Discussion as well, but I had to abandon this to adhere to privacy and confidentiality (BERA, 2018; Cohen et al., 2011). The PP students are a vulnerable group whose human dignity ought to be protected. The literature review indicated a stigma for someone to be identified as disadvantaged (Gillborn, 2014; Carpenter et al., 2013). The interview questions used in the pilot study were designed two months in advance. I piloted the interview and the semi-structured questions with two participants at the study site, two MA students and two of my teacher colleagues. This proved to be highly useful. The interview questions were modified in light of the pilot participants' comments that the questions were too broad and not fully focused on the research questions. Four questions were modified and rephrased as follows: What do you understand by Pupil Premium (PP) or Free School Meal (FSM)? Why are you classified as PP/FSM pupils? How long have you been classified as FSM pupils? What support do you receive from school because you are PP/FSM pupils? A final amendment was made before I conducted the interviews and data collection. Cohen et al. (2011) advise that a pre-test of research questions should be conducted. During the pilot interview, other observations were made, such as a guide to the time needed for each interview (about 30 minutes). The pilot interviews also allowed me to explore the usefulness and practicality of employing a device to record the interviews. Additionally, it

gave me an insight into preparing for certain eventualities, such as the informants declining their voices to be recorded.

Data analysis: the analysis was inductive and iterative. Having done the interview and transcribed the data collected, I coded them and identified the segments related to the research questions. The key themes were identified as they emerged during the analysis. I used themes to write the findings and to do critical analysis using the CA. Data analysis was also iterative as it involved a back-and-forth process between the data collection and analysis: as soon as I conducted the first interview, I started noting and organising the narratives of the participants into themes (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). The codes and themes were both linked to the research questions as the analysis progressed.

Evaluation of the pilot study: As stated earlier, the pilot study was part of the PgDip SSRM course. This meant that the feedback would indicate whether the main study was feasible. The pilot study's title was, 'what are black girl pupils' perceptions and experiences of the use of the UK government's Pupil Premium grant in secondary schools in south London?' The tutor's comments confirmed that the pilot study made appropriate research focus on a more extensive study where more in-depth interviews could take place.

3.7. Data analysis

An analysis of data collected is an on-going process that begins with creating research instruments and continues until the final write-up (Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2018). The data analysis in this case study began with listening to the tape-recording of interviews from the participants. This was to check the data to establish any apparent flaws (Bryman, 2012). A transcription followed this. Transcripts were read through more than once, followed by coding (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). The codes were then developed into themes. The themes provided the study with the basis for a theoretical understanding of the data, hence a theoretical contribution to the literature on understanding the PP grant use in secondary schools to meet PP Black girls' educational needs (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2007). The process was the same for the document analysis, without involving the transcription process.

Data analysis had the following purpose: to describe how the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent experience and perceive the use of the PP funding; to describe the impact of the PP grant on achievements as revealed by the school documents; to interrogate whether the provisions funded by the PP grant enhances the students' capabilities of being and doing.

3.8. Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has outlined and explained the procedure followed in this study's realisation, which involved three sites in south London. The qualitative research method was favoured over others because it was the most appropriate to investigate the research questions. Qualitative methods of data collection were semi-structured interviews and document analysis. The data collected was rich enough to be analysed using the CA. Ethical issues were considered before the study was conducted, right from the preparatory stages until the research was concluded. Research sampling was selected, having gained access to schools through the headteachers and in consultation with the teachers in charge of evaluating the PP grant use. The study also reveals that piloting was conducted and amendments made accordingly before the research was carried out. The following chapter will focus on the findings and discussions.

Chapter 4: Findings and discussions

4.0. Introduction

This chapter uses qualitative research methods, as indicated in the methodology section. The primary sources of data in this study are the people interviewed and institutions documents. The chapter will present and discuss the public documents data available on the three study sites' websites and the data collected through one to one, face-to-face interviews with PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent, senior teachers, and classroom teachers. The organisation of this chapter is as follows: first, findings and discussions from site one; second, findings and discussions from site two; third, findings and discussions from site three; finally, findings and discussions from classroom teachers, who were recruited from other schools than the three sites. The chapter will conclude by calling for an intersectionality lens and the capability approach framework as evaluation tools for the use of the PP grant in schools.

4.1. Site One

Site One was a popular and oversubscribed Voluntary Aided comprehensive 11-18 school for girls with 1405 students. The school is located in an affluent area of south London; however, it has a wide catchment area and does not select pupils based on their ability. The school has 48% of pupils from minority ethnic groups. The population of students eligible for FSM is 8%, well below the national average of 15% (Denominational Inspection Report, 2018). The Findings and Discussion for Site One are divided into two sections. The first part discusses the two policy documents available on the school's website: The Pupil Premium 2019-2020; and Equality Duty Information and Objectives 2019-2022. The second part considers the interview responses from PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent (Year 10 students) and the deputy headteacher in charge of the PP grant.

Policy documents

Policy and policy documents are not made in a vacuum; they are a consequence of government policy and reflect the current UK culture, emphasising a fair, inclusive society (Bowen, 2009). The documents discussed in this section were selected due to their relevance to the study, containing statutory government requirements about meeting the disadvantaged students' educational needs

(Carpenter et al., 2013). The documents are the Pupil Premium 2019-2020 and Equality Duty Information and Objectives 2019-2022.

Pupil Premium (PP) 2019-2020

The School's PP policy is set against the DfE's backdrop requirement that every school must avail their PP policy on the school's website with information on how the PP grant is used (Jarret et al., 2016). The school explicitly states that they would ensure that the PP grant allocated to the students would be used to narrow the gap existing between the disadvantaged students and their peers. It adds that it is accountable to parents, governors, DfE and the broader community on how they spend the fund on providing the additional resources. The PP policy takes into account the school's statutory responsibilities in meeting the requirements of the Equality Act 2010: public organisations to comply with the Public Sector Equality duty. It has also incorporated the Ofsted Inspection framework 2015 (updated in 2019), which focuses on improving the learning of different groups and narrowing gaps (Ofsted, 2019). In its Vision statement, the school has a high aspiration and ambition for students regardless of their backgrounds. The school claims to be operating in a no-excuse culture, setting students to the skills, knowledge and confidence to succeed in life. All stakeholders are held responsible for the socially disadvantaged students, hence committed to meeting their pastoral, social and academic needs. The school defines the socially disadvantaged group as individuals who have been subjected to racial or ethnic prejudice or cultural bias due to their identity. The school implements the PP 2019-2020 policy document against the backdrop of its Vision statement and focuses on the four main areas: intention, provisions, reporting and success criteria.

Intention: the governing body ensures the school has provisions and opportunities that meet all students' teaching and learning needs. Second, the school makes arrangements to meet the vulnerable groups' needs, including socially disadvantaged students. The school assesses the needs of the socially advantaged students through termly student progress meeting. In its PP policy document, the school reiterate the DfE PP policy (DfE, 2018) that in making provisions for the socially disadvantaged students, the school recognises that not all students who receive school meals will be socially disadvantaged. Furthermore, not all students who are socially disadvantaged are registered or qualify for FSM. Therefore, the school reserves the right to allocate the PP funding to support any student or group of students the school has legitimately identified as socially disadvantaged.

Provisions: the school states that it deploys specialist teachers to provide literacy and numeracy support for PP students in small groups. It provides additional learning support and funds co-curricular activities and educational visits. They also support specialist learning software funding, such as Lexia, Lucid, LASS, Dyscalculia Screener, and Dragon Naturally Speaking (PP Policy 2019-2020).

Reporting: One of the school's duty is to report socially disadvantaged students' progress to their parents. The school's Director of Learning produces a termly report for the Governing body as part of the headteacher's report. The report includes the following: the progress made towards narrowing the gap, by year group, for socially disadvantaged students; an outline of the provisions made in the year; and an evaluation of the cost-effectiveness, in terms of the progress made by the students as a result of the provisions in comparisons with other forms of support. The Governing body considers the information provided against the backdrop of the school's league tables. The Governing body cascades the information to parents through an annual statement outlining how the PP grant has been used to close the gap for socially disadvantaged students.

Success criteria: include the expectations of PP students to meet or exceed their academic targets due to early interventions and support the school gives them; effective transitions between various stages of learning and regular dialogue between parents, students and school; effective system to identify, assess and monitor the progress of PP students; creating an environment where students feel valued, recognised and supported to thrive in all aspects, hence grow as confident and independent learners (PP Policy 2019-2020).

The PP policy is evident in its desires and strategies to support disadvantaged students in achieving their potentials. The study will triangulate some of this document's contents with the data collected through interviews, and the second document, the Equality Policy document.

Equality Duty Information and Objectives 2019-2022

The Equality Policy follows the UK government Equality Act 2010, which outlines the legal requirements on equality for all sectors: private, public and voluntary sectors. The Act incorporates The Sex Discrimination Act 1975, the Race Relations Act 1976 and the Disability Discrimination Act 1995. One of the aims of the policy that the school focuses on is the legislation against unlawful discrimination: due to age, ethnicity, colour or national origin, gender, gender identity or reassignment, marital or civil partnership status, pregnancy or having had a baby recently, religion or beliefs, sexual identity and orientation (Equality Duty Information and Objectives 2019-2020).

The Governing body, the headteacher, heads of departments and heads of the year have a role in creating awareness of the policy requirements amongst the school staff and students, implementing it and reviews them annually.

The school is an all-girls with a population of 1405 students, of which 303 (21.5%) are Black of African and Caribbean descent. Some of the objectives and actions outlined in the Equality Objectives, Review and Action Plan, are as follow:

Objective	**Equality aspect**	**Action**
• Ensure the attainment and achievement of students of ethnic minority groups, with SEND or with a perceived disability is equal to the average attainment and achievement of all other students and meets or exceeds the school attainment and achievement targets • Ensure SEND students are achieving their full potential by ensuring their literacy abilities narrow the gap with their peers	• Advance quality of opportunity- Those with literacy needs are supported to access the curriculum	• Outcomes for all ethnic minority students, SEND, or those with a disability are outstanding. • Identified SEND students to have access to literacy support by the British Dyslexia Association registered teacher. • Access to technological aids such as 'reading pens'. • To achieve Dyslexia Friendly School Mark from BDA.
• Increase the participation of students of ethnic minority groups, with disadvantaged backgrounds, SEND or with a perceived disability in extra-curricular activities	• Eliminate discrimination, harassment or victimisation • Advance quality of opportunity.	• Audit of target group students' participation in extra-curricular. • Invite target group students to undertake extra-curricular activities that aim to build on their cultural capital

		• Review extra-curricular provision – is it attractive and accessible for the student from the target group? • Continue to consider external provision or links to external providers to ensure an attractive and accessible extra-curricular provision

(Source: Extracts from Equality Duty Information and Objectives 2019-2022:7. Name withheld for confidentiality purposes).

The table above shows that the school's effort to implement equality policy. The focus is mainly on creating opportunities so that disadvantaged students with SEND can access the learning materials and achieve their educational potentials. It also aims to increase minority ethnic groups' participation by breaking the barriers due to discrimination and victimisation. Although the school has an equality policy in place, its efforts are not extensive because educational provisions that are measured by outcomes fail to cater for individual capabilities of being and doing. Furthermore, it ignores the intersections due to gender, poverty and race, whose consideration is imperative in providing holistic education to the disadvantaged groups. The next chapter will unpack these aspects further.

This section has considered the two documents showing the school's endeavours to support the PP students' educational needs and ensure adherence with the UK government's equality policy. Nevertheless, as the literature revealed, there are issues that are specific to Black girls that are lacking in policy documents and must be considered. For example, unconscious teachers bias is based on race, especially when dealing with discipline procedures (Chapman and Bhopal, 2019; Osler, 2010; Wilmot et al., 2021). In addition, the Equality document focused more on SEND students, yet the school has a significant population of Black of African and Caribbean descent (21.5%). Therefore, the school must consider teaching staff race literacy, recruiting teachers from Black ethnic backgrounds, and curriculum review to reflect Black students' needs (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). The following section will examine how the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent experience and perceive the use of the PP grant in their school context (Site One). The section will also consider the narratives of the deputy headteacher.

Participants' narratives

This section explores the narratives of Site One participants, comprised of five students and a deputy headteacher. The descent of the five students were: 3 Africans, one the Caribbean and one a mixture of Caribbean and African. The key themes that emerged from the analysis of the data collected through one to one, face to face interviews were: PP students' knowledge and understanding of PP grant; educational activities offered to PP students; experiences and perceptions of educational provisions - of support provided, and of racial prejudice and stereotypes; motivation; home situation-deprivation and low income. Before exploring the themes elicited, I will summarise the participants and the interview environment.

Participant summary and the environment

Five students and one teacher participated in the study at Site One. All students were 15 years old and in Year 10 (GCSE level). All student participants were Black girls of African and Caribbean descent and classified as the PP grant recipients. The teacher participant was a deputy headteacher responsible for implementing and evaluating targeted provisions for the PP students. The interviews with students took place in a room (usually reserved for meetings) during the school day. Each interview lasted between twenty to thirty minutes. The meeting room was quiet, free from interruptions. The interview with the deputy headteacher took place in their office outside teaching hours. The narratives from interviews are organised into the five emerging themes, which the following sections wish to consider.

i) PP students' knowledge and understanding of the PP grant

All student participants had some ideas for the PP grant. They reported that it is the money that the government gives to support disadvantaged students. Students are disadvantaged for various reasons: students are from unemployed single-parent families; one of the parents is unemployed; both parents are employed, but their income is inadequate to meet all the family's needs. In some cases, the earnings are limited because the parents work part-time:

> *"The government gives money to students who are less fortunate in terms of money."* (Natasha, Year 10 student).

"It is a free lunch; both of my parents are not working." (Phoebe, Year 10 student).

"*PP/FSM is when you get money in your school account to get lunch every day because parents cannot afford it. Lunch is £2.20."* (Yulena, Year 10 student).

Most student participants were aware their PP status because they received FSM and came from single-parent families. Most students reported inadequate family incomes but mostly referred to the mother not working or in part-time employment. None of them mentioned the father, even the ones who come from families with both parents. In line with the literature reviewed (Carpenter et al., 2013), most student participants reported that they had been classified as PP students since primary school, therefore, had been receiving PP grant for at least six years.

ii) Educational activities offered to PP students

Both student participants and the deputy headteacher outlined various school activities to support PP students' learning in general. The school spent most of the PP funding on extra staffing to reduce class size or provide teaching support. For instance, the school created extra classes for Mathematics and English at KS4. Furthermore, the school provided 100% funding to the trips essential to the curriculum subjects studied. It funded specialist equipment and material needed for PP students to participate in some courses, for example, provision for the Art sketchbooks for Art students. The school provided essential revision resources, free school meals, 100% funding for Chromebook, and courses for up to ten students who showed an aptitude for drama. Each PP student also received a £20 voucher per year to use in the school shop to buy pens and Mathematics equipment (Cf. Appendix I: senior teacher's responses). Even though some PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent went on school trips, the majority reported not participating in any extra-curricular activities due to financial constraints or lack of interests. Some of the students articulated this as follows:

"*I do not do any extra-curricular activity. I used to dance, but I stopped. My mum used to pay, but it got expensive."* (Natasha, Year 10 student).

"I do not do anything inside (school), but I do go to the gym after school. I do not do anything in school because I am not interested." (Abigail, Year 10 student).

The findings highlight that although the grant is available and used to support educational activities, it is inadequate to meet all the needs unless parents can contribute.

Since the school provided all students with an iPad/Chromebook, students reported that they accessed schoolwork through email. It also enabled them to access other various education websites to study and complete their homework:

> *"Well, because you get work through email, you get an iPad from school. Everyone has an iPad. You use an iPad to go on a website to study what has been set."* (Magdalena, Year 10 student).

> *"We have an iPad through which I get revisions and PowerPoints from school."* (Natasha, Year ten student).

> *"In Year 8, I was given an iPad, and now use google classroom and google drive. I also get given past exam papers."* (Yulena, Year 10 student).

The use of iPads/Chromebooks enables pupils to access different links to support homework. The school did not fund the purchase of all iPads/Chromebooks; most parents paid for them; however, the student participants did not know the cost for each of their iPad or Chromebook. Besides, the school offered intervention classes on Saturdays in Mathematics and Science classes before and after school. After school, the science club offered workshops and opportunities for students to meet teachers for catch-up sessions on any topic or lesson missed.

Since student participants were studying for the GCSE courses, they also described the support they received in choosing their GCSE examinations courses. They received talks on various subjects, had taster lessons, attended Open and Information evenings; then, they were given a form to fill in with their option subjects. Most students reported receiving support from their mothers, older sister and some contacted teachers for further clarifications. All participants unanimously agreed that the process was transparent and that it was for all students, not just disadvantaged students. The participants' experiences of educational activities offered at school support the contents of the Pupil Premium 2019-2020 policy documents regarding the support the school provided to the PP students to narrow the achievement gap between the PP students and their peers.

iii) Experiences and perceptions of educational provisions - of support provided, and of racial prejudice and stereotypes

Most participants appraised the educational support offered at school, especially during school time, as they have equal access to everyone. For instance, while the school provided iPads/Chromebooks to all students at a cost, the PP students are not left behind. For the PP students whose parents could not afford the device, the school purchased iPads/Chromebooks or provided them at a subsidised cost. PP students explained that iPads and Chromebooks enable them to access various educational sites and extended online learning. For example,

> *"I think on the website they have different links to support homework. We use an iPad or Chromebook. iPad is not just for PP students but for all. You have to pay for an iPad but do not know how much."* (Abigail, Year 10 student).

> *"I can access the educational website through links on the school website. The school also provide an iPad; everyone has one."* (Phoebe, Year 10 Student).

> *"We have an iPad through which I get revisions and PowerPoints from school."* (Natasha, Year 10 student).

The above extracts clearly show that although PP students have iPads/Chromebooks, it is not specific to PP students. It is part of the whole school teaching and learning requirements for all students. Additionally, students are aware that the iPads are provided at a cost even though they did not know the price.

The PP students' experiences of educational support offered during term time and school holidays varied. Some explained that they are satisfied with the support, especially in preparations for the tests. Teachers offered intervention sessions to either consolidate their learning or revisited the topics, which the teachers might not have adequately covered in lessons. The school provided revision guides – some printed out while others are online, which students could access through their iPads/Chromebooks. Students also had access to the library for studies, which is very useful for students who did not have adequate space or a conducive environment to study at home:

"If the test is coming up, the teacher post revision guides online……. They have a science club after school, workshops, go to teachers so that I can catch up with what I miss." (Abigail, Year 10 student).

"They are a good experience. They are satisfactory." (Natasha, Year 10 Student).

"The school offers interventions. I come to school on Saturdays to work for three hours. Interventions really helped me." (Yulena, Year 10 student).

Conversely, not all students were satisfied with the support offered to them. Two students said they worked independently to bolster their studies and understand the courses covered in lessons in preparation for their in-school assessments and GCSE final examinations. They used the iPad/Chromebooks to access educational materials online. During holidays there was no support from school to develop their studies or socio-cultural capital; hence, most students either spent time with their friends, doing homework or stayed home with their family:

"I spend the weekends, probably do my homework and relax. In summer, I relax or do some homework." (Magdelena, Year 10 Student).

"I go out with friends or do my homework. I do the same thing at the weekends and during holidays." (Phoebe, Year 10 student).

Although there is nothing offered from school during holidays, two students recounted that those whose parents could afford occasionally went out of the country to visit families in their parent's countries of origin. Spending holiday time in other countries enabled them to have a change of environment, and to connect with their extended families, learn different cultures from what they were used to in London:

"During holidays, sometimes I go out, sometimes I revise. Sometimes I go on holidays. My mum is from the Caribbean, and my dad is from Nigeria. I have been to Guyana to visit my mum's side of the family." (Natasha, Year 10 student).

"I go out with my friends or catch up with homework. I travel to other countries like Ghana for holidays." (Abigail, Year 10 student).

In addition to educational activities experiences, student participants described their experiences as Black girls, despite the school's reluctance to make references to race. For instance, the school advised the study to rephrase one of the interview questions from 'How does the school support your learning as a Black girl' to 'How does the school support your learning in relation to your ethnicity?'

"…the head only wanted me to find out if you can re-word question 3 for the students as we do not usually single out our students' ethnicities, i.e. how does the school support your learning in relation to your ethnicity?" (Deputy Headteacher, via email).

The school's colour-blind approach to the provision of educational activities was apparent to all the participants:

"Educational need is assessed independently of ethnicity, except that ethnicity can be relevant in language ability; however, Students are assessed for the EAL ability based on the identification of their EAL status rather than ethnicity." (Deputy headteacher).

"I do not know; they do not take my ethnicity into consideration; all are treated the same." (Abigail, Year 10 student).

"Everyone is treated the same." (Phoebe, Year ten student).

The school does not talk about race; hence the students could only use expressions such as 'people like me' instead of Black girls (people). However, one participant reported their experiences of adverse differential treatment due to their race. For example, Black girls get punished for poor behaviour while their peers of a different race get away with things,

"We do not really do much when it comes to ethnicity. I have not seen much, really; we haven't learnt anything. No one talks about it, apart from other people. Sometimes we are treated

differently. Other people get away with things, but people like me, I don't." (Magdalena, Year 10 student).

The participants explained that the only time they refer to ethnicity is once a year, during Black History Month. However, the school treats students who have medical or SEND differently because of their conditions, not because of their race,

"*I am not treated according to my ethnicity but medical needs. Teachers know that I am sick. They adapt the classroom to suit me.*" (Yulena, Year 10 Student).

During the interview, the general impressions from participants highlighted that the colour-blind approach was not sufficient. On the one hand, the school considered race as insignificant when providing educational needs, while on the other hand, it is deliberated when administering punishments. It would be better if the school employs the intersectionality approach to highlight how ethnicity, gender and poverty affect the experiences and perceptions of PP Back girls of African and Caribbean descent both inside and outside the school environment.

iv) Motivation

Alderman (1999) defines motivation, in the education context, as the will to learn and engage with the learning process and curriculum materials. Motivation could take place both within and outside the classroom environment. Motivated students are resilient and responsible learners who believe in themselves and in their ability to achieve their educational potentials. Nevertheless, in Site One, not all PP Black girl participants demonstrated motivation in their school life. Academic groupings partly influenced this. All the PP Black girl participants were in the bottom set in Year 10. The school places students in the ability sets right from secondary school education in Year 7. The students can work their way up the set; otherwise, they remain in them until the end of Year 11 (GCSE final exams). The deputy headteacher explained,

"The setting is normally initially based on KS2 results in English and Math; however, we also use NFER Cognitive Ability Testing to confirm/fine-tune setting in Year 7. However, from then on, it is based on student performance within-subjects set together that will dictate any student movement." (Deputy headteacher).

Although it is the student's performance that dictates their movement into the upper set; all the participants had not been able to move up their sets in English, Mathematics, Science and Religious Education (RE):

> "*Yeah, I am in the bottom set. For English and RE, I am in A. ACE are the bottom sets. In English, RE and Maths, I am in A and C, and I am in set E in Science. I think it was based on the test I did in Year 6 that determined my sets.*" (Natasha, Year 10 student).

> *"I am in 10B2 in Maths, Science 10C and RE 10A. I am in the bottom set. ACE is bottom sets; MOND is top sets. They use, from Year 6, we did an exam, and they use those test to put us into sets. School, I am not really sure, they looked at my report, and they put me into the bottom set.*" (Magdalena, Year 10 student).

> *"I am in set E, and it is like the top set in the bottom set. The bottom set is ACE. In Year 7, we came on a Saturday for a test, and they use that test to put you into sets.*" (Abigail, Year 10 student).

The extracts demonstrate the repercussions of demotivation. Most participants reported a lack of motivation due to personal experiences, especially at school: insufficient support with their learning, inadequate school meals, racial prejudice, and conditional offers of help, amongst others. (Cf. Appendix I: Interview with students).

Most participants reported a lack of motivation to participate in extra-curricular activities offered either within or outside school due to cost and insufficient support. The school offered a wide range of activities that were shared with students and their parents through the school website. All students were required to participate in at least one extra-curricular activity. The school expected tutors to monitor the participation of all students is in extra-curricular activities. The tutors encouraged all students to go beyond the minimum requirements. Although the school had a clear strategy for participation in the extra-curricular activities, they neither challenged nor investigated the reasons for the lack of motivation of PP Black girls. As we shall see in the next chapter, PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent cannot fully engage with educational activities when hungry. The daily food

allowances for all PP students are inadequate, less than £3. Although this poses a problem to other PP students, the scope of this study is limited to Black girls of African and Caribbean students.

v) Home situation-deprivation and low income

As indicated in the literature review, the UK government introduced the PP grant to support the disadvantaged pupils, hence close the educational achievement gap between them and their peers (Abbot et al., 2015). All participants referred to their disadvantaged background as a reason for being classified as a PP student. They elaborated this by referring to their parents being unemployed, single-parent family, parents not earning enough to cater for the household needs,

> *"I get Free School Meals because my mum is a single mum."* (Natasha, Year 10 student).

> *"I am classified as I used to get free school meals in my previous school because my mum stopped working.* (Magdalena, Year 10 student).

> *"Because my mum is a single parent and does not have enough paying job."* (Yulena, Year 10 student).

There is a stigma attached to deprivation; therefore, all PP participants did not want their peers to know that they are PP grant recipients; nevertheless, their teachers know their disadvantaged background status as PP students. Due to stigmatisation, the research opted for one to one interviews instead of FGD. Some PP participants explained that they could not afford to participate in extra-curricular activities or pay for holidays due to deprivation.

Some disadvantaged students lacked quiet spaces, with a desk and chair to do their homework; they may not also have a parent/carer at home, encouraging them to do their homework. In a nutshell, for some PP Black students, the home environment is a hindrance to learning, as the following participants narrated:

> "*Sometimes it gets a bit loud at home, and the house is too small. There are no challenges at school."* (Natasha, Year 10 student).

"Sometimes, it is noisy at home; it is not quiet. I have three siblings, one in Year eight and two at uni." (Abigail, Year 10 students).

"At home, I cannot revise. I would like to get tuition, but tutors are costly." (Yulena, Year 10 student).

The extracts imply that PP students would rather be in a school environment than at home. Hence, the school made available Saturday study in the school library for PP students to receive both support and a place to study. There is no distraction at school compared to their home situation. At school, they also get an opportunity to attend interventions in core subjects such as Sciences and Mathematics and after school homework club.

The disadvantaged background is not a barrier to having a hopeful future and support from parents and grandparents. Most of the participants mentioned their parents, especially mothers, as being very supportive with homework, particularly in Mathematics:

"My parents help me when I need help. They just keep reminding me to do my work, to do my homework." (Magdalena, Year 10 student).

"*If I do not understand the question, I go to my parents for help. It depends on the subject and strength of parents."* (Abigail, Year 10 student).

"My mum helps me with Math." (Yulena, Year 10 student).

The parental support with limited resources inspired the PP participants to put effort into their studies and work towards further education, higher education, consequently aim for a job and a better life. The following extracts show the optimism of some PP Black girls,

"*I would like to pass my GCSE, to do A level and to be able to study Law in future."(*Natasha, Year 10 student).

"I want to go to this school for Sixth Form, go to university and get a degree in Law."
*(*Magdalena, Year 10 student).

"I would like to finish Secondary school, go to Sixth Form and take Biology, Chemistry and Maths. I want to go to uni to study medicine and to be a doctor." (Yulena, Year 10 student).

The PP Black girl participants show that they are looking for a financially secure profession in Law, Social Work and Medicine. They focused on a traditional route of going through the Sixth Form and the university rather than the apprenticeship route. All the study participants were in the lower set despite their aspirations. Being stuck in the lower set is congruent with Strand (2012) study conclusion that Black Caribbean students languish in the lower sets due to systematic under-representation of their entry to the higher examination tiers at 14 and teachers' bias. Despite the odds against them, student participants' aspirations could be explained by various studies (Maylor, 2020; Mirza and Reay, 2000; Coard, 1971; Dove, 1993) that their motivation and aspirations are influenced by their parents who have high aspirations.

Due to their disadvantaged background and the inability of parents to provide a school meal, the school provided the PP students with FSM worth £2.20 and £1 for breakfast club per day:

"PP/FSM is when you get money in your school account to get lunch every day because parents cannot afford it. Lunch is £2.20." (Yulena, Year 10 student).

