



THE SOCIAL POSITIONING OF SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLING

By

Amanda Rachel Simon

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ABSTRACT

This research study constitutes an ethnographic investigation of the social positioning of 16 ‘supplementary schools’. The study incorporates positioning theory coupled with Blommaert’s approach to discourse as theoretical and analytical frameworks. The realm of supplementary schooling is complex and diverse with each school engaged in various educational projects dictated by multiple socio-political and historical factors. This complexity however is not adequately represented within current research literature. The first phase of this study investigates the key purposes of 16 diverse supplementary schools in Birmingham. This phase also encompasses the establishment of a framework in which the social positioning of schools are represented. Such a framework will challenge existing essentialised notions of supplementary schooling. This aspect of the study is achieved through semi-structured interviews with school leaders from all 16 schools. This social positioning of supplementary schools is further explored within phase 2 of the study, through an in-depth case study of an African-Caribbean school. Here, classroom observation fieldnotes, interactive recordings and staff interviews afford an exploration of the relationship between school positioning and micro-level discursive practices. Analysis of this data demonstrates that supplementary schools are complex socio-political enterprises that are situated within and respond to multiple historical, social and political storylines. The study argues that these historical, social and political contexts should be considered in order to gain a developed understanding of the role and social positioning of these institutions.

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1 Introduction

From the time of their existence supplementary schools have impacted the lives of thousands of children, been the catalyst for public debates, and have ultimately constituted a challenge to the predominant ideology of monoculturalism within the United Kingdom. For decades, ethnic minority communities have been initiating and maintaining their own independently run institutions beyond the confines of mainstream education, yet this mode of schooling has remained mostly invisible and relatively under-researched. This realm of community-based schooling is both complex and diverse, with schools teaching a plethora of academic and non-academic subjects. The field is also further complexified by the various implicit educational projects in operation within these schools.

This study constitutes an exploration of the social positioning of 16 supplementary schools across Birmingham, using the concept of ‘purpose’ as the key index of positioning. The study also demonstrates the relationship between school positioning and the micro-level discursive practices of the classroom, through an in-depth case study. In this case the term ‘supplementary’ has been used because of its current and historical relevance. This study investigates some of the conceptual underpinnings of supplementary schools and in doing so interrogates some of the common conceptions of these schools that are currently circulating within the field. The result is a revealing conceptualisation of supplementary schools not merely as educational spaces but as social and political enterprises.

Several factors led me to the field of supplementary schooling. Firstly, during my previous educational career I developed an avid interest in education and the process of schooling. Following this, a more specific interest in schooling and ethnicity evolved during my social

research career, when I conducted research on citizenship education and ethnic minority pupils. It was during this project in particular, that I became interested in the educational dynamics at the intersection of education and culture. This then led to an interest in supplementary schooling which I saw to be operating at this intersection.

During the preliminary stages of the present research study I visited two supplementary schools seeking to immerse myself in the supplementary schooling world. In my attempts to decipher the foundations of these educational spaces, I conducted a series of informal exchanges with teachers concerning their own perceptions of the meaning and purposes of supplementary schools. After hearing two notably contrasting accounts I began contemplating the issue of the social positioning and the diversity of positionings likely to exist amongst supplementary schools. This marked the start of a more focused and directed research journey.

Within current literature various attempts have been made to categorise supplementary schools. However the categorisation models currently circulating within the field are based on declared curriculum content and ethnic minority grouping. Interestingly, current literature indicates that supplementary schools are more than just (academic or cultural) subject learning spaces but are varied and complex socio-political sites. Yet current categorisations of these schools evidence an assumption of uniformity amongst groups of schools according to the ethnic minority communities they serve or their particular curriculum focus. Such grouping of schools facilitates too narrow a perception of these institutions that fails to allow for an adequate understanding of what they actually are and what they are attempting to achieve.

In an attempt to address the above challenges this research study will examine the field of supplementary schooling through the variable of ‘positioning’ and in doing so will ask the following questions:

- What are the key purposes of the schools?
- How are schools positioned by school leaders?
- How is the school positioning related to discursive practice?

In investigating these questions an ethnographic study has been conducted, which has been divided into two distinct phases, the first of which consists of a series of semi-structured interviews with school leaders and the second of which constitutes an in-depth case study of the discursive dynamics of one of the schools involved in phase 1. Whereas phase 1 explores the conceptual theoretical positioning of each school, phase 2 further explores the dynamics of school positioning by looking at the relationship between school positioning and everyday discursive practices. The transition from phase 1 to phase 2 therefore represents a shift in focus from a panoramic view looking across multiple schools, to an intensive examination of one school in particular. Both phases were tied together by a positioning based analysis and the linking of micro discourses and macro overarching Discourses (see section 3.4.1).

The examination of supplementary schooling from a positioning perspective facilitates a wide, comprehensive view of the schools that transcends current assumptions concerning curriculum content and ethnic grouping. In examining schools from this angle, this study will establish the diversity amongst supplementary schools both between and within subgroups, challenging the validity of current school categorisations and simplistic notions of supplementary schooling. Approaching the schools from this perspective effectively widens

the frame of analysis, giving rise to issues of immigration and settlement, political histories and transnationalism and in doing so, opens the way for cross-disciplinary assessment of schools. Whilst they are alluded to within current literature, positioning theory accommodates for a more intentional and concerted consideration of such issues.

The positioning approach has also led to the development of a categorisation framework that represents the diverse social positionings of the supplementary schools in this study and has allowed for certain inferences to be made concerning the acculturation experiences of respective ethnic minority communities served by the schools. In contrast to previous school categorisations this framework looks beyond the immediate characteristics of supplementary schools and considers their key purposes, as related by the school leaders.

Additionally, the detailed examination of classroom interactions recorded during phase 2, will reveal processes of positioning within the discursive interactions of the classroom and how these relate to institutional positioning discourses and other wider social and historical Discourses. This allows for a deeper insight into the discursive contexts in which the school exists and the discursive interactions between the school and these contexts, allowing for a better understanding of these schools and their functionings.

Chapter 2 of the thesis sets out the historical and socio-political backdrop for the supplementary schools explored. This chapter corresponds with Blommaert's concept of context (Blommaert, 2006) revealing the multiple storylines in which these schools are situated. The chapter proceeds to outline the history of supplementary schooling in the UK, focusing mainly on the 1950s to 1980s period. This will include an exploration of the history of mainstream schooling highlighting the connection between mainstream policies and the

rise and perpetuation of supplementary schooling. The second part of this chapter will then explore the institutional positioning of schools in current literature, analysing the various Discourses that permeate these schools and their everyday operations.

Chapter 3 constitutes a review of core literature relating mainly to the theoretical and methodological groundings of the research study but also covering surrounding discourses in the field. This chapter includes an account of positioning as a concept and positioning theory as an analytical tool. Also included is the introduction of the concept of ‘institutional positioning’ which is especially relevant to phase 1 of the research in which school leaders position their schools within particular social and historical storylines. Within this chapter, the concept of ‘discourse’ is introduced as the object of investigation. More specifically, Blommaert’s concept of discourse will be presented here as the most appropriate for this particular research study.

Chapter 4 follows on from the final sections of chapter three, exploring some of the Discourses that are pertinent to the field of supplementary schooling. Initially the concept of ‘implicit schooling’ is presented as the vehicle through which Discourses are transported within the schooling context. The chapter then proceeds to discuss concepts and issues pertaining to ethnic minority groups and acculturation processes including issues of ethnic boundary construction and cultural preservation.

Chapter 5 discusses research methodology. This chapter contains reflexive commentary through which I have attempted to make the research process explicit, providing a deeper insight into the research experience. This also allows for adequate contextualisation of the research project and its findings which is in keeping with Blommaert’s centralising of the

context in the process of understanding. Within the initial sections I present and justify the overall research design. The following sections of the chapter outline the methodological journey. Here the research process is documented in some detail with further justification of the individual methods used.

The sixth chapter is the first data analysis chapter of the thesis. This chapter constitutes an extensive exploration of the six key purpose themes drawn from the phase 1 school leader interviews, namely: survival, safeguarding, recovery, showcasing, counteraction of negative portrayals and transformation of social standing. This chapter will clearly operationalise each theme label and will explore the intricacies and dynamics of each, using the first-hand accounts of participants. Here the key tenets of positioning theory have been used to highlight the various institutional positionings of schools, together with Blommaert's approach to discourse which has also informed the analysis. This exploration of key themes demonstrates the varied and complex nature of supplementary schooling that is made visible through the examination of school purpose.

Chapter 7 presents a social mapping of schools according to their social positioning. The content of this chapter is effectively the final two stages of the phase 1 analysis. Building on the purpose themes set out in chapter 6, this chapter will present the purpose clusters of the 16 schools investigated. These clusters constitute various combinations of purpose themes which constitute social positionings. This chapter will explore the relationship between the particular dynamics within each social positioning and wider socio-political Discourses and will make tentative suggestions as to why schools providing for certain ethnic minority groups might adopt certain social positions and what this may indicate with regards to the acculturation experiences of these communities. This chapter will also provide a

comprehensive methodology of the mapping process in order to contextualise the mapping table and surrounding discussions.

Chapter 8 will present an in-depth case study of an African-Caribbean supplementary school involved in the first research phase, exploring the micro-level dynamics of discursive positioning within classroom interactions. Through the triangulation of data from staff interviews, participant observation fieldnotes and interactive recordings, this chapter will explore the relationship between the school's institutional positioning (as indicated by the school leader) and everyday classroom discourse. In this sense this chapter will add further micro-detail to the explorations of chapter 6 by demonstrating the possible impact of institutional social positioning on classroom discursive practice. This chapter will again incorporate the key tenets of positioning theory and Blommaert's concept of discourse in the data analysis.

Finally, chapter 9, the overall conclusion of this thesis, will outline the key findings of the research with regards to the central research questions and will also outline the implications of the research in relation to the conceptualisation and investigation of supplementary schooling.

2 Supplementary schooling, past and present

This chapter will explore past and present discourses surrounding supplementary schooling. The initial section of the chapter will present a brief review of the historical discourses that have influenced the formation and perpetuation of schools whilst the latter section will outline the major discourses pertaining to the current positioning of supplementary schooling within the literature. The aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive context of supplementary schooling within which the schools within this study can be conceptualised. In this sense this chapter is reflective of Blommaert's notion of context which advocates that all discourse carries with it, structural and historical context which must be considered within its analysis. Consequently context is central to meaning making (Blommaert, 2005) which in this case involves the deciphering of institutional discourses and of those who are involved within them.

2.1 The history of supplementary schooling

This section will constitute a brief summary of the inception and rise of supplementary schooling in the UK paying particular attention to the mainstream educational context. Evidence suggests that events within the mainstream context were particularly influential in the rise and expansion of supplementary schools in the UK, particularly from the 1950s onwards (Tomlinson, 1984b). Creese et al comment for instance, that “complementary schooling is a result of historical processes and attitudes towards language and culture in specific national contexts which do not see the learning and teaching of the minority languages and cultures as the state's responsibility” (Creese et al, 2008: 272). Other writers

also state that supplementary schools have emerged due to the perceived inabilities of mainstream education to facilitate meaningful experiences for ethnic minority groups and to address their educational needs (Hall et al, 2002; Chevannes and Reeves, 1987). The 1960s in particular, has great significance in terms of schooling and race relations. According to Grosvenor, it was during 1960s that educational policy began to mirror the state's problematic construction of black immigrants (Grosvenor, 1997). This was therefore considered to be a fitting starting point for this historical exploration.

Throughout this chapter various terms are used to refer to members of immigrant communities. This is due to the attempts made to preserve, as far as possible, the terminologies used by the individual writers. Apart from the obvious references to individual communities, the term 'black' is used as a generic descriptor, as adopted within Grosvenor's *Assimilating Identities* (Grosvenor, 1997). Whilst Grosvenor realizes that this term is a much contested construction, it is nevertheless used to refer to individuals of South Asian, African and Caribbean origin. The inclusive use of this term does not imply uniformity amongst these groups, except for their comparable experiences of racism and discrimination on the basis of skin colour (Grosvenor, 1997).

2.1.1 The beginnings

The existence of supplementary schools in the UK dates back to the early 1800s when schools were established by Russian settlers. Irish schools were also founded in Britain during the 1800s (McLean, 1985), followed by Jewish, Polish and Italian schools (Tomlinson, 1984b). The late 1800s also saw the establishment of a supplementary school for the children of Chinese Dockers (Issa and Williams, 2009). The primary aim of many of the supplementary

schools formed at this time was the retention of language and cultural values (Issa and Williams, 2009).

From the 1950s onwards the number of supplementary schools increased dramatically in proportion with the arrival of immigrant communities from the new commonwealth (Issa and Williams, 2009). It was during this post-war period, within a highly politicised social context (Myers and Grosvenor, 2011) that the development of the supplementary school ‘movement’ really began (Mau, 2007). African-Caribbean schools were established at some time between the 1950s-1960s; whilst some writers claim that African-Caribbean supplementary schooling dates back to the 1950s (Mirza and Reay, 2000), others place the first schools in the late 1960s (CASBAH, Accessed: 27/09/2012). All of the above schools grew mainly during the 1970s and early 1980s (McLean, 1985). Such schools operated outside of regular school hours, at weekends or on weekday evenings (Issa and Williams, 2009). According to Tomlinson, the most extensive development of supplementary and additional schooling has been provided by the Caribbean, Pakistani and Indian communities (Tomlinson, 1984b).

2.1.2 Corresponding history of mainstream and supplementary schooling

Starting from the mid-1940s post war period, educational policy in Britain has encompassed several dominant circulating and overlapping ‘Discourses’ (see chapter 3, section 3.4.1) pertaining to the positioning of ethnic minority communities within the education system. These Discourses have affected the learning experiences of children from these communities which in turn led to a need for additional community based schooling. The following paragraphs will outline these Discourses which emerged and re-emerged during certain periods of history from the 1940s to the early 2000s.

The first Discourse reflected at policy and institutional level was that of ethnic minority groups being “a ‘problem’” within British education (Grosvenor, 1997: 23). In particular, black immigrants were seen to have created a “‘race relations’ situation and a ‘race relations’ problem which had not existed before” (Grosvenor, 1997: 41), which was further exacerbated by the excessive numbers of these immigrants (Grosvenor, 1997). This Discourse emerged during the 1960s and was articulated through government responses to the increase in immigrant children within British schools. In its 1965 circular to local education authorities for instance, the Department of Education and Science (DES) stated that:

It would be helpful if parents of non-immigrant children can see that practical measures have been taken to deal with the problems in the schools and that the progression of their own children is not being restricted by the undue preoccupation of the teaching staff with the linguistic and other difficulties of the immigrant children
(DES circular, 1965 cited in Willey, 1984: 22).

According to Grosvenor this tendency towards the problematising of immigrants during the 1960s was reflective of the wider context of immigrant related legislation, where legislative restrictions on the movement of black migrants served in reinforcing the perception that they were a problem (Grosvenor, 1997).

This viewpoint however is not without its opponents. Jeffcoate denies the stereotypical portrayal of immigrant children as problems within government policy. Jeffcoate states that immigrant children were problems in that they arrived in large numbers over a short time period and had certain social and educational disadvantages. However he dismisses the claims that government policy exclusively defined immigrant children as a problem (Jeffcoate, 1984).

Educational policy during the 1960s was also characterised by an assimilationist Discourse that required newcomers to be blended into British society as quickly as possible (Leung and Franson 2001; Craft, 1984; Jeffcoate, 1984). Whilst there were some special linguistic provisions made for immigrant children during this time, a lack of English language skills was seen to be a major obstacle to assimilationist efforts. Thus policy concerns during the early 1960s reflected a major drive towards the teaching of English to non-English speakers (Leung and Franson, 2001). Myers and Grosvenor postulate that the existence of supplementary education could be perceived as a reaction to such assimilation efforts and to the racism within mainstream schooling that caused both academic and psychological damage to pupils (Myers and Grosvenor, 2011).

This assimilationist ideology was also reflected in the government's implementation of dispersal measures in the 1960s (Willey, 1984). A high concentration of immigrant children in certain areas was seen to be destabilising assimilation efforts and hampering academic progress in schools (Leung and Franson 2001; Grosvenor, 1997). Dispersal involved the transportation of several hundred immigrant children from schools that had become predominantly non-white and poor, to schools that were predominantly white and middle class. These measures substantiated the notion of immigrant families being a problem (Grosvenor, 1997).

The assimilationist discourse persisted during the mid-1960s and into the late 1970s. Although there were some signs of a conceptual shift in education policy towards 'integration' as opposed to 'assimilation', the particular interpretation of integration being employed was one in which the onus was placed on immigrants to adjust in order to 'fit in' (Grosvenor, 1997). Thus despite the change in rhetoric, assimilationist principles continued

to sway thinking and define educational policy. Within this perspective black pupils were still being perceived as the problem, which prevented the recognition of the existence of institutional racism in mainstream education and the consideration of its effects on the educational experiences of black pupils (Grosvenor, 1997).

Gillborn conceptualises 'institutional racism' as the more subtle operations of power that result in the disadvantaging of one or more minority ethnic groups (Gillborn, 2008). This form of racism is manifested through underlying processes, practices, assumptions and expectations that are sometimes unintended (Grosvenor, 1997).

During the late 1960s racist dimensions of assimilationist education policies were being increasingly challenged at local authority level (Grosvenor, 1997). The increasing pressure from minority communities, liberal policy makers and educationalists resulted in an increased awareness of the importance of equity and social justice within education (Tomlinson, 1998). This period also saw the implementation of Section 11 funding introduced in England under Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act to fund English as a second language initiatives (Grosvenor, 1997). Grosvenor comments however that the wording of the Act again presents black people as problematic and positions them outside of 'the community' (Grosvenor, 1997). It has also been argued that the main aim of the funding was to support the development of English as to enable greater integration in schools. Thus the model of provision was still very much oriented towards assimilation (NALDIC, 2009; Grosvenor, 1997).

According to Grosvenor the concurrent persistence of assimilationist thinking and the problematising of black children was also evident in documents such as the report of the

Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1969. According to Grosvenor, whilst this report recognised the association between race discrimination and the difficulties faced by the black community, it still reverted to the problematising of the black family and young people within the black community (Grosvenor, 1997). During the 1970s the rhetoric of national government policies also discouraged the teaching and learning of non-English community languages (Creese et al, 2007). This was despite the recognition of the great importance of these languages to the children, their families and the wider society in the 1975 Bullock Report (DES, 1975).

According to Kirp, it was at the close of the 1970s that education policy experienced a notable shift. In particular, the passing of the Race Relations Act (1976) granted new legal significance to the issue of discrimination in education (Kirp, 1979). Grosvenor reports that this period saw the promotion of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism (Grosvenor, 1997). Jones comments that this shift in policy focus came about as a result of various anti-racist campaigns that took place throughout the 1970s (Jones, 2003).

By the late 1970s however, minority groups, particularly the African-Caribbean community became concerned that their children were not experiencing equal opportunities within the British mainstream education system (Tomlinson, 2005). The dissatisfaction of parents at this time, resulted in the continued growth of African-Caribbean schools due to a growing mistrust of mainstream schooling among community members (Jones, 1986).

The multiculturalist movement continued into the 1980s and was reflected in the appointment of multicultural education advisors within English local authorities by the mid-1980s and the establishment of antiracist organisations such as National Antiracist Movement in Education

(NAME) and All London Teachers Against Racism (Jones, 2003). Pressure from these groups resulted in some LEAs implementing antiracist policies and strategies (Grosvenor, 1997). The multicultural ideology promoted greater cultural awareness and tolerance within British schools. According to Leung and Franson, this also led to an increased awareness of multilingualism and a shift from the perception of community languages as a hindrance to the perception of bilingualism as a possible advantage (Leung and Franson, 2001).

In 1981 four major reports were published on multicultural education, including the Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups better known as the ‘Rampton Report’. Unlike earlier documents, this report exposed the failures of the education system with regards to ethnic minority children highlighting the institutionalised racism of teachers and the inappropriate curriculum content (Jones, 2003). This enquiry was later taken over by Lord Swann and the final report of the committee, entitled *Education for all* was submitted in 1985 and, is informally known as the ‘Swann Report’ (Tomlinson, 2005). The Swann Report concluded that the achievement levels of ethnic minorities are adversely affected by socioeconomic disadvantage and that a large amount of underachievement is due to prejudice and discrimination within and outside of the education system (DES, 1985). Tomlinson suggests that the Swann Report constituted “positive policy thinking about race issues” (Tomlinson, 2005: 38).

The reports produced during the 1980s however, are not without criticism. The 1981 Rampton Report and the 1985 Swann Report are both criticised by Jones for blaming black parents for the neglect of their children (Jones, 1986). Grosvenor also comments that the Swann report fails to make significant associations between racism and the educational

underachievement of West Indian children, effectively relieving the education system from any responsibility (Grosvenor, 1997).

With regards to community language teaching, the Swann Report, whilst realising the need for a “broader approach to language education” (DES, 1985: 386) also suggests that the teaching of community languages be confined to the communities themselves:

“[W]e would regard mother tongue maintenance, although an important educational function, as best achieved within the ethnic minority communities themselves rather than within mainstream schools, but with considerable support from and liaison with the latter.” (DES, 1985: 406)

Despite the developments made with regards to mother tongue teaching throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, the sentiments of the Swann report became a major influence on the orientation of future policies pertaining to the provisions made for bilingual learners (NALDIC, 2009). It was also the case that the shift towards an anti-racist agenda was not reflected within central government which still held fast to assimilationist goals, shown through the continued promotion of national values and beliefs (Grosvenor, 1997).

In the post 1988 period, the vast majority of policies geared towards the direct addressing of race and minority related issues were removed from educational debates and as a result, the issues of race and ethnic inequalities rarely surfaced from 1990 to 1997 (Tomlinson, 2005). From the late 1980s onwards, government encouragement for community language provision continued to decline. Instead the government began promoting the use of English as the primary medium of instruction for all pupils (Rampton et al, 1997). Such measures are thought to have been motivated by concerns for social cohesion and the marking of national boundaries through language (Rampton et al, 1997).

During this time relationships between mainstream schools and ethnic minority communities was critically fragile and there remained a lack of confidence in mainstream schooling among these groups (Tomlinson, 1984a). It was under such circumstances that the establishment of supplementary schools which began in earnest in the 1950s, experienced a boom in growth during mid-1970s and 1980s (Hall et al 2002). Although there were episodes of improvement with regard to education policy, the resulting effects were not consistent enough to completely restore the confidence of ethnic minority communities in the British education system.

At the start of the first term of the New Labour government in 1998 there was a notable focus on racial inequality in education. This was marked by the implementation of several measures including: the establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit in 1998, which investigated truancy and exclusions and looked specifically at the overrepresentation of black boys in exclusion statistics; and the establishment of an Ethnic Minorities Achievement Unit within the Department for Education and Skills (DfES). The 1999 McPherson Report which resulted from the investigation of the murdered teenager Steven Lawrence, also aided in the advancement of race equality and race relations efforts in its highlighting of the prevalence of institutional racism within the schooling system (Tomlinson, 2005). However whilst significant policy changes were made, the New Labour Government seemed less prepared to encourage changes in the curriculum. As a result, there still remained evidence of racial inequalities and no concerted effort was made to advance antiracist education (Gillborn, 2008).

At the turn of the 21st Century, national and international research on the benefits of bilingualism began to surface, influencing both professionals in the field and those operating at national levels (NALDIC, 2009). 2002 saw the establishment of the national languages

strategy: *Languages for all, Languages for life* (DfES, 2002). The overall aim of the strategy was to change attitudes towards language learning, including community languages (NALDIC, 2009). In addition in 2007 the ‘Our Languages Project’ was also established. This project, funded by the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) aims to raise the status of community languages within mainstream schooling and also highlight the work carried out by supplementary schools across England (NALDIC, 2009).

Currently, policies and debates reflect contradictory views of the value of community languages. On one hand, recent educational policies seem to encourage the learning of community languages within the mainstream, and also to make connections with the local community and supplementary schools. On the other hand, research in this area reveals an increased criticism of languages other than English in the media and political discourses (Creese et al, 2008).

It is important that current linguistic supplementary schooling in particular, is viewed within this largely monolingual context in which “monolingualising tendencies reproduce in discourse ‘common sense’ consensus about the dominance of an ideology of homogeneity and the negative influence of diversity” (Creese et al, 2008: 271-272). In this context, a considerable number of supplementary schools can be seen as institutions that are born out of the tension between the opposing forces of assimilation and identity preservation and to constitute determined efforts to maintain distinguishing cultures and languages and thus prevent identity loss (Creese et al, 2007).

With the recent ushering in of the new coalition government in May 2010, there are already indications of further changes within the education system with regards to race related policy.

David Cameron's much debated speech on multiculturalism gave an indication at least, of the intentions of the new coalition government pertaining to public policy including educational policy. Within his speech the Prime Minister commented on the failure of "the doctrine of state multiculturalism" (Cameron, Munich Security Conference, 2011, cited in Wright and Taylor, 2011) which encourages different cultural communities to live separately from mainstream society, resulting in the "weakening of our collective identity" (Cameron, Munich Security Conference, February 2011 cited in Wright and Taylor, 2011). According to the 'Independent' Mr Cameron's plans for a more unified British society requires all immigrants to speak English and also requires schools to teach Britain's 'common culture' (Wright and Taylor, 2011).

These central government sentiments are reminiscent of the previous assimilationist discourse which encompassed a focus on collective nationalism. There are already indications in fact, that such plans may lead to the alienation of ethnic minority communities. For instance, Muslim groups have criticised Cameron's proposals, stating that they place disproportionate responsibility on ethnic minority communities to integrate, whilst failing to highlight the responsibility of the wider society to help immigrants to feel welcome (Wright and Taylor, 2011).

Through the exploration of education policy and conceptual trends this section has provided a socio-historical backdrop against which supplementary schooling as a movement can be effectively understood. Whilst it is not clear to what extent each ethnic minority group was affected by movements within mainstream schooling policy, it is inevitable that certain discriminatory and exclusionary concepts and practices within mainstream schooling helped to shape both the nature and purposes of supplementary schools. This account highlights the

recurrence of certain discourses throughout time which perhaps explains the continued perpetuation of supplementary schooling, even to the present day.

2.2 Current positioning of supplementary schools

Current research suggests that supplementary schools are more than just subject learning spaces. Li (2006) explains for instance that, as well as being social and educational institutions, these schools are also politically important (Li, 2006). Within their discussion of black supplementary schooling, Mirza and Reay (2000) state that educational sites are political as well as cultural spaces that are representative of the accommodation and contestation of knowledge by social constituencies with varying levels of power (Mirza and Reay, 2000).

Although separately sub-titled, the various positionings of schools outlined in this section are not considered to be totally exclusive, instead they are perceived as overlapping and interdependent. The somewhat simplistic separation of these positionings is simply for the purposes of clarity, as it is evident that supplementary schools occupy multiple positions. The positionings of supplementary schools are also thought to be changeable throughout time, in accordance with wider social changes, the changed position of a community within the wider society or the changing views of the community themselves concerning their own identity or positioning (Myers and Grosvenor, 2011). Li (2006) for example, states that the Chinese School community in England is constantly evolving due to such factors as population make-up, socio-political events and global market changes. Similarly, Issa and Williams found that supplementary schools have moved away from their original remit of the teaching of community languages, becoming multi-functional institutions (Issa and Williams, 2009).

Sections 2.2.1-2.2.7 will summarise several types of understandings of supplementary schools which currently circulate within research literature mainly with regards to their purposes and aims, highlighting the varied nature and understandings of these institutions. The chapter will then proceed to explore the categorisation of schools and the categorisation variables that are used by writers to separate one group of schools from another. The final section of the chapter will explore the labelling of the schools, exposing the underlying definitional dilemma that is evident within current supplementary schooling literature. The term ‘labelling’ pertains to the terminology used within current literature to refer to supplementary schools. These labels reveal the particular social space to which these educational institutions have been allocated.

2.2.1 Means of preserving and maintaining traditional culture and language

Perhaps one of the most predominant and widely held conceptions of supplementary schools is that they are a means of preserving the traditional culture of the ethnic minority group they serve. The popularity of this conception is reflected in research literature (Archer et al, 2010; Creese et al, 2008; Hall et al 2002). Creese et al (2008) for instance describe supplementary schools as “safe spaces” (Creese et al, 2006: 41) where languages and heritages can be produced and promoted (Creese et al, 2008). Within the Chinese schools investigated by Archer et al, the schools seemed to be responsible for teaching attendees to think, act and behave ‘Chinese’ This conception was confirmed by head teachers and coordinators of the schools (Archer et al, 2010). However Creese et al also recognise that these institutions do not always constitute “safe spaces” (Creese et al, 2006: 41) for attendees due to the restrictions they may place on multilingual performance (Creese et al, 2006).

This conception also corresponds with Lu's (2001) study in which parents reported that they sent their children to Chinese school to learn Chinese culture, history and tradition and essentially to maintain Chinese tradition (Archer et al, 2010). In this sense the Chinese schools were seen to constitute an important support mechanism for the diasporic existence of the Chinese community in the UK, maintaining connections with China and Chinese popular culture and communication between generations (Francis et al, 2008).

Referring to Muslim supplementary schools, Mogra (2007) comments that they assist in preserving and promoting Islamic epistemology and spirituality and play an important role in the nurturing of Muslim children who exist within a society that operates on a contrasting set of values. These schools are therefore the vehicle by which Muslim religious, cultural and linguistic identity is preserved (Mogra, 2007). Similarly, in a study conducted by Hall et al it was found that across all four schools investigated, there was a notable desire to provide some means of cultural continuity and enrichment. This was achieved through language development and religious and educational activities (Hall et al, 2002).

2.2.2 Supportive environment that engenders a sense of belonging

It is largely due to shared values, culture and language that the supplementary school context is seen to provide a protective and supportive space for children from ethnic minority communities (Issa and Williams, 2009). Speaking specifically of African-Caribbean supplementary schools, Issa and Williams indicate that this supportive space is at least in part, established through the understanding of racism that is shared by teachers and parents (Issa

and Williams, 2009). Li (2006) additionally indicates that African-Caribbean schools have been partly founded on the premise that the predominance and control of black people within these institutions in and of itself causes students to feel more secure (Li, 2006). Issa and Williams (2009) also suggest that the African-Caribbean supplementary school constitutes a protective and supportive institution for black children, where they can be equipped with skills and knowledge to shield them against discriminatory attacks within mainstream education and the wider society (Issa and Williams, 2009).

In terms of belonging and togetherness, Mirza and Reay (2000) highlight the dual nature of black supplementary schools in Britain, being both focused on individual achievement but also maintaining a collective ethos. Mirza and Reay suggest that black supplementary schools constitute one of the few challenges to individualism and free markets in education through their promotion of traditional notions of community which include a community built on a communal ethos, commitment, reciprocity and continuity (Mirza and Reay, 2000).

2.2.3 Response to the shortcomings of mainstream schooling

By far the most commonly expressed conception of supplementary schooling was that these schools constitute a direct response to the failings of mainstream education. This is very explicitly expressed by Coard (1971) who refers here, to the role of African Caribbean schools:

Through these schools we hope to make up for the inadequacies of the British school system, and for its refusal to teach our children our history and culture. We must not sit idly by while they make ignoramuses of our children, but must see to it that by hook or crook our children get the best education they are capable of (Coard, 1971 cited in Issa and Williams, 2009: 13)

Supplementary schools were seen to provide a 'safe space' (Creese et al, 2006) where the failings of mainstream schooling could be counteracted (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987; McLean, 1985). African-Caribbean supplementary schools are believed to have been born out of parental dissatisfaction with mainstream education which failed to adequately reflect the cultural interests and experiences of the African-Caribbean community (Li, 2006; Dove 1993).

Li further comments that parental and community dissatisfaction was in fact a common feature that propelled the establishment of supplementary schooling across ethnic minority groups (Li, 2006). Mau (2007) refers to the experiences of the post Second World War Eastern European immigrants and the other immigrants from commonwealth countries who felt that British mainstream education failed to satisfy their children's educational needs (Mau, 2007). Other writers further state that supplementary schools have resulted from the perceived inabilities of mainstream education to facilitate meaningful experiences for ethnic minority groups and to address their educational needs (Hall et al, 2002; Chevannes and Reeves, 1987).

Research suggests that the prevailing feeling of dissatisfaction among ethnic minority groups with regards to mainstream education stems from a number of specific shortcomings. A key issue for the black community in particular was the prevalence of racism within the school system. Dove believes that the state schooling system in Britain is influenced by a European centred ethos that seeks to hamper the human potential of Africans by misinforming them about who and what they are. In doing so, the system is said to aid the maintenance of power inequalities and more specifically the justification of 'African oppression' (Dove, 1993).

The influence of mainstream education on achievement levels is also an overlapping concern. At the time when the first African-Caribbean schools were established it was thought by black parents that their children were not achieving as well as they could, due to the substandard education they received within British schools (Issa and Williams, 2009). This then led to a heightened awareness of the political nature of mainstream education and other social institutions (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987).

In addition to these claims, a number of researchers have reported that the key reason for the establishment of Muslim schools in Western societies is the absence of appropriate moral and spiritual and education values within mainstream schooling. Muslim schools therefore attempt to supplement mainstream education by promoting traditional Islamic social and moral values (Mogra, 2007).

Whilst it is clear that supplementary schooling is a response to mainstream failures, some writers suggests that supplementary schools proceed beyond this conception. Dove for instance suggests that the black supplementary school acts as a means of resistance against the prevalence of racism within mainstream education (Dove, 1993). Hall et al (2002) agree with this conceptualisation stating that ethnic minority groups resist by providing alternative schooling outside of the mainstream system where children can learn their own language, culture and traditions (Hall et al, 2002). According to Mirza and Reay, supplementary schools also provide a “sense of centrality” (Mirza and Reay, 2000: 533) for black pupils (Mirza and Reay, 2000). This was achieved through the construction of an “all black context” (Mirza and Reay, 2000: 533) where blackness was valorised, engendering a sense of belonging, collectivity and familiarity for black children (Mirza and Reay, 2000). This type

of educational context is seen to be opposite to mainstream schools where ethnic minorities can often feel excluded or marginalised (Hall et al, 2002).

2.2.4 Space where common conceptions or discourses can be challenged

Whilst the conception of supplementary schooling as a form of resistance is widely shared amongst writers, Mirza and Reay further argue that supplementary schooling is in fact a powerful means of transforming structure through agency, decentring popular myths concerning black children and educational ability (Mirza and Reay, 2000).

In their small scale study of African-Caribbean supplementary schools, Mirza and Reay focused on four schools: three within London and another situated in a provincial city. Qualitative data were gathered through participant observation at two of the schools and seven in-depth interviews with black teachers and parents of students. Whilst all four of the schools considered it their primary purpose to serve the African-Caribbean community all the schools accepted both African and mixed-race students and one of the schools had a small population of Asian students. Only one of the schools however thought it acceptable to include white pupils as part of their intake (Mirza and Reay, 2000).

Mirza and Reay make use of recent conceptualisations of new social movements which places emphasis on identity construction and collective and individual subjectivity. Collective identity is seen to be constructed through social movements, within negotiation and affirmation processes that are geared towards the counteraction of the negative effects of oppression (Mirza and Reay, 2000).

Mirza and Reay concluded that black supplementary schools engage in acts of social transformation which challenge dominant conceptions held within white-dominated societies (Li, 2006; Mirza and Reay, 2000) in turn generating ‘oppositional meanings’ to those of mainstream society (Mirza and Reay, 2000). Furthermore, in the creation of these oppositional meanings, these institutions are also able to construct ‘alternative frameworks of sense’ which counteract common constructions held within wider society. For instance, Mirza and Reay postulate that “the discursive constructions of community and blackness within these schools contribute to the formation of collective black identities which work against the hegemony of whiteness and individualism within wider society” (Mirza and Reay, 2000: 525). In this sense black supplementary schools are portrayed as sites in which even the prevailing social order can be challenged and an alternative reality constructed (Mirza and Reay, 2000).

The findings of Mirza and Reay’s study are also supported by work carried out by Creese et al (2006) who draw on data from two Gujarati supplementary schools in Leicester to explore the development of student identity positionings. Creese et al discovered that supplementary schools provided a space for the expression and construction of alternative discourses from those of the dominant mainstream. In particular, the supplementary school context allowed students and teachers to establish narratives about their identities as bilingual and multicultural. These discourses conceptualised ethnicity as both ambiguous and stable and also facilitated the valuing of bilingualism, a feature seen to be lacking in the mainstream. These supplementary school discourses are contrary to those in wider society, which is dominated by the monolingual ideal and fails to take account of the complexities of England’s multilingual society (Creese et al, 2008). In addition Creese et al also portray supplementary

schools as contexts in which attendees could contest and challenge essentialising positions concerning language, culture and ethnicity (Creese et al, 2008).

2.2.5 ‘Safe space’ where identities can be formulated, explored and managed

Closely related to the contestation and reconstruction of negative mainstream conceptions is the portrayal of supplementary schools as a space of identity construction and management. In their study of Gujarati schools in Leicester, Creese et al discovered that students viewed the learning of Gujarati in supplementary schools as a means of adopting a form of ethnic and linguistic identity that was not available in other English dominated areas of their lives (Creese et al, 2006). Creese et al present the supplementary school context as a ‘safe space’ in which students are free to explore and negotiate both the general concepts of culture, ethnicity, bilingualism and learning and also to construct and perform their own preferred identity positionings (Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Creese et al, 2006). This was reflected in the responses of the children who used their languages to identify with a range of overlapping cultures and whose self-descriptions revealed shifting and multiple identity positions (Creese et al, 2006).

Mirza and Reay particularly recognise the orientation of supplementary schools towards the provision of positive identity forms. In their reconstruction of the notion of blackness, the black women educators in Mirza and Reay’s study were discretely opposing the dominant negative notions of the black identity that remain prominent within British society. In doing so these educators allowed students access to alternative, more empowering identity conceptions (Mirza and Reay, 2000).

Whilst supplementary schools are widely presented as spaces of liberation from the restrictive notions and constructions of mainstream education and society, it has also been noted that these schools can promote their own essentialised constructions in relation to ethnic identity and language. This can be seen in an ESRC funded study carried out by Archer, et al (2010). This study included six different Chinese schools situated in London, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool. Over a six month period, data were collected via ethnographic observation, documentary analysis, and interviews conducted with teachers, parents and pupils. Here it was found that the meanings and symbols of Chineseness were struggled over within the Chinese supplementary schools (Archer, et al, 2010).

Archer et al highlight the problematic standardisation of Chinese culture constructed within Chinese supplementary schools through the representation of certain hegemonic notions of Chineseness (Archer, et al, 2010). These constructions of Chineseness were interwoven within the curriculum, school activities and teaching practices and were promoted in implicit and explicit ways. These notions include conventions such as speaking Mandarin and other aspects of Chinese ‘culture’, some of which are deeply embedded in Chinese historical thought. Many of the pupils claimed that they were unable to relate their own identities to the school’s hegemonic notion of Chineseness. Some of the pupils argued for instance that the schools formal notion of Chineseness failed to take account of Chinese youth culture including Chinese popular culture and youth slang.

This study highlights the underlying tension caused by the attempts of Chinese schools to preserve and cement Chineseness and the attempts of second and third generation young people to construct and renegotiate their own conceptions of Chineseness and Chinese

identity (Archer et al, 2010). Archer et al suggest that these young people are not necessarily rejecting cultural authenticity but seem to be contesting the narrow classed and generational concept of Chineseness that the schools present as authentic (Archer et al, 2010). A similar case was seen in the study conducted by Creese et al, where some students sought to distance themselves from the “imposed ‘heritage’ identity” (Blackledge and Creese, 2010: 174).

Francis et al comment that the tightening of the boundaries of ‘authentic’ Chineseness and Chinese culture can be seen as a direct response to the perceived threat of dominant Western discourses in which Western epistemologies and practices are promoted as the ideal whilst other less favoured practices are devalued and subordinated (Francis et al, 2008).

2.2.6 Means of parental empowerment

One of the key underlying problems with regards to ethnic minorities and mainstream education is the lack of control that some parents may feel due to general unfamiliarity with the school system or disagreement with its values. Francis et al (2008) suggest that some supplementary schools can counteract this by enabling ethnic minority parents to have some influence over their children’s education and to discursively challenge conventional education. In this sense the supplementary school stands in contrast to the mainstream education system which parents may find alienating (Francis et al, 2008). These reports correspond with comments made by Zhou and Kim who portray non-profit ethnic-language schools as a bridge between the immigrant home and mainstream schooling in the sense that it aids parents (particularly those who are not fluent in the English language) in the effective navigation of the educational system.

In a similar vein, Chevannes and Reeves (1987) comment that the black voluntary school provides parents and communities with the only viable opportunity to seize the autonomy and power needed to make decisions concerning the future of their children (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987).

2.2.7 Means of raising social standing and mobility

As educational institutions, supplementary schools are also portrayed in the literature as a means by which ethnic minority communities can raise their social standing and mobility by becoming better educated. Indeed, a recent government report has confirmed the role of supplementary schools in raising educational attainment levels (Creese and Martin, 2006). Strand also suggests that there is considerable overlap in the aims of supplementary and mainstream schools in that they share an orientation towards academic improvement (Strand, 2007). In addition, according to Zhou and Kim, Chinese and Korean supplementary schools operating within the United States context are focused on the provision of services to assist students in their mainstream education and to ultimately enable them to access prestigious higher education institutions (Zhou and Kim, 2006).

These views are also shared by key stakeholders of supplementary schools. In the study conducted by Francis et al, for instance, parents and children perceived Chinese supplementary schools as an additional source of learning, contributing to academic achievement as well as ethnic identity (Francis et al, 2008).

Within another study carried out in supplementary schools in London, it was found that parents perceived that their children had made notable improvements in their academic work,

due to their attendance at supplementary schools. Some parents attributed the changes to the attention and treatment that their children received at the schools and the general supplementary school environment that fostered a love for ‘blackness’ and ‘Africanness’. According to these parents, this whole experience enabled the children to understand the concepts in the three ‘R’s; learning which may not have been as accessible within the more hostile state school environment (Dove, 1993). Corresponding results were found in a study conducted by Strand in which 84% of the 772 pupils questioned, reported that their attendance at supplementary school had assisted them with their mainstream school work (Strand, 2007).

The literature indicates that the academic advancement spoken of here is to a large extent, made possible by the commitment and dedication of the teachers at the schools who prioritise community interests (Hall et al, 2002). The mentality was demonstrated within a study conducted by Hall et al who investigated supplementary schooling in Leeds and Oslo. Within this study, the notion of ‘giving back’ or ‘passing something to the next generation’ was a key motivational factor for teachers who felt obligated to counteract the attitudes of mainstream teachers by enabling the next generation to be academically successful (Hall et al, 2002).

Supplementary schools are also considered to be geared towards the raising of the social standing of ethnic minority communities through its positive effects on employment opportunities. Within the study conducted by Francis et al (2010), many parents perceived that the ability to speak Mandarin would enable their children to find employment in China (an emerging economic power) or give them an advantage within the UK employment market due to its increased business links with China (Mau, 2007).

According to Chevannes and Reeves (1987) the mission to raise the social standing of the African-Caribbean community involves fortifying the psyche of the black child with the confidence and the will to succeed. In this sense Chevannes and Reeves perceive the black education movement to have a structural as opposed to cultural core, because it is based on an economic and political analysis of the position of the black community in relation to the majority white population and is only secondarily concerned with defending ethnic social institutions against predominant British ethnocentric attitudes and practices (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987). This perception was also shared by McLean (1985) who suggests that the primary intention of Caribbean supplementary schools is not simply to transform black culture, but to cover a curriculum that will lead to improvements in pupils' examination performance and consequently their economic opportunities (McLean, 1985).

2.3 Categorisation of supplementary schools

This section will outline the various categorisations of schools within the research literature, highlighting the distinguishing features that have been used to categorise them. As with the preceding section on the perceptions of supplementary schools, it is not assumed that categories presented are exclusive, instead they are looked upon as simplistic divisions that aid in the conceptualisation of this variety of schooling. Indeed, the literature itself indicates that schools can often be allocated to two or more categories.

In his 2006 paper Li separates the schools into three broad groups which differ with regards to socio-political backgrounds, aims and objectives and time of emergence. The categories are: African-Caribbean schools which emerged in the 1960s; Muslim schools that emerged in the 1970s and early 1980s and thirdly, schools that were established by other immigrant

communities in the 1990s. In his analysis Li sees supplementary schooling to also include full-time Muslim schools as opposed to most accounts which only include part-time schools that operate outside of mainstream hours. According to Li, the first group of schools were established due to parental dissatisfaction with mainstream education whilst the second group was born out of parents' desire for their children to attend separate schools where their religious traditions could flourish. The main intention behind the third group of schools was to maintain the linguistic and cultural heritage of immigrant communities these included Chinese, Greek and Turkish schools. Li states that whilst belonging to different categories the one unifying aspect of these schools is that they constitute responses to the perceived failures of mainstream schooling (Li, 2006).

Another set of categories forwarded by Creese et al (2006) centralises the teaching aims and content of the schools and again outlines three groups: Schools that provide supplementary education based on the mainstream subjects whilst also providing opportunities to learn about cultural heritage; schools that focus on religious maintenance; and thirdly, community language supplementary schools that are centred around language learning and maintenance (Creese et al, 2006).

A similar set of categories are presented by Minty et al (2008). Here again the teaching content and aims are foregrounded within the categorisation process. Minty et al outline three categories: firstly schools aimed towards supporting children in mainstream curriculum subjects; secondly, schools designed to maintain culture and linguistic traditions; and thirdly, schools geared towards the promotion of values that contradict those of mainstream education (Minty et al, 2008).

According to Minty et al, the first group of schools work towards raising achievement levels. Parents and teachers involved in such schools generally perceive that cultural or social aspects of mainstream schooling inhibit educational progression. The second group of schools aim to raise awareness of the cultural and linguistic heritage of the community. Some parents and teachers believe that knowledge of this background results in an increased confidence to succeed. A subset within the second group is schools that provide religious education which may also be coupled with corresponding language education. The third and final grouping of schools are established due to parents objections to aspects of mainstream education which leads to a decision to educate their children totally outside of the mainstream or to send their children to supplementary schools where alternative values are promoted (Minty et al, 2008). Minty et al stress that these categories are not watertight but can be categorised into overlapping groups. Minty et al also agree that all categories of schools are united in their representation of parental dissatisfaction with mainstream provision (Minty et al, 2008).

Hall et al (2002) have suggested similar categories pertaining to supplementary schools in Leeds and Oslo. These schools are divided into four categories: mother tongue schools; religious schools; schools focused on the teaching of culture and history and supplementary mainstream schools, which were only found in Leeds. This last category of schools established by politically inspired community activists, is said to be geared towards the raising of academic achievement levels and includes the development of self-respect and self-confidence (Hall et al, 2002).

