

THE PUPIL PREMIUM Next Steps

Sutton Trust and Education Endowment Foundation
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Education
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OUR RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Continued support for the pupil premium, to improve attainment for disadvantaged pupils.**

The pupil premium should remain as a key lever to raise the attainment of disadvantaged pupils. Its success will depend on the degree to which it is spent effectively. This means schools working together more to maximise impact and build capacity, and a sustained effort by the Department for Education, Ofsted and others to make a genuine improvement in the attainment of disadvantaged pupils, with appropriate accountability.

- **Continue paying the pupil premium on the basis of disadvantage, not prior attainment.**

It is important that the premium is paid for all disadvantaged pupils, without discrimination between low and high attainers. Doing otherwise - as some have suggested - would be bad for social mobility. It would also send perverse signals to successful schools. Recent Sutton Trust research has shown that disadvantaged but bright pupils fall behind at school, and it is important that schools use their premium funding where appropriate to provide stretching lessons for able disadvantaged pupils as well as helping low attainers to make good progress. This is also particularly important in improving later access to higher education.

- **A strong commitment to the promotion of rigorous evidence, particularly where it has been tested in randomised control trials.**

Evidence is a crucial tool which schools should use to inform their decision making and ensure that they identify the “best bets” for spending, but it must be acted upon. The EEF’s own qualitative research is consistent with this view. Even where money is spent on strategies which research shows have not always been effective, evidence can help schools identify steps which make success more likely. A good example is the way in which the EEF has evolved its evidence on the use of teaching assistants to show how they can make a difference with the right structures.¹ Ofsted should consider a schools’ use of evidence in their inspections and schools should be supported to evaluate approaches themselves. As we move towards a more school-led system, opportunities to build capacity on the effective use of evidence between schools and across trusts should be encouraged and recognised.

- **Improved teacher training and professional development so that all school leaders and classroom teachers understand how to use data and research effectively.**

Questions in the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER) Teacher Omnibus Survey for the Sutton Trust showed that only 4 per cent of teachers would spend the money first on improving feedback between teachers and pupils, a relatively inexpensive measure that could add eight months to pupils’ learning. Research shows that improving feedback can be a highly effective way to improve teacher development. And only 1 per cent would use peer-to-peer tutoring schemes, where older pupils typically help younger pupils to learn, an equally cost-effective measure to deliver substantial learning gains. Of course, any such

¹ educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/news/teaching-assistants-should-not-be-substitute-teachers-but-can-make-a-real-d/

measure requires effective implementation, but it is important that schools consider cost effectiveness where it can enable their premium funding to go further

Resources such as the Teaching and Learning Toolkit provide a good entry point to research, but more could be done through initial teacher training and professional development to equip teachers with the skills needed to engage with education research and to foster an understanding of the ways in which research can be used.

- **More effective systems to allow schools to identify pupils eligible for pupil premium funding.**

Schools are currently reliant on individual parents to apply for free school meals for their child, which means that schools only receive pupil premium funding for those pupils if their parents have been pro-active. The Government should consider introducing a data sharing system so that schools are automatically informed when pupils are entitled to free school meals and, therefore, pupil premium funding.

- **Extension of pupil premium awards so that schools that successfully and consistently improve results for all while narrowing the attainment gap are properly rewarded.**

Government should also consider linking some of the pupil premium systematically to school rewards, so that schools that successfully and consistently improve results for all while narrowing the attainment gap are properly recognised. The Pupil Premium Awards scheme is a welcome initiative, and it has rewarded over 600 schools this year, but consideration should be given to making this more systematic in future so successful schools are automatically rewarded. The opportunities to innovate that exist in a system with increasing autonomy increase the importance of doing this. In particular, schools should be rewarded for evaluating innovation robustly. In addition, where new school networks and structures exist these should be designed in such a way that increases the spread of knowledge to other schools, so that greater autonomy does not lead to increased isolation, and the pupil premium could help facilitate shared innovations that improve standards for disadvantaged pupils.

WHY IS IT SO DIFFICULT TO KNOW WHETHER, WHERE AND WHY THE PUPIL PREMIUM GAP IS CLOSING?