"… It has to be a meal deal worth £2. 20....I get snacks I like" (Natasha, Year 10 student).

All disadvantaged students also receive a £1 per day breakfast club allowance (note that this is not restricted to those who receive FSM but is open to all disadvantaged students). (Deputy headteacher).

Although the school provides lunch, most participants claimed that this amount is inadequate as it limits their choice of what they can purchase; as Natasha stated in the extract above, they can only use it to buy snacks, not a full meal. Furthermore, PP students have to make a hard choice of either spending £2.20 during a short break in the morning or during a long break (lunch) in the afternoon.

Summary

The policy documents and interviews with the Site One participants have highlighted the disadvantaged students' educational needs and the school's endeavours to close the attainment gap between them and their peers. Despite the school's effort, the gap persists due to their lack of a comprehensive approach. For the educational experiences of the PP Black girl students to be meaningful and worthwhile, the school should consider incorporating the intersectionality lens and the capability approach framework, as we shall see in the next chapter.

4.2. Site Two

The Second site for data collection was a denominational school in south London with a student population of 587 at the time of data collection. It was a mixed Secondary school, which took pupils from 11 to 18-year-olds. The school is situated in a deprived area with most pupils whose attainment on entering the school was significantly below average (Denominational Inspection Report, 2019). 43.2% are disadvantaged and eligible for PP funding, above 15% of the national average, and the school was in the top quintile for deprivation. 90% of the students were from ethnic minority backgrounds, and the students whose first language was not English was above the national average at 55% (ibid). The basis for the findings in this section is the policy documents: Pupil Premium 2016-2019 Report, Pupil Premium Strategy 2019-20 and school's progress against equality 2018. All these documents are in the public domain and are available on the school website. The final section of the findings focuses on the data collected through face to face, one to one interviews with the PP participants of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent, all of whom were Year 10 students.

Policy documents

School's Pupil Premium 2016-2019 Review

Like Site One, the DfE requires government-funded schools to publish their PP funding report to show accountability (Carpenter et al., 2013). The school takes a pragmatic approach by focusing on the exam results and the quantifiable and measurable activities. The PP Review for 2018-19 highlights some of the barriers to the progress of PP students as follows: lower literacy and mathematical skills,

especially for PP eligible students who joined the School in Year 7; High Prior Attainers (HPA) who were eligible for PP grant were making less progress than the cohort across KS3 and 4 consequently prevented high achievements and attainment at KS4; The progress of PP students in KS4 English and Mathematics were lower than the national average; PP students were less motivated, especially at KS4, hence reduced levels of progress and attainment; the teaching staff lacked awareness of the barriers to the achievement of PP students, therefore, unable to give tailored interventions; poor attendance of PP students as most of them failed to make the target of 95%, coonsequently, reduced lesson learning time and falling behind; finally lack of parental engagement and aspirations for their children, therefore, inadequate support to take up opportunities for learning, both inside and outside the school (FPupil Premium 2016-2019 Review).

Having identified the barriers to learning, the school set itself desired outcomes, evaluated their impacts and decided whether to continue with its strategies or abandoned them. To improve the PP students' Literacy and Mathematics progress in Year 7, the school created intervention strategies, and Head of Departments (HoDs) would meet weekly to monitor and evaluate their impacts. Although the achievement and attainment gap between PP students and their peers persisted, there was a slight improvement in the outcomes. The HoDs took ownership of the process. They shared responsibilities and good practice and not limiting interventions to KS3 but included KS4, especially by identifying the students where the interventions would have the most significant impact in the subsequent years. Students engagements, aspirations, behaviour and attendance also saw some positive progress due to high-quality teaching tailored to PP students' needs in conjunction with workshops aimed at improving students' meta-cognitive skills and aspirations to higher education. The improved PP students' behaviour was due to the school developing a new system for recording behaviour to analyse specific behavioural trends. The process supported PP students in identifying and addressing particular behaviour with targeted interventions. The school developed a full induction process for all new staff in the Summer term to improve transition speed into posts/roles. For school attendance and improved parental involvement, the school used the PP grant to increase the Pastoral Leads' capacity tasked with ensuring that the PP students are in school and improved behaviour; students are engaged and trained to take ownership of their learning. The Pastoral Leads' role is to support Heads of Year (HoYs) in ensuring that PP students who require additional needs are encouraged and the parents are actively involved in their children's education. These are some of the numerous strategies that the school has put in place to improve the achievement and attainment of PP students in general (ibid.). Having looked

at the School's Pupil Premium 2016-2019 Review, the following section will consider the second document, Pupil Premium Strategy 2019-20.

Pupil Premium Strategy 2019-20

The document states that the school PP strategy 2019-20 should be considered in the context of the school's faith background, guided by the Holy Spirit and the examples of the founder of the Religious Congregation that founded the school. The school aims to meet the individual child's educational needs, enabling them to fully develop and achieve academic and personal success and understand how their education contributes and supports society. The school considers its mission as opening doors for young people through education, which entails good teaching that leads to good outcomes and quality of life for all disadvantaged pupils. The document reiterates that the PP grant is not ring-fenced (Cf. Jarret et al., 2015). Its use mainly targets PP students' intervention and is also intertwined with the school's core funding and strategic choices that the school makes about how it is used (Cf. Pupil Premium strategy 2019-20). In 2019-20, the school received £224,867 for PP students- 43.2% of the school's population. The school prioritised the fund's use to support the PP students as follows: first, to do academic mentoring and coaching in KS3 through the Achievement for All Programme; second, Literacy interventions for all low attaining PP students in KS3 by employing trained a specific learning difficulty (SpLD) teacher; third, closing the attainment gap between PP students and their peers at KS4 and 5 through targeted monitoring and academic interventions. Although all the priorities are clear, the school has also identified potential barriers to their success: lack of full parental support, engagements and aspirations. Low literacy skills of disadvantaged students entering Year 7 compared to the national average. It hinders the progress of Key stage 3 students(ibid.).

The school focuses on three areas to monitor and implement the strategies: first, teaching – to engage all staff (regardless of their experiences) in implementing the PP strategies by creating time for and providing a weekly short slot Continuous Professional Developments (CPD). Additionally, in the Autumn term of 2019, the school introduced a new Performance Management process with lesson feedback focusing explicitly on improving practice (Pupil Premium strategy 2019-20:4). Second, targeted support – focuses on PP students' motivation and improved literacy skills. It focused on improved literacy in Years 7 and 8 and employed a teacher with a robust understanding of SpLD to lead the school literacy interventions in liaison with the Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator (SENCO). Third, broader strategies focused on engaging PP families who are hard to reach and develop a more consistent approach to all the PP students' educational needs. In practice, this meant a re-structure of the pastoral

team to have a meaningful working relationship with the PP students' families and a close working relationship with multi-agencies to support disadvantaged families. The school also aimed to appoint a Personal, Social, Health and Citizens Education (PSHCE) co-ordinator "to lead on planned whole school programme on personal development, safety and well-being" (ibid.)—the strategies in place to be reviewed annually to consider their success or lack of it.

It is clear from the school's PP Strategy 2019-20 that it understands its PP students' needs and what they need to do to close the achievement gaps. Nevertheless, the understanding is not comprehensive enough as it focuses mainly on the quantifiable aspects measured through examination results. The school should go beyond the quantifiable aspects and use the intersectionality lens to consider how the school staff's race, gender, poverty, and racial literacy influence the PP Black girls' educational processes (Cf. NAIS, 2018; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). The school has many PP students from Black African and Caribbean backgrounds whose needs require a targeted approach due to their ethnicity. Furthermore, the strategies ought to include the bolstering of PP Black girls' capabilities and functionings, creating opportunities for students to become what they have a reason to value.

Equality objectives policy

The school has a clear Equality objective policy with six objectives against which it reviews its progress on equality. This section considers the objectives that are relevant to this study. First, the school aims to plan and provide opportunities within the curriculum where students can learn the diversity in the society, thus equipping students with skills to identify and challenge negative stereotypes and prejudice-related incidences. This objective is implemented by celebrating the school's diverse nature during the multicultural week, the school's commitment to Restorative Justice to resolve disputes and build greater understandings. Second, the school aim to provide additional resources to students who experience additional barriers to their learning. It is implemented through regular inclusion meetings to discuss the individual student's barriers and how to minimise them, for example, invest in therapies and interventions to support SEND pupils. Third, the school aims to encourage all students, especially the most vulnerable and hard-to-reach groups, to participate in enrichment activities. The school implements this by appointing an overseer of enrichment programmes such as oracy, homework clubs and after-school interventions for the most vulnerable students. Finally, the school aims to encourage a person-centred school ethos, which seizes opportunities to celebrate individuals' achievements. The school implemented this by revising its Mission Statement through the collaboration of both staff and students.

Like the PP policy documents, the Equality objectives policy is evident in its approach to equality issues. However, it is not comprehensive enough to include the specific issues that a significant number of its population experience: poverty, gender and ethnicity of Black pupils. The school must consider teaching staff race literacy, recruiting teachers from Black ethnic backgrounds, and curriculum review to reflect Black students' needs (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). The following section will explore the data collected from student participants through interviews, having considered the policy documents.

Participants' narratives

This section's findings and discussions focus on the data collected through interviews from 5 PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent (Year 10 students) and correspondence with the deputy headteacher. The descent of the student participants was: 3 Caribbean and 2 Africans. The interviews took place in an office/teaching room, with significant disruptions during the interviews. This section aims to consider the data under the five themes that emerged from the interviews: PP students' knowledge and understanding of the PP grant; educational activities offered to PP students; experiences and perceptions of the educational provisions – of support provided, and of racial prejudice and stereotypes; motivation; home situation – deprivation and low incomes.

i) PP Students' knowledge and understanding of the PP grant

Students' knowledge of the PP grant was unclear as the school claimed they keep this information from students because it is stigmatising. They want all students to know that the school treat them equally regardless of their social and financial circumstances,

> *"We would not encourage them to know this either in terms of PP (FSM they may know because of their lunches). The reason being is that schools are here to reduce barriers and social layers – to make kids(sic) feel all equal and everything possible to each individual – we are not in the business of reinforcing social stratification… The support is personalised and behind the scenes … For example – we have the same payment system for all kids (sic) so that it is not obvious who is FSM and who is not… uniforms and strict expectations around shoes/coats. Ensure that kids (sic) who cannot afford it do not stand out while those who can show off. The focus is on each child and their potential – regardless of labels."* (Deputy Headteacher).

Although the school's approach is in line with their equality policy, and they wish all students to feel they are treated equally, this was not consistent with the experiences of the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. The participants knew their status as PP and FSM recipients. They knew that they receive PP grants because of their disadvantaged financial backgrounds,

> *"So am, for example, if you get school meal, they know your parents need help, not because they do not help you fully, but they need some help, for example, we get revision guide that we needed. For example, instead of paying £40 in school, we get given the whole set for £10. So that no student is left out because their parents cannot afford it.*" (Shaniqua, Year 10 student).

> *"PP students are if their parents get a certain amount of money they are Pupil Premium."* (Kendra, Year 10 student).

> *"I think it is like based on how much your parent is getting, and they earn. I do not know. You get a free school meal based on that."* (Quartey, Year 10 Student).

The responses above show that students are fully aware of the PP grant and its use. They understand that those who receive it do not live in abject poverty; their parents earn but not enough to cover every educational expense. They consider PP grant support as a top-up, which they appreciate. It shows that they are still able to uphold their dignity as persons. They also understand the school's stance of wanting all students to feel that they are not discriminated against or treated differently because of their parents' financial status.

ii) *Educational activities offered to PP pupils*

Participants' responses regarding educational activities offered to PP students was inconsistent. Two out of five participants explained that they get intervention sessions before or during examination periods on the curriculum areas they struggle to understand. The interventions take place during the short break and lunch break. In addition to interventions, the school provide students with relevant revision websites, but the school does not provide computers. They assume that students have access to computers at home. Some participants said they get revision handouts printed out at school; others said they get coursebooks:

"They give interventions during break and lunchtimes during examination periods. They give us revision guides and topics we need to revise for. We buy our books." (Quartey, Year 10 student).

"Well, in different subjects, if we are struggling we get interventions, we can go to, or we get books which we can use to look up something we do not understand in lessons. If we still do not get it, then we can go to teachers." (Crystal, Year 10 student).

"They give us links to websites where we can revise from. They do not give us computers. Not everyone has access to a computer. They give us worksheets. They go over the work with us, show us how to do it." (Kendra, Year 10 student).

The apparent inconsistencies that the students described above are evidence of the work in progress. The PP strategy policy documents outlined how the school is currently implementing them. As the PP strategy document has shown in the previous section, one of the mitigating circumstances is the teachers' lack of training to have a consistent approach in supporting PP students.

Some participants stated categorically that the school does not offer them support. They said that all the help they get comes from their families, who can afford private tuition. Two students said they only get support when they ask for it:

"At school, if I feel I am not doing well, I ask teachers, and they help me. At home, my mum and dad ask if I need something. They ask me how I am doing at school and ask if I need a tutor." (Shaniqua, Year 10 student).

"They try to say how I should meet my targets, like behaviour target. They say I should choose my targets and I should meet them then if I do, they expect I am good to go. Only in Year 11 they just do an intervention. The school just expect you to go in and out. School meal is horrible; they can't cook. I just bring my snacks, or eat fruits." (Owusu, Year 10 student).

These extracts demonstrate a lack of specific targeted interventions that students can articulate. Some feel they get support when they ask for it. It is not specific to PP students but for any student who does not understand something in the lessons. Furthermore, students are given behaviour targets to work through without clear directions on how to meet them. Owusu's comments above show unhappiness with the school meal; therefore, she has to bring her food. Not all participants mentioned the FSM;

however, one of them clearly stated that she gets an FSM worth between £2-3. She was not sure of the specific amount a person gets as an eligible PP student,

> *"Of course we have free school meals. I think you get £2-3 a day. If you sign up for it, you get it, so you are still able to get some lunch."* (Shaniqua, Year 10 students).

The lack of precise knowledge about the amount of money provided for lunch is consistent with the school's policy of not telling students about their PP status (as mentioned in the deputy headteacher's extract discussed previously).

iii) Experiences and perceptions of educational provisions - of support provided, and of racial prejudice and stereotypes

As highlighted in the preceding section, the provisions are inconsistent; consequently, participants' experiences and perceptions of provisions were not well- articulated. In their responses, most participants claimed that provisions were inadequate and did not have any reference points. Some claimed that they get many pieces of homework to do during holidays disregarding their resting time,

> *"I feel like when we get holidays, teachers give too much work and the weeks are not just enough to do everything, not because you do not like it, but something happens, for example, you are in hospital."* (Shaniqua, Year 10 student).

Some participants, on the other hand, felt that even though the support was limited to independent learning or tasks to complete during the holidays, they saw it as better than not getting anything:

> *"They give us worksheets to do. They are good because I can practise during the holidays."* (Kendra, Year 10 student).

Another participant claimed that the school could do more in supporting them during school time. Interventions were primarily limited to Year 11, while Year 10 students felt that more could be done for them since they began their GCSE courses in Year 10. Moreover, they are from disadvantaged families, and most of them could not afford private tuition. Quartey explained,

"Inside, school- I think they could do a bit more for Year 10 interventions, especially for certain people they would not be able to afford tutors and stuff like that." (Quartey, Year 10 student).

An additional area of inadequate support for PP students was noted in choosing optional GCSE subjects. Only one participant mentioned that the school provided an information booklet that supported them in making their choices. However, most of the participants narrated that they made the choices of GCSE subjects supported by their parents, researched on the internet and were motivated by the type of careers they would like to pursue in future:

. *"… they gave us a booklet, and you have to choose. I just picked what I want to be. I want to help. I decided Business, History and Sociology."* (Owusu, Year 10 student).

"*With French, I am from Congo, a country that speaks French, and I am not fluent in French. I don't understand it, and I want to learn more. With History, because I wanted something to do with Law and when I looked it up on google, it says that when I do History and sociology. I chose both. I did research myself, no support from parents or school."* (Crystal, Year 10 student).

" *I do not know, I just kind of chose the ones that are linked to what I wanna do when I am older: Sociology, History and Art."* (Quartey, Year 10 student).

These extracts show that although the PP Black students are classified as hailing from a disadvantaged background, they have aspirations to get out of poverty. They aspire to continue with their studies until higher education and secure career.

Like the participants in Site one, Site two participants also lack differential treatment concerning their race or gender (Site two was a mixed Secondary school). The PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent said that ethnicity is irrelevant as they get the same treatment as everyone else:

"*I do not know, same as they will help anyone, like interventions."* (Quartey, Year 10 student).

"*Nothing, same as everyone else."* (Shaniqua, Year 10 student).

"*I do not know what to say; they just help me with what I need to learn for my GCSE. They just treat me the way they treat other people."* (Crystal, Year 10 student).

The excerpts support the deputy headteacher's assertions that all students are treated equally. The school is against the use of terms and treatments that would reinforce social stratifications in society. The only time that students experience race mentioned is during Black History Month. Moreover, a participant explained that since the school does not consider racial background, it is upon the individual students to endeavour to achieve their full potentials.

"I am not sure about that, the same as everyone else. When I used to do History, we used to have Black History Month." (Kendra, Year 10 student).

"Not really as much, but you must just focus when you are learning because the support you get from the teacher is not really 100%, because some teachers do not really know how to teach. I do not think you can just come inside the school and leave with a good grade. That is just being me. They do not push you to your full ability." (Owusu, Year 10 students).

Owusu's response echoes students' frustrations when the education establishment does not consider students' individual needs, in this case, their race and gender. A colour-blind or a one-size fit all misses out on individual experiences which need full attention for students to achieve their potentials. In the PP strategy document, the school stated that one of the causes of the barriers to PP students' achievement was the teaching staff lacking awareness of the barriers to PP students' achievement, hence, unable to offer tailored interventions. This lack of awareness is perhaps what Owusu referred to in her statements, "they do not push you to your ability." Students' experiences also corroborate Joseph-Salisbury (2020) study finding that racism is prevalent in schools due to lack of racial literacy in most schools in England.

The narrations from participants and information from the deputy headteacher could be interpreted as evidence of covert racism. The school operates on a colour-blind approach policy. Consequently, it does not have information on students' differential treatment to cater to their learning needs pertaining to their racially linked disadvantaged background. Coates (2012) explains covert racism as subtle and hidden by association norms, affiliation, and group membership or identity. Covert

racism operates as a boundary-keeping mechanism, typically taught subconsciously or unconsciously as part of the dominant socialization process within society or intuitions.

As a consequence, covert racism goes undetected and inculcated in institutions members for generations. At the core of covert racism is a deliberate policy of denial, omission, and obfuscation of BME groups and their issues. It uses a colour-blind approach, and race is considered insignificant (ibid.). The insignificance of race is well articulated in the students' narrations that the school does not talk about race except during Black History Month. However, Demie (2019) study has shown that schools that consciously consider racial identity celebrate them, empower both teachers and students to talk about it openly, and enable students to thrive holistically despite their disadvantaged backgrounds.

iv) Motivation

The PP strategy document stated that one reason for the persistence achievement and attainment gaps between the PP students and their peers is lack of motivation, especially at KS4. On the contrary, the participants' data indicated that they are motivated and do their best to achieve their potentials. In the subjects where students are taught in the ability groups, most participants were in the top set, which is a testament to their motivations and will. For example,

> "*With RE and English, I am in the same set because they are connected. In Math., I am in the top set, and in Science, I do triple Science, it is different. I am in the middle set for English and RE (set 2), Maths set 1…"* (Crystal, Year 10 student).

> *"In English and Maths, I am in the top set. In Science, I am in the second set. RE is the same set as English."* (Kendra, Year 10 student).

Most participants also had aspirations to progress to the Advanced levels or Sixth Form colleges then to university or pursue an apprenticeship, with the hope of getting careers in Law, Sports and Drama. For example,

> "*After I finish my GCSE, I want to go to the Sixth Form, and after uni. I want to become a barrister."* (Crystal, Year 10 student).

> "*I want to either do an apprenticeship or go to university. I want to do a Sport or Music. If I do apprenticeship, I would like to study and earn at the same time."* (Shaniqua, Year 10 student).

"*I either want to do Law or want to pursue a career in acting. That is why I do drama."* (Quartey, Year 10 student).

These excerpts show that despite the disadvantaged background, PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent have motivations to do well at school and get a better life in the future than what they are experiencing.

v) *Home situation-deprivation and low income*

PP Black girls of African and Caribbean backgrounds experience several challenges due to poverty. For instance, inadequate space at home to study or to have privacy because there are many people – parents and siblings living in a small space. A crowded household is a common feature for most of the PP students,

"*It is a bit hard to study at home because there are many people. There are six siblings, mum and dad. There are noise and no room. There are three bedrooms. In school, I just get distracted, but sometimes it is easy. I go to the library to avoid distractions."* (Kendra, Year 10 student).

"*No proper space at home to study. That is it"* (Crystal, Year 10 student).

The noise at home means a lack of focus on schoolwork; therefore, students cannot produce high-quality work. Some students prefer to study at their local and school libraries due to home situations.

A further consequence of deprivation is lack of money to afford private tuition in core subjects such as Science and Mathematics, the specific subjects in which some PP students experience difficulty and could benefit from extra help,

"I feel like Science is hard. I do not get support." (Owusu, Year 10 student).

"*I kind of struggle with maths, like understanding it. There are distractions from my friends; however, during exams, I go with my friend to study."* (Quartey, Year 10 student).

Since PP students want to succeed academically, they strive to rise above the challenges despite the encounters and inadequate support. For instance, they seek support from their friends and also go to the library. Contrary to the school's PP strategy document that there is a lack of parental engagement,

the participants highlighted generous support from their parents, especially when they can afford to support them. For example, some parents support them by encouraging or explaining the homework when it is unclear. Most participants mentioned their mothers as the primary source for support, for example,

> "*At the moment, my mum goes to Amazon and buy the books that the school say I should get; well, the school does not say I should get them. I have been going to all my teachers and asking them what books I should get because I do not get pushed by the school; I just push myself. My mum supports me 100%. She is the one who gets me books. She is pretty supportive.* (Owusu, Year 10 student).

> *"My mum, like when she is not working till late, she will sit down and go through the subject where I am not performing well. Even if my mother does not know it, she will try to help me understand it."* (Crystal, Year 10 student).

Although parental support is limited, it provides an anchor for PP Black students of African and Caribbean students. They know they have people they can turn to when school provision is not adequate.

Summary

The policy documents, interviews with both PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent and the correspondence with the deputy headteacher in Site two has shown the school's strategies to close the attainment gap between the PP students and their peers. The approach is mainly utilitarian and focuses on examination results. Like Site one, the picture would be slightly different if the school consider the intersections that hinder students' progress and capabilities achievements, which the next chapter considers, in some details.

4.3. **Site Three**

The third site for data collection was an oversubscribed Voluntary Aided comprehensive school for girls in south London. The ages of the students were between 11-18. The student population at the

time of data collection was 1358, including 319 in the Sixth Form. 10.2% of students were eligible for FSM, which was below 15% of the national average. The majority of ethnic minority background students had English as an additional language. The school's 2006 Ofsted and subsequent Denominational inspections, the last of which took place in 2018, judged the school Outstanding (Cf. Denominational Inspection Report, 2018). This section's findings and discussions consider policy documents: Pupil Premium Strategy Impact Review – September 2019, Pupil Premium Strategy Statement and Equality Diversity Policy. The final section of the findings focuses on the data collected through interviews with the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. All of them were in Year 10, and the senior teacher tasked with reviewing and evaluating the use and the impact of the PP grant.

Policy documents

Pupil Premium Strategy Impact Review – September 2019

The Pupil Premium Strategy Impact Review focused on how the PP grant was spent in the 2018-2019 academic year. The document shows that the school spent £179,880 to improve the learning experiences and educational achievements of its PP students. The money was spent on improving teaching quality, especially for disadvantaged students in Year 11 who were underachieving in Mathematics. They were divided into smaller teachings groups; some received one to one support. Students received revision resources and out of lesson interventions.

Nevertheless, the impact was negative – the progress decreased from 0.1 to 0.09. The document stated that the school is yet to embed a fully coordinated approach and gain full knowledge of key students and specific barriers to their achievements before specific targets are put in place (Cf. Pupil Premium Strategy Impact Review – September 2019). The document implies that PP students' underachievement are more complex and need a better understanding to implement a successful strategy. Therefore, this study suggests that the CA might be a solution for a better understanding of the needs of the PP Black students.

Another approach that the school implemented in 2018-19 to support PP students was the desire to increase the PP students' participation and engagement in school life. The PP students were encouraged to participate in extra-curricular activities such as sports, music, drama, debates, and cultural trips in Year 10 and 11 aspirations. The school expected the active involvement of the class tutors, HoYs and other staff. They were organising extra-curricular events to ensure that the number of

disadvantaged students was equal to their peers. The senior teacher in charge of PP students worked with the Pastoral Team and the school effectiveness committee to review this every half term. Despite these efforts, the extra-curricular activities data showed low impact as the disadvantaged students' participation was less than their peers (ibid.) As stated earlier, focusing solely on the number of activities offered and asking PP students to participate is inadequate. Perhaps in the review, the school needs to consider each PP student's circumstance and the intersections of gender, poverty, and ethnicity to identify the barrier and nature of activities offered to see their suitability in engaging PP students.

The final desired outcome was to increase the PP students' school attendance to be above 92%. The approach was a collaborative effort of the class tutors, the HoY and the Pastoral Support Assistant. They followed up the absences amongst the disadvantaged students by contacting their parents/carers. The outcome was a positive impact as the attendance of the disadvantaged rose to 95.04%. The overall number of disadvantaged persistent absentees reduced from 28 to 27 (Cf. Pupil Premium Strategy Impact Review – September 2019). This approach was successful due to individual engagements with the PP students, understanding their circumstances, and barriers to school attendance. Having considered The PP strategy Impact Review of 2018-2019, the next section will consider the school's Pupil Premium Strategy Statement 2019-20.

Pupil Premium Strategy Statement

According to the school's Pupil Premium Strategy Statement, there were 176 PP students in January 2019. The document shows significant achievement and attainment gaps between PP students and their peers, especially in English and Mathematics (Cf. Pupil Premium Strategy Statement). The school had an allocation of £164,560 to spend on narrowing or closing the gap. The school identified five main barriers to progress for PP students: first, students lacked preparedness to learn and work independently outside of a structured school day; second, lack of engagement in activities. Lack of participation in extra-curricular activities leads to a poor relationship with peers and staff and poor educational outcomes at KS4. Third, poor performance in Mathematics, especially in specific topics, which schools expect the PP students to find manageable. Their performance in Mathematics, compared to English, was significantly low. Fourth, significant underperformance in Science due to teaching and learning that does not meet PP students' needs. Finally, the ineffective application of Attendance Policy and Procedures to close the gap in attendance between PP students and their peers due to inadequate engagement with parents/guardians to ensure required attendance record. Low attendance has had a

negative academic effect, especially in Years 10 and 11 (ibid.). The barriers identified in this document are similar to those in the previous year; this clearly shows the school ought to deploy a different approach.

Compared to the 2018-19 approach, the school claimed that the 2019-20 approach was influenced by educational research, especially of the Education Endowment Framework (EEF) and the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER). The school spent money to create extra Mathematics classes to ensure high-quality teachings in small groups. It withdrew those who significantly underachieved from lessons for one to one tuition (ibid.). Although the school claimed that the EEF research informed their practice, the document does not mention how the staff are trained or engaged in the best ways to support PP students. The EEF toolkit asserts that reducing class sizes is more effective when accompanied by professional development for teachers focusing on teaching skills and approaches (EEF, 2019). Other than smaller classes in Mathematics, the school also offered weekly Science classes interventions, which targeted the gaps in learning and areas of weaknesses. The senior teacher in charge of PP students held the Science department accountable to implement the strategies (Cf. Pupil Premium Strategy Statement). One of the issues with expectations placed upon the Science department to improve PP students' outcomes in Science is the lack of specific training on what the PP students need to progress. Interventions are scheduled after school, which might not be practical given the personal circumstances of the PP students concerning poverty and home situations, as shown in the interview with PP students. The following section will consider the final document, Equality Diversity Policy.