Issa and Williams identify two broad categories of schools: 'Language schools' established by linguistic minority groups to maintain language and culture; and 'African-Caribbean schools' established to compensate for the shortcomings of mainstream education (Issa and Williams,

2009). These schools are further divided into four sub-categories, again, according to curriculum. These sub-categories are: community language schools; schools that teach the national curriculum focusing on the core subjects and ICT; religious education schools and schools that focus on black African/Caribbean history and Afrocentric culture. In Issa and William's study it was found that over half of the schools included fulfilled the criteria of two or more categories (Issa and Williams, 2009). These findings suggest that supplementary schools have moved away from traditional roles in community language teaching and are now multifunctional institutions (Issa and Williams, 2009). In Issa and William's categorisation process, the overriding criteria remains the curriculum content of the schools. Indeed this is reflective of the key objective of the study which was to investigate the curriculum offered by various supplementary schools (Issa and Williams, 2009).

Most of the categories outlined here pertain to the teaching content and aims of the schools and are therefore similar in content and titling. Whilst some writers allude to the social positioning of the schools in terms of school purpose, this is not explicit in the categorisation process. Within my own study however, the social positioning of the schools will be the key factor at the centre of school exploration. In particular, the study presented in this thesis aims to build on the work conducted by Issa and Williams by using the factor of 'purpose' to gain a deeper understanding of the existence of supplementary schools. This focus on school purpose moves the school categorisation discussion from descriptive to analytical, enabling further insight into the relationships between schools that may not be apparent from a preliminary examination of overt factors. This includes similarities between ethnicity-based school groupings as well as disparities within them. Additionally, the detailed examination of classroom interactions will reveal the operation of purpose at the micro-level of the

classroom, giving an indication of the multi-layered effects of purpose within the everyday operations of supplementary schools.

2.4 Current labelling of supplementary schools

Within the literature there are many descriptions of supplementary schools which are accompanied by two main reference terms ‘supplementary’ and ‘complementary’, with some writers choosing to use the two terms together. Martin et al (2006) for instance describe the schools that they researched as ‘complementary’ schools, reflecting the bilingual interaction featured within these schools that constitutes “a useful example of ‘bilingual complementarity’ at work” (Martin et al, 2006: 5-6). This terminology also reflects a moving away from the notion that such schools are mainly aimed at ‘supplementing’ something (Martin et al, 2006). Creese and Martin (2006) also advocate the term ‘complementary’ to refer to schools “which serve specific linguistic or religious or cultural communities”, as this highlights the positive complementary function between these and mainstream schools (Creese and Martin, 2006). In the use of this term, Creese and Martin also recognise the contribution of these schools to social and economic life within the wider society (Creese and Martin, 2006).

Issa and Williams also support the use of the term ‘complementary’ stating that the term ‘supplementary’ is now inadequate and the term ‘community schools’ misleading, because it is also used to refer to certain state schools. Issa and Williams conclude that ‘complementary’ is the most appropriate term for the schools because it reflects their support of mainstream schooling and the role they play in enhancing learning (Issa and Williams, 2009).

From a contrasting perspective, Mirza and Reay (2000) describe black ‘supplementary’ schools as radical and subversive spaces that constitute a “covert social movement for educational change” (Mirza and Reay, 2000: 521). These schools are perceived to be a response to the exclusion of the black community from the mainstream educational system due to “white fear and racism” (Mirza and Reay, 2000: 522). Similarly, Hall et al describe supplementary schools as a form of resistance and spaces where changes in curriculum, knowledge and teacher-student relationships are effected (Hall et al, 2002). According to Mirza and Reay, supplementary schools may appear to be “sites for conformist reconstructions”, in reality they harbour “parallel spaces of contestation” (Mirza and Reay, 2000: 532). This conceptualisation portrays an institution that counteracts and challenges the dominant educational system as opposed to ‘complementing’ it.

Adding further to this definitional debate, David Simon (2007) questions the appropriateness of the term ‘supplementary’. Speaking of the black liberation hero/ines after whom many of the first black supplementary schools were named, Simon states the following:

If we continue to use the names of the rebels who were teacher activists we have to realise that they sought not to copy the system of their oppressors but to create something that would give dignity to their humanity. This might mean that it’s time we dropped the word supplementary from our titles for are we supplementing something that is already wrong or are we creating something that is new? (Simon, 2007: 71-72)

Here Simon questions the use of the term ‘supplementary’, implying that it fails to adequately reflect the non-acceptance of a defective mainstream system.

Chevannes and Reeves (1987) suggest that neither ‘supplementary’, ‘complementary’ nor ‘alternative’ are appropriate terms. Like Simon (2007), Chevannes and Reeves argue that to describe the schools as ‘supplementary’ is inappropriate because it suggests that classes organised by the black community since the 1960s are simply a means of supporting the

mainstream schooling agenda. From this viewpoint ‘alternative’, also appears to be an unsuitable term because of the lack of resources available to schools and their status level which renders them incapable of providing an adequate alternative to full-time mainstream schooling. The term ‘Complementary’ is also considered inappropriate, as African-Caribbean groups are unlikely to consider themselves as contributing to an educational system that they perceive negatively. Chevannes and Reeves postulate that it is more appropriate to refer to the African-Caribbean schools as ‘part-time voluntary schools for blacks’ a label that reflects the purposes of their foundation (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987).

For the purposes of this study I have chosen to use the term ‘supplementary’ to refer to the schools investigated within this study and other similar educational institutions. What is clear from the above terminology debate is that all terms are accompanied by their own implications including the one selected. However the term ‘supplementary’ has been selected due to its widespread use and also because of its current and historical significance. Within the literature explored it is apparent that the inadequacy of mainstream schooling is one of the most predominant discourses circulating within past and present supplementary schooling narratives. Within this study this term will be used loosely, recognising that the word ‘supplementary’ is not wholly negative and can refer to the further extension of an entity. There is of course also a distinct appreciation of the surrounding debates pertaining to labelling terminologies within this particular field of schooling.

2.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a comprehensive context within which the establishment and rise of supplementary schooling can be viewed, thus allowing for a greater understanding of these

institutions and some of the concepts and motivations on which they are founded. It is clear from the above account that these institutions are not simply learning spaces for particular ethnic minority communities but were and are politically and socially significant movements that speak both about the minority communities they serve and the wider social environment in which they operate. This chapter demonstrates that the acculturation processes (see chapter 4.) and positioning of ethnic minority communities is partly dependent on the nature of the interactions between the group and the host society which in turn affects the positioning of the supplementary school/s housed within the community. This is a point that will be explored further within chapters 6, 7 and 8.

This chapter has additionally outlined a number of Discourses that have been and are currently circulating within and around supplementary schooling. It is apparent that certain predominant discourses within the historical account, resonate with those encapsulated within current supplementary schooling literature. This implies that supplementary schools are institutions of the past as well as the present and in this respect transcend boundaries of time and space in terms of their positioning and practical operations. Whilst apparent in current literature and historical accounts, these various Discourses are inadequately represented within categorisation schemes and individual labels. In the labelling of schools in particular, there seems to have developed a battle for dominance between the various discourses which has resulted in a definitional challenge.

3 A review of research groundings

In order to conduct an investigation on a particular domain, one must first establish what that domain is (Gee, 1999), thus this chapter will provide a detailed account of the theoretical groundings and key issues of the research. The chapter will first introduce interpretivism as the starting point of the research grounding. The chapter will then outline the concept of positioning which is the central variable investigated throughout the study. This will be followed by an introduction of notion of discourse which is recognised as the means by which social positioning was expressed and accomplished.

The interpretivist approach and positioning theory more specifically were deemed suitable to investigate the broad categories of this study, namely: ethnicity, community and identity (explored in further detail in chapters 2 and 4) due to the opportunities that they allow for such issues to be investigated at the highly subjective and emotive level at which they are experienced. Within this investigation the process of positioning is paramount as it is through the positions adopted and allotted that these categories are interpreted and experienced by the ethnic minority communities at the centre of this study. These wider experiences have an inevitable influence on the positioning of the schools and the members of the school community. Thus positioning is central to the establishment and every day operations of supplementary schools.

3.1 Research questions

The research contained with this thesis seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the key purposes of supplementary schools?
2. How are the schools positioned by the school leaders?
3. How is the school positioning related to discursive practice?

3.2 Interpretivism: A starting point

This study has initially been approached from the theoretical standpoint of Interpretivism. Interpretivist approaches have a central interest in “human meaning in social life” (Erickson, 1990:78) and the meanings of social actions as expressed by the participants themselves. The interpretivist perspective proposes that humans construct meaningful interpretations of objects within their environment and that they act towards these objects according to these interpretations that once made, are considered to constitute real qualities of the objects perceived. According to Erickson interpretive research is geared towards the critical scrutiny of assumptions pertaining to meaning in social contexts (Erickson, 1990).

In relation to classroom research, interpretive approaches advocate that: the classroom is a socially and culturally organised learning space; the nature of teaching is only one aspect of reflexive learning; and that the meaning perspectives of both teacher and learner are integral to the educational process (Erickson, 1990). This general conception of the classroom as a constructed and negotiated social space was seen to be highly appropriate for this piece of

research which seeks to investigate the relationship between subjective purposes and positionings of schools are integrated into the classroom context. For these reasons interpretivism was a suitable theoretical umbrella under which to situate my study.

Whilst interpretivism encompasses a number of standpoints that match well with the research project, it was clear that an approach with more acute relevance to the research topic was also needed. This led to the incorporation of positioning theory, a theoretical approach which encompasses the theoretical tenets of interpretivism and a specific focus on discursive interactions within the social world.

3.3 Positioning theory

The concepts of position and positioning first originated in the field of marketing. Here the term ‘position’ refers to the communication strategies that enable a product to be placed amongst its competitors (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991). The terms were first introduced within the social sciences by Holloway (1984) who focused on gender differentiation in discourses. Holloway proposed that discourses provide positions for subjects to adopt, positions in relation to other people. Holloway suggested for instance that women and men are placed in relation to each other through the meaning made available through particular discourses (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991). Currently, positioning theory contributes to explorations in the cognitive psychology of social action. Positioning theory is mainly concerned with highlighting both implicit and explicit “patterns of reasoning” (Harré et al, 2009: 5) that are reflected in individuals’ actions towards others, however the theory also accommodates the interpretation of a broad scale of interactional dynamics, ranging from person-to-person encounters to interactions between nation states (Harré et al, 2009).

Positioning is “the discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines” (Davies and Harré, 1999: 37). Positioning is the process of assigning ‘parts’ to speakers, in the construction of personal storylines. Through this process a person’s actions are made intelligible and relatively determinate as social acts. Positioning is therefore “a way in which people dynamically produce and explain the everyday behaviour of themselves and others” (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999: 29). Positioning can be reflexive in cases where a person positions themselves or interactive where one person positions another. These acts of positioning however are not necessarily intentional (Davies and Harré, 1999).

The natural epistemological home of positioning theory lies within social constructionism which proposes that what people are (both to themselves and to others) is a product of interpersonal interactions (Harré and van Langenhove, 1999) and that human beings do not simply discover knowledge but rather construct it. Furthermore these constructions are continuously reassessed and modified in light of new experiences (Schwandt, 2000). Similarly my own study approaches the research context from the epistemological standpoint that the social world is not a fixed reality but one that is constructed through shared meaning making. More specifically, supplementary schools are recognised as socially constructed spaces within which community identity, and other connected social elements are discursively constructed through interactive schooling processes. Positioning theory provides a framework within which the negotiation of such meanings can be explored (Taylor et al, 2003).

3.3.1 The role of discourse in positioning theory

Discourse is central to the notion of positioning as positioning is essentially a discursive process (Tirado and Galvez, 2007). At the very foundations of positioning theory is the idea that many if not most mental phenomena are discursively produced (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999). According to Yamakawa et al, the aim of positioning theory is in fact to “explain the relationship between discourse and psychological phenomena” (Yamakawa et al, 2009: 180).

Within positioning theory discourse is considered to be a “collective and dynamic process through which meanings are constructed, acquired and transformed” (Tirade and Galvez, 2007: 6); or put another way “discourse is a multi-faceted, public process through which meanings are progressively and dynamically achieved” (Davies and Harré, 1999: 35). This conception is reflective of the central tenet of positioning that the act of positioning is a relational process where positions are established through interaction and negotiation (Tirade and Galvez, 2007).

The particular notion of discourse utilised within positioning theory is one that can be traced to Foucaultian ideas of discourse and language. A significant indication of this influence is constituted in the idea that language is historically and ideologically contextualised. Foucault advocates that discourses are social practices that have rules that are anonymous, historical, fixed in time and space, and that are able to define conditions for statements within a particular community for a given period of time. The examination of discourse therefore constitutes a diagnosis of the present guidelines and rules which govern social relationships, which is the aim of positioning theory (Tirade and Galvez, 2007; Taylor et al, 2003).

3.3.2 The conversation triad

Conversations are described as the most basic entity within the social realm and the means by which the social world is created (Langenhove and Harré, 1999). Within positioning theory conversations are considered to be a form of discursive practice (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999). More specifically, conversations are a form of social interaction which produces social products such as interpersonal relations (Davies and Harré, 1999). This on-going discursive practice is a dynamic one, in which the storylines and participant roles are subject to conversational changes (Yamakawa et al, 2009). As a result, participants may assume several different roles during the course of a conversation.

Within positioning theory, conversations consist of three interdependent mutually determining elements: storylines, positions and social-acts. This arrangement is often referred to as the tri-polar structure of conversations (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999) and constitutes the conceptual base of positioning theory (Yamakawa et al, 2009). Below is a brief account of each of these conversational constituents.

Storylines

Within Harré and Langenhove, (1999), the terms narrative and storyline are used synonymously. Whilst the conflation of these two terms is somewhat contested (Wagner and Herbel-Eisenmann, 2009) they will be used here in the same manner. Put simply, the storyline or narrative is the mutually agreed upon context in which social acts occur it is within a storyline that people discursively position themselves and others (Harré and

Langenhove, 1999). Every conversation has a storyline and the position adopted by or allocated to a person is directly linked to the storyline (Harré and Langenhove, 1991); just as an actor's role is determined to a certain extent by the drama in which they are performing (Davies and Harré, 1999). As the situational contextual backdrop for a given social act, the storyline constitutes the basis on which an individual's behaviour is interpreted (Harré and Langenhove, 1999). The positioning process is also impacted by individuals' subjective experiences and beliefs. For instance the role of 'mother' encases certain universally understood expectations and obligations related to childcare. But even within this seemingly fixed role there are certain variations and sub-categories such as 'Jewish Mother', which constitutes the same role embedded within a particular cultural context. In addition, each individual has their own lived experiences of their own mother (Harré and Langenhove, 1999).

This bank of available discourses that are drawn upon during the interpretation process has been theorised in terms of "funds of knowledge" (Wagner and Herbel-Eisenmann, 2009: 9). Moll et al (1992) argue that the recognition of these differing funds of knowledge exposes the fact that the process of privileging and marginalisation of discourses are in fact social constructions and are therefore contestable (Wagner and Herbel-Eisenmann, 2009). In this sense the positioning process, whilst being highly situated is also influenced by transcendent factors that dictate interpretations of events (Davies and Harré, 1999).

This concept of the storyline is highly pertinent to this research study. In the phase 1 interviews for instance, school leaders from the three African-Caribbean schools position their schools within contextual narratives pertaining to the inadequacy of mainstream schooling, portraying them as "safe spaces" (Creese et al, 2006: 41) where the negative influences of

mainstream schooling are counteracted. Likewise, the Bosnian school was positioned by the school leader as a symbol of progress. This positioning seems to have been established within the context of the storyline of Bosnians being viewed negatively within the wider society in the aftermath of the Bosnian war. Further explanations of these and other school positioning are presented within chapter 6.

The investigation of narratives within social research is of course a well-established strand of discourse analysis and is not exclusive to positioning theory (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006). Narrative enquiry is a multi-disciplinary field formed of various strands. Although not a comprehensive account, the diversity of the field is effectively represented within Bamberg's 2007 edited compilation *Narrative – State of the Art* (Bamberg ed, 2007). Generally, in this tradition it is believed that people use narrative discourse both to comprehend the world and to communicate conceptualisations of it to others (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006).

Whilst narrative analysis focuses on the verbally expressed accounts of individuals, positioning theory is centred around the conceptual narratives that are subtly drawn upon by individuals in order to decipher the meanings of situations, people and things. Unlike narrative analysis, positioning theory is primarily concerned with the use of narrative as a means of deciphering positions as opposed to focusing on the form and function of the narrative itself. Both however share the conception of narratives as tools for the construction and negotiation of meaning (Cortazzi, 2002).

Social Act

A social act is “what is accomplished socially through a particular action, which can be constituted by linguistic and/or non-linguistic discourse” (Slocum and van Langenhove, 2003: 225). For instance, a teacher standing in front of a class in silence can be a warning sign or a display of attentiveness (‘warning’ and ‘listening attentively’ being the actual social acts). Each social action can constitute a number of social acts (Slocum and van Langenhove, 2003). In the previous example for instance the teacher’s act of warning could also be an exertion of authority. The social act is only significant in that it is given a meaning within a particular storyline (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003) and for any given social act, there may be multiple interpretations (Davies and Harré, 1999). As with the storyline, the meaning and subsequent placing of the social act is collaboratively decided and once interpreted it is then subject to certain rules and standards (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003).

This concept of social acts is highly relevant within this study which looks beyond the literal actions of staff members to examine the social meanings and accomplishments of these actions. Within the phase 1 interviews for instance, it was revealed that the action of community language teaching was in fact more than just the teaching of a valued language, but ultimately constituted the preservation of a community identity.

Positioning

A position can be seen as a cluster of duties and rights that dictate the possibilities for action (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003) and supply meanings for a person’s acts (Taylor et al, 2003). This includes the rights and duties to perform certain acts as well as the prohibition of others

(Harré and Moghaddam, 2003). Within this study for instance there were occasions where students were positioned as teachers, under these circumstances they were granted the right to instruct the entire class (including the teacher), display knowledge, command attention and perform other acts associated with teaching. As students however, children were generally prohibited from instructing the class and were only granted this right according to the teacher's discretion. The cluster rights and duties must be locally recognisable, otherwise the person risks being treated with suspicion by those who are unable to situate the acts performed within the local moral order (Harré and van Langenhove, 1999).

Positions are generally relational; in order for someone to be positioned as powerful for instance, there must be others who are adversely positioned as powerless. Even amongst a group of people all seeming to be particularly incapable at something there will be relative degrees of ability such as 'better' or 'worse' (Harré and van Langenhove, 1999).

Position allocation is also varied and dynamic as is shown in the following quotation:

In a certain sense, in each social milieu there is a kind of platonic realm of positions realised in current practices which people can adopt, strive to locate themselves in, be pushed into, be displaced from or be refused access, recess themselves from and so on, in a highly mobile and dynamic way (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003: 6)

Taylor et al further suggest that even after a position has been adopted or allocated it is still subject to constant shifting and renegotiation within the course of conversation (Taylor et al, 2003).

3.3.3 Variations of positioning

Beyond the above aspects of the positioning triad, Harré and van Langenhove also outline several modes of positioning. These modes are in effect, analytical distinctions (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991) that further define the various manifestations of positioning in everyday life.

First, second and third order positioning

The first of these analytical categories is that of the three positioning orders: first, second and third order positioning. First order positioning refers to a person's initial reflexive positioning of themselves or their positioning of others using various categories and storylines. Second order positioning occurs when this initial positioning is questioned as opposed to being taken for granted (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991). For instance, if the teacher instructed a child to leave the classroom for shouting this would constitute the first order positioning of both teacher and child: the teacher as someone with the moral right to instate the exclusion of the child and the child as a non-conformist and someone who can be excluded from the classroom by the teacher. If the child leaves the classroom without question, this first order positioning stands. However if the child were to challenge the teacher, stating that it was in fact another child that shouted and not them, this would amount to a second order positioning where the first order positioning is questioned, thereby causing a shift in the storyline and subsequent positionings (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991).

The questioning of a particular positioning can occur within the initial event of positioning (as in the above example) or externally in a subsequent conversation about the original one.

When questioning occurs outside of the initial conversation it is termed third order positioning (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991). This is “talk about talk” (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991: 397) which can involve other individuals in addition to those involved in the initial instance of positioning (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991). Such was the case in instances documented in chapter 8 where teachers in school C actively sought to re-position pupils who were said to have been positioned negatively in mainstream schooling. These negative positionings were counteracted and students positioned within the trajectory of the ‘can do’ storyline as capable learners.

Moral and personal positioning

Positioning can also be subject to the “moral order” (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999: 23) in which an individual performs social actions. In such a case, reference is made to the role of the individual in a particular moral order or to particular institutional aspects in order to make intelligible their social actions. Both the person being positioned and the person doing the positioning (who is also being positioned), are subject to moral orders of speaking. For instance what one person says to another is relative to the rights and duties and obligations of the moral order within which the discursive instance takes place. People can also be positioned according to their perceived personal characteristics. These may include life history for instance (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991).

Tacit and intentional positioning

Most first order positioning is tacit and not intentional or even conscious. Cases where first order positioning may be intentional is where an individual is lying or deliberately teasing

someone else (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991). In such instances someone may wish to test how another person would react to a certain positioning. Second and third order positionings however, are always intentional. Of course, intentional second and third order positionings also engender simultaneous tacit first order positionings in the sense that a discursive event is recounted and responded to those doing the recounting and responding are also positioning themselves (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991). Such was the case with teachers from African Caribbean school C. As teachers at the school recounted stories of how mainstream schooling had failed and limited certain pupils, they simultaneously positioned themselves as counteractors of those perceived failures and as pupil emancipators.

There are four forms of intentional positioning which are relative to the instances in which they are applied. These are: situations of deliberate self-positioning; forced self-positioning; deliberate positioning of others; and forced positioning of others (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991). It should be noted however that positioning involves the simultaneous manifestation of several forms (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991).

Deliberate self-positioning occurs when a person wishes to express their own personal identity. This may be achieved through the emphasizing of their own agency, unique points of view or aspects of their biography. Deliberate self-positioning is usually embarked upon with a specific purpose in mind. In this sense it can also be referred to as 'strategic positioning' (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991). Deliberate self-positioning can be achieved through any one of the three constituents of the positioning triad. People often use self-narratives for instance, to present themselves in a certain way (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991).

In instances of forced self-positioning an individual is forced by someone else to position themselves. The level of forcefulness can be mild, such as a friendly enquiry about a person's well-being, or may take on a more compelling form such as an institutional demand for a behavioural account (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991).

Deliberate positioning of others can be done in the presence or absence of the person being positioned. In instances of gossiping for instance individuals are positioned in their absence. When someone is deliberately positioned in their presence, they are offered a space in the storyline of the speaker which they may or may not adopt (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991). Such instances were detected within African-Caribbean school C where pupils were encouraged to adopt the positioning of 'capable learner' in keeping with the 'can do' ethos of the school.

3.3.4 The idea of institutional positioning

Positioning theory is essentially based on the positioning of people within certain contexts and circumstances. There is however some indication within the literature that positioning theory can be effectively applied to the positioning of institutions. It is suggested for instance that the consideration of rights and duties as constituent elements of positioning is a feature which makes possible the application of the concept of 'position' in studies centred on the discursive interactions between institutions (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003).

The aim of the first phase of this study is to decipher the social positioning of each school. In order to accomplish this, the basic tenets of positioning theory have been utilised to analyse the accounts of school leaders pertaining to their own schools. The presumption here is that

like people, institutions can also be placed by an individual/s, according to how they are perceived within the contextualising storyline. Through this form of positioning the everyday workings of the institution are rendered intelligible and institutional duties and rights (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003) are assigned. For instance, some of the staff members from the African-Caribbean schools spoke of the failures of mainstream schooling with regards to the teaching of African-Caribbean students. Within this reoccurring storyline the African-Caribbean supplementary schools were often positioned as ‘safe spaces’ (Creese et al, 2006: 41) for African-Caribbean pupils. Also, with this positioning came the ‘right’ and ‘duty’ of counteracting the negative impact of mainstream schooling by empowering these young people.

3.4 The concept of discourse

Within this study I am primarily interested in the use of discourse in social life. The study of ‘Discourse’ however is a wide and increasingly expanding field. The following subsections will therefore explore the realms of discourse with a view to making clear the specific approach to discourse that has been adopted within this study.

There exist many varied meanings of the term ‘discourse’ (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000). In their chapter on ‘Perspectives on Discourse’ and indeed, throughout ‘The discourse reader’ 2nd edition, Jaworski and Coupland outline several definitions which span a “considerable range” (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006: 3). The meaning given to the term is largely dependent on the theoretical system in which it is embedded (Howarth, 2000; Schiffrin et al, 2003). According to Gee no single approach can claim complete correctness, as the

appropriateness of the approach is dependent on the questions and issues under investigation (Gee, 1999). In light of this definitional variation, Widdowson advocates that a clear concept of discourse be established, before embarking on any exploration of its nature, function or any analysis (Hasan, 2004). This subsection will build towards the particular approach to discourse forwarded by Blommaert which is thought to be the most appropriate for this study.

3.4.1 Big ‘D’ little ‘d’

Gee (1999) proposes that discourse is divided into two levels: the micro interactional level and the macro level. These are often referred to as little ‘d’ discourse and big ‘D’ Discourse respectively. Little ‘d’ discourse is language in use; language used “on site” for construction purposes. On the other hand, big ‘D’ Discourses are involved at the point where linguistic and non-linguistic elements are joined together to enact specific identities and activities. This includes additional objects, symbols and tools that are used alongside language, to construct meaningful “ways of being” (Gee, 1999:7). These ways of being constitute the maintenance, transformation or reproduction of a particular ““form of life” or discourse” (Gee, 1999:7). This research study has been conducted at the level of little ‘d’ discourse since it is centred around various forms of micro interactional data. There is however much acknowledgement of the wider big ‘D’ Discourses that inform these smaller scale interactional events. These wider overarching Discourses transcend time and space yet are still able to permeate small-scale micro contexts. Within the case study in chapter 8 for instance, three such Discourses were identified. These were ‘familial connectedness’, ‘institutionalised racism’ and ‘transformation’. These are arguably historical as well as global scale Discourses whose scale and scope allows for their flexible manifestation within diverse social and cultural contexts. Within the previous and following chapters, the big ‘D’ and little ‘d’ are used in accordance

with Gee's account (Gee, 1999), the small 'd' will also be used when both levels of discourse are being referred to together.

3.4.2 Paradigm divisions

According to Schiffrin there are two contrasting paradigms within linguistics which encompass differing assumptions concerning the nature of language, the goals of linguistics, the methods for the study of language and the nature of data and empirical evidence; these are the 'structural' and the 'functional' paradigms. Within the structuralist paradigm, discourse is viewed as 'language above the sentence or clause' whereas within the functionalist paradigm discourse is viewed as 'language in use'. In the former paradigm, the focus is placed on the linguistic forms whilst functionalists focus more on its meanings and uses in relation to its social functions (Schiffrin, 1994).

The conception of discourse most appropriate for this study is based within the 'functionalist' realm, as it constitutes an examination of context as well as text. There are various sub-sections of discourse analysis within this socially oriented tradition. These include: speech act theory, genre theory, intertextuality, discursive formations, conversation analysis, narrative analysis, discursive psychology, ethnography of communication, multi-modal analysis, and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Schiffrin, 1994).

Blommaert adopts a critical perspective of discourse which has been influenced by some of the theoretical approaches within the functionalist realm, mainly: linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics from which Blommaert draws a number of theoretical principles (Blommaert, 2005). The key argument of sociolinguistics for instance is that apart from the 'pure' or

referential meaning, there are also indexical meanings involved in communication, social connections between what is said and the context in which it is said. In this sense the words uttered say something about the speaker and the relationship between individuals. This principle is reflected in Blommaert's work which foregrounds the elements of context and meaning in the comprehension of discursive instances. This principle is relevant to this study which seeks to explore social positionings which are essentially context dependent. The study also seeks to unearth the relationship between the discursive positioning of schools and the context in which they are positioned as indicated in the third research question: How is the school positioning related to discursive practice?

3.4.3 Blommaert: An approach to discourse

This section will provide a brief overview of Blommaert's concept of discourse and his approach towards its analysis, highlighting in particular the aspects that are most relevant in the context of this study.

Blommaert's notion of discourse fits comfortably into contemporary streams of thought where discourse is viewed as being akin to 'modes of thought'. This conceptualisation of discourse emphasises the notion that discourses are representative of a certain organisation of experiences or way of viewing the world. In other words, "discourses constitute the world and our experiences of it" (Hughes and Sharrock, 2007: 328). Within this perspective, discourses are viewed as the means through which it becomes possible to experience and speak about the world. This conceptualisation of discourse extends beyond the claim that we utilise words in the description and communication of reality, considering language to be the principal element in the very constitution of reality (Hughes and Sharrock, 2007).

Blommaert similarly advocates that discourse is the means through which every aspect of the social and cultural and political environment is endowed with meaning (Blommaert, 2005). Blommaert cautions however that this type of meaning construction takes place under strict linguistic and sociocultural conditions (Blommaert, 2005). In addition, the key tenets of positioning also connect to this concept of discourse, in that the positioning of individuals/institutions is in effect a means by which they are constituted. More specifically, the discursive storylines in which people and institutions are positioned are in fact discourses through which the world is spoken about and interpreted.

The centralisation of discourse in meaning making is in fact ingrained within the core of this research, which assumes that both the schools as institutions and the classroom as a learning space are discursively constructed. Blommaert also emphasises the meanings of discursive episodes to the actual participants involved (Blommaert, 2006) which matches well with the angling of the research which prioritises participants' subjective accounts.

Blommaert also makes a marked effort to widen the notion of discourse to include objects of enquiry that could be considered as totally 'non-linguistic' (Blommaert, 2005). This approach is particularly appropriate for this research study which has included the examination of organisational trends and actions of individuals in addition to words spoken.

Micro-macro dichotomy

An additional key aspect of Blommaert's approach is his interpretation of the micro-macro dichotomy. Within Blommaert's viewpoint, discourse is portrayed as creative at the micro

level whilst also being somewhat determined at higher levels (Blommaert, 2005). Here a reasonable balance has been struck between the recognition of power of agency and the influence of structure. Blommaert argues that whilst a lot of human communication is constrained by normativities prescribed by patterns of inequality, this does not mean that the elements of choice, creativity or freedom are eradicated from the discursive process, instead it indicates that people do exercise creativity in selecting different forms of discourse but that there are limits to the choices and freedom afforded. According to Blommaert, it is the interplay between the creativity at the micro-level and determinism at the macro-level that accounts for the social, cultural, historical and the political elements of a communicative event. In this sense, Blommaert sees both the big ‘D’ Discourse and the little ‘d’ discourse as two mutually dependent discursive levels (Blommaert, 2005). As indicated in Section 3.4.1 this approach to the macro-micro dichotomy bears particular relevance to this study which whilst focusing on the micro level discourses also recognises the powerful influence of the wider overarching social and historical Discourses that impact on micro interactional processes.

Blommaert’s Notion of Context

In his summarising of ‘context’, Blommaert states that “it addresses the way in which linguistic forms – ‘text’ – become part of, get integrated in, or become constitutive of larger activities in the social world” (Blommaert, 2005: 39). Blommaert advocates that discourse carries with it a structural and historical context which must be considered in its analysis, advocating that context is central to meaning making in that “the way in which language fits into context is what creates meaning” (Blommaert, 2005: 40). Meaning here refers to “the

understanding of something because it makes sense within a particular context” (Blommaert, 2005: 43).

According to Blommaert, there are many varying types of contexts which operate at various levels and scales. On a smaller scale for instance, the very sentences produced by individuals resides within the context of the other surrounding sentences from which they gain part of their meaning. On the other hand, a larger scale context may be that of human social divisions such as women, men, young people etc. (Blommaert, 2005).

Within his account of context, Blommaert adopts the essences of Gumperz’s notion of contextualisation which was developed with reference to the various ways in which individuals make sense in interactions. Gumperz claims that:

All understanding is framed understanding,...it ultimately rests on contingent inferences made with respect to presuppositions concerning the nature of the situation, what is to be accomplished and how it is to be accomplished (Gumperz 1992, cited in Blommaert, 2005: 41)

Gumperz is emphasising here that the process of comprehending utterances made during an interactive instance is not spontaneous but is in fact conducted within a certain presupposed “frame of reference” (Blommaert, 2005: 159). Blommaert further states that these frames are linguistic, cognitive, social and cultural and are perduring, conventional and normative in character (Blommaert, 2005).

Another principle highlighted by Blommaert is that context and contextualisation are dialogical meaning that within any one interactive instance context is generated by both the speaker and the other parties involved. In this sense, meaning results from the intersection of two or more minds and consciousnesses (Blommert, 2005). According to Blommaert:

People have contextualisation universes: complexes of linguistic, cognitive, social, cultural, institutional, etc. skills and knowledge which they use for contextualising statements, and interaction involves the meeting of such universes (Blommaert, 2005: 44)

Through his account of this principle Blommaert presents context not as something that can be attached to text but as text, in so much as it dictates the meanings of the text and the conditions of its use (Blommaert, 2005).

Blommaert's notion of context is of particular importance to this research which is largely based around the contextualisation of the existence of the schools as social institutions and also the operations and processes of everyday school life. The process of institutional positioning in particular, involves the investigation not only of *what* the schools are but also *why* and *how* they are what they are (according to the accounts of school representatives).

In addition to these comments, Blommaert also states that context may span beyond the specific and immediate context of the communication event itself and what is communicated may constitute recontextualisations of earlier texts. These are texts that have been produced via a different contextualisation process involving different people, purposes and a different historical moment. Such texts may be reused and their meanings added to or altered, however they cannot be divorced from their histories which influence their meaning even within new contexts (Blommaert, 2005).

Blommaert refers to this reciting and recycling of meanings and expressions as intertextuality, the fact that our utterances are in fact innately historical and therefore accompanied by meanings and interpretations beyond the control of the communicator. Blommaert identifies the process by which discourses are decontextualized and then recontextualised as

entextualisation; a process through which discourses are transported into new contexts along with new corresponding metadiscourses (Blommaert, 2005). This concept of the historical embedding of utterances is highly relevant for this study particularly within phase one where participants draw upon historically loaded terminologies and concepts and in some cases, historical events, to create particular conceptualisations of the institutions with which they are involved.

Blommaert cautions however, that contextualisation is not without its difficulties; there are possibilities of mis-contextualisation, particularly in cases that involve power imbalances or socio-politically categories such as race, ethnicity or gender. These points highlighted by Gumperz imply that in order to sufficiently comprehend the sense making processes adopted by individuals within real life social situations, we first need to understand the context in which such practices are cultivated (Blommaert, 2005).

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the key elements of the theoretical foundations of this research study, first setting the general theoretical context of interpretivism and then exploring the more specific aspects of positioning theory and the concept of discourse. It is on the basis of these foundations that the research questions will be addressed through the research process. The elements outlined in this chapter will therefore feature as central points of reference throughout the thesis. Following on from the final sections of this chapter, the next chapter will continue the discussion of discourse, outlining the manner in which discourses are manifested within the schooling context and some of the key discourses that impact on supplementary schooling.

4 Overarching big 'D' Discourses of supplementary schooling

This chapter will explore the wider overarching big 'D' Discourses (Gee, 2005) that impact supplementary schooling. These Discourses are enacted by the schools in so much as they are embedded within their everyday operations and indeed their very existence yet they also precede and exceed the schools as social institutions in the sense that they are wider and have an earlier existence than school level discourses (Gee, 2005). In essence, these big 'D' discourses inform the first hand little 'd' discourses captured within the interviews, observations and classroom recordings gathered during this study. By highlighting the wider Discourses that are embodied within the supplementary schools within this study, this section will present the schools, and supplementary schooling in general, as part of a wider socio-political discussion pool that spans beyond the schools themselves.

With regards to positioning theory, the Discourses discussed within this chapter form the wider storylines in which staff members have positioned both the school and themselves. As these discourses are enacted they effectively regulate the social relationships (Tirade and Galvez, 2007; Taylor et al, 2003) both within the schools and between the schools and other social institutions. This can be seen in the case study of African-Caribbean school C where wider, historically embedded Discourses of discrimination and mainstream inadequacy led to the positioning of the school as a compensatory, 'safe space'(Creese et al, 2006).

Before exploring these Discourses the chapter will first give an account of the realm of implicit schooling which is the level at which these big 'D' Discourses are typically inculcated into the classroom. The chapter will then proceed to discuss the Discourses

surrounding the acculturation of ethnic minority groups which inevitably impacts the schooling delivered within the supplementary schools established by these communities.

4.1 The transmission of big ‘D’ Discourses through implicit schooling

Aspects of implicit schooling are deeply ingrained in learning processes and are often made apparent only through careful analysis of discursive interactions. Whilst all educational processes incorporate an element of implicit schooling this phenomenon is particularly relevant to supplementary schooling because these schools are historically, culturally, racially and politically rooted and established within the context of the ethnic minority community acculturation experience. These foundational elements are inevitably embedded within the schooling delivered at these institutions yet are not always explicitly declared. This was seen in the responses of school leaders whose accounts revealed purposes that were not represented within the official school curriculum. This basic ideology of schooling beyond the ‘visible’ curriculum is core to both stages of the research which investigate such deep rooted aspects of schooling through the medium of purpose and also explore the implicit embedding of wider positioning storylines within the micro interactions of the classroom.

This section will begin with a brief account of the hidden curriculum as a key concept of implicit schooling and will then proceed to discuss specific ‘hidden’ aspects of schooling that are pertinent to this study: school positioning and classroom pedagogy and positioning within the classroom.

4.1.1 The hidden curriculum

Thornberg argues that it is important to acknowledge that far from being a neutral process, education is “immersed in ideology, morality, power, cultural control and social reproduction” (Thornberg, 2009: 246). In addition, Day suggests that the idea that education simply constitutes the conveying of truth, separate from the actual educational experience, is wholly misleading and even detrimental (Astley, 2004). In line with this perspective, educationalists commonly distinguish between the overt, stated curriculum of lessons and other educational activities and the underlying, unstated hidden curriculum: the learning that remains unlabelled and largely unnoticed by teachers and students alike (Astley, 2004).

The hidden curriculum constitutes all the things that are learnt within the schooling process, in addition to the official curriculum or all the implicit messages pertaining to knowledge, values, norms and attitudes that are purported through the educational process (Thornberg, 2009). Transmission of the hidden curriculum occurs through the overall institutional structure as well as through social relations and classroom life (Langhout and Mitchell, 2008). The implicit messages of the hidden curriculum are inextricably linked to general, deep rooted assumptions about social life (Langhout and Mitchell, 2008).

The concept of the hidden curriculum was first introduced by Jackson in the late 1960s (Eikeland, 2001; Wren, 1999). Since then there have developed various theories pertaining to the purposes of the hidden curriculum. According to Thornberg the hidden curriculum is geared towards social control (Thornberg, 2009). Alternatively, Torres (1996) suggests that the educational system is a means of transmitting cultural capital and also as a means of classifying and screening students for the labour market (Regalsky and Laurie, 2007). Within

this study the hidden curriculum will be seen as the implicit messages that teachers sought to communicate to students that were often connected to wider social Discourses beyond the schools themselves. This notion of the hidden curriculum is linked to typically interpretivist conceptualisations of schools as sites of social and cultural reproduction (Regalsky and Laurie, 2007) where the meaning perspectives of teacher and students are integral to the learning process (Erickson, 1990).

Whilst the hidden curriculum clearly has far reaching consequences it cannot be assumed that students and teachers are simply passive recipients of its teachings. Indeed, within the study conducted by Langhout and Mitchell on academic disengagement, even amidst the inescapable messages of the hidden curriculum, students still demonstrated their own agency, providing correct answers without adherence to the rules (Langhout and Mitchell, 2008). These students refuted the claims of the hidden curriculum that they did not deserve to learn, could not be fully engaged in learning and that learning and school was not for them (Langhout and Mitchell, 2008). Thornberg also argues that variations in the cultural capital and habitus of students interact with the regulative and instructional discourse of schooling and thus also contribute to institutional processes of social and cultural reproduction (Thornberg, 2009).

Similarly, within this study, it is not assumed that all teachers transmit a standard set of implicit messages to students. In fact, results from the second phase imply that teachers negotiate and interpret the purpose of school in different ways suggesting that the hidden curriculum is also variously constituted.

4.1.2 School Positioning and classroom pedagogy: A case of implicit schooling

A study which explores school ethos and its impact on classroom pedagogy and general school processes is that of Monica Heller (1999). In Heller's study the school is conceptualised as "an institution of social and cultural reproduction of a linguistic minority" (Heller, 1999: 21). Heller's study was carried out over a period of three and a half years and similar to my own study included: a series of interviews with school staff, and students; reading various school documents pertaining to the school's philosophies and procedures; conducting classroom observations and classroom recordings (Heller 1999). Heller's study will now be briefly explored due to its similarities to the second phase my own study in terms of its linking of socio-political context with classroom pedagogy.

In Heller's study the school's ethos was revealed through a number of symbols one of which was the schools motto – '*L' Unite dans la diversite*' (unity in diversity). The motto also captured the struggle of the francophone community in Canada to strike a balance between unity and diversity "the construction of homogeneity and the vision of pluralism" (Heller, 1999: 32). As a partial response to this paradox, the school attempted to construct and indeed enforce a type of linguistic unity through a strong resistance to the use of English, insisting that students speak French on the school premises. Furthermore, the school specifically enforced European and Canadian standard French (Heller, 1999). In this case monolingualism was also considered necessary for the preservation of the identity of the French community and its cultural development.

The school's efforts to integrate this linguistic ideology into regular school processes were most detectable within the school policies and in certain arenas in which the public face of the school was presented. In the teaching of French for instance there was a preference for the 'unified floor' where everyone engages in the same topic of conversation and 'sequential turn-taking' where individuals speak one at a time. In addition, teachers controlled turn taking. The initiation-response-evaluation sequence of learning was also prevalent. The perpetuation of these interactional norms was aided by the general principal of respect as a central classroom value. This emphasis on group collaboration made it difficult for students to conceal their linguistic production, giving teachers considerable power to monitor and shape this production. Thus the very nature of classroom interactions was geared towards the preservation of the school's linguistic ideal (Heller, 1999).

In this case wider Discourses of francophone identity dictated the discursive interactions of the classroom. It is also apparent that the positioning of the francophone community within Canadian society impacted on the institutional positioning of the school and of the teachers and students within it. As such, Heller reveals the French language school to be a political, ideological endeavour whose operations exceed way beyond the teaching of explicitly stated subjects, incorporating other wider Discourses that infused teaching and learning processes. This is much like the supplementary schools in my own study that are shaped and positioned in accordance to the wider social, political and historical forces which penetrate into everyday classroom interactive processes.

4.1.3 Positioning in the classroom

Positioning in the classroom environment may appear in a number of different forms. This section however will focus on the particular forms of positioning most relevant to this study: teacher self-positioning (reflective positioning) and teacher positioning of students (interactive positioning). Whilst it is recognised that students also engage in reflexive and interactive positioning, specific focus will be placed on the teachers as the transmitters and promoters of institutional purpose.

Teacher positioning of students

Teachers' positioning of students is achieved through various discursive processes which involve the general tone and content of communication and the associating of students with various social groups. Positioning can also be established through specific rhetorical means such as revoicing, which is a re-uttering of student contributions within the classroom in order to confirm or clarify what has been said or to create alignments or oppositions during an argument (Yamakawa et al, 2009). Some examples of positioning from recent classroom-based studies will be explored below.

One study that highlights the process and effects of teacher positioning of students is that conducted by Yamakawa et al (2009). Through their analysis of classroom interaction, Yamakawa et al showed how two students were differently positioned according to their conformity or non-conformity to the teacher's reform goals, encapsulated in her preferred reform storyline. On one hand, one student's conformity led to the teacher's frequent revoicing of her responses, favourably positioning her as an active member of the classroom

community who made valid and useful contributions (Yamakawa et al, 2009). On the other hand, the second student's failure to conform led to him being positioned outside of the classroom community as someone separate from his peers (Yamakawa et al, 2009).

Similar to the above study, it is evident that teachers in the case study school featured in the present study, also have their own preferred storylines which they seek to fulfil and promote within the regular teaching process. These storylines not only shaped their approach to teaching but also dictated how they positioned students. For instance one of the most predominant storylines within the school was the 'can do' storyline in which students were positioned as 'highly capable learners'. In chapter 8 it will be shown that teachers sought to promote and preserve this storyline in various ways including the disallowance of certain defeatist terminology. These acts of positioning by teachers often have a marked effect on student learning experiences and consequently impact on learner identity construction (Hall et al, 2010; Yamakawa et al, 2009).

Teacher self-positioning

Within classroom interactions, there are countless ways in which a teacher may position themselves. For instance, the use of pronouns within conversations can reveal how a teacher aligns themselves and others. In the use of the term "we" as opposed to "you" the teacher positions him/herself as part of a group which also encompasses the student/students being addressed (Yamakawa et al, 2009). In fact, the general manner in which a teacher addresses a student, reveals a conscious or subconscious attempt at self-positioning. Through tone and word choice, a teacher may portray themselves either as 'understanding supporter' or

'authoritative taskmaster'. Teachers may also position themselves in more overt ways by incorporating personal narratives or opinions within the teaching process (Hall et al, 2010).

As the facilitators and leaders of classroom activities, the positions that teachers assign for themselves have an inevitable effect on the pedagogic approach applied within the classroom which consequently affects the learning experiences of students (Hall et al, 2010, Yoon, 2008). This was demonstrated in a study carried out by Yoon (2008). The main purpose of this study was to investigate teachers' views of their roles concerning the teaching of English Language Learners (ELLs). Here, it was found that one of the teachers positioned herself as "a supporter of the students' learning" (Yoon, 2008: 505). Consequently, the teacher adopted an active role in addressing the cultural, social and academic needs of ELL students, using a number of intentional approaches to engage such students in the classroom activities. As a result of this approach the ELL students gained in confidence over time. This led to the ELLs positioning themselves as active participants and altogether powerful students within the classroom (Yoon, 2008). Such studies on the process and effects of teacher positioning bear strong relation to my own study, which explores the effects of teacher positioning with regards to their own perceptions of school purposes and their perceived role in relation to these purposes.

Whilst teachers may assert their own classroom identities, students may also exert their own agendas through resistance, challenge and contradiction. Such was the case in a study conducted by Slotte-Luttge (2004). Here the teacher attempted to position herself as a friendly and understanding teacher, appealing to the student's interest in horses in order to aid her entrance into the classroom community. The student in question however, responded to this by challenging the teacher's positioning (Slotte-Luttge, 2004). In this sense the student

seems to reject the teacher's offer of classroom community membership and in doing so, counteracted the teacher's desired reflexive positioning.

Whilst my study shows teachers' positioning of students and themselves it is not assumed that these positions are unanimously and unproblematically accepted. Instead, although the views and experiences of students were not investigated, it is recognised that students have their own ways of questioning and resisting positionings allocated within the classroom context.

4.2 Ethnic minority groups and acculturation Discourses

Having outlined the modes and methods through which Discourses are manifested within the classroom, this section will now explore the specific Discourses that are pertinent to supplementary schools. In particular, this chapter will highlight some of the historical, political and socio-cultural Discourses that impact on the self-positioning of ethnic minority communities in connection with the acculturation experience of these groups which in turn impact the positioning of the supplementary schools established by them. In this sense the chapter provides further context to the establishment and daily functioning of these schools. The first few sections outline several key concepts that are central to this study: acculturation; migrants and ethnic minority communities; community and ethnicity and ethnic identity. Although definitional in tone, these sections also constitute discussions that impact the positioning of ethnic minority communities.

