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considerably in these respects. It will analyse three aspects of school life where inclusion can be seen: peer relations; teacher-migrant student relations; and the ability of migrant students to celebrate their identities, using a triangulation of focus groups, semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observation to assess the schools experiences.

This paper begins by setting the scene - defining migrant children, giving an idea of their numbers in UK schools and discussing them as an under-researched group. It will then explore the debate over migrant students as challenges or benefits to schools. Popular opinion focuses on them as problematic and 'swamping' schools, although research suggests that the benefits they bring to schools can be

marked decrease from a peak of 50,000 in 2001 (ONS, 2005). However, Crawley (2006:10) argues that the acceleration of international mobility means that the number of migrant children in the UK is more likely to have risen in recent years.

The number of migrant children in schools is equally hard to judge as not all attend school. In addition, most schools do not record the migrant status of the child; they do not have to ask about it by law. They tend instead to record the children as EAL students, or as being from an ethnic minority. As many migrants will be EAL students their numbers give an indication of how many migrant children there are in UK schools.⁴

DfES statistics for 2007 state that there are 789,790 EAL students in UK primary and secondary schools. This is 12% of the entire UK school population (DfES, 2007). These numbers have grown significantly in recent years (Figure 1 as appended).

Ackers and Stalford (2004:1) state that migrant children exist in a 'research void'. Anderson and O'Connell Davidson (2005) argue that this is because migration research is preoccupied with migration as a political and economic issue. Migrant children, perceived as lacking political and economic importance, are, therefore, mostly 'invisible' from research. Arai (2005) conducted a survey of research into the use of services by migrant populations in the UK and found minimal research on migrants' use of education. This dearth is both surprising and short-sighted given: the numbers in question; the preoccupation with the impact of migrants on schools in politics and the media; and the recognition that schools are important locations in which to promote community cohesion.

⁴ The number of EAL learners is likely to be more than the number of migrants. It includes students who were born in the UK for whom English is not a primary language. However, there are also students who are migrants to the UK who have English as their primary language.

potentially lowering the academic achievements of the school. Being new in a school raises challenges for any child but the added element of being new in a country magnifies these challenges manifold. The need to learn English is a focus. Miedema (1997:54) argues that this is because language is the easiest and least controversial aspect to identify and tackle.

Studies find, however, that migrant children face many problems, including: finding new friends; dealing with loss and loneliness; adjusting to a new teacher and new school system (some children may never have been to school before); adjusting to a new cultural environment; trauma that may have occurred preceding, during and after migration; and racism or anti-immigration sentiments (e.g. Ackers and Stalford, 2004; Anderson and Williamson, 2004; Igoa, 1998). A migrant child who speaks English but may be dealing with several of these challenges would be given no official support in school (Anderson and Williamson, 2004).

Schools can be fraught places where community tensions are played out as diverse communities are forced together in

where groups are not only distinguished by their country of origin and ethnicity but by a complex '*interplay of variables*', including immigration status. He believes that recognition of this 'super-diversity' of identities can help improve experiences of inclusion and cohesion. This paper will draw on this concept to argue that a recognition of migrant students as 'migrants' in educational policies could help improve inclusion experiences in schools.

A History of Migrants in UK Education Policy

Clarke et al. (1999:171) argue that schools and educational policies in ethnically and culturally diverse societies are faced with a

1990s – 2000s

The 1990s and 2000s has seen a retreat from multiculturalism. Following race riots, terrorist attacks and growing inequalities, multicultural policies were blamed for leading to segregation and dissent (Philipps, 2005). Educational policy makers responded to these criticisms by shifting to ideas of inclusion (Clarke et al., 1999).

The 1997 Educational Green Paper '*Excellence for All Children*' was the first official step towards an inclusive model for education. It stated that mainstream schools should have the capacity to 'provide for children with a wide range of needs'

Economic and Social Inclusion (CESI) ⁷
states that:

Verma et al.'s (1994) study of UK secondary schools finds that schools that are multi-ethnic, made up of a number and variety of ethnic groups, achieve more harmony and less hostility than schools that have fewer ethnic groups. They argue that this is because identity boundaries become blurred in multi-ethnic schools while in less diverse or 'bi-ethnic' schools differences between groups can be felt strongly and lead to animosity. Vertovec (2007) agrees with Verma et. al (1994) that multi-ethnic or 'super-diverse' schools where students can achieve better inclusion. In such situations students have more opportunity to relate to one another because there are many identities on offer which can act as bases for positive. He states that: 'much success in building positive relations can arise with the recognition that individuals each belong to multiple group identities' (2007:31).