DR REBECCA ALLEN, DIRECTOR, EDUCATION DATALAB

The coalition government of 2010-2015 invested enormous amounts of money and political capital in trying to close the attainment gap between children from low-income families, and everyone else. Schools are now required by Ofsted to monitor how far they are succeeding in closing their own gap. We want to know whether they are making progress towards this goal at a national level. However, measuring national and school pupil premium gaps is fraught with difficulties. It certainly needs to be done, but done with great care.

The gap is closing on some measures and not on others

At first glance, things do not seem to be getting much better: the headline gap between the proportion of pupils gaining five good GCSEs, including English and maths, for non-pupil premium and pupil premium children is barely closing (it was 26.4 and 26.2 percentage points in 2011 and 2014, respectively). However, this is a relatively poor measure for monitoring the gap since it ignores many improvements.

It is a threshold measure only capable of changing when a student successfully achieves a C grade instead of a D grade, and not if they achieve an E rather than F or indeed an A rather than a B grade. For many children, it is their grade in English or maths that prevents them achieving five or more A*-C, including English and maths. This means the school's performance in this threshold measure hangs on the performance of one maths and one English teacher, each teaching the C-D borderline ability set for their subject. Since some Pupil Premium children are very low attaining, it is very hard for a school to bring large numbers over the five or more A*-C threshold, even if they make very substantial improvements to teaching.

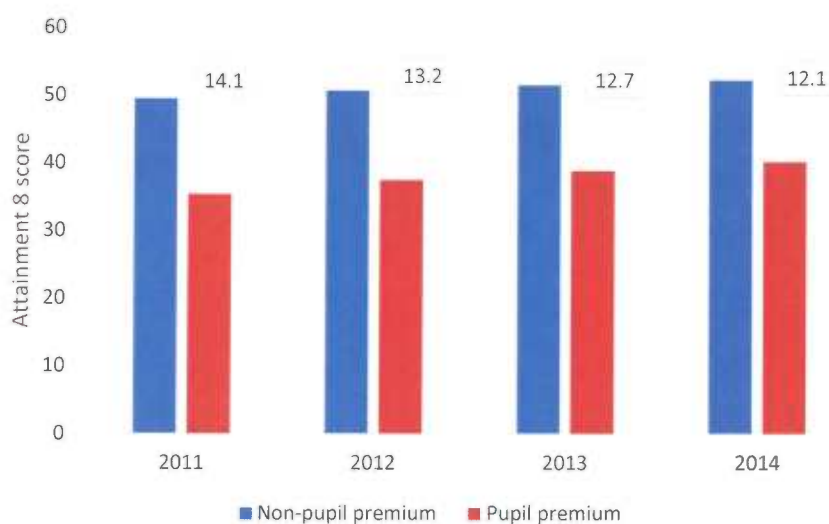
By contrast, on new accountability measures the gap is closing so fast that, if current trends continue, it will be zero by 2032! From 2016 onwards, school performance will be judged on pupil grades across eight subjects: English and maths, three subjects from science, computer science, history, geography and languages, plus any other three subjects. On this Attainment 8 measure, the gap has been narrowing fairly consistently each year. This gap has been closing particularly rapidly for children achieving a Level 4B or better in Key Stage Two tests at age 11.¹¹

Measuring the size of the pupil premium gap on this measure is more desirable because the grades of all pupils across a wide range of subjects contribute to Attainment 8 success, so it successfully identifies improvements even where they are happening for those pupils at the bottom - or top - of the attainment distribution. However, it is important to understand that Attainment 8 improves because grades improve and because subject entry mix has become better aligned with the more traditional academic subjects listed above. This change in subject entry mix is more pronounced for pupil premium children simply because this group were less likely to be following this type of curriculum in the past. The gap in the number of

¹¹ While level 4 is the 'expected standard' at Key Stage 2, Level 4B is a better predictor of the likelihood of achieving five good GCSEs.

Attainment 8 qualifying subjects has narrowed from 1.13 subjects in 2011 to 0.81 subjects in 2014. In fact, the pupil premium gap in entry patterns has now almost closed entirely for pupils with very high prior attainment.