4.2.1 Acculturation

Within this and subsequent sub-sections Berry's notion of acculturation (Berry, 2005; Berry 1997) will be used when referring to the experiences of ethnic minority community members within societies beyond the geographical location from which the community originate. In contrast to the popular notions of integration and assimilation, this concept of acculturation veers away from the illusion of an already integrated society which members of ethnic minority communities must be integrated into (Remennick, 2003), and towards an emphasis on degrees of social inclusion into the host society (Joppke and Morawska, 2003).

Encapsulated within Berry's concept of acculturation is the distinct appreciation for the variability of acculturation processes (Berry, 2005) as whilst it does imply a certain degree of adjustment, there is no assumption pertaining to the direction, nature and timescale of this adjustment. The 'non-directional' nature of Berry's notion of acculturation corresponds with the aims of this research which seeks to adopt a wide scoping approach allowing for the consideration of a number of complex and interrelated factors that affect the settlement experience, according to the accounts of the participants themselves.

This notion of acculturation also tallies well with the central recognition of this study that the positions occupied by ethnic minority communities are not given, just by virtue of their ethnic minority community status. Instead these positions are interactively and discursively constructed and negotiated "at interstices of many axes" (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 16), incorporating the interpretation of certain storylines, social actions and perceptions of the rights and duties of the host society and minority community positioning.

4.2.2 Factors that impact the acculturation experience

Within this research it is additionally acknowledged that there are many factors that shape the acculturation process, mainly: the host society reception and views of the host society (Tartakovsky, 2011; Berry 2005; Phinney, 2001; Burnett, 1998); perceptions of the home country held by ethnic minority groups (Colic-Peisker and Walker, 2003); internal group associations (Dow, 2010; Ager and Strang, 2008; Joly, 2004; Duke et al, 1999); and the mode of migration (Colic-Peisker and Walker, 2008; Kelly, 2003; Burnett, 1998).

Within the literature, the most predominant dictator of the acculturation experience was host society reception and perceptions of the host society held among ethnic minority group members (Tartakovsky, 2011; Berry, 2005; Phinney, 2001; Burnett, 1998). The impact of the interactions between immigrants and members of the host society, within the acculturation process is highlighted by Phinney et al (2001) who state that:

Ethnic and national identities and their role in adaption can best be understood in terms of an interaction between the attitudes and characteristics of immigrants and the responses of the receiving society, moderated by the particular circumstances of the immigrant group within the new society” (Phinney et al, 2001: 494)

In addition, Ager and Strang speak of the process of integration as a two way process involving mutual accommodation between both the host society and immigrant community (Ager and Strang, 2008).

Of particular relevance to the acculturation process is the orientation of host society citizens towards immigration and pluralism and the immigration policies of the society (Berry, 2005; Phinney, 2001; Burnett, 1998). Some societies for instance, are accepting of the cultural pluralism that is produced through immigration, viewing cultural diversity as a communal

resource. Such societies are less likely to impose cultural change or exclusion on immigrant communities and are more likely to provide social support within already established social institutions such as health and education services. Phinney et al claim that the ethnic identity of the immigrant group is likely to be more strongly exerted in such cases (Phinney et al, 2001). Other societies seek to eliminate diversity through policies and assimilation programmes (Berry, 2005). According to the Acculturation Intentions Model (AIM) immigrants tend to interact with members of the society that they feel are most accommodating towards them and are more willing to adopt the norms and values of such a society whilst distancing themselves from societies they feel are less accommodating (Tartakovsky, 2011).

According to Joly (2004), segregation and discrimination may lead to the enclosure of the ethnic minority group which may in turn lead to an “affirmation of specificity” to establish a “space of dignity” (Joly, 2004: 151). Heller suggests however, that in exerting certain hegemonic community traits in order to establish a legitimate space within the mono-cultural nation-state, ethnic minority communities effectively produce “structures of hegemony similar to those against which they struggle” (Heller, 1999: 32). The effects of discrimination are also accounted by Tartakovsky who suggests that discrimination is associated with the development of negative attitudes towards the host country and increased feelings of “ethnic threat” (Tartakovsky, 2011: 87) amongst immigrant groups, decreasing their sense of control over the acculturation process (Tartakovsky, 2011).

The attitudes of the host society towards immigrants are shaped by a number of factors that can be contextual, psychological, economic or political. In Canada for instance, it was discovered that attitudes towards immigrants were closely correlated with the annual

unemployment rates from 1975 to 1995 (Berry, 2001). Similarly, from a political stand point, immigrants from politically allied countries and refugees from politically unfavorable countries tend to be more readily accepted than others (Berry, 2001). Berry's comments imply that views of the host society towards immigration and ethnic minority groups are an evolving phenomenon that may fluctuate with time and population subsets (Dovidio and Esses, 2001).

It is through these various means, mentioned above and the complex interrelationships that they encompass, that the host society “mediates and structures the experiences and opportunities of immigrants” (Burnett, 1998:19) which in turn dictate the positioning of the ethnic community within the host society. Such dynamics are strongly related to the supplementary schools at the centre of this study, as the positioning of the community will inevitably effect the positioning of the supplementary school. Thus making community positioning an important contextual factor behind the schooling delivered.

4.2.3 Migrants and ethnic minority communities

Within the literature, there is no conclusive agreement amongst writers on the correct terminology or terminologies for the various types of migrants (Anderson and Blinder, 2011). Definitions of the term ‘migrant’ also vary between data sources and between datasets and the law (Anderson and Blinder, 2011). In the UK for instance, the terms ‘migrant’ and ‘immigrant’ are often used interchangeably within public debates and media discourses and within research circles (Anderson and Blinder, 2011; Baker et al, 2008).

A major aspect of this complexity stems from the factor of length of stay. For instance, whilst certain terminologies (such as 'immigrant') may seem appropriate for recent arrivals, they may appear to be less suitable for those who have been residents within the host society for ten years or more. In her book *From immigrants to ethnic minorities*, Chessum (2000) highlights the events that facilitated the transformation of the black community from 'immigrants' to 'ethnic minorities'. This exploration focuses on community organisation and government perceptions as the key factors of status change; factors which are again related to length of stay (Chessum, 2000).

The debate is further complicated by the need to reference subsequent generations born and raised within the host country and therefore familiar with its culture and customs. Most recent literature (for example, Crawley, 2009, Song, 2010) tends to unproblematically use the terms such as 'second generation immigrants' or 'children of immigrants' to refer to such individuals (Papastergiadis, 2000). The use of such terminology has raised considerable debate. On one hand it is acknowledged that these children have not entered Britain from another country, yet on the other it is also acknowledged that they would not be in Britain had their parents not done so (Sriskandarajah et al, 2005).

Within these debates there seems to be some tension between the changing positioning of the community due to settlement and integration on one hand and the persistence of racial, ethnic and cultural differences between the migrant community and the host society on the other. This tension seems to be connected to the challenge of choosing terminology that represents the evolving integration status of the migrant community whilst simultaneously preserving its "forever foreigners" (Lo and Reyes, 2009: 7) status, which is also ascribed to subsequent generations (born within the host society).

For the purposes of this study the term ‘ethnic minority community’ will generally be used to refer to multi-generational communities whose ethnic and cultural origins lie beyond the geographical location in which they currently reside. In the case of such communities the commonly used terms: ‘migrant’ or ‘immigrant community’ are inappropriate for the entire multigenerational community, as it is inevitable that some members would have been born within the host country. In other places the actual terminology of the author is used in order to maintain consistency with the literature.

4.2.4 Community

Within the ethnic minority community, the sense of belonging between members is usually established on the basis of a perceived shared ethnicity. In this sense, the ethnic community is similar to the notion of ‘ethnic group’ coined by Barth (1969), which is characterized by: its ability to self-perpetuate, the sharing of cultural values, the formation of an identifiable field of communication and interaction and the perception among group members and non-group members that the group is distinct (Kelly, 2003). In the case of the immigrant members of the ethnic groups there is also a shared immigration and acculturation experience which may shape interactions within the community and between the community and the wider society.

Beyond its amorphous nature, one of the key problems with ‘community’ as a concept is its suggestion of group solidarity and innate oneness. Whilst there are likely to be certain commonalities between group members, it cannot be presumed that groups are homogeneous entities defined by set, tidy boundaries and fixed internal ties (Parekh, 2002). In fact, quite to

the contrary, the community as an entity is a “complex, shifting, multicultural reality” (Parekh, 2002: 27).

The obscuring and overlooking of divisions and diversities within a community is a feature that lies at the heart of the concept of the ‘imagined community’ which was first introduced by Anderson in the early 1980s (Phillips, 2002). In his early and more recent work Anderson explores the imagined nature of nations and nationalism and the attachments that individuals feel towards these imagined entities (Anderson, 2006) from a macro perspective (Phillips, 2002). The imagined community is defined as “groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination” (Kanno and Norton, 2003: 241). Anderson explains for instance that nations are imagined, because even the members of the smallest nations will never know, meet or even hear of the majority of group members, yet each member retains imaginations of group communion. (Anderson, 2006: 7).

In recent years it has emerged that immigrants living beyond the familiarity and comfort of their homeland still imagine themselves to be a part of the homeland community even though they have no physical contact with it. In the British context this is evidenced in the unprecedented extent of transnational engagement that has intensified in recent years (Creese and Blackledge, 2010). Such imaginary ties compel the individual to fulfil what they deem to be necessary for legitimate group membership; this may pertain to the maintenance of certain linguistic or cultural norms, or certain viewpoints. These ties and consequent acts of allegiance inevitably shape the acculturation experience. This concept of the imagined community bears specific relevance to this research study which focuses on supplementary schools established by community groups whose ethnic origins lie beyond their country of

residence. Indeed, the survival of certain essential elements of the homeland culture is a predominant feature within this realm of schooling.

4.2.5 Ethnicity and ethnic identity

Ethnicity

Within current literature the concept of ethnicity is highly contested (Ratcliffe, 2004). Previous traditional concepts of ethnicity were based on the primordialist perception that ethnic ties are given and ‘natural’. From this viewpoint ethnicity is seen to be fixed and unchanging in nature (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). This conceptualisation still remains dominant within current everyday discourse, with ethnicity being seen to be formed of a static, homogenous, racially defined culture (Harris and Rampton, 2003). This view however, has been heavily criticised as “ethnic absolutism” (Harris and Rampton, 2003: 5).

This has resulted in emergence and dominance of the constructivist approach to ethnicity (Brubaker, 2004) that emphasises its fluid and evolving nature (Ratcliffe, 2004; Nagel, 1994). It is now widely accepted that ethnicity is not primordial and historically grounded (Ratcliffe, 2004), but rather is directly related to situational and contextual factors. More specifically, it is suggested that various elements of this identity emerge within different social contexts (Ratcliffe, 2004). Ratcliffe (2004) suggests that ethnicity is a constantly shifting multi-dimensional and stratified entity with negotiable borders. This form of ethnicity is seen to emerge from social interaction and to be shaped by local, national and global contexts (Ratcliffe, 2004). This perspective is reflected within the work of Merino and Tileagă who conceptualise ethnic minority identities as descriptions: “something that does not appear or

simply pre-exist contexts of use but something that is creatively, flexibly and contextually constituted” (Merino and Tileagă, 2011: 87).

Connected to this idea of ethnicity is the belief that it is jointly shaped by both agency and structure (social, economic and political processes) (Nagel, 1994). This co-construction has been termed by Nagel as a dialectic between the ethnic community itself and the wider society (Nagel, 1994). For instance, whilst an individual may have a selection of ethnic identities to choose from at a particular time and place, these are socially and politically pre-defined (Nagel, 1994) and therefore carry with them certain degrees of stigma and advantage (Nagel, 1994).

It is clear that this concept of ethnicity is particularly relevant for the study of diasporic transnational communities due to its implicit flexibility (Ratcliffe, 2004). Such communities often have meaningful ties to multiple countries and therefore have a complex conception of 'home' (Ratcliffe, 2004) and have complex identities.

Ethnic group identity boundaries

Ethnic boundaries dictate certain organizational aspects of the group such as membership composition and size and effectively determines *who* the group are (Nagel, 1994). Culture then constitutes the content and meaning of ethnicity in terms of history, ideology and a group-specific system of meaning. This being the case, the classification of individuals as members of the group is dependent on their display of particular cultural traits (Barth, 1969). According to Hobsbawm (1983) 'cultural apparatus' such as: rituals, beliefs and practices serve in establishing or symbolising community cohesion, establishing and legitimising

institutions, status and relations with authorities and also socialising group members (Nagel, 1994). These cultural elements therefore substantiate and ‘give life to’ ethnic boundaries; revealing *what* the group is (Nagel, 1994). The tendency to preserve and perpetuate specific aspects of community identity is therefore very much related to the maintenance of ethnic group boundaries and the defining of group characteristics (Nagel, 1994). Much like ethnic identities, ethnic boundaries are constructed both by individuals themselves and other external structural forces, opinions and perceptions held within the wider society (Nagel, 1994). However, again in line with the research conducted, this section will place particular focus on the internal establishment of boundaries through the agency of the community members themselves.

The negotiation of ethnic community identity

It is natural for immigrants (voluntary or forced) to feel a sense of loyalty or affiliation with their home country. This Anderson refers to as “long distance nationalism” (Anderson 1998 cited in Blackledge and Creese, 2010: 185). There also exists an extensive pool of literature on transnationalism, which essentially involves the maintenance of ties in the countries of origin whilst establishing roots in the host country (Levitt, 2010). Levitt divides transnationalism into two aspects, these are: ‘ways of belonging’ and ‘ways of being’ (Levitt, 2010). Ways of being refer to the social relations and practices in which an individual involves themselves, as opposed to the associated identities which individuals may reject or be unaware of for instance. Transnational ways of belonging, involves a further process of individuals openly recognising and acting upon the transnational ways of being. These forms of cross border living challenge the notion of the world being organised into exclusively bounded nation states (Levitt, 2010). Instead, the notion of transnationalism highlights the

manner in which migrants often pivot back and forth between home and host societies (and other contexts) at various stages of their lives (Levitt, 2010). As a result, the lives of migrants are impacted by a number of cultural repertoires and institutions (Levitt, 2010).

Current sociological literature implies that geographic and territorial attachments are both key aspects of modern self-identity and aid in the establishment and maintenance of “ontological security” (Giddens, 1984, cited in Phillips, 2002: 602) and providing the necessary components for the ordering of life (Phillips, 2002). For many, these attachments are also coupled with a sense of displacement within the new host society. Whilst such feelings may lessen over time, ethnic minority communities often seek to maintain or preserve aspects of the perceived homeland national identity in order to establish a place within the host society (Joly, 2004). This was certainly seen to be the case with the participants in this study who often made reference to the prevention of the loss of ethnic identity. Indeed, Archer et al state that supplementary schools usually have an explicit agenda to preserve and maintain the cultural traditions and languages of diasporic communities (Archer et al, 2010). Whilst there are cases where the loyalty of ethnic group members is eroded by the influence of the dominant culture (Kelly and Nagel, 2002), the following sub-sections will focus on the general drive towards the perpetuation and preservation of community identities as a reflection of the trend found within the schools featured within this study.

The drive of ethnic minority communities to perpetuate and preserve can be seen as a means of establishing an ‘authentic’ community identity. In their paper on authenticity and superdiversity, Blommaert and Varis (2011) speak of identity practices as “discursive orientations towards sets of emblematic resources” (Blommaert and Varis, 2011: 4). These resources are those which individuals refer to or draw upon when talking about or acting

within a particular identity category (Blommaert and Varis, 2011). It is the arrangement and degrees of such resources that dictates whether or not an individual will be certified as an authentic member of the identity category in question (Blommaert and Varis, 2011). For most of the schools in this study, authenticity was symbolised by resources from respective homelands such as their languages and customs.

Where social identities are certified in this way, there tends to be a general orientation towards “canalisation and standardisation of interaction” (Barth, 1969) and the establishment of boundaries which generate and perpetuate ethnic diversity within the larger social system (Barth, 1969). Here, canalisation constitutes the complex organisation of social relations that includes differential interactions with group members and with non-group members due to assumed levels of shared understanding within the group (Barth, 1969). Joly argues however that the ethnic minority community pursues the project of self-perpetuation not as a self-segregated entity, intentionally existing on the margins of society, but as one fighting for a legitimate place within the society with the relevant rights, including the right to self-preservation. In this sense the ethnic minority community can be seen to have a dual purpose (Joly, 2004). Subordinate ethnic groups can also utilise “strategic essentialism” (Stanton 2005 cited in Blackledge and Creese, 2010: 165) as a political tool which may allow for group recognition and access to certain resources, rights and privileges (Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

The following sections explore some of the ways in which ethnic minority communities seek to maintain some of the key aspects of the community identity, namely, the culture and history of the community which according to Nagel, are the “substance of ethnicity” and the “materials used to construct ethnic meaning” (Nagel, 1994: 161). On this occasion, language

will be discussed separately from other aspects of culture, again reflecting the nature of the data collected in which there was a notable focus on language preservation.

4.2.6 Language and language varieties

One of the most common ways that ethnic minority communities seek to preserve a national identity is through the community language. Despite the complex use of linguistic resources among speakers, May (2001; 2005) argues that languages to which ethnic or cultural groups are historically associated are still tightly intertwined into group identity claims (Blackledge and Creese 2010). In a study on the transnationality of children of immigrant parents, language was found to be central to the maintenance of transnational ties, both in terms of the attitudes and behaviours of individuals (Rumbaut, 2002). Linguistic practice is one of the ways in which identities are negotiated (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003). Creese and Blackledge further comment that language practices connect members of the speech community to “a (mythical or real) past and an imagined future” (Creese and Blackledge, 2010). Within the context of the multilingual society, minority groups may appeal to a particular language to claim the rights to specific identities whilst simultaneously resisting the imposition of other unwanted identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003).

Also connected to language use is a sense of belonging. The concept of a distinctive home language commonly referred to as the ‘mother tongue’, bears associations of having ownership over a particular language whilst also bearing a sense of allegiance and affection towards the language. In this sense the language belongs to community members whilst also enabling them to belong to the community group (Mills, 2003). This was found to be the case in a study on discussions of identity among Chinese community members living in the

Netherlands. Here the issue of language was frequently highlighted in participants' definitions of who or what are 'real Chinese' (Verkuyten and deWolf, 2002). Creese et al also discovered that the Bengali supplementary schools employed a pedagogy that frequently incorporated notions of national belonging in the teaching of Bengali amongst other aspects of heritage (Blackledge and Creese, 2010) thereby suggesting that the speaking of Bengali was encompassed within this belonging.

The term 'mother tongue' also bears connotations of monolingualism, suggesting that as a person can only have one mother, a nation can only have one language. Such a perspective gives rise to anxieties concerning the language endangerment and the consequent possible demise of national identity (Carli et al, 2003). This conceptualisation is particularly prevalent in cases where the dominant language is seen to threaten the existence of the minority language. In such circumstances it is often thought that the 'mother tongue' must be transferred to the younger generations to preserve the national character (Carli et al, 2003).

The common view of language being tightly correlated with community is heavily criticized for its simplistic and essentialised approach to linguistic practice; creating a portrayal of clearly defined ethnolinguistically homogeneous communities whilst evading the realities of hybrid identities and complex linguistic repertoires, characteristic of the current globalized context (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003). This perspective is challenged by a number of recent ethnographic studies (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003) including a study conducted by Archer et al which highlights the problematic standardisation of Chinese culture constructed within Chinese supplementary schools through the authorizing of certain hegemonic conventions of "Chineseness" (Archer et al, 2010:112) including the speaking Mandarin.

These essentialised constructions were perceived by students as somewhat out-dated (Archer, et al, 2010).

It is also the case that language practices may fulfil other functional purposes. For instance, particular languages or language forms may be linked to professional as opposed to national or ethnic identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003). language can be used in a deliberate attempt to acquire a mainstream identity and avoid the negative connotations of a particular minority community identity (Giampapa, 2003).

Other language varieties

In the case of Ethnic minority groups originating from English speaking regions, community identities may also be marked with the use of certain other language varieties besides actual national 'languages'. This was found to be the case in African-Caribbean school C where Jamaican patois was at times used in the classroom by one of the teachers. 'Language variety' is a neutral term that also refers to accents, dialects and other such linguistic forms (Swann, 2000). It is believed that language varieties are meaningful not only because they are indicative of the speaker's origin and social identity but also because they embody certain social values for the speakers that are related to the contexts in which they are utilised. In this sense, language varieties are a resource that speakers may adopt during certain interactions as a communicative strategy or to 'communicative effect' (Swann, 2000). Code-switching between language varieties for instance can constitute an attempt to redefine certain contextual aspects or the relationships between speakers and also enable the speaker to access different social identities (Swann, 2000). According to Myers-Scotton (1993) for instance, 'marked' code-switching does not correspond with traditional patterns of interaction. Instead

it indicates that the speaker wishes for the relationship to be viewed outside of societal norms (Swann, 2000). Such was the case within African-Caribbean school C, where one teacher's code-switching tendencies seemed to indicate a desire to create a 'safe space' (Creese et al, 2006) for pupils by connecting school and home and by establishing an air of togetherness between the pupils and herself.

4.2.7 Cultural Traditions

This section will involve the discussion of both culture and heritage. Here, the term heritage refers to the elements of life and history – past history which group members often seek to preserve and transfer to following generations. Culture on the other hand is that which is reproduced and materialised through interaction, existing in “the processes and resources involved in “situated, dialogical, sense-making” (Rampton, 2006: 20). This section will focus on ‘intangible’ aspects of culture and therefore will not cover tangible artefacts such as monuments or paintings (Kurin, 2003).

The retention of ethnic identity is closely associated with involvement in cultural celebrations and activities. Within a study carried out by Inman et al it was found that participants seemed to reaffirm their cultural identity by simply reconstituting their original culture and traditional values within the new host society (Inman et al, 2007). This included various religious services, forms of upbringing and certain types of music and dance. According to participants, the retention of ethnic identity was also aided by the rejection of perceived Western values (Inman et al, 2007). Falicov suggests that the perpetuation of transnational practices may serve in providing some form of narrative coherence that gives meaning to the migration experience, maintains social and cultural capital and also elaborates upon

“hyphenated cultural identities” (Falicov, 2005: 405). These practices are those which link migrants and migrant organisations to their homelands and other segments of the diaspora (Creese and Blackledge, 2010).

Such perpetuation of ‘traditional’ cultural practices is often geared towards engendering a sense of cultural uniqueness. Within the study conducted by Archer et al for instance, parents valued the schools for their ability to enable children to feel ‘more Chinese’. This was achieved through a discourse of ‘Chinese culture’ which was implemented in both implicit and explicit ways (Archer et al, 2010).

Attempts to preserve Chinese culture were viewed as defending against the potential threat of cultural dilution due to geographical and generational ‘distance’ from China itself (Archer et al, 2010). In the pursuit of cultural maintenance, communities also seek to create clear divides between ethnic groups. In their discussions with parents and teachers for instance, Archer et al realised that constructions of Chinese culture were sometimes used to polarise Chinese and Western culture and schooling (Archer et al, 2010).

The desire to preserve and protect aspects of culture and heritage was also detectable in the accounts of school leaders who positioned their schools as spaces geared towards the survival and safeguarding of linguistic and cultural traits. Many of these leaders perceived threats posed by the dominance of the linguistic and cultural traditions of the host society.

4.2.8 Identity renewal/recovery

Whilst in most cases, schools within this study were focused on the maintenance and perpetuation of community languages and cultural traditions in some cases they also sought to recover lost identities. This process is referred to by Nagel as ‘ethnic renewal’ which is defined as “the reconstruction of one’s ethnic identity by reclaiming a discarded identity, replacing or amending an identity in an existing ethnic identity repertoire, or filling a personal ethnic void” (Nagel, 1995: 947). When embarked upon on a collective scale, the ethnic renewal process involves the reconstruction of an ethnic community through the building or rebuilding of institutions, culture, histories and traditions (Nagel 1995). This reconstruction process was clearly demonstrated within the responses of in all three of the school leaders of the ‘recovery’ oriented schools (see chapter 6).

Within the process of ethnic renewal, homelands often play a significant role, becoming “repositories of authentic ethnicity” (Nagel, 2002: 277). In many ways this quest for renewal is also a quest for authenticity. For three schools in this study the construction of the ‘authentic’ community identity involved the use of resources from community histories; how the communities used to be. School leaders spoke of the ‘true’ identity of the community that had existed in a bygone era.

Political and social movements within the homeland can also influence the experiences of those seeking ethnic renewal. Kelly and Nagel for instance comment that the fate of homelands continues to mobilise ethnic minority communities particularly in times of war, persecution and oppression (Kelly and Nagel, 2002). Such was the case with Islamic school A. Here, the school leader indicated that the terrorist attacks of September 11th had facilitated

a renewed focus on the “true meaning” of Islam which included the eradication of false conceptions that had been “intermingled” within Islam. In this case the renewal was mainly a religious as opposed to an ethnic one however the evidence suggests that the same principles apply.

One example of ethnic renewal/recovery can be seen among the Hawaiian people. In his 1999 paper, No'eau Warner explains that “since their arrival in Hawaii, non-indigenous people have disenfranchised Hawaiians from their land, their sovereignty, their language and their culture and have even redefined their identity” (No'eau Warner, 1999: 69). No'eau Warner claims that as part of this disenfranchisement, Hawaiians were heavily indoctrinated through schools, churches and other social institutions (No'eau Warner, 1999). In an attempt to recover the Hawaiian language and culture a Hawaiian language immersion program was established which led to a heightened interest in the reacquisition of the heritage language and cultural traditions among native Hawaiians (No'eau Warner, 1999). Similar to the case of the Hawaiians, the leaders of all three schools incorporating the aspect of identity recovery, indicated the prior existence of a “true” community identity. And much like the Hawaiian immersion programme, the schools themselves constituted means of identity renewal.

4.3 Chapter summary

This section has sought to contribute to the ideological foundation of the thesis by first exploring the means through which Discourses are transmitted into the classroom and then by outlining some of the key Discourses pertaining to the positioning of ethnic minority communities within host societies. In doing so the section has situated supplementary

schooling established within these communities, amidst wider circulating discussions pertaining to ethnic minority communities and migration and acculturation processes. Evidence presented within this section shows that there are a number of multileveled, interrelated factors that impact the acculturation experiences of the ethnic minority communities within host societies. These factors are closely connected to the perspectives of both the host society and the ethnic minority community itself. Thus the positioning of ethnic minority communities is not given but is continually negotiated on multiple levels. Consequently, the positioning and operation of the institutions established by these communities are also subject to this negotiation process and are also affected by the Discourses discussed above. This section therefore provides essential discursive contextual information that contributes to the “frame of reference” (Blommaert, 2005: 159) within which the meanings of schools will be rendered intelligible.

The chapter has also highlighted the tension that exists between the free flowing nature of ethnicity and the erection and maintenance of ethnic boundaries and the consequent establishment of essentialised ethnic identities. The literature suggests that the essentialisation of community identity is used by communities as a defining tool whilst at the same time constituting a strategic means of establishing a ‘space of dignity’ within the host society. Ironically, these essentialised identity constructions are also used to counter dominant hegemonies of the mainstream structure.

5 Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to justify and outline the research methods used within the study. I will seek to achieve this by first tying together the methods used, with the research questions and the theoretical grounding of the research, explored within chapter 4. Following this, the chapter will document a more detailed account of how the research methods were implemented in practice through a highly descriptive yet reflexive documentation of the methodological journey of the research, answering the many ‘how’ questions of the research.

5.1 Research questions

The methodology constructed for this research study has been determined by the following research questions:

1. What are the key purposes of supplementary schools?
2. How are the schools positioned by the school leaders?
3. How is the school positioning related to discursive practice?

These questions have inevitably made certain methodological demands on the data gathering process. On a general level, all three questions require the close interfacing with participants and research environments. This is because the elements of school life under investigation, namely purpose and positioning, are not necessarily overtly displayed but are embedded within discursive dynamics. The research questions also require the collection of qualitative accounts, as each is subject to participants subjective meanings and understandings. These

demands have been met within an ethnographic approach which has encompassed participant observation, semi-structured interviews and interactive audio recordings. The following subsection will convey the value of the ethnographic approach within this study as it is combined with the central theoretical components of positioning and discourse.

5.2 Ethnography

Similar to ‘discourse’, the definition of ‘ethnography’ is highly contested, ambiguous and diverse (Walford, 2009a; Atkinson et al, 2001). Under these circumstances a comprehensive definition of ethnography is beyond the scope of this section. Instead, this section will attempt to present some of the key defining features of ethnography.

As a word, ‘ethnography’ literally means ‘writing culture’ and is therefore closely associated with description and context (Mitchell, 2007). It follows that since ethnography is the writing of culture and culture is a system of meaning then ethnography consists of describing and interpreting these meanings (Mitchel, 2007, 61).

Accounts within the literature suggest that this interpretation process requires the researcher to have close association with the research context. Hammersley and Atkinson for instance, describe the essence of ethnography in the following way:

In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995 :1).

Here there is a clear emphasis on the presence of the researcher amongst the participants. Atkinson et al also emphasise the centrality of first-hand experience within the research setting (Atkinson et al, 2001: 5). Mitchel additionally states that central to the legitimacy of ethnography is careful attention to the context. In fact, Hammersley and Dilly proceed in suggesting that if described well, context constitutes the development of theory (Mitchel, 2007).

This suggests that ethnography requires a significant focus on context and the careful contextualisation of the data gathered. This aspect of ethnography corresponds with Blommaert's concept of context in which there is a distinct appreciation of the value of contextual information in the understanding of discourse and in the meaning making process (Blommaert, 2005). In addition ethnography also fits well with the aims and scope of positioning theory which seeks to reveal positionings within certain contextual storylines. The storyline is in fact the context within which a person's behaviour is interpreted (Harré and Langenhove, 1999).

The comprehension and interpretation of cultural meanings is also a central aspect of the ethnographic enterprise, as deciphered through the accounts of the participants themselves. The incorporation of emic perspectives leads to an inductive process that allows practitioners to draw wider inferences concerning social life (Mitchel, 2007). Again, this is reminiscent of Blommaert's work which advocates that discourse is the means through which meaning is constructed (Blommaert, 2005). The study of discourse is therefore inevitably the study of meaning. As in the field of ethnography, Blommaert also recognises the interplay between the micro and macro levels as mutually dependent discursive levels (Blommaert, 2005). The storyline aspect of positioning theory is also accommodating of this approach to the micro-

macro relationship allowing for associations to be made between the micro interactions and large scale overarching discourses.

Within the field of ethnography there are of course various analytical approaches including social interaction, cultural studies, critical ethnography, feminism, studies focusing on difference and diversity, postmodern and post structural ethnography and materialist approaches (Gordon et al, 2001). This study is situated mainly (though not exclusively) within the social interactionist realm with an emphasis on meaning and social construction. This particular approach to educational ethnography has greatly enhanced the understanding of everyday processes in schools and other educational settings (Gordon et al, 2001).

Ethnography is altogether very well suited to the investigation of discourse. This is because it provides the contextual emphasis which aids in grounding discourse and discursive practices into the wider contextual framework. Ethnography demands that discursive practices be situated within the wider context of social behaviour and the intricate connections between its various constituents (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). In this sense, ethnography “involves a perspective on language and communication, including ontology and an epistemology, both of which are of significance for the study of language in society, or better, of language as well as of society” (Blommaert and Jie, 2010: 5).

5.3 Case study

Case study research typically involves the detailed collection of data about certain phenomena within a certain context over a period of time (Cohen et al, 2007; Hartley, 2004). The

ultimate aim is to provide “an analysis of the context and processes which illuminate the theoretical issues being studied” (Hartley, 2004: 323). Within this “research strategy” (Hartley, 2004: 323) there is considerable focus on the understanding of context (Cohen et al, 2007; Hartley, 2004) and how it influences and is influenced by behaviour and processes (Hartley, 2004). According to Hartley (2004), case study research is particularly suited to research questions that warrant an in-depth understanding of organisational processes due to its orientation towards the collection of rich data within a given social context (Hartley, 2004).

The use of multiple methods within case study research aids in the investigation of complex and intricate interactions prevalent within social organisations. Through the in-depth context specific explorations afforded within the case study the researcher is able to build theory through the assembling of various segments of detailed evidence (Hartley, 2004). Another central aspect of case study research is the allowance of situations and circumstances to “speak for themselves” (Cohen et al, 2007: 254) as opposed to interpretations being largely imposed by the researcher (Cohen et al, 2007). Moreover it is also the case that the piecing together of evidence within the case study, allows the organisation to speak comprehensively from multiple angles, represented through the various types of data collected and triangulated. It is for these reasons that case study was used in addressing the final research question that required a meticulous and focused examination of the dynamics of organisational discourse.

5.4 Overall research design

The methods utilised within the ethnographic approach employed within this study were: semi-structured interviews, participant observation and fieldnotes and interactive recordings. The entire study was divided into two distinct research phases. Phase one of the study involved a series of 16 interviews with school leaders. The intention of this phase was to address the first two research questions which focus on the purposes and subsequent positioning of schools. This phase also involved the construction of a framework of school positionings informed by the accounts of the school leaders.

Within the second phase of the study a case study investigation was conducted which involved participant observation and fieldnotes, interactive recording and teacher interviews. The case study approach was chosen for the particular part of the research due to its encompassing of a number of research methods, allowing for triangulation of data which is particularly advantageous in the investigation of organisational behaviours and processes. This phase of the study was centred around the final research question which focuses on the relation of school positioning to the institutional discursive practices of the school. It was therefore the case that the first phase of the study constituted the building of a theoretical understanding of institutional positioning whereas the second phase explored the practical manifestations of positioning within the institution itself. My use of the aforementioned research methods is outlined in further detail within the following account of the research journey.

5.5 The Methodological Journey

The following sections constitute a comprehensive and reflexive account of the methodological journey of the research also encompassing the critical examination of each stage. What follows will explore how each of the aforementioned methods were practically implemented in the production of data and how this data was analysed. For the most part, this methodological account will be presented in chronological order, however, details concerning the analysis of all the data gathered will be documented in a separate section towards the closing of the chapter. Below is a summary chart of the data collected within each research phase along with the research questions that correspond with each phase:

Table 1: The methodological journey

	*Preliminary phase	Phase 1	Phase 2
School visits	5 visits to African-Caribbean school B 4 visits to another African-Caribbean school not included in the study	5 preliminary visits to African-Caribbean school C	27 visits to African-Caribbean school C
Interviews	No interviews conducted	16 Interviews with school leaders (listed in table 2)	2 Interviews with school teachers from African-Caribbean school C
Interactive recordings	No recordings conducted	No recordings conducted	5 recordings of teaching sessions conducted by 2 teachers in African-Caribbean school C.
Observations and fieldnotes	Observations were carried out and fieldnotes taken on each visit. This phase included a total of 14.25 hours observation (8 hours at school B and 6 and a quarter hours at the second school).	Post-interview fieldnotes taken on 2 occasions Fieldnotes taken for each school visit.	Observations were carried out and fieldnotes taken for each visit Phase 2 included a total of 52 hours observation.
Documents	No documents collected	Directory of supplementary schools from Birmingham City Council website. Used to select schools for phase 1.	Documents collected from African-Caribbean school C. - School schedule - Pamphlet about Wori game. - Science worksheet
Research questions		1, 2	3

* A comprehensive account of this phase including my participant roles and the note-taking process can be found in appendix A.

5.6 Phase 1

5.6.1 Sampling and recruitment

The first step in preparation for phase 1 was to select a sample of schools. It was decided that the schools would be chosen from within the Birmingham area mainly for convenience purposes, but also because Birmingham is a cosmopolitan city and therefore highly suitable for this type of investigation. I first began my journey by downloading a supplementary schools list from the Birmingham City Council website (see appendix B). This list contained the basic details of 107 Supplementary schools located in Birmingham and was compiled within the financial year of 2003 to 2004. This list formed the basis of the phase 1 sampling process.

As is typically the case with qualitative research, my aim was not to construct a strictly representative sample of schools. Instead I sought to gain a sample of schools that would reflect a wide variety of the types of supplementary schools located within the Birmingham area. In order to achieve this I decided to use curriculum as the defining variable as is used by Issa and Williams in the London supplementary schools project (Issa and Williams, 2009). In the first instance I attempted to subdivide the schools using the first 6 of the 8 categories used by Issa and Williams to categorise the language schools in London (Issa and Williams, 2009) (see chapter 7 table 3). There were however, a significant number of schools on the council list that failed to fulfil any of the category criteria, therefore additional categories were formulated as was necessary to properly represent all of the schools listed. Through this initial categorisation process 10 categories were established:

1. Community language (CL)
2. National curriculum (NC)
3. Cultural heritage (CH)
4. Religious education (RE)
5. Cultural language and national curriculum (CL&NC)
6. National Curriculum and Cultural Heritage (NC&CH)
7. Religious Education and Community language (RE&CL)
8. Religious education and national curriculum (RE&NC)
9. Cultural Heritage and cultural language (CH&CL)
10. Religious Education, National curriculum and Community language (RE&NC&CL)

Following this process, each school on the council list was numbered according to their category, a chart was then formulated which clearly displayed the number of schools in each category (see appendix C). In order to simplify the sampling process it was necessary to decrease the number of categories. The two categories CH, RE and RE &NC were immediately omitted since there were no schools that matched their criteria. Then the categories NC&CL and NC&CH were merged together to form the category NC&CL/CH. As a result of these alterations, the below six categories were established and the number allocations on the school list were altered accordingly:

1. Community language (CL)
2. National curriculum (NC)
3. National curriculum and community language/cultural heritage (NC&CL/CH)
4. Religious education and community language (RE&CL)
5. Cultural heritage and community language (CH&CL)
6. Religious Education, national curriculum and community language (RE, NC &CL)

Again, in the pursuit of gaining a wide as opposed to strictly representative sample I decided to target three schools from each of the six categories, amounting to 18 schools in total. This number was however reduced to 16, due to time constraints and the redundancy of category 6 as the schools initially thought to be in this category were found either to have changed their curriculum or to have ceased operation.

Whilst these categories provided a useful means of grouping schools, they were not used as ‘watertight’ classifications. It was recognised for instance that some schools, whilst emphasising certain aspects of their curriculum, also incorporated certain other unstated areas of teaching. This was indeed found to be the case with some schools where the teaching of Religious Education incorporated aspects of cultural heritage teaching. In this sense the category labels are not comprehensive, but representative of the key focal areas of each school as overtly revealed by the school leaders or representatives. The allotted categories were therefore considered to be an analytical starting point.

Within the school selection process, my aim was to gain a sample that was diverse in terms of ethnic grouping as well as curriculum content. I therefore made a deliberate attempt to choose three ethnically diverse schools from each category. This sampling technique is often termed as the ‘purposive’ or ‘judgemental’ technique, where the researcher selects subjects or institutions “Employing judgement to ensure that the sample is selected on the basis of the information required” (Greig and Taylor, 2004:59).

Whilst this aim remained a useful guide, it could not always be achieved, due to the domination of particular groups within certain categories. The sampling process was also

further complicated due to disparities between the school descriptions given on the list and those given during the initial phone conversations and at times, the descriptions given in the phone conversation and those stated within the actual interviews. As a result there is one extra category (category 7) in table 2 that was not included within the original list of categories but became apparent during the course of the phase 1 interviews. Despite these difficulties, the final research sample is suitably diverse for the purposes of the present study.

5.6.2 Gaining access

Once schools had been selected from the City Council list, school leaders were contacted by phone. I chose to call as opposed to writing letters firstly because of time limitations and secondly because I could not be certain that the addresses provided would be correct at the time of data gathering. This initial process proved to be both tedious and time consuming as there were many occasions where the school leader had changed, contact details were inaccurate or the school was no longer in operation. In the few cases where it was impossible to contact persons involved with the schools, alternative replacement schools were sought from the list.

My initial plan was to conduct preliminary discussions with school representatives to explain the research before requesting interviews. However, after the first few phone calls I realised that some individuals were willing to participate immediately. From that point onwards the primary aim of these initial phone calls was to secure interview appointments, although all participants were offered the opportunity to have an initial face-to-face discussion if they so desired.

The following table displays the final list of schools included in phase 1 (in alphabetical order). Pseudonyms have been used in order to conceal school identities whilst also clearly stating the ethnic/religious orientation of each school. In cases where there are more than one school within either one of these categories, schools have been labelled with a letter (A,B,C etc) for identification purposes. Details of school venues have also been added for basic contextualisation of the schools.

Table 2: Schools involved in the study

Category	School name	Venue
3	African-Caribbean school A	Community centre
2	African Caribbean school B	Church hall
2	African Caribbean school C	Community centre
3	Bangladeshi school	Rented building
3	Bosnian school	community owned centre
1	Chinese school	mainstream school building
7*	Greek school	community owned centre
4	Guajarati school	mainstream school building
3	Iranian school	Mainstream education building and community owned centre
1	Irish school	community owned centre
4	Islamic school A	Mosque
4	Islamic school B	Community owned centre
4	Islamic school C	Community owned centre
4	Polish school	Rented venue
1	Punjabi school A	Community centre
4	Punjabi school B	Sikh Temple

* Community Language, Cultural heritage and Religious Education (CL, CH & RE)

The research interview

There are various terminologies that are utilised in the labelling of interview types, but perhaps the most commonly used is the basic categories of, 'structured', 'semi-structured' and 'unstructured' interviews (King and Horrocks, 2010). This tripartite spectrum is based on degrees of flexibility. Throughout this study I have incorporated the term 'semi-structured' to describe the type of interviewing carried out within the study. This terminology is used to distinguish the interview style from 'structured interviewing' on one hand, where interviews are rigidly standardised with little room for variation and 'unstructured interviewing' at the other end of the spectrum, in which the interview has no predetermined structure.

According to Blee and Taylor (2002) semi-structured interviewing is particularly appropriate for investigations of social movements such as the supplementary schools featured within this study. This is partly because it allows the researcher to gain access to a broader spectrum of motivations and perspectives than are likely to be represented with other documentary sources (Blee and Taylor, 2002). Such was the case with Robnett's (1996) study of African American women who during the civil rights movement were involved in a unique form of grassroots leadership that had remained undocumented within previous studies that had relied on documents and interview samples constructed from archival materials (Blee and Taylor, 2002).

Semi-structured interviewing was appropriate for this piece of research because it is particularly geared towards accessing the attitudes, values and understandings of individuals (Byrne, 2004). These are aspects that cannot be easily deciphered through other quantitative or closed questioning methods (Torres, 2009). The aim of the phase 1 and phase 2 semi-

structured interviews was for school staff members to express their own subjective meanings and interpretations concerning their respective schools. Referring to this type of “depth interviewing” (Jones, 2004: 257) Jones postulates that to find out about a person’s constructions of reality we would do well to ask them in a manner that will allow for the depth that will reveal the rich context that constitutes the substance of their meanings (Jones, 2004).

This form of interviewing also allows the participants to have more involvement in the research process (Blee and Taylor, 2002) and also prioritises participant voice since it allows the participant the opportunity to express themselves in their own words (Torres, 2009; Sharrock, 2007). Such was the case in a study conducted by Mills (2001), concerning the viewpoints of mothers and children of their own bilingualism. Here, semi-structured interviews awakened latent reflection, “leading the subjects to tell their own stories of their lived world” (Kvale, 1996, cited in Mills, 2001:291). This level of participant engagement was especially important for my own study, which seeks to capture participants’ subjective meanings concerning their respective institutions and their positionings within them.

Semi-structured interviewing also allows for the generation of contextual data as it allows the participants the freedom to give extensive accounts (Hughes and Sharrock, 2007) and to relate meaningful contextual narratives/storylines. This is particularly pertinent to this research study since positioning is a process of assigning parts within contextual storylines (van Langenhove and, Harré 1999). The value of these storylines was clearly demonstrated during the phase 1 interviews where school leaders drew upon their own storylines of mainstream schooling in their interpretations of the supplementary schools. These attributes of semi-

structured interviewing also tally well with Blommaert's centralisation of meanings and context (Blommaert, 2005).

Whilst semi-structured interviewing was appropriate for the purposes of this study, it is also acknowledged that other in-depth interview methods such as life history interviewing could have been employed. The life history interview involves the exploration of meaning through the relating of experiences (Atkinson, 1998) and therefore may have yielded valuable data concerning the positionings of the school leaders interviewed. On this particular occasion however it was thought that the method of semi-structured interviewing that was utilised, afforded a wider scope for the discussion of the schools themselves as opposed to the actual lives of the school leaders and therefore was more suitably related to the central research questions. Whilst the personal histories of the school leaders have inevitably impacted interview responses, they were not a central feature of the current study.

Interviewees

During phase 1 the leaders of each of the 16 selected schools were interviewed. The accounts of school leaders were specifically chosen due to their role in the schools that effectively places them in them at the steering wheel of the organisation. School leaders were perceived to be the most able to provide information concerning the overall history, structure aims and purposes of the schools. School leaders often have a strong influence on the promotion and maintenance of the institutional ethos. Having said this, it is also acknowledged that there are other alternative yet equally valuable stories to be told concerning each school and its operations such as that of the students, parents or even the other school teachers. However

the additional interviewing of these stakeholders was beyond the scope of this particular study.

The interview setting

Most of the phase 1 interviews were carried out at the sites where the schools were held. Other interviews were conducted either at participants' homes or at a mutual public location. Interviewing within the school premises was particularly useful as it allowed for a vivid understanding of the school environment contributing to my understanding of the school as a whole. In the case of the Bosnian school, an initial tour of the school building revealed a particular ideology and concepts that resonated with comments made during the interview concerning the ethos and aims of the school. Thus the viewing of the school premises aided in the contextualisation of interview responses.

Pilot Interviews

The first two interviews conducted within phase 1 were used as pilot interviews. Following their completion, the recordings of these two interviews were critically evaluated with close attention being paid to the clarity, the order and general consistency and scope of the questions asked. As a result of this process a number of alterations were made and all subsequent interviews were conducted using the adapted Phase 1 staff interview schedule (see appendix D).

The Interview Description

The phase 1 interviews were conducted using a list of pre-set questions under a number of subheadings: personal details; personal perceptions of supplementary schooling; school description; school history and purpose. These questions were simply used to guide the interview conversation as opposed to constituting a standard interview format. The questions were not necessarily asked in the order in which they appeared, nor were they necessarily worded in the same way during the actual interview. Instead, I tried to follow the flow of the conversation, asking questions as and when it seemed to be appropriate. The interview also encompassed a number of additional probe questions which were spontaneously posed to participants as and when necessary.

In an attempt to preserve the validity of interview data, certain precautions were taken, as recommended by Jones (2004). During the phase 1 (and 2) interviews, participants were assured of the confidentiality of the interview from the outset. I also displayed interest throughout the interview through verbal expressions such as “okay” and “umm” in addition to non-verbal cues. Such signals were also employed within Mill’s study on bilingualism, in which Mills (2001) reports the use of rapport signals such as smiling, occasional nodding and sympathetic sounds of agreement (Mills, 2001).