Equality Diversity Policy

The school updated its Equality Diversity Policy document in 2016 to reflect its compliant with the UK government's Equalities Act of 2010. The school recognises its statutory duties to promote community cohesion and equality. Its Mission Statement also reflects a commitment to equality – to foster respect for all regardless of their age, race, colour, creed, gender and ability (Equality Diversity policy). In fulfilling the equality and diversity obligation, the school is guided by the seven principles[8].

[8] Summary of the seven principles:

1. All pupils are considered as of equal value regardless of their disability, ethnicity, culture, religious affiliation, etc.
2. Treating people with equality does not necessarily mean treating them the same way. The implementations of policies, procedures and activities are differentiated to account for differences of life experiences, outlook and background and in the kind of barriers and disadvantages which people may experience in relation to --- ethnicity (cultural backgrounds and experiences of prejudice are recognized)…

The principles clearly show that the school is opposed to all forms of prejudice and discriminations, primarily due to disability, racism, religion, gender and homophobia (ibid.). The document further asserts that all teaching and support staff are trained and given clear guidance on identifying, assessing, recording, and dealing with prejudice-related incidents. The policy further clarifies that racial prejudice incidences are recorded and reported annually to the Local Authority (ibid.).

The school acknowledges and recognises its community's diversity (both students and staff). The school claimed that they implement the seven principles in all other school policies (especially pupil progress, attainment and assessment; behaviour, discipline and exclusions). The Equality Diversity Policy implies that the school is conscious of BME students and their specific needs, aiming for equal treatment of pupils and staff. The document makes it explicit that equal treatment does not necessarily involve the same treatment. Instead, it is non-discrimination – preferential treatments that consider individual life experiences, outlook, background, and the barriers and disadvantages of ethnicity and gender.

In sum, this section has considered two documents showing the school's endeavours to support the PP students' educational needs and ensure adherence with the UK government's equality policy. The following section will examine how the student participants experience and perceive the use of the PP grant in their school context (Site three). The section will also consider the narratives of the senior teacher.

Participants' narratives

Unlike the previous two sites already considered, 4 PP Black girls of African descent agreed to be interviewed. Their responses are organised in the following themes, just as the previous sites: PP students' knowledge and understanding of the PP grant; educational activities offered to PP pupils;

3. The policies, procedures and activities aim to promote: a) Positive attitudes towards **disabled people**…… b) Positive interaction, good relations and dialogue between groups and communities different from each other in terms of **ethnicity**, culture…… c) Mutual respect and good relations between the **genders** and an absence of sexual harassment.
4. The policy and procedures aim to benefit both the current and potential employees…
5. The policy aims to avoid or minimize possible negative impacts. Additionally, the school takes opportunities to maximize positive impacts by reducing inequalities and barriers that may already exists in relation to disability, ethnicity, religion and gender.
6. People affected by a policy or activity should be consulted and involved in the design of new policies, and in the review of existing ones.
7. The school intend that its policies and activities should benefit society as a whole…

experiences and perceptions of educational provisions - of support provided, and of racial prejudice and stereotypes; motivation; and home situation – deprivation and low income.

i) PP students' knowledge and understanding of the PP grant

All PP students in Site three had better knowledge and understanding of the PP grant than the participants in the two previous sites. They associated PP with lack of parental income and their parents' social benefits due to unemployment or inadequate incomes; single unemployed parents; poverty. The participants articulated that it is the support they get from school due to their home circumstances. For example,

> *"I think pupil premium is for students whose parents or guardians have registered to receive benefits, or their parents do not make a set amount each month, meaning there is no evidence of their annual salary. Their parents earn a certain amount that makes them eligible to receive benefits and therefore entitles them to become PP/FSM."* (Anguo, Year 10 student).

> *"I am a Pupil Premium because my mum does not work full time. I am not sure for how long I have; I think since I started this school since Year 7."* (Yumeika, Year 10 student).

> *"It is the support that the government gives to poor families."* (Maria, Year 10 student).

The extracts show PP students awareness of PP grants and its implication of stigmatisation since it is associated with poverty. All participants were not happy when they talked about the family situations that led to their categorisation as PP recipients. Although it might trigger low self-esteem, all the participants desired a better life, especially when they articulated what they would like to happen in the future. All aspired for better-paid careers that will lift them out of dependence on government handouts (Appendix III: students' responses).

ii) Educational activities offered to PP pupils

The school offers all PP students a range of educational activities, which was significantly reinforced during the lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic. They received FSM, subsidised extra-curricular activities. When parents cannot pay for a compulsory part of the curriculum (Geography trip), the school uses PP funds to pay for the whole trip. The school also subsidises what the PP Lead Teacher

referred to as the non-essential part of the curriculum: watching a play in English. The school provides laptops to all students through a scheme. It is a system that involves a parental donation of £30 for five years (Years 7 to 11), paid into the Governor's Fund. The school is prepared to oversee or accept a lower or zero donation from PP students' parents. The school consider laptops for PP students on a case by case basis, hence reviewing them throughout their school year if there is a change in income circumstances (Cf. Appendix III: Senior teacher's responses).

All the student participants clearly articulated some of the support they get from school. They include revision resources such as a pack of flashcards, calculators, rulers and print out of the revision guide to prepare for End of Year examinations. Besides, the school sometimes pay for their educational trips, offered interventions and revision sessions and provides lunch worth £2/£2.10. Examples,

> *"I get £2 for lunch every day, and I like the revision guide… it helps me. I get £2 and a revision guide. I have not received anything else.* (Tshala, Year 10 student*).*

> *"The school has given a lot of revision materials this year, such as a free pack of flashcards and each year, my subject teachers printed out the revision guides for the subject in preparation for my End of Years. I'm also entitled to FSM and get £2.10."* (Anguo, Year 10 student).

Some participants specifically outlined the support they received because they are PP eligible students. Others included the educational activities offered to all students, from which they also benefit. For instance, access Mathematics online learning platform, access to online textbooks, school laptop scheme, taster lessons and talks about different routes to various careers, opportunities to participate in extra-curricular activities in school such as in sports, clubs and chaplaincy team:

> *"In school, I go to a homework club. I started going to all revision with End of Year exams, that is it. I go to School Council, and I am part of the Chaplaincy Team."* (Yumeika, Year 10 student).

> *"We have laptops and textbooks. I also have access to the MyMaths website and other online resources such as Kerboodle, where I can access some textbooks. The school pays for these. This is for everyone, not just people of the FSM."* (Tshala, Year 10 student).

Most of the activities outlined in the excerpts above are part of the school's PP policy document's strategies. However, none of the participants mentioned the specific interventions in English and Mathematics. The school's PP policy document shows that the school spends a significant chunk of PP funding on these subjects to close the achievement gap. Perhaps the lack of clear awareness amongst the school's PP students in this area contributes to the lack of progress, as the PP data indicated (Appendix III: students' responses).

iii) Experiences and perceptions of educational provisions - of support provided, and of racial prejudice and stereotypes

The PP Black girl participants' experiences and perceptions of educational provisions varied; some were satisfied while others considered them inadequate. It depended on individual students' circumstances, which included the experiences of racial prejudice and stereotypes. Some of the positive experiences included the school being a safe place to study - where teachers can check up on them and provide emotional, educational support vital to their well-being and educational progress. The participants explained that the senior teacher in charge of PP students liaises with the aspiration project run by a private school to support PP students within the borough as part of their charitable status. They organise university visits, plan trips to the theatres and ballet. Students appreciated these activities as part of their well-being and in building their socio-cultural capital, as one participant articulated:

> *"…these are a perfect way for stress-relief while they also held sessions at the school to help me on the right academic paths."* (Anguo, Year 10 student).

Notwithstanding that some students applauded these supports, they are only available during term time. During holidays students are left on their own; this is often daunting for PP students due to their deprived home situations, as we shall see later. Tshala expressed the ambivalent experiences of the support as,

> *"The support is good during term time because I can go to teachers when I do not understand something. During holidays I can only rely on the website and revision materials given. There is no specific holiday support."* (Tshala, Year 10 student).

Although some participants had positive experiences of the support, others felt inadequate; for instance, all participants stated that they received £2/£2.10 for their school meals per day. This amount is minimal as to what type of meal one can buy to satisfy them for a 7-hour school day. The hunger due to school meal inadequacy leads to a lack of engagement in school activities, such as after school interventions, revision sessions, homework clubs, and extra-curricular activities.

The PP Lead teacher explained that the school does not treat ethnic groups differently. They do not do anything that accounts for or purposefully positively discriminates or mainly addresses underachievement within ethnic groups. The school looks at underachievement across specific subgroups such as SEND and PP. The school does not currently report on or define groups based on their ethnicity (Cf. Appendix III: Senior teacher's responses). The PP Lead teacher's accounts echoed the Equality Diversity Policy that the school is opposed to any form of prejudice and discrimination based on race, gender, religion, disability and sexual orientations. The policy states that all incidents are recorded and reported annually to the Local Authority. The school treats everyone (students and staff) with equality which does not entail sameness (Equality Diversity policy). Anguo evidenced this in the following extract,

> *"I feel like the school has a diverse culture and many girls with the same ethnic background as me, which helps me feel more comfortable in the classroom when there is a balance of each ethnic group. They also have diverse staff, so it makes it easier for me to be able to go and confide in teachers if I have any worries."* (Anguo, Year 10 student).

Nevertheless, some participants disagreed. Their experiences are different from Anguo's as they have encountered racial prejudice and discrimination. Some PP Black girls narrated their experiences of covert racism in their lessons and also in the differential punishment compared to their White peers:

> *"The school say they treat everyone the same. This is not true from my experience. As a Black girl, I think teachers treat people like me differently. For example, in some lessons, Black girls are told off for minor behaviour while White girls get away with major behaviour issues. In one of the assemblies at the beginning of the year, I felt uncomfortable when my ethnicity was singled out, and people told how Black people performed well in our school compared to the whole country. It implied that we have to be grateful even when we feel treated unfairly."* (Tshala, Year 10 student).

"*As a Black girl, I feel ignored in class, I put my hand up, even though I sit in front, teachers skip me and go to a person of a different race.*" (Maria, Year 10 student).

The PP Black girl participants' experiences regarding race echo the literature reviewed that teachers who are unconsciously biased towards Black students hold racial stereotypical views and perceptions (Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015; Blake et al., 2011; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). In the above extract, Tshala is aware of and articulated differential teacher scrutiny of her behaviour and discipline because of her race compared to her white peers in the classroom (Cf. Chapman and Bhopal, 2019). Tshala did not expand how she responds to differential racial treatment but added further unhappiness when her ethnicity was singled out in the GCSE performance of her school. There are two issues raised, ethnicity and celebration of academic performance. Tshala notices how racial bias is further reinforced in what is meant to be a celebration of performance. Only the performance of Black girls was compared to the national performance. Other groups (White, Indian, Chinese, and Mixed heritage) were neither mentioned nor compared to the national league table. Tshala's narration about the comments during assembly is an epitome of racial microaggression[9] and is psychologically damaging to a teenage person. It might create a compliant feeling in a stressful situation because it is considered a better option despite unhappiness (Almond, 2019). An example of this is expounded in the following extract:

"… I feel that I am treated differently because of my race. Because I am in a top set in English and RE, I am the only Black person in there, and I feel isolated from all my friends. Sometimes I feel that some teachers are surprised to see me in top set." (Tshala, Year 10 student).

The extract implies Tshala's unhappiness in her class. The school system expects her to be happy because she is in a top set and high achieving class, and she is an example of why Black girls in her school are performing better than the national statistics. The data-driven measure of achievement fails to capture students such as Tshala's unhappiness; therefore, demands a different and desirable approach for evaluation. When placing students in tiers, other than academic performance, the school

[9] Racial microaggression is a term use to describe everyday ignominies, which are verbal, behavioural and environmental. They occur unintentionally and automatically to racial and ethnic minorities. They reinforce inferior social status on a cognitive level. In comparison to overt racism, they subtler and common. They make individuals feel marginalised (Almond, 2019:1).

should consider other aspects that make an individual thrive. For instance, a Student Voice about their learning styles and the type of school friends that make them flourish. Carter et al. (2017) study show that for Black girls having more same-race friends help them with school connectedness. This should be considered both for their well-being and academic achievements.

iv) Motivation

Motivation is the student's predisposition in learning activities; the tendencies are driven by the aspirations to achieve the best learning outcomes and reach the summit of their academic potentials (Kurniawan et al., 2018). Motivation is a vital aspect of education that practitioners deploy to foster engagement, thus improving student outcomes (Lay, 2017; Meece et al., 2006). Motivation researchers (Meece et al., 2006) argue that the classroom environment plays a significant role in students' motivation and learning patterns. For example, a teacher may focus on skill development, mastery and improvement, motivating a learner to master and truly understand the task at hand. Some participants in Site three consider the school environment a safe and conducive place that support their learning. They are motivated to work towards achieving their desired goals and potentials. They have optimistic views and approaches to their education, hence, participate fully in school activities. For example,

> *"I would like all the new experiences I have had to be able to help me in my future in some way, shape or form. I do not want these opportunities that the school has given me to go to waste, as all these experiences can help me with later life. It has also helped me to meet new people and become more confident when talking to people I have just met. So I am happy that I have come out of this programme not only with more experiences, but it also helped me to improve my grades."* (Anguo, Year 10 student).

> *"I want to work somewhere I can use Business, Math. Economics. I would like to get a job that gives me 130k per annum."* (Yumeika, Year 10 student).

> *"In future, I would like to be a clinical or forensic psychologist. I want to help people as a clinical psychologist."* (Maria, Year 10 student).

The extracts show that some PP Black girls are highly motivated to do well, especially to secure the career they want to pursue as adults. For instance, Maria wanted to study sciences to help others as a clinical psychologist. Her aspirations motivated her despite the challenges Maria encountered at home and school as a disadvantaged student.

All the four student participants in site three show that PP Black girls of African descent are motivated to learn (3 articulated this, while the 4th one is in the top set). The narratives support the literature that Black parents of African and Caribbean descent have high aspirations for their children and the latter are also motivated to do well in their studies and pursue their desired careers (Mirza and Reay, 2000; NRCSE, 2021; Coard, 1971; Dove, 1993; Maylor, 2020). Nevertheless, the senior/Lead teacher's narration contradicts Black girls' articulation of motivation. The Lead teacher's views support Hirsch (2007) that students from disadvantaged backgrounds lack motivation, thus more likely to disengage with school activities. The Lead teacher articulated this as a wish for the situation to change:

> *"… I do not want a student to feel different or labelled negatively for being Pupil Premium. I would like them and their parents to own that identity a little bit more so that when strategies and differences are put in place for those students that there are an appetite and a willingness to take those opportunities. Rather than the feeling of 'I am being treated differently because there is something less; I am less than others. So they are just compensating for my less than.' it should not be.* (Senior/Lead teacher).

Although the extract did not focus on PP Black girls, it demonstrates that one of the major obstacles in closing the achievement gap between PP students and their peers is low self-esteem due to disadvantaged background. It will take a long time to build PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent students' self-esteem and publicly accept their disadvantaged status. No one wants to be identified as poor before their peers, especially in a school environment, where image and acceptance are often essential to adolescent girls. The schools' approach should consider the intersectionality of race, gender, and poverty and how they affect PP Black girls' daily experiences.

v) Home situation-deprivation and low income

Like Sites one and two, PP Black girls in Site three highlighted poverty as a significant limiting factor in their educational achievements and attainments. All participants were aware that they were classified as PP students and received free school meals because they were from low-income families.

They receive a maximum of £2.10 for their daily meals at school, which is inadequate to sustain them throughout the school day. Due to poverty, their families could not afford to give them daily packed lunches. The consequences of inadequate school meals are PP students are often hungry, reduced concentration in lessons, required focus in homework clubs and after school interventions, and lack of participation in extra-curricular activities on offer after school. Even though the school offers interventions, the impact is low, as the PP Review document indicated. PP students are unable to give their full attention to intervention sessions when their stomachs are empty.

The deprivation at home is due to parents being unemployed, receiving social welfare benefits or employed, but not earning enough money:

> "*Because my dad does not get paid a set salary per month, meaning he is registered to receive benefits which entitle me to FSMs."* (Anguo, Year 10 student).
>
> *"This is because my parents do not have a stable job; they do not have enough money."* (Tshala, Year 10 student).
>
> *"I am classified as a free meal student because my mother is unemployed, and she is a single parent."* (Maria, Year 10 student).

The extracts above show that PP Black girls are acutely aware of their home financial situation due to their eligibility for the PP grant.

Some PP Black students from single-parent families face further challenges at home, being carers to their younger siblings because a parent may be either away at work or unwell. For examples,

> *"Life is hard at home because I have to support my siblings. Mum has been sick for some time now. I support with the house chores such as cooking and cleaning because I am the firstborn. I have two sisters and a brother. Sometimes we do not have enough food, and there is not enough room to do my homework."* (Maria, Year 10 student).

When a student has to spend a significant amount of time doing an adult's chores, as Maria in the above extracts, they lose an opportunity to be an ordinary teenager – spending time with friends and giving full attention to their studies. There is also a lack of space to study at home. Maria's example shows how

some PP Black girls have many odds stuck against them. The myriad issues highlighted in this case cannot be solved solely by school interventions and extra lessons during and after school.

The effect of the home situation, deprivation, and low income was further evident in the activities that Black girls engage in during weekends and holidays. Most PP Black students cannot do most out-of-school activities that may enrich their socio-cultural capital. For instance, due to inadequate funds, they cannot go out to the cinemas or theatres. One may argue that most of the museums in London are free, and so are the transport for under 16s. Although this is the case, the experiences can only be meaningful and enjoyable when the basic need for food is met. As stated previously, there is neither enough food at home nor income, which a child can use for a packed lunch. Due to deprivation, most PP Black girls spend their time at home catching up with their schoolwork, sleeping or visiting friends where this is possible:

> "*I like to get up, just like getting ready for school. I go to Church then catch up with school work on Saturday. During holidays I just used sleep because there is nothing to do, but now I go out more, like going outside London during the holidays.*" (Yumeika, Year 10 student).

> "*I do not do much. I just stay at home or sometimes go out with my friends*." (Tshala, Year 10 student).

> "*Weekends I am at home, probably reading my books, watching TV, revising, making sure my brother completes his homework and testing him on his spellings. Sometimes I go to see friends. I rarely go to the cinema.*" (Maria, Year 10 student).

The PP grant is not enough to solve all the problems related to the disadvantaged pupils' achievements and attainment from Black Africans and Caribbean descent. Their needs are beyond the classroom and school gates, as the participants narrated. Perhaps there could be a system that considers the extension of support to their homes.

Summary

Like previous Sites, Site three document analysis and interviews show the strategies the school deploys to close the attainment gap between the PP students and their peers work to a certain extent,

but the gap persists. Their approaches are primarily utilitarian and focus on examination results. They fail to incorporate intersectionality and consider creating opportunities for PP students to achieve their capabilities and functionings.

4.4. **The Comparison of the three sites**

Common patterns in three study sites

All schools in the study had an achievement and attainment gap between PP students and their peers; hence they qualified for PP grant. The policy documents explicitly showed schools' strategies and desires to promote equality and diversity and close the achievement and attainment gaps between the PP students and their peers. Despite the schools' endeavours, the gaps persisted for various reasons: lack of full parental involvement in their children's educational needs, lack of motivations amongst the PP students, and the insufficiency of the fund to cater for all the PP educational needs. The participants and public policy documents highlighted the schools' colour-blind in their interventions. Additionally, the student participants highlighted the FSM's inadequacy, which explains their lack of total engagement in lessons, extra-curricular activities, and interventions after school. Most of the PP students are often hungry. The colour-blind approach implies staff racial illiteracy, which further perpetuates conscious and unconscious bias when dealing with BME students (Cf. Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). All schools measured their interventions' success on quantifiable outcomes: examination results, progression to the next level of education and school attendance. None of the schools used the intersectionality lens in their approaches to BME students. The next chapter advocates for schools to use the intersectionality lens and the CA framework in their interventions and evaluations other than utilitarian approaches in measuring how well the school serves its students.

Different patterns in three study sites

Sites one and three were financially better off than Site two. Site one was situated in an affluent area, while site three, even though located in an affluent area, some of its students came from London's economically disadvantaged areas. Notwithstanding, they had extra income from parental contributions of £30 per month into the Governor' fund (Appendix III: Senior teacher’s responses), enabling them to provide laptops to all its students. Sites one and three had low numbers of PP students (8% and 10.2%,

respectively) compared to Site two (43.2% and the national average 15%). Both Sites one and three were all-girl school, while two was mixed. Compared to Site two, Sites one and three had comprehensive provisions for PP students, and the latter was able to articulate and counts what they get as PP students. Site two was located in London's deprived area, with many pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds (54.8%). Although the school had a comprehensive strategy and review of the PP grant use on its policy documents, there was a disparity between policy documents and the PP Black girls' experiences of the provisions to close the gaps. Unlike Site three, Site two did not have an extra income source, and its students did not have electronic devices provided by the school. Site two is an example of the inadequacy of the PP grant. The PP students' requirements go beyond the school gates. In the interviews, some PP Black students highlighted how deprived home situation affect their educational outcomes. However, they recounted parental support as vital.

4.5. **Classroom teachers' understanding of the PP grant**

Besides the interviews with PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent, this study also considered the classroom teacher's understanding of the PP grant. Their understanding was imperative as the teachers are at the frontline of implementing the schools' strategies of closing the gap between the PP students and their peers. Additionally, when PP students explain their perceptions and experiences of the use of the PP grant, they referred to interventions, homework clubs, trips and their treatment in lessons. The classroom teachers run these activities, and the schools hold them accountable when the gaps between PP and their peers persist. The classroom teacher participants in the study worked in different schools from each other.

Furthermore, their locations were not the same as the study sites considered in the previous section. Two teachers work in London schools while one works in outer London. Because of confidentiality, the study uses pseudonyms. Ms. Hayes works in an all-girls 11-18 secondary school with 545 students. 19% are eligible for PP grants (above the national average of 10%); 99% were from ethnic minority groups, predominantly Black African and Caribbean and Asian descendants (Denominational Inspection Report, 2019). Mr. Musungu teaches in a mixed (11-18) secondary school of 1215 students, of which 170 are eligible for PP funding (Denominational Inspection Report, 2020). Mr. Arua works in an all-girls 11-18 secondary school with a population of 1071 students, of which 432 receive PP funding. In comparison, the national average, the proportion of students from ethnic minority groups is well above

average (Ofsted Inspection Report, 2019; Denomination Inspection Report, 2016). The findings in this section are organised in the following emerged themes: the challenges facing PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent, teachers' understanding of PP grant, the learning needs of PP students, and the support that school offers to teachers.

i) Challenges facing PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent

The interview with PP students, senior teachers, and Equality documents in the previous sections showed that the schools treat all their students equally on paper. Equal treatment does not entail being treated the same as the Equality Diversity policy of Site three indicated. The interview with classroom teachers reiterated the equality and the inclusive natures of their schools. Nevertheless, this does not remove the specific challenges that PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent experience from teachers' perspectives. Some of the PP Black girls suffer from low self-esteem, resulting from an identity crisis, often misunderstood, and failure to be accepted as they are. The misunderstanding often led to teachers' perceptions of Black students as stubborn, lack discipline, consequently challenged and disciplined more often than their peers. Mr Arua articulated this in his response to the question,

> Q. What are the specific challenges that Black pupils of the Caribbean and African descent face in your school?
>
> A. "*Lack of understanding; generalisations that do not help as most of them are regarded as a stubborn and lacking discipline. Their interests are not taken seriously*." (Mr Arua).

Misunderstanding of PP Black girls is partly due to unconscious prejudice, which manifests in covert racism due to a lack of teachers' racial literacy (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). The unconscious prejudice was explicit in the responses from a classroom teacher participant. The assumption was that PP Black girls' parents are not UK citizens. Although the students are UK nationals, the parents are from either African or Caribbean countries. The students have poor attendance because their parents tend to withdraw them from school during term time to take them on holidays in their countries of origin. Due to low attendance, their academic achievements and attainments are poor. One of the classroom teachers also perceived Black girls as rude and gave 'wrong impressions' of themselves by kissing their teeth, compared to students from other races. A teacher perceived Black girls to be quick in labelling teachers as racist without considering whether they were in the wrong. Teachers consider Black girls to

be often defensive even when they do not need to be. Moreover, teachers consider Black girls as having a high level of stress, which leads to poor physical and mental health (Appendix IV: Ms Hayes).

PP Black students face further challenges regarding their home situation and support. Some schools offer homework which needs internet access and computer software. Some students from disadvantaged families do not own a computer; therefore, they cannot access the internet and complete their homework. Consequently, their academic progress is limited. Furthermore, they have poor time management skills; they are put in homework clubs, which run mainly after school. Some PP students lack parental support or space and the necessary equipment to do homework or study at home. A lack of stability at home exacerbates a further challenge,

> *"Pupils who live between the houses of fathers, mothers and grandparents are more likely to be without their books, as they leave them in different houses. Pupils who are in temporary accommodation are more stressed, which impacts their ability to concentrate. Pupils who live in one-room with their mother and sibling/s struggle to find a quiet space at home to work. Pupils who have to bring siblings to school and collect siblings cannot stay for after school activities (less cultural capital) or homework club."* (Ms Hayes).

> *"Lack of support at home to do the homework and equipment to do them. At school, the attention is mainly given to SEND students and disregard those from the disadvantaged background."* (Mr Arua).

The above extracts imply that PP Black girls come from lone-parent families; therefore, they do not spend time in one place. Some of them, due to poverty, do not have a stable home. Lack of stability culminates in stress and reduced concentrations. Some students also take adult responsibilities to take their siblings to school and pick them after school; thus, they cannot engage with extra-curricular activities offered after school.

ii) Teachers' understanding of PP grant

Compared to the senior teachers in the previous interviews, the classroom teachers did not clearly understand the PP grant and its use. The government requires all schools to publish the number of PP students they have in the school, the amount of money allocated, PP students' needs, the strategy to alleviate the needs and the impact (Carpenter et al., 2013; Jarret et al., 2015). Although this

information is available to the public, teachers still have limited information, which implies that they do not know much about it. All classroom teachers know that it is the government's money to schools to support their disadvantaged students. However, teachers were unsure of how the schools spend the money. For example,

> "*It has to do with funds schools from the government to support students from disadvantaged backgrounds."* (Mr Arua).

> *"It is £2,300 to help the school provide extra support, both academically and culturally."* (Ms Hayes).

The insufficient knowledge of information might be due to the lack of CPD on how to support the PP students. The school staff would benefit from the information shared with them when schools review the use and the PP funding impact at the beginning of the year. For the PP strategies to be more productive, the classroom teachers who have direct contact with PP students ought to be on board all the time. Mr Arua highlighted this during the interview,

> "*More involvement of parents and teacher in decision making when it comes to pupil premium students.* (Mr Arua).

It is not just the teacher who ought to have adequate information but also the parents who live with their children and monitor their learning using the resources the school provides and learning outside the school.

iii) Learning needs of PP students

The teacher participants highlighted the PP students' needs, similar to what PP students articulated in their responses. The disadvantaged backgrounds dictate the PP students' needs. Their primary need for food and school uniforms as well as school equipment. Some PP students do not have food at home; therefore, the school offers them a hot breakfast. As stated previously, some PP students suffer from low self-esteem due to their identity as Black students and poverty; some schools help them overcome this by offering them mentorship through a student support group. In some cases, teachers contribute their own money to buy them Christmas presents,

Q. What support does the school offer to students from disadvantaged families?

A. "*This is not clear apart from obvious cases of not having a proper uniform, and the schools provide for them and some mentors in terms of student support groups"* (Mr Arua).

A. *"The school offers a breakfast club where disadvantaged pupils can have a warm breakfast before school; there are times when staff have contributed money to buy Christmas presents for disadvantaged pupils."* (Mr Musungu).

A. "*Financial help for school trips, so that lack of money does not mean a lack of opportunity. All Year 7 pupils are taken to the local library, where they learn how the library works and receive a library card to use until they turn 18."* (Ms Hayes).