Warikoo's (2004) concept of 'identity matching' supports these ideas. She suggests that individuals will form friendships if they are able to share some form of identity. A shared ethnicity can act as a particularly strong 'identity matcher' but other factors of identity from shared interests, to similar experiences can also act as bonds. She suggests that non-migrant students with similar ethnic backgrounds to migrants or with other shared identities will relate well to migrant students.

Ackers and Stalford (2004), argue that many migrant students befriend other migrants creating what they call a 'migrant bubble'. Goldstein (2003) finds a more complex picture than Ackers and Stalford's 'bubble', in her study of migrant students in

relations between themselves and the communities they serve is unclear and will be explored in this paper.

The ethnic and racial make-up of the wider community; the history of migration to the area; the level of tension between migrants and non-migrants, can all affect experiences of inclusion in schools. Schools in the UK at present are operating in a social environment that is often hostile to migrants (Anderson and Williamson, 2004). Such hostilities vary from place to place and time to time; racisms are always contextual (Back, 1992). The CIC (2007) finds that relations in public spaces such as schools are a particular problem in certain areas of the country. 'White flight', where usually White-British students desert schools which have a high level of ethnic minority students, can occur (Alba and Silberman, 2006).

Leeman (1997) compares schools in ethnically heterogeneous big cities with those in less diverse smaller towns in the UK. She finds that relations between students are better and levels of discrimination reduced in the urban, heterogeneous area where students from different backgrounds have more contact with each other outside school and grow up together. Since urban areas are generally more familiar with migrants, levels of support from government and local NGOs are often better than in areas where migrants are newer, further aiding inclusion (Ackers and Stalford, 2004).

93% of Charrington's students are identified as part of an ethnic minority. The ethnic and national origins of these students are very mixed. There are forty-five ethnic groups represented overall, the largest being Black-Caribbean (17%) and Black-Somalian (10%). White-British students are the third largest ethnic group (7.5%). The school also has significant religious diversity with particularly high numbers of Muslim students. Approximately a third of the teachers in Charrington are from an ethnic minority. The school is highly mobile; only 74% of students in Y9 started the school in Y7. New pupils filter in regularly across the seven-year groups and at any time across the school year.

Bridgehurst is less diverse. There are 71 migrant students making up 11% of the school population. This is exactly conterminous with the number of EAL students in the school. The migrant student population is dominated by the forty-eight Czech and Slovak students of Roma ethnicity.¹⁰ This is 69% of the migrant students and 7.5% of the whole school. The country of origin breakdown of the rest of the migrant population is made up of: four students born in Poland, three in Albania, four in India, three in Afghanistan, six in Turkey and one in Estonia. The majority of the students are held back to start all at once in September. The ethnic make-up of the non-migrant students at Bridgehurst is predominantly White-British (85%), there is a small (1%) group of non-EAL, non-migrant ethnic minority students. Eight teachers at

Bridgehurst are from an ethnic minority which is 12% of the teacher population. Bridgehurst fits Verma et. al's (1994) bi-ethnic model with the majority of the school being White-British and the ethnic minorities in the school being dominated by one identity: the Czech and Slovak Roma.

Roma Students

It is very dangerous to generalise about common behaviour for a group of people; groups are, after all, made up of distinct individuals. However, a number of studies reveal that many Roma children and families portray certain common reactions to schools. Liégeois (1998:175) asserts that school, for Roma people, is invariably '*an alien institution*'. Students of Roma ethnicity can struggle to adapt to mainstream schools, having historically been educated in the home or coerced into 'special' schools (Liegeois, 1998; Kyuchukov et. al, 1999). Gomes (1999:168), in her study of the experiences of Roma children in education across Europe, finds that Roma students often have poor attendance, achievement and behavioural records. She argues that this is, in a large part, because of the importance of the family structure to Roma people. The separation from family caused by going to school can be distressing. Kyuchukov et. al (1999) argue that students of Roma ethnicity can be wary of strangers and so not respond well to teachers and peers.

Differences: Wider Community

Charrington Academy is located in a suburban area of a large UK city. It is one of the most diverse boroughs in the UK, with one of the highest international in-migrations. 46% of the borough were not born in the UK and only 29% of the borough are of White-British ethnicity and (Census, 2001). The borough has experienced significant levels of in-migration for the past four decades and racist and anti-immigration tensions in the wider area are rare (personal communication from head teacher and review of local newspapers). There is an active support network for EAL students from the LEA. For example, the council tests all new arrivals to the borough for their level of English so that schools do not have to do this.