Jones also advocates a flexible approach to interviewing where the researcher adapts his/her style to the particular individual being interviewed and the interactional shifts within the interview interaction (Jones, 2004). This technique was also implemented within the interview process in which I made slight adjustments to my register (with regards to the level of formal/informalness) and at times adjusted the phrasing of questions according to the

characteristics of the particular participant and the rapport I had developed with them. In two of the interviews for instance, where participants displayed limitations in their command of spoken English, I simplified the phrasing of questions.

5.6.3 Methodological challenges: Researcher effects

It is widely agreed that interviewers can't help but influence interviewees responses (Jones, 2004; Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992; Blommaert and Jie, 2010). Holland and Ramazanoglu (1994) argue that certain attributes of the researcher such as age, gender and ethnicity affect both the interaction and interpretation processes (Byrne, 2004). Within this viewpoint, the interview is perceived as reflexive process which extends beyond the collection of data, incorporating both individual and shared consciousness (Nicolson, 2003).

This section explores the possible effects that I may have had on my own research. Here I am purposely deviating from the classical concept of the researcher as detached observer (Byrne, 2004) and openly acknowledging the possible effects of my own social positioning and perceived demographic attributes. In particular, this section will explore the effects of my own race (or that which was ascribed to me by participants). I have chosen to focus on this particular attribute at length here as it seems to have had a marked effect on my interactions with some of the participants.

As an African-Caribbean researcher carrying out research amongst Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups, I noticed that some participants seemed to assume some level of mutual understanding based on my racial grouping. Within one interview for instance, the participant

made the following statement in reference to the recent negative portrayal of Muslims in the media:

“sometimes you know, it’s sad because of the way the media have portrayed a lot of things. See as Afro-Caribbean...you would understand that, or you should understand because what happened to the early part of the Afro-Caribbean was if you watched ‘The Bill’, this Afro-Caribbean was a thief, you know if you watch...it was all negative, negative” (Islamic school A Leader)

Here, there was an assumption from the participant that I would understand the Muslim experience of being negatively portrayed in the media simply because he perceived me to be of African-Caribbean descent and therefore as being a member of a racial group who have also been subject to a similar type of media propaganda. Without any deliberate prompting, the participant positioned me as an individual with an understanding of subordination and misrepresentation faced by himself and other members of the Muslim community. In this sense the participant was implying an association between us, forged from (assumed) shared experiences.

In another Interview the participant related the experience of first generation Irish immigrants moving to England to the experience of first generation Caribbeans who moved to England during the ‘Windrush era’:

“Well, when people move out of their home country, as indeed is probably the case with your own parents or grandparents, if they had to leave their own country and come here, sometimes you find that the country you’ve moved into and its culture can be quite alien in some ways” (Irish school leader)

Whilst I was not by any means from the same ethnic minority grouping as the participant, he still made a direct connection between his own ethnic community and my family background. Again the participant assumed some affiliation through ethnic community experiences and therefore some sharing of understanding. With both of the above cases, it is as though the

participants were instinctively drawing me into their narratives, making connections between my world and theirs.

In addition to the above two examples, I also interviewed a leader of an African-Caribbean school who expressed very negative views towards white people. There is therefore a possibility that his interview responses would have been notably different had I been from a different racial background. Gallagher (2000) reports having similar experiences as a white researcher engaging with white participants who disclosed racist beliefs under the assumption that he would sympathise with their versions of the 'white experience'. In such cases researcher race can be seen as a form of methodological capital that can be used for rapport building and gaining access to individuals real opinions that may not be otherwise readily available (Sin, 2007).

Whilst issues of researcher positionality clearly warrant careful consideration it is also the case that the positioning of the researcher is variable and subject to change (Creese et al, 2009). Researchers demonstrate that insider/outsider debates related to race and gender undergo constant shifts during the fieldwork process (Creese et al, 2009; McCorkel and Myers, 2003; Best, 2003). This was in fact the case within an interview I conducted with the leader from African-Caribbean school A; whilst on one hand the participant spoke openly to me as an 'insider' fellow African-Caribbean about pro-black and anti-white issues he also displayed reluctance to divulge certain information due to my 'outsider' status as a researcher working under the umbrella of (what he perceived to be) a white dominated institution.

The above examples indicate that the information collected was in some ways impacted upon because of the affiliations that some participants felt towards me due to my social positioning as a member of an ethnic minority group.

5.6.4 Phase 1 additional school visits

In addition to the actual interviews, this first phase of the research also afforded additional opportunities to further explore the intricacies of everyday supplementary school life. Following an interview with the leader of African-Caribbean school C, I was invited to spend a whole week at a school, observing various classes held. This experience was particularly useful as I was able to begin considering some of the complexities of investigating the relationship between school positioning and discursive school processes. In the Irish school I was invited to observe a class which took place before the agreed interview time. This was also useful as it allowed me to enter the interview with some prior knowledge of the nature of schooling delivered. These additional school visits were documented in the fieldnotes.

5.7 Phase 2: An in-depth Case Study

5.7.1 Description of the case study school

African-Caribbean school C was African-Caribbean focused, in that it was specifically geared towards assisting children from the African-Caribbean community. This was made clear in the account of the school leader. Having said this however, the school were clearly open to the attendance of children from other communities and had no policy against this. As was

stated by the school leaders: “African Caribbean children are the first choice but we don’t say that you can’t come here it’s just that our methodology, you know, is for our children” (African-Caribbean school C, leader). All staff members at the school were African-Caribbean or had an African Caribbean background, except for one teacher who was white. The pupils were also mostly of African-Caribbean heritage. In terms of curriculum, the school was academic based, teaching maths, English/literacy and science subjects.

With regards to school setting, school C was housed within a community centre which was also used by other organisations/groups. Classes were conducted within 4 large classrooms all situated on the same floor. One of the rooms served as a computer room where pupils could access internet resources and type their class work. In addition, there was also a staff office where administration work and staff meetings were carried out. This room was occupied by the project manager and administration staff. All of the teaching rooms contained whiteboards and the computer room was also equipped with an interactive whiteboard.

5.7.2 Sampling

There were various reasons for the selection of African-Caribbean school C for the phase 2 case study. The main reason was the accessibility of the school. Since I had already conducted some form of observation at the school during the first phase of the study I already had some familiarity with the school environment and some of the staff members. It was therefore relatively easy to request further co-operation. I believe that the accessing process was also aided by my racial affiliation with the school leader and staff members.

I also selected this particular school because of its affiliation with the African-Caribbean community. During the course of this research it has become apparent to me that there is an increased focus on language learning as a key attribute of supplementary schooling. This has been demonstrated through the centralisation of community language teaching in many of the recent supplementary schooling conferences. I feel that this language focused agenda presents this network of schooling as a purely linguistic endeavour and has thus resulted in the side-lining of 'non-linguistic' schools such as African-Caribbean schools which generally do not incorporate language teaching. It was therefore my intention to use this study to foreground such supplementary schooling.

5.7.3 School visits

School C ran throughout the week and at weekends operating for a total of five days a week. I attended the school on four of the five days on which it operated, except on certain exceptional occasions where I had other pressing commitments and therefore was unable to attend. The duration of phase 2 was one school term; from April (following the Easter holidays) until the summer break beginning in July. I visited the school 27 times and observed for a total of 52 hours (see table 1 above).

5.7.4 Participant observation and fieldnotes

Participant observation allows the researcher to immerse themselves in the world of the participants and experience their operations within their own contexts. This then gives the researcher a unique opportunity to comprehend the symbolic meanings that are of importance

to the participants themselves (Herman-Kinney and Verschaeve, 2003). This aspect is particularly important for this study which involves the investigation of subjective meanings and understandings in order to explore the negotiation of purpose and positioning. This characteristic of participant observation also ties in with Blommaert's identification of meaningful symbolic behaviour which implies that any comprehensive investigation of discourse will inevitably incorporate a quest for the discovery of meaning (Blommaert, 2006).

Fieldnotes have “the power to evoke the times and places of the ‘field’, and call to mind the sights, sounds and smells of ‘elsewhere’” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: page). The consistent recording of field events also enables the researcher to decipher the significance of certain actions and events to the participants themselves (Creese et al, 2008). This documentation and deciphering of everyday occurrences is central to the process of “making the familiar strange” (Erickson, 1986: 121) considered by Erickson to be central to ethnographic investigation (Erickson, 1990).

The combination of participant observation and fieldnotes allows the researcher to gather significant knowledge concerning the research context by providing privileged access to a rich consortium of cues and diverse information types. This enables the researcher to construct an extensive foundation on which to establish interpretations of information gathered (Becker and Geer, 2004; Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). This gathering of contextual information is central to this investigation of supplementary schools which are embedded within various social, historical and political storylines and need to be comprehended in light of these contexts.

The type of longitudinal field-based participant observation employed within this study also corresponds with the key tenets of positioning theory because it allows for the observation of the construction and promotion of particular storylines over time. The storyline of the ‘capable black child’ detected within African-Caribbean school C for instance, was one which was constructed through various instances of classroom discourse. In addition, participant observation within the classroom context also allows for the exploration of the “patterns of reasoning” (Harré et al, 2009: 5) and meaning making, established through interactional, relational dynamics, which is a central concern of positioning theory (Harré et al, 2009).

Researcher Role

During the phase 2 research process I found myself occupying both ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ positionings. I was insider by virtue of my ethnic background and was simultaneously an outsider by virtue of my role as visiting researcher. My insider attributes conjured an almost assumed and taken-for-granted familiarity with staff members that aided in my integration into school life.

My role within African-Caribbean school C was very much that of an observer, watching from the side-lines. Here there was a universal assumption that as a researcher I had come to the school to observe classes and generally gather information about the school, thus whilst at the school there was no suggestion or even expectation that I should or would assist the staff members in any way. My role in the school was to a large extent shaped by the organisation and teaching structures. In the school small groups of children were taught either Maths, science or literacy lessons in separate classrooms with one teacher leading out, often with the

assistance of an additional second teacher or teaching assistant, much like a regular mainstream school, thus there was limited opportunity for my involvement.

Field Note Construction

Throughout phase 2, I made a conscious decision to maintain a broad outlook in my note taking by simply attempting to document all that I saw and heard as opposed to consciously focusing on specific instances or issues. In addition, the order of the phase 2 field notes reflects the order in which events actually took place. This approach to note-taking resulted in a systematic and comprehensive corpus of notes that even included accounts of seemingly mundane events (see appendix E). According to Wolfinger (2002), this type of note taking is advantageous because it can aid in the remembrance of intricate details that may otherwise remain undocumented, as remembering one aspect of an event is likely to enable the recall of a whole sequence (Wolfinger, 2002; Bogdan and Taylor, 1975; Berg, 1989).

There were however certain developments that affected the notes taken in more subtle and inevitable ways. I realised for instance, that as time progressed and I became more familiar with the school environment I began to examine the school from a more critical standpoint. Whilst the former notebook recordings are reflective of my initial naivety and intrigue, later recordings reflect a desensitisation to former amazements and an increased exposure to the more intricate details of school life. Hammersley and Atkinson suggest that this evolution of field notes is inevitable, as what is identified as significant, changes with the development of analytical ideas (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

I also recognise that my note taking may have been affected by my own personal attributes, general theoretical standing and my more immediate research interests. For instance, the fact that I am of African-Caribbean heritage, means that there may have been certain aspects that I may have taken for granted due to unconscious familiarity. I expect that my interpretivist theoretical standpoint also affected my interpretations and observations.

This is not uncommon within interpretive research, where the researcher's deciphering of what he/she sees typically involves the filtering of information through a conceptual mesh formed of the researcher's personal preferences and orientations (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). A case in point is that of a team research study conducted by Creese et al on Gujarati supplementary schooling in which the presence of the "cultural self" (Creese et al, 2008: 199) shaped the noticings in fieldnotes. In this context, the 'cultural self' encompasses attributes such as age, social class and ethnicity. Emerson et al also make similar comments pertaining to the varying writing choices of researchers (Emerson et al, 1995). Wolfinger also comments on the subjective construction of fieldnotes by researchers. Wolfinger places particular emphasis on background tacit knowledge as a major determinant of what particular observations are selected for annotation (Wolfinger, 2002:88).

5.7.5 Methodological challenges: Validity

Since participant observation relies solely on the researcher's own judgements of the research context, the issue of validity is one of great complexity. As stated by Angrosino and Mays de Perez "Ethnographic truth has come to be seen as a thing of many parts, and no one perspective can claim exclusive privilege in the representation thereof" (Angrosino and Mays de Perez, 2000: 675). In light of this, Angrosino and Mays de Perez suggest that it may be

useful to shift from the notion of observation as a method, to one of observation as a context for interaction with the participants involved in the research collaboration (Angrosino and Mays de Perez, 2000).

Consequently, I have made a deliberate effort to be explicit about the circumstances under which observations were conducted and fieldnotes gathered and the factors that may have influenced these processes. My awareness of such influences and their possible effects has allowed me to view the construction and content of the fieldnotes through a critical lens. In addition, the fieldnote data has been triangulated with data gathered from semi-structured interviews and interactive recordings, allowing me to position the fieldnotes within the wider context of data gathered throughout the study.

According to Blommaert and Jie, there are inevitable and unavoidable effects that the researcher has on the research environment just by virtue of their presence. Blommaert and Jie state that “as a fieldworker, you never belong ‘naturally’ or ‘normally’ to the field you investigate, you are always a foreign body which causes ripples on the surface of smooth routinized processes” (Blommaert and Jie, 2010: 27). Blommaert and Jie additionally state however that there are varying degrees of these researcher effects which tend to diminish as the fieldwork progresses (Blommaert and Jie, 2010).

During phase 2 I sought to minimise researcher effects, by spending as much time as possible within the research context over a considerable period of time. This aided in the building of rapport with students and teachers and helped to ‘normalise’ my presence. Throughout the study I also reassured staff members that the research was not an assessment of their individual teaching styles or abilities but aimed to gain an insight into the workings of the

institution as a whole. In addition, I made a conscious effort to keep in-class note writing to a minimum as not to concern or arouse self-consciousness amongst teachers and students.

5.7.6 Phase 2 interactional recordings

Audio recordings of classroom interactions occurred towards the close of the data collection period and were conducted within the regular teaching sessions of two of the teachers from the school. Altogether 5 recordings were made. One of the teachers was recorded on three occasions whilst the other was recorded on two occasions.

Though seldom written about, interactive recording is a useful and highly lucrative means of gathering data. The use of this method is particularly evident within studies focused on the investigation of language in society and more particularly within the study of bilingual classroom interaction (Martin-Jones, 2000). Rampton's use of interactive recordings of students and of entire classes, in his study of language and interaction in late modern urban schooling, enabled him to gain "contrastive insights" (Rampton, 2006: 33) into classroom discursive practices. These insights involve "the apprehension of a disparity between the claims that prevailing discourses make about social life and what you can see, hear and experience in social life as it actually seems to happen" (Rampton, 2006:32). More recently, Creese et al used interactive recordings of selected students within their investigation of the social, cultural and linguistic significance of supplementary schools (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). From this and other corresponding datasets, Creese et al gained insights into how participants utilised linguistic resources in the performance of social identities (Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

Generally, the use of audio-recording has been viewed in a largely positive light due to its ability to generate fine grained interactional data (Martin-Jones, 2000) and to bring the researcher closer to the participant worlds, bringing to the surface the less perceptible social dynamics that would otherwise remain obscured or side-lined (Rampton, 2006). According to Martin-Jones, “the first significant breakthroughs were made when researchers began to work with audio-recordings of classroom interactions and when analysis took a more linguistic turn” (Martin-Jones, 2000: 1).

Within this study interactive recordings were particularly appropriate because they revealed the specifics of the linguistic construction of positioning acts. This enabled me to decipher not only *where* pupils and staff members were being positioned but also *how* they were being positioned. This research method was particularly pertinent to the third research question which requires the close and prolonged examination of classroom discourse.

Sampling

The two teachers whose classes were recorded were selected largely on the grounds of observation frequency. These teachers were two of the most frequently observed teachers in the school. It was also convenient to record these two teachers because both teachers were interested in the research study and displayed a willingness to be involved.

The Recording Process

Each teacher involved in the recordings agreed to wear a lapel microphone which was attached to an electronic recording device. The recording device captured everything said by

the teachers and also picked up on moments of interaction with pupils. The purpose of these recordings was to capture evidence of everyday classroom interactive practice in order to gain deeper insight into the more implicit messages being transferred within the classroom and also to explore the discursive positioning of staff members and pupils in light of school positioning.

Whilst the recordings were conducted I remained within the classroom and made corresponding fieldnotes. This type of simultaneous note-taking is recommended by Blommaert and Jie, as a means of further substantiating the recorded data which inevitably incorporates certain “blind spots” (Blommaert and Jie, 2010: 36); significant aspects of events that cannot be picked up by the recording device (Blommaert and Jie, 2010).

Recording Focus

Whilst it is true that the classroom is polycentric, having multiple focal points or centres (Blommaert and Jie, 2010), I deemed it necessary to focus specifically on the teachers at the schools due to the specific aims of the investigation. Essentially I desired to capture the transmission attempts of teachers within the classroom context and thus the recording equipment was centred on capturing their voices specifically. In doing this however, I do not wish to suggest that pupils themselves do not also promote their own agendas or exercise their own modes of agency to impact the learning process.

5.7.7 Methodological challenges: Recordings and research effects

The key challenge with collecting interactive recordings is the presence of the recorder itself. The main aim of classroom recording as a methodology is for the researcher to collect snippets of real lived, ‘naturally occurring’ interaction, yet the very presence of the recording device in the classroom creates an unnatural circumstance. The process of recording can evoke an awareness of the researcher’s ability to export the words spoken in a moment, to other times and spaces where they may be criticised, along with the speaker who uttered them (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). This may cause participants to be reluctant to allow the recording or to alter their usual mode of interaction.

During this research, I attempted to address these methodological challenges by reassuring participants of the confidentiality of the data collected and my intentions to use the data for academic purposes as recommended by Blommaert and Jie (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). In addition I also sought to build a rapport with participants before implementing the aspect of recording into the research process. Thus all recordings were conducted within the final few visits.

Another challenge of audio-recordings is that they, like participant observation, constitute selective records in that they are unable to capture non-verbal communication and are unable to fully capture every word uttered during the recording period. It is for this reason that all audio recordings were accompanied by fieldnotes in which I took account of certain significant non-verbal cues and interactive instances that were beyond the scope of the lapel microphone.

5.7.8 Phase 2 staff interviews

Participants

The final data set within phase 2 was comprised of 2 semi-structured interviews carried out with the 2 teachers who had been recorded. Both teachers had worked at the school for approximately 8 years and thus had considerable experience of the operations and process of school life.

The key purpose of the phase 2 interviews was to gain a deeper insight into the meanings and intentions behind the interactive occurrences documented in the recording transcripts and fieldnotes. The interviews also served in revealing the teachers' own interpretations of their corresponding school, the school purpose and their own perceptions of their roles within the school.

Interview description

In terms of content, these interviews were similar to the phase 1 interviews with regards to the themes covered and the semi-structured format, but included fewer questions and were therefore shorter in length. As with the school leaders the teacher interviews began with some general questions concerning their involvement with the school. The teachers were then led into a discussion of school purpose, how the purpose is fulfilled and their own role within the school purpose. The 2 teachers interviewed were also asked to comment on an extract/s from their own recording transcript. In particular, teachers were asked to explain what was happening in the extract/s and how they thought the extract/s related to school purpose (if at

all). These open ended questions enabled the participants to freely discuss the extracts in their own terms. Please see appendix F for the phase 2 interview schedule.

Access and setting

Due to the prior involvement of the school in the research, gaining access to participants was relatively straight forward and presented no significant challenges. In the first instance I sought the permission of the school leader to conduct the 2 interviews. Once the school leader had agreed I then proceeded to contact the relevant teachers directly via phone and e-mail, to arrange interview appointments with them. Both Interviews were carried out at the school and each lasted between 30 and 45 minutes.

5.7.9 Overall triangulation of data

Although gathered from individual school representatives, the analysis of phase 1 data incorporated a triangulation of the purpose themes found to be predominant amongst the schools. Each of these themes was inductively established and confirmed through a panoramic examination of the data which looked across all 16 schools. These themes were confirmed through their repeated occurrence across the entire dataset. It was therefore the case that where theme construction was concerned the school leader's accounts were in a sense triangulated against those of others.

Data collected throughout the phase 2 case study was also triangulated in order to establish a comprehensive portrayal of the school and its everyday functionings. The school leader's responses collected during the phase 1 interview was also included in the phase 2 data

analysis process and is referred to within the case study write-up. Claims made as a result of the case study are generally based on a cross section of data sources as opposed to one isolated incident or data set.

5.8 Transcription and analysis of data

5.8.1 Transcription of interview and recorded data

All interviews conducted during phase 1 and 2 were recorded using a digital recording device. This device was ideal for interview recording because of its discreetness and high sound quality. Interviews were then typed up using a regular word processing programme. Each interview was transcribed using (as far as possible) the exact words of the participants. Whilst the verbatim transcription of interviews was both tedious and time consuming, particularly in cases where participants words were very heavily enunciated, I found this process to be a useful as I was able to revisit each interview and re-familiarise myself with the interview narratives.

The following symbols were incorporated into the transcriptions:

- (...) - to represent words that could not be deciphered from the recording
- ... - to show a break in the flow of speech

The transcriptions also include the descriptions of certain key actions and occurrences within interviews, these were placed in brackets. For instance, if the participant laughed I would simply type the word 'laugh' in brackets. Representations of pauses, pause length, speech

overlaps and other such intricate details were not seen to be necessary for the particular purposes of this research since it is focused on what is being said as opposed to the sequences in the discourse and on analysing a social issue through the interview conversation rather than the analysis of the conversation itself.

In order to ensure the accuracy of each interview and recording transcript, an initial draft of the transcript was first completed and then verified using the original recording. In addition to the checking of wording accuracy, this second drafting of each transcript also involved the revisiting of certain phrases and words that I was unable to decipher initially. In most cases I found that I was better able decipher any missing segments after some time had elapsed following my former attempts. For samples of interview and recording transcripts please see appendices G and H.

5.8.2 Analysis of interview and recorded data

Phase 1 Staff Interviews

Following the verbatim transcription of each interview, I then set about conducting a qualitative thematic analysis of the interviews. The aim of this exercise was to identify key themes across all 16 interviews and to eventually explore the dynamics within each theme. This process began with the identification of the themes contained within each individual interview. In order to establish this, I conducted the first ‘deep reading’ of each transcript. By using the term ‘deep reading’ I intend to emphasise the highly detailed manner of the reading, exceeding way beyond a basic reading for familiarity purposes. This involved me reading each transcript section-by-section, reading through each section several times in order

to gain a clear understanding. As I did this, I carried out a preliminary coding of the data, labelling the various themes that I identified. These were noted by hand, in the right and left hand margins of the transcripts. During this process I also made further analytical notes pertaining to the text relating to each theme.

After initially coding the first few interviews, I began to notice certain reoccurring themes in the data and by the end of the coding exercise I had gained a fairly good idea of the key themes across all 16 transcripts. At this stage, my intention was simply to identify all the themes contained within the data, whether major or minor in scale. This approach allowed me to gain a wide and complex view of the data which was reflective of the trends and diversities within the participants' actual statements as opposed to my own personal interests. Following this, a second 'deep reading' was conducted. During this reading, all thematic labelling and analytical notes were checked for clarity and relevance and further notes and categories were added where appropriate. See appendix I for a fully annotated transcript extracts.

This stage of the analysis unearthed a wide number of themes and sub-themes that varied in scale. According to Strauss and Corbin, this hyper-production of codes poses a challenge common to interpretive, ethnographic research:

In the course of interpretive research that draws on ethnographic methods, we may come up with dozens, even hundreds of conceptual labels...these concepts also have to be grouped, like with like, otherwise we would wind up in a plight similar to that of the old lady in the shoe with so many children [concepts] she wouldn't know what to do (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 65)

Whilst conducting the second deep reading of the transcripts I also constructed spray diagrams for each transcript which displayed all the themes identified within the transcript, together with additional sub-themes or aspects of the themes found (see appendix J). In this sense each of the sixteen spray diagrams constituted a thematic summary of the corresponding

interview. During the construction of these spray diagrams themes were reviewed and reshaped as they were written out and grouped in spray diagram format. The visual layout of the spray diagram made it easier for me to review the contents of each interview, without having to trawl through the numerous pages of the transcripts. In addition, the thematic spray diagrams enabled me to compare and contrast the responses of all 16 participants more easily.

This process resulted in the identification of a number of varied themes, some of which were commonly shared across schools and others of which were peculiar to individual schools. When it seemed that I had saturated all the themes contained within each transcript I then proceeded to construct a further set of ‘thematic spray diagrams’, these were based on the key themes emerging from the 16 individual spray diagrams. In order to construct this final set of diagrams, I examined each of the initial spray diagrams individually, looking at the themes and sub-themes, deciphering how they might be related to ‘school purpose’. Evidently, this is the point at which I returned to my original research questions, having initially attempted to ‘shelve’ the focus of the research in order to gain as wide a view of the data as possible.

During this final examination of the initial spray diagrams, using the key variable of ‘purpose’, several key themes became apparent, namely: survival; safeguarding; recovery; counteraction of negative portrayals; showcasing and community transformation. The final ‘thematic spray diagrams’ featured one of these theme titles in the middle of the page, around which the various schools in which the theme had been identified were displayed. Underneath the school titles the specific aspects of school life that were reflective of the theme were also documented (see appendix K). At this stage there were no limits placed on the number of diagrams in which any one school could be featured, instead, I intended to allow the data to give rise to its own idiosyncrasies and correlations.

The construction of this final set of ‘thematic diagrams’ allowed for the easy detection of correlations between schools. In particular, the diagrams highlighted the deep rooted conceptual threads that connected schools that would appear to be totally dissimilar. Such was the case with the Irish school and African-Caribbean school A, both of which were featured on the ‘recovery’ thematic diagram.

Analysis of Phase 2 Staff Interviews

The analysis of the phase 2 interviews was largely similar to that of the phase 1 interviews. The process through which themes were established and refined remained the same apart from the aspect of themes being gradually established through the consecutive examination of transcripts. During the analysis process it became apparent that the statements of the teachers interviewed revealed similar themes to those discovered within the phase 1 interviews. Thus most of the themes applied to the transcript contents were in fact inherited from phase one.

Another deviation from the phase 1 analysis process pertains to the production of thematic spray diagrams. In this case, only one set of spray diagrams was produced, displaying the key themes and sub-themes unearthed within each of the 2 interviews.

Analysis of Phase 2 Recordings

As with the phase 1 and 2 interviews the analysis of the audio recordings began during the transcription process at which point I had the opportunity to revisit the various instances and scenarios contained within each recording. Following the verbatim transcription of each

recording, I then set about coding the transcripts in much the same way as I did the phase 1 and phase 2 interview transcripts; this again involved numerous readings of sections of data during the first and second ‘deep’ readings. I then went on to establish codes in the same way as I did with the phase 1 interviews.

Following the establishment of these initial codes spray diagrams were produced, displaying the themes that emerged from each recording (see appendix L). Similar to the phase 1 interviews, I then produced another more encompassing diagram which contained the key themes from all the recordings. The second diagram displayed the key themes along with a number of bullet points pertaining to the particular manifestations of the theme within the transcripts (see appendix M).

This analysis process allowed for the identification and interrelation of key themes in the recorded data and also allowed me to easily relate the themes discovered here to those found in the other data sets in the study.

5.8.3 Field notes analysis

The beginnings: Analysis in the field

The analysis of the field notes began in the field. After a few weeks of observation in the field I began to include an additional section entitled ‘thoughts’. This section appeared after the notes taken for each observation session. Within the ‘thoughts’ sections of my notes I recorded my own reflections on what I had noted. This included comments concerning particular characteristics of the schools that had been emphasised during the session or any

questions that had surfaced as a result of the session. At times the 'thoughts' section also contained reflections concerning my own experience of research journey and the pivotal points and challenges that I faced (see appendix N).

There are many authors who support the notion of in-field analysis (Blommaert, 2006; Emerson et al, 1995). Blommaert for instance endorses this viewpoint explaining that by the time the researcher enters the post-field stage, significant analysis has already been carried out in the researcher's attempts to make sense of the data during the course of data collection (Blommaert, 2006).

Post-field Analysis

In my analysis of fieldnotes beyond the field, I adopted the approach recommended by Emerson et al (1995). This approach is heavily influenced by the main tenets of grounded theory which is geared towards the discovery of theories through the development of analytical propositions (Emerson et al, 1995). On the other hand however, Emerson et al reject the grounded theorist's concept of analysis as a precise and unambiguous process. According to Emerson et al, in centralising the 'discovery' of theory in the data, grounded theory views field note data in an unproblematic way, assuming that it is possible to analyse such data without giving due consideration to the analytical and theoretical persuasions of the ethnographer who constructed them (Emerson et al, 1995).

Instead, Emerson et al propose that the data is shaped by the researcher through the analysis process that permeates all stages of the research process including the making of observations, recording of fieldnotes, the coding of notes and the development of theoretical proposals. In

this perspective, analysis is simultaneously inductive and deductive (Emerson et al, 1995). The following paragraphs outline my own implementation of the post field analysis process outlined by Emerson et al in their 1995 publication: *writing ethnographic fieldnotes*.

Preparing the Data

Before the field note data could be analysed any further it first had to be arranged in a format that would enable me to have maximum accessibility to the data. In order to achieve this, all the pages of the A5 field note books for each school were photocopied and then arranged into larger A4 note books in the order in which they were originally written. The size of each page was scaled down slightly so that the photocopied pages could be affixed to the left side of each A4 page in a column format, filling about half of the page width. The other half of the page was left empty for annotation. At the end of the photocopied notes for each day, a space was left for the insertion of written memos which are discussed in further detail below.

Core analysis: Stage 1

The first stage of analysis involved reading through the field notes as one complete corpus. Immersing in the entire field experience (Emerson et al, 1995) in this way enabled me to chart shifts in my perspective and stance. Through this initial review for instance, I realised that during the early stages of phase 2 I seemed to be searching for elements of distinction that separated the school from mainstream schooling and that distinguished it as an African-Caribbean school. These initial reflections enabled me to contextualise and critically assess what I had written, adding to the overall validity of the data gathered.

Core analysis - Stage 2

The second stage of the analysis process was the annotation of the notes through the process of “open coding” (Emerson et al, 2011/1995:). This stage of coding constituted an inductive examination of the data through which I sought to unearth as many ideas and themes as possible (Emerson et al, 1995). Theme codes were attributed to the field notes through a careful line-by-line examination which constituted the second reading. As with the phase 1 interviews there were no limits placed on the number of themes at this stage, I simply noted them down next to the corresponding line/s of notes as and when they occurred to me. Once this second detailed reading had taken place and the initial coding was completed, I then proceeded to conduct a third and final reading of the notes. The purpose of this reading was to check existing codes and to insert any additional codes. Where appropriate, corresponding codes were amalgamated, reducing the number of codes. This process resulted in more comprehensive coding.

The codes assigned to the data consisted of a word or short phrase that encapsulated what was happening in a given moment. In order to ensure the accuracy of the codes, I found myself checking and rechecking my understanding of moments and phrases within the field notes; attempting to gauge as accurately as possible the participants point of view. Whilst this process was lengthy and at times mentally taxing, it undoubtedly led to a more comprehensive understanding of the notes and a more accurate application of analytical codes.

The third and final reading of the field notes also incorporated the writing of ‘initial memos’ as they are termed by Emerson et al (1995). These memos constituted analytic commentaries at the end of each day’s notes in which I documented any arising ideas or issues. It was here

that I began drawing together common themes and relating instances within the notes. These memos were effectively an elaboration of ideas that I had identified within the field notes (Emerson et al, 1995).

Such memos were particularly useful in the further funnelling of the data which in turn aided in the formulation of key themes. Indeed, Emerson et al comment that it's through this initial memoing process along with the initial coding of data that the researcher is able to retreat slightly from the field context in order to "identify, develop and modify broader analytic themes and arguments (Emerson et al, 1995).

After annotating the full corpus of notes for the schools and implementing memos where necessary, I then went about identifying a number of core themes to carry forward to the final analysis stage. In order to achieve this, I constructed a number of large spray diagrams which documented all of the themes that were apparent within the field notes, along with the corresponding data references (see appendix O). The transferal of data into spray diagram format also incorporated the synthesising of data; the merging of codes under more widely encompassing theme labels. Displaying the themes in this way allowed me to survey the data more easily; the data became manageable and the dynamics more visible.

Positioning theory analysis

The writing of the analysis chapters (chapters 6-8) again constituted another stage of analysis where data was presented through the lens of positioning theory. This process added yet

another layer of analysis where the data was further interrogated using the key tenets of positioning theory in order to decipher the positioning dynamics and their implications.

5.9 Ethical issues and challenges

Far from being a standard procedure, there currently exist a number of varying approaches to research ethics and the debate about the basis for ethical decision making is wide spread. This debate includes concerns for the welfare and rights of the participant, respect for the participant, the provision of knowledge, the production of valid research, and the protection of the researcher. Whilst various guidelines have been produced, these are subject to the researchers own self-regulation and interpretation. Following the establishment of the Research Ethics Framework, developed by the Economic and Social Research Council, however, universities and research bodies now seek to ensure that all research involving human participants is subject to ethical approval. Indeed, before the commencement of the main research phases, standard ethical approval was sought and granted from the University of Birmingham research ethics committee (Wiles et al, 2005). Beside this standard monitoring, I adopted a generally relativist approach to ethical considerations, having no absolute rules but always bearing in mind both the welfare of the participants and the integrity of the research.

5.9.1 Gaining consent

Within the first phase of the study, consent was gained from each staff member interviewed. Before the commencement of the interview, each participant was given an information sheet

that clearly outlined the focus and purposes of the research (see appendix P). Following this, each was asked to sign a consent form which emphasised the confidentiality of the interview and the right of each participant to withdraw from the study at any time (see appendix Q). It was made very clear to each participant that they were under no obligation to take part in the research. These points were again reiterated to participants at the start of the interview at which point they were also given the opportunity to raise any questions or concerns. In addition, participants were also given the opportunity to contact me after the interview if they so desired. This process was specifically implemented to protect participants' freedom of choice.

With regards to the phase 2 case study, the research process was initially discussed and negotiated with the school leader who granted the overall consent for the observation of classes. Following this, I went about discussing the phase with teachers on a one-to-one and small group basis. At this point, teachers were given the opportunity to ask questions about the research and raise any concerns and also to get acquainted with me outside of the classroom setting. Whilst some of the teachers asked questions about the research study none of them raised any concerns with regards to the research process and all seemed happy for me to observe their individual classes.

Additional written consent was also gained from the teachers who were recorded and interviewed during the closing stages of phase 2, using a similar form to that used for the phase 1 interviews (See appendices R and S). Despite the signing of consent forms for the recording of classes, during this period I continued to monitor the comfort levels of teachers at the time of the recording and was respectful of any decision changes.

Parents/guardians of pupils were also informed of the study by the school leader and were issued with information sheets that informed them of the aims of the research and of the research process (see appendix T). On this sheet parents were provided with the contact details of the researcher should they need to raise any concerns.

This study was essentially focused on the teaching staff at the school and their role in the promotion of school purpose. At no point during the study was information directly sought from the pupils. Where pupils did feature in the fieldnotes or classroom recordings, all identities were anonymised (as were those of the teachers). Pupils at the school were however informed about the research study and were made aware of my role as researcher and the purpose of my presence in classroom. When entering a new class of pupils I routinely introduced myself and the research, at which point pupils has an opportunity to raise any questions or concerns. This measure was taken in order to prevent any alarm, confusion or general unease that may have been caused by my presence.

5.9.2 Anonymity

Care was taken throughout the research study to anonymise the participants and the schools in which they were involved. All participants and schools were given pseudo names or numbers from the point of transcription, throughout the rest of the study.

5.9.3 Protection

Care was taken throughout the research to ensure that the learning of the pupils was not compromised in any way by my presence in the classroom. To minimise disturbances, students were informed about the project and my role as researcher and any notes taken within the classroom setting were kept to a minimum as not to draw attention. In addition, whilst conducting classroom observations I actively avoided interrupting or distracting teachers during teaching sessions. Instead, all questions and discussions were saved until the class had ended or during a break period.

5.10 Chapter summary

Within this chapter I have attempted to present as reliable an account of the research process as possible, including specific details of method implementation. Within the methodological journey I have also interweaved reflexive pieces pertaining to the methodological challenges faced, which contribute to the reliability level. The chapter also explores the synchronising of theory and method in conjunction with the triangulation of methods which has engineered ideal circumstances under which the key research questions could be effectively addressed. This chapter adds yet further dimension to the context of the study, positioning the research findings within the circumstances under which they were gathered. In doing so, this chapter constitutes the final stage in preparing the way for a comprehensive understanding of the research findings which will be presented within the following chapters.

6 The Social Positioning of Schools by School Leaders

This chapter constitutes an extensive exploration of the six key themes emerging from the phase 1 interview data. These themes represent the key purposes of the 16 schools included in the phase (as represented by the school leaders). This chapter will primarily seek to address the first two research questions: what are the key purposes of supplementary schools? and how are schools positioned by school leaders? The chapter will outline the key purposes of the schools and the corresponding positioning of the schools by the school leaders. The exploration of data will be guided by the key tenets of positioning theory. The data presented will also be analysed in light of Blommaert's approach to discourse, with focus being placed on the social and historical contexts within which the discourses of the school leaders are situated and the interactions between wider overarching Discourses and the micro school context.

The factor of purpose was specifically selected for the basis of school positioning because it allows a penetrating insight into each institution that moves beyond the overt and declared aspects of schooling such as curriculum content and the ethnic community served by the school and examines the meanings and intentions behind schooling processes. As a result, the examination of school purpose aids in the establishment of a clearer and more accurate portrayal of each school and also reveals interesting links between schools that may otherwise seem to be totally disparate.

The chapter will first begin by operationalizing each of the six theme labels. The following sections will then explore the intricacies and dynamics of each theme, using extracts from the

accounts of participants. Each section will also integrate relevant literature pertaining to the various issues encased within each theme.

6.1 Operationalisation of theme labels

It is important to note that each of the theme labels below are not the actual terms used by the participants but have been carefully compiled by the researcher following an in-depth analysis of interview data. The following labels are therefore a summation of participants' responses, using the terms and phrases thought to be most appropriate. Each of these are developed further within the chapter.

Survival

The efforts made by schools to keep something alive, something that was thought to be of importance for that particular community that was also considered to be endangered.

Safeguarding

The protection of the school attendees against the negative effects or assimilatory influences existent within the wider society.

Recovery

The attempts of schools to recover something that had been unjustly taken or stripped away from the community.

Showcasing of the community

The deliberate efforts of schools to display attributes of the community identity to the wider society.

Counteraction of negative portrayals

Deliberate attempts of schools to counter existing false portrayals of the community that have been manifested within the wider society or amongst the students themselves.

Transformation of social standing

Deliberate attempts to transform the social standing of the focal community through the alteration of the identity or academic standing of the community.

6.2 Exploration of key themes through phase 1 interviews

Within the following sections, the 6 major purpose themes: survival; safeguarding; recovery; showcasing; counteraction of negative portrayals and transformation of social standing will be explored. These themes constitute the key purposes of the schools investigated and therefore directly respond to the first research question: what are the key purposes of supplementary schools? Whilst the themes are presented consecutively for clarity purposes, there is clearly much overlap between them, thus they should be looked upon as an interconnected network as opposed to being singularly independent. Within the realms of positioning theory, each theme can also be looked upon as overarching storylines in which schools have been positioned by the school leaders.

6.2.1 Survival

The most predominant theme in relation to the purposes of the schools was that of Survival. This theme was clearly detected in almost all the interview transcripts in one form or another but was most commonly featured in participants' references to the learning of community languages and the exploration of cultural traditions. This particular orientation of supplementary schooling has been well documented by writers (Archer et al, 2010; Issa and Williams, 2009; Creese et al, 2008; Hall et al, 2002). Archer et al state for instance that supplementary schools are often established with an "explicit cultural agenda of 'preserving' or 'maintaining' 'traditional' culture and language within diasporic communities" (Archer et al, 2010: 407).

The following extracts reflect a drive towards linguistic preservation:

Extract 1.1 Basically aim of our school you know to, to our children don't forget our language, the main thing for us here to don't forget our roots and to children don't forget our language (Bosnian school leader)

Extract 1.2 if you don't send them to school, they don't prac...you know, speak Polish, don't carry on with polish traditions then you know, you become anglicised (Polish school leader).

*Extract 1.3 If you had to say that...if you had to put it in a nut shell what would you say that driving force is behind the school?
I would say insuring that our youngsters are not left without their own mother tongue, they must learn own...I think that its making sure obviously... if we don't teach them their own mother tongue...I think that any nation, anybody who loses their own identity...obviously this is keeping their identity actually, we have our own language, making sure they learn it (Punjabi school B, leader).*

Extract 1.4 to keep the children learning the language because most of them, all of them actually, they have influence from the English, the English school and after some point the children stopped speaking Greek (Greek school leader)

In the above statements the drive towards preservation and perpetuation is seen through the use of various expressions. In the first extract for instance the participant talks about not allowing the children to “forget”. In the second extract the participant stresses the importance of “carrying on” with Polish language and traditions. The third participant emphasises the importance of insuring that children are not deprived of something that is rightfully theirs – their own “mother tongue”. Similarly, in the fourth extract the participant suggests that the school has a duty to “keep the children learning the language”. Such statements position these schools as institutions of linguistic conservation, within the storyline of survival, having the ‘right’ and ‘duty’ (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003) in this position, of securing the community language amongst the next generation.

Here we see the utilisation of a specific linguistic ideology; one that implies the unification of whole nations by one language - the ‘mother tongue’. This linguistic metaphor embodies the notion of the monolingual nation defined by language (Carli et al, 2003) which is innately embedded into the community (Mills, 2003). Such a perspective gives rise to anxieties concerning the language endangerment and the consequent possible demise of national identity (Carli et al, 2003) as is demonstrated in extracts 1.1-1.4. This conceptualisation of national identity is particularly prevalent in cases where the dominant language is seen to threaten the existence of the minority language. In this view the language is seen to shape the character of the nation and consequently, much importance is placed on its transference to the younger generations to ensure the preservation of the national character (Carli et al, 2003). This conflation of language and national identity also gives rise to the ‘them’ and ‘us’ storyline, particularly evident within extract 1.2 and 1.4 in which the community identity and host identity are polarised. Within this storyline the supplementary school itself is also

positioned at the peripheries of the wider society going against the regular flow of linguistic practice.

Here we see the school leaders engaging with several wider Discourses into the positioning of their respective schools. Namely: identity survival, national monolingualism and language endangerment, all of which are prevalent within migration literature.

In the case of the Chinese school leader, a similar yet slightly more complex sentiment was expressed. Whilst the school taught both Mandarin and Cantonese, the school leader explicitly expressed the school's efforts to maintain the survival of Cantonese in particular:

Extract 1.5 I think the purpose now is, umm... I think that we try to promote the Chinese language, not just Mandarin. And we would like to be herd Cantonese is the most...the speaking language here, still, and that's what we are doing as well, so it's a lot, it's really hard, I know. It's really difficult because actually when I went to the conference and I did ask about this question, they said that eventually it will die down but we are trying to keep it going as long as possible (Chinese school leader).

Within extract 1.5 the survival storyline is again apparent, but in this instance the school is reported to be fighting against the dominance of one minority language over another. This school leader again positions the school as a site of linguistic conservation, battling against the odds to preserve Cantonese, despite reports of its inevitable demise.

The desire to ensure the survival of community languages was oftentimes directly related to perceptions of the social context in which schools were situated. In extract 1.3 and 1.4 for instance, participants depict the English social environment as a threat to the preservation of the community language and culture, with the fourth extract highlighting the threat of English educational institutions more specifically. The leaders of the Bosnian and Gujarati schools

also perceived the dominance of the English language as a threat to learning and remembrance:

Extract 1.6 if you take now little baby or three months old baby or three years somebody, if you take him in China, he will end up speaking Chinese, you know what I saying, and same here; children coming here start to naturally speak English, why? is everywhere is English; you walk on the street, you go in supermarket, you watching telly, you read paper, all is English. (...) there's nothing wrong with that to don't forget your heritage, your roots, and that's why people say it's nice the children are speak English but it's nice to speak Bosnian as well (Bosnian school leader)

Extract 1.7 obviously in this country your main language is English, doesn't matter whether it is Indian or whoever it is, because in our...we ...most our parents, young parents, they speak English in the house even, so that children comes to learn our language, it's difficult to teach them because they are most of the time with the English atmosphere (Gujarati school leader)

Within such statements, the use of English is equated with the process of deculturalisation and destabilisation implied through the concepts of the forgetting of ones “heritage” and “roots” (extract 1.6) and finding it “difficult” to teach the community’s own language (extract 1.7). The community language on the other hand is depicted as a means of ethnic grounding and security. In this sense, English and the community language are polarised and placed at odds with each other (Bokhorst-Heng, 2003). Again, within this perspective, the supplementary schools are positioned at the periphery battling against the dominant linguistic discourses of the wider society. The polarising of languages was also adopted by the Singaporean government in their ‘Speak Mandarin Campaign’ during the late 1970s. Here, the government responded defensively to the perceived threat of Western linguistic influences and sought to preserve their own idealised construction of Singapore as a nation by “re-Asianizing” (Bokhorst-Heng, 2003: 173) the country, through the enforcement of native ‘mother tongue’ languages (Bokhorst-Heng, 2003).

In terms of the positioning of Englishness and the English language, it is clear that school leaders' comments are premised on the underlying storyline: "a race = a culture = a language" (Bokhorst-Heng, 2003: 173) which encompasses the belief that monolingualism is indicative of cultural unity (Bokhorst-Heng, 2003: 173). Similarly, within this study, the English language was seen by school leaders as a threat to cultural stability and the schools were therefore positioned as 'cultural bodyguards' protecting against linguistic dilution or even extinction. The interview extracts featured above, suggest that the schools attempted to fulfil this role by cultivating a sense of togetherness and unity through the community language. These findings correspond with the claim that "we instinctively look to symbols of national identity in reaction to a national attack" (Joseph, 2004, 93).

Extracts 1.1 to 1.7 reveal a distinct tension between the majority and minority languages and thus highlights the parallel storylines of 'community language marginalisation' and 'English language domination'. In fact the schools' efforts to maintain their respective community languages position the schools as posing a challenge to the dominant culture (Archer et al, 2010) and protesting against historical inequalities which have caused minority languages and their speakers to be positioned at the social and political margins (Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

According to Carli et al, the proactive efforts of minority communities to secure the survival of the community language is born out of fears that the community language does not have the same status as the majority language and that this will limit opportunities to use it, whilst on the other hand the majority language will penetrate into the community language. In fact these two polarised discourses of 'majority dominance' and 'minority subordination and

vulnerability’, may cause the minority community to generally defend all things that are specific to the community (Carli et al, 2003).