Unlike the previous interviews, teachers' responses focus mainly on non-classroom needs such as students' well-being, which often impact their learning, cultural capital through trips, and more extensive learning through the library's use. Moreover, teachers said that most PP students lack support from parents and room to study at home due to disadvantaged households. Some of them lack access to a computer and the internet; others are disorganised because of instability at home, spending time with different parents/guardians in the week (Cf. Appendix IV).

iv) The support school offers to teachers

The schools expect classroom teachers to know the PP students and their specific needs as individuals. They are to track their academic progress, and where there is a gap, the teacher ought to offer necessary interventions to ensure improvement in their achievement and attainments. The school shares the progress outcomes with the school governing body. The school expect teachers to have extra equipment to support PP students:

"*We are asked to encourage them to do well and make sure that their needs are met. We are advised to make sure we always have extra-equipment in class to support their needs."* (Mr Arua).

"As a teacher, I am required to know each PP student in my class, where there are other learning needs I need to ensure that I am catering for each student, and ensuring that I provide work that has a challenge and enables them to progress." (Mr Musungu).

The school put an onerous expectation on classroom teachers with little tools to support them. As highlighted previously, not all teachers know the whole school strategies in supporting PP students' needs. Some of the needs are not quantifiable; for instance, a student physical and psychological well-belling. An epitome is teachers contributing money for Christmas presents to ensure the PP students feel cared for during the festive seasons. Some teachers said the school give them funds to pay for trips for PP students. On some occasions, but not all, the school give money to buy resources such as textbooks and revision guides for PP students.

In some cases, the schools do not give teachers specific tools or resources as all support are centralised and given through the senior teacher-in-charge of PP funding in schools. Centralising funding poses another problem because the classroom teachers know PP students better than the senior teacher. The latter tend to treat PP students as a group rather than individuals with specific needs. For instance, PP Black girls of African and Caribbean needs are different from their peers of other races:

"Lack of understanding of their specific individual needs and general lack of attention to their problems as such. They are treated as a group rather than individuals with different needs." (Mr Arua).

The classroom teachers wish to understand better the PP grant: the number of PP students in the school and their individual needs. The teachers are in a better position in knowing the needs of each student in their classes. They are better placed in suggesting strategies to close the achievement and attainment between PP students and their peers.

4.6. **Summary**

In sum, this section aimed to obtain a classroom teacher's understanding of the PP grant and its use in schools to support the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. Consequently, to gain a more comprehensive insight into how the PP Black girls perceive and experience PP grant use, to decipher the impact of the PP grant upon the educational achievements and attainments of PP Black

girls. The section has considered the challenges facing PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent, including disadvantaged backgrounds, poor home situations, racial prejudices, misunderstanding, and low self-esteem. It has also highlighted that teachers lack a complete understanding of the PP grant and its use. It has shown that PP students learning needs go beyond the measurable aspects of learning tested through the data. Finally, the section concludes that the support given to classroom teachers to ensure the PP Black students achieve is inadequate and in dire need of improvement.

4.7. **Conclusion**

This chapter aimed to gain insights on the following three areas: how the PP grant impacts the educational achievements of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in secondary schools in South London; the perceptions and experiences of PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent of the use of the UK government's Pupil Premium grant in secondary schools; and to what extent the use of Pupil Premium grant enhances PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's capabilities of being and doing. The chapter has considered public policy documents of three schools studied. The documents mainly contained, first, the strategies and impacts of PP grant allocation to schools in closing the achievement and attainment gaps between the PP students and their peers, second, the schools' attempts to cater for equality and diversity in their institutions against the backdrop of UK government's Equality Act 2010. The policy documents were bolstered with the narratives collected from PP Black girl students, senior teachers and classroom teachers. Various themes emerged from the interviews, and the discussion showed that despite the endeavours to close the achievement and attainment gaps between the PP students and their peers, the gap persists. A more comprehensive approach is urgently required, considering the intersectionality of gender, race and poverty. A new approach should deploy the CA framework to go beyond the current utilitarian approach, which measures the outcomes by examination results. The next chapter will highlight how the CA's use illuminates the inadequacy of the current approaches used to evaluate schools' educational provisions.

Chapter 5: Critical analysis using the Capability Approach framework

5.0. Introduction

This chapter uses the capability approach (CA) framework to decipher the extent to which the PP grant enhances the disadvantaged Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's capabilities of being and doing. The first part will revisit the CA's significance instead of the current utilitarian approaches to education. The second part considers how gender, race and poverty intersect in the lives and experiences of PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. The final part critically analyses the following emerged themes using Sen's (1999) and Nussbaum's (2011) versions of the CA: home situation, lack of income, insufficient food and hunger, family and teacher support at home and school, respectively.

5.1. The Capability Approach

In the UK, education is deemed successful based on the outcomes (Kelly, 2012; Unterhalter et al., 2007). Jeremy Bentham's philosophy of utilitarianism is the primary influence of measuring schooling's effectiveness (Kelly, 2012). The measurement mirrors how society, in general, measures its development and achievements: by focusing on resources, utility, desired satisfactions and aggregated markers of advantage (Hart and Brando, 2018). Benthamite school effectiveness paradigm considers a school as competent based on its performance in its service to society. It mainly considers students' attainment over time, employment levels and other econometrics; progression rates to higher education; self-efficacy; social mobility and other 'happiness' indicators (Kelly, 2012). The Benthamite school effectiveness paradigm is inadequate as it is not comprehensive. The evaluation of the educational activities demands a re-examination of the relationships between students' competencies, freedoms and well-being (Hart and Brando, 2018). The CA is a comprehensive framework as it allows for an expansion of the evaluative space to understand education's role in promoting human flourishing (Drèze and Sen, 2013; Hart, 2018; Walker and Unterhalter, 2007). CA goes beyond a utilitarian approach. It focuses on the processes that aid students' flourishing and the opportunities schooling offers students to become what they value and aspire. CA provides guidelines for alternative education policies that take a holistic and person-centred approach when dealing with students and their educational needs (Hart and Brando, 2018). It considers the potential for individual freedom both in and through

education. It acknowledges that "not all individuals will participate or benefit from education in the same way, nor able to convert the resources afforded by education to generate same or similar advantages in life" (Hart, 2012:276). The CA provides a conceptual tool for reflecting on ways to reduce the present injustices in the current education systems and wider society, instead of waiting for all people to agree on what constitutes justice (Hart, 2012; Sen, 2009).

The analysis of the findings and discussions in this section uses Amartya Sen's and Martha Nussbaum's CA versions. Sen pioneered the CA, developed by Martha Nussbaum and has been applied to various areas of human development by many scholars such as Saito (2001), Walker (2005), Kelly (2012), Hart (2012, 2018), Unterhalter (2007). Nussbaum (2011:18) defined the CA as an "approach to comparative quality-of-life assessment and theorising about basic social justice." The CA considers each person an end in themselves, not as a means to something else. It takes into account a person's well-being as well as the opportunities available to each person. It is concerned with freedom of choice between possible lifestyles. Sen positively conceptualise 'freedom'. It is the 'freedom to' rather than 'freedom from.' The 'freedom to' is good in its own right – "being free to choose how to live one's own life is one of the good things in life" (Saito, 2001:21). Moreover, Sen uses the word 'choice' in a non-neo-liberal sense,

> "The crucial difference is that the capability approach is ethically individualistic; neo-liberalism, by contrast, is ontologically individualist. For the latter, the focus on individual autonomy individualises success and failure and the social consequences that flow from personal choices. However, in Sen's formulation, individual freedom and agency strengthen social life, rather than fragmenting it. At issue is that this ethical individualism informs Sen's work – every diverse person counts; whereas the neo-liberal view grounded in ontological individualism is driven by selfish self-interest" (Walker, 2005:106).

The choice aspect is crucial, and each society should promote a set of opportunities or substantial freedoms, which people may exercise or decide not to in practice, as the choice is theirs (Nussbaum, 2011). The CA respects people's powers in defining themselves; it recognises the importance of human beings' heterogeneity and pluralist about values as fundamental aspects of our interests in equality (Walker, 2005; Nussbaum, 2011). The CA acknowledges: first, the capability achievements are central to all people; second, the achievements differ both in quality and quantity; third, the achievements cannot be reduced to a single numerical scale without distorting them; finally, importantly, the understanding

the specific nature of each achievement. The CA is concerned with justice and equality issues, mainly where the failure of capabilities results in discrimination or marginalisation. It challenges the government and public policymakers to improve the quality of life for all people, as defined by their capabilities: what people value being and doing (Nussbaum, 2011). The capabilities are what Sen refers to as 'substantial freedom'- a set of interrelated opportunities to choose and act. A person's capability is the alternative combination of functionings that are achievable. "They are the opportunities created by a combination of personal abilities and political, social and economic environment" (Nussbaum, 2011:20).

Nussbaum's version of the CA focuses on protecting areas of freedom that she considers so fundamental that their removal entails making life unworthy of human dignity. In her consideration of the requirements of life worthy of human dignity, Nussbaum proposes what she describes as a sufficient threshold level of ten Central Capabilities required for people to pursue a dignified and minimally flourishing life (Nussbaum, 2011). The ten Central Capabilities are Life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination, and thought; Emotions; Affiliation; other species; Play; and Control over one's environment (Nussbaum, 2011:33-35). The analysis in this chapter will utilise some of Nussbaum's ten Central Capabilities and Sen's version of the CA. For the analysis to be precise, it is crucial to consider the intersectionality of issues (gender, poverty and race) facing PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent, consequently impacting upon their educational achievements and attainments.

5.2. Intersectionality

The school organisations are microcosms of the society within which they are situated. Therefore, they must be understood within their socio-cultural context: structures, beliefs and tensions, which include differential outcomes for individuals based on (but not limited to) gender, race and social class (Showunmi et al., 2016; Acker, 1990; Brown et al. 2003). Therefore, the experiences and perceptions of students in schools are considered 'gendered', 'racialised' and 'classed' (Acker, 2006). This is epitomised in the findings of the perceptions and experiences of PP Black girls of African participants in this study (considered in the previous chapter). The disadvantaged background, race and gender of the student participants greatly influenced their perceptions and experiences of the use of the PP funding in schools. Since the identities based on gender and ethnicity are both central to people's self-concept (Hogg and Abraham, 1998), they ought to be considered simultaneously, not in isolation, from

other identity strands, lest it limits the understanding of the complexity of individual experiences (Showunmi et al., 2016).

A prerequisite to gaining a holistic understanding of a person's experiences requires consideration of their multiple identities as all are confounded in an individual (Cole, 2009; Showunmi et al., 2016). In order to have a better insight into multiple memberships of an individual, it is worth using an intersectionality lens. Intersectionality enables an accurate understanding of a person's experiences. Crenshaw (1991) coined the term 'intersectionality' to develop an understanding that humans are shaped by their interactions of different social locations such as race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality and age. The interactions of these social locations occur within a context of connected systems of power such as law and policies. Intersectionality illuminates the idea that inequalities are the outcomes of intersections of different social locations, power relations and experiences (Hankivsky, 2014).

An intersectional lens, which assumes that social identities work together to define people's experiences, revealed how gender, poverty and racial identities are played out in how the PP Black girl participants experience and perceive the use the PP funding. Before discussing how gender, race and poverty intersect in this study, here is a snapshot of how the three interplay in schools in London First, gender: recent studies (Perera, 2020; Weale, 2020) concluded that girls are informally excluded from some schools in England than boys. Their experiences are not included in the official statistics as some of the exclusions are done through managed moves to other schools or early exits, which entails leaving school without GCSE qualifications (Weale, 2020). Three-quarters of both fixed and permanent exclusions in England are boys (DfE, 2019a; Social Finance, 2020). The permanent and fixed-term exclusions are officially recorded and form part of the DfE data. However, the informal exclusions, which involve managed moves and early exits and are higher for girls than boys, are not recorded. The implication of this is gender bias towards girls (Social Finance, 2020). A significant number of girls excluded are in the social care system, have mental health and SEND. The picture is grim for Black girls of African and Caribbean descent as Osler et al. (2002) report for Joseph Rowntree Foundation showed that Black African and Caribbean girls are nearly four times more likely to be excluded from school than their white female peers.

Second, Race: Joseph-Salisbury's (2020) report for the Runnymede Trust evidenced an ongoing prevalence of race and racism in schools and its impact on BME. The report focused on four areas to highlight the problem of racism in schools: teaching workforce, curriculum, police in schools and school policies. The UK teaching workforce is predominantly white, which does not reflect the proportion of BME students in some schools, especially in big cities like London. Furthermore, there is a lack of racial

literacy amongst the teaching staff. Other than the teaching force, the second issue is the curriculum, which does not reflect the diverse nature of British society. BME students do not see people who look like them in the curriculum resources nor read the information identifiable to their daily experiences, history or culture. In other words, the curriculum is 'too narrow and too white', as one of the participants in Joseph-Salisbury's study puts it (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). The next issue is police in schools, which for BME students sometimes do more harm than good due to their experiences of the police outside schools. Instead of school being perceived as a place of learning, development and a sanctuary for the already marginalised students, it becomes a place of punishment, intimidation and threat. Most BME young people have had a negative encounter with the police due to the 'stop and search' routine outside school. Furthermore, the presence of police in schools reinforces the culture of low expectations of BME students (ibid.). Although the participants in this study did not mention the police as an issue, it is included here to highlight further issues affecting the achievement of Black students in London schools, which can be an area for future exploration. Finally, school policies on racism – although most schools have policies on race and racism, some are unclear, especially when it comes to interpersonal racism between students. Teachers are left to deal with racism individually, which often depends on the racial literacy of the staff. Additionally, some policies have a universalists approach that disregards the context and individual circumstances (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020).

Third, poverty: the PP Black girl participants are classified as disadvantaged students and receive FSM. The government uses FSM eligibility as an indicator of low parental income, hence living in poverty (Caraher et al., 2016). Strand (2010) asserts that an examination of ethnic gaps in educational achievement must account for the overlap between poverty and ethnicity. Comparatively, there is a significant number of BME groups living in poverty, 29% Black Caribbean and 42% Black Africans (Strand, 2010). Strands later analysis of the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England claim that the achievement gap between White British and the Black Caribbean at the age of 14 cannot be accounted for by socio-economic variables but teacher unconscious racial bias (Strands, 2012). Nevertheless, his findings have been criticised by Critical Race Theorists as very ambitious in scope and used regression statistical techniques, which claim to quantify the separate influence of factors such as ethnicity, gender and poverty (Gillborn et al., 2017:854). Caraher et al. (2016) study on secondary school pupils' food choices around schools in a borough of London reveals how a significant number of pupils live in poverty, which often influences the choice of meals they eat at lunchtime of school days. Some opt for fast food and crisps due to their affordability, regardless of the quality.

Having had a brief consideration of how gender, race and poverty are confounded in the lives of Black girls, the following sections will consider these issues in detail and analyse them using the CA framework.

5.3. The CA applied to issues affecting PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent

This section aims to investigate the issues affecting PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's capability deprivations, particularly in regard to how this may manifest itself in the following areas: home situation, lack of income, the experience of racial prejudice and discriminations, insufficient food and hunger, and family and teacher support at home and school. This section will demonstrate how and to what extent PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's valued beings and doings are constrained. The analysis focuses on the data gathered through face-to-face, one-to-one interviews and policy documents, as shown in the previous chapter of findings and discussions.

5.3.1. Home situation

"*Sometimes it gets a bit loud at home, and the house is too small. There are no challenges at school.*" (Natasha, Year 10 student).

"Sometimes, it is noisy at home; it is not quiet. I have three siblings, one in Year 8…." (Abigail, Year 10 students).

"*It is a bit hard to study at home because there are many people. There are six siblings, mum and dad. There are noise and no room. There are three bedrooms. In school, I just get distracted, but sometimes it is easy. I go to the library to avoid distractions.*" (Kendra, Year 10 student).

"*No proper space at home to study. That is it.*" (Crystal, Year 10 student).

The findings highlight that the home situations of PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent inhibit their capabilities and functions due to many disadvantages: overcrowding, noise and care for younger siblings. The participants narrated that often PP students' home situations are overcrowded as there are many people in either a one-bedroom or a two-bedroom house. It means that there is either

limited or no space for studying, consolidation of schoolwork or space to do homework. Furthermore, participants reported that often the home is noisy, which brings many frustrations and stressful situations for PP students. There is no room for reflections, recreations and mental engagements with educational materials. It is pretty frustrating for students who are studying for GCSE final exams. Some participants also narrated that they have to look after their younger siblings, especially when they come from single-parent households where the mother has to work. Taking adult responsibilities entails limited time on schoolwork, social time with friends, and recreational activities such as reading, watching television, or catching up with friends and family through social media. Using Nussbaum's ten Central functional capabilities, the analysis of PP Black girls' home situation highlights some capabilities failure. For example, the capability of bodily health and that of senses, imagination and thought. The capability of bodily health entails being able to have good health, including adequate shelter (Nussbaum, 2011). The accommodation is inadequate due to overcrowding, noise and lack of space.

Further capability breach is senses, imagination, and thought, which entails using senses, to imagine, think, and reason (ibid.). Living in a crowded environment with noise and having a care-taking role for the younger siblings leave no room for PP Black girls to experience this essential capability. They do not have ample time to study and consolidate their learnings from school. Lack of quiet space due to overcrowding may not be a unique problem to PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent, as highlighted by senior and class teacher participants as an issue to some of the PP students. Nevertheless, it is a significant issue for the PP Black girls as many student participants described how it affects their lives. Furthermore, the government briefing paper on overcrowding standards in England reported that ethnic groups are most likely to experience overcrowding in comparison to white households, for instance, Black African households at 16%, Black Caribbean households at 7% in comparison to white households at 2%. The overcrowding for ethnic groups is more prevalent in London (Wilson and Barton, 2021; Jones, 2010). Overcrowding affects children's education directly and indirectly—for instance, a lack of space for homework (directly). Since overcrowding facilitate some specific health issues (such as respiratory conditions, gastric conditions, meningitis, and tuberculosis), students from overcrowded homes have comparatively high absences caused by illness, which may be related to overcrowding. Furthermore, overcrowding has also a negative impact on family relationships. For instance, lack of privacy and children arguing or fighting (Shelter, 2005; Jones, 2010). Overcrowding can also aggravate stress, depression and may lead to relationship breakdown (Jones, 2010, CLG, 2007).

5.3.2. Lack of income

The PP Black girl participants reported that they had been classified as PP because of their disadvantaged family background. Some said that they live with both unemployed parents. Some come from a lone parent household where a parent is either unemployed or employed but earn insufficient income to cater for all the family members. Lack of income means that students' capabilities and functionings are curtailed. For instance, due to lack of income, PP Black girls cannot attend activities that might build their cultural and social capitals such as cinemas, theatres, plays, museums, go on local or international holidays. Lack of income also affects their abilities to visit free events of places such as museum because even though they might be free, one can only enjoy them when the basic need for food has been fulfilled (Maslow, 1943). Besides FSMs at school, there is often no food at home to use as a packed lunch or pocket money to use in the city. The analysis using Nussbaum's central capabilities highlights that lack of income entails capabilities failure: affiliation and play. Affiliation demands that a person 'being able to live with and towards others, to recognise and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another' (Nussbaum, 2011:33-35). PP Black girls cannot expand their circles of social interactions; they are limited to their school friends, whom they can only meet during school times, and family members. They lack opportunities to engage in other activities due to lack of money or low self-esteem resulting from a disadvantaged background. Another capability failure is play, which involves being able to laugh, play, and enjoy recreational activities. PP Black girls cannot engage in recreational activities due to a lack of income and responsibility to care for younger siblings.

5.3.3. Racial prejudice and discriminations

Through their policy documents, all research sites show they have an Equality policy aligned to the UK government Equality Act 2010. The schools in this study clearly outlined how they consider race and racism issues and how racial equality considerations are vital for the schools' educational outcomes shown through the academic data. Nevertheless, much of the emphasis in discussions about racial equality in schools is limited to focusing on racial disparities in educational attainments and exclusions (Appendices I, II, III; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). Although educational achievements and exclusions are vital in considering the education of young people, the educational needs of PP Black girls go beyond these.

Using the CA framework highlights some of the broader racial prejudice and discriminatory issues which are not captured by the utilitarian approaches (Walker, 2005; Unterhalter et al. 2007). The interviews with the senior teachers, classroom teachers and some PP Black girl participants narrated the colour-blind approach regarding educational provisions in schools, for instance,

> *"Educational need is assessed independently of ethnicity, except that ethnicity can be relevant in language ability; however, students are assessed for the EAL ability based on the identification of their EAL status rather than ethnicity."* (Deputy headteacher– Site one).

> *"I do not know; they do not take my ethnicity into consideration; all are treated the same."* (Abigail, Year 10 Student)

The extracts reiterate Joseph-Salisbury (2020) findings that due to inadequate resources on racial literacy, many schools often use the language of diversity, inclusion and equality wrapped in colour-blind approaches to racism, hoping that it is a solution to obliterate racism. The colour-blind approaches fail to account for the deep-seated nature of structural racism experienced by PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. When senior teachers say that the PP students are treated regardless of their ethnicity, it denies and erases the lived experiences of PP Black girl students who are affected by the daily effects of racism, for instance,

> *"… as a Black girl, I think teachers treat people like me differently. For example, in some lessons, Black girls are told off for minor behaviour while White girls get away with major behaviour issues. In one of the assemblies at the beginning of the year, I felt uncomfortable when my ethnicity was singled out, and people told how Black people performed well in our school compared to the whole country. It meant that we have to be grateful even when we feel mistreated."* (Tshala, Year 10 student).

The above narration is evidence of covert institutionalised racism deep-seated in the schools' PP and Equality policies. For instance, both senior teachers in sites one and three stated that ethnicity and race are insignificant when considering the educational needs of PP students (see Appendices I, III). This can be interpreted as covert racism, which is now prevalent in schools, unlike in the past. It is subtle, embedded and often taken for granted (Vincent et al., 2012). At the centre of covert racism is the

deliberate policy of denial of the issues affecting Black students (Cf. Coates, 2012). It harms the educational experiences of PP Black students as narrated in the above excerpt: Black students' national examination results are singled out compared to the national statistics and expected to be a cause for celebration; however, the student participant was unhappy because, first, the Black ethnicity was singled out, second, the singling out of the performance obfuscated the unconscious racial bias some Black girls experienced in the classrooms.

The colour-blind approach highlights capabilities failures, especially when using Nussbaum's ten central capabilities. The specific capabilities failures in this instance are emotions and affiliations. The capability of emotions entails not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety (Nussbaum, 2011). The extracts above are an example of covert racism, which the colour-blind approach conceals. Covert racism causes anxiety and unhappiness, depriving Black girls of opportunities to thrive and achieve their desired functionings which comes with educational enterprises. The capability of affiliations encompasses having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being treated with dignity, as a human with intrinsic worth, without discrimination based on race and ethnicity (Nussbaum, 2011). PP Black girls experience differential treatments based on their ethnicity, for example, getting harsher punishments for minor infractions compared to their White peers. Like all children and young people, PP Black girls need to develop capabilities that enable them to deal with differences and empower them to participate in democratic societies. This necessitates a broader understanding of opportunities, skills, and capacities to create a well-rounded educational experience (Maguire et al., 2012). It requires distancing from colour-blind approaches to racism and creating racially literate teachers. They consider racism not as an isolated concept but as part and parcel of the language of diversity, inclusion and equality (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). A racially literate teacher should consider enabling all students in general, and PP Black girls, particularly, to achieve what they have reasons to value and to be (capabilities and functionings). They should look to "engage with concepts of whiteness, white privilege and white complicity, in an attempt to reflect upon their positions in a society that advantage White people" (Joseph-Salisbury, 2020: 9). Self-reflections and evaluations of one's practice are vital, especially in young people's educational environment, as these formative years would have a recognisable impact on their lives at different levels.

5.3.4. Insufficient food and hunger

The participants and schools' PP documents in this study show that PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent are affected by their disadvantaged backgrounds. The most visible aspect of a disadvantaged background is the provision of FSM during school time. Although the schools do their best to ensure that the PP students get something to eat, the PP Black girl participants in all sites reported that the amount of money they get (less than £3) a day is inadequate. The money is not enough to purchase the food that would last them for a whole school day, as shown in the following excerpts:

> *"PP/FSM is when you get money in your school account[10] to get lunch every day because parents cannot afford it. Lunch is £2.20" (*Yulena, Year 10 student).

> *"Of course, we have free school meals. I think you get £2-3 a day. If you sign up for it, you get it, so you are still able to get some lunch."* (Shaniqua, Year 10 students).

> *"I get £2 for my lunch every day, and I like the revision guide….. I have not received anything else."* (Tshala, Year 10 student).

> *"… I am also entitled to free school meals and get £2.10."* (Anguo, Year 10 student).

As revealed in the above narrations, the school meals provided to the PP students do not suffice for adolescents' growth. Spear's (2002) study findings on adolescents' growth and development concluded that adolescence is a period of rapid changes in a person's life. It comprises the cognitive, emotional and hormonal changes, which creates nutritional needs. A teenage diet should include whole-grain products, fruits and fresh vegetables to complement the energy and protein-rich food. Adolescents usually need to regularly eat a large amount of food during this time of rapid growth (Spear, 2002). Spear's study

[10] The school uses biometric technology for cashless catering, where pupils pay for their meals using their fingerprints. Parents are expected to create parentpay accounts through which they upload money for their children's lunches. For PP pupils who are eligible for Free School Meal, the school uploads £10 per week (Monday – Friday). One advantage of the biometric system, reported by head teachers, is that it removes the stigma of receiving free school meals (see www.fastrak.co.uk).

findings reveal the limitations of the up to £2.20 that PP students get daily for their school meals. That money cannot cater to the food that meets their nutritional needs as rapidly growing adolescents.

Furthermore, it highlights a capability failure, especially of bodily health, which entails being adequately nourished (Nussbaum 2011). The inadequate money for meals curtails the functionings and capabilities of the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent students. Capabilities are various functionings (alternatives) available to an individual from which to choose (Sen, 1992; Bertmann, 2017). The school may have a variety of healthy meals available from which a student may choose; however, the lunch money available to spend (£2.20) limits the choices of PP Black girls. They can only afford snacks or a cheap sandwich, which they might not have a reason to value, therefore lack of freedom to lead the life they want (Sen, 1992, Bertmann, 2017). During the interviews (see appendices I, II and III), all the PP Black girls narrated their wishes and ambitions to succeed in their studies, progress to higher education and ultimately secure a job of their choice. However, the capability failure of being well-nourished dents their wishes and determinations. The PP Black girls are often hungry due to insufficient funds for FSM. For example,

"£2 is not enough because sometimes I bring my own sandwiches." (Yumeika, Year 10 student)

"… It has to be a meal deal worth £2.20. I get snacks I like." (Natasha, Year 10 student).

They cannot engage fully in lessons and achieve their academic potentials or par with their non-PP peers. Due to hunger, they are equally unable to meet the school's expectations of attending after school clubs, after school extracurricular activities and after school interventions with only a £2.20 meal in their stomach. The PP students persevere with a £2.20 meal during school hours because they must be in school. However, when many after-school activities take place at the end of the school day, PP students would rather be at home than school as they are often hungry. After-school activities are necessary but not compulsory. Arguably, this is one of the reasons for the attainment gap between PP students and their peers. When the basic need of food is not sufficiently met, it leads to other capabilities failure, for instance, of practical reason, which involves "being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life" (Nussbaum, 2011: 33-35). When a person is hungry, the focus is often on food, not secondary needs (Frankl, 2004). Abraham Maslow explains that if all the needs are not satisfied and a person's physiological needs then dominate them, all other needs may vanish or get pushed to the background (Maslow, 1943). A person's

functioning (what they can do and to be) combinations constitute their existence, ranging from physiological needs to more complex ones like self-respect (Kelly, 2012). Capability is the freedom a person has to choose and to achieve functionings, they have a reason to value. A FSM is a functioning; however, it is not the same functioning if it is an entitlement resulting from a disadvantaged background. "Functioning is having free school meals, but the capability to 'choose' food free of any associated social stigma is the key to evaluating student's well-being. In essence, a school effectiveness paradigm does not distinguish between functioning and capability, whereas a capability approach makes that distinction." (Kelly, 2012:285).