Bridgehurst is located in a small-town in a semi-rural area of the UK. The population in

¹⁰ 'Roma' refers to a group of traditionally semi-nomadic people many of who can trace their roots to northern India over 1000 years ago (Tanner, 2005). The word 'Roma' can have negative connotations and can be considered too generalising of a whole group (Clarke and Greenfields, 2006; Tanner, 2005). Many see them as the most persecuted ethnic minority group in Europe (Tanner, 2005). In UK educational policies the Roma are grouped together with 'Travellers and Gypsies' as all are perceived as united by nomadism, despite the fact that most Roma migrants to the UK settle in permanent accommodation and do not share linguistic or cultural backgrounds (apart from a possible descent that goes back to the 16th Century) with 'Travellers' or 'Gypsies' (Clarke and Greenfields, 2006). Readers should be aware of the controversies associated with the word. However, since this group is identified as Roma at Bridgehurst by the Roma students themselves term will be used throughout the paper to refer to these students.

the local borough is predominantly White-British (94%) and 95% of the population was born in the UK (Census, 2001).

limitation less of a problem than the benefit gained from talking to the children.

I chose to use focus groups for the students as I thought that this might empower the

or country of origin. There were a variety of factors according to which students were able to 'identity match' and so form friends (Warikoo, 2004). The school actively worked to create positive relations between diverse groups, the head teacher told me:

'We do things, like in class produce seating plans or encourage after school sports and clubs, to make sure that children are continually talking and communicating across boundaries. I think we do that reasonably well'.

One of the main 'identity matchers' was language. It is after all easier to form friends with people you can communicate with. There are fifty-two languages spoken at Charrington so students can often find others who they can speak to in their first language. This comment from Abia, a student born in Iraq, reveals feelings that many of the students shared:

'It is because it is a dream to be able to speak to someone who speaks your language'.

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process seems to be taking place at Charrington as students are able to access a variety of friendship groups, through a variety of interests and identities. The super-diverse nature of the school means that boundaries between groups are blurred (Verma et. al, 1994). As this teacher describes:

'It's fantastic. It's just the respect between them is so unbelievable and makes the school so interesting and so confident, so cultural, so melodic in a sense'.

I must be wary of being too complimentary of the experience at Charrington. They have tensions as well. The head teacher told me of a serious racial issue that warranted police interaction and two expulsions: a group of boys born in Sri Lanka had started calling themselves the 'Tamil Tigers' and were involved in violent fights. However, this was the only serious incident based around race or ethnicity that the head teacher was aware of in the history of the school. The school's Ofsted report supported this finding that: 'Bullying and racism... incidents are infrequent and dealt with decisively'.

Comments from the students question the head teachers' positivity. In four out of five of the Charrington focus groups there was acknowledgement that being a new migrant could make you susceptible to bullying. Most of the bullying at seemed to be left at name-calling, rather than becoming violent. The main source of the bullying was identified by all as the 'Black' student

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Aziza: 'Yeah everyone that c T4.2(mes)7()JTJ0 -1.132 TD0.0001 Tc-0.0003 Tw[(new to this s

Achen: 'YEAH!'

Aziza: 'Most of them are Black, the Black people are rude.'

It is interesting to note that Aziza, DImar

said '*racist*'. He continued: 'Because I come from Slovakia, they come from England; they say "What are you doing in my country?".'

The teachers reported that racist incidents between the Roma and the British-born students were common. It is not uncommon for incidents to break into violence; during my seven days at the school I heard of

be some level of racism in this direction. Gillborn (1995) warns against a simplistic take on racism which sees the 'White' group as always having supremacy and the 'Black' group as the victim.

The non-Roma migrant students at Bridgehurst experienced less tension. Three of the migrant students of other ethnicities did say that UK-born students at the school were 'racist' towards them but that it was not serious; the other four said they did not experience problems. One of the Roma students commented on the Polish students: 'The Polish and the British they are like this [linked his little fingers together], the Polish don't get any problems from the British'. Significantly one Polish girl at Bridgehurst told me that the Roma boys were racist to her.