Extracts 1.1 to 1.7 show how wider Discourses of ‘majority language dominance’ and ‘minority language subordination’ have impacted on the operations of the schools at the micro level. This is reflective of Blommaert’s comments concerning the interplay between the micro and macro realms, particularly the influence of the structural context on the formulation of micro discourses (Blommaert, 2005).

In the more complex case of the Chinese school, a similar scenario can be detected. Here, the need to maintain the survival of the Cantonese language was a venture which was related both to the immediate British social context within the Chinese Diaspora and to the social and political context overseas in China and Hong Kong. Within the interview the participant explained that the takeover of Hong Kong by China and the recent growth of China’s economic power had resulted in the progressive dominance of Mandarin and the corresponding decline of Cantonese. Indeed these reports are supported by recent literature.

Yeng Seng and Seok Lai state:

Due to the emergence of China as an economic powerhouse, Mandarin, as the officially recognised standard language of mainland China and Taiwan, and the Lingua franca of the overseas educated Chinese diaspora, is widely believed to be the most likely candidate among the world’s languages to gain the status of a language second only to English. (Yeng Seng and Seok Lai, 2010: 14)

According to Yeng Seng and Seok Lai, “The current economic rise of China has indeed laid a solid foundation for its language and culture to flourish globally” (Yeng Seng and Seok Lai, 2010:17). Speaking of Hong Kong in particular, Yeng Seng and Seok Lai state that whilst Cantonese still remains the official language for day-to-day communication, for the vast

majority of people, Mandarin is gradually gaining in strength, both in terms of the number of speakers and its social status (Yeng Seng and Seok Lai, 2010).

According to the school leader, these developments have impacted on the Chinese Diaspora living in Britain in that Mandarin has grown in popularity amongst this group:

Extract 1.8 As most of the parents now, they see what's coming, they might change from Cantonese school to Mandarin school, because it's everybody learning Mandarin at the moment, so might as well, they thought that oh, might as well because its official language so when they start, even though they are from a Cantonese family and they might say oh, when you start you better learn some Mandarin from there and you can speak, that's fine, maybe that's what they're thinking at the moment, so we trying to maintain the school and maintain it so that we can keep going, so that it wouldn't die down (Chinese school leader)

In the above extract the participant anticipates the further decline of Cantonese due to the increased popularity of Mandarin fuelled by its 'official language' status. The participant fears that this may sway even Cantonese families to forsake their original language for the more popular option of Mandarin. Within this extract, the participant reveals the nature of the force with which the school is contending in its quest to preserve Cantonese. This case of survival is particularly interesting as the linguistic tensions exist *within* the ethnic minority community and not between the community and another external force.

The case of this Chinese school demonstrates the effects of global events on the local micro context of a Chinese supplementary school; namely, the impact of global socio-political Discourses on the local schooling practices. As suggested by Blommaert (2005), the consideration of wider structural factors in this case, allows for a comprehensive contextualisation the school leader's positioning of this institution.

With regards to the reasonings behind attempts to ensure linguistic survival, there seemed to be a general conception of language as the core of cultural identity. Thus it seems that the quest of language survival was actually encased within the more ambitious venture, of preserving a community identity. Issa and Williams also suggest that many supplementary schools still conceive community language learning to be a powerful means of community identity preservation (Issa and Williams, 2009). In this sense the schools were positioned as agents of identity preservation as well as linguistic conservation. Speaking of supplementary schools, Blackledge and Creese state: “Whilst their main activity is language teaching, the teaching of affiliation to homeland is one of the motivating principles for the schools” (Blackledge and Creese, 2010: 198). This underlying intention is shown within extracts 1.1-1.7 in which teacher’s make associations between language and community identity. The Bosnian school leader for instance, speaks of the school’s efforts to prevent children from forgetting their “roots”. In his use of this term, the school leader seems to be referring to the essence of identity; whatever it is that forms the base of who a person is. In this case, the community language is seen to constitute a significant element of this base.

In addition, the Polish school leader also spoke about the impending threat of Anglicism as an inevitable consequence of not speaking the community language, suggesting that speaking the language is at the very least an inherent element of being Polish. Similarly, the leader of Punjabi school B overtly equates the learning of the community language with ethnic identity, stating that learning the language is “keeping their identity” (Punjabi school B, leader, p.6). These statements carry with them the connotations of monoculturalism, suggesting that an individual either belongs to one community or another. For instance, students are either “Polish” or they are “Anglicised”. In such cases knowing the community language is seen not only as a mark of belonging but a badge of loyalty.

Here, particularly in the case of the Polish and Greek school leaders the schools are also positioned as protective institutions, guarding the community's children from full assimilation into British society. This is a construction that is also implied by the Bosnian school leader in the following statement:

Extract 1.9 it's very important to don't forget your roots, that's called assimilation. If you forget your roots, if you forget your language (Bosnian school leader)

This drive towards identity preservation is also detectable in the Chinese school. In this case the school is portrayed as attempting to conserve a particular ideal of the Chinese community which includes the use of both Mandarin and Cantonese in everyday community interactions. Similar perceptions were discovered among Bangladeshi school teachers in a study conducted by Blackledge and Creese where teaching and learning Bengali was seen to be an important means of reproducing the community heritage (Blackledge and Creese, 2010).

The association of language with group identity is an on-going theme of post-modern globalisation processes. According to Lino (2010), political, economic and cultural globalisation over the past few decades has resulted in the increased global mobility of people in terms of scale and speed. This has also resulted in the movement of languages along with the various diaspora communities around the world. Arel states that most nationalist movements across the globe perceive the community language as a fundamental marker which signposts group boundaries (Lino, 2010). It is amidst this context of contemporary globalisation and the corresponding Discourses that school leaders' discussions of linguistic survival have been shaped.

This drive to preserve community languages also encompasses the Discourse of authenticity. According to Blommaert and Varis, authentic community membership is usually granted by the extent to which an individual possesses certain “sets of emblematic resources” (Blommaert and Varis, 2011: 4) such as the community language.

Within extracts 1.1 and 1.3 the younger generations of the community are positioned as owners of the community language through phrases such as “our language” and “their own mother tongue”. This assumption of multigenerational affiliation with the homeland is reflected within the following extract:

Extract 1.10 *I* *If you were to name one thing, the key driving force that keeps the school going as it were, what would that be?*
 P *Umm, well it's, I think it's the sympathy you feel towards the land where you were born, because all these people, umm, well if not the children, their parents were born in Poland, and this is somewhere where, it's again going back to your roots and persevering, what is the most important part for these roots, it's the language (Polish school leader)*

Here, even though the school leader acknowledges that many attendees were not born in Poland, there is still an assumption that they have strong connections with the country and are somehow grounded there. Here language ownership is embedded within community membership and there is an assumption of ownership across generations. Within this viewpoint schools are positioned as ‘spaces of transmission’ where pupils are able to claim and acquire certain aspects of the community that are rightfully theirs. With these assumptions comes the suggestion that failure to learn the community language will render community members deficient or incomplete due to insufficient ‘cultural rooting’. Consequently, the schools in question are positioned as ‘welfare institutions’, providing vital sources of personal stability for community members living beyond the ‘homeland’. Here the

land of 'origin' seems to be given more importance in identity construction, than the individual's land of birth.

Some school leaders additionally related the survival of the community language to the enabling of communication with those of the older generations and also those living in the community homeland who are unable to speak English fluently. These sentiments can be seen in the following extracts:

Extract 1.11 [O]bviously children speak English most of the time, they are with their friends in western society, so when they get home, especially with their elders, their grandparents who probably are not as fluent in English, they probably can understand broken English, at least this gives them sort of the confidence to speak to their grandparents in Punjabi and when they go back to India they don't feel isolated, they can communicate with people (Punjabi school B leader)

Extract 1.12 Because when you, when you go back to your own country to Pakistan, if your kid don't know Urdu, they can't communicate, that's why the people live here from Pakistan background, they go back to their countries every year and they want they kids learn Urdu to communicate to Pakistani people, in Pakistan their language is...national language is Urdu, that's why we need to teach them Urdu language (Islamic school C leader)

Extract 1.13 [Y]ou know I never forget I stop one couple coming from Canada and he tried to ask me something in a different language, in English and I say no why you can't speak Bosnian, when I saw them name you know, his name is Bosnian name but he couldn't why he's born in Canada and he never have a (...) and I think he's, I think he's embarrassed as well you know like a lot of Bosnian ...even met in Bosnia...he going every summer in Bosnia and he met with his friends, he can't...if he sees friend can't speak English, can't talk with him at all. I think that's little bit embarrassing isn't it, you know, and that's why people push all children and speak, to know history. (Bosnian school leader)

Within extracts 1.11 to 1.13 schools are positioned as transnational and generational bridges, spanning both geographical and generational linguistic gaps by enabling free flowing communication between members of the community. This maintenance of communication across generations was also identified as a key aspect of supplementary schooling within a study on Chinese schooling conducted by Archer et al (2008). All of the above three extracts

imply that part of the value of knowing the home language is that it allows the individual entrance into the home country society; enabling them to be active participants within these contexts. Such a measure increases the possibilities for ‘transnational engagement’ (Creese and Blackledge, 2010) and indeed encourages it.

Extract 1.9 in particular suggests that an ability to speak the community language is a requirement and expectation of being Bosnian. This is suggested in the element of shame associated with the inability to speak Bosnian.

This drive towards the survival of the community identity was also evident within the responses of two of the leaders of schools without a linguistic element. This was expressed in a notably pointed manner by the leader of African-Caribbean school A. This participant spoke about the need to preserve and perpetuate the “African mindset” to ensure the survival for the African community living within Western society. By the term ‘African’, the participant refers to all black people of African or Caribbean descent, claiming that “we were called negro, coloured, West Indian, Jamaican, Barbadian, when in fact we’re just *African* people” (African-Caribbean school A leader).

Extract 1.14 There’s a lot a confusion in Britain and across the African world Diaspora world is that because you been enslaved and you been educated by the slave master (African-Caribbean school A, leader)

Extract 1.15 [W]hat white has done to us is to destroy the African personality, both the male and female (African-Caribbean school A leader)

This participant envisaged that mis-education from other non-African nations (mainly ‘white’ nations) was the principal threat to the survival of the African identity. More specifically the participant indicated that it is the European mindset transported through the mainstream system that constitutes this mis-education. This suggests that the quest for survival in this

case, consists not only of preservation measures to guard the community identity but also of more corrective measures to override the detrimental mindset that is perceived to have infiltrated the African community. In extract 1.14 the school leader's statements are reminiscent of the sentiments expressed by the Polish and Greek school leaders in extracts 1.2 and 1.4 with regards to the imposition of the dominant culture. In this case however the school sought not the survival of a literal language but of a particular discourse; the discourse of the 'true black identity' which is operationalised within section 6.2.3. Within the survival storyline the school leader positions the school as an 'agent of identity recovery', a positioning which is further operationalised in section 6.2.3.

At the centre of the school's identity recovery project is the belief expressed in extract 1.14 and 1.15 that 'African' people have been wrongly positioned by 'white' nations and as a result have wrongly positioned themselves causing "confusion in Britain and cross the African world diaspora". Therefore in its bid to counteract this process, the school is effectively geared towards the third-order positioning (Harré and Langenhove, 1991) of 'Africans' with the intention of restoring coherence through the rebuilding of the original "African personality".

In extracts 1.14 and 1.15 it is apparent that the context of the school positioning as an agent of survival spans way beyond the time and space in which the school exists. As suggested by Blommaert, the discursive positioning of the school is based on the recontextualisation of earlier historical moments of slavery and colonialism (Blommaert, 2005). In this act of "intertextuality" (Blommaert, 2005: 46), the school leader transports with these statements certain socio-political histories including: the Discourses of racism, human rights violation

and imposition, all of which constitute contextual matadiscourses that aid in the understanding of the school (Blommaert, 2005).

As with the leaders of the linguistic schools, the leader of African-Caribbean school A envisaged certain threats to the establishment and perpetuation of the “true identity” (Interview 003, p.3) of the African community; namely the false representation of Africans through mainstream schooling, the media and society in general. The school leader therefore advocates that these threats be directly counteracted through the re-education of the African community.

Extract 1.16 if you understand who you are and that you are the first persons to walk on this planet more than three million years ago, you aint gonna have the mindset: well we always as we are in Africa today; shanty towns or before what white people used to produce on their TV: their ‘Tarzan’ programme, mud huts and blah blah blah..... So that’s the kind of education that we need to survive in this society. (African Caribbean school A leader)

Similar to extract 1.15, the participant suggests that African people have been mis-educated through the mis-positioning of ‘Africans’ within the media, a scenario which must be counteracted through a third-order positioning of the ‘African’ community that highlights certain positive understandings of the community and its history. The school leader suggests that this repositioning through re-education will result in the first-order reflexive re-positioning of members of the ‘African’ community, enabling its survival.

The leader of African –Caribbean school A further suggests that this re-education requires the self-segregation of ‘Africans’ from those who are thought to have contributed to the depletion of the ‘African’ mind-set:

Extract 1.17 I would put it this way: until Africans separate themselves from all Arab systems of education and, and European system of education we’ll never be free. We have to separate. We have to separate our education system from

them. Even if we live among them as we do, we must separate. Cause in order for our survival and our development of our continent we have to separate (African-Caribbean school A leader)

Extract 1.18 If we don't separate in the Western society and do we own thing, we'll be annihilated, we won't exist as a people of Africa standing on culture and (...) we'll behave like them (African-Caribbean school A leader)

The military style 'them' and 'us' narrative that pervades extracts 1.17 and 1.18 serves in further heightening the survival role of the school which is positioned as an institution in combat. Again these extracts show that the school is geared not towards the survival of a literal, geographically based language but a worldview, a particular discourse of empowerment that in the eyes of the school leader, makes a person truly 'African'. Similar to the schools with a language element, the positioning of this school is again related to perceptions of the wider society and the perceived threat of cultural dilution or even disintegration. In this sense the school is also positioned as a 'safe space' (Creese et al, 2006) where pupils can be sheltered from "Western" influence and where the "true" (African-Caribbean school A leader, p.2) African identity can be rediscovered and cultivated.

In connection with the survival of the 'African' mind-set, this school also seemed to be battling to keep African history alive and current, this being one of the key elements of identity revival.

Extract 1.19 They know what they done to us and they're constantly trying to get us to forget our history. You cannot forget history because it's written in the stones in the pyramids, right, you cannot forget your history; you have to know your past right to your present ...If you don't have the roots, you're not gonna go nowhere are you. (African-Caribbean school A leader)

Here the school leader uses the word 'they' to refer to "the white man" (African-Caribbean school A leader, p.7 and 24). Clearly the participant sees the knowledge of African history as an integral aspect of the African identity. Interestingly, the term 'roots' is again used here, indicating the central role of African history in the grounding and stabilising of community

members. The previously explored notion of language constituting the ‘roots’ of ethnic identity is here replaced by discourses of African history. This determination to foreground African history can in fact be detected throughout the entire interview transcript. Here, there is an emergent overarching storyline of racial discrimination manifested through cultural attack; namely, the efforts to induce the forgetting of history, which according to the participant, limits the progression of the community. The school is positioned within this storyline as an agent of liberation, counteracting structural forces geared towards forgetfulness, by promoting remembrance and therefore enabling progress. The school is also positioned here as a source of community agency battling against the tide of dominant social forces. Here again the social and historical context is featured as text in the sense that it constitutes a “frame of reference” (Blommaert, 2005: 159) for the school leaders discourses and dictates the meaning of the school.

A similar quest for identity survival was also reflected in the accounts of the Irish school leader. Although this school did have a linguistic element, the school leader’s comments were primarily focused on identity and not linguistic survival.

Extract 1.20 [V]ery little at one time was ever taught about Ireland, even though it was Britain’s very first colony and also one of its nearest neighbours...But it’s a fact that they have this access, they’re learning about an area that maybe was denied them if you like in their normal school process and they now have access to it. That in turn tends to build up their self-esteem, although plenty of them have all the self-esteem they need anyway, but it tends to give them a...make them more comfortable about their dual identity if you like, because a lot of them do see themselves as having a dual identity; they’ve been brought up the British culture and they know all the ins and outs of Britain if you like but not so much of Ireland and the Irish, so it’s an opportunity to pick on the other side of their identity (Irish school leader).

Here, the school is positioned as an ‘agent of survival’, allowing the perpetuation of the Irish identity by allowing individuals to learn the Irish language and also to gather knowledge on other aspects of the Irish identity. In this sense the Irish school is positioned as a

compensatory space which provides knowledge that mainstream education has historically failed to provide. The school leader also positions the school as an identity construction site where pupils are able to formulate “dual” hybrid identities, through the strengthening of the Irish constituent.

In the cases of the Chinese school, Chinese identity survival was also sought through the arts and other cultural activities that spanned beyond language speaking:

Extract 1.21 I think that it's traditional Chinese dance and martial arts, it's a part of the cultural, yes, so the student would love to...we will love to pass this on to them, you know, they can still remember their roots where they come from. So I think that it's good, we are doing just that. Well I mean after all, you know Chinese, they got more than 5000 you know, histories, if it died down I think it's, it's just a pity isn't it. So we might as well, you know, carry on, carry on to passing on the knowledge and traditional, let them know at least they aware that oh that is a cultural, Chinese cultural and that is a festival and whatever (Chinese school leader)

Here the school leader portrays cultural activities such as dance and martial arts not only as cultural capital to be passed on to younger generations but ultimately as means of remembrance, connecting them to their “roots”. Here, the school is positioned as a ‘space of transmission’, actively transporting traditions and knowledge from one generation to the next and thus preventing the demise of such cultural elements. Here again, it is assumed that second and third generation descendants within the community have a direct innate connection with the community homeland that must be actualised through: the speaking of the language; gaining knowledge of the community history and cultural traditions; and involvement in other cultural practices.

In addition to efforts to ensure linguistic survival, two of the school leaders also presented their schools as having an orientation towards religious survival. An Islamic school leader

and the Greek school leader for instance, spoke of their schools enabling children to maintain their religious faith:

Extract 1.22 So it is the obligation, religious obligation to teach the kids to impart our Islamic values to the kids. If you don't teach them then you can't expect them to do...to become Muslim and to remain Muslim in the future. So as a Muslim Imam I have more responsibilities to do that. (Islamic school C, leader)

Extract 1.23 Actually it's very important, as you know people here are Greek orthodox umm, they want to keep their religion and all the things that come with it, so we teach them the basic things to know about religion and sometimes we take them to church, the priest there talks to them about religion, about the history of the religion, he says stories about the saints, things that come with the religion (Greek school leader)

Here one of the aims of these schools was to preserve the religious orientation of the attendees through the perpetuation of religious values thus ultimately contributing to the survival of the religion in question and the religious faith of pupils. These schools are again positioned as spaces of transmission that aid in the safe-keeping and ultimate survival of the religious values of the community in addition to the other linguistic services they perform. This is reflective of comments made by Mogra (2007) who postulates that Muslim supplementary schools in particular operate as a religious nurturing space which enables religious identity preservation (Mogra, 2007).

Summary

The evidence presented within this section suggests that whilst involved in their separate local projects (be they linguistic or otherwise), each school was ultimately attempting to ensure the survival of particular elements seen to be at the heart of the community identity, by promoting and enforcing them amongst the next generation. In this sense, the schools have been positioned as 'agents of preservation', spaces in which approved versions of the collective community identity are promoted, perpetuated and defended.

In most cases this perpetuation has been carried out in conjunction with the viewpoint that pupils (though third and fourth generation community members) are innately tied to the community homeland. Within this perspective the schools are seen to be providing access to cultural aspects that pupils already own and that are integral to pupils own personal stability. In this sense the schools are also positioned as sites of identity affirmation, where community members can claim certain central aspects of the community identity.

Whilst many writers claim that nationalism has now been overtaken by global trends such as transnationalism and cosmopolitanism (Creese and Blackledge, 2010), it is interesting to find that in these supplementary schools, the fight for unified ethnic identities still persists. Evidence within this section suggests that current globalisation trends have in fact placed pressure on ethnic minority Diasporas “who seek to break apart the monolithic identity of the state within which they search for a legitimate place” (Heller, 1999: 32). This has resulted in the perpetuation of the prevalence of an imagined unity, which ironically constitutes the internal perpetuation of the hegemonic structures against which they struggle (Heller, 1999).

6.2.2 Safeguarding

Closely intertwined with the storyline of survival was that of safeguarding. In fact, within the interview data, accounts of survival and safeguarding efforts were almost synonymous. For instance, in her portrayal of the school as an agent of linguistic survival the Polish school leader also positioned it as a means of protection, safeguarding against the threat of Anglicism (see extract 1.2). A similar element of linguistic safeguarding was also found in the Bosnian school (see extract 1.6), the Greek school (see extract 1.4), and the Chinese school (see

extracts 1.5 and 1.8). Each of these schools sought to safeguard the community language by simply increasing the language proficiency of the younger generations in the community.

The concept of safeguarding was also alluded to within current literature in which schools in their survival attempts, are also shown to be protecting elements of the community identity (Archer et al, 2010; Francis et al, 2008; Mogra, 2007). Francis et al comment for instance on the promotion of authentic Chineseness within the Chinese supplementary schools as a response to the threat of dominant Western discourses (Francis et al, 2008).

These concerns reflected by school leaders regarding the safeguarding of community languages, are in fact reflective of a wider consensus concerning the global spread of English and the consequent loss of linguistic and cultural diversity (Joseph, 2004; Trudgill, 2002). Furthermore, Joseph states that the languages thought to be under threat are those of ethnic minority communities. Joseph however, warns that the politics regarding this issue are nebulous and that it is difficult to decipher the extent of linguistic erosion taking place, thus causing the situation to be generally unclear (Joseph, 2004). It is important to note however, that the concern expressed by school leaders is not so much pertaining to the safeguarding of the respective languages from total extinction, but for the safeguarding of the community identity of which language is perceived to be a central component.

The leader of African-Caribbean school A also expressed similar sentiments of safeguarding, but with regards to the 'African identity'. Here the depicted battle for the survival of the African identity also constituted the safeguarding of the community against the deceptive influences of the "white man". In this case the safeguarding element was encapsulated in the segregated environment of the school and in the knowledge taught within the school; both of

which were said to be means of deception prevention. Clearly, this particular ‘endangerment’ storyline addresses past historical discourses of power inequalities as well as those in the present.

Similar to African-Caribbean School A, the Iranian school was also positioned as a safe space (Creese et al, 2006) for students. Here the school was presented as a monocultural, supportive environment, within which students could escape the negative effects of the wider society, including: the isolation of racism, loneliness and depression; experiences that often befall members of subordinated ethnic minority communities. The school leader spoke of the school providing students with “relief” (Iranian school, leader: 7) from the racism and loneliness that they face within mainstream schooling:

Extract 2.1 They haven't got, you know, families here, relatives and this is missing for the children, but now this missing when they come here, you know, they can fulfil that missing, you know, which I found it very, very useful and helpful, you know. Prevent them from depression, from a lot of things because sometimes you feel some racial or some other, you know, things in this society, you know, sometimes they are under pressure in the school you know and they are children you know. I'm not saying everyone is racism but there are, but sometimes they have got somebody, it is from the same, from the same background, they go to each other and they oh, and they motivate themselves and it is very helpful.

In Extract 2.1 the Iranian school is positioned as a preventative space, safeguarding pupils from the effects of negative social forces such as racism. In particular, the school leader highlights the value of sameness as a protection factor bringing to the fore a ‘safety in sameness’ storyline. The value of association with ‘like-ethnic’ group members is also highlighted in the literature (Dow, 2010; Ager and Strang, 2008) Ager and Strang for instance found that for many refugees included their study, the ability to maintain cultural connections with other members of the community contributed to a sense of settlement within British society (Ager and Strang, 2008). It is for such reasons that Joly argues that ethnic

mobilisation often constitutes a “positive declaration of engagement” (Joly 2004: 151) with the host society (Joly, 2004). Here again, the school is positioned within the context of certain discriminatory storylines that are perceived to exist within the wider society. More specifically, the school is positioned as a space of counteraction where the suggestions of such storylines can be refuted through the third-order positioning of pupils which is achieved through the replacing of racist positionings with more positive, motivational ones.

This safeguarding of attendees was also detected in the case of the African-Caribbean school B; which was positioned as a safe-space for students, guarding them against the negative effects of mainstream schooling. Here, the particular form of safeguarding constituted the direct counteraction of the negative portrayals of the African-Caribbean community, purported within mainstream schooling. This includes the concept of the ‘disruptive black child’ (African-Caribbean school B, leader) and the perceived limited capability of African-Caribbean students (African-Caribbean school B, leader), which were seen to have a negative effect on learning experiences.

Two of the Islamic schools represented in phase 1 also seemed to be engaged in the safeguarding of students’ religious and moral standing. In Islamic school B for example, the school leader spoke of the need to ensure that students follow the “right path” (Islamic school B, leader). Similarly, the School leader of Islamic school C spoke of enabling students to “remain Muslim” (Islamic school C leader). The underlying suggestion in both cases was that if not guided, the community’s young people were likely to succumb to the negative influences of their non-Muslim peers and that they therefore need to be safeguarded from behavioural assimilation.

Extract 2.2 [T]his a free country, no pressure on the childrens, and if we not give right guidelines to childrens they go on the wrong way, like they go on the drugs, break in houses, car broken, violence, this and that. So that is our aims in most, the religious as well, that's the first priority and when start the religious, and everything is coming to the religions, study to teach the childrens; you are going wrong way, the right way, the burgle, stolen, that's haram, that's not allowed urr to do like this (Islamic school B, leader).

Extract 2.3 And especially we need to teach the kids behaviour because young people, teenagers, in this country they are, they do antisocial behaviour, their behaviour is not acceptable. The mosque is a more powerful channel for them, to teach them the behaviour because as a Muslim community they accept more from mosque with compared to the schools (Islamic school C, leader).

Here we see that the religious element of the schools is seen to be a key means of safeguarding the religious and moral values of attendees. It is also apparent that the positioning of the schools as preventative institutions is again based on a particular perception of the wider social forces constituting a threat to the maintenance of central aspects of the community identity. In this case, the liberal nature of the society and the behavioural practices of British young people were seen to pose a threat to the religious and moral values of the community.

Summary

This section has explored the role of the supplementary school as a safe-haven to attendees, sheltering them from a number of perceived negative influences existent within wider society. In so doing, this section has presented further information, particularly on the protection element of the community identity construction and maintenance processes within these schools. The consideration of the 'endangerment' storylines outlined within this and the previous 'survival' section are essential to a comprehensive understanding of the phase 1

schools as they effectively shape the purposes of the schools and in turn influence their everyday operations.

The linking of school operations to particular storylines of the wider society and the dominant culture generally position the schools as socially reactive institutions, actively responding to the social climate in which they exist. This in turn suggests that the positionings of the schools are not only significant in and of themselves but are also indicative of the self-positioning of the community within the host society and the compensatory mechanisms seen to be appropriate for such contexts.

Amongst the schools involved in phase 1, there were varying modes of safeguarding and differing reasons for doing so. This is indicative of the diverse social positionings within this sample of schools; an issue that will be explored in more detail within the following chapter.

Recovery

The storyline of recovery was again, very closely tied with that of survival. This section will focus on two schools in which the recovery discourse appeared to be most predominant. These schools remained focused on the recovery of a mind-set and an identity. In the first school: African-Caribbean school A, the theme of recovery pertained to the school's attempts to recover the 'true' African identity which according to the school leader, has been corrupted and ultimately destroyed (African Caribbean school C, leader: 7-8) mainly through the influences of white nations on Africans and the African diaspora. This process of recovery spoken of here is described by Nagel as "collective ethnic renewal" (Nagel, 1995: 947) which involves the reconstruction of an ethnic community through the rebuilding of institutions,

culture history and traditions (Nagel, 1995). In the following extracts the school leader expresses his beliefs concerning the perceived demise of the community identity:

Extract 3.1 [W]e have to realise that they're constantly attacking us, they don't want us to be our selves (African-Caribbean school A leader)

Extract 3.2 That's the kind of understanding you have to teach the people, that you've been...we've lost the war and the people have actually control our thinking, our behaviour. We have to break...we have to break from them (African-Caribbean school A, leader)

Extract 3.3 [A]ll African on this planet, whether they in Africa or in the Americas or Latin America, the main mother land is that every colony that is colonised by French or German it changed our peoples name and their identity and what we have to do now is to bring that back (African-Caribbean school A, leader)

Within extracts 3.1-3.3 above, together with extracts 1.16 and 1.17, the participant describes what he perceives to be the current state of 'African' people across the world. This participant states that this destruction of the "true identity" (African-Caribbean school A leader: 3) of 'Africans' has initially been conducted by Europeans through the colonisation process and that destruction efforts still persist through the relentless attacks against the African identity. Here, the participant positions the African community as a group that has been manipulated into thinking and behaving in certain ways that are not in keeping with their 'original', "true" mentality. In his 1999 paper, No'eau Warner reported a similar circumstance among the Hawaiian people. No'eau Warner explained that non indigenous people had disenfranchised Hawaiians from their land, their sovereignty, their language and their culture and have even redefined their identity" (No'eau Warner, 1999: 69) through various forms of institutional indoctrination (No'eau Warner, 1999). The school leader suggested here that Africans have been, and still remain, in a state of mental bondage of which many are unaware. This understanding of the situation of the African diaspora in Britain (and indeed, across the globe) constitutes the foundational storyline on which this participant's positioning of the school is premised.

Extracts 3.1-3.3 demonstrate the use of narrative in the negotiation of racial identity. According to Pavlenko and Blackledge, in the current age of transnational migration and displacement, the emergence of new diasporas leads to tensions between the destabilised and evolving group identities and the need for stability and coherence. In such circumstances, identity narratives constitute a means of resolving this tension by forging connections between the past, present and future. These narratives impose an “imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation” (Hall 1990:224 cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004: 18). In this particular case the school leader draws upon historical narratives of colonialism to characterise and effectively position the ‘African’ diaspora. Whilst such an approach to identity construction may create a sense of unity, it simultaneously obscures the diversity that exists within the ethnic or in this case, racial group as not to disturb the vision of homogeneity (Doran, 2003).

As has been mentioned earlier, the school leader also suggests that the current negatively impacting mindset of ‘African’ people, has been established through perpetual mis-education.

Extract 3.4 White people very much understand who they mis-educate, and it’s us. (African Caribbean school A leader)

Extract 3.5 [I]f you go into a white school...they aint gonna teach you that...they aint gonna teach the children about black scientists, black inventors, right. Umm, for instance they not gonna tell you that the first blood transfusion and (...) blood, its black people invented, they aint gonna tell the children them that the traffic light was invented by black people they aint even gonna tell you that Washington, Benjamin Banneker finished doing all the paperwork and you know, the drawings of the White House and layout how Washington, the White House and... they don’t tell black people did that in general school, they aint gonna even tell you that (African Caribbean school C leader)

Extract 3.6 [Y]ou’re educated to hate yourself (African Caribbean school A, leader)

Within the above extracts the mainstream school is positioned as a ‘white owned’ institution that purposely mis-educates black students by withholding information concerning the achievements of the black community throughout history. The school leader suggests here that instead of learning about this potentially empowering information, the black community are disempowered through the hidden curriculum of self-hatred. The hidden curriculum being implicit aspects of the educational experience that are purported through the educational process (Thornberg, 2009). This concept of discriminatory ‘white education’ (both formal and informal) constitutes another major storyline on which notions of the participant’s school is premised. The most obvious effect of this particular storyline is the polarised positioning of the supplementary school and mainstream schooling as spaces of black empowerment and disempowerment respectively. These two positionings are situated within two corresponding storylines, one being the deficit storyline of mainstream schooling in which the schooling system is deemed insufficient and the other being the compensatory storyline of African-Caribbean school A in which the school is seen to be compensating for aspects that are lacking in mainstream schooling.

These comments on the education of black pupils in mainstream schools do of course connect to the wider overarching issue of institutionalised racism which operates through expectations, assumptions and practices (Gillborn, 2008) and is interwoven into “established and respected forces of society” (Carmichael and Hamilton, BBC 2007 cited in Gillborn, 2008: 27) such as the central schooling system. This storyline is also historically grounded and had particular prevalence during the 1950s and 60s when the African Caribbean community became highly dissatisfied with the racial discrimination of black children within mainstream schools. It is apparent that this school leader’s discursive positioning of the

school is based upon historically embedded recontextualised Discourses (Blommaert, 2005) that aid in contextualising the operations of the school.

The participant states that in response to the deficiencies of mainstream education the school constitutes a break from the “present colonial master system” (Interview 003, p.12) and an avenue through a process of re-education through which the “true” ‘African’ identity can be reinstated.

Extract 3.7 It hasn't changed; the purpose is the same, to educate our own people. There's no other way to tell you, that is the purpose, we take control of our own education. We must name our self, define for our self, that's what we have to do; nobody else should do it for us. (African Caribbean school A leader)

Extract 3.8 We have a role to play as organisers, that purpose is as I said earlier on is to re-educate our people and educate ourselves. And I think all African people, young or old, need to be educated in an African way of life, in our culture, our spirituality [...] we have our own system of understanding the universe and nature and who we are. We've lost it because they've brain washed us to think it's primitive (African Caribbean school A leader)

Within extracts 3.7 and 3.8 the school leader associates African-centred education with “control” and autonomy, whilst the concept of loss of control is equated with being “Brain washed” by the dominant group. This polarisation serves in further emphasising and validating the positioning of the school as a ‘safe space’ (Creese et al, 2006) where the African community are at liberty to name and define themselves without being dictated to by the compelling force of the dominant culture. In the same vein school A is also positioned here as an emancipatory space, liberating young ‘Africans’ from the brain washing process imposed upon them by the dominant wider society. Extract 3.8 in particular, features the storyline of ‘ownership and loss’. Here the school leader suggests that the African community has been deceived into losing its own identity because of the negative positioning of that identity. Such statements reveal the positioning of the school within the ‘ownership

and loss' storyline, as a space of 'identity recovery' where members of the African community can reclaim their own "culture", "spiritually" and "systems of understanding". It seems that the school is attempting a third order positioning of the African community by presenting the African identity as valuable and currently relevant as opposed to "primitive".

According to the above extracts, the re-education of the African community involves the general re-ownership of community education and the re-construction of the community identity. More specifically, the school leader proposed the reinstatement of a specific type of African identity, the key elements of which are represented in the following extracts:

Extract 3.9 So once children understand that, that their people have develop and contribute to world civilisation to make people have even the calendar today... even the alphabet, Then they realise, and if you go to Kemet, Egypt, which people call Egypt and you look at our writings in (...) pyramids you can't beat it can you. So that's what you put in front of our children (African Caribbean school A leader)

Extract 3.10 White people know that, white people know that if black people have their own independent school, they know that what will happen, right, in the world is that African people will excel and continue their genius as they have always been. (African Caribbean school A leader)

Extract 3.11 You get all this education and you gonna say well, you know what, I think I'd better work with white people and build white people....they never think about going to Africa and build Africa, cause they've lost it, till it's a crisis. And the people who's educated in Africa they more quicker to run to western working wide institution because we have corrupt leadership that are placed there by white people that have no mindset of being African. (African-Caribbean school A leader)

The identity constituents outlined within extracts 3.9 and 3.10 constitutes an operationalization of the third-order positioning of the African community spoken of within extract 3.8. Here the school leader positions the African community as highly intellectual and as significant contributors to global society. Within the second extract, it is in fact suggested that "genius" is an innately embedded trait of the African community. In a similar vein, the participant also associates the true African identity with being "wise" to the deceptions of

white people (African Caribbean school A, leader: 9). The school leader's construction of 'Africanness' here is reminiscent of the classroom discourse of a Turkish teacher within a study conducted by Blackledge and Creese. Here, the teacher discursively constructs a heroic notion of the Turkish nation for class members (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). Within extract 3.12 the participant further suggests that the "true" African mindset would result in channelling of intellectual capital, back into the African community (either locally or globally).

In extracts 3.7 to 3.11 the school leader positions the African community as culturally 'fixed' (Archer et al, 2010), presenting a highly prescriptive and essentialised construction of 'Africanness'. This notion of a 'true' or 'authentic' identity was also found to be influential among the Chinese Diaspora in the study carried out by Archer et al, where a homogenised cultural core of Chineseness was assumed and prioritised (Archer et al 2010). This conception of ethnic identity matches with Ang's 'living tree' analogy, in which there is the assumption of a homogenised core that is grounded by fixed roots and from which stems connected and dependent branches (Archer et al, 2010). As was the case in the study conducted by Archer et al, it seems that the efforts of African Caribbean school A to preserve the African identity has resulted in the elevation and reification of particular cultural elements and the non-acknowledgement of the negotiated and evolutionary construction of ethnic identity (Archer et al, 2010).

As mentioned earlier, the school leader proposed that the successful reinstatement of the true African identity required segregation from other racial groups and their educational systems.

Extract 3.12 [T]hey have nothing to teach us, so that is why we need to break, and that is why it's important to have Saturday school, a break from the present colonial master system and cultural imperialism. And when I say cultural imperialism,

cultural imperialism is when you take a person's language, their eating pattern and you change everything and you put yours on top of those people and say this is the way; this is the way you must behave, whether it's sexually, right, or how you eat or how you dress or how you speak. That's cultural imperialism. (African-Caribbean school A, leader)

Within extract 3.12 the participant depicts the dominant culture as an overpowering dictatorial force that imposes itself on smaller scale minority groups, preventing self-determination. Due to this, he envisages that it is necessary to establish an alternative space conducive to the unhindered establishment of the 'true African identity'. In this sense, segregation is portrayed here as a means of securing the recovery process. In extract 3.12 the school leader states that the school constitutes a break from the "present colonial master system". This statement positions the school as a space of resistance against dominant cultural forces. Through such statements the school, which embodies this segregation principle, is also again positioned as a 'safe space' (Creese et al, 2006) for the cultivation of 'true Africanness' and the enablement of community 'survival' within Western society.

The drive towards recovery expressed by the leader of African-Caribbean school A is comparable to that expressed by the Irish school leader who explained that the initial purpose of the Irish school was to recover the Irish identity that had been stripped away in the aftermath of the 1974 Irish Republican Army (IRA) bombings in Birmingham. Similarly, when speaking of their relationships with other English people, the Irish participants in Leavey and Livingstons study on older Irish migrants also frequently referred to the effects of various bombing campaigns in British cities (Leavey and Livingston, 2004). According to the Irish school leader, the Birmingham bombings effectively led to the demise of the Irish community identity:

Extract 3.13 In November 1974, the IRA exploded bombs in Birmingham in the city centre, caused considerable loss of life and injuries and although one third of the people either killed or injured were actually Irish themselves, the local

population and the local media painted us all as being terrorists and as a result the vibrant Irish community that had existed up to that point, ceased to exist and the Irish by enlarge became invisible, ie: they didn't want to be seen out and about, they didn't want any public demonstration of their ethnicity and they were ridiculed both in the media and on television, the press and the television and that's when almost all the stupid so called Irish jokes started and that pertained for almost 20 years after the event. I saw it as a fact that Irish people had nothing to apologise for because we weren't aware who these people were, we weren't even aware they were within our...in the midst of the community, and we certainly weren't aware that they were about to explode those bombs otherwise one third of the people who were killed wouldn't have been Irish. (Irish school leader)

Within extract 3.13 the participant explains that in the aftermath of the Birmingham bombings, negative storylines promoted through the media and social stereotyping served in distorting the identity of the Irish community. According to the Irish school leader this was due to the out-casting of the Irish community which changed its positioning from “vibrant”, and visible community’ to an “invisible” ‘community in hiding’. In this scenario, Irish community members are seen to have repositioned themselves. The reflexive second-order positioning of the Irish community was somewhat forced however, as it came about as a response to the widespread negative positioning of the community within wider society. Similar to the responses of the leader of African-Caribbean school A, this school leader presents the erosion of the community identity as an act of gross injustice, emphasising the innocence of the Irish community at the beginning and closing of his narrative.

Within the following extract the participant gives further details of the effects of the bombings on the day-to-day lives of the Irish community. Here he alludes to the scale of marginalisation experienced by community members at that time:

Extract 3.14 I have heard that there were people in certain circumstances, particularly after the Birmingham pub bombing, some Irish people consciously tried to alter their accent, and I can understand why they would have done that because my own experience at the time wasn't very pleasant: I was refused service in shops, people wouldn't serve me, I tried to buy goods and I couldn't, I was asked to leave; if I went into a pub I was threatened, people threatened to stick

a drinking glass in my face; In a place that I worked at the time, they put hangman's nooses up over the girders with names attached (Irish school leader)

As with extract 3.14, the participant indicates that the demise of the Irish identity resulted from a combination of negative media and social positionings of the community and community responses to these positions. External positionings of the Irish community seem to have had a significant impact on the community members' reflexive views of themselves. The participant explains how the bombings changed the very construction and meaning of being Irish from a source of pride to a disadvantage, a burden and even a danger, thus also altering the lived experience of being an Irish person residing in Birmingham. In other words the very storyline of Irishness was totally reformulated thus also shifting the external and internal positioning of the Irish community in Birmingham (and arguably within England). Myers and Grosvenor substantiate this account stating that the 1970s bombings led to the "identification of the Irish as an officially suspect community" and as "a community apart" (Myers and Grosvenor, 2011: 512). The account given in extract 3.14 demonstrates the constructed and fluid nature of identity, showing that it is formed from the representations of both insiders and outsiders (Howarth, 2002).

It was during the aftermath of the IRA bombings that the Irish school was established as a direct response to the massive shift in the community identity, as a result of their alienation from the wider society. Myers and Grosvenor state that this period saw the establishment of educational social movements that were established to counteract the effects of discrimination (Myers and Grosvenor, 2011).

Extract 3.15 I was looking to find something that Irish people could identify with that wasn't political but at the same time might put a message out generally that we're about lots of other things besides what we were being painted as: terrorists or apologists for terrorists. And I started the classes because of that event, and it gave Irish people something to gather around so to speak and

gave them a point of interest and we developed from there. (Irish school leader)

Similar to the case of African-Caribbean school A, the Irish language school was initially established to reinstate a sense of community and pride amongst Irish natives living in Birmingham and in doing so, recover the ‘original’ Irish identity. More specifically the school leader sought to reconstruct the Irish identity by focusing on the “other things” that characterised the community. Here the school is positioned as a site of identity reconstruction and recovery geared towards the repositioning of the Irish community within other storylines that counteracted those of ‘terrorism’. Myers and Grosvenor state that during the late 1970s conscious efforts were made within the Irish community, to establish ethnic boundaries in order to induce social and political revolution and that educational projects were central to these efforts (Myers and Grosvenor, 2011). Yet again, this school is positioned according to the perceived positioning of the community within the wider society.

As with the other schools with a language element, featured within the ‘survival’ section, language is viewed here as a central constituent of identity formation and thus suitable for use within the school’s community and identity reconstruction agenda:

Extract 3.16 sometimes you find that the country you’ve moved into and its culture can be quite alien in some ways ... and sometimes there’s this tendency to seek out something identifiable or that you can identify as being a part of you or belonging to you, ie: your language, your culture, your history, your music, your sports, whatever it might be, the whole thing that makes up your identity. And language is one of those planks of identity. (Irish school leader)

Whilst this was the initial focus of the Irish school, it is interesting to note that the participant’s account reflects a shift away from rebuilding the Irish community and towards the showcasing of the community. Interview responses suggest that this shift is premised on certain political and social movements which have resulted in the increased popularity and

acceptance of the Irish community. In particular, the signing of the Good Friday Agreement and the emergence of Irish celebrities are identified by the participant as two major factors in the evolved positioning of the Irish community:

Extract 3.17 I think when the heat was turned off again, ie: on their Irish ethnicity, ie: less problems going on in the north of Ireland, less problems here and especially since the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, umm, Irish people suddenly again in this country became flavour of the month and there are lots of celebrities and well known people who now would like to identify with their Irish roots even if they go back to great, great, grandparents. Suddenly it became something that was in vogue again. (Irish school leader)

Here again, we see an example of the impact of wider social and political discourses (or at least the interpretations of these events) on the positioning of the ethnic minority community and hence the supplementary school. Again, we see here a case where the shifts in the storyline of Irishness resulted in the perceived third-order positioning of the community. Such responses demonstrate the close correlation between the perceived position of the community within the wider society and the social positioning of the school.

Summary

This section has documented the cases of two schools in which the theme of ‘recovery’ was strongly represented. The evidence presented here has shown that both schools are very much rooted in historical contexts that have impacted their existence and current operations. In fact it is perhaps within this section in particular that the historical embedding of discourses is most apparent (Blommaert, 2005). In this sense these schools can be seen as historical transmitters, transporting the events of the past into the present.

This section in particular has shown that whilst schools such as the Irish school and African-Caribbean school A may seem totally diverse, less obvious commonalities may be discovered

through the examination of school purpose and positioning. It is through the close inspection of the underlying purposes of supplementary schools that the true complexity of this realm of schooling is disclosed. Such findings challenge the current categorisation systems which focus on overt, declared factors such as ethnic grouping and school curriculum. On a wider scale, such juxtaposing of schools also serves in challenging research paradigms that are based on standardised race categories that can hinder the understanding of educational issues and processes (Myers and Grosvenor, 2011).

6.2.3 Showcasing

Another interconnecting theme is that of showcasing. This theme refers to schools that were positioned as positive showcases for their respective communities. As mentioned in the preceding section, the Irish school is a case in point. The participant explained that the school operated as a platform for the Irish community, raising awareness concerning its language, culture and history and providing an avenue for others to explore these aspects:

Extract 4.1 We're there basically to show that Ireland and its people have had a language and a culture that's older than this country's by thousands of years and it's a very rich culture if people would like to explore it, we're one platform they can use to do their exploration. We're not there just for Irish people any more, we're there for anybody who wants to explore (Irish school leader).

Within the above extract the school is portrayed as a positive showcase of Irish culture, a space for the display of Irishness which all are welcome to enter and experience. This extract epitomises the shift in the positioning of the school from one that was primarily focused on identity recovery to one that also showcases aspects of the Irish identity.