5.3.5. Family and teacher support at home and school, respectively

The CA emphasised the significance of creating opportunities to become what people have a reason to value, become what they want to be, and do (Sen 1999). The PP Black girls and teacher participants articulated to what extent the families and schools endeavour to do this. Some participants expressed their wishes for the future: complete their secondary school education successfully and progressed into higher education, which will further enable them to become what they have reason to value. For instance, Maria would like to become a clinical or forensic psychologist (Appendix III) and explained how her mother supports the process toward this goal by supervising her homework and ensures it is completed to the required standard,

> *"My mum used to help me with maths. She always makes sure that I do my homework, she sits there and watches me do my homework. She checks my work to make sure that I have completed it."* (Maria Year 10 students)

The extract shows that parents play a vital role in creating opportunities for capabilities achievements despite the disadvantaged background. They must be involved in their children's education at all levels, working in partnership with all bodies and people that are part of their children's education and well-being.

Aside from parents, children's agency, well-being and participation rights can be developed and supported in educational settings (Hart and Brando, 2018). Vaughan (2016) observes that England's current education policy is mainly concerned with ways to increase achievements, develop skills, and transition to the labour market. The utilitarian approach considers outcomes in terms of economic

growth driven by the human capital approach, as evidenced in public debates about league tables and annual PISA score tables. Nevertheless, it is vital to acknowledge, using the CA that schools endeavours to create opportunities for capabilities achievements. The interviews with both teacher and PP Black girl participants vividly evidenced the efforts of schools: Schools offer FSM so that disadvantaged pupils do not go hungry; they subsidise extracurricular trips for compulsory courses such as Geography fieldwork during school hours; trips that are non-essential part of the curriculum such as going to watch a play in English, which is essential in building a student's cultural and social capital; the schools provide laptops, iPads and Chromebooks to PP students – either fully funded or at a subsidised cost (Appendices I, II, III). It is imperative to note that FSM is provided so that PP students do not go hungry during school hours and the schools subsidise paid-for extra-curricular activities/trips, which often take place during school time. The schools do what they can with limited PP funds, as epitomised in the following excerpt,

> *"The school has given many revision materials this year, such as a free pack of flashcards. Each year my subject teachers printed out the revision guides for the subject in preparation for my end of years. The school helps by providing a safe environment whereby I can study, and they are constantly keeping me up to date with revision materials by printing out new ones. They also try to check up on me and keep track of how I am coping at school so that I do not feel so worried about my exams"* (Anguo, Year 10 students).

The extract clearly shows how schools enable PP students' various capabilities, particularly the capabilities of senses, imagination and thought, and practical reason and affiliation (Nussbaum, 2011). Revision resources support the capability of senses, imagination and thought as they facilitate the consolidation of learning in preparation for exams which is a process of achieving what a student has a reason to value. The provision of a safe environment, care and emotional support expedite the capabilities of practical reason and affiliation: a safe environment aids PP Black girl students' critical reflection and planning about their own lives. They can discuss this with their peers and significant adults in schools. Furthermore, it fosters affiliation as PP Black girls can form social interactions and relate to others and develop their self-esteem as humans with inherent dignity.

The schools (in the study) have programmes to aid the development and promotion of capabilities, which can only be highlighted when the CA lens is used. As shown in the findings and in this chapter, the current evaluations of the impacts of the PP grant are solely measured by the examination results, which fails to capture the capabilities and functionings. Furthermore, more affluent schools such

as sites one and three have more provisions for PP students than schools in a deprived area with a significant number of PP students as in site three. Since the PP funding is not ring-fenced, there are varied experiences and perceptions of the PP funding by PP Black girls. Even though there is evidence of promotion of capabilities and functionings, the efforts do not go far enough. Some of the reasons being the primary focus on achievements rather than capabilities (Vaughan, 2016; Unterhalter 2007), inadequate capital funds due to cuts and schools are left to divert the non-ring-fenced PP grant to other areas (Cf. Lupton and Thomson, 2015). The diversion of PP funds to cater to other school needs has a negative impact on schools in deprived areas with a higher number of PP students, such as site three, which could not provide laptops for its pupils. A further negative impact can be seen in the experiences of classroom teachers, who were included to expand the scope of this study. They narrated that as a consequence of inadequate funds to cater for the needs of PP students, teachers are left to use their resources to support students in buying their school uniforms and providing for material and emotional needs such as buying Christmas presents,

> *"The school offers a breakfast club where disadvantaged pupils can have a warm breakfast before school; there are times when staff have contributed money to buy Christmas presents for disadvantaged pupils."* (Mr Musungu, class teacher)

> *"This is not clear apart from obvious cases of not having a proper uniform, and the schools provide for them and some mentors in terms of student support groups."* (Mr Arua, class teacher)

Teachers contributing money to buy Christmas presents and providing school uniforms for PP students demonstrate poverty that school alone cannot resolve. It is a society and government policy issue, which should be tackled at the home level.

5.4. Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has used CA to analyse the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean perceptions and experiences of the use of the PP grant in secondary schools in south London. It has shown that the provision of educational interventions that aim to close the achievement and attainment gap between PP Black girls and their peers ought to utilise an intersectionality lens to highlight how

gender, poverty and race interplay in Black girls' experiences. Using the CA, the study has highlighted the importance of education as a fundamental capability in PP Black girls' lives as it influences other capabilities' expansions. For example, by providing revision resources, a safe environment to learn, and FSMs, the schools enhance senses, imagination, and thinking capabilities. Nevertheless, the analysis has also shown that the use of mainly utilitarian approaches to evaluate educational provisions in schools is inadequate as it fails to capture vital issues that hinder the achievements of PP Black girls: for example, experiences of racial prejudice due to racial bias and colour-blind approach; the inadequate amount of free school meals which does not cater for growing teenage girls; inadequate parental income, hence, lack of food when not in school and inability to participate in extracurricular activities, which might build social and cultural capitals; lack of personal space at home to study due to overcrowding; PP Black girls taking adult roles at home in caring for younger siblings when a parent is at work.

All in all, in order for the schools to move forward and close the achievement gap between PP Black girls and their peers, the capabilities enhancement should be the core frameworks. Additionally, schools should progress from the limited evaluation of educational provisions based on outcomes to a more comprehensive approach that considers the intersectionality of gender, race and poverty. The following final chapter discusses the findings in the light of the literature reviewed, suggests the way ahead, and concludes the thesis.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and implications for practice

6.0. Introduction

This final chapter summarises the research and gives a synopsis of how the study addressed its three research questions. Then, it summarises recommendations and contributions to the practice and describes the study's limitations, followed by a conclusion.

6.1. Research summary

This study was inspired by experiences and observations of Black girls' educational underachievement, especially in GCSE examination classes. The underachievement persisted despite the various interventions offered in lessons and after school sessions. The literature reviewed showed that Black students' educational underachievement, especially in secondary schools in England, is well-documented (Gillborn, 2014; Runnymede, 2012; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). The studies showed that underachievement is due to an intersection of poverty, race and gender (Perera, 2020; Social Finance, 2020; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). Most Black students come from disadvantaged families. While at school, they face additional challenges such as conscious and unconscious differential treatment due to their race; inadequate numbers of Black teachers; Black students are often permanently excluded due to poor behaviour for learning (Gillborn, 2013; Runnymede, 2012; Joseph-Salisbury, 2020). Black girls face further discrimination as their permanent exclusions or managed moves are often missing in the official records, hence less identified (Social Finance, 2020). One government intervention to close the gap between the disadvantaged students and their peers was introducing the PP grant in 2011. The evaluations of the PP grant are still developing; however, the ones done so far have mainly focused on the measurable educational outcomes shown in the examination results. None of the evaluations has considered the prism of intersectionality, nor have they considered how the school environment and educational activities offered to PP students enhance or fail the capabilities and functionings of PP Black girls. Therefore, this study aimed to focus on the gap to evaluate the experiences and perceptions of the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent using the theoretical framework of the capability approach. The study also used intersectionality prism to highlight how race, gender, and poverty interplay in the PP Black girls' educational experiences. The study had three main aims: first, to describe the impacts of the PP grant on the educational achievements of disadvantaged Black girl students of

African and Caribbean descent; second, to explore and describe the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's perceptions and experiences of how the PP grant is used in secondary schools in South London; finally to use the CA framework to evaluate whether the schools' provisions enhance or diminish the PP Black girls' capabilities of being and doing. The study addressed the aims by answering the three research questions:

1. How does the Pupil Premium (PP) grant impact the educational achievements of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in secondary schools in south London?
2. How do the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent experience and perceive the use of the UK government's Pupil Premium grant in secondary schools in south London?
3. To what extent does the use of the Pupil Premium grant enhance PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's capabilities of being and doing?

The research employed qualitative research methods in order to answer the research questions. It utilised the ontological constructivism stance and epistemological interpretivism/ constructivism. Data were collected through one to one, face to face interviews with 14 students and three senior teachers from three different sites. Further interviews were with three classroom teachers from three different schools. The study also used the PP grant and Equality and Diversity policy documents publicly available on the study sites' websites to corroborate interviews and triangulations. The themes that emerged from the findings and discussions are presented in chapter 4. They included: PP students' knowledge and understanding of the PP grant; Educational activities offered to PP students; Experiences and perceptions of educational provisions - of support provided, racial prejudice and stereotypes; Motivation; Home situation-deprivation and low income. The findings and discussions were analysed using the theoretical framework of the capability approach and intersectionality prism. The analysis was an iterative and inductive cyclical process (Smith et al., 2009). The following section gives a summary of how the study responded to the three research questions.

6.2 Addressing the research questions

6.2.1. How does the Pupil Premium (PP) grant impact the educational achievements of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in secondary schools in south London?

The study findings and discussion chapter described how the schools use PP funding to close the achievement and attainment gap between PP students and their non-PP peers. The findings utilised the PP and Equality documents available on the school websites, in addition to data collected through one to one, face-to-face interviews. The schools use PP grants to fund interventions such as employing extra teaching staff to reduce class sizes in English and Mathematics and offer one-to-one interventions to PP students who fail to attain their minimum targeted grades. Furthermore, schools use the PP grant to fund compulsory extracurricular activities in Geography, Drama and Art. The two schools in the study use the fund to provide laptops and iPads/Chromebooks. Some of the PP Black girl study participants applauded and appreciated the interventions offered due to PP funding.

This study focused on students in Year 10 and used the movements between lower to upper sets (tiers) to measure achievements. The findings showed that the attainment gap between the PP students and their peers persists. Most of the student participants were in bottom sets in all three sites. Most of them have been in these sets for four years, which shows a lack of progress despite the interventions. The analysis shows that the gap's persistence is due to the lack of considerations of intersections that impact the PP Black girls' daily lives – poverty, gender, and race. For instance, if we take poverty, the lunch money that PP students receive is insufficient to provide growing teenage girls' quality meals. Therefore, PP Black students are often hungry and cannot fully engage with the interventions offered, especially after school.

6.2.2. How do the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent experience and perceive the use of the UK government's Pupil Premium grant in secondary schools in south London?

The prevalent view held by PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in the study is of the inadequacy of the PP funding in meeting the educational needs of PP Black girls. Some students appraised the educational provisions offered due to PP funding as they ensure that the PP students are not missing out on what their non-PP peers have access to. For instance, the device's provision, such as

iPads, Chromebooks, and laptops, supports students' accessing revision resources. Other educational websites enable them to access Mathematics online learning platforms, online textbooks and online lessons, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, some students appraised the school library being open on Saturdays to do their homework away from distractions at home. The PP Black girls further explained positive experiences such as the school being a safe environment to study and socialise – where teachers check up on them and provide emotional, educational support that is important to their wellbeing and educational progress. Due to PP funding, some schools offer access to aspiration projects, including visits to the universities, theatres and ballet. The PP Black girls appreciated these projects as they bolster their socio-cultural capital.

On the other hand, some PP Black girls viewed and experienced the support offered due to PP funding as inadequate. First, the support offered is only available during term time, not during holidays. Due to their disadvantaged background, most PP Black students are left bored during holidays without much to do other than sleeping. Second, Free school meal money is inadequate at £2.10. They are growing teenage girls who need a large quantity of balanced diet meal (Spear, 2002). The lunch money provided can only afford them limited selections of sandwich or snacks, which often leaves them hungry. Consequently, students cannot fully engage in their learning, not attending extracurricular activities and interventions after school (see Appendices I, II, III). The PP grant is inadequate to solve all the problems related to the disadvantaged pupils' achievements and attainments from the Black Africans and Caribbean descent (ibid.). Their needs are beyond the classroom and school gates, as the participants narrated. Perhaps there could be a system that considers the extension of support to their homes.

6.2.3. To what extent does the use of the Pupil Premium grant enhance PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's capabilities of being and doing?

The previous chapter has argued that the current utilitarian approaches to evaluate the educational needs of PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent do not go far enough to give a comprehensive picture, therefore, advocating for Amartya Sen's and Martha Nussbaum's capabilities approach framework (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2011). The intersectionality prism (NAIS, 2018) shows that PP Black girls' experiences are punctuated by gender, race and poverty. Using the CA highlights how these intersections affect the capabilities and functionings of the PP Black girl participants.

The CA's application to issues affecting PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent highlighted how family and teacher support at home and school enhance PP Black girls' capabilities and functionings to a certain extent. Despite the disadvantaged backgrounds, some parents endeavour to support their children with revision resources and allocate time to study at home or the local libraries. The findings show how PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent have high aspirations of what they want to do (doings) and to be (beings). This is epitomised in their desired Sixth Form and university courses and future careers in Law, Medicine, Journalism, Social work, and Sport. Their aspirations stem from their parents' aspirations, as supported by the literature that African and Caribbean parents, especially women, have high aspirations for their children. They migrated to the United Kingdom to enhance their children's capabilities in education so that they can achieve their desired functionings (Cf. Mirza and Reay, 2000). Where the state schooling has failed their children due to conscious and unconscious racial bias, Black parents have not been discouraged. On the contrary, they are motivated to join forces to open BSSs and give their children holistic education to achieve their potentials as individuals, benefitting themselves to the wider community. Other than parents, the schools also endeavour to guarantee that PP students do not go hungry – they provide FSMs and subsidise extracurricular trips for compulsory courses. They offer extra tuition in Mathematics and English to PP students. Some schools provide laptops, iPads, and Chromebooks to support learning needs.

Nevertheless, the PP Black girls' home situations, lack of income, racial prejudice and discrimination, insufficient food, and hunger limit their capabilities and functionings to a greater extent. Due to poverty, for some PP students, the home environment is not conducive to learning or consolidating schoolwork due to lack of space, overcrowding and noise. Some PP students have the responsibility of caring for younger siblings when their lone parents go to work. Using Nussbaum (2011) ten Central Functional capabilities, the PP Black girls' capability of bodily health and senses, imagination, and thought are curtailed due to overcrowding, noise, and lack of space. Lack of income further curtails their affiliation and play capabilities as the PP Black girls cannot enjoy and enhance their socio-cultural capitals through recreational activities or spend time with friends, especially at the weekends and during school holidays. Although all study sites have equality policy aligned to the UK government Equality Act 2010, the PP Black girls narrated racism as a persistent problem. It was vivid in all sites, the colour-blind approach to racism, highlighting capabilities failures - emotions and affiliations (not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety (Nussbaum, 2011)). Covert racism causes anxiety and unhappiness, hence depriving Black girls of opportunities to thrive and achieve their desired functionings, which come with educational enterprises. The capability of affiliations encompasses having

the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being treated with dignity, as a human with intrinsic worth, without discrimination based on race and ethnicity. Finally, further capabilities and functionings failure are due to insufficient food and hunger. The PP students are classified as such due to their disadvantaged background. The schools provide school meals, which are inadequate to meet the nutritional requirements of growing teenage girls (Spear, 2002), therefore, a capability failure - bodily health (being adequately nourished (Nussbaum 2011)).

6.3. Recommendations and contributions to practice

This study has shown that the evaluation of the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's educational needs requires a comprehensive approach that utilises intersectionality prism and the capability approach framework. Intersectionality is a prism for understanding how multiple forms of disadvantages sometimes compound themselves to create obstacles that often are not understood within conventional ways of considering social justice advocacy structures (NAIS, 2018). This study has highlighted that the PP Black girls' educational experiences are impacted by intersections of racism, poverty, and gender both within and outside school compounds. The PP grant alone is inadequate to consider all the intersections. Furthermore, the evaluation of schooling that focuses mainly on examination results, the number of students progressing to further and higher education, and eventually to employment misses a chunk of young people's needs. It fails to account for the process of schooling and what individual students value to do and to be. The current utilitarian approach to evaluating schooling's effectiveness should be accompanied by the capability approach (CA). The CA demands a re-examination of the relationships between students' competences, freedoms and wellbeing (Hart and Brando, 2018). The CA is a comprehensive framework as it allows for an expansion of the evaluative space to understand education's role in promoting human flourishing (Drèze and Sen, 2013; Hart, 2018; Walker and Unterhalter, 2007). The CA provides a conceptual tool for reflecting on ways to reduce the present injustices in the current education systems and wider society (Hart, 2012:278; Sen, 2009). This study would recommend that in addition to current approaches to evaluating the PP grant use, the secondary schools should consider using the intersectionality prism and the CA framework in their educational provisions and evaluations. The use of the CA will enable schools to go beyond the narrow focus on examination results. They will be able to articulate unquantifiable aspects of provisions they offer to the PP students to enhance their opportunities to do and be what they have a

reason value, guided by their teachers, parents and guardians towards a flourishing adult life as a holistic person.

The study found that all schools involved (in the study) are committed to removing the barrier and closing the achievement gap between the PP and non-PP students. However, they could show further commitments by attending to specific groups within the disadvantaged students, as they have specific different needs even though they all fall under the umbrella of PP students. For the provisions for the PP Black African and Caribbean descent, they could borrow a leaf from successful schools in deprived areas of London highlighted in Demie (2019) and Maylor (2020) study. Schools to have a clear vision and leadership on the educational needs of the individual PP students, devote time and resources on staff appointments and training, build stronger teams and delegate duties and refuse to accept the challenging context as a barrier to success. Where possible, schools to recruit staff that reflect the population of their students, staff who understand the values and daily lives of Black African and Caribbean communities, especially the aspirations for their children to excel in their education and achieve what they have a reason to value. They could collaborate with Black Supplementary Schools to understand why Black students thrive in these schools, share good practices to support the educational needs of the PP Black students.

The schools should be genuinely committed to multicultural education and have a clear approach to tackling racism through racial literacy training and implementations of racial policy to create an environment where all students flourish holistically. Schools ought to have a well-developed, inclusive multicultural curriculum, which reflects each school community's diverse nature in terms of culture, ethnicity, and historical experiences. There should be opportunities for students to celebrate their diversity, a forum to share experiences and develop a culture of encounter, which denounce exclusion and isolation of individuals. In practical terms, this could be done through events that bring school stakeholders together to share aspects of their culture, including food, music, clothing, and talk to each other.

6.4. Limitations of the study

"Lay open your values, and your methodology may be a better principle than to aim for unobtainable objectivity" (Mikkelsen 2005:195). Every study has its limitations, and only when biases and reliability issues are candidly exposed can the research hope to reflect some part of reality.

The main limitations of the study are the position I occupied as a researcher. I am head of a faculty at a secondary school. Gaining access to the study sites was mainly facilitated by this position. First, the student participants at study site three viewed me as a teacher, a person of authority, while teacher participants saw me as a colleague. I was fully aware that even though I made it clear to the participants (verbally and through research instrument) that participation was voluntary and without any obligation, student participants in site three still perceived me as a teacher. Hence, they gave the information they thought I wanted to hear from them. Second, due to my position, I was able to gain access to only denominational schools. Non-denominational schools contacted were unwilling to allow access to their schools. Therefore, this study's information is solely from faith schools whose equality values are influenced by their founders' or Biblical values. Another limitation was not using Focus Group Discussion (FGD), which would have been enriching in getting individual perspectives and experiences in a group setting. The study could not use FGD as it was vivid during piloting that there is a stigma attached to PP status and being poor.

A further limitation was due to the researcher's background. I am a Black male teacher exploring educational issues affecting PP Black girl pupils of African and Caribbean descent. This influenced how some participants responded to the study during interviews. For instance, some pupils took the opportunity to narrate their personal experiences within the school due to their race as Black pupils. Finally, the study site was just three schools in south London, of which two had a significant number of PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent. Although the findings are based on scientific methods: purposive sampling, interviews, and document analysis, all conducted within a permitted time frame, it is difficult to suggest that the findings are necessarily representative of the impact of PP funding on the educational achievements of PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent or perceptions and experiences of the use of the PP grant in all schools in England. The research sought to analyse a specific issue (the use of the PP grant) within a specific context – secondary schools in south London; nevertheless, this limits the extent to which the findings can be generalised.

6.5. Conclusion

This study focused on the UK government's initiative of the PP grant. It is an additional fund given to schools since 2011 to close the attainment gap between disadvantaged pupils and their peers. The study sought to answer three research questions: first, how does the Pupil Premium grant impact the educational achievements of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in secondary schools in south London? Second, how do the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent experience and perceive the use of the UK government's PP grant in secondary schools in south London? Finally, To what extent does the use of the PP grant enhance the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's capabilities of being and doing? This research utilised a qualitative research methodology, which involved interviews, supplemented with the following documents: the schools' Pupil Premium reports and the Equality, Diversity and Inclusion Policies. Five themes emerged. The findings were analysed using the Capability Approach framework, highlighting the inadequacy of the current evaluation of PP grant impact based solely on educational attainment and progress. It fails to consider how the intersections of poverty, gender, and race impact the experiences of the PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent, such as home situations, prejudice and stereotypes at school, and the stigma attached to being classified as a PP student. The study has suggested that government policies aimed to improve Black students' educational achievement should consider the intersectionality prism of gender, race, and poverty. They should also use the capability approach in conjunction with the current utilitarian approaches to maximise the positive impact of interventions on disadvantaged students' educational achievement and attainment.

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Appendix I: Site One

A: PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's responses

Questions	Natasha	Magdalena	Abigail	Yulena	Phoebe
1. How old are you?	*I am fifteen years old*	*I am 14 years old.*	*I am 15.*	*I am 15 years old.*	*I am 15*
2. How long have you been studying in this school?	*I have been studying here since year 7, that is from 2015.*	*Since 2017. I was in Purley before I joined this school in Year 9. This school is closer to home, and it is a good school.*	*Since Year 7, in 2015.*	*Since Year 7.*	*Since 2015*
3. How does the school support your learning in relation to your ethnicity?	*In History, we have Black history month. That is the only lesson where we talk about ethnicity*	*We don't really do much when it comes to ethnicity. I haven't seen much really; we haven't learnt anything. No one talks about it, apart from other people. Sometimes we are treated differently. Other people get away with things but people like me, I don't.*	*I don't know; they don't take my ethnicity into consideration; all are treated the same.*	*I am not treated according to my ethnicity but medical needs. Teachers know that I am sick. They adapt the classroom to suit me.*	*Everyone is treated the same.*
4. Since students are taught in different sets in English, Mathematics, Science and Religious Education, what sets are you in these subjects? What criteria did the school use to place you in your sets?	*Yeah, I am in the bottom set. For English and RE, I am in A. ACE are bottom set. In English, RE and Math I am in C, and in Science, I am in set E. I think it was based on the test I did in Year 6 that determined my sets.*	*I am in 10B2 in math, Science 10C and RE 10A. I am in the bottom set. ACE is bottom sets; MOND is top sets.* *They use, from year six, we did an exam, and they use those test to put us into sets. School, I am not really sure, they looked at my report, and they put me into the bottom set.*	*I am in set E, and it is like the top set in the bottom set. The bottom set is ACE. In year seven, we came on a Saturday for a test, and they use that test to put you into sets.*	*In English and RE, I am in group T while in Science and Math, I am in group M. set/groups go from ACE bottom set, MO middle and S and T top set. The sets are based on the test we did in Year 7.*	*I am in ACE, bottom set. This is based on the Year six test.*

5. How did you choose your optional subjects?	*I chose what subjects I like, and I think I am good at. My mum supported me to choose from.*	*Well, they have different talks from different teachers, like my old school, we started picking different subjects - I had already chosen subjects as I already knew what I wanted. I chose Geography because I get good grades.*	*I am, well, you just talk to teachers to see which subject is right for you. Then we had options evening to know more about the subject you want to do. Option evening was for both my parents and me.*	*We used forms to make choices, having attended information evenings and taster lessons in some subjects, not all.*	*I talked to my teachers, and I also attended option evening.*
6. What do you understand by Pupil Premium (PP) or Free School Meal (FSM)?	*The government gives money to students who are less fortunate in terms of money.*	*Pupil Premium is when school helps you like sometimes you get extra support.*	*FSM is when you get free lunch, and certain things are paid for because my parents are not working.*	*PP/FSM is when you get money in your school account to get lunch every day because parents cannot afford it. Lunch is £2.20.*	*It is a free lunch; both of my parents are not working.*
7. Why are you classified as a PP/FSM student?	*I get Free School Meals because my mum is a single mum.*	*I am classified as I used to get free school meals in my previous school because my mum stopped working and ... (inaudible).*	*Because my mum doesn't work. I am not from a single.*	*Because my mum is a single parent and doesn't have enough paying job*	*My mum doesn't work full time.*
8. How long have you been classified as PP/FSM student?		*I have been FSM since year six but they only put me on PP this year. Before I wasn't classified as PP.*	*Since year 7.*	*Since primary school*	*Since year seven*
9. What support do you receive from school	*They give me school trips and textbooks. I*	*They gave me like a card so that I can get equipment from*	*The school pay for some trips, they*	*The school pay for my trips- I don't have to*	*The school pay for my school*

because you are PP/FSM student?	*also get free school meals. It has to be a meal deal worth £2.20. I get snacks I like.*	*the school shop. I can use a card to buy things worth £10 allowance at the beginning of the term. They pay for some of your books, pay a deposit if you want to go on a trip.*	*provide some books and revision guides.*	*pay. I am in the choir, and I go on trips to different countries and school support my mum in paying for this.*	*trips, provide books and revision packs.*
10. What extra-curricular activities to you take part in both inside and outside school?	*I don't do any extra-curricular activity. I used to do dance, but I stopped. My mum used to pay, but it got expensive.*	*Gymnastics but not now. I don't do anything now.*	*I don't do anything inside (school) but I do go to the gym after school. I don't do anything in school because I am not interested.*	*Choir, I don't really do many.*	*I go to the gym after school, outside school. Nothing interests me at school.*
11. What challenges do you encounter at home and at school regarding your studies?	*Sometimes it gets a bit loud at home, and the house is too small. There are no challenges at school.*	*I don't really have a lot of challenges unless I don't understand the work. At school, it is hard to get support because there are other people in the class who need the help of the teacher. I don't really see teachers at lunchtime or after school; I don't send emails either.*	*Sometimes it is noisy at home; it is not quiet. I have three siblings, one in Year 8 and 2 at uni.*	*At home, I cannot revise. I would like to get tuition, but tutors are really expensive.*	*There are a lot of distractions at home.*
12. How does the school support you in meeting your educational needs?		*The…am.. well, because you get work through email, you get an iPad from school. Everyone has an iPad. You use an iPad to go on a website to study what has been set.*	*They have a science club after school, workshops, go to teachers so that I can catch up with what I miss.*	*The school offers interventions. I come to school on Saturdays to work for three hours.*	*I attend a science club before and after school to catch up with work.*
13. How does the school support you in	*We have an iPad through which I get revisions and*		*I think on the website they have different links to*	*In Year 8, I was given an iPad, and now I use google classroom and*	*I am able to access the educational*

accessing curriculum materials both at school and at home?	*PowerPoints from school.*		*support homework. We use an iPad or Chromebook. iPad is not just for PP students but for all. You have to pay for an iPad, but I don't know how much.*	*google drive. I also get given past exam papers.*	*website through links on the school website. The school also provide an iPad; everyone has one.*
14. How do your parents/guardians support your educational needs?	*My mum helps me if I need help. If I don't understand the question, she will support me.*	*My parents help me when I need help. They just keep reminding me to do my work to do my homework.*	*If I don't understand the question, I go to my parents for help. It depends on the subject and strength of parents.*	*My mum helps me with math.*	*My parents help me to understand the homework.*
15. How do you spend your weekends and school holidays?	*During holidays sometimes I go out sometimes I revise. Sometimes I go on holidays, my mum is the Caribbean, and my dad is from Nigeria. I have been to Guyana to visit my mum's side of the family.*	*I spend the weekend, probably do my homework and relax. In summer, I relax or do some homework.*	*I go out with my friends or catch up with homework. I travel to other countries like Ghana for holidays.*	*Most of my Saturdays I come to school, or I go to the library. During the holidays I stay at home and revise.*	*I go out with friends or do my homework. I do the same thing at the weekends and during holidays.*
16. **What are your experiences of the support you received during term time and during school holidays?**	*They are good experience. They are satisfactory.*	*I just use my iPad.*	*If the test is coming up, the teacher post revision guides online.*	*Interventions really helped.*	*I access revision guides online.*

17. What would you like to happen in future?	*I would like to pass my GCSE, to do A level and to be able to study Law in future.*	*I want to go to this school for 6th Form, go to university and get a degree in Law.*	*I want to do something to do with Social Care; I don't know yet, I want to go to Sixth Form then to uni.*	*I would like to finish secondary school, go to 6th Form and take Biology, Chemistry and Math. I want to go to uni to study medicine and to be a doctor.*	*I want to study health and social care in the Sixth Form.*

B: Senior teachers' responses

Questions	Responses
1. What is your role in this school?	Curriculum Deputy Headteacher and Pupil Premium Lead
2. How long have you been working at your current role in this school	Ten years
3. How does this school support the educational needs of students in relation to their ethnicity?	Educational Need is assessed independently of ethnicity, except that ethnicity can be relevant in language ability; however, Students are assessed for the EAL ability based on the identification of their EAL status rather than ethnicity.
4. Since students are placed in different sets in English, Mathematics, Science and Religious Education, what criteria does the school use when placing students in sets in these subjects?	The setting is normally initially based on KS2 results in English and Maths; however, we also use NFER Cognitive Ability Testing to confirm/fine-tune setting in Year 7. However, from then on, it is based on student performance within-subjects set together that will dictate any student movement.
5. Can students move up and down the sets as they progress from one class to the next?	Yes (see above) set moves normally takes place twice a year, in January and at the end of each academic year

6. What support does the school offer to students from disadvantaged families?	The majority of the expenditure in supporting Disadvantaged students is spent indirectly in providing extra staffing to reduce class size or provide teaching support. For example, we have created extra sets in Maths and English at KS 4. However, individual support includes a raft of support measures. These include • 100% funding of school trips essential to the curriculum subjects studied • 100% funding of specialist equipment and material needed to participate in the course, e.g. art sketchbooks, key revision resources and consumables such as food. • 100% funding for a disadvantaged student in the LAMBA course for up to 10 students who show an aptitude for drama • 100% funding of the school Chromebook scheme • Each disadvantaged student receives a £20 voucher per year to use in the school shop to buy school equipment such as pens, rulers, protractors, calculator etc. • Each disadvantaged student can receive an £8 voucher to use at the Scholastic Book Fair • Disadvantaged students have priority access to a range of curriculum support measures in ensuring their progress in literacy and maths. These include • Employment of Maths Intervention Teacher -Use of a HOD and staff to target and teach students identified as not making sufficient progress. -Withdrawal of small groups. -One-to-one sessions. - -In-class support. - -Lunchtime classes. - -After school Intervention • All disadvantaged students also receive a £1 / day breakfast club allowance (note that this is not restricted to those who receive FSM, but is open to all disadvantaged students). • Enrichment trips are part-funded by the school for Disadvantaged students. • 50% funding of individual Music / Vocal tuition • Part funding of specific sporting activities, on request: e.g. taekwondo this includes equipment and tuition.