The picture is not wholly bleak. I did find evidence of inter-ethnic friendship groups at Bridgehurst, although to a significantly reduced degree than at Charrington. 27% of the migrant students at Bridgehurst said they had British friends. Two of these students, Radek and Klaudia, were Slovakian Roma who had been in the school for two years, arriving when there

that it is very much a 'guinea pig' year for the school, which is not used to having migrant students and has in the past year received fifty-three. He was confident peer

Summary

Charrington achieves fairly good levels of interaction between groups of different backgrounds and lacks serious tensions. At Bridgehurst there are low levels of such interaction and there are serious tensions, focussed around the students of Roma ethnicity. The differences between the two experiences seem to be in a large part because of different tensions from the wider community being reflected in the school and the associated ability the non-migrant population has to 'identity match' with the migrant population. The situation seems to be exacerbated at Bridgehurst by the fact that migrants are fairly new to the school, with many arriving at once at the start of this academic year. There is also a suggestion at Bridgehurst that the Roma students aggravate tensions. Bridgehurst could do more to foster unity between diverse groups. A focus on non-divisive shared identities such as an interest in football or reading, which helps 'identity matching' b hi ity more wt.7(ity

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they want and we just sit there doing nothing.'

Tylda: 'Yes, I am comfortable [in the EAL department]. They speak nicely to me; other classes aren't as nice.'

The teachers seem to get deeply involved too. I witnessed an incident at Bridgehurst where a migrant student was complaining of a headache. The teaching assistant took a particular interest in her, carefully asking her why she had a headache. It transpired that the student hadn't eaten all day. The

school throughout the year, rather than having a large group arriving at one time.

Know your students

Verma et al. (1994:35) argue that teachers must '*know*' their pupils

impolite". I said to him, "you know what? He respects you more than you think in Cameroon it is a sign of respect not to look at someone".'

Some students at Charrington were happy with teachers not knowing too much about them. Saida told me: 'I think the teachers should just teach. They don't have to know where you are from. They don't need to know anything personal. Like, when I came they asked all these questions and I was like ARGH! There were all these questions and I wish they wouldn't.' As Closs et. al (2001) argue, there is a balance to be met between understanding and supporting students and drawing unwanted attention to them.

Teacher Ethnicity

Verma et al. (1994:38) argue that 'matching' teacher's ethnicity to the ethnicity of the student population is critical, so that teachers exemplify as well as deliver an inclusive education. Warikoo (2004) argues that this 'identity matching' does not have to be based on ethnicity alone. She finds that white teachers in the USA are able to relate to West-Indian migrant students due to a shared history of migration and African-American teachers can relate to them because of a shared experience of 'race issues'.

At Charrington the level of teacher ethnicity (33%) was significantly less than the level of student ethnicity (93%). In terms of absolute numbers, however, there were several teachers who could 'identity match' with students along a number of characteristics. The fact that the EAL staff were all migrants to the UK themselves was seen as particularly important in helping them relate to the migrant students. One of the EAL staff said: 'It helps that I came to the country when I was 16. I can say to them "I did it you can do it too." I think it makes them feel better'.

At Bridgehurst about 10% of the staff were from an ethnic minority, which almost

in the use of generalisations, stereotypes

characteristics it is important to recognise and celebrate all identities and cultures. Everyone has something to offer, no matter what they believe in or who they are. There should be mutual understanding of the different cultures in our society and school'.

The show started with a world flag parade. Students streamed across the stage holding up flags whilst the teachers told the audience '*I hope you can see your flag there, we tried to represent everyone in the school*'. The show continued with a variety of poems, dances, speeches and songs, either representative of a particular culture or nation or on the idea of '*One World United*'

and diverse London school', but the atmosphere at Bridgehurst in terms of celebrating diversity was very different to that at Charrington. The EAL teaching assistant told me: '[Diversity] is celebrated, but it's hard and we should work to celebrate it more'. I was told that there had been some display work on the diversity of the school; when I was there there was one display on 'World Refugee Week'. They had had a culture show last year in the school. It had been predominantly based around food from around the world. The migrant students I spoke to were underwhelmed by it, Klaudia told me: 'It was OK, no one was very interested, I brought a chicken meal but not many people ate it'. The teachers told me that they did not have the time to organise a culture show for this year.

The migrant students at Bridgehurst seemed wary of drawing attention to themselves and only 30% thought that the school's diversity was a good thing. Karol, a Roma student from Slovakia, told me: 'I will not tell people about my culture. They are not interested; they will laugh and joke at me'. Although Klaudia, a Roma student from the Czech Republic, who has been at the school for two years and has some significant English friends, told me she enjoyed teaching Czech to her classmates and teachers.