These comments correspond with statements made by the participant elsewhere, concerning the perceived current invisibility of the Irish community:

Extract 4.2 certainly for a long time we're by far and away the largest ethnic community in Britain. There was no other ethnic community that was larger, but then again some peoples presumption of an ethnic community was solely your skin colour and if your skin colour wasn't dark enough then they don't see you as being an ethnic community, yet there were ethnic communities here in Britain long before immigration really started from the Caribbean or from the Indian subcontinent and some of the ethnic communities that existed then and had their own language and culture would have been as I said the Irish in particular followed probably by the Poles and the Italians and those communities are now forgotten about and the new communities that are strong seem to think that unless your skin colouring is much darker, you don't count (Irish school leader)

Extract 4.3 I see it as having a...being a very, very rich culture, a culture going back thousands of years. Looking at some of the things people achieved. There's been a great 'hoo-harr' here recently about the discovery of the Saxon horde, the sort of stuff that they're digging up here and making a big fuss of. Irish artisans in Ireland were doing that sort of thing a thousand years earlier and I noticed that some of the types of ornamentation that has occurred on some of the Saxon stuff they found is actually the very same as the Celtic stuff of some hundred years before, so whether there's some sort of (...). Then again of course you have to consider that some of the finest books in existence in Western Europe were written by Irish monks, those highly ornamented books. If you look at the decoration and design of some of the lettering, you'll find it transfers to the Saxons and you think well, did the Saxons steal it so to speak? Copy probably. (Irish school leader)

Within extract 4.2 the Irish community is positioned as a “forgotten” ethnic minority community, drowned out by other more recent more ‘visible’ “much darker” immigrant groups and consequently having a rich culture and history that remains largely ignored. Together, extracts 3.1 and 3.2 indicate that the school currently functions as a community showcasing facility, displaying key aspects of Irish culture and history and thus redressing the British ‘blind spot’. Within the second extract the participant further explores Ireland’s historical legacy. Here a favourable account of Irish history is presented with the Irish community being positioned as superior. There is a strong underlying suggestion here that the Irish community has not been rightfully recognised for their achievements throughout history

which again ties in with the ‘forgotten community’ storyline. This sentiment is reminiscent of the ‘racial discrimination’ storyline of the leader of African-Caribbean school A in the preceding section, where the school leader emphasises the significant achievements of the African community that remain largely hidden and purposely ignored. In both cases the school leaders seem to express a certain level of frustration at the invisibility of their respective communities, and indicate that a determination to confront this issue lies at the very heart of the functioning of both schools.

The orientation towards community showcasing can also be seen in the case of the Bosnian school. In this case the school is positioned as a platform whereby the community is able to respond to the wider society not as a ‘forgotten community’ wanting to be acknowledged but as a ‘misconstrued community’ wanting to be understood. Referring to the establishment of the school, the school leader made the following comments:

Extract 4.4 we are very small community but very recognised community with ...you know, and that’s where is we... a twisting point to say Bosnia is not just bad thing; war disaster, blah, blah, blah, we got something to be proud of, and we giving...another good thing in British society you know, to British is proud to say we got name with country, we got somebody who represent that country in positive way and that is our aim (Bosnian school leader)

Extract 4.5 we deeply respect British culture and British...all what Britain give to society and we try to input you see...And now I think is British is very proud of us why we establish our school (Bosnian school leader)

The school is positioned here as a positive showcase of the Bosnian community, based on a storyline of progress and achievement within the Bosnian diaspora in Britain. In turn, the school leader also positions the school as counteractive space, redressing the common negative conceptions of Bosnia as a war torn country along with the associated connotations of desolation and depravity. In fact within extracts 3.4 and 3.5 the school leader places particular emphasis on the schools positioning as a source of pride not only for the Bosnian

community but also for the British host community. It is apparent that in this case the positioning of the school is not so much as a means of community repositioning as it is a symbol of this repositioning.

Extracts 4.4 and 4.5 constitute an example of ‘deliberate self-positioning’ (Harré and Langenhove, 1991) (assuming that the school leader represents the Bosnian community). In this instance, the school leader refers to certain biographical aspects in order to position the community in a particular way. According to Harré and Langenhove, when a person deliberately self-positions themselves, they are doing so to achieve certain goals (Harré and Langenhove, 1991). In this case the school leader sought to position the community as ‘progressive’ and ‘pride-worthy’.

The school leader’s positioning of the school relates to his account of the initial circumstances of Bosnian immigrants who sought asylum in Britain during and in the aftermath of the Bosnian war:

Extract 4.6 ...how is Bosnians come in this country, okay, Bosnian is in the area of West Midlands in the Birmingham area including Walsall, Wolverhampton and surrounding towns. Umm, around 150 families, okay, the mainly of that families come during and after Bosnian war from 1992 to 1996. That’s mainly guys who come from prison camps and British government brought them in; try to help them you know, to (...), and a lot of guys come as well like umm, injured guys who injury on the first line or like civilians and he set his lives here and now 15 or 16 year we still here (Bosnian school leader)

Extract 4.6 constitutes a baseline storyline featuring the ‘rescuer’ and the ‘rescued’. The initial Bosnian immigrants are presented here as a vulnerable and dependent community, reliant on the hospitality of the host society. This underlying storyline contextualises the positioning of the Bosnian school, explaining why the showcasing of community progress is of particular importance to this immigrant community. When considered in light of the

political and historical relationship between Bosnia and Britain, it is apparent that the school stands as evidence of the evolution of the positioning of the Bosnian immigrant community; from vulnerable ‘asylum seekers’ to ‘positive contributors’ of which the British community can be “very proud”. In fact within the school leader’s ‘community progress’ storyline there seems to be a distinct effort to move away from the refugee status that has persisted over a number of years. This is unsurprising as Colic-Peisker and Walker state that the refugee identity is often viewed within mainstream society with suspicion and is therefore one which recipients actively seek to shed (Colic-Peisker and Walker, 2003).

According to the school leader’s accounts the positive showcasing of Bosnia and the Bosnian community was also achieved through the school’s cultivation of its students, as shown in the following statements:

Extract 4.7 all this is about presenting you know, to present, present different picture of our country. I know first, first thought if you mention Bosnia is war and disease and lot of nasty things, so negative you know, but if you’ve got somebody in front of you who’s saying no, no, no, yes I born in this country but I can speak another language fluently, and it’s nothing embarrassed with that you know and that’s my, my goal why I come here (Bosnian school leader)

Extract 4.8 when teacher in English school ask you tell me about Bosnian, to know a little bit, don’t say ‘I don’t know nothing’, to say look it’s nice country, it’s got high mountains, it’s got lovely rivers as well, hills and so on and umm, and that is what is aim from the beginning (Bosnian school leader)

Within the above two extracts the Bosnian school leader outlines one of the key aims of the school which is to cultivate within students a positive image of Bosnia and Bosnian community membership which they can express to others beyond the Bosnian community. In doing so the school is effectively cultivating ambassadors for the community. Within the first two lines of extract 4.7 the school leader also positions the school itself as an ambassador of the Bosnian community with the role of presenting a “different picture” of Bosnia. Here

again the determination to counteract already established negative portrayals of Bosnia is strongly evident. This issue will be explored further within the following section.

Summary

The 2 cases of showcasing within this chapter relate to a desire to redress past misconceptions, to provide missing information and ultimately to reposition communities within revised storylines. The reasonings behind the showcasing efforts of schools were connected to the historical narratives of the respective communities. Here, the schools are positioned as community ambassadors. Yet again, the schools are shown to speak not only of themselves, but of the minority community they serve. The positionings of these schools tell of particular community histories (real or imagined) that have influenced their current existence and operation, these constitute the historical contexts spoken of by Blommaert (2005). These schools can therefore be looked upon as community symbols, as opposed to mere educational spaces.

Whilst both schools were seen to be showcasing, they were doing so for differing reasons – as a response to different historical circumstances. This again highlights the complexity of supplementary schooling, in which schools displaying the same key purposes may at the same time display more intricate differences with regards to the social, historical and political circumstances behind the purpose.

6.2.4 Counteraction of negative portrayals

The counteraction of negative portrayals was an element that was intertwined both with the recovery and showcasing elements of schooling. This purpose theme is reflected in the work of Mirza and Reay (2000) who suggest that supplementary schools are a powerful means by which popular myths can be decentred (Mirza and Reay, 2000). Such was the case with the Irish school where the initial recovery of the Irish identity was closely tied to the counteraction of the negative portrayals of the Irish community in the aftermath of the IRA bombings.

In addition, African-Caribbean School A was also portrayed as a means of counteraction, redressing the misrepresentations of ‘African’ people by white people:

Extract 5.1 children have a mindset that black people are just savages as white people portray us, that we’re savages and illiterate people...but it’s a lie you see, once children realise that it’s a lie they’ll excel (African Caribbean school A leader)

In this extract, along with extract 1.18, the school leader comments on the negative positioning of black people in the media and within society in general. According to these extracts the school sought to counter the negative positionings and stereotyping of the black community by raising awareness concerning perceived fallacies surrounding the community and also instilling an alternative concept of ‘Africanness’ which emphasised both the past achievements and current abilities of the community (also see ‘recovery’ section). In this sense the school was positioned as a space for the expression and construction of alternative discourses than those of the dominant mainstream (Creese et al, 2006). In contrast to the Irish school, this school employed a form of internal counteraction which involved the re-education of members within the target community as opposed to attempting to address the external wider society.

Similar sentiments were also reflected by the leader of African-Caribbean School B. Here the focus was placed on the counteraction of negative portrayals of the black community within mainstream schooling:

Extract 5.2 If they start with you at an earlier age, you might have a better opportunity, a better strength of carrying them through when they get into the mainstream school, but if they have already started in the mainstream school and they start struggling and they have to come to you, I find that is, that's where the difficulty arises. You have to do a lot of talking, rather than just teaching them because they're simply not interested in what you're teaching. You have...I find that with things the way they are, I do a lot of talking with some of them, a lot a lot of talking, because somehow they not really seeing the importance of the education anymore, because somewhere along the line while they were in school, is like they been shift to one side (African-Caribbean school B, leader)

Extract 5.3 if you're a youngster growing up and somebody keep on saying that to you, you're not gonna progress very far unless you have somebody else who's really behind you, pushing you and telling you, that's not true, you can do it. (African Caribbean school B, leader)

Here, it is suggested that mainstream schooling disables black children by positioning them as peripheral and incapable members of the school community. According to the above extracts this results in the cultivation of disinterest and can potentially stunt educational progression. Alongside this 'deficit' storyline of mainstream schooling, African-Caribbean school B is positioned as a 'reconstructive space' where the negative effects of the mainstream positioning of black students are directly counteracted. This finding corresponds with statements made by Blackledge and Creese who conceptualise supplementary schools as places where pupils are able to explore and develop successful learner identities (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). In extracts 5.2 and 5.3 African-Caribbean school B is personified as the "somebody else", "carrying" students through their mainstream experience by repositioning students through the provision of alternative learner identities:

Extract 5.4 Mainstream, mainstream, mainstream school, the teachers tend to say that umm the young boys, especially the black boys, are disruptive in class. But

some of the things, I wouldn't say it's on a research level, but some of the things that we come across [...] some of the things that we come across is that is not so much they are disruptive, it's that they don't have anything to do and they are not being stretched to their full potential (African Caribbean school B, leader)

Here, extract 5.4 reveals one example of the school's alternative positioning of black boys in particular. The school is portrayed here as having a completely opposite perspective to that of mainstream schooling, focusing on potential as opposed to 'deficit'. In doing so the school is able to offer black boys positive learner identities as learners with potential. It is implied here that the school conducts third-order positionings of these pupils, directly contradicting those allotted to them within mainstream schooling. In the following extract the school leader explains how this repositioning effort is manifested within classroom discourse at the school:

Extract 5.5 [W]e have to sort of come out with most positive as we can possible, even in a dire situation, we have to come out and tell them something positive so that they can hold on to something...that they feel like they can hold on to something. (African-Caribbean school B, leader)

Extract 5.5 constitutes a clear illustration of the effects of positioning on everyday classroom practice. In this case, the positioning of the mainstream school as a limiting system has led to the positioning of school B as an educational 'safe space' (Creese et al, 2006) where African-Caribbean children are enabled to progress and excel. In this sense the school is generally positioned as a space where the negative effects of the mainstream are counteracted and where pupils are granted 'academic emancipation'. This school positioning was also evident within research carried out by Issa and Williams who state that the counteraction of the "racism of the curriculum" (Issa and Williams, 2009: 56) is still a key the determinant behind the "Afrocentric curriculum" (Issa and Williams, 2009: 56) in some African-Caribbean supplementary schools (Issa and Williams, 2009).

The above extract suggests that this positioning has resulted in the employment of a positive mode of discourse within the school. In his portrayal of the school as providing something for students to “hold on to” the school leader additionally positions the school as a source of ‘educational sustenance’, aiding and enabling African-Caribbean children within mainstream education. The discourses of extracts 5.2-5.5 are very much reminiscent of those that were circulating within the black community during the late 1960s and 70s that led to the drive for the initial establishment of supplementary schools within the black community (Issa and Williams, 2009). At this time, parents believed that children were receiving a substandard education within mainstream schools due to “discriminatory educational practices” (Issa and Williams, 2009:11). The statements made within these extracts therefore appear to be recontextualisations of other earlier texts from a different historical moment (Blommaert, 2005).

Despite the school leader’s criticisms, in extract 5.5 African-Caribbean school B is featured working in a ‘complementary’ (Creese and Martin, 2006) capacity to mainstream schooling, providing pupils with support that is geared towards mainstream schooling success. Thus there are two parallel storylines apparent within this school – the ‘supplementary’ (Mirza and Reay, 2000) storyline in which the school seeks to counteract, reposition and emancipate and the ‘complementary’ storyline in which the school acknowledges the value of academic success within this mainstream schooling system. Whilst these two storylines are often polarised within the supplementary schooling literature, here, they are jointly operational within a single institution.

This internal counteraction of negative portrayals was also evident within other interview transcripts. In the case of the Iranian school for instance, the school leader spoke of the racism faced by students within mainstream schooling:

- Extract 5.6* *I* *[...] What kind of problems do you think students would face within the mainstream?*
- P* *Usually it is...unfortunately it is racism, but it is in childish way, not very serious, you know. For example, now you are friends with somebody, as soon as your friendship goes away, sometimes they make fun of each other, you know, this sort of thing. It is usual between these students, you know. It is that one and sometimes they feel lonely you know, according to things, according to my experience through a couple of years. They feel lonely and they want somebody to talk from the same community, with the same, you know... and it is their same age group, the students, you know, and usually it is that one. We receive some complaints from the students, not very, very serious, but mentally it is very important. When they have got this...for example, this little girl, she has got maybe problem at school today, when she goes to the friend, [at the Iranian school], gets relief, you know. (Iranian school leader)*

In this case the loneliness inflicted by racism is said to be counteracted by the school through its facilitation of a mono-ethnic context where students can gain “relief” through sharing with others from the same community. Here again the school is positioned as a ‘safe space’ (Creese et al, 2006) for pupils enabling them to endure certain negative social realities. This counteractive function of the school is encapsulated in the following narrative in which the mono-ethnic context of the school was seen to assist a student in developing a sense of pride in her Iranian identity, removing the stigma that surrounded it, due to negative propaganda. Here the school leader relates the narrative as it was accounted to him by the student’s father:

- Extract 5.7* *She was afraid of talking Farsi language or saying she was Iranian or real Iranian. She was very afraid and always she was nagging and screaming to us, don’t talk, don’t let them the people know, and there was some stress on her and she was very scared, we didn’t know why, and then after 6 months, now she’s very proud of to be Iranian and she talks Farsi and everywhere, even in the school she says yeh, I am Iranian and she, you know, talks Farsi and if...in, on the street, everywhere we are, she hasn’t got that...I talk to her, I noticed oh, used to be’. In...at the school she was alone and because of this propaganda against Iranian people, Iranian, you know, political in Iran and*

this all tough things, she was afraid to, you know, saying 'I am Iranian'. Maybe somebody in the school a lot of things they told her and when she came here, 'oh there are other students, there are other children, boys or girls, they are Iranian', and they are very, you know, she met other Iranian students, very successful, very proud of themselves and nothing is wrong with, to be Iranian and little by little she mentally, you know, changed. (Iranian school leader)

As with the Chinese school, this narrative again highlights the effects of the political climate of the community 'homeland' on the operations of the supplementary school. According to the school leader, political difficulties in Iran have led to negative propaganda concerning the Iranian diaspora in the UK which caused the pupil to position herself negatively as a member of the Iranian community. This scenario also demonstrates how the mode of migration and the surrounding circumstances can affect the acculturation process. Van Hear argues for instance that economic immigrants enter the host country under very different circumstances than do forced migrants who are made to migrate because of war, genocide or other forms of political unrest (Van Hear, 2010). These circumstances are likely to affect the positionings of communities within the host society and the subsequent positioning of the supplementary schools they establish.

However, extract 5.7 suggests that through the mono-cultural environment, the Iranian school normalises and centralises Iranian-ness and emphasises the value of the Iranian identity. This is much like the black supplementary schools referred to by Mirza and Reay. Here the context was such that blackness is normative and the centrality of whiteness is displaced (Mirza and Reay, 2000). The Iranian school context is seen to provide positive storylines in which the Iranian identity is repositioned as something of worth and a source of pride. The school leader effectively suggests here that the school conducts a third-order positioning of the Iranian identity that defies other less favourable positionings existing within the wider society. Within extracts 5.6 and 5.7 there is a distinct storyline of discrimination against the

Iranian community. It is within the context of this narrative that the school is positioned as a 'safe space' (Creese et al, 2006), counteracting negative portrayals of the community.

Statements from the Bosnian school leader indicated a similar form of counteraction pertaining to the negative portrayals of Bosnia connected to the country's political situation. As with the Irish school the 'counteraction' element of this institution was linked closely to the 'showcasing' element which was in effect a means of counteraction. According to the school leader's account, the Bosnian school was geared towards the external counteraction of negative portrayals of the community, in an effort to present a "different picture" of Bosnia and the Bosnian community and redress current misconceptions of Bosnia being a country characterised by "war and disease and lot of nasty things" (Bosnian school leader: 4). Also ingrained within the school's counteractive efforts was the desire to evidence the progress made by the Bosnian Diaspora in Birmingham. Again, these efforts were clearly connected to the current and historical, political circumstances in Bosnia and the circumstances under which Bosnians initially arrived in Britain.

In addition to the above examples there was some indication of counteractive efforts in the responses of two of the Islamic school leaders, in these cases, it seemed that efforts were being made to counteract negative portrayals of Muslims due to terrorist attacks on September 11 2001, said to have been carried out by Islamic fundamentalists. The School leader of Islamic school C for instance, emphasised the purpose of the school to create "good citizens"; mentioning this intention five times during the interview. Similarly, the leader of Islamic school B also placed emphasis on living peaceably with others as well as being good citizens:

Extract 5.8 The good citizen is mean, as I said before, that that's the multicultural country, the multi-religious as well. Urr, Islam didn't say create problems or force or any urr, against the other one. Islam says it's peaceful, live peaceful, live

together as friendly, as a relationship, and urr, the good citizen, you living in this country, that's your country. You should keep tidy, clear, tidy in the country, if anything happens you should keep shoulder to shoulder together, keep on...save the country and defend the country and if that happen in times come. Where the community live together as a family, a relation, that's your life. If you get to create the problem, you'll be doing.. you'll be getting in problem. So, live a friendly, that means it's good citizen, live together. (Islamic school B, leader)

Within this extract the leader of Islamic school B outlines his notion of good Islamic practice, promoting the concept of togetherness amidst diversity and stressing the importance being an integrated and committed member of British society even to the point of “defending the country”. These sentiments stand in total contrast to the image of Islamic extremism that has been foregrounded in the media in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks in America. Whilst he does not make mention of the attacks, the school leader’s comments may well index the deliberate attempts of the school to reposition Islam and thereby counteract the manifestation of the ‘terrorist’ storyline and the corresponding negative positionings of Islam within it. It seems that the school sought to accomplish this repositioning internally, through the promotion of an alternative storyline of Islam and externally through the manifestation of this storyline in the lives of the young Muslim attendees through their display of peaceable living practices. Here again the supplementary school is positioned as a site of meaning transformation (Mirza and Reay, 2000), which in this case, provides an alternative meaning of the Muslim identity that differs from that which is seen to be prevalent within the wider society.

Summary

This section has documented the reported efforts of schools to defend the image of a desired/preferred community identity against pre-established negative stereotypes. These

stereo-types constitute the perceived positions given to the corresponding minority communities within the dominant society. Thus, it is apparent that the purposes and functions of these schools are shaped both by their own internal community identity construction projects on one hand and other externally imposed constructions on the other. In other words, the functionings of these schools are as much a response to external positionings as they are a proactive identity positioning effort. Within this chapter, schools are again positioned as community ambassadors, not only constructing the community identity, but also fending off other conflicting portrayals that pose a challenge to this construction process. These schools provide examples of the forms of agency exercised by marginalised communities in order to manage dominant discourses and defend community boundaries.

6.2.5 Transformation of social standing

The association of the supplementary schooling and the transformation of community social standing has been alluded to by various writers who highlight the role of supplementary schools in the raising of academic achievement levels (Creese and Martin, 2006; Zhou and Kim, 2006; Hall et al, 2002). This particular schooling purpose was detected most predominantly within the three African-Caribbean schools featured in the study. Within the responses the leader of African-Caribbean school C for instance, there were clear references to the school's intentions to counteract the storyline of underachievement of African-Caribbean children also ensuring that they achieve their full potential and ultimately to increase the numbers of African-Caribbean's working within science oriented professions:

Extract 6.1 We want some more doctors, some more nurses out there, some more scientists, you know, African Caribbean people, there's not many that are, you know, scientists and doctors and things like that, they take up sports and dance and beauty and all the rest of the things that schools encourage them to do, we want them to be high flyers and reach their full potential (African-Caribbean school C, leader)

Extract 6.1 reveals the deliberate efforts of the school to transform the social standing of African-Caribbean community by shaping the career goals of attendees. The school adopts an alternative learner positioning of African-Caribbean children that is seen to counteract that held within mainstream schooling. Here again the mainstream school is positioned as a limiting institution within the 'racial discrimination' storyline whilst in relation to this positioning African-Caribbean school C is positioned as a space of academic liberation for African-Caribbean pupils offering them alternative storylines which incorporate career visions that are seen to exceed those provided within mainstream schooling.

In relation to the racial discrimination storyline of mainstream schooling and the corresponding ‘limiting institution’ positioning, the storyline of ‘academic depravation’ is one in which African-Caribbean pupils are purposely deprived within mainstream schools and in which the achievement levels of African-Caribbean pupils are shaped by structural constraints within the mainstream schooling system. This storyline poses a challenge to other storylines of African-Caribbean achievement levels in which underachievement is directly linked to the African-Caribbean community without proper consideration of structural institutional factors. Such storylines imply that ability is an “inner quality or potential” (Gillborn, 2008: 114) one of the most profound of these storylines is ‘gene-based evolutionary theory’ which asserts that racial groups have varying intelligence levels with those of East Asian ancestry at the top and those of African descent at the bottom (Gillborn, 2008).

A similar drive towards the further establishment of the African-Caribbean community in science based professions and the improvement of academic achievements in general was also reflected in the responses of the leader of African-Caribbean school A.

Extract 6.2 *[M]y role is to make sure that a high standard is kept in the Saturday school so that we can keep that track record that we have, producing scientists, engineers, people into biochemists and stuff like that and umm, you know, really which is useful for the African communities (African-Caribbean school A leader)*

This particular school leader believed that the mis-education of ‘Africans’ concerning their identity has constituted a blockage to achievement. In this sense, it was a true sense of identity that was seen to be the key to academic emancipation, freeing students to excel.

A general effort to raise the attainment levels of black children was also briefly visible within the responses of the leader of African-Caribbean school B who stated: “We [the African Caribbean community] have been at the bottom for too long, we need to start going to the top”. This statement again reflects the distinct desire not only to provide educational support

for African-Caribbean children, but to transform the social standing of the African Caribbean community.

These reports from the three African-Caribbean school leaders correspond with statements made by Mirza and Reay who propose that supplementary schools engage in acts of social transformation which challenge common conceptions held within white-dominated societies. Mirza and Reay further comment that in doing so, such institutions are able to construct ‘alternative frameworks of sense’ which counteract other widely held constructions (Mirza and Reay, 2000).

The ‘transformation of social standing’ was a theme that also featured very strongly within the interview with the leader of the Bangladeshi school. Here, one of the main purposes of the school was to raise the achievement levels of Bangladeshi children by tackling a number of barriers pertaining to cultural practices, family traditions and the community mentality towards achievement. With regards to cultural traditions for instance, the school leader talked extensively about the custom of sending children back to Bangladesh – a practice that was popular when the school was first established. According to the school leader’s account, it was commonplace for children to be sent to Bangladesh for two or three years in order for them to become familiar with the language and the culture there. On their return however, these children would then become displaced, unable to fully reintegrate into the British education system. As a result, they would then begin working in restaurants at the age of 14 which would cause a shift in focus away from educational attainment and onto the world of work. One of the initial purposes of the Bangladeshi school was to prevent this custom of “long term absenteeism” (Bangladeshi school, leader: 6) by raising awareness of its detrimental effects and also providing suitable language teaching facilities in the UK.

The school also made efforts to eliminate the lack of educational awareness and low expectations amongst the community's parents in particular. In the following extracts the school leader explains some of the factors behind these particular educational barriers:

Extract 6.3 [T]he first generation who came in to this country they come from very low background, they did not have any education, even they can't read the Bengali as well, do you understand me. So they came through the job voucher and they came over in this country through the ship...

[...]

P Alright, so then, when they come they thought they gonna go back to their country but they couldn't do that so then they start thinking they gonna bring over their family and start their family here. So by that time the kids, children, they grown up, which they passed their education life as well, their student life, do you understand me, they grown up so in this country when they come back here instead of going back to university, college, whatever, the school, they start working, with the intention of making money. So this is our structure of the Bangladeshi family background. Okay. So...but the next generation, the generation who come over here, their kids, when they grown up but they did...they take them in Bangladesh and got married another their relatives like this [uneducated], even they did not bring a new one educated. So whoever come here, then they start working the restaurant because this is...the restaurant business is you know, from the beginning, the early 60s our people they start the business, start here, so they engaging their kids within their restaurant business this and that. So you will see that there is a big gap within our community. (Bangladeshi school leader)

Within the above extract the school leader outlines the background of the Bangladeshi community in the UK and the cultural practices that have contributed to the perpetuation of limited educational achievement within the community. In essence, the participant sets out a historically grounded storyline of the Bangladeshi diaspora within the UK that sets the backdrop for the current educational positioning of the community. The school leader also makes further comments concerning the family practices within the community that hinder educational achievement:

- Extract 6.4 P (...) because they haven't got the expectation on the kids; low expectation on their kids and even the school because they're not achieving well, our kids, our children they are not achieving well at the school as well because they don't get any help from their family and if I give you the example then you'll see; umm, our fam...especially dad, father...our family is like this, our family structure is the father orientated, he's the main key person in the family.
- I Key person yeh.
- P Yeh, father. So he go...at 3:30 or 4:00 he goes to the restaurant and he come back say 12, 1 or 2 o'clock, 1 or 2 o'clock. So when he come back, he goes to bed, he's in the bed, when the kids wake up to go to school he's still in the bed. When he wake up, get ready then kids they are in the school, he hardly see his children and mother is busy to look after those kids, those children, okay; cooking, everything, mother; cooking, look after the other old people as well, alright, so she is busy with this. So there is little contribution of father towards the family, very little contribution because she has to shopping, she has to do everything, but the man he hasn't got no time he got only one day off when he has to pay the bill this and that, so there's little contribution and the mum she's not educated, okay, so this is the main thing (Bangladeshi school leader)

Here, the school leader explains that the educational level of parents and the working patterns of parents impact the amount of time they are able to spend with their children, which in turn, impacts educational achievement. This extract again contributes to a 'deficit' storyline in which community members are seen to be hindered by certain cultural practices.

The school sought to redress this situation by proceeding beyond the classroom teaching context and raising awareness among the parents in the community.

- Extract 6.5 Yes, we are telling the community, yes, your kids, your children, yes, he can be doctor he can be engineer, he can be good professional people, he can be a businessman, but educate him first then you'll see the difference; the way you are running [the business] and the way your kids should be running, should be difference, you'll see the difference then. Yes they will run your business, not now, not at the age of 14, at the age of 30, at the age of 20, at the age of ...after finish their education, after go to the university, get the good degree in Business, then they can do some things. At least we could able to establishment in the community now. (Bangladeshi school leader)

Within extract 6.5 the school leader positions the school as ‘transformative institution’ that is calling for a change in the community mentality concerning educational expectations and attitudes towards the pursuit of further and higher education. The school leader’s suggestions made in extract 6.5, require a complete paradigm shift in the community conceptualisations of young people and employment. In essence the school is promoting a new storylines of ‘long-term educational pursuits’ and ‘educational success’ in which young people within the community are positioned as potential high-end professionals. This storyline stands in contrast to that which was prevalent within the community in which young community members were positioned as having limited educational capacity due to certain perceived practical constraints. In essence, the school was attempting a third order positioning of Bangladeshi children and young people, in order to counteract current limiting positionings.

Summary

Within this section, there are clear indications of the ‘ideal’ community identities that schools sought to create through the schooling process. Here the schools are featured as transformative institutions, seeking actively to effect identity shifts which constitute third order positioning (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991) of community members. In this sense, these schools fulfil the description given by Mirza and Reay which states that supplementary schools are a powerful means of transforming structure through agency (Mirza and Reay, 2000). Once again, Blommaert’s interpretation of the micro-macro dichotomy is practically demonstrated in the extracts contained within this section which reveal an interplay between micro level creativity and macro level determinism (Blommaert, 2005).

6.3 Chapter summary

This chapter has revealed some of the key purposes that underpin the existence and functionings of supplementary schools. Beyond the variation of the key purposes themselves, schools were shown to encompass differing modes of the same individual purposes, thus showing the scale of diversity among these schools and arguably the different acculturation experiences of the respective school communities. The 16 schools have also been shown to fulfil key roles pertaining to the construction, maintenance and promotion of community identities in their efforts to maintain ethnic group boundaries, define group characteristics (Nagel, 1994) and also retain transnational ties to their home countries (Levitt, 2010).

It is through the close examination of school purpose and positioning that the particular nature of each school identity project has been revealed in terms of the specific construction and maintenance tools being used. The data suggests that in the process of these identity projects the supplementary schools exercise forms of agency which constitute responses to wider structural Discourses. This involves the management and active replacement of dominant storylines; measures by which schools enable and defend their own identity construction projects.

Evidence presented throughout this chapter has demonstrated that the positioning of schools is closely related to storylines of the wider society and the perceived positioning of the community within it. Thus, the chapter shows that the positioning of the schools is established at the intersection of the community perspective of the wider society and the society's view of the community (as perceived by community members). This finding

substantiates suggestions made by Nagel concerning the dual construction of ethnic boundaries by community members and other external forces (Nagel, 1994).

The statements featured within this chapter speak not only of the school as an institution, but also of the community's view of the society in which it resides. The direct correlation between community perspectives of the host society and the acculturation process is widely recognised within migration literature (Tartakovsky, 2011; Berry, 2005; Phinney, 2001; Burnett, 1998). More specifically, Schrover and Vermeulen also state that "Immigrant organisations are an indication of how immigrants see differences between themselves and the rest of society, or how these differences are perceived by others" (Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005: 831). These perceptions may of course also be affected by other factors such as mode of migration (Burnett, 1998) as seen in the case of the Bosnian school.

This chapter has therefore highlighted the pliable nature of supplementary school positioning which is subject to this interplay of internal and external discourses in addition to the historical, political and social forces that surround them. Because of the position that supplementary schools occupy between immigrant community and wider society, they have much to contribute to debates concerning the settlement of immigrant communities in Britain and more specifically, the ways in which such communities negotiate cultural displacement.

Overall, the comments of the school leaders indicate that the supplementary schools featured within this chapter are complex multipurpose institutions whose current operations are simultaneously rooted in the past, present and future and transcend space through transnational practices. Thus it is important that these complexities are carefully considered in the establishment of comprehensive portrayals of these institutions.

7 The social mapping of supplementary schools

This chapter constitutes an exploration of the social positioning of the schools involved in this study. Whereas chapter 6 outlines the various purposes and related Discourses circulating within the supplementary schooling field, this chapter explores the positioning of these schools in relation to these various Discourses and also looks at how these Discourses are positioned within the wider social and political context. In order to achieve this, a social mapping framework has been used as a means of synthesising the data and thus enabling the categorisation of schools. Here, the key purposes of supplementary schools described in chapter 6 undergo a further layer of analysis to explore emergent categories.

Within current literature, supplementary school categorisations mostly focus on the curriculum content of the schools and there is still a widespread assumption of uniformity amongst groups of schools according to the ethnic minority groups they serve. Such grouping of schools facilitates too narrow a perception that fails to allow for an adequate understanding of what these institutions actually are and what they are attempting to achieve. Because the categories presented here are based on the variable of school purpose they exceed beyond the immediate aspects such as curriculum content and ethnic makeup and are reflective of the socio-political foundations of the schools. This framework also acknowledges and embraces the complexity of supplementary schooling through the representation of each school according to the accounts of the participants themselves.

The framework is intended to constitute a useful means of representing the data, one which in this case, has highlighted the complex and diverse social positionings of schools as institutions, and has allowed for certain inferences to be made concerning the acculturation

experiences and outlooks of the respective ethnic minority communities. In doing so, this framework of categories poses a challenge to other more simplistic categorisation models that are based on curriculum content and ethnic minority grouping. It is not intended that the framework itself should be used as a definitive template or typology of school types. Instead the framework is intended as a tool which enables the further exploration of the implications of school positionings.

7.1 Background to the social mapping exercise

The table of social positioning categories that is presented within this chapter has been in some ways influenced by that presented by Issa and Williams (2009) in their book: *Realising Potential: Complementary Schools in the UK*. The key objective of Issa and William's study was to investigate the various curricula that were offered by supplementary schools across the UK (Issa and Williams, 2009) thus, this factor constitutes the main variable of school analysis. In order to investigate the various curriculum provisions of supplementary schools and to eventually establish school categories, Issa and Williams gathered data through a questionnaire which was mailed to 850 schools, most of which were situated in London. This questionnaire featured questions concerning: when the school was started; numbers of teaching staff; the training of staff members; the type of curriculum provided; attendance numbers and the main communities served by the school (Issa and Williams, 2009).

Within the realm of supplementary schooling, Issa and Williams establish two broad categories of schools: "language schools" and "black and African-Caribbean schools" (Issa and Williams, 2009: 30). In the book, data gathered from these two sub-categories of schools

are discussed and analysed separately. Whilst the book displays data concerning the basic details of all the schools (both Language and black and African-Caribbean schools), for the language schools an additional summary chart is featured which displays eight categories of these schools according to the curricula delivered, a replica of which is shown below. The categories in table 3 have been derived from the analysis of the responses of the 70 schools that returned the questionnaires (Issa and Williams, 2009).

Table 3: School categories – Issa and Williams (2009)

LANGUAGE SCHOOLS (TI)							
Community Language (CL)	National Curriculum (NC)	Religious (RE)	BOTH CL and NC	BOTH RE and CL	BOTH RE and NC	THREE (any three categories)	FOUR (all four categories)

(Adapted from Table 3.1 in Issa and Williams, 2009: 31)

Whilst the information given does provide a basic sense of the diversity of supplementary schools, the focus on curriculum content means that the scope of the above categories for understanding this complexity and its dynamics is somewhat limited. It is also the case (as mentioned previously) that the above categories established by Issa and Williams only pertain to language schools and not supplementary schooling on the whole. Thus, whilst useful, the categories presented are only partially representative.

The division of schools into language and black African-Caribbean schools is also problematic. Whilst the exact reasoning for this division is not made clear, it appears to suggest that the schools in which language learning occurs, are fundamentally different from African-Caribbean schools or those that don't have a language element in general. This division of supplementary schools ultimately limits the scope of analysis in this realm of schooling, disallowing the discovery of deep-seated connections between a diversity of schools.

The methodology used in order to establish the categories is also somewhat limiting. Within Issa and Williams' study questionnaires were used, which restricts the amount and type of data that can be collected from each school. For instance, whilst such a method may serve in establishing the basic curriculum content of each school, it is unlikely to reveal the reasonings behind the curriculum configurations in terms of the aims and aspirations of the schools.

Similar to Issa and Williams, the categories produced within my own study have also been deductively derived from the phase 1 data and have not been pre-assembled. In this case however, the positioning categories produced are based on school purpose as opposed to curriculum content or ethnic grouping. This contrasting focus has facilitated an analytical exploration of supplementary schooling that extends beyond the description of these institutions and penetrates into the deeper meanings and interpretations that shape their everyday operations. The variable of purpose has also served in exposing the complexity of supplementary schooling, revealing the differences and similarities both within and between ethnic and curriculum based groupings. The below sub-section contains a detailed explanation of the process through which social positionings were established within this study.

7.2 Methodology: The establishment of the social positioning categories

As was shown in the previous chapter, the thematic analysis of the phase one school leader interviews highlighted six key purpose themes across all sixteen schools. These were: Survival, Safeguarding, Recovery, Counteraction of negative portrayals, Showcasing and Transformation of social standing. Following the establishment of these purposes, the

interview data was re-examined in order to confirm which categories applied to each individual school. This was followed by the construction of brief descriptive summaries for each individual school which outlined their key purposes. Up to this point I had gained a good knowledge of the separate purposes pertaining to each school, however summarising the configuration of purposes for each school in short, simple paragraphs helped to establish an overall picture of each. A summary tick chart was also formulated, which provided a visual representation of the purposes that applied to each school. This chart showed not only the six purpose themes but also several sub-categories, thus providing further information concerning what specifically the community were being safeguarded from for instance. After ticks had been placed in the appropriate columns representing the themes that pertained to each school, each theme was given a number. Clusters of numbers were then placed beneath each school column, representing the theme clusters pertaining to each. These review exercises aided in the confident association of a purpose or purposes with each individual school which of course led to the establishment of purpose clusters.

It was found that all except five of the schools were multi-purposed, incorporating between two and four of the six key purposes that were discovered overall. It is recognised that these purposes are by no means fully comprehensive reflections of all the purposes of any one school, however they do reflect the most predominant purposes of each school as expressed by the school leaders during the phase 1 interviews. Whilst the purpose categories and thus the subsequent purpose clusters, were derived from the accounts of a single representative for each school, it is fully acknowledged that these schools contain many other voices which may speak from different stances and may have other stories to tell. Still for all, the voices of the school leaders provide at the very least, a window through which each school can be viewed

and also offer useful indications as to the key underlying elements that drive the form and content of the learning delivered.

Across all 16 schools, nine combinations of purposes were initially apparent, four of which were only associated with one school each. After the amalgamation of some of the more similar combinations, six final purpose clusters were established. These six clusters constitute the six social positionings of schools found within the data gathered during phase 1 of the study. Again, it is important to note that the social positions introduced here do not constitute ‘water tight’ compartments but rather are representative of the central directions and intentions shared by groups of schools.

This process of positioning formulation is reflective of the key tenets of positioning theory in that positioning theory is mainly concerned with the implicit and explicit “patterns of reasoning” (Harré et al, 2009: 5) that are reflected in interactional dynamics (Harré et al, 2009). In this instance, these patterns are represented by the purpose clusters that shape the everyday interactional processes within the schools. These clusters constitute “patterns of reasoning” (Harré et al, 2009: 5) in the sense that they effectively dictate the form and content of the learning delivered. It is on the basis of these purpose clusters that schools have been allocated one of the six positions, each of which reflect the particular roles played by schools within certain constructed storylines pertaining to the community served by the school and its position within the wider society.

It is through the consideration of school positioning that the educational processes of the schools are made intelligible as relatively determinate social acts, exposing not only the social actions of schools, but the social meanings and accomplishments of these actions (van

Langenhove and Harré, 1999). In addition, the third element of the positioning triad – the ‘positioning’ element, is also relevant here in that the social positions that have been established also implicate certain rights and duties that impact the priorities and operations of the schools (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003).

Table 4 below, features the various purpose clusters unearthed within the phase 1 data. For ease of reference each of these positionings are referred to as a ‘type’. This rather non-specific labelling also acknowledges the possibility of there being various purpose cluster combinations according to the institutions being investigated. In the case of social positioning types 2, 4 and 5, there are internal cluster variations. For instance, whilst positioning type 2 contains schools encompassing survival and safeguarding discourses it also incorporates those with the additional aspect of showcasing. Similarly, in addition to the core discourses of survival, safeguarding and counteraction, positioning type 4 also encompasses that of showcasing. Positioning type 5 is perhaps the most complex of the six types, incorporating schools characterised by the three core discourses of survival, counteraction and recovery and also one school that encompassed safeguarding and transformation discourses in addition to these. These positioning dynamics are testament to the complexity of the supplementary schooling field in which there are a diversity of circulating discourses which relate to the various socio-political storylines at various contextual levels.

Table 4: Social positioning of schools

Social positioning of schools by purpose cluster (Categories by schools purpose)					
Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6
SU	SU & SA / SU, SA & SH	SA & CO	SU, SA & CO/ SU, SA, CO & SH	SU, RE & CO / SU, SA, RE, CO & TR	TR

Key:

SU – Survival

SA – Safeguarding

RE – Recovery

CO – Counteraction of negative portrayals

SH – Showcasing

TR – Transformation of social standing

7.3 Exploration of school social positionings

The above methodological explanation and the resulting chart essentially constitutes the final stage of a ‘bottom up’ approach that has progressed from the raw data gathered during phase 1, to the establishment of social positioning clusters with particular internal dynamics and from the micro-cultures of the schools themselves to wider socio-political issues pertaining to ethnic minority communities and acculturation. As a result the level of analysis featured within this chapter extends beyond the interview data, enabling bigger analytical points to be extrapolated. It is at this stage that the data is able to evolve, becoming a series of cases for wider categories (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). According to Erickson, it is at this point that comparative understandings are derived, that extend way beyond the circumstances of the local setting (Erickson, 1990). Heller (2011) also speaks of the challenge of capturing both “the ways in which things unfold in real time and the ways in which they sediment into constraints that go far beyond the time and space of specific interactions” (Heller, 2011: 40).

The production of such positioning categories extends beyond current categorisations that focus on the curriculum and ethnic focal groups of schools. In doing so, they facilitate a deeper and more complex insight into the dynamics of minority community agency within the host society (in this case), through intentionally constructed institutional practices. Such a perspective is necessary for a comprehensive understanding of supplementary schooling. This analytical approach is also reflective of Blommaert's approach to discourse, which highlights the interplay between the micro and macro discursive contexts and considers context as text in the establishment of school positionings (Blommaert, 2005).

The following explanations of each positioning type, constitute an exploration of the dynamics of each positioning cluster and the relationship between each positioning cluster and the variable of acculturation experience. Whilst acculturation experience is not the central issue of this study, within these explanations suggestions will be made concerning the possible indications of school positioning with regard to the acculturation experiences and resultant perspectives of the respective ethnic minority communities served by the individual schools. The suggestion here is that supplementary schools have the ability to speak beyond themselves and to give indications of certain issues and processes within the wider ethnic minority community. Social positioning types will also be compared and contrasted in order to highlight the diversity among schools. In an attempt to avoid replication, the following sections will encompass only brief explanations of the actual school purpose elements, more comprehensive accounts of which are provided within chapter 6.

Within the following social positioning types there is considerable overlap, this is shown through the repeated featuring of certain discourses such as 'survival' or 'counteraction' which appear in multiple positioning types. Despite this being the case, each category is

unique with regards to the specific combination of discursive elements which amount to a distinct positioning which is indicative of certain characteristics and dynamics of the community by which the schools are run. The focus here is on the actual intentions of schools as related by school leaders and not necessarily on the actual activities carried out by the schools, which may differ in some circumstances.

7.3.1 Type 1

Social positioning cluster: Survival

The type of ‘survival’ referred to within this positioning type is encapsulated in the passing on of linguistic and cultural traditions to subsequent generations of the community for the purpose of enabling a particular version of the community identity to continue - to ‘live on’ within the community. This mainly involved the teaching of the community language and the practicing of cultural traditions related to the community’s homeland. This re-enactment of aspects of the original culture is a common means by which ethnic minority communities seek to reaffirm and retain their cultural identity (Inman et al, 2007). In such cases the home country becomes the community reference point for the formulation of an ‘authentic’ identity (Blommaert and Varis, 2011) beyond its borders. The preservation of homeland traditions and practices is therefore not only for the sake of their survival but also for the preservation of the authenticity of the ethnic minority community identity, which is predicated upon the re-enactment of certain elements of daily life in the homeland. In this sense, for many transnational migrants, “the country of origin becomes a source of identity and the country of residence a source of rights” (Kastoryano, 2001 cited in Vertovec, 2004: 980).

It is through the preservation of the prescribed community identity, by ingraining aspects of it within British born generations that schools attempted to generate a new generation of community identity carriers, thus preventing its extinction. The preservation of the community identity through the instituting of group specific cultural practices is also connected to the maintenance of ethnic boundaries (Nagel, 1994).

The survival efforts of schools are of course a by-product of the existence of the community diaspora within a society beyond the community homeland and also the intermingling of immigrants from the homeland and other British born community group members who have never lived in the home country and so don't have the same innate connection with it. It is within these circumstances that communities typically seek to preserve particular cultural apparatus in order to symbolise and establish community cohesion (Nagel, 1994). It is unsurprising then that this element of 'survival' is featured in four of the six purpose clusters.

7.3.2 Type 2

Social positioning cluster: Survival and safeguarding/ survival, safeguarding and showcasing

Whilst being engaged in preservation efforts to enable community identity survival, schools within this category were also engaged in an additional element to the identity construction process, that of 'safeguarding'. This element of social positioning type 2, refers to the intentions of schools to protect the prescribed community identity by safeguarding community members against certain contradictory influences within the wider host society that were seen to pose a threat to its preservation and perpetuation. In other words, the intention was to

safeguard against the influences that hindered the particular identity building projects in which each school was engaged. Amongst the cohort of schools within this study, protection of the community identity involved the teaching of the language to protect it from being obscured by another or the deep ingraining of certain identity traits to counteract the distortion of the community identity by external influences.

The clustering of the survival and safeguarding discourses within this category gives the indication of communities that perhaps see the need to implement a more comprehensive preservation project than those within the previous category. Such communities seem not only to be seeking to preserve certain aspects of identity but also to combine these efforts with certain protection measures to ensure the longevity and effectiveness of the preservation project. In this respect, this social positioning type indicates that corresponding schools perceive their identity construction projects to be under threat from certain elements of the wider society. This may be due to certain perceived disparities between the community in question and the wider society. In the case of one of the Islamic school C for instance, the school leader indicated that the moral values held within the Muslim community conflicted with those held within the wider society. Such a situation may result in the coupling of the survival and safeguarding discourses.

This particular category relates not only to the intentions of the community but also to community perceptions of the wider society and the perceived extent of its influential powers to affect the community identity project. The element of safeguarding is also largely predicated on how the community sees itself to be positioned by the wider society, within the wider society.

Within this category, the case of the Chinese school is somewhat unique in that the threat against which it protected can be considered internal in that is sought to protect one Chinese language from the domination of another. The Chinese school also incorporated the showcasing of certain aspects of the community identity to the wider society in addition to the protection and preservation elements. This case demonstrates the possibility for variation within positioning categories, as was the case with the purpose themes in chapter 6.

7.3.3 Type 3

Social positioning cluster: Safeguarding and counteraction

This positioning category involves all the elements of protection contained within the previous category, together with the additional element of ‘defence’ constituted within the counteraction discourse. The defence aspect of this positioning type refers to the calculated counteraction of negative portrayals of the community that were perceived to be prevalent within the media and/or within the wider society. Within African-Caribbean school B for instance, there were attempts to counteract the negative portrayals of black children with mainstream schooling and more specifically to counteract the notion of the “disruptive” black child (African-Caribbean school B, leader 006: 3).