	• The parents of Disadvantaged students are written to ensure that they are aware of the support provided, and this is supplemented by a Parental Engagement Evening at the start of each academic year to reinforce these opportunities. • Provision of work supervised homework club to ensure students have a quiet workspace to complete their homework. Attendance is voluntary unless a disadvantaged student is falling behind in their homework
7. How does the school identify the students from disadvantaged families?	The school uses the following criteria to identify disadvantaged students. who qualify for Free School Meals, (FSM) • who have been eligible for Free School Meals at any point over the last six years (known as 'Ever 6 FSM'), • who have been Looked After (LAC) or adopted from Care (post-LAC) and • the children of service personnel (Ever 5 service). A student falling under one of the above categories is considered as a member of the Premium Target Group (PTG). However, in specific cases, additional students can be identified as part of the XXX's PTG group if we identify that these students have particular needs. These students are identified through the Heads of Year and the Assistant Headteacher responsible for Pastoral matters**.**
8. What are the educational activities offered to students at this school?	Full range of the curriculum and full range of extra curricular activities (directed to school website)
9. How are the students supported in choosing activities to engage in?	All students are required to participate in at least one extra-curricular activity. Participation of all students is monitored through the Evolve system. Tutors monitor students' extra-curricular activities. All students are encouraged by their tutors to go beyond the minimum requirements.
10. What challenges do students from disadvantaged families face at home and school regarding homework?	Some disadvantaged students lack quiet space, with a desk and chair to do their homework, they may not also have a parent/carer at home encouraging them to do their homework.- hence the reason for the school after school homework club

11. What is the school's understanding of Pupil Premium grant?	The Pupil Premium Grant is additional funding for publicly funded schools in England. It is a school level grant that gives schools extra resources to help them meet challenges, including those arising from deprivation. It is allocated for schools to: improve the academic outcomes of disadvantaged pupils of all abilities close the attainment gap between disadvantaged pupils and their peers. To do this, the school needs to address internal barriers to student progress, but also external barriers such as attendance, punctuality.
12. How is the Pupil Premium grant allocated?	Expenditure of the PP grant on school-wide activities is costed through the PP premium strategy document. The PP coordinator allocates the direct expenditure on students referred to in Q 6. The PP coordinator monitors the expenditure of each individual student.
13. What is the Pupil Premium grant used for in this school?	Please see Q6
14. How sufficient is the Pupil Premium grant in meeting the educational needs of students?	In regards to the narrow aim of the funding, i.e. to improve the academic outcomes of disadvantaged pupils of all abilities close the attainment gap between disadvantaged pupils and their peers, on a national level then yes the funding is sufficient. However, we still face the challenge of removing school variation across all subjects between PP and non-PP students.
15. What happens to pupil Premium students at the end of their studies at this school?	PP funding ceases at the end of Year 11. We encourage as many PP students as possible to continue in the school Sixth Form as possible. We encourage these students to apply for Bursary funding in the Sixth Form. We continue to monitor these students, and the most recent report indicates that these students make as much progress in their Sixth Form studies as the rest of the cohort
16. What would you like to happen in future?	Within our school, I would like there to be no discernible progress difference between PP and Non-PP students in all subjects. In a broader point, I would like PP funding to be increased so that our PP students can experience the same level of enrichment of the curriculum as our most affluent families, particularly in the area of residential trips.

Appendix II: Site Two

A: PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's responses

Questions	Owusu	Shaniqua	Crystal	Kendra	Quartey
1. How old are you?	*I am 15 years old, and I am in Year 10*	*I am 15*	*I am 15*	*I am 14*	*I am 14, am in Year 10*
2. How long have you been studying in this school?	*From Year 9. I was at a different school, outside the borough.*	*Since year 7*	*Since Year 7. I am in Year 10.*	*Since Year 7*	*Mmmh, since Year 7, so 4-5 years.*
3. How does the school support your learning in relation to your ethnicity?	*Not really as much, but you must just focus when you are learning because help you get from the teacher is not really 100%, eh, because some teachers don't really know how to teach. I don't think you can just come inside the school and leave with good grade. That is just being me. They don't push you to your full ability.*	*Nothing, same as everyone else.*	*I don't really know what to say; they just help me on what I need to learn for GCSE. They just treat me the way they treat other people.*	*I am not sure about that, the same as everyone else. When I used to do History, we used to have Black history month.*	*Ammmh, I don't know, same as they will help anyone, like interventions.*
4. Since students are taught in different sets in English, Mathematics, Science and Religious Education, what sets are you in these	*They don't base you on sets but you can tell when you are in class whether you are in top set or*	*Yes, for English, Math and Science top set. RE not set, depends on English set. We have PPE exam. And what they do after exam they tell*	*With RE and English I am in the same set because they are connected, math I am in top set and in science*	*English and Math I am in top set. In Science I am in Second set. RE is the same set as English.*	*Yeah, in English am in top set, In Science am in top set as well. In Math Iam in*

subjects? What criteria did the school use to place you in your sets?	*bottom set. You will know when you are in mixed ability. Top sets are just smart but the rest are just mixed ability. I think I am in the third set. There are higher and foundation, basically, I don't know but, I don't really know, but I know there are four sets. I am in the top set in RE and set 3 in science. Sets 2 and 3 are in the middle.*	*you what set you are in, so let's say for science, I am in science with Mr. Oba. So say my target is 4 and I am given work to do to meet my target. If I meet my target and I achieve above, then I move up. If you don't get your target you are not moved down straightaway but you get help before to see if you can stay. In Year 9 we have assembly in different options then we are given a leaflet with information which gives you brief background on the subject then there is a checklist of the subject that you want to do and any back up subject in case you don't get the subject you have chosen. So for teachers, they will explain what is required in the course. They will say to you when you are fit for the course or not. That is why you get back up subjects because at the end of the day teachers get to choose who is fit for the course. I want to work with children with anger issues. I have*	*I do triple science, it is different. I am in the middle set for English and RE (set 2), math set 1.* *Criteria – when I first join it was my SATs grade and then, like when you are in school, if you do well you move up a set, and I was doing well in second set, then I got moved up into the first set.*		*bottom set. Criteria use was we take exams. First they spilt us up based on SATs then every year we get tested. We do PPE, which is a mock exam. They determine your sets (in Years 9 and 10). So far I have two sets of examination weeks and I have another one coming up.*

		anger issues myself, I am studying sociology, we don't have psychology now. Sociology is about studying people and I think if I study it, it will help me with my career goal.			
5. How did you choose your optional subjects?	*Ahmm, they gave us booklet and you have to choose. I just chose what I want to be, I want to help. I chose Business, History and Sociology.*		*With French, I am from Congo, a country that speaks French and I am not fluent in French, I don't understand it and I want to learn more. With History, because I wanted something to do with Law and when I looked it up in google it says that when I do History and sociology, so I choose both. I did research myself, no support from parents or school.*	*I just chose Spanish because it is easy. I speak Portuguese. I chose History and Business Studies just because of the option. My parents supported in choosing my options.*	*Mmmh, I don't know, I just kind of chose the ones that are linked to what I wanna do when I am older: Sociology ,History and Art.*
6. What do you understand by Pupil Premium (PP) or Free School Meal (FSM)?		*So am, for example, If you get school meal, they know your parents need help, not because they don't help you fully, but they need some help, for example, we get revision guide that we needed. For example, instead of paying £40 in school we get given the*		*Students that if their parents get a certain amount of money they Pupil Premium.*	*I think it is like based on how much your parent are getting and they earn. I don't know. You get free school meal based on that.*

		whole set for £10. So that no student is left out because their parents can't afford it.			
7. Why are you classified as a PP/FSM student?				*I don't take part in any. No reason.*	
8. How long have you been classified as PP/FSM student?					
9. What support do you receive from school because you are PP/FSM student?		*Of course we have free school meals. I think you get £2-3 a day. If you sign up for it you get it so you are still able to get some lunch.*			
10. What extra-curricular activities to you take part in both inside and outside school?	*No activity because I just don't know, I used to do swimming and cooking. Swimming outside school.*	*I take part in Netball inside the school and outside the school I take part in athletics. I am part of (inaudible). I do competition. I do training three times a week. Recently I joined Wandsworth Youth Netball team. I am also a member of School Council.*	*Well, in school I do Netball and I used to badminton but I stopped. Outside school I used to Netball trials but I don't go anymore. It was too much for me, plus I had too much to do at school, so I just stopped going.*		*Well, inside school I go to dance or netball on Wednesdays, and outside school I go to drama every Sunday in Vauxhall.*

11. What challenges do you encounter at home and at school regarding your studies?	*I feel like science is hard. I don't get support.*		*I don't really know. With certain subjects I do but I don't really like going over it at home because I have homework of other subjects to do. No proper space at home to study. That is it.*	*Like, it is a bit hard to study at home because there are a lot of people there. There are six siblings and mum and dad. There is noise and no room. There are three bedrooms. In school, I just get distracted but sometimes it is easy. I go to the library to avoid distractions.*	*Mmmh at bome being like push myself to revise, that is to be honest. And in school, I don't know. I kind of struggle with maths, like understanding it. There are distractions from my friends, however, during exams I go with my friend to study.*
12. How does the school support you in meeting your educational needs?	*They try to say that, how I should meet my own targets, like behaviour target. They say I should choose my own targets and I should meet them then if I do then they expect I am good to go. Only in Year 11 they just do intervention. The school just expect you to just go in and out. School meal is horrible, they can't cook. I just bring my*	*At school, if I feel I am not doing well I ask teachers and they help me. At home my mum and dad they ask if I need something. They ask me how I am doing at school and ask if I need a tutor.*	*Well, in different subjects, if we are struggling we get interventions, we can go to, or we get books which we can use to look up something we don't understand in lessons. If we still don't get it then we can go to teachers.*	*They give us like websites where we can revise from. They don't give us computers. Not everyone access computer. They give us worksheet. They go over the work with us, show us how to do it.*	*They give interventions during break and lunch times during examination periods. They give us revision guides and topics we need to revise for. We buy our books.*

	own snacks, or eat fruits.				
13. How does the school support you in accessing curriculum materials both at school and at home?					
14. How do your parents/guardians support your educational needs?	*At the moment my mum goes to Amazon and buy the books that the school say I should get; well the school does not say I should get because of them. I have been going to all my teachers and asking them what books I should get because I don't get pushed by the school, I just push myself. My mum supports me 100%. She is the one who gets me books. She is pretty supportive.*		*My mum, like when she is not working till late, she will sit down and go through the subject where I am not performing well. Even if she does not know it, she will try to help me understand it.*	*They buy me books and like stuff I need to revise.*	*I do not know if I am struggling with something they help me. Like they got me a tutor for math. They buy me resources.*
15. How do you spend your weekends and school holidays?	*Well, sometimes I spend morning in revision and afternoon with friends. I have*	*So most of the time I would do my school work first and then once I have done them then I will get break for myself. Most of the time I*	*My weekends, Saturdays I see if there is any homework I need to do. On Sundays, I just rest. On school*	*Weekends I just stay at home. Sometimes during holidays I go to Portugal.*	*On Saturdays I would either stay at home or go out with my friends. On*

	travelled outside the country before. I don't travel inside the country recently.	*do go on holidays or I can visit friends so that we just spend time together.*	*holidays sometimes I go on holidays for two weeks then I just come back and just relax. I went to Dubai last year.*		*Sundays I go to drama. In holidays, sometimes we have trips to universities or I would go outside London with family and friends or just stay at home.*
16. What are your experiences of the support you received during term time and school holidays?		*So support during term time when we are struggling with something the teacher can give us some work, not necessarily to overload us but to help us learn more. If that makes sense and during holidays they give us different tasks to do on various subjects.*	*I feel like when we get holidays teachers to give too much work and the weeks are not just enough to do everything, not only because you don't like it, but something happens, for example, you are in hospital*	*Mmm, yeah, support like, what. They give us worksheets to do. They are good because I can practice during the holidays.*	*Inside, school- I think could do a bit more for Year 10 more interventions, especially for certain people they would be able to afford tutors and stuff like that.*
17. What would you like to happen in future?	*Apprentice or college. I don't want to do Sixth Form in this school. I want to study accountancy. I have to push myself to get this.*	*Either do an apprentice or go to university. I want to do Sport or Music. If I do apprentice and I would like to study and earn at the same time.*	*After I finish my GCSE, I want to go to the 6th Form and after uni. I want to become a barrister.*	*I don't really have any dream for the future. I am not sure, nothing to work towards.*	*I either want to do law or want to pursue career in acting. That is why I do drama.*

Appendix III: Site Three

A: PP Black girls of African and Caribbean descent's responses

Questions	Anguo	Yumeika	Tshala	Maria
1. How old are you?	*I am 15 years old*	*I am 15 years old*	*I am 15 years old*	*I am 15 years old*
2. How long have you been studying in this school?	*Since year seven so around 4 years and 7 months*	*Three years, almost four*	*Since year 7, about 4 years.*	*About four years now.*
3. How does the school support your learning in relation to your ethnicity?	*I feel like the school have a diverse culture and a lot of girls that have the same ethnic background as me, which helps me feel more comfortable in the classroom when there's a balance of each ethnic group. They also have quite diverse staff, so it makes it easier for me to be able to go and confide in teachers if I have any worries.*	*Not that much.*	*The school they treat everyone the same. This is not true from my experience. As a black girl, I think teachers treat like me differently. For example, some lessons black girls are told off for minor behaviour while white girls getaway with major behaviour issues. In one of the assemblies at the beginning of year, I felt uncomfortable when ethnicity was single out and people told how Black people perform well compared to the whole country. It meant that we have to be grateful even when we feel treated unfairly.*	*I have not been supported that much. The school has plans but they are never implemented. The school had planned to give me laptop and Wi-Fi connection but this never happened, they planned to give me intervention, they didn't implement it. As a black girl, I feel ignored in class, I put my hand up, even though I sit in front, the teacher skips me and goes to a person of a different race.*
4. Since students are taught in different sets	*I'm in set T9S for mathematics (second set).*	*Science 2b, English and RE set 4, Maths 3b. I think the*	*In English and RE I am in set one, I am study double*	*Yes, for mathematics I have been in the same set. In*

in English, Mathematics, Science and Religious Education, what sets are you in these subjects? What criteria did the school use to place you in your sets?	*I'm in set 2 for English and in set 2A triple science for Science (the third triple science set).*	*test. When I was applying for Year 7 we had to do the test in the hall, I am not really sure.*	*Science, while in Mathematics I in set T7P. I think I am in these sets based on the tests we did in Year 9.*	*English they moved me to a different population and they put me in lower set.*
5. How did you choose your optional subjects?	*At first, I chose my optional subjects based on how I was finding each of my classes, so at first, I chose DT geography and French because I enjoyed each of these subjects. But after getting my results for my year 8 end of years I saw that I did extremely well in history but not so much in geography, so I changed my humanities option. I also knew there was a chance I could take both humanities, but I wanted my final option to be something where I could have fun and really enjoy it so I switched from DT to food tech because cooking is something I'm quite familiar with in my house and I like learning about food science.*	*Mmmh, I Just sat down with my mum and picked them. My mum and my sister helped me. My sister had gone through the system.*	*My option subjects are French, History and Food and Nutrition. I chose French because of my family. My parents are from the Democratic Republic of Congo, where French is the official language. I chose Food and Nutrition because I like cooking. I choose history because I want to study law in future and History may help me.*	*I went through them by myself then with my mum. I wanted to do French but I was not allowed. My mum didn't agree with me to do Textiles but I persuaded her. I thought Textile was a relaxed, but I was wrong, it is quite demanding. I wish I could change to do something else like Music.*

6. What do you understand by Pupil Premium (PP) or Free School Meal (FSM)?	*I think pupil premium is for students whose parents or guardians who have registered to receive benefits, or their parents don't make a set amount each month, meaning there's no evidence of their annual salary. It's either that or their parents make a certain amount that makes them eligible to receive benefits and therefore entitles them to become PP/FSM*	*Like we get packs of revision guide before End of Year exams when they are printed out; we get £2 for our lunch when our parents don't work full time. I am a Pupil premium because my mum doesn't work full time. I am not sure for how long I have, I think since I started this school, since Year 7.*	*I think it is the help that is given to some students, for example, I get £2 worth of food put into my lunch account.*	*It is the support that the government gives to families who are poor.*
7. Why are you classified as a PP/FSM student?	*Because my dad doesn't get paid a set salary per month meaning he's registered to receive benefits which entitles me to free school meals*	*I am Pupil premium because my mum doesn't work full time. I am not sure for how long I have, I think since I started this school, since Year 7.*	*This is because my parents do not have a stable job; they do not have enough money.*	*I am classified as free meal student because my mother is unemployed and she is a single parent.*
8. How long have you been classified as PP/FSM student?	*I know that I've been entitled to free school meals since around year 5, but pupil premium for me only started when I got to secondary school.*		*I have been getting a free school meal from the time I was in primary school.*	*Since my primary school.*

9. What support do you receive from school because you are PP/FSM student?	*The school has given a lot of revision materials this year such as a free pack of flash cards and each year my subject teachers printed out the revision guides for the subject in preparation for my end of years. I'm also entitled to free school meals and get £2.10*	*I get £2 for my lunch every day and I like the revision guide. I get given because it helps me. I just get £2 and revision guide. I haven't received anything else.*	*The school put £2 in my lunch account. I also get given free revision guides during end of year exams. Sometimes school pay for my trips.*	*I get free school meal for £2.10, which school put in my lunch account every day.*
10. What extra-curricular activities to you take part in both inside and outside school?	*I do dance (ballet and contemporary) twice a week. I also take part in athletics on Tuesdays before going to cadets on that same day and also Thursday after going to athletics. On Fridays I have netball and that's it.*	*Outside school, nothing. In school, I go to homework club. I started going to all revision with my End of Year exams that is it basically. I go to School Council and I am part of Chaplaincy Team.*	*I do not do anything in school. I cannot do anything outside school because things are expensive and parents cannot afford them.*	*I don't take part in any activity. I am about to start army cadet.*
11. What challenges do you encounter at home and at school regarding your studies?	*I don't really face any challenges regarding my studies at home as I usually study in the living room where I can really focus as my parents are always there and keep me in line; the only thing I'd say is a challenge is that I didn't study some of the subjects my siblings did for GCSEs meaning I can't really get their input/ revision*	*In school like I do PE but instead I would like to do subjects I find difficult, instead of those two period. That is just me. I guess I don't want to do PE when I find something like Science difficult. I would like to do interventions during those two periods instead of doing PE. Like at home, I have no problem, I*	*In school, I just find concentration sometimes hard in school. As I said early, because of my experiences and my friends, I feel that I am treated differently because of my race. Because I am in top set in English and RE, I am the only Black person in there and I feel isolated from all my friends. Sometimes I feel that some teachers are surprised to*	*Life is hard at home because I have to support my siblings. My mum has been sick for some time now. I support with house chores such as cooking and cleaning because I am the first born. I have two sisters and a brother. Sometimes we don't have enough food*

	to help me extend my knowledge. At school I also don't have challenges regarding my studies except the natural distraction of a class when everyone is talking.	*don't have any challenge, I am doing fine at home, if I don't understand anything, I just go home and go over it.*	*see me it top set. At home, I do not get much support from my parents, I am just expected to get on with my work. My parents pay more attention to my siblings.*	*and there is not enough room to do my homework.*
12. How does the school support you in meeting your educational needs?	*The school helps by providing a safe environment whereby I can study and they're constantly keeping up to date with revision materials by printing out new ones. They also try to check up on me and keep track of how I'm coping at school so that I don't feel so worried for my exams*	*They give us taster lessons for Sixth Form to help us make choices, they bring people in to talk to us on things like apprenticeship, to give guidance on what we want to do in future.*	*They give me revision guides. Before exams, I get revision time in lessons. I think in Year 11 we will get interventions in Science and maths.*	*The school gives me intervention in some subjects such as in English and in maths during school time and after school.*
13. How does the school support you in accessing curriculum materials both at school and at home?	*The school uses MS teams which gives us a place where the teachers can upload revision materials but also presentations from the lessons, we've had so that we can further consolidate our knowledge on a topic.*	*I used to go to classes but I stop now because my sister helps me. I used to go to classes near my house after school but I stopped because it wasn't helping me. My sister helps me now. I used to do maths with Ms Bishop in B5.*	*We have laptops and textbooks. I also have access to MyMaths website as well as other online resources such as kerboodle where I get to access some textbooks. The school pays for these. This is for everyone, not just people of free school meal.*	*Not really.*
14. How do your parents/guardians	*They always gave me a safe environment to be able to study and revise. They also*	*My mum supports me: buy revision card, booklets, everything I need.*	*My parents expect me to get on with my work. They buy me*	*My mum used to help me with maths. She always makes sure that I do my*

support your educational needs?	*help me but constantly reassuring me so that I don't think that anything is too hard that I can't do it, which has actually helped me ever since I sat my SATs in year six so that instead of feeling nervous when doing an exam, I go in feeling quite jittery but feeling ready to conquer the exam. They also help by taking my phone each night so that I can get a good night's sleep.*		*school stuff like school uniform.*	*homework, she sits there and watches me do my homework. She checks my work to make sure that I have completed it.*
15. How do you spend your weekends and school holidays?	*On weekends, I have dance on Saturday very first thing in the morning, but sometimes I have cadet events such as shooting camps or radio/ first aid courses so sometimes I have to miss dance. But normally after dance I come home and try to complete all the homework set by my subject teachers and I also try to revise any new content we've learnt during the week. Then on Sunday I have church in the morning and that's all I do.*	*I like to get up, just like getting ready for school. I go to Church then catch up with school work on Saturday. During holidays I just used sleep because there is nothing to do but now I go out more, like going outside London during holidays.*	*I do not do much. I just stay at home or sometimes go out with my friends.*	*Weekends I am at home probably reading my books, watching TV, revising, making sure my brother completes his homework and testing him on his spellings. Sometimes I go to see my friends. I rarely go to cinema.*
16. What are your experiences of the support you received	*Usually during term time, I receive a ton of help. Such as Mr xxxx always giving*	*They are not enough. I would like more support in my subjects, like I*	*The support is good during term time because I can go to teachers when I don't*	*Teaching and learning in this school is good, however there are some*

during term time and during school holidays?	*revision resources when I ask. But also, there's a project called the aspirations project run by king's college school Wimbledon who plan a ton of trips for PP/FSM students from other schools such as university visits and visits to watch the ballet and plays at the golden globe theatre. These are a really good way for stress reliving whilst they also held sessions at the school to help s be on the right academic paths.*	*mentioned before in PE. I like to be given a list of what I need to revise. £2 is not enough because sometimes I bring my own sandwiches.*	*understand something. During holidays I can only rely on the website and revision materials given. There is no specific holiday support.*	*problems in some subjects. I think some teachers don't know how to control class, for example, in science. I wanted to do higher but my physics was not good. I did not get the support I needed to get better grades. The support is good in some areas but some people like me who do not have enough resources are not supported. I wanted to borrow a laptop but I was not allowed. The school should consider students who don't have everything. Some children should be given intervention, for example, the school has Saturday classes for maths but it is £60 and I cannot afford it. They should consider less fortunate people. They repeat the same people for interventions.*
17. What would you like to happen in future?	*I would like all the new experiences I've had to be able to help me in my future in some way, shape or Form. I don't want these opportunities that the school has given me to go to waste*	*I want to work somewhere like I can use Business, Math. Economics. I would like to get a job that gives me 130k per annum*	*I would like to go Sixth Form to study subjects that can help me study Law at the university.*	*In future I would like to be a clinical or forensic psychologist. I would like to help people as a clinical psychologist.*

	as all these experiences can help me with later life. It's also helped me to meet new people and become more confident to when talking to people I've just met. So I'm happy that I've come out of this programme not only with more experiences but it also helped me to improve my grades.			