The head teacher expressed that the school aimed to reflect their diverse make-up in their curriculum. The history teacher made an effort to teach about the persecution of Roma people in the Second World War and an EAL teacher told me that celebrating diversity was a focus in dance and art. Beyond this most teachers seemed wary of drawing attention to the school's diversity. This quote from the citizenship teachers suggests why this might be: 'It's best not to fanfare things here, it causes more problems...I used to work in a London school where we'd celebrate Eid and all things like that but it wouldn't work here, if you focus too much on things it leads to tensions'. The tensions around immigration in the wider community and in the school seem to make it difficult to celebrate

diversity and see the benefits that it can bring to the classroom.

Roma Identity at Bridgehurst

One area where Bridgehurst does stand out is in having the Roma students identify themselves as Roma. The connotations surrounding the term and the associated discrimination and persecution mean that people of Roma ethnicity can often be unwilling to identify themselves as Roma (Bancroft; 2001). The local LEA officer at Bridgehurst told me that most of the schools in the area which have Roma student populations do not officially 'have' any, since the students will not self-identify and use like most of the

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being multi-ethnic. In a multiethnic school there is so much diversity that boundaries between students from different backgrounds are blurred. The school is an example to itself that diversity can work. In a bi-ethnic school the differences between groups are much more apparent.

The Culture Show at Charrington was revealing. The show is a success at Charrington because the school has the level of diversity to display; by displaying your own ethnic, cultural or religious background at Charrington you are fitting in with the school as a part of its diverse identity. Bridgehurst's culture show served to accentuate the fact that there are mainly two communities in the school who do not get along very well with each other. The success of Charrington's culture show suggests that critics such as de Block (2006) and Troyna (1993) may be misplaced in their criticism of '*sari, samosa and steelband*'

The teachers and non-migrant student population do not have much opportunity to 'identity match' with the migrant students and divisions between the main ethnic groups in the schools were clear.

Some teachers at Bridgehurst suggested that the Roma students were a particularly problematic group to include in the school and there were indications that they aggravated tensions. An opinion that is somewhat supported in the literature about the Roma and their ability to fit into mainstream schools (Gomes, 1999; Kychchov et al, 1999). However, it is dangerous to generalise and hard to separate out the extent to which the students are reacting to behaviour towards them or acting up to a self-fulfilling prophecy (Foster, 1990).

Overall it seems that the two schools fit Verma et. al's (1994) model that better inclusive relations can be achieved in multi-ethnic rather than bi-ethnic schools.

The idea that schools are swamped by high numbers of migrant students has been questioned by the comparison of the two schools. Charrington seems to be coping better with their migrant students but has significantly more (450 compared to 71 at Bridgehurst), with the same number of EAL

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teachers at Bridgehurst are probably right that it needs to be a gentle approach. The culture show works in London but at Bridgehurst such a display is divisive since the diversity is not there to celebrate.

The place for umbrella policies like inclusion, therefore, comes under scrutiny. They can have a role as an aimed for best practice but each approach must be context based and specific to each school.

My research cannot offer conclusive answers. My study is bound to two schools and only to a relatively short amount of research time at those schools. I hope, however, that the indications offered here raise potential for further investigation and suggest helpful adaptations to policies. A wider exploration of inclusion experiences across more schools as well as research among non-migrant students and parents would be invaluable. It would also be both fascinating and useful to do a more in-depth study of migrant students, perhaps following them for several years, right from their arrival as migrants to the UK.

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SURE START (2004)

Figure 1

Number of Ethnic Minority Teachers	8, 12% of teachers *	30, 33% of teachers*
Number of Refugee/Asylum-Seeker Students	9	141
Migration History of Area	Refugee and asylum seekers early 1990s onwards, in past 5 years a rising number of EU migrants	Forty years of in-migration to area, the borough has one of highest rates of international in-migration in the UK (pers comm. Head teacher)
Ethnic Make-up of Local Borough	5% not born in the UK, 92% White-British (2001 Census)	Over 45% not born in the UK, 29.19% White-British ethnicity (2001 Census)
Deprivation of Local Borough	Rated in bottom 20% of UK according to the Deprivation Index (ONS, 2004)	Rated in bottom 20% of UK according to the Deprivation Index. (ONS, 2004)
Number of Students on Free School Meals	37%	35%
Rural/Urban	Semi-rural/ small town	Urban
LEA Support	Poor	Good

CIC's (2007) assessment of Cohesion in Local Borough

Less than 70% of local residents agreed or strongly agreed that people of different backgrounds got on well in their area (one of nt4(at)JTJO -1.1258 TDTD0.001 Tc(c9.5try-4.9Tj)