Whereas with social positioning type 2 there were indications of perceived threats within the wider society, this additional aspect of defence implies that the communities within this third category perceive themselves to be under specific attack through to the promotion of certain undesirable ideologies and concepts concerning the community identity. Whether this attack is real or imagined, the picture is painted here of communities who’s very identity is seen to

carry with it, negative connotations due to some perceived characteristic or association. This may be due to a particular historical narrative or event whereby the community see themselves to have been positioned negatively. In such cases the supplementary school may respond through direct counteraction of these negative portrayals through the explicit and implicit teaching and promotion of alternative community portrayals. The fact that these schools are attempting to respond to such attacks implies an acute awareness of a marginalised positioning and the corresponding presence of a strong marginalisation storyline amongst the ethnic minority community running the school. Such a storyline is likely to affect the community outlook of the host society and the consequent positioning of the supplementary school.

Schools within this category seem to be of a reactive nature; not only seeking to protect community identity building projects but also actively fighting against the perceived misconceptions present within the wider society. The clustering of the safeguarding and counteraction elements within this social positioning type constitutes yet another approach to the identity building project in which an additional layer of protection has been added. Here schools, in addition to constructing their own identity models, also actively discredit opposing constructions of the community identity that are formulated within other external realms. As indicated within chapter 6, this notion of defence demonstrates the exercise of agency within marginalised communities who often find a voice and a means of responding to more centrally located dominant Discourses through community institutions and other forms of community mobilisation.

7.3.4 Type 4

Social positioning cluster: Survival, safeguarding, and counteraction / survival, safeguarding and counteraction and showcasing

The elements of ‘survival’, ‘safeguarding’ and ‘counteraction’ within this positioning category are as explained within the previous categories. The combination of all three of these elements is indicative of communities that not only wish to perpetuate the community identity but also feel the need to protect and defend it. All three elements combined, effectively constitute the ‘complete protection’ of the community identity, both in terms of its perpetuation and preservation. This level of protection suggests that the community identity is seen to be a highly endangered commodity. Again, this positioning is indicative of communities who have experienced or are experiencing some past or present stigmatisation. This positioning is epitomised in both the responses of the Bosnian and Iranian school leaders for instance, who perceive their communities to have been stigmatised due to the previous political circumstances of their home countries and subsequent circumstances under which a significant proportion arrived in Britain – as refugees. This is a positioning which is generally stigmatised and viewed as highly undesirable to the labelled community (Colic-Peisker and Walker, 2003). This experience of segregation or discrimination, often leads to feelings of ‘ethnic threat’ (Tartakovsky, 2011) and the consequent enclosure of the community and an emphasis on identity specifics (Joly, 2004). In such cases it is likely that communities will deem it necessary to exercise all three elements simultaneously, in response to the perceived internal and external challenges to community identity preservation.

This positioning category of schools is similar to the social positioning type 3, however type 3 schools seemed to perceive the ethnic minority community to be under current attack whereas this is not necessarily the case for communities represented in this category. It is true however that both the Bosnian and Iranian communities contained within this positioning type, have experienced stigmatisation due to political turmoil in their respective homelands. It is also apparent that the Bosnian and Iranian communities are relative newcomers compared to the Pakistani – Islamic and African-Caribbean communities featured within positioning type 3. It is possible that these disparities between the communities represented in these two categories can account for the differences in the extents of protection encompassed in each.

In some cases, defence measures may take the form of external displays or promotion of aspects of the community identity to the wider society in an attempt to show the community in a positive light and in so doing, educate the wider society about the true (and inevitably more desirable) identity of the community. Such was the case with the Bosnian school which was positioned as a visible symbol of community progress and achievement that stood within and before the wider society.

7.3.5 Type 5

Social positioning cluster: Survival, counteraction and recovery/ survival, safeguarding, counteraction, recovery and transformation

Within this category the elements of protection and defence are joined with that of recovery. In this instance, the ‘recovery’ element refers to the attempts of communities to reinstate a particular (authentic) version of the community identity that has been taken away by external

forces. This category Indicates both past and/or current stigmatisation of the community and also a perceived loss of identity due to specific event/s involving the ethnic minority community. Within this category the schools themselves were positioned as agents of renewal, carefully and purposefully reinstating this identity thorough everyday school processes. The featuring of the element of recovery within this category is indicative of communities in a state of nostalgia; reaching backwards into the past to access resources for current and future identity preservation projects.

It is often amidst the displacement and at times, hostility felt within the host society environment that ethnic minority communities seek to re-claim lost or forgotten identities. Among such communities there seems to be a longing to put right certain community identity misconceptions. Similar to the schools within social positioning type 6, these schools were geared towards the rebranding of their respective communities, accept here, the basis for transformation was situated in the past and not on current stimuli. The notion of ‘recovery’ is also similar to that of counteraction, accept that recovery constitutes a larger scale project that involves the transcendence of time and space.

In the case of the three schools featured within this category, the identity of the past seemed to be authenticised by school leaders. The leader of African-Caribbean school A for instance, referred to the pre-colonial African identity as the ‘true’ identity of the community. Here, historical embeddedness is featured as another key marker of identity authenticity that is at times used within ethnic minority communities to demarcate identity boundaries. In the case of each school there were certain favourable identity features which the school leaders referred to in their operationalisation of this prior community identity. In the case of the Irish school for instance the leader spoke of the “vibrant Irish community” that existed before the

Birmingham bombings after which it became “invisible” (Irish school, leader). Likewise the leader of African-Caribbean school A spoke of the ‘African’ community being characterised by innate strength, greatness and a deep sense of spirituality and morality, before it was “mis-educated” at the hands of “the white man” (African-Caribbean school A, leader). Additionally, the leader of Islamic school A spoke of the teaching of the “true” meaning of Islam apart from certain undesirable elements of Pakistani culture that had been “intermixed with Islam” (Islamic school A, leader) over time. Thus the historically embedded and authentic identity of each community was also one characterised by positivity and desirability.

The coexistence of protection, defence and recovery elements within this positioning type indicates that as is the case with other aforementioned positioning types, the communities represented here have an awareness of their own marginalised positioning and are also engaged in a dual identity construction project which involves both the construction of desirable identity types and deconstruction of undesirable ones. Unique to this positioning type however, is the utilisation of community history as the foundation and driving force of the construction process.

In the case of African-Caribbean school A, the additional elements of protection and transformation were also found to be prevalent within the phase 1 interview transcript. This school was the most complex institution encompassing all five of the purpose elements. In addition, the Irish school also encompassed the additional element of showcasing as a means of raising awareness within the wider society.

7.3.6 Type 6

Social positioning cluster: Transformation

The transformation referred to here is a transformation of the ethnic minority community, extending beyond the school itself. The aim of schools within this category was to change the social standing (positioning) of the community within the wider host society through the alteration of the community identity or the academic achievement levels of the community. The transformation efforts of schools within this category were ‘intentional’ in that they were borne from particular historical, social and cultural circumstances. In other words, the transformative attempts of these institutions were directly related to specific elements of both the current and historical positioning of the community. In this sense the transformation projects in which school were engaged, were purposeful and directed and had not come about by default as a by-product of the schooling delivered. These projects were in effect, internal third-order positionings (see chapter 3 section 3.3.3) of communities, by communities.

The positioning category of ‘transformation’ therefore tells the story of communities desiring to transition from one social position into another. These are communities driven by aspiration both to be and be seen differently and to discard previous less desirable positionings. Clearly, the desire to facilitate this community wide shift is indicative of a distinct dissatisfaction with the perceived current and historical community positionings. This could be seen for instance, in the case of the Bangladeshi school where the school leader discussed the efforts of the school to raise the achievement levels of the community through tackling a multiplicity of contributing factors including; cultural traditions, family structure and practices; and the general community mindset with regards to educational achievement.

This concern with achievement levels is actually reflective of achievement literature, much of which focuses on the lower attainments of African-Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils in particular (Tomlinson, 2005). Reports conducted throughout the 1990s and 2000s have found that these pupils have made less progress compared to their peers (Tomlinson, 2005). Through the schooling that they delivered, the schools within this category sought ultimately to enable the establishment of a 'higher' community positioning with regards to education and employment and thus to be positioned differently by the wider society.

Although these communities may in some cases oppose their current positioning, the fact that these schools are focused on enacting a practical shift in the positioning of the community, shows that there is at least some acceptance of the reality of this positioning albeit undesirable. Unlike type 3 schools, institutions within this social positioning type are not seeking simply to oppose community portrayals but to change the lived experiences of its members and to effectively re-write the history of the community.

7.4 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented what are effectively the final stages of phase 1 analysis, building on the purpose themes set out in chapter 6 to create social positioning clusters which constitute six different social positioning types. The production of these types further highlights the underlying connections within a diverse cohort of schools. The categories have also enabled the analysis of schools that moves beyond the schools themselves, allowing inferences to be drawn concerning the wider acculturation experiences of the communities represented by them. In turn, these categories have also enabled the schools to be situated

within wider socio-political debates which inevitably feed back into the everyday operations of the schools.

In the exploration of social positioning types this chapter highlights various circulating positioning Discourses that exist within the field of supplementary schooling pertaining to the acculturation experiences of the respective ethnic minority communities. Besides being pieces of data in their own right, such discourses constitute contextual data that aids in the comprehensive understanding of the varying purposes and operations of supplementary schools.

Within this chapter the concept of positioning has been shown to be an effective basis for the exploration and analysis of the field of supplementary schooling, facilitating a wider and more comprehensive view of the schools that transcends beyond current assumptions concerning the curriculum content and ethnic grouping. The chapter also suggests that the utilisation of positioning as an analytical tool also has the potential to drive the field into wider forums of discussion, opening the opportunity for cross disciplinary collaboration.

Whereas this chapter has positioned the schools within certain social spaces and made suggestions as to the possible reasons behind each school positionings, the next chapter will explore further into the interactional dynamics of one particular positioning. This chapter (chapter 7) effectively marks the end of phase 1 and the broad conceptual exploration of schools, whilst chapter 8 marks the beginning of phase 2 in which the intricacies of school life will be examined in light of school positioning.

8 Positioning in practice: A case study

This chapter constitutes an exploration of the relationship between school positioning and everyday discursive practices within one of the schools in which transformation was highlighted as the key purpose. The contents of this chapter are the result of investigations carried out during the phase 2 which constituted a case study of African-Caribbean school C. Within this case study data gathered through participant observation and fieldnotes, interactive recording and interviewing was triangulated in order to capture some of the institutionally specific discursive trends and their positioning value. Here, school level discourse will also be linked to wider overarching Discourses, revealing the multi-contextual nature of the positioning process and the dynamic relationship between discourses and Discourses.

The chapter will utilise the key tenets of positioning theory as a data analysis tool. Positioning is a discursive process (Davies and Harré, 1999) whereby individuals and arguably institutions, are assigned parts in the construction of storylines. Positioning is therefore a means by which everyday behaviour is produced and explained (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999). A more comprehensive account of the key elements of positioning theory can be found in chapter 3. As with the previous two chapters the analysis of data will also be guided by Blommaert's approach to discourse which recognises the importance of social and historical context in the analysis of data and the dynamic relationship between macro determinism and micro agency (Blommaert, 2005).

The chapter will seek to decipher the storylines, social actions and positionings (Harré and Moghaddam, 2003; Davies and Harré, 1999; Harré and van Langenhove, 1999; Harré and van Langenhove, 1991) reflected within everyday classroom practice and how these relate to the social positioning of the school as a space of ‘intentional transformation’. This ‘transformation’ storyline referred to throughout the chapter, is that of the transformation of the social standing of the black community, as spoken of within chapters 6 and 7. Thus, the transformation efforts of the school were actually intertwined with a wider social project. Whilst it will not be possible to make explicit reference to all of the social acts carried out within the data extracts, they have been acknowledged within the analysis and will be highlighted and discussed wherever appropriate.

This exploration mostly features extracts associated with teacher 004 and 009 as these two teachers had the most involvement in the research. There are however some extracts from the classes of other teachers where they have proved useful in substantiating particular points being made.

8.1 Overview of African-Caribbean School C

The school was situated in a community centre teaching maths, science and literacy and focusing mainly on African-Caribbean children. The school was first established in the late 90s. The main purpose of the school when it started was to engage more African-Caribbeans in the field of science and also to raise the achievement levels of African-Caribbean pupils. Responses given during the phase 1 interview revealed that the school has a very specific focus geared towards the educational enrichment of children within the African-Caribbean

community however the school remained open to children from all backgrounds. Within the analysis of phase 1 data African-Caribbean school C was positioned within social positioning type 6 characterised by the purpose and discourse of ‘transformation’.

8.2 Positioning of the school in relation to mainstream schooling

Whilst African-Caribbean school C is positioned as an institution of intentional transformation, yet further information regarding the substance of the everyday transformation process is given through the specific comments made concerning the characteristics of mainstream schooling and the consequent response of this school. The data presented within this section reveals the key storylines within which the school is positioned by staff members and which inevitably affect the teaching practices at the school. In this sense these storylines constitute key elements of the implicit hidden curriculum of the school and are themselves anchored in deep rooted assumptions about social life (Langhout and Mitchell, 2008). The term ‘hidden curriculum’ here refers to the implicit knowledge, values, norms and attitudes that are promoted and learnt within the schooling process in addition to the official curriculum (Thornberg, 2009). Such aspects are embodied within storylines which are in effect discourses which constitute and dictate how schooling is experienced (Hughes and Sharrock, 2007). Implicit schooling and the hidden curriculum more specifically has been further explored within chapter 4.

8.2.1 Key points of divergence

Whilst the school leader refers to the school as ‘complementary’, she is unequivocal about the compensatory role that the school plays in relation to mainstream schooling. This particular positioning of the school is clearly outlined within the following comments made during the school leader’s interview in phase 1:

Extract 1:

[W]e found that children coming in, in year 4 can’t read and write in some of the schools that they’re going to in this area. I can’t mention names, need to be professional about that, but they’ve come in and they’re below average, you know when they come in, right, so we complement their activities that they’re doing at school and the schools get the accolades for it, we don’t, d’you know what I mean, cause we’re helping the child to read and write and umm construct sentences and so on at the age of eight years old, where they should know this already, but they come to us and they don’t. Same thing with maths and the science, umm, we look at the areas of weakness, the grey areas I call them, and we look at the jargon that’s used at school in the AQA or the Edexcell exam papers, they don’t understand the jargon so therefore they’ll fail their exams and things like that. Teachers apparently haven’t got enough time to teach them about these things, these things that are important and we pick up the slack for them and give them all of this knowledge, you know. (Phase 1 Interview 007, p.2)

Within extract 1 the school leader reveals the baseline narrative of the inadequate mainstream system. It is within this narrative that she proceeds to position the school as a compensatory institution. In doing so the school leader makes “intelligible” (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991) the social actions of school C as social acts that are performed within the context of (in response to) the storyline of mainstream inadequacy. More specifically, the school leader alludes to certain key social acts performed by the school, that of picking up “the slack” for the mainstream, filling in missing knowledge, and generally “topping up” pupils’ learning. Whilst the school leader’s use of the term “complement” implies the existence of a partnership between school C and mainstream schooling, she also highlights the inequality in

this partnership, positioning school C as the silent partner whose efforts and achievements remain unrecognised.

Within extract 1 the school leader presents two contrasting yet corresponding storylines of mainstream schooling and the schooling delivered at school C. The storyline of mainstream schooling is a deficit storyline and that of school C is a compensatory storyline. These two storylines are interactive in that one gives meaning to the other. Likewise, the subsequent positioning of mainstream schooling and school C are also interactive. This and subsequent negative views of mainstream schooling which were prevalent in the data, is reflective of wider discourses of hostile and discriminatory mainstream schooling system (Hall et al, 2002). In fact within the supplementary schooling literature supplementary schools were most commonly positioned as a response to the failings of mainstream schooling. This is an apt illustration of the featuring of context as text (Blommaert, 2005) in that the context of inadequate mainstream schooling gives meaning to the existence of school C.

Where positioning is concerned, the above extract suggests that mainstream schooling has certain duties to provide an adequate education whereby pupils are able to gain certain competencies at the expected age and to provide pupils with adequate information to enable them to achieve. Likewise, pupils are positioned as having the right to an adequate education that encompasses all these elements. The school leader's comments imply however that these duties are not being fulfilled by mainstream schooling, consequently forfeiting the rights of the pupils. Here, mainstream schooling is positioned within a certain "moral order" (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999: 23), as a public education provider it is expected to perform certain functions. In this case, the failure of mainstream schooling to fulfil its duties has resulted in its unfavourable positioning and in the polarisation of mainstream schooling and

supplementary schools such as school C. Consequently school C is positioned as having the duty of ensuring that pupils do receive an adequate education by virtue of certain compensatory measures.

The polarised yet parallel storylines of mainstream schooling and school C were also detectable within the comments of other teachers within the school. Within the phase 2 interview for instance, Teacher 004 made the following comments specifically in regards to the role of school C in relation to mainstream schooling:

Extract 2:

[S]chool 2 is a buffer, a supportive buffer and it's necessary, for me it's necessary. I think they come here and they get empowered, it's almost like an emotional filling station; they come here and they're drained, young children at eight and nine telling me that they're no good. So they come here and we counter that message. We say actually you are, you're brilliant. (Phase 2 interview, School C, teacher 004, p.2)

Extract 2 reflects the 'deficit' and 'compensatory' storylines mentioned above, in this instance, positioning school C as a counteractive learning space that protects against the damaging consequences of the mainstream learning experience. Within this positioning school C is ascribed the duty of counteracting the negative effects of mainstream education and thereby protecting its pupils against any lasting effects. A key component of this protection is the 'third order' re-positioning (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991) of pupils outside of the mainstream setting. According to teacher 004, whilst the mainstream school is said to have positioned the pupils as "no good" and therefore inadequate, school C repositions them as "brilliant", and therefore more than adequate. School C is portrayed here as directly contradicting the mainstream first order positioning of pupils through a counter-discourse of pupil ability. In conjunction with this third order positioning, the teacher positions school C as an agent of academic liberation, restoring confidence to pupils who have been "drained" at the hands of mainstream schooling. Here again the teacher validates the existence and

functioning of the school C relation to an inadequate mainstream education system. In doing so, this teacher ascribes school C with the right and indeed duty to proactively and intentionally “support” and “empower” pupils in ways that compensate for their experiences within the mainstream.

Encompassed within the general polarisation of school, 2 and the mainstream schooling, there were several key points of divergence that were apparent across the three datasets. The first of these was the perceptions and attitudes of teaching staff towards pupil academic abilities. Within the data gathered, it was suggested that teachers within mainstream schooling tended to have considerably lower expectations compared to teachers at school C, whose perceptions tended to coincide with the ‘can do’ storyline in which each child is positioned as a capable learner with the potential to achieve highly. This conceptual disparity between mainstream and school C teachers is in fact highlighted within Extract 2 above where teacher 004 suggests that African-Caribbean children are given a negative concept of their ability through the mainstream system. The following extracts taken from the phase 2 interview with teacher 009 also echoes this perception:

Extract 3:

- R *...Are there any other key purposes that you would think umm drive the school?*
- T009 *I would think. I think more than anything it's umm a belief in our young people because I think one of the things is that umm, there can be negative perspectives of young black people, umm, especially in today's climate there can be negative viewpoints but because we all believe in their abilities and sometimes we are often the only ones that believe in their abilities (Phase 2 Interview, School C, Teacher 009, p.5)*

Extract 4:

- [I]f we didn't exist, I think a lot more of our students wouldn't have the aspirations and the pride that they have and the ability to move on, yeh they wouldn't have that umm, ability to move on and achieve as much as they can do. (Phase 2 interview, School C, Teacher 009, p.8)*

Extracts 2 to 4 give further detail of the deficit storyline of mainstream schooling. Within these extracts, mainstream schooling is positioned as a limiting and potentially disabling social institution. Within extract 2 in particular the mainstream context is positioned as a space where African-Caribbean pupils are positioned as having only limited academic abilities, this view is further supported in extract 3 where it is suggested that beyond school C (and perhaps other similar institutions) there is very little belief in the abilities of African-Caribbean young people – this of course includes mainstream schooling.

It is in relation to this deficit storyline of mainstream schooling, school C was oppositely positioned as an enabling institution, counteracting the negative messages of the mainstream and thus granting pupils the ‘academic emancipation’ enabling them to achieve without hindrance. In this sense school C was simultaneously positioned as a safe-space for African-Caribbean pupils who are able to learn under the instruction of those who genuinely believe in their academic ability. In turn, teacher 009 positions herself as an agent of academic emancipation and suggests that other teachers at school C have assigned themselves the same positioning. According to Hall et al (2010) the self-positioning of teachers is highly significant in that it has an inevitable effect on the pedagogic approach adopted and consequently affects the learning experiences and learner identities of pupils (Hall et al, 2010).

Within extract 4 it is suggested that if it were not for school C (and perhaps other such institutions), the academic freedom and empowerment of black pupils would not be possible. Therefore school C is also positioned here as a unique learning space which defies conventional norms of learning and teaching and provides educational experiences for black pupils that other educational institutions are unable to offer.

Inherent with extract 2, 3 and 4 (but more explicitly in extract 3) is the overarching discourse of institutionalised and routinised racism that appears to participants to be ingrained into the social landscape (Gillborn, 2008). Institutionalised racism operates through expectations, assumptions and practices (Gillborn, 2008) and is interwoven into “established and respected forces of society” (Carmichael and Hamilton, BBC 2007 cited in Gillborn, 2008:27) such as the central schooling system.

Similar perspectives were also reflected within the fieldnotes which document certain instances where teachers spoke of pupils experiences of mainstream education. Speaking of two of the ‘weaker’ students in his class one of the teachers expressed the following sentiments:

Extract 5:

The teacher mentioned that [the] boy in the class would be in a foundation class at school and therefore might not cover the work that was covered in this lesson, simply because some teachers will not see it as necessary to cover with students at that level.

The teacher mentioned his frustration because some students were being “short changed” in MS schools because of the neglect of those in the lower sets. The teacher said more emphasis is placed on those able to gain A-Cs because schools are measured by the number of A-C grades.

Teacher mentioned that the boy was weakest in the class but that he was trying to “push him, push him” (School C field notes, 17/05/2010)

Extract 6:

After the second session, I went back to ask teacher 006 how he got on with the first student with whom he was working one- to-one on a maths paper. He said that he tried to break down each question in different ways so that the student can have the option to tackle each question in different ways. The teacher explained that the student works very hard at her maths but that her mainstream school had “given up on her”. The teacher explained that the school would not enter her for her maths exam because they thought she wouldn’t achieve a grade. The teacher explained that the girl was eventually entered, but only after her mother kicked up a tremendous fuss. (School C field notes, 09/06/2010)

Within extract 5 and 6, mainstream schooling is again positioned as a limiting space where some pupils' academic potential is stunted, because they are not seen to be of benefit for the school as an institution. Here, within the deficit storyline, the mainstream school is positioned as a discriminatory institution which "short changes" certain groups of pupils through institutionalised neglect. In an opposite portrayal, extracts 5 and 6 positions school C as an equitable institution in which all pupils are given the same learning opportunities, regardless of academic ability. Extract 5 for instance, features an instance in which the pupil had the opportunity to gather knowledge that according to the teacher would have been denied him within the mainstream schooling system.

Within extracts 5 and 6 School C is positioned as a success focused institution where staff members are sympathetic towards individual pupil needs. In both cases the teacher's responses to the pupils' difficulties can be understood within the compensatory storyline as an attempt to empower pupils and subsequently counteract the perceived first order mis-positioning of the pupils within the mainstream school as incapable learners. In doing so the teacher conducts a third order positioning (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991) of the two pupils in which they are framed as capable learners. Within both of these extracts school C is again positioned as a safe-space, where pupils can receive support and encouragement.

Whilst the above extracts speak of the low expectations and aspirations of mainstream schooling further comments made by teacher 004 suggest that ability assessments within mainstream schooling can be overly optimistic:

Extract 7:

She [the teacher] also talked about the standard of the children's work, saying that in school, some of the children are being told that they are doing well but that in her opinion they are doing less well than the school had suggested. Her tone of voice and expression suggested that she was somewhat sceptical of the

MS schools assessment of the standards of the students work (School C field notes, 22/06/2010)

Taken together, extracts 2 to 7 point towards the existence of an underlying debate concerning the authenticity of pupil ability assessments, with all of the extracts suggesting that school C was better placed to make an accurate judgement of the capabilities of its pupils.

The following 2 extracts give further evidence of the manner in which teachers at school C approached and perceived pupil ability levels:

Extract 8:

At 1 point, the teacher was explaining something to the girls group and commenting on her use of complicated terms she said that sometimes she forgets where she is. However the teacher said "I'm not going to dumb down my language, I'm going to be aspirational" (School C field notes, 22/06/2010).

Extract 9:

After the teacher had finished chatting to the student, I returned to the classroom. I asked the teacher about the exercise at the end – the write-up and specifically, whether or not the students would be doing this type of work in their mainstream schools. The teacher explained that some of them may be a little report writing but not in detail like they had been asked to do during the lesson today. The teacher explained that by asking them to explain in detail the school was "pushing them beyond what would be expected of them at school so that they would have a smoother transition into secondary school report writing. (School C field notes, 10/06/2010).

Within the first extract the teacher realises that her language may have been considered to be overly complex by conventional standards, however she makes a conscious decision to continue this mode of speaking as it was symbolic of her own high aspirations for her pupils. In openly verbalising this sentiment, it seemed that the teacher wished to openly express her own positive perceptions of her pupils' academic abilities, as a means of encouragement and affirmation. In so doing, the teacher overtly positions the pupils as capable, high achieving learners, corresponding with the schools 'empowerment' and 'can do' storylines in which all pupils are positioned as potential high achievers. Unlike most first order positioning the

teacher's positioning of the pupils here is intentional (Harré and Langenhove, 1991) as opposed to tacit which frames her use of "complicated terms" and refusal to "dumb down" her language as attempts to raise the aspirations of pupils. In her own account of her performance of such acts the teacher reflexively positions herself as an agent of academic emancipation. It is also likely that these acts also constitute the counteraction of perceived negative first order positionings of pupils within mainstream schooling as was seen in extracts 5 and 6.

Detectable within extracts 8 and 9 is the desire to "push" pupils further with regards to their academic abilities. These extracts also strongly suggest that approaches to teaching and learning within *school C* are governed by a non-discriminate and deliberate assumption, the storyline in effect, that all the students are able to achieve highly.

Closely embedded within the previous field note extracts concerning perceptions of ability is the issue of pupil encouragement. Extracts 2-6 imply that there is a disparity in the amounts of encouragement and affirmation given to pupils in the school C and the mainstream context. One teacher in particular, suggested more overtly that there was a lack of encouragement within the mainstream setting which is compensated for within school C. The following extract features this teacher's account of the experience of one of her pupils:

Extract 10:

I've taught students who for me their hand writing is perfect, diction perfect, everything perfect, young boys as well and I've said to them "well gosh, you must get lots of praise in school", "no", and to the point where when he said "no" I didn't believe him, so I went downstairs and asked his mother and his mother said, all they get from[mainstream] school is criticism, and I said to the...I said to his mother... I literally went down with the work and I said "how can anybody criticise this?" because I'm just seeing a snapshot and she said "how long have you got?"(Phase 2 Interview, school C, Teacher 004, p.1-2)

The following is a fieldnote extract pertaining to the same instance:

Extract 11:

The teacher used this as an example to show that many black children simply aren't getting adequate encouragement in schools. (School C field notes, 27/04/2010)

Extracts 10 and 11 concur with the statements of other teachers concerning the limiting tendencies of mainstream schooling, here teacher 004 makes explicit reference to the issue of race, suggesting that being a pupil of African-Caribbean heritage is a key determinant factor of disadvantage within mainstream schooling. It is likely that the perceived lack of encouragement within mainstream schooling constituted a catalyst for the abundance of encouragement and affirmation witnessed within school C.

Within extract 10 the mainstream school is again positioned within the deficit storyline as a non-motivational and consequently limiting institution, there is also the distinct insinuation of discriminatory practice within mainstream schooling. It is in light of such positionings that the perceived social actions of mainstream schooling, namely the lack of praise and excessive criticism, are interpreted and made intelligible as deliberate acts of academic hindrance. These comments of course, feed into wider persisting debates concerning race and educational inequality suggesting that mainstream teachers play a major role in the establishment and perpetuation of these inequalities. This particular aspect of the mainstream 'deficit' storyline also connects with the wider social discourse of institutionalised racism and also echoes the historical discourse of black disadvantage within mainstream schooling that gained particular prevalence between the 1950s and 1980s (see chapter 2).

Not surprisingly, it was perhaps in the classroom of teacher 004, that words of encouragement and affirmation could be heard most frequently. The following extracts constitute two typical examples of this trend:

Extract 12:

At the start of the lesson the teacher begins by handing out test papers previously completed by the class. As she does so she comments to me that the children have done really well in the test and have achieved good results...at the end of the lesson the teacher congratulates the children for working well during the lesson. The whole lesson was characterised by a very positive and relaxed atmosphere/learning environment which I felt was deliberately constructed by the teacher through encouragement and affirmation. (school C field notes, 27/04/2010)

Extract 13:

To choose who would be going first in the girls group, the teacher spun around and pointed. The boys group chose among themselves who would be going first (there were only 3 boys). The teacher commented on how kind the other two boys were, for choosing the third boy to start. (School C field notes, 08/07/2010)

The first extract, shows the manner in which affirmation and encouragement was integrated into everyday classroom life. Here teacher 004 overtly positions the pupils as high achievers and good workers; both highly positive learner identities. In the second extract the teacher positions the pupils as morally capable learners, demonstrating her attention to even the more subtle displays of good behaviour. This type of interaction with pupils stands in complete contrast with the positioning of mainstream schooling as a limiting force.

In addition to teachers comments about the extent of affirmation and encouragement given in mainstream schooling and school C, the school leader presented an additional perspective pertaining to the specific direction of encouragement given in both contexts.

Extract 14:

we want some more doctors, some more nurses out there, some more scientists, you know, African-Caribbean people, there's not many that are, you know, scientists and doctors and things like that, they take up sports and dance and beauty and all the rest of the things that schools encourage them to do, we want them to be high flyers and reach their full potential, (African-Caribbean School C, leader)

Here the school leader suggests that whilst pupils may receive some form of encouragement within mainstream schooling, this encouragement is mis-directed as it actually serves in

limiting pupils in that it hinders them from achieving their full potential. Here again the mainstream school is positioned as a limiting force whilst school C is oppositely positioned as a liberatory space, offering African-Caribbean pupils alternative opportunities beyond the limitations of the stereotypical visions set out by the mainstream. In this sense, school C is not only portrayed as giving encouragement to pupils but more specifically as giving the appropriate kind of encouragement needed for genuine success.

Home - school connection

The second divergence point in the positioning of school C and mainstream schooling was the nature of the relationship between home and school. Within the interview data in particular, it was suggested that school C had established a very strong home – school connection, whilst in the context of mainstream schooling, this connection was notably weak if at all existent. Below are three extracts from teacher 009 and 004 that illustrate this disparity.

Extract 15: *The children have more familiarity, more access, umm, I think it's more accessible by all stu....as an institution it's accessible by all students, parents alike. I think the parents are such a big part of what we do, because they are, umm...can be isolated by mainstream, ie: what's going on in mainstream we don't know. But here I would say it's a lot more accessible (Phase 2, school C, Teacher 009, p.3)*

Extract 16: *giving the parents of children the opportunity to come in and have just the chance to voice their concerns about their children in mainstream education and get some level of...a lot of support, the parents have got a lot of support, especially from 001 in how to be, you know, confident in dealing with...cause you know, to be honest, having our children in the system is a fight, and the parents when they come here they were given the support mechanisms so they'd go back to the school and sort of be empowered in how to deal with the school. (Phase 2, School C, Teacher 004, p.1)*

Surrounding data suggests that extracts 15 and 16 are referring specifically to parents within the African-Caribbean community. Within extract 15 teacher 009 speaks of the school being an “accessible” space to both these parents and their children. The teacher’s use of the term

'more' in the first line of this extract suggest that she is again measuring the accessibility of school C alongside that of the mainstream. The suggestion that parents can be isolated *by* the mainstream implies that this isolation is instigated by the mainstream school and not the parents themselves. School C on the other hand, is positioned as a space that is open to parents and accommodates for their needs and thus is also positioned as a multifunctional space having a holistic connection with its pupils that spans beyond the provision of academic knowledge connecting with the private home sphere. Moreover, school C is positioned within and amongst the community, working side-by-side with parents in their endeavour to secure an adequate education for their children whilst mainstream schooling is oppositely positioned as being distant and disengaged from the home sphere of pupils.

Within extract 16, teacher 004 comments further on the school's support of parents, particularly in relation to the challenges posed by mainstream schooling. Here school C is again positioned as a 'safe space' (Creese et al, 2006), on this occasion, for parents; a place where they can freely "voice their concerns" and gain appropriate support. Within this extract, the teacher repeats her analogy of the school being a 'filling station' by suggesting that the school provides parents with the confidence and empowerment that they need in order to effectively confront the many difficulties surrounding the education of African-Caribbean children in mainstream schooling. This positioning of school C as a space of parental empowerment corresponds with current literature which suggests that supplementary schools redress the lack of control and alienation that often characterises ethnic minority parents' experiences with the mainstream (Frances et al, 2008; Zhou and Kim, 2006; Chevannes and Reeves, 1987). Extract 16 presents a 'them' and 'us' storyline, where school C together with the African-Caribbean community are positioned as the 'us' and mainstream schooling is

positioned as the 'them'- the 'other'. These positionings again correspond with the polarised 'deficit' and 'compensatory' storylines of mainstream schooling and school C respectively.

In both extracts 15 and 16 School C is positioned as an interpreter to parents within the African-Caribbean community, a mediator between the community and mainstream schooling, enabling parents to navigate their way through the mainstream education system and in turn, enable the academic success of their children. This again corresponds with the deficit storyline in which mainstream schooling is seen to fall short of its envisaged duties. The suggestion here is that it is due to this deficit that school C is obligated to adopt a mediatory role. In this case this deficit storyline is extended to the realm of parental relations in that (African-Caribbean) parents are also seen not to be catered for appropriately within mainstream education.

Extracts 15 and 16 above, reflect a wider discourse 'safety in sameness' which is reflected within the supplementary schooling literature. The manifestation of this sameness within the classroom context will be explored in section 8.4 which will highlight some of the direct and indirect references pertaining to the racial affiliations between teachers and pupils. In the teacher's positioning of parents as concerned and in need of support and empowerment, there is also an assumption of shared experiences amongst this group, which mirrors widely accepted conceptions of a 'community' being a group of people who are bound together through shared aspects (Kelly, 2003) and consequent oneness (Parekh, 2000).

The data presented throughout this sub-section emanates from and effectively constitutes 2 polarised narratives of school C and mainstream schooling. Within extracts 1 to 16, the process of positioning is an interactive one in that the positioning of school C is very much

interlinked with that of mainstream schooling (albeit opposing). In this sense the shortcomings of mainstream schooling, as perceived by teachers at school C, effectively constitute a catalyst for the transformation efforts evident within the everyday social acts of the school. In fact, within the extracts in this section school C is positioned as a powerful means of challenging and transforming structure through agency (Mirza and Reay, 2000) and more specifically, as a space where alternative discourses of the black community (from those of the mainstream) could be constructed (Creese et al 2008).

Evidence presented within section 8.2.1 contributes to wider debates concerning the labelling of supplementary schools, as outlined within chapter 4. Here, it is shown that writers such as Creese and Martin (2006) and Issa and Williams (2009) prefer the term ‘complementary’ due to the positive functioning between ‘complementary’ and mainstream schools whilst other writers such as Mirza and Reay (2000) indicate the appropriateness of the term ‘supplementary’ which highlights the role of these schools in addressing the failures of mainstream education and opposing its hegemony (Hall et al, 2002). Others suggest that neither term is appropriate (Simon, 2007; Chevannes and Reeves, 1987). In section 8.2.1, however, these contrasting ‘complementary’ and ‘supplementary’ storylines are jointly featured within the operations of school C. This is despite the school leader’s labelling of the school as a ‘complementary’ school. Evidence within this section therefore highlights the possible complexities of even the schools’ own self-labelling. In this case, the ‘complementary school’ label has been shown to encompass an ambiguous and somewhat strained relationship with mainstream schooling, shaped to a large extent by wider discourses of racial discrimination as opposed to the positive reciprocal relationship suggested in the literature.

In fact, within the context of school C the ‘complementary’ and ‘supplementary’ storylines actually index a particular set of wider discourses and debates. On one hand the ‘complementary’ storyline is affiliated with the discourses of competition, exams and standardised academic success whilst on the other, the ‘supplementary’ storyline indexes racial cohesion and familial collectiveness based on racial sameness. The parallel existence of these two storylines within school C stands a proof that they are not necessarily mutually incompatible as is often suggested in the literature.

8.2.2 Points of convergence

In addition to the deficit storyline, there was also another mainstream storyline which was that of the mainstream school as ‘exemplar’. Despite the criticisms made concerning the mainstream’s conceptual approaches to learning, it was indicated that with regards to the school curriculum and lesson structure, perceived mainstream models still remained highly influential. In relation to this storyline school C was positioned not as a ‘unique’ learning space but rather as an emulator of mainstream schooling.

Perhaps the most revealing statement in connection with mainstream influence was made by one of the staff members who spoke about the manner in which curriculum decisions were made within the school:

Extract 17:

The teacher explained that curriculum decisions are based on what’s going on “out there”, “out there” being mainstream schooling. The teacher explained that KS3 teaching is now moving towards a theme based format where the pupils learn under different umbrella themes like “on the farm”, which may include learning about the reproductive system etc, or “outer space” etc.

School C is also implementing theme based learning at KS3 basically mimicking what is being done in students' mainstream schools (School C field notes, 13/05/2010)

Here the Impact of the mainstream system on the operations of *school C* can be seen in the school's strategic implementation of "theme based" learning, which according to the staff member in question, is a teaching mode that had been recently implemented within mainstream schooling. Extract 19 indicates that within its positioning as agent of educational emancipation, school C attempted to fulfil its duty to advantage its pupils by consciously patterning itself, to a certain extent, on the movements within mainstream schooling. In this particular instance the school was reported to have adopted a teaching format already operational within the regular mainstream schools. Consequently the mainstream school is ironically positioned as the template of 'standard' education and an 'exemplar' to school C. Similarly, whilst still within the compensatory storyline, school C is simultaneously positioned as emulator of mainstream schooling where it is seen to be duplicating aspects of the very system that it is attempting to compensate for.

In conjunction with the above statements there were a number of occasions where staff members indicated that the lesson content was also similar to that featured within mainstream schooling:

Extract 18:

Teacher informed me that knowledge itself was not new to the children as they would have covered topics in MS school (School C field notes, 29/04/2010)

Extract 19:

When I asked about how work compared to students MS work, teacher 001 also mentioned that the students should have done similar testing in school. Teacher 001 also mentioned that in the near future, the teachers at school C are planning to set up a crime scene for the students to investigate. An exercise that was previously carried out within a mainstream school. (School C field notes, 14/06/2010)

Extract 20:

At the beginning of the lesson the teacher reminded the class that the exp[eriment] they were doing was similar to what they would have to do if they were doing a BTEC in science or GCSE in single sciences. Here the teacher made a direct link between the work they do at school C and the work they may do in MS ed[ucation] (School C field notes, 21/06/10)

Again these extracts further substantiate the corresponding ‘exemplar’ and ‘emulator’ storylines mentioned above.

The decisions of mainstream exam boards were also identified as one of the key determinant factors of the topics covered in the classroom:

Extract 21:

On my entering the classroom the teacher explained that the topics covered within the sessions were decided upon by looking at the exam boards used by pupils’ schools and especially looking at which areas pupils tend to do the worst in according to exam board reports. (School C field notes, 25/11/2009)

In addition to the above statement one of the staff members also reported that at key stage 4, the school looks closely at which topics are most common across the various exam boards and selects those topics to focus on (School C fieldnotes, 13/05/2010). The implementation of target led exercises, geared towards preparation for mainstream examinations were also highlighted. This was mainly detectable within the classes of the older pupils of the school who were facing SATs and GCSE examinations.

The influence of the mainstream assessment and grading system was also predominant within the school, made apparent through the emphasis placed on the academic levels of the work given to pupils.

Extract 22:

I noticed that whilst doing the sums on the board with the whole class teacher I mentioned that the sums they were doing were grade B/C questions. This was also written on the board above the title/topic (School C field notes, 05/05/2010).

Extract 23:

The teacher spoke at points about question levels ie: what a level 6 question is like/ what level the questions were that they were answering etc. At one point the teacher asked each student what level they were at. (School C field notes, 26/04/2010).

The two extracts above, demonstrate the measurement of work in terms of conventional mainstream grades and the general acknowledgement of the mainstream grading system at the school. Overt exam focused learning was also common at the school, with whole sessions being dedicated to exam practice and the development of exam skills. Here again we see further evidence of the school's method of advantaging pupils by taking careful account of certain mainstream conventions and thereby substantiating the positioning of mainstream schooling and school C as 'exemplar' and 'emulator' respectively.

Another area in which the mainstream influence seemed to be apparent was in the schools handling of pupil misbehaviour. Here, methods such as temporary expulsion from the classroom, the intervention of a more senior staff member and detention were utilised; all of which are widely used within mainstream schooling. The following two extracts constitute typical examples of teachers' responses to unacceptable behaviour:

Extract 24:

During the lesson, one of the girls was misbehaving – giggling, messing around etc – a little over excited. When the teacher thought she had overstepped the mark I too many times she asked the child to go outside to cool down for a few mins. After a few moments the teacher went out to speak to the child and she was allowed back in. Later on the child was called to have a chat with the project manager about her misbehaviour. (School C field notes, 29/04/2010)

Extract 25:

Throughout the lesson the pupils behaved exceptionally badly:
-Interrupting the teacher
- shouting out
- eating sweets
- and being generally noisy

The teacher kept two boys behind after class for their exceptionally bad behaviour. (School C field notes, 12/07/2010)

Within School C it was usual procedure for misbehaving pupils to be temporarily expelled from the classroom for a few minutes at a time, however whilst there I observed three occasions which involved the intervention of the school project manager. The first extract details one such occasion where the pupil's behaviour was such that this more severe measure was deemed necessary. Extracts 25 describes a case where 2 boys were detained in the classroom during the break-time between sessions. Again, compared to temporary expulsion, the use of this method was much less common; however it was still a measure that was resorted to in cases where pupils had misused the lesson time.

Whilst the influence of the mainstream structures and processes was widely indicated, not all staff members approved of the resultant effects. One teacher in particular was highly critical of the schools adoption of the project format, suggesting that it failed to cater for the needs of the pupils attending the school:

Extract 26:

The teacher explained his of the project work format. He explained that the children come to the school to get a better understanding of the work they are doing in their regular school...he further commented that the time should be spent teaching children concepts and principles of maths and science as opposed to doing this type of project work. He said that he felt that the teaching of students was being reduced under the new project focused system (School C field notes, 14/06/2010)

The above extract implies that this staff member has a preference for a more traditional approach to education, one where core subject principles are clearly foregrounded so that pupils could gain a 'better understanding' of the work they are given within the mainstream. The teacher suggests that this is after all the motivation behind pupils' attendance at the school. Extract 26 shows that even the most predominant aspects of the hidden curriculum; this is the key storylines such as the 'can do' and in this case, the 'compensatory' storylines

were at times interpreted in different ways by staff members. This suggests that there are indeed multiple voices contained within the institution, not all of which were captured during this study due to certain logistical constraints.

Whilst it has been implied in extract 19 that the school's emulation of mainstream formats is part of the school's compensatory programme, this teacher suggests that the 'emulator' positioning counteracts the emancipatory positioning (and consequently the compensatory storyline) of school C, causing the school to fall short of its duty to exceed regular mainstream schooling and provide a "better understanding" of regular school work. The teacher seems to be suggesting that there is a need for school C to step further away from mainstream curriculum models in order to provide a more effective means of progression for its pupils who are already learning within the mainstream environment. The evident disparities between the school's mainstream-type teaching format and the views of this teacher serve as an example of the contrasting ideas held amongst teachers concerning the most effective ways to advantage the pupils attending the school.

The data presented in this section reflects a somewhat complex and ambiguous positioning of school C in relation to mainstream schooling. On one hand it is apparent that school C has a number of notable affiliations with mainstream schooling which to some degree at least, have been consciously adopted by the school, yet on the other hand there is evidently a marked and intentional divergence away from the mainstream schooling system. Both of these positionings coexist within the storyline of compensation and counteraction and alongside the corresponding positioning of the school as agent of academic emancipation geared towards the free and undeterred academic progression. Interestingly the similarities and affiliations that appear to exist between school C and mainstream schooling seem to be confined to the

organisational and operational aspects of school life such as curriculum content and punishment procedures. Both schooling systems seem to be based around the catalyst of exam success. The points of divergence however, are mainly conceptual, relating to such aspects as the general attitudes of staff members towards pupils and notions of achievement.

As well as being a catalyst for the social transformation efforts of school C due to its perceived inadequacies, mainstream schooling was also positioned as an inspiration within this transformation process. It seems as though school C sought to advantage its pupils by perpetuating the mainstream system in which they had to navigate their way to academic success, whilst also distancing itself from this same system which was at times viewed negatively by both staff and pupils of the school as being a hindrance to educational progress. Underlying the construction and performance of a variety of identity positions, was the specific endorsement of the mainstream learner identity (Creese et al, 2008) which can be seen in the centralisation of mainstream grading levels and other aspects explored above. Thus whilst constructing alternative storylines of learning within school C staff members also sought to perpetuate selected mainstream storylines that were thought to coincide with the schools own compensatory storyline.

8.3 'Can do' Ethos

The 'can do' ethos constituted the school's generally optimistic view of the learning capabilities of pupils and in terms of positioning formed a central storyline which generally underpinned learning processes at the school. Within this storyline, pupils were typically

positioned as capable learners with unlimited potential and teachers as unlockers of that potential. This positioning can be seen within the following statements:

Extract 27:

Yeh, the purpose, I mean we...in terms of we believe in our young people and the purpose specifically is to ensure that they have a vision for themselves that they can achieve, you can achieve here and you can take that learning anywhere you want to go in life and it's making sure we provide them with that vision and say well, this is where you can go with whatever you're learning here (Phase 2 Interview, school C, Teacher 009, p.5)

Extract 28:

African-Caribbean children are faced with...second and third generation, they get so much negativity in school as to their ability, their potential, when they come here It's literally to counter all of that or most of that and to start unpacking the nonsense and then repackaging the format of learning and say you can achieve this. (Phase 2, school C, Teacher 004, p.2).

These extracts reveal the underlying storylines that underpin the teaching practices of these two teachers and their own reflexive self-positioning within these storylines as well as the positioning of their pupils. Both extracts reflect the existence of the central emancipatory storyline within the school in which pupils are free to realise their full potential. Within this storyline teachers here are again positioned as agents of emancipation, enabling this freedom and consequently the fulfilment of pupils' potential. Within the first extract the teacher highlights the establishment of a 'vision' within the pupils themselves as an emancipatory device and within extract 28, re-education is highlighted as another emancipatory device.