B: Senior teacher's interview

Questions	Responses
1. **What is your role in this school?**	*A lead practitioner, who looks after the NQTs and above all, the pupil premium aspect of school, from Years 7 to 11.*
2. **How long you been working at your current role in this school?**	*So this is the end of my second academic year. So I started in September 2018.*
3. **How does this school support the educational needs of students in relation to their ethnicity?**	*We do not treat ethnic groups, currently differently, we do not do anything that account for or purposefully discriminate positively discriminates or particularly addresses underachievement in within ethnic groups we look at underachievement across certain subgroups like obviously SEN, pupil premium free school meals, but we do not currently report on, or act on along, ethnicity or define groups based on ethnicity.*
4. **Are students taught in mixed ability groups or in sets English, Mathematics, Science and Religious Education?**	*So we set in English, math, science, and RE at different stages throughout the five years so. And it's also changed slightly under lockdown as we are not actually setting. Normally we would set students in year seven for science, by the time they get to year eight but we're not doing that. But English and Math is set right from the beginning*

	of the school life and RE comes a bit later. So, yes, those four subjects are setted. Languages are also setted as you get to GCSE level.
5. **If they are taught in sets, what criteria does the school use when placing students in sets in these subjects?**	*Our prior attainment data, when you talk about Years sevens and eights, and essentially performance data from assessments that we hold ourselves, to my knowledge that's the only measure that we use. The only thing that we do is we have always had a policy that we do not move pupil premium students down, based on their performance so once those sets have been created based on attainment or based on some form of assessment internal assessment, let's say, beginning of year seven offer certain subjects at the end of the array beginning of year nine. When those sets of them changed at various stages again because there's the student may go up or down depending on year to year. We have a policy of not moving pupil premium students, down, because we are trying to effectively positively discriminate to ensure that they don't underachieve by default. So they may have underachieved in that assessment and on an equal level they may be worthy of a right to move down set, but we don't move them down.*
6. **What support does the school offer to students from the disadvantaged families?**	*So, the measures are wide-ranging, and they've obviously been an extra layer of support, because of lockdown. We offer through the government scheme, free school meals, as a standard. We subsidise extracurricular trips that might be something like if it's a compulsory part of the course, let us say geography fieldwork. That is paid for by the parents, but it's compulsory that it's fully funded by the school for a pupil premium student. We would then potentially subsidise additional things such as if it's a non-essential part of the curriculum, let's say, going to watch a play in English, or so on. We may partially subsidise the cost of those tickets for pupil premium students.* *We then provide the laptops through the laptop scheme. And that requires that system involves a donation from the parents, so that's open to all parents from, from the start of year seven, and they get one laptop yes seven to nine and a separate one and a refreshed one year 10 and 11, and the parents pay into the Governor's fund for those laptops, where it differs with people premium is, we offer, or we are prepared to oversee to accept a lower or a zero donation from pupil premium parents or families, but we will still provide them with a laptop, that's done quite often on a case by case basis. From the start of year seven. We also have very much an open mind when it comes to the changing circumstances of those families, and potentially anyone who becomes people premium because of change of circumstances economically at home. Throughout the year we would then can you know look at their donations and reduce those or remove them accordingly. We will always go that extra step with something like revision material, whereby all families or all students are emailed, let's say, the revision guide for the end of year exams. And it's changed a bit now because everything's on Microsoft Teams but then for the people premium so let's say the 35/40 students in that year group, historically, we would have manually printed all of that material and physically handed it to the students because the assumption has always been if*

	they wanted to print it off they could do it from home. We recognise that for pupil premium students that's costly and less likely to happen. So we would print that material for them. in my particular role I will target groups of people premium students across the five years and give them extra equipment that might be revision cards that might be access to the stationery cupboard here, the sort of, sort of things that they wouldn't get calculators, you know we're plugging gaps where we find them. *We then do a range of academic interventions. So that might be a small group, teaching for maths and English. Again from year seven to 11 with a lot of focus on key stage four. That is removing them from non-essential PE or removing them from one of their subject lessons to have small group teaching with specialist providers. We then teach we use the pupil premium funding to actually teach maths. In an extra class, so we have eight classes of maths in school, as opposed to seven. In other subjects, we use the pupil premium funding to make that happen because we understand that extra classes smaller group size can have a positive impact.* *We then do a whole other range of data-driven things so within our raising standards cycle, which is the twice half-termly cycle of data analysis interventions and actions with from within every department. We focus on the pupil premiums, as a subgroup so within every piece of data. There will also be a report on the pupil premium performance within that subject; it highlights the gaps that those students have it highlights the next steps; it highlights the impact of previous actions. It looks at trends in certain people premiums subject to certain subjects for pupil premium. That same data is then reported to Governor's at least once a term, actions are shared, and feedback is given, there's overlap with the SEND department comorbidity we would call it so whether a pupil premium and SEN student.* *We then look at barrier removal so across other areas so things like careers, we will always focus on the pupil premium students and ensure that they are getting the right careers guidance: parents evenings and open evenings. We will proactively call all parents at the pupil premium cohort to ensure that they are coming. We will not just rely on a letter or a passive invite. If they then turn up on chaperoned will provide either a member of staff or as a member of the Sixth Form to then chaperone those students in whatever it might be a careers workshop a parents evening an open evening and so on.* *And then there's that kind of ad hoc open-minded sort of solving all barrier removal, that we go to with people premium students which has lots of different facets to it, so it might be that you can tell that a people issue is raised about pupil premium not having a relevant uniform. So then we would fund the uniform for that student.*

	It might be that a pet that a student is struggling with their access to the internet so we might fix them a separate laptop or we might fix them with a separate you know internet connection and things like that. *Another thing I forgot to mention was we have offered, lambda. Music and Drama lessons to a group of people premium students in year seven and year eight for the last two years as a, and that's fully funded, so other students are paying for it, and we fund a group of years every year a student to do that. That is a long answer to your premium strategy on the website.* *And yeah, lockdown. To be fair, the lockdown has been all about identifying disengagement and fixing the barriers to that so that might be offering people, premium students, to come into school and do their work. Yeah, it might be. I mean, I have done it personally. I have driven out to their houses with laptops that work, and given them to them because of issues around connection, connecting schoolwork and things like that, so it is all that sort of thing.*
7. **How does the school identify the students from disadvantaged families?**	*So we have a, a repetitive point of contact with parents so when they transition into the school from year six, we explain to parents what that pupil premium application looks like why they might qualify, we give them because the way it works is they have to apply directly to the local authority then confirm with us whether they are pupil premium or not. We've done it differently this year because it was all online, we actually took the information we needed for those applications from the parents, and we made the application for them, so we know that all of the year six is coming into year seven have applied for pupil premium so that we're ensuring that no one falls through the net, that no one who is qualified hasn't made the application. So then Merton and then confirm back to us. The 35/40 students for which it applies. So we have a kind of a summary, we have a default application process from year 6 to 7 personal circumstances then can financial circumstances can then change throughout the five years for those students, so it might be that in year eight or year nine students family experiences a job loss or a change in income. So then there would qualify.* *So the only way that we can, we're constantly just reiterating what pupil premium is that if you've had a change of circumstances. This is the application you need to make so at every parent's evening at every open evening. We are just regressing through Central email systems parent pay or whatever, that message that if things have changed, do this if things have changed do this make this application. Also, we then identify specific issues, so if we notice a real change in behaviour or we hear through the pastoral system that our family is really struggling. We ask those questions, and then we potentially identify them that way.*

8. **What are the educational activities offered to students at this school?**	They take part in everything, so it's the idea that they don't miss out on anything. And we remove barriers to stop them not taking part is that is the bottom line.
9. **How are the students supported in choosing activities to engage in?**	*See above*
10. **What challenges do students from disadvantaged families face at home and at school regarding homework?**	*Yeah, it is often about stability. So stability can have a range of different meanings. But often, it is about the distance they have to travel with the school by definition is in quite an affluent area, so often our more disadvantaged students are travelling further. So home is further away; it takes them longer to get there.* *Sometimes, but not always, families are less stable. So there may be multiple layers of multiple generations within the same household coming and going, a lot of change of personnel in a household. Often they don't have a stable working environment for their homework, so we often don't have room to work in a desk to work out, so this is not always in the point I guess the underwriting point with people premium is that it's a very nuanced category that there is no such thing as a pupil premium student it's a general category, within which there is a whole vast range of barriers. So you could have basic social deprivation. So, money finance at home is limited therefore food is limited to that, you know, electricity heating or all you know at a premium. So that's going to affect the stability of home life, that there might be in extreme cases, you know, uproar unrest at home would do, there are sometimes issues of domestic violence, low that's not exclusive to people premium it can happen. This tends to happen more. You also potentially have less aspirational and low less educated parents who, therefore struggle to provide the support with that to their students in their work. And again, I hasten to use these terms, broad brush, but we tend to see those type of things happens. And there is a lot of work and research I have been looking at recently, which talks about the basic mechanics of learning that disadvantaged students bring with them when they turn up to school, and that is to do with things like working memory, and working memory is generally understood by sort of child psychologists to be formed in the first couple of years of your life. You know your ability to concentrate your ability to listen to your ability to with hard to hold information for 10 20, 30 minutes in order to apply it is worse in deprived children that in non-deprived children, because they didn't receive a stable first two or three years of their life, which is when those neurons and those skills are actually, you know, hardwired. So, in a sense, whatever happens when they arrive with us aged 11.* *As big brush, big-ticket trends would say that the disadvantaged cohort, have a less effective toolbox, with which to learn with compared to the non-disadvantaged because they just don't have the pathways, they don't have*

	the stores the mental, you know, what is its buckets and spades whatever in their brain however you want to phrase it to then do the learning that we pitch to them so that then changes. It might be a wider question that then asks the question, do we teach differently to overcome those limitations, do we teach students from the age of 11 strategies and techniques which take into account the fact that they may have a poor working memory. What are we giving them to work around that because if we just assume that they can all think the same? Yeah, we are kind of missing the point. And what could we be? So, a lot of work but it is, I find it interesting that
11. **What is your understanding of Pupil Premium grant?**	*Pupil Premium Grant is an amount of money that we get per student that falls into that category. That's a non-ring fenced amount so technically we are not allowed to spend on whatever we like. But we have to provide justification and a strategic overview of what we* spend that money on the impact and the reasons behind our spend, and that's all public. That's all public document it's on our website. We have a statement of impact and a statement of intent if it's strategic intent related to the grant which gives a rough outline of how much money, we've got what we're spending it on. That is a government ratify that document, and it is a publicly available document, and it's a document that Ofsted would hold us to account for.
12. **How is the Pupil Premium grant allocated?**	*We allocate it again based on that document (see previous response) on the things that I have described, so a large chunk of it goes on staffing, so that is to pay for our intervention staff to pay for the extra maths teacher to effectively pay for that the maths to be taught in a larger number of groups. That is a large chunk of it, a large chunk of it then goes on. You know the trips, and the non-academic sorry the compulsory academic trips that we have described a chunk of it then go on subsidising the laptops. That is effectively how the money is spent.*
13. **What is the Pupil Premium grant used for in this school?**	See above
14. **How are class teachers, expected to support a student identified as a Pupil Premium?**	*The pupil premium is core to our data analysis. It is the intention that it is central to teachers' planning and teacher's interaction in the classroom. And so it is labelled on seating plans, so there is thought put into where the pupil premium students are sat in the class, such that they are not clumped together, or that they are at the front. Again it is not about treating them entirely differently because above all, high-quality teaching and learning will raise the attainment aspiration of everyone in the class, and it will raise the attainment and aspiration of those students, so you know rising tide brings all ships or whatever you want to call it, but they are expected to positively discriminate. In a lot of the some of the things that they do so we ask that teachers Mark*

	people premium students work first that they are conscious of the barriers within pupil premium students so that more information is known to them, or more depth is gone into when we talk about knowing your students
15. **What support are you given as a class teacher to support a Pupil Premium student?**	
16. **What challenges to Pupil Premium students face in this school?**	*The challenges are societal challenges, I mean I would say that I do believe and if you look at our value add for pupil premium students, which is point six or something like that I mean our overall value add is point eight five or something like that. Our value-added for the pupil premium is point six, overall, which is significantly above national averages. So the challenges will be the same. There are other gaps between their overall performance and the overall performance of non-disadvantaged. But I would say that they have no more challenges in our school than they would anywhere else.*
17. **What are the specific challenges that Black pupils of the Caribbean and African descent face in your school?**	*It is hard for me to know and that might be that my take on it is difficult to pick apart, so I am just learning so much more about this, you know, based on—no little part on the recent letter that I received by the school, etc. But the challenges that I think we run a school where the colour of your skin, the ethnicity or your identity presents no more challenge than anyone else. So, I do, not my personal experience, I do not believe that black people of the Caribbean and African descent experience any more challenges than students, not of that origin. But I'm not the best person to tell you that answer. I will welcome the opportunity to be educated as to what those challenges are, would be my answer to that. I don't know, I'm learning, I think there are more challenges than I realised. Yeah, it's probably the answer…*
18. **What would you like to happen in future?**	*I think we still don't quite get our language around it correct. And I don't think we get our communication with parents around it correct that you get, I feel like we get the most out of these students, and the interventions that we put in place when parents are really on board and I've used the recent ARD to really imbue the parents with a lot more knowledge of what's expected of the students to close the gaps. Yeah. And I worry that we still don't get that level of communication right, I feel like I don't want a student to feel different or labelled negatively, for being people premium, but I would like them to own the identity a little bit more and their parents to own that identity a little bit more, so that when strategies and differences are put in place for those students that there is a, an appetite and a willingness to take those opportunities, rather than feel like I'm being*

	treated differently because there's something lesser. I'm less than. So they're just, they're just compensating for my less than it should be. No, it's nothing less than about you. This is just we recognise that society, and big picture-wise, there is such a thing as a disadvantage. So let us do something about it. Let's give you an opportunity to have this extra thing to really boost your self-confidence your aspiration and your achievement. And if parents felt like that. I think we would get a significantly better result we get good results, but I think we'd get even better results. And I think we're still a bit unsure, and a bit nervous around the language. You know, I don't read out the list of the people premium kids in a classroom. Don't make it clear that you're giving them the printouts and not the others; they don't want to feel singled out. 'Why are you calling me a pupil premium. Are you saying I'm poor, you know?' No, we are not. But we need a collective, re-education if you like of all stakeholders, teachers, students and parents as to what that looks like. I think some primary schools get it really right. There's no shame or stigma around you being a pupil premium student there are opportunities very clear opportunities and differences offered for those students that they just lap up and they just take them, and it is an accepted thing, the pupil premium non-pupil premium families. I totally on board with that strategy. And I think that's not something we get right. I'd like to do a bit more.

Appendix IV: Responses from Classroom teachers of PP students.

Questions	Ms. Hayes	Mr. Musungu	Mr. Arua
1. What is your role in this school?	*Head of Year 7 and RE teacher*	*I am 2nd in-charge KS3 Coordinator, RE Department ..*	*I work as a teacher at the school.*
2. How long have you been working at your current role in this school?	*Five years*	*I have been working for six years at the school and three years in my role.*	*I have been working here for three years now.*
3. How does this school support the educational needs of students in relation to their ethnicity?	*We track pupils according to their ethnicity. The largest groups (more than 10) are black African and black Caribbean. There are intervention classes for Year 11, after school homework club and Saturday school. Pupils who are falling behind have to stay for 'Catch-Up'.*	*Where attendance issues have been highlighted with a particular ethnicity, the school also convenes meetings with parents to work out how best to support them, and the school may also use local authority officials to help with issues particular to the given ethnic group.*	*This year they have signed mentors for some students, particularly mixed-race students as they believe that they underachieve in academics.*
4. Are students taught in mixed ability groups or in sets English, Mathematics, Science and Religious Education?	*Year 7 is mixed (Form classes). The other Years are in sets. However, the set is specific to RE; it is based on how pupils have performed in general.*	*Students are assigned into four sets depending mainly on their ability.*	*In year 7 and 8 they are taught in mixed ability groups, but in year 9-11, they are taught in sets.*
5. If they are taught in sets, what criteria does the school use when placing students in sets in these subjects?	*Predicted grades, Midys score and how pupils have done at the end of year tests. Sometimes there are movements to help behaviour rather than it being based on academic achievement.*	*The school uses the ability of students to work out which sets to assign to students, the school is divided to two registration blocks H and G, and each side has set 1 to 4. in Year 7 Set 4's are used as Transition sets for pupils who are still working at Primary School levels and have not fully made the transition to work at Secondary school standard. Pupils with other serious pastoral needs, e.g. severe disability are taught in this transition,*	*Their performance and their ability in subjects. Higher, middle and low ability groups.*

		set 4, where they are in small groups of 12 to 15 and are taught most subjects by the same teacher. There is also one Transition, Set 4 in Year 8 for low ability pupils.	
6. What support does the school offer to students from the disadvantaged families?	*Financial help for school trips, so that lack of money doesn't mean a lack of opportunity. All Year 7 pupils are taken to the local Library, where they learn how the library works and receive a Lambeth library card to use until they turn 18.*	*The school offers a breakfast club where disadvantaged pupils can have a warm breakfast before school; there are times when staff have contributed money to buy Christmas presents for disadvantaged pupils***.**	*This is not clear apart from obvious cases of not having a proper uniform, and the schools provide for them and some mentors in terms of student support groups*
7. How does the school identify the students from disadvantaged families?	*FSM and LAC.*	*The school identifies students from disadvantaged families based on known pastoral needs that such students have. Staff are encouraged to record any concerns they have about students; this helps to flag up pastoral needs.*	*Most cases based on their family's level of income and those on government benefits. They will be on free school meals.*
8. What are the educational activities offered to students at this school?	*See below*	*Alongside the curriculum, students have lots of after school clubs some which extend their learning beyond the classroom; also students have further opportunities to attend trips and other events put on by different subjects.*	*After school activities ranging from support subject areas to out of school activities such as English trips to aid their learning.*
9. How are the students supported in choosing activities to engage in?	*This is an area we need to develop.*	*Every term student is informed which clubs are running during the whole school assembly. They are encouraged to participate, and those participating in sports and other activities are celebrated during the whole school*	*Individual chooses areas that they feel they should develop in specific subject areas—most cases, their interest are taken into account.*

		assembly. Heads of Years, Form Tutors and pastoral managers too help to promote key activities to students.	
10. What challenges do students from disadvantaged families face at home and at school regarding homework?	*Pupils who live between the houses of fathers, mothers and grandparents are more likely to be without their books, as they leave them in different houses. Pupils who are in temporary accommodation are more stressed, which impacts their ability to concentrate. Pupils who live in one-room with their mother and sibling/s struggle to find a quiet space at home to work in. Pupils who have to bring siblings to school and collect siblings cannot stay for after school activities (less cultural capital) or homework club.*	*All homework is set online on Show-my-homework website; there are cases where disadvantaged families have no computer for students to access and complete their homework at home. Also such students may fall behind as they may not manage their time well at school and get to the homework club which runs after school.*	*Lack of support at home to do the homework and equipment to do them.* *-At school, the attention is mainly given to SEN students and disregarding those from the disadvantaged background.*
11. What is your understanding of Pupil Premium grant?	*It is £2,300 to help the school provide extra support, both academically and culturally.*	*Pupil Premium grant is the money the government gives to each pupil premium student from families with low income.*	*It has to do with funds schools from the government to support students from disadvantaged backgrounds.*
12. How is the Pupil Premium grant allocated?	*Pupils ask the teacher in charge of a trip, or the teacher enquires.*	*Pupil Premium grant is allocated based on the school setting, e.g. the level of deprivation in the area and the number of Pupil Premium students on roll*	*It is allocated per student from a disadvantaged background*
13. What is the Pupil Premium grant used for in this school?	*To pay for small literacy and numeracy intervention. To partly-fund*		*This is not clear as the management does not share this information with everyone.*

	school trips, so PP pupils can afford to participate		
14. As a class teacher, how are you expected to support a student identified as a Pupil Premium?	*Track her progress and do an intervention for PP and also specifically for Black African and the Black Caribbean – the governors are interested in these two groups.*	*As a teacher, I am required to know each Pupil Premium student in my class, where there are other learning needs I need to ensure that I am catering for each student, and ensuring that I provide work that has a challenge and enables them to progress.*	*We are asked to encourage them to do well and make sure that their needs are met. We are advised to make sure we always have extra-equipment in class to support their needs.*
15. What support are you given as a class teacher to support a Pupil Premium student?	*Funding for trips.*	*Where Pupil Premium students lack access to resources, the school has in the past bought textbooks, and revision guides to support classwork.*	*There is nothing special that is given to us as teachers to meet their needs.*
16. What challenges to Pupil Premium students face in this school?	*There are 178 pupils identified as Pupil Premium in a school of about 450 pupils, so it is normal to be PP. I don't think there are specific challenges.*	*There have been cases where Pupil Premium students have had difficulties paying for trips and other educational activities. Each Key Stage 3 student attends a retreat once a year; this is organised by the Chaplaincy Team; usually, the school uses Pupil Premium grant to pay for Pupil Premium students.*	*Lack of understanding of their specific individual needs and general lack of attention to their problems as such and treated as a group rather than individuals with different needs.*
17. What are the specific challenges that Black pupils of the Caribbean and African descent face in your school?	*The children of parents who are from these countries (although the child is a UK citizen, so not necessarily tracked as the Black Caribbean or Black African) are likely to miss school as their parents take them to these countries for a holiday before the term ends, or bring them back after term starts.*	*This is an inclusive school comprising of students and staff from different ethnic backgrounds. Clearly, there are cases where Black pupils of the Caribbean and African descent struggle with their personal identity, which can result in feelings of poor self-esteem.*	*-Lack of understanding* *-Generalisations that do not help as most of them are regarded as a stubborn and lacking discipline.* *-Their interests are not taken seriously.*

	Black pupils kiss their teeth, which is impolite. They do this more often than any pupil (of any skin colour) is verbally impolite. Therefore, they are giving a poor impression of themselves both personally and as a group of people more often than others. Some black children express the view that people are racist towards them, without recognising whether it is racism or simply being asked to do something that they don't want to do. I sometimes wonder if black children are more likely than children of other races to feel under attack, so are defensive when there is no need to be. If so, such a feeling must increase stress levels, which could lead to poorer physical and mental health.		
18. What would you like to happen in future?	*A very detailed understanding of the funding available and how my school uses it. I'd like to know if there are differences in the replies to questionnaires we give pupils about their school experiences and see if PP actually have a different experience. I would like parents to stop taking their children out of school during term time. Maybe the government needs to force travel companies to keep fares the same during term and holiday times. The price of travel may force poorer families to go 'home' during term time.*	*What I would like to see happen is to have more school trips and educational activities where black pupils of Caribbean and African descent attend to learn more about their historical background and contribution to the world. Any activities that bring about a sense of pride and meaning in black ethnic identity will go a long way in building confidence in these students. Perhaps part of the Pupil Premium grant could be used to this end.*	*-More involvement of parents and teacher in decision making when it comes to pupil premium students.* *-targeted spending on the needs of these students.* *For example, in my previous school, students who did not have access to computers at home were given iPads to use to do their homework.*

Appendix V: Information and consent form for student participants

Participants Information Sheet for Student Participant
UCL Research Ethics Committee Approval ID Number: Z6364106/2018/10/58
YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Title of Study: An analysis of the use of Pupil Premium grant using the Capability Approach theoretical framework.
Department: Education, Policy and Society
Name and Contact Details of the Researcher:
Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher:

Introduction
You are being invited to take part in a research project, which will form the basis of my Doctorate in Education (EdD) study and the University College (UCL) Institute of Education. Before you decided it is important for you to understand why the research us being done and what participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this

The purpose of this project
The purpose of this project is, first, to gather information that I will use to evaluate the impact of the of the use of the UK government's Pupil Premium grant on motivation and educational achievement of black girls of African and Caribbean descent in secondary schools in south London; second, to hear from you about your experiences and perceptions of Pupil Premium funding and how it has impacted on your academic progress and achievements for the past four years.

Why have I been chosen?
You have been chosen to participate in this study because, first, you have been identified as a beneficiary of Pupil Premium funding; second you have been identified as Black Minority Ethnic of African and/or Caribbean descent. With your involvement, this project is likely to be more detailed and relevant to evaluate the perceptions, experiences and impact of Pupils Premium funding in meeting the educational needs of Black girl students of African and Caribbean descent in South London.

Do I have to take part?
It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form). You can withdraw at any time without giving a reason. if you decide to withdraw you will be asked what you wish to happen to the data you have provided up that point.

What will happen to me if I take part?
You will be asked to take part in one to one, face to face interview. There will be one interview which will last approximately 30 minutes. During the interview you will be given questions to answer of which I will record your responses. I would like to record the session using audio recorder so that I can refer back to it if necessary, however, if this makes you uncomfortable, I can just take notes instead.

Will I be recorded and how will the recorded media be used?
The audio recordings of your voice (interview) made during this research will be used only for analysis. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
There is no foreseeable risk or disadvantages of taking part, however, you might feel uncomfortable narrating why you are classified as a beneficiary of Pupil Premium. If this is the case, you are totally to either skip the question or withdraw from the interview.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those people participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will contribute to the evaluation of the use of Pupil Premium funding and look for a way to improve its use to support the educational needs of disadvantaged students of African and Caribbean descent. The improved provision will mean better educational attainment and general well-being of the disadvantaged students.

What if something goes wrong?

In case anything goes wrong and you would like to launch a complain about the process of the project, you can report to the head teacher as well are reporting to the supervisor of this research project, Dr. [redacted] and should you feel that your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction (e.g. by the supervisor) you can contact the Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee – ethics@ucl.ac.uk

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

All the information that I collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications. I will use pseudonym in the final report and all the transcripts and audio-recording equipment will be kept safely in a locked drawer. The interview recording and transcripts will be destroyed once the project is completed.

Limits to confidentiality

- Please note that assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases the University may be obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies/agencies.
- Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it is possible, unless during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this.
- Confidentiality will be respected subject to legal constraints and professional guidelines.
- Confidentiality will be respected unless there are compelling and legitimate reasons for this to be breached. If this was the case I would inform you of any decisions that might limit your confidentiality.
- Confidentiality may be limited and conditional and the researcher has a duty of care to report to the relevant authorities possible harm/danger to the participant or others.

Use of Deception

Research designs often require that the full intent of the study not be explained prior to participation. Although I have described the general nature of the tasks that you will be asked to perform, the full intent of the study will not be explained to you until after the completion of the study [at which point you may withdraw your data from the study].

What will happen to the results of the research project?

The results of this project will be published as an EdD thesis. It will be available by October 2021 at the UCL Institute of Education library. Since this is a professional doctorate, the findings will be used to inform practice and to facilitate any changes necessary to the use of Pupil Premium grant. As stated earlier, pseudonyms will be used to maintain anonymity and confidentiality of participants.

Data Protection Privacy Notice

Notice:
The data controller for this project will be University College London (UCL). The UCL Data Protection Office provides oversight of UCL activities involving the processing of personal data, and can be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk. UCL's Data Protection Officer can also be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk**.**

Further information on how UCL uses participant information can be found here:

www.ucl.ac.uk/legal-services/privacy/participants-health-and-care-research-privacy-notice

Your personal data will be used for the purposes outlined in this notice. The categories of personal data used will be as follows: Name, school and ethnic origin.

The legal basis that would be used to process your *personal data* will be [performance of a task in the public interest.]

The legal basis used to process *special category personal data* will be for scientific and historical research or statistical purposes/explicit consent.

Your personal data will be processed so long as it is required for the research project. If we are able to anonymise or pseudonymise the personal data you provide we will undertake this, and will endeavour to minimise the processing of personal data wherever possible.

You have certain rights under data protection legislation in relation to the personal information that we hold about you. These rights apply only in particular circumstances and are subject to certain exemptions such as public interest (for example the prevention of crime). They include:

- The right to access your personal information;
- The right to rectification of your personal information;
- The right to erasure of your personal data;
- The right to restrict or object to the processing of your personal data;
- The right to object to the use of your data for direct marketing purposes;
- The right to data portability;
- Where the justification for processing is based on your consent, the right to withdraw such consent at any time; and
- The right to complain to the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) about the use of your personal data.

If you are concerned about how your personal data is being processed, or if you would like to contact us about your rights, please contact UCL in the first instance at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk.

If you remain unsatisfied, you may wish to contact the ICO. Contact details, and further details of data subject rights, are available on the ICO website at: https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/data-protection-reform/overview-of-the-gdpr/individuals-rights/

Contact for further information

In case you need further information, please use the contact details below:

Researcher: Mr.

Supervisor:

Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering to take part in this research study.

CONSENT FORM FOR STUDENT IN RESEARCH STUDY

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: An analysis of the use of Pupil Premium grant using the Capability Approach theoretical framework.

Department: Education, Policy and Society

Name and Contact Details of the Researcher:

Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher:

Name and Contact Details of the UCL Data Protection Officer: Lee Shailer data-protection@ucl.ac.uk

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee: Project ID number: Z6364106/2018/10/58

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

I confirm that I understand that by ticking/initialling each box below I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it will be assumed that unticked/initialled boxes mean that I DO NOT consent to that part of the study. I understand that by not giving consent for any one element that I may be deemed ineligible for the study.