Figure 3: The Attainment 8 pupil premium gap has been steadily falling



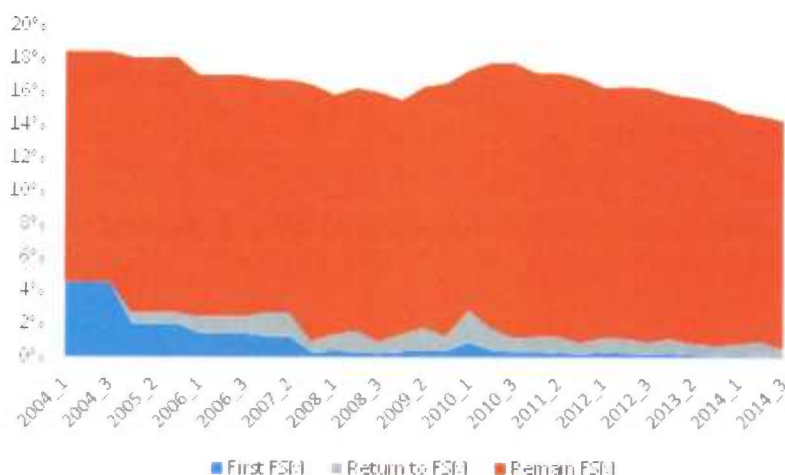
Eligibility for free school meals changes considerably by age and over time

Ideally we would want to assess the impact of the pupil premium on attainment gaps using a stable definition of educational disadvantage but eligibility for free school meals is far from stable. It is determined at any point in time by parental income and entitlement to out-of-work benefits. The list of eligible benefits grew considerably after 2001 and then shrunk under welfare reforms from 2011 onwards.

This bulging and then shrinking entitlement to benefits brings pupils into and out of the free school meals category that are likely to have quite different characteristics to those who have remained eligible under all definitions of the past decade. Furthermore, economic recessions bring a further group into the eligibility category who may be very different to those persistently not in work.

We see these patterns in the data when we track a single cohort born in 1997/8 from their time in reception through to age 16. A large number - 34% - experienced at least one spell of FSM recorded in the census.

Figure 4: Eligibility for free school meals rises in recessions, falls with benefit entitlement tightening and falls as children get older



The impact of the recession on eligibility is very visible in the data on the chart. More significantly, FSM eligibility falls as children get older simply because their family's benefits entitlement declines and parents are better able to access work with older children in the house. This has significant implications for how we monitor the gap at different stages of education. If those who remain on free school meals in secondary schools are from the families who are most disconnected with the labour market, we may find secondary school pupil premium gaps are largest here even with significant earlier interventions to modify the gap.

Concentrate on better results for pupil premium children, rather than narrowing the gap

Free school meals children are clearly different from one another, but they vary far less than the group who are not eligible for free school meals, since this group includes both those with bankers and cleaners as parents. And it is important to note that many non-FSM pupils come from lower income households than FSM pupils. (Hobbs and Vignoles¹² estimate that only around one-quarter to one-half of FSM pupils are in the lowest income households in 2004/5.) This is principally because the very act of receiving means-tested benefits and tax credits pushes children eligible for FSM up the household income distribution.

It is the diverse nature of the non-FSM pupils across England that means that is more difficult than we might think to compare pupil premium gaps across schools. A school may substantially narrow the gap by working hard to improve the attainment of their most deprived children, or through the accident of the characteristics of their ineligible children. Many schools have always had pupil premium gaps close to zero because their non-claiming pupils are no different in their social or educational background to their pupil premium children.

¹² Hobbs, G. and Vignoles, A. (2010) Is children's free school meal 'eligibility' a good proxy for family income? *British Educational Research Journal*, 36(4).

So, although it is gaps in achievement that contribute to social class inequalities and should be the national benchmark to assessing policy success, it is better for schools to concentrate their focus on the attainment of their FSM pupils rather than the size of their own pupil premium gap. The size of pupil premium gaps across schools can be compared across schools with similar demographic profiles, as is used in the Education Endowment Foundation's Families of Schools tool.

What matters to children from low-income families is that a school enables them to achieve a qualification to get on in life. If a low-income student gets a poor education from a school, it is little consolation or use for them to learn that the school served the higher income students equally poorly (the school's 'gap' was small).

As it turns out, great schools tend to be great schools for all children in the school – the statistical correlation between who does well for FSM children and who does well for non-FSM children is very high. Moreover, schools can make a difference to the life chances of FSM children – there are huge differences in attainment for these children across schools, far larger than there are for children from wealthy backgrounds who do pretty well in all schools.