		Tick Box
1.	*I confirm that I have read and understood the Information Sheet for the above study. I have had an opportunity to consider the information and what will be expected of me. I have also had the opportunity to ask questions which have been answered to my satisfaction *[and would like to take part in an individual interview]*	
2.	*I consent to participate in the study. I understand that my personal information *(name, age, school and ethnicity)* will be used for the purposes explained to me. I understand that according to data protection legislation, 'public task' will be the lawful basis for processing.	
3.	**Use of the information for this project only** *I understand that all personal information will remain confidential and that all efforts will be made to ensure I cannot be identified. I understand that my data gathered in this study will be stored anonymously and securely. It will not be possible to identify me in any publications.	
4.	*I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the University for monitoring and audit purposes.	
5.	I understand the potential risks of participating and the support that will be available to me should I become distressed during the course of the research.	
6.	No promise or guarantee of benefits have been made to encourage you to participate.	
7.	I understand that the data will not be made available to any commercial organisations but is solely the responsibility of the researcher(s) undertaking this study.	

8.	I understand that I will not benefit financially from this study or from any possible outcome it may result in in the future.	
9.	I agree that my pseudonymised research data may be used by others for future research. [No one will be able to identify you when this data is shared.]	
10.	I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I wish to receive a copy of it. Yes/No	
11.	I consent to my interview being audio recorded and understand that the recordings will be: EITHER - destroyed within six m*onths after the data has been collected or following transcription* or destroyed immediately following transcription. To note: If you do not want your participation recorded you can still take part in the study.	
12.	I hereby confirm that I understand the inclusion criteria as detailed in the Information Sheet and explained to me by the researcher.	
13.	I hereby confirm that: (a) I understand the exclusion criteria as detailed in the Information Sheet and explained to me by the researcher; and (b) I do not fall under the exclusion criteria.	
14.	I agree that my GP may be contacted if any unexpected results are found in relation to my health.	
15.	I have informed the researcher of any other research in which I am currently involved or have been involved in during the past 12 months.	
16.	I am aware of who I should contact if I wish to lodge a complaint.	
17.	Use of information for this project and beyond I would be happy for the data I provide to be archived at UCL Institute of education library. I understand that other authenticated researchers will have access to my pseudonymised data.	

If you would like your contact details to be retained so that you can be contacted in the future by UCL researchers who would like to invite you to participate in follow up studies to this project, or in future studies of a similar nature, please tick the appropriate box below.

	Yes, I would be happy to be contacted in this way	
	No, I would not like to be contacted	

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

Appendix VI: Information and consent form for senior teacher participants

Participants Information Sheet for Senior Teacher Participant
UCL Research Ethics Committee Approval ID Number: Z6364106/2018/10/58
YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Title of Study: An analysis of the use of Pupil Premium grant using the Capability Approach theoretical framework.
Department: Education, Policy and Society
Name and Contact Details of the Researcher: Mr.
Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher:

Introduction
You are being invited to take part in a research project, which will form the basis of my Doctorate in Education (EdD) study and the University College (UCL) Institute of Education. Before you decided it is important for you to understand why the research us being done and what participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this

The purpose of this project
The purpose of this project is, first, to gather information that I will use to evaluate the impact of the of the use of the UK government's Pupil Premium grant on motivation and educational achievement of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in secondary schools in south London; second, to hear from you about your experiences and perceptions of Pupil Premium funding and how it has impacted on the academic progress and achievements of the PP students.

Why have I been chosen?
You have been chosen to participate in this study because you have been identified as a senior teacher in charge of identifying the disadvantaged students and implementing the use of Pupil Premium funding. With your involvement, this project is likely to be more detailed and relevant to evaluate the perceptions, experiences and impact of Pupils Premium funding in meeting the educational needs of Black girl students of African and Caribbean descent in South London.

Do I have to take part?
It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form). You can withdraw at any time without giving a reason. if you decide to withdraw you will be asked what you wish to happen to the data you have provided up that point.

What will happen to me if I take part?
You will be asked to take part in one to one, face to face interview. There will be one interview which will last approximately 30 minutes. During the interview you will be given questions to answer of which I will record your responses. I would like to record the session using audio recorder so that I can refer back to it if necessary, however, if this makes you uncomfortable, I can just take notes instead.

Will I be recorded and how will the recorded media be used?
The audio recordings of your voice (interview) made during this research will be used only for analysis. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There is no foreseeable risk or disadvantages of taking part, however, you might feel uncomfortable narrating why you are classified as a beneficiary of Pupil Premium. If this is the case, you are totally to either skip the question or withdraw from the interview.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those people participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will contribute to the evaluation of the use of Pupil Premium funding and look for a way to improve its use to support the educational needs of disadvantaged students of African and Caribbean descent. The improved provision will mean better educational attainment and general well-being of the disadvantaged students.

What if something goes wrong?

In case anything goes wrong and you would like to launch a complain about the process of the project, you can report to the head teacher as well are reporting to the supervisor of this research project, Dr [redacted] and should you feel that your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction (e.g. by the supervisor) you can contact the Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee – ethics@ucl.ac.uk

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

All the information that I collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications. I will use pseudonym in the final report and all the transcripts and audio-recording equipment will be kept safely in a locked drawer. The interview recording and transcripts will be destroyed once the project is completed.

Limits to confidentiality

- Please note that assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases the University may be obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies/agencies.
- Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it is possible, unless during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this.
- Confidentiality will be respected subject to legal constraints and professional guidelines.
- Confidentiality will be respected unless there are compelling and legitimate reasons for this to be breached. If this was the case, I would inform you of any decisions that might limit your confidentiality.
- Confidentiality may be limited and conditional and the researcher has a duty of care to report to the relevant authority possible harm/danger to the participant or others.

Use of Deception

Research designs often require that the full intent of the study not be explained prior to participation. Although I have described the general nature of the tasks that you will be asked to perform, the full intent of the study will not be explained to you until after the completion of the study [at which point you may withdraw your data from the study].

What will happen to the results of the research project?

The results of this project will be published as an EdD thesis. It will be available by October 2021 at the UCL Institute of Education library. Since this is a professional doctorate, the findings will be used to inform practice and to facilitate any changes necessary to the use of Pupil Premium grant. As stated earlier, pseudonyms will be used to maintain anonymity and confidentiality of participants.

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www.ucl.ac.uk/legal-services/privacy/participants-health-and-care-research-privacy-notice

Your personal data will be used for the purposes outlined in this notice. The categories of personal data used will be as follows: Name, school and ethnic origin.

The legal basis that would be used to process your *personal data* will be [performance of a task in the public interest.]

The legal basis used to process *special category personal data* will be for scientific and historical research or statistical purposes/explicit consent.

Your personal data will be processed so long as it is required for the research project. If we are able to anonymise or pseudonymise the personal data you provide we will undertake this, and will endeavour to minimise the processing of personal data wherever possible.

You have certain rights under data protection legislation in relation to the personal information that we hold about you. These rights apply only in particular circumstances and are subject to certain exemptions such as public interest (for example the prevention of crime). They include:

- The right to access your personal information;
- The right to rectification of your personal information;
- The right to erasure of your personal data;
- The right to restrict or object to the processing of your personal data;
- The right to object to the use of your data for direct marketing purposes;
- The right to data portability;
- Where the justification for processing is based on your consent, the right to withdraw such consent at any time; and
- The right to complain to the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) about the use of your personal data.

If you are concerned about how your personal data is being processed, or if you would like to contact us about your rights, please contact UCL in the first instance at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk.

If you remain unsatisfied, you may wish to contact the ICO. Contact details, and further details of data subject rights, are available on the ICO website at: https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/data-protection-reform/overview-of-the-gdpr/individuals-rights/

Contact for further information

In case you need further information, please use the contact details below:

Researcher:

Supervisor:

Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering to take part in this research study.

CONSENT FORM FOR SENIOR TEACHER IN RESEARCH STUDY

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: An analysis of the use of Pupil Premium grant using the Capability Approach theoretical framework.

Department: Education, Policy and Society

Name and Contact Details of the Researcher: [redacted]

Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher: [redacted]

Name and Contact Details of the UCL Data Protection Officer: Lee Shailer data-protection@ucl.ac.uk

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee: Project ID number: Z6364106/2018/10/58

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

I confirm that I understand that by ticking/initialling each box below I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it will be assumed that unticked/initialled boxes mean that I DO NOT consent to that part of the study. I understand that by not giving consent for any one element that I may be deemed ineligible for the study.

		Tick Box
1	*I confirm that I have read and understood the Information Sheet for the above study. I have had an opportunity to consider the information and what will be expected of me. I have also had the opportunity to ask questions which have been answered to my satisfaction *[and would like to take part in an individual interview]*	
2.	*I consent to participate in the study. I understand that my personal information *(name, age, school and ethnicity)* will be used for the purposes explained to me. I understand that according to data protection legislation, 'public task' will be the lawful basis for processing.	
3.	**Use of the information for this project only** *I understand that all personal information will remain confidential and that all efforts will be made to ensure I cannot be identified. I understand that my data gathered in this study will be stored anonymously and securely. It will not be possible to identify me in any publications.	
4.	*I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the University for monitoring and audit purposes.	
5.	I understand the potential risks of participating and the support that will be available to me should I become distressed during the course of the research.	
6.	No promise or guarantee of benefits have been made to encourage you to participate.	
7.	I understand that the data will not be made available to any commercial organisations but is solely the responsibility of the researcher(s) undertaking this study.	

8	I understand that I will not benefit financially from this study or from any possible outcome it may result in in the future.	
9	I agree that my pseudonymised research data may be used by others for future research. [No one will be able to identify you when this data is shared.]	
10	I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I wish to receive a copy of it. Yes/No	
11	I consent to my interview being audio recorded and understand that the recordings will be: EITHER - destroyed within six m*onths after the data has been collected or following transcription* or destroyed immediately following transcription. To note: If you do not want your participation recorded you can still take part in the study.	
12	I hereby confirm that I understand the inclusion criteria as detailed in the Information Sheet and explained to me by the researcher.	
13	I hereby confirm that: (c) I understand the exclusion criteria as detailed in the Information Sheet and explained to me by the researcher; and (d) I do not fall under the exclusion criteria.	
14	I agree that my GP may be contacted if any unexpected results are found in relation to my health.	
15	I have informed the researcher of any other research in which I am currently involved or have been involved in during the past 12 months.	
16	I am aware of who I should contact if I wish to lodge a complaint.	
17	Use of information for this project and beyond I would be happy for the data I provide to be archived at UCL Institute of education library. I understand that other authenticated researchers will have access to my pseudonymised data.	

If you would like your contact details to be retained so that you can be contacted in the future by UCL researchers who would like to invite you to participate in follow up studies to this project, or in future studies of a similar nature, please tick the appropriate box below.

	Yes, I would be happy to be contacted in this way	
	No, I would not like to be contacted	

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

Appendix VII: Information for classroom teacher participants

Participants Information Sheet for classroom Teacher Participant
UCL Research Ethics Committee Approval ID Number: Z6364106/2018/10/58
YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Title of Study: An analysis of the use of Pupil Premium grant using the Capability Approach theoretical framework.
Department: Education, Policy and Society
Name and Contact Details of the Researcher: [redacted]
Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher: [redacted]

Introduction
You are being invited to take part in a research project, which will form the basis of my Doctorate in Education (EdD) study and the University College (UCL) Institute of Education. Before you decided it is important for you to understand why the research us being done and what participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this

The purpose of this project
The purpose of this project is, first, to gather information that I will use to evaluate the impact of the of the use of the UK government's Pupil Premium grant on motivation and educational achievement of Black girls of African and Caribbean descent in secondary schools in south London; second, to hear from you about your experiences and perceptions of Pupil Premium funding and how it has impacted on the academic progress and achievements of the PP students.

Why have I been chosen?
You have been chosen to participate in this study because you have been identified as a classroom teacher tasked with implementing the Pupil Premium strategies to closes the attainment gap between PP students and their non-PP peers. With your involvement, this project is likely to be more detailed and relevant to evaluate the perceptions, experiences and impact of Pupils Premium funding in meeting the educational needs of Black girl students of African and Caribbean descent in South London.

Do I have to take part?
It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign a consent form). You can withdraw at any time without giving a reason. if you decide to withdraw you will be asked what you wish to happen to the data you have provided up that point.

What will happen to me if I take part?
You will be asked to take part in one to one, face to face interview. There will be one interview which will last approximately 30 minutes. During the interview you will be given questions to answer of which I will record your responses. I would like to record the session using audio recorder so that I can refer back to it if necessary, however, if this makes you uncomfortable, I can just take notes instead.

Will I be recorded and how will the recorded media be used?
The audio recordings of your voice (interview) made during this research will be used only for analysis. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?
There is no foreseeable risk or disadvantages of taking part, however, you might feel uncomfortable narrating why you are classified as a beneficiary of Pupil Premium. If this is the case, you are totally to either skip the question or withdraw from the interview.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those people participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will contribute to the evaluation of the use of Pupil Premium funding and look for a way to improve its use to support the educational needs of disadvantaged students of African and Caribbean descent. The improved provision will mean better educational attainment and general well-being of the disadvantaged students.

What if something goes wrong?

In case anything goes wrong and you would like to launch a complain about the process of the project, you can report to the head teacher as well are reporting to the supervisor of this research project, Dr [redacted] and should you feel that your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction (e.g. by the supervisor) you can contact the Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee – ethics@ucl.ac.uk

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?

All the information that I collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications. I will use pseudonym in the final report and all the transcripts and audio-recording equipment will be kept safely in a locked drawer. The interview recording and transcripts will be destroyed once the project is completed.

Limits to confidentiality

- Please note that assurances on confidentiality will be strictly adhered to unless evidence of wrongdoing or potential harm is uncovered. In such cases the University may be obliged to contact relevant statutory bodies/agencies.
- Please note that confidentiality will be maintained as far as it is possible, unless during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that someone might be in danger of harm, I might have to inform relevant agencies of this.
- Confidentiality will be respected subject to legal constraints and professional guidelines.
- Confidentiality will be respected unless there are compelling and legitimate reasons for this to be breached. If this was the case, I would inform you of any decisions that might limit your confidentiality.
- Confidentiality may be limited and conditional and the researcher has a duty of care to report to the relevant authority possible harm/danger to the participant or others.

Use of Deception

Research designs often require that the full intent of the study not be explained prior to participation. Although I have described the general nature of the tasks that you will be asked to perform, the full intent of the study will not be explained to you until after the completion of the study [at which point you may withdraw your data from the study].

What will happen to the results of the research project?

The results of this project will be published as an EdD thesis. It will be available by October 2021 at the UCL Institute of Education library. Since this is a professional doctorate, the findings will be used to inform practice and to facilitate any changes necessary to the use of Pupil Premium grant. As stated earlier, pseudonyms will be used to maintain anonymity and confidentiality of participants.

Data Protection Privacy Notice

Notice:
The data controller for this project will be University College London (UCL). The UCL Data Protection Office provides oversight of UCL activities involving the processing of personal data, and can be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk. UCL's Data Protection Officer can also be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk**.**

Further information on how UCL uses participant information can be found here:

www.ucl.ac.uk/legal-services/privacy/participants-health-and-care-research-privacy-notice

Your personal data will be used for the purposes outlined in this notice. The categories of personal data used will be as follows: Name, school and ethnic origin.

The legal basis that would be used to process your *personal data* will be [performance of a task in the public interest.]

The legal basis used to process *special category personal data* will be for scientific and historical research or statistical purposes/explicit consent.

Your personal data will be processed so long as it is required for the research project. If we are able to anonymise or pseudonymise the personal data you provide we will undertake this, and will endeavour to minimise the processing of personal data wherever possible.

You have certain rights under data protection legislation in relation to the personal information that we hold about you. These rights apply only in particular circumstances and are subject to certain exemptions such as public interest (for example the prevention of crime). They include:

- The right to access your personal information;
- The right to rectification of your personal information;
- The right to erasure of your personal data;
- The right to restrict or object to the processing of your personal data;
- The right to object to the use of your data for direct marketing purposes;
- The right to data portability;
- Where the justification for processing is based on your consent, the right to withdraw such consent at any time; and
- The right to complain to the Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) about the use of your personal data.

If you are concerned about how your personal data is being processed, or if you would like to contact us about your rights, please contact UCL in the first instance at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk.

If you remain unsatisfied, you may wish to contact the ICO. Contact details, and further details of data subject rights, are available on the ICO website at: https://ico.org.uk/for-organisations/data-protection-reform/overview-of-the-gdpr/individuals-rights/

Contact for further information

In case you need further information, please use the contact details below:

Researcher:

Supervisor:

Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering to take part in this research study.

CONSENT FORM FOR CLASSROOM TEACHER IN RESEARCH STUDY

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: An analysis of the use of Pupil Premium grant using the Capability Approach theoretical framework.

Department: Education, Policy and Society

Name and Contact Details of the Researcher: [redacted]

Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher: [redacted]

Name and Contact Details of the UCL Data Protection Officer: Lee Shailer data-protection@ucl.ac.uk

This study has been approved by the UCL Research Ethics Committee: Project ID number: Z6364106/2018/10/58

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

I confirm that I understand that by ticking/initialling each box below I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it will be assumed that unticked/initialled boxes mean that I DO NOT consent to that part of the study. I understand that by not giving consent for any one element that I may be deemed ineligible for the study.

		Tick Box
1.	*I confirm that I have read and understood the Information Sheet for the above study. I have had an opportunity to consider the information and what will be expected of me. I have also had the opportunity to ask questions which have been answered to my satisfaction *[and would like to take part in an individual interview]*	
2.	*I consent to participate in the study. I understand that my personal information *(name, age, school and ethnicity)* will be used for the purposes explained to me. I understand that according to data protection legislation, 'public task' will be the lawful basis for processing.	
3.	**Use of the information for this project only** *I understand that all personal information will remain confidential and that all efforts will be made to ensure I cannot be identified. I understand that my data gathered in this study will be stored anonymously and securely. It will not be possible to identify me in any publications.	
4.	*I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the University for monitoring and audit purposes.	
5.	I understand the potential risks of participating and the support that will be available to me should I become distressed during the course of the research.	
6.	No promise or guarantee of benefits have been made to encourage you to participate.	
7.	I understand that the data will not be made available to any commercial organisations but is solely the responsibility of the researcher(s) undertaking this study.	

8.	I understand that I will not benefit financially from this study or from any possible outcome it may result in in the future.	
9.	I agree that my pseudonymised research data may be used by others for future research. [No one will be able to identify you when this data is shared.]	
10.	I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I wish to receive a copy of it. Yes/No	
11.	I consent to my interview being audio recorded and understand that the recordings will be: EITHER - destroyed within six m*onths after the data has been collected or following transcription* or destroyed immediately following transcription. To note: If you do not want your participation recorded you can still take part in the study.	
12.	I hereby confirm that I understand the inclusion criteria as detailed in the Information Sheet and explained to me by the researcher.	
13.	I hereby confirm that: (e) I understand the exclusion criteria as detailed in the Information Sheet and explained to me by the researcher; and (f) I do not fall under the exclusion criteria.	
14.	I agree that my GP may be contacted if any unexpected results are found in relation to my health.	
15.	I have informed the researcher of any other research in which I am currently involved or have been involved in during the past 12 months.	
16.	I am aware of who I should contact if I wish to lodge a complaint.	
17.	Use of information for this project and beyond I would be happy for the data I provide to be archived at UCL Institute of education library. I understand that other authenticated researchers will have access to my pseudonymised data.	

If you would like your contact details to be retained so that you can be contacted in the future by UCL researchers who would like to invite you to participate in follow up studies to this project, or in future studies of a similar nature, please tick the appropriate box below.

	Yes, I would be happy to be contacted in this way	
	No, I would not like to be contacted	

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

Appendix VIII: Interview questions for students

1. How old are you?
2. How long have you been studying in this school?
3. How does the school support your learning in relation to your ethnicity?
4. Since students are taught in different sets in English, Mathematics, Science and Religious Education, what sets are you in these subjects? What criteria did the school use to place you in your sets?
5. How did you choose your optional subjects?
6. What do you understand by Pupil Premium (PP) or Free School Meal (FSM)?
7. Why are you classified as a PP/FSM student?
8. How long have you been classified as PP/FSM student?
9. What support do you receive from school because you are PP/FSM student?
10. What extra-curricular activities to you take part in both inside and outside school?
11. What challenges do you encounter at home and at school regarding your studies?
12. How does the school support you in meeting your educational needs?
13. How does the school support you in accessing curriculum materials both at school and at home?
14. How do your parents/guardians support your educational needs?
15. How do you spend your weekends and school holidays?
16. What are your experiences of the support you received during term time and during school holidays?
17. What would you like to happen in future?

Thank you so much for your cooperation in this interview, and once again, I would like to assure you that I will treat your responses with great confidentiality.

Appendix IX: Interview questions for classroom teachers

1. What is your role in this school?
2. How long have you been working in your current role in this school?
3. How does this school support the educational needs of students in relation to their ethnicity?
4. Are students taught in mixed ability groups or in sets English, Mathematics, Science and Religious Education?
5. If they are taught in sets, what criteria does the school use when placing students in sets in these subjects?
6. What support does the school offer students from disadvantaged families?
7. How does the school identify the students from disadvantaged families?
8. What are the educational activities offered to students at this school?
9. How are the students supported in choosing activities to engage in?
10. What challenges do students from disadvantaged families face at home and at school regarding homework?
11. What is your understanding of the Pupil Premium grant?
12. How is the Pupil Premium grant allocated?
13. What is the Pupil Premium grant used for in this school?
14. As a class teacher, how are you expected to support a student identified as a Pupil Premium?
15. What support are you given as a class teacher to support a Pupil Premium student?
16. What challenges do Pupil Premium students face in this school?
17. What are the specific challenges that Black pupils of the Caribbean and African descent face in your school?
18. What would you like to happen in future?

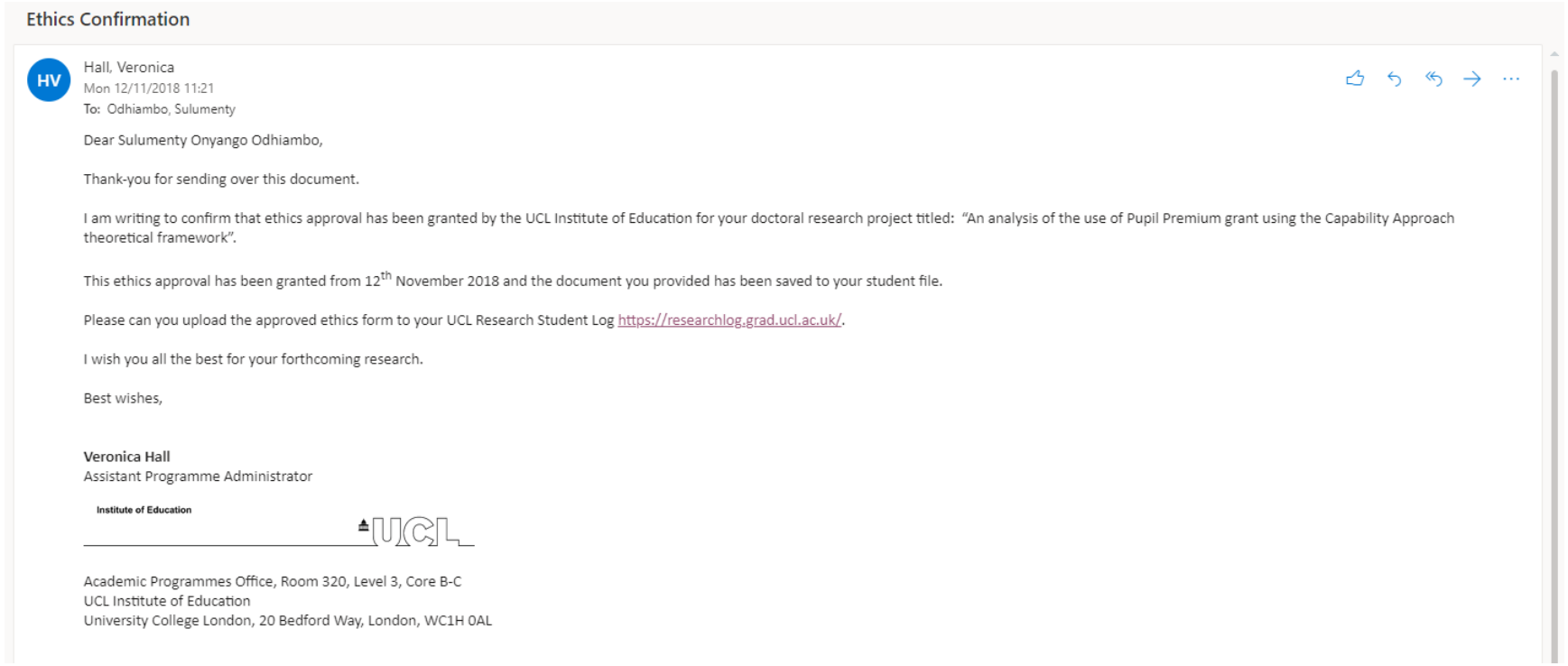
Thank you so much for your cooperation in this interview, and once again, I would like to assure you that I will treat your responses with great confidentiality

Appendix X: Interview questions for senior teachers

1. What is your role in this school?
2. How long have you been working at your current role in this school?
3. How does this school support the educational needs of students in relation to their ethnicity?
4. Since students are placed in different sets in English, Mathematics, Science and Religious Education, what criteria does the school use when placing students in sets in these subjects?
5. Can students move up and down the sets as they progress from one class to the next?
6. What support does the school offer to students from disadvantaged families?
7. How does the school identify the students from disadvantaged families?
8. What are the educational activities offered to students at this school?
9. How are the students supported in choosing activities to engage in?
10. What challenges do students from disadvantaged families face at home and school regarding homework?
11. What is the school's understanding of Pupil Premium grant?
12. How is the Pupil Premium grant allocated?
13. What is the Pupil Premium grant used for in this school?
14. How sufficient is the Pupil Premium grant in meeting the educational needs of students?
15. What happens to pupil Premium students at the end of their studies at this school?
16. What would you like to happen in future?

Thank you so much for your cooperation in this interview, and once again, I would like to assure you that I will treat your responses with great confidentiality

Appendix XI: Ethics approval documents



Ethics Confirmation

HV

Hall, Veronica
Mon 12/11/2018 11:21
To: Odhiambo, Sulumenty

Dear Sulumenty Onyango Odhiambo,

Thank-you for sending over this document.

I am writing to confirm that ethics approval has been granted by the UCL Institute of Education for your doctoral research project titled: "An analysis of the use of Pupil Premium grant using the Capability Approach theoretical framework".

This ethics approval has been granted from 12th November 2018 and the document you provided has been saved to your student file.

Please can you upload the approved ethics form to your UCL Research Student Log https://researchlog.grad.ucl.ac.uk/.

I wish you all the best for your forthcoming research.

Best wishes,

Veronica Hall
Assistant Programme Administrator

Institute of Education
UCL

Academic Programmes Office, Room 320, Level 3, Core B-C
UCL Institute of Education
University College London, 20 Bedford Way, London, WC1H 0AL

Ethics approval document

See the pdf document separately attached

Appendix XII: A copy of letter sent to schools

Subject: Request to conduct interview at XXXXX High School

[redacted]

To
The headteacher,
[redacted]
XXXXXX
Dear [redacted]

RE: Request to conduct interview at XXXXXXX high School for Girls

I hereby wish to request for an access to conduct interview at xxxxxx High School for Girls

My name is [redacted] a student at University College London and also head of Religious Education at xxxx high school. I have a DBS clearance.

The purpose of this interview is to gather information that I will use to evaluate the impact of the of the use of the UK government's Pupil Premium grant on motivation and educational achievement of black girls of African and Caribbean descent in secondary schools in south London.

This research will form the basis of Doctorate in Education (EdD) that I am undertaking at University College London.

In my study, I would be grateful if I can gain access to year 10 students from whom I will randomly select five for one to one, face to face semi-structured interview. Additionally, I would like to interview one member of staff responsible for the evaluation of the achievements of disadvantaged (PP) students.

Ideally speaking, the interviews will take place either in Autumn or Spring term in 2018/19 academic year.

Project working title: An analysis of the use of Pupil Premium grant using the Capability Approach theoretical framework
Researcher: [redacted]
Supervisor: [redacted]

I am looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

[redacted]