Within extract 27 teacher 009s proclamation that "we believe in our young people" positions the pupils as somehow belonging to the teachers at the school. This implies a paternal-type relationship between pupils and staff members that spans beyond the formalities of teacher and learner, again feeding into the positioning of the school as a unique community based learning space. This in turn also corresponds with the 'us' and 'them' storyline featured in extract 16.

Within extract 28 teacher 004 comments on the positioning of “second and third generation” black pupils within mainstream schooling suggesting that they are assigned negative learner identities. According to the extract these positionings are directly counteracted within school C through a process of third order positioning where pupils are re-positioned as capable learners. Here again, these positionings stand within the deficit and compensatory storylines of mainstream schooling and school C respectively. Extract 28 also highlights that one of the duties within the emancipatory positioning of school C is the reconstruction of pupil identities through the promotion of alternative discourses.

8.3.1 Policing of the ethos

The policing of the ‘can do’ ethos within school C was carried out through the disallowance of certain attitudes and verbal expressions and terms. Within their responses to pupils, teachers erected attitudinal and linguistic barriers which were closely guarded. For example, there were various instances where students expressed that the work that they had been given was overly difficult. In response to such claims, teachers usually responded by denying the difficulty and/or by correcting the language used by the pupil. Teacher 004 in particular, actively disallowed such words as ‘cant’ and ‘hard’ altogether:

Extract 29:

During the lesson the teacher wrote some words on the board that the children were not allowed to use. These included: ‘Can’t’, ‘stuff’ and ‘hard’ (School C field notes, 10/11/2009)

Extract 30:

The following is a short exchange between teacher (t) and student(s)
T – What is mass?
S - I don’t know
T – yes you do, we don’t use that here/we don’t say that here.
(School C field notes, 11/05/2010)

In extract 29 the teacher's social action of disallowing certain words perceived to counteract the 'can do' storyline, amounts to the social act of active linguistic policing within the classroom in order to enforce and preserve the 'can do' storyline. Through her enforcing of linguistic boundaries the teacher also attempts to perform the social act of installing the 'can do' storyline through everyday classroom conventions. Such social acts correspond with the teacher's positioning as academic emancipator.

Within extract 30 the teacher uses a definitive and highly suggestive statement to enforce a linguistic boundary. In making an authoritative statement about what isn't done at the school - "We don't use/say that here", the teacher is effectively positioning the school or class as an institution governed by certain linguistic rules and is suggesting that all those involved in the institution are constrained by these rules and possess similar goals and mind-sets. Thus, in making such a statement the teacher is performing the social act of enforcing a particular collective learner identity, one that disregards impossibilities in learning. In making this statement, the teacher also positions the offending pupil as a non-conformist, outside of the collective "we", by highlighting his/her failure to fulfil his/her duty to adhere to group norms and conventions emanating from the teachers preferred 'can do' storyline.

A similar situation was found in a study conducted by Yamakawa et al (2009) in which the teacher positioned one pupil as separate from his peers due to his failure to conform to the teachers preferred 'reform' storyline (Yamakawa et al, 2009). Within extract 30 the teacher attempts to conduct a 'forced positioning' of the pupil (Harré and van Langenhove, 1991) whereby the pupil is forced to reposition himself by adopting a different approach to learning. This is also an instance of deliberate positioning in that the teacher is also encouraging the pupil to adopt a position within the preferred 'can do' storyline (Harré and van Langenhove,

1991). It is perhaps somewhat ironic that the positioning of the teacher (and indeed the school) as agent of emancipation involves the enforcement of certain limitations within the learning process.

The following is another example of linguistic policing in which the teacher makes use of an opportunity to reinforce the ‘can do’ storyline during a brief exchange with a student:

Extract 31:

T004 It is, it is tricky but it gets you thinking. What did you say it was James?
James It was hard.
*T004 You're not allowed to use that word in my class at all because you have more than enough intelligence to work this out. If you say it's challenging or I found that I had to work a little bit more, I had to stretch myself...you can use that description, but not hard. Because that's a blanket statement isn't it, 'oh it's hard' we say, 'I had to stretch myself'...but you had to think didn't you, It required thinking from you which is good. But you've got some good words there, you had some excellent words. Right, year X, break time please
(Teacher 004, Recording 1, p.21)*

In Extract 31 the teacher again disallows the use of the word ‘hard’ due to its association with incapability, a trait which according to T004, cannot and should not be associated with pupils in her class. T004 also states that ‘hard’ is a “blanket statement”, an all-encompassing term that leaves little room for progress or success. The teacher suggests that the concept of hardness is opposite to intelligence and academic competence thus implying to the pupil that by using the term he is effectively positioning himself as academically incompetent, a learner identity that contradicts with the ‘can do’ storyline. Within her commentary, the teacher advocates the use of other alternative terms with more positive undertones that are more in keeping with the ‘can do’ storyline. In doing so, the teacher offers the pupil several means of reflecting an alternative learner identity from the one originally adopted.

In her disallowance of the pupil's response, the teacher attempts to force the pupil to reposition himself. This is then followed up by the rhetorical statements: "that's a blanket statement isn't it" and "but you had to think didn't you". In making these statements the teacher is framing the pupils learning experience in a positive light, positioning the pupil as a positive and competent learner and therefore a conformer to the 'can do' storyline. Towards the closing of the extract the teacher also proceeds further in her second order positioning of the pupil, through her positive comments pertaining to the pupil's achievements within the lesson which again positions him as a conforming, competent learner.

The enforcement of the 'can do' storyline also involved the policing of the attitudes of the pupils. Whilst this can be said to be intertwined within the above extracts pertaining to language, the following extract constitutes a more specific examples of this:

Extract 32:

At the end of the lesson the teacher asked each of the students a question based on what they had learnt during the lesson. When asked her question, one of the students shrugged her shoulders. When she did this the teacher responded with the [following] phrase: "don't shrug, always think, never give up" (School C field notes, 12/05/2010)

Extract 33:

...Tyrece, that face is just saying to me unhappiness, can I have a smile please, cause I noticed that you learned something today and you did something different today, you're not supposed to leave here with that face. Please, smile, go'on (putting on comical voice) I can see it anyway, I can see it's there (laugh) (Teacher 009, recording 2, p.21)

Within the above extracts both teachers attempt to police the demeanours of pupils in order to enable their positioning within the 'can do' storyline. Here the teachers seem to be coercing and prompting the pupils to occupy positive learner positionings and to fulfil the corresponding rights and duties to adopt a positive approach to learning. Within extract 33, the teacher in fact proceeds to outline to the pupil, evidence of his positive learner traits, namely that he "did something differently" and therefore "learned something" during the

lesson. Here, the teacher attempts to convince the pupil of his rightful position as a positive learner. In this sense, extract 33 represents another instance of attempted forced positioning and deliberate positioning in that the teacher positions the pupil as a positive learner whilst also attempting to convince him to adopt this position for himself.

8.3.2 Safeguarding of the ethos

In addition to linguistic and attitudinal policing discussed above, the ‘can do’ storyline was also safeguarded through the maintenance of a positive and encouraging learning environment. Safeguarding was carried out through a variety of methods which included the direct counteraction of challenges to the storyline. Below are two instances of this form of safeguarding:

Extract 34:

Pupil *It's hard*
T004 *It's not hard, you just need to get familiar with it.*
(Teacher 004, Recording 2)

Extract 35:

Tyrece *We're stuck*
T004 *There's no such thing, you need to think.*
(Teacher 004, Recording 1)

Within the above two extracts T004 responds to the challenges posed to the ‘can do’ storyline by first denying the pupil’s claims and then forwarding a viable solution to the learning barrier perceived by the pupils. In doing so, the teacher counteracts the pupils’ own first order positioning of themselves as incapable or struggling learners and conducts a second order positioning of pupils as capable learners facing a surmountable and temporary challenge. In the first extract for instance the teacher claims that the pupil just needs to “get

familiar” with the task and in the second extract further thought is highlighted as the solution to the problems being faced.

In both cases the teacher places the onus of success on the pupil, thus safeguarding the ‘can do’ storyline by shifting the focus away from the actual exercise which is beyond the pupil’s control, to something which the pupil does have control over, namely his/her level of familiarity or extent of thought. In doing so the teacher safeguards the default positioning of the pupils as capable learners and also positions success within their reach.

Attempts to safeguard the ‘can do’ storyline were also detected through such means as the promotion and demonstration of patience in the classroom and the counteraction and prevention of defeatism:

Extract 36:

During the explanations and discussions surrounding these scenarios, one of the pupils expressed a lack of understanding. A boy, who was seated next to her, responded with impatience and a marked lack of sympathy for the girl’s predicament. Although I didn’t hear what the boy said, I knew that this was the case from the teacher’s response to the boy’s comment/s. The teacher responded by stating “we need to be patient with each other.....not everyone responds in the same way” the teacher then spoke to the girl briefly. (School C field notes, 01/07/2010)

Within the above extract the teacher attempts to safeguard the ‘can do’ storyline. Within this scenario, the boy’s display of impatience positioned the girl as an incapable learner and thus posed a threat to the ‘can do’ storyline and also contradicted the emancipatory storyline of the school. The teacher responds to this situation by first highlighting the duty of pupils to be “patient with each other” in doing so the teacher positions the boy as falling short of the moral expectations placed upon him as a member of the school community. The teacher then further comments that not every pupil “responds in the same way” thus repositioning the girl

as a capable learner. In doing so, the teacher warded off the looming threat of defeatism that threatened the confused girl and stood in opposition to both the ‘can do’ and emancipation storylines. A similar scenario is featured within the following extract which was recorded during an exercise in which pupils were required to recite their times tables out loud under timed conditions:

Extract 37:

...Right, what I'm gonna say, if you have done the work before, only on rare occasions do we do a class thing...a class example where we go round the class. If you've done it before and you show competence in it, don't then be bored and display that to somebody who's working, because there'll be other things that you don't understand and they don't do that. We're all here to learn, 'iron sharpens iron', so rather than do that, you're gonna let them be insecure with their learning if you do that and I won't have it, because we all don't know everything. I think it's good that you understand yours and that you've done yours but then you reciprocate it by paying attention because when you were speaking, he was paying attention to you, and that goes for the whole class. We all don't know everything yet, every so often we have a lesson like this...sorry, shhh, over there please. Right, as I was saying, we all don't know everything so if you get your times tables out the way that's fantastic but if somebody else who's yet to go, do not let them see that you're bored, or that you've done it before, thank you. (Teacher 004, Recording 3, p.14-15)

Within extract 37 the teacher is featured reprimanding a pupil who displayed impatience and boredom whilst another student was reciting her tables. By adopting this disposition, the impatient pupil positioned the reciting pupil as an incapable learner by highlighting her inability to complete the task in an ‘adequate’ time. The teacher responds by positioning the impatient pupil as a non-conformist pupil in terms of her failure to fulfil her moral duty as a member of the class community, emphasising the pupil’s failure to adhere to a system of classroom reciprocity in which pupils are expected to give what they themselves will/may need to receive and also to actively aid the learning of others, expressed in the axiom “iron sharpens iron”. These principles index a storyline of togetherness and equality within collaborative learning, where each esteems the needs of the other. Within this storyline, the school is positioned as a moral as well as an academic space. In positioning the impatient

pupil in such a way, the teacher effectively invalidates her prior positioning of the reciting pupil.

In her statement “we all don’t know everything” the teacher also conducts a second order positioning of the reciting pupil, who is repositioned as a capable learner who, much like other pupils, does not “know everything”. In making this statement the teacher implies that the reciting pupil’s lack of speed or knowledge does not necessarily contradict the capable learner position and that it is certainly not an acceptable basis on which to relegate the pupil to incapable learner status. On both occasions of making this statement the teacher also uses the pronoun “we” – “We all don’t know everything”. Through this reference to the class as a collective whole, the teacher positions the reciting pupil on par with the other class members (including her), suggesting that they all have gaps in their knowledge. This statement in particular, served in safeguarding the reciting pupils positioning as a capable learner.

In the process of policing the impatient pupil’s attitude the teacher was also conducting the social act of safeguarding the positive ‘can do’ learning environment from the negative effects of discouragement and embarrassment that could have resulted from the impatient pupil’s response. It is also the case that the pupil’s actions stood in opposition to the teacher’s emancipatory storyline. The open reprimand of the pupil also meant that the teacher’s words of correction acted as a universal reinforcement of the attitudinal boundaries related to the ‘can do’ storyline.

Within the observations and recordings carried out in the class of T004, there were also times when she herself took deliberate measures to thwart potential threats to the ethos posed by pupils’ own inabilities.

Extract 38:

T004 *Come on, beat the timer. Beat the timer, beat the timer, beat the timer.*

Pupil 1 *(...) finished.*

T004 *Shhh*

Adana *72?*

T004 *Excellent, keep going, ten times eight*

Adana *Ten times eight is 80, 11 times eight is 88, and 12 times eight is.....*

T004 *Come on quick*

Pupil 2 *Ahhhh (expressing disappointment)*

T004 *No, shhh. What is it?*

Adana *96?*

T004 *Excellent. We'll pretend you beat the timer. Give her a round of applause, well done.*

All *(Clap)*

T004 *Well done. That's actually a really good lesson in persevering. You don't give up, yeh, just persevere. That really good, I'm really impressed with that. (Teacher 004, Recording 3)*

Within this extract, even though Adana's time limit has expired, the teacher still allows her to continue so that she can complete her recitation. Within the extract there are two occasions where other pupils in the class attempt to position Adana as an incompetent learner by drawing attention to the time expiration and expressing disappointment, however the teacher prevents this positioning by silencing the pupils in question. In doing so, the teacher was simultaneously carrying out the social act of actively safeguarding and defending Adana's positioning as a competent learner. Although the pupil failed to finish in time the teacher also deliberately positions the pupil as a competent and successful learner by instructing the class to "pretend" she beat the timer and openly affirm her through the medium of applause. As a consequence, the teacher is able to comfortably position the pupil within the 'can do' storyline and thus safeguard its perpetuation. The teacher provides a further safeguard to the 'can do' ethos by drawing positive learning points from the pupil's experience with particular regards to perseverance. Here the pupil, despite her inability to complete the task within the set time limit, is positioned by the teacher as an exemplar, providing a positive example for the rest of the class to follow.

The teacher's positive positionings of the pupil served in managing and at the very least, limiting other likely negative learner positionings of the pupil based around her failure to beat the timer. Whilst this may be the case, the teacher's use of the timer and the requirement of pupils to "beat" it seem to indicate the valuing of competition winning. Interestingly this aspect exists alongside the seemingly polarised values of togetherness and reciprocity mentioned earlier, again emphasising the existence of multiple competing storylines and positioning within this educational institution.

In addition to extract 38 there were also further occasions where teacher 004 actively defended the 'can do' storyline with the use of humour and a deliberately 'laid back' stance, in order to disperse potentially confidence crushing circumstances. There was one occasion for instance, where the class was constructing a virtual circuit on an interactive whiteboard, during which one of the pupils mistakenly managed to lose all of the work that the class had completed throughout the lesson:

Extract 39:

I noticed that 004 handled this unfortunate occurrence with good humour, laughing at the situation. The other pupils in the class did express some disappointment (loud sighs etc) but these expressions were brief and not excessive- they were more like a natural reaction to the situation than an actual effort to make the boy feel bad.

The teacher comforted/consoled the boy, who obviously felt bad about what happened, telling him not to worry and that "it happens". The teacher also said to the boy that "the titanic sank on its maiden voyage (laugh)"

(School C field notes, 29/06/2010).

Here, the teacher initially responds by outwardly expressing her amusement at the situation. The illocutionary force of this action is the framing of the situation as something comical and the consequent dispelling of its enormity. The teacher's response seemed to be an attempt to prevent the positioning of the pupil as an incompetent learner (either by the pupil himself or

other class members). In amongst her words of encouragement, the teacher also used the analogy of the sinking of the Titanic – ‘the unsinkable ship’, implying that worse catastrophes have happened or that no person or thing is infallible. Whichever interpretation was intended, it seems that the teachers aim was to allay any embarrassment, anxiety or (more importantly) feelings of failure that the pupil would have naturally have been subject to at that point. In reassuring the pupil, in this way, the teacher again seemed to be performing the act of actively preserving his positioning as a competent learner by suggesting that even the greatest structures or people are subject to mishaps. Within the extract the teacher was also effectively attempting to safeguard the ‘can do’ storyline within the classroom as a whole, through the preservation of a positive learning environment.

Whilst T004 seemed to be committed to the safeguarding of the ‘can do’ ethos, this endeavour was not without its limits:

Extract 40:

Gavin *Zero times eight is zero, one times eight is eight, two times eight ...16?*
T004 *Um hum*
Gavin *Four....four.... four times ...*
Pupil 1 *Gavin you're on three times ...*
T004 *Shhh*
Gavin *Okay, three times eight is (pause) 24*
T004 *That's good, well done.*
Gavin *Four times eight is (pause) 32, five times...five times eight is 50.*
T004 *Um um. What did you say was the last number? No not 50, but you're close, I know the line you're on, it's not 50. Eight times four is 32 so eight times five is...?*
Gavin *(Silence)*
T004 *32 add eight. (pause) Right you're counting up, you need to learn... you need to learn them. Right, Gavin, could you continue learning them please. Right, were gonna have a break right there, I'm gonna come back to Gavin and Tyrece towards the end. I want to hear you do some times tables.*
(Teacher 004, Recording 3)

Here, teacher 004 is featured attempting to assist Gavin with the recitation of his eight times tables. T004 initially proceeds to encourage the pupil with the use of brief verbal cues, responding when Gavin becomes stuck at the sum 'five times eight', by attempting to lead him to the correct answer by reiterating the answer to the previous multiplication sum. At this stage the teacher seems to be attempting to preserve the positioning of the pupil as a competent learner and to safeguard the 'can do' storyline as in previous extracts.

With regards to safeguarding however, the boundary point is crossed when the pupil is still unable to decipher the correct answer, leading the teacher to believe that he has not learned the tables as instructed. In contrast to the other scenario of perseverance above, this pupil is not granted any applause from the other pupils, nor does the teacher make any effort to cushion the pupil's failure to complete the recitation. In other words there is a point at which the teacher stops actively safeguarding the pupil's 'competent learner' positioning.

Whilst the teacher refrains from oppositely positioning the pupil as an incompetent learner - a positioning that would have inevitably conflicted with the 'can do' and the 'emancipation' storylines, she does suggest that he has not learned his times tables thereby positioning him as an in compliant pupil. This positioning may of course have been influenced by the teacher's previous experiences with this pupil, however this is not apparent within this extract. The teacher does however state her intentions to return to Gavin towards the end of the lesson, as if to provide him with a second chance to fulfil the duties and display the traits of the ideal 'competent learner' positioning. This in itself can perhaps be perceived as attempt to reinstate or perhaps revoke this positioning.

This particular scenario seems to highlight some tension between the teacher's desire to safeguard the 'can do' storyline and pupils' positions within it as competent learners, and her desire to maintain a certain level of order and discipline in the classroom. Here, the pupil's lack of obedience (as perceived by the teacher) poses a challenge to the 'can do' storyline, one which the teacher responds to with the careful temporary positioning of the pupil – one that takes account of the misdemeanour but not one that conflicts with the 'can do' storyline and one from which the teacher herself provides an avenue of escape.

Sections 8.3.1 and 8.3.2 feature a number of instances where students (knowingly or unknowingly) challenged the 'can do' storyline. These instances show that whilst aspects of the hidden curriculum do have significant influence within the teaching process, it cannot be assumed that pupils (and teachers) are simply passive recipients of its teachings. Instead, as found by Langhout and Mitchell, (2008) pupils are able to demonstrate their own agency, sometimes counteracting even the most 'positive' storylines.

8.3.3 Promotion and substantiation of the 'can do' ethos

In addition to its policing and safeguarding, the promotion and substantiation of the 'can do' ethos was also evident within the field notes. The promotion of the ethos pertains specifically to the shaping of individual pupil mentalities through implicit integration of the 'can do' storyline within the intricacies of everyday classroom processes.

A typical example of ethos promotion can be found in the following extracts where the teachers make suggestions pertaining to the career paths open to students:

Extract 41:

Towards the end of the lesson the teacher wrote a few short sentences on the board for the children to copy. 1 of the children had forgotten his pencil and went to the teacher's desk to ask for one. The teacher responded that if he was a doctor, how would he give the patients their prescription without a pen? Again the teacher used in her illustration a high end science based occupation to put her point across. (School C field notes, 11/05/2010)

Extract 42:

One boy in particular asks a number of questions during the teacher's explanation - especially with regards to some of the more intriguing claims the teacher made; like the claim that the blood cells can go around the world 2.5 times. The teacher responded to the boys questioning: "you want to prove it, that is the mark of a scientist" (School C field notes, 01/07/2010).

Within the first extract the teacher makes use of a hypothetical analogy featuring a 'high end' profession in order to stress to the pupil the importance of the seemingly minor oversight. In the construction of her analogy, the teacher seemed to deliberately choose to feature the professional career of a doctor because it matched with the types of careers that she sought to promote to the pupils in line with the 'can do' and 'emancipatory' storylines. In her use of this and other similar analogies it seemed that the teacher's seemingly flippant implementation of such occupations, constituted an attempt to normalise them, and thus frame them as viable career options that were well within the grasps of her pupils. Within extract 41 for example, the teacher deliberately positions the pupil as a potential doctor, thereby also positioning him as a highly competent learner.

Here the teacher uses a situation that would typically warrant a negative learner positioning and uses it to endorse the 'can do' storyline and to substantiate the emancipatory storyline. Within the second extract another teacher positions an inquisitive pupil as a potential "scientist", thereby positioning the pupil as a competent learner with the potential to occupy such a position. Both these instances correspond with comments made within extracts 2, 3 and 14 concerning the need for African-Caribbean children to be made aware of their academic potential and to be enabled to fulfil this potential. This implies that these

positionings of pupils (within extracts 41 and 42) were intentional and deliberate and were genuine components of the school's compensatory project.

Again within this section Blommaert's approach to discourse (Blommaert, 2005) is reflected through the consideration of wider social and historical Discourses that have effectively given meaning to classroom discursive interactions that have impacted discursive dynamics. The 'can do' ethos also constitutes the school's reply to these Discourses as it interacts with the deterministic macro level through its own creative powers of agency (Blommaert, 2005).

8.4 Racially tailored aspects of school life

The data indicates that one of the strands of the social transformation project of school C was the aspect of the racially tailored learning space. This section will therefore explore some of the racially tailored activities and instances that space allowed, that contributed in some way to the school's efforts.

8.4.1 Expressions of collectivity

Whilst school C housed many visual displays pertaining to black culture and history, the overt exploration of specific cultural or ethnic related issues were quite rare, this was despite the suggestions made in the phase 1 interview that such aspects were integrated within everyday teaching activities. This is perhaps not surprising however, since the literature suggests that the black education movement has a structural as opposed to cultural focus that is only secondarily concerned with defending cultural institutions (Chevannes and Reeves, 1987;

McLean, 1985). During the observation phase of the research there were two ethnically tailored class activities that were documented, one was the use of an ancient African counting game and the other was a science exercise pertaining to a famous black inventor, both of which are documented in the extracts below:

Extract 43:

After the times tables exercise, the teacher placed the children into groups of 4 to play a game called Wori. The teacher handed each of the groups a Wori board which consisted of 2 rectangles of wood with several dips hallowed out on each. These two blocks were hinged together in the middle. The children were also given a bag of what seemed to be stones – later I found out that these were in fact some kind of seed...The teacher gave me a leaflet that claimed that Wori was an ancient board game that was first used as an ancient accounting system and that carvings of the game were found in Egypt, Zimbabwe and Uganda. The leaflet claimed that the game helped to:

- *rediscover in positive ways, ancient Africa*
- *give Africa an alternative image*
- *and establish the black business sector (amongst other things)*

The teacher seemed to agree with those claims and it was clear that she was very much in support of the game as a beneficial tool for black children. (School C field notes, 13/05/2010)

Extract 44:

T009 ...Right, the reason why...let's move on...the reason why we're looking at traffic lights today (...) which have a really nice example of traffic lights and what they do and I thought it was really important that we have a look at traffic lights because definitely relevant to us is the fact that it was a black inventor. (Teacher 009, Recording 1)

Extract 43 features the implementation of a racially specific activity strongly connected to African history and ancestry. The featuring of this particular activity as a spontaneous aspect of the teaching process is representative of the racial orientation of the school. Furthermore, the unmarked, almost seamless implementation of the game, without any specific introduction or announcement, evidences an assumption that pupils would have some kind of affiliation with the game. Thus through this incident the teacher seems to position class members as a collective, on the grounds of race.

Within the second extract the teacher's use of the adverb "us" again positions the class as a collective and overtly declares the ethnic affiliation shared by the class, including her. Here, there is the distinct awareness that both teacher and pupils are united through their membership within the black community. By emphasising their shared connection to the "black inventor" T009 highlights the commonality that connects her as the teacher to all the pupils thus positioning herself amongst the pupils. This particular activity is also underscored by a storyline of black achievement. Within extract 44, the teacher not only draws attention to the fact that the traffic light was invented by a "black man but that it was created by a "black inventor". Here the teacher makes a deliberate association between blackness and high academic achievement which perhaps counteracts commonly held negative conceptions of black underachievement that are alluded to in extract 3.

Within these two instances both teachers are positioned in affiliation with the pupils and the pupils with each other, on the grounds of racial sameness. Thus as social acts, the actions of both teachers constitute expressions or proclamations of racial collectivity. In both of these instances, the implementation of black history into the classroom also corresponds with the institutional positioning of the school itself as a transformative space that seeks to transform the educational status and opportunities of African-Caribbean children by providing an alternative educational experience from that available within mainstream schooling.

8.4.2 The use of patois in the classroom

The implementation of Jamaican patois into the everyday teaching process was also a strong signifier of racial sameness. Whilst the use of patois was only recorded within the classes of T004, it was perhaps the most consistent and prominent display of racial affiliation featured

within the field notes and interactive recordings. This section will therefore explore the use of patois (and the surrounding positioning dynamics) as a contributory factor in the construction of the school's 'emancipatory' and 'safe' learning space and therefore a constituent of the school's transformative efforts.

Interestingly, there seemed to be no rigorous pattern in the use of patois which was implemented on a variety of occasions including instances where T004 gave reprimands, gave commentary on certain instances and injected humour into classroom interactions. All the occasions where patois was used were generally light-hearted and although there was some directing or guidance involved, it was not used with an authoritative or disciplinary tone. Instead, her utterances of patois were more reflective of the stance of a commentator. Sometimes teacher 004 verbalized whole phrases in Jamaican patois whilst at other times it was used at the end of phrases.

The intermingling of patois with 'standard' English can be viewed as a form of code-switching. A key assumption of much of the research in this area is that language varieties are meaningful in that they embody particular social values pertaining to the speaker and the social context in which they are used (Swann, 2000). Speakers may switch between different language varieties in order to achieve certain communicative effects (Swann, 2000).

The following extracts depict a few typical instances where the Jamaican dialect was implemented in social acts of reprimanding:

Extract 45:

At one point the teacher noticed one child snatch something from another child. The teacher responded by saying "don't snatch from your class mate,

no snatch” – last two words were said in JA dialect. (School C field notes, 29/06/2010)

Extract 46:

*No it doesn't, can you stop focusing on their work please Gavin; you have your own **su'um fi sort out**. Their working out their work. Right break time please (Teacher 004, Recording 1)*

Within extract 45 teacher 004 switches into Jamaican patois at the closing of the phrase. Interestingly, the phrase “no snatch” is not a continuation of the teacher’s sentence but rather a reiteration of what she had already said, thus it seems that the purpose of the patois utterance was to add emphasis to her instruction to the pupil. In extract 46 T004 is featured advising a pupil to focus on his own work instead of that of others. As was mentioned earlier, the teacher is directing the pupil but not in an authoritative or disciplinary tone. In extracts 45 and 46 the teacher uses patois in the non-threatening reprimanding of pupils. This use of patois is perhaps reminiscent of a study carried out by Sebba (1993) concerning the patterns of code switching amongst speakers of ‘London Jamaican’, where it was found that Creole was at times used to distinguish a statement of refusal as non-threatening and jovial (Swann, 2000).

The following extracts are examples of where Jamaican patois was used as a commentating device:

Extract 47:

*T004 Okay, you're on...what's 56? See you have six times eight is 48, seven times eight is 56, eight times eight is what? I don't even know if that's the right one. I'm even confused as well. Let me see that, thank you, and **me nah ave my glasses**. Yes, yeh, eight times eight is what?*

Adana 64?

T004 Well done, keep going. The timer.
(Teacher 004, Recording 3)

Extract 47 features T004 making a brief comment about herself. Again this comment is light-hearted and comical as she exposes to the class her own farcical predicament of having to

read without her glasses. The fact that she also admits to being slightly confused also adds to the comedy.

The link between the use of Jamaican patois and light hearted humour is perhaps captured most explicitly within the following extract which features T004 relating the events of a football match to the class:

Extract 48:

*T004 ...Right can I have your attention please? Yeh so, so the guy from Uruguay, **tump da ball**, the last ball at the end of the match, the last ball that would have gone into the goal, the guy from Uruguay stood in the goal and **tump out the ball** and he was not the goal keeper. So they gave Ghana a penalty and **the man tek da ball, lick the goal post**. So our house was in like a tomb, a morgue.
(Teacher 004, Recording 1)*

Within extract 57 the teacher makes quite frequent use of Jamaican patois, switching between speaking modes throughout the short account. Here it can be noted that within this informal account there is a higher concentration of patois which suggests that its use is primarily informal and indexes informality within the classroom. This corresponds with a study carried out by Edwards (1986) where it was found that there was a higher frequency of patois used within informal conversations than there was in more formal contexts (Swann, 2000). In fact it is likely that the generally jovial and non-threatening use of patois was an attempt to inject some informality into the classroom context, indexing a relaxed learning environment and therefore positioning the school as a ‘friendly’ and therefore ‘safe’ learning space. In addition, even in the sharing of this personal narrative with the pupils, the teacher can be seen to be positioning herself as a personable figure who seeks affiliation with the students.

Whilst the teacher implemented Jamaican patois in her own discourse, this was not a linguistic form that the pupils indulged in. In fact one particular instance of linguistic

policing indicates that the use of Caribbean dialect amongst pupils may have been highly problematic:

Extract 49:

T004 Wha you a say she, she who? She the cat's pyjamas? No dear we don't...ay, wha yuh a hug up da su'um for. Don't look inside it please, don't look inside it, you're not to look inside it. Right, you've got four minutes.

Tanya Were doing quite well girls, we don't need to worry too much.

Aden (...) cause miss said, miss said,

T004 Because (correcting language)

(Teacher 004, Recording 1)

Within the above extract the teacher is featured on one hand speaking in Jamaican patois whilst on the other, correcting a pupils colloquial use of the word 'cause' (as opposed to 'because'). This extract suggests that whilst T004 encourages and actively monitors the use of 'Standard English' amongst pupils, her own deviation from this linguistic form is considered acceptable. This is likely to be because of the specific cultural significance of the dialect for members of the school community which is seen to eclipse any linguistic discrepancies that its use may evoke. This perhaps highlights the tension between T004s desire to express linguistically, the racial affiliation within the classroom and the distinct recognition of the value of standard English within the mainstream education system in which the pupils are required to survive and succeed.

The above extracts show how the Jamaican patois was spontaneously interwoven into classroom discourse without any prior prompting or platforming. Whilst occasional and brief, this use of patois again encompasses a distinct assumption that the children in the class had an understanding of it or at the very least, an association with it. Such instances can therefore be looked upon as signifiers of the racial affiliation between teacher and pupils, positioning them within the same realm as a collective, connected through aspects of racial identity.

The association of the teacher with the pupils lends itself to the cultivation of a sense of togetherness and belonging that is conducive to the type of highly motivational learning space that the school aims to establish. In using the Jamaican dialect in her interactions with the pupils, the teacher can also be said to be bringing a piece of home life into the classroom setting, indicating the strength of the home-school connections established by school C.

In her use of patois in the classroom T004 also overtly positioned herself as a member of the African-Caribbean community who has a close affiliation with her Caribbean roots and also positions the pupils as children who also have this affiliation or at the very least, have enough of an affiliation to understand it. It is noteworthy that the children did not challenge the teachers reflexive positioning or their own allocated positioning in any way, by challenging her pronunciation for instance, or expressing a lack of understanding when patois was used. This was unlike the pupils in a study conducted by Blackledge and Creese, where pupils challenged the teachers positioning as an English speaker, by correcting the teachers pronunciation (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). In the case of 004 there was no such second order positioning. Instead, the positioning of teacher and pupils was “taken for granted” (Harré and Langenhove, 1999) within classroom interactions.

T004s use of Jamaican patois additionally positioned her as an unconventional teacher and also positioned the classroom as an unconventional space and arguably positioned the school as an unconventional learning space. The casual use of patois also positioned blackness as ‘normal’ and ‘acceptable’ this stands in contrast to suggestions concerning the mainstream setting; namely that pupils are ‘singled out’ and disadvantaged due to their membership within the black community.

8.5 Overarching Storylines

Looking across all of the data presented within this chapter there are three interconnected, overarching storylines that appear to anchor the everyday workings of school C, namely: transformation; institutionalised racism; and familial connectedness. These are the wider scale discursive storylines that inform and in many respects, bind together the smaller scale storylines such as the ‘can do’ and ‘emancipation’ storylines. Thus these Discourses are both contextual and textual in nature, generating meaning at the micro level (Blommaert, 2005).

As was mentioned previously, the transformation storyline concerns the evolution of the social standing of the black community through the raising of aspirations and the subsequent increase in higher level professionals within the black community. The transformation project at school C involved the advantaging of pupils through the counteraction of institutional racism in mainstream education, a project that involved the cultivation and promotion of a feeling of familial connectedness.

The ‘institutionalised racism’ storyline was perhaps the most pervasive of the three overarching storylines. This storyline formed the basis of many of the data extracts pertaining to the challenges of mainstream schooling. Embedded within this data was the distinct perception of the purposeful disadvantaging of black pupils within the mainstream schooling system. This data also implied that the racist practices of mainstream schooling constituted a hindrance to the transformation of the black community. The historical origins of this storyline can be traced back to the 1950s – 1960s when the first black supplementary schools were established as a response to growing dissatisfaction within the black community with regards to the treatment of black pupils within mainstream education system.

The storyline of ‘familial connectedness’ refers to the perceived connectedness between teachers and pupils that spanned beyond the traditional student-teacher relationship and was reminiscent of paternal ties. Through the use of collective pronouns such as ‘our’ and the integration of certain emblematic resources (Blommaert and Varis, 2011) such as the Wori game and patois, teachers declared the existence of a collective identity and a paternal ownership of the pupils they taught. This storyline was also reflected in the positioning of the school as a place of refuge and safety for pupils and parents and a place where pupils could confidently express their racial identity, a positioning which is reminiscent of an ideal family home context.

The ‘familial connectedness’ storyline is in effect a reply to the institutionalised racism perceived within the mainstream and constitutes a counteractive force against it. Whereas teachers’ accounts suggested that blackness was side-lined and devalued within the mainstream context, within school C, blackness was valued, centralised and normalised. It is also the case that whereas mainstream schooling was seen to be geared towards the othering of black pupils, teachers at school C indicated a personal ownership of pupils. In this sense, the ‘familial connectedness’ storyline aided in the establishment of a learning context that was conducive to the advancement of the transformation project. Similar to the ‘institutional racism’ storyline, the ‘familial connectedness’ storyline characterised by the “us” and “our” mentality is also historically embedded, again, dating back to the period when the first African-Caribbean supplementary schools were established, a time when it was thought necessary for the black community to educate its own children.

8.6 Chapter Summary

Within the phase 1 interview, the school leader positioned the school as a transformative space underscored by a desire to transform the social standing of the black community. The use of positioning theory as an analytical tool has been particularly valuable within this chapter, making intelligible regular aspects of the teaching process as instruments of transformation. In fact, the evidence of school practice presented within this chapter, reveals further “multiple contemporaneous interlinking storylines” (Harré et al, 2009: 8) and positionings that constitute the intricacies of the school’s transformation project. As is suggested by Blommaert (2005), the chapter has also shown how storylines and positions are related to wider social, historical and political Discourses that inevitably influence the operations of the school at the micro level.

Through the data presented, school C has emerged as a complex and multi-layered institution, in which everyday teaching practices encompass multiple implicit projects which are encapsulated within various competing storylines. Some of these storylines seem to contradict each other, such as the ‘can do’ storyline involving competition and the emphasis of high achievement on one hand and that of ‘familial togetherness’ encompassing mutual appreciation and valuing of pupils on the other, however all coexist together and contribute towards the wider transformation storyline. These storylines also encompass a mix of identities such as positive learner; high achiever; and member of the black community. Furthermore, these learner identities were intentionally amalgamated with the black identity to create hybrid identities such as ‘black high achiever’ which the data suggests, defied mainstream positionings of black young people.

Points made within this chapter suggest that current literature fails to adequately reflect the level of complexity existent within supplementary schools, and that there is a need for a more concerted embracing of such complexities to enable the establishment of more conducive representations of these institutions.

9 Overall Conclusion

The immediate purpose of this research study was to investigate the purposes and subsequent social positioning of 16 supplementary schools across Birmingham and to explore the relationship between school positioning and micro-level classroom discourses. However, as is typically the case with ethnographic research, what has actually been discovered, spans beyond this remit. The investigation of school positioning has unearthed a plethora of circulating big ‘D’ and little ‘d’ discourses that also shed light on the migration histories and acculturation experiences of ethnic minority communities in Britain.

With regards to school purpose, the investigation of the 16 supplementary schools has revealed six key purposes that were found to be present across all 16 schools, namely: survival; safeguarding; recovery; showcasing; counteraction of negative portrayals; and transformation of social standing. Each of these key purposes constitutes a discourse and storyline in which schools were positioned by school leaders, that inevitably affects school functionings. These were purposes that were not necessarily overtly stated but featured implicitly in teaching and learning processes.

These six purposes were reflective not only of the aims and intentions of schools themselves but also spoke of the histories and acculturation experiences of the ethnic minority communities represented by the schools and the socio-political Discourses by which schools were influenced. In the case of the Bosnian school for instance, the school was geared towards the ‘showcasing’ of community progress in light of the migration history of the Bosnian community who according to the school leader, came to the UK seeking refuge in the aftermath of the Bosnian war. The school was also a means of counteracting negative

conceptions of Bosnia as a country which is often characterised by “war and disease and lot of nasty things” (Bosnian school leader). Similarly, the transformation efforts of the Bangladeshi school were directly related to the cultural practices of the community diaspora in the UK and the resultant pattern of low academic achievement within the community.

At times it was also found that whilst groups of schools were said to embody the same purpose elements, they demonstrated differing modes of the same individual elements, thus exposing the scale of diversity among these schools. Within the survival theme for instance, there were differing subsets of survival such as linguistic survival, the survival of a mind-set and the survival of cultural activities. All however were ultimately related to identity survival.

It was within the discussion of these purposes that schools were generally positioned by school leaders as sites of community agency that constituted the coming together of a community to achieve certain objectives according to the perceived needs of the community, which in turn were related to the positioning of the community within the wider social context and all the issues that this positioning encompassed. African-Caribbean School A for instance sought to counteract derogatory Discourses of the Black community existent within the wider society through a process of re-education. The positioning of schools was therefore closely related to storylines of the wider society and the perceived positioning of the community within it.

School leader’s positionings of schools were also simultaneously grounded in wider overarching socio-political Discourses such as: racism; language dominance and

subordination; and identity authenticity. Thus the positioning of schools involved multiple layers as well as multiple discourses, all of which were related to acculturation processes.

Despite the diversity among schools, the exploration of school purpose revealed one common thread that connected the cohort. This was the centralisation of community identity projects. Schools were positioned as sites of identity construction where particular identities were established, promoted and maintained. This can be seen in the case of Islamic school B where the 'safeguarding' of community members against perceived negative influences within the wider society actually constituted the safeguarding of a desired community identity. These identity building projects involved the use of historical and transnational resources and therefore encompassed the transcendence of time and space.

Within school leaders' responses, schools were generally shown to be multi-purposed institutions that exist within the context of multiple storylines and subject to various discursive forces. There were also cases where schools were affected by discourses at the global level. Such was the case of the Chinese school, in which socio-political movements in the community homeland had an immediate impact on school purpose and positioning.

The phase 1 data was also used to construct a framework of six social positioning types. This exercise shed further light on the positioning of schools, showing the various combinations of purposes associated with individual schools. Whilst the formation of this framework proved to be a highly complex and tentative exercise, the social mapping of schools in this way highlighted the complex nature of supplementary schools, most of which encompassed multiple purpose elements. The framework therefore challenges current categorisations of schools according to curriculum content or ethnic grouping and allows for a more

comprehensive outlook of supplementary schooling. The framework also allowed for further inferences to be made concerning the acculturation experiences of the ethnic minority communities, demonstrating the value of positioning in the situating of schools within wider socio-political debates.

With regards to the relationship between school positioning and the discursive practices of the school, the phase 2 case study suggested very strong links between the social positioning of African-Caribbean school C and its discursive practices. Indeed the case study data suggested that the transformative agenda was strongly reflected in the positionings of both teachers and students and the discursive practices of the classroom. The use of positioning as an analytical tool aided in the discovery of key storylines and discursive instruments of transformation that were utilised by teachers. These included for instance the enforcement of the ‘can do’ ethos through linguistic policing. It was also apparent that the ‘transformation’ agenda of the school was informed by three wider overarching social, historical and political discourses which also impacted the micro-level classroom interactions. Thus discursive practices were impacted by multiple level Discourses beyond the immediate school positioning Discourse of ‘transformation’.

Overall, this study has revealed supplementary schools to be complex multifaceted institutions that are not merely spaces of learning but are in fact social and political enterprises, characterised by particular identity projects. These schools were positioned at the indices of multiple purposes and within various social, political and historical and contexts that transcend time and space. The study also indicates that the social positionings of schools have a profound impact on the micro-level discursive interactions of schools which also interact with wider overarching Discourses.

9.1 Research Implications

The implementation of positioning theory coupled with Blommaert's approach to discourse has proved to be highly advantageous in the investigation of supplementary schooling. This is firstly because it has facilitated a wide view of supplementary schooling in which the schools are positioned within overarching historical, social and political storylines. In this sense the discursive social positioning of schools has allowed for the establishment of a wide ranging context within which the existence and everyday operations of the schools are made intelligible.

Secondly, the use of social positioning as a defining factor has enabled a more complex and comprehensive view of supplementary schools that spans beyond the confines of current categories that are based on overt and declared factors such as the curriculum content and ethnic makeup. The positioning lens has allowed for the examination of the meanings and intentions underlying regular schooling processes. In doing so it has also exposed the complexity of the field highlighting similarities and disparities both within and between conventional sub-groups; revealing for instance, underlying connections between schools that may otherwise seem disparate. This consequently problematises current essentialised notions of supplementary schooling.

The implementation of positioning as a categorisation variable has enabled the analysis of the schools to be extended beyond the realm of the schools themselves, allowing inferences to be drawn regarding the acculturation experiences of ethnic minority communities. This study has shown that the utilisation of positioning as an analytical tool also has the potential to drive

the field into wider forums of discussion, opening the opportunity for cross disciplinary collaboration.

Lastly, this study has demonstrated the importance of the adequate consideration of context when investigating supplementary schools. Within phase 1, the historical, social and political contextual data gathered during the school leader interviews proved to be invaluable in the understanding of the existence and operations of the schools. This information constituted the storylines which informed institutional level discourses that ultimately affected the schooling delivered. It is therefore vital that researchers approach supplementary schools as institutions that exist within and respond to, multilevel, historical, social and political contexts, giving due consideration to contextual discourses.

9.2 Limitations

Whilst a number of methodological challenges have already been outlined in chapter 5, here I will outline some of the central limitations of the study that index possible avenues for further expansion of the research study.

The key limitations of the study pertain to its scope, which was inevitably restricted by timescale of the study. The study could perhaps have benefited for instance, from a deeper exploration of the immigration history and socio-political background of the ethnic minority communities featured in the research spanning beyond the phase 1 interviews. This would have allowed for the further socio-political and historical contextualisation of schools and may have generated further insights into their everyday operations.

Due to time and space limitations I was also only able to present one case study. Whilst this case study was indeed insightful, it would have been interesting to have presented further case studies in order to demonstrate the relationships between school positioning and discursive practices within a variation of school contexts and to have potentially explored the intricacies of differing school positionings in practice.

Thirdly, it would have been interesting to explore the positioning of schools and the case study school in particular, from the viewpoints of other stake holders such as the parents and the pupils and thus to incorporate a more diverse representation of voices within the exploration of school positioning.

Lastly, this research study could be further developed through the investigation of the distribution, availability and accessing of social and cultural resources. Whilst the study does explore the use of such resources to achieve certain ends, the actual process of acquisition is not made clear. This may highlight issues of inequality and certain social constraints (Blommaert, 2005) that may hinder community agency.

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Appendix A Full account of preliminary phase

The preliminary phase of the research was a period in which I carried out some initial investigations. On a basic level, this period was comparable to Stebbins' concept of 'exploration'. Stebbins describes 'exploration' as "a broad-ranging, purposive, systematic, prearranged undertaking designed to maximise the discovery of generalisations leading to description and understanding of an area of social or psychological life" (Stebbins, 2001: 3). Stebbins comments that 'exploration' usually takes place in cases where the researcher, whilst having little scientific knowledge concerning the target group, processes or activities or even the situation they wish to examine, still remains convinced that there are elements worthy of discovery (Stebbins, 2001).

In the case of this research, the exploration stage mainly involved a series of visits to two local supplementary schools: African-Caribbean school B and another African-Caribbean school. These visits were spread over a period of two and a half months. During this time I made a total of nine visits to the two schools; five visits to African-Caribbean school B and four visits to the second school. Visits to school B lasted two hours whilst visits to the second school lasted one and a quarter hours. I spent a total of 8 hours at school B and 6 and a quarter hours at the second school; altogether spending 14 and a quarter hours at the two schools in total.

Alongside school visits I also read a range of materials concerning the key issues surrounding supplementary schooling. The aim of this phase was for me to familiarise myself with the supplementary school environment and also to further define the research topic. My plan at this stage was to immerse myself in the supplementary school setting and through a process of intense observation and casual enquiries, to eventually discover what the main focus of the study should be. Thus, this phase of exploration was utilised as a 'stepping stone' that eventually enabled me to conduct more focused, in-depth investigations within the world of supplementary schooling.

The two schools at which I chose to carry out my initial visits were selected on the grounds of accessibility. Access to the two schools was fairly straightforward since I already knew the lead teacher at one of the schools and was a member within the religious organisation under which the second school operated. This meant that in both cases I took on the position of insider and outsider; having some affiliation with the individuals involved in the schools whilst being totally new to the schools themselves. After explaining that I was intending to carry out research in the area of supplementary schooling and having made a verbal request to attend, I was granted access to both schools for the preliminary period. It was clear that my ethnic and religious background were instrumental in the accessing of schools as they constituted an immediate affiliation between the leaders of the two schools and myself.

The two schools were both quite small in scale. Attendance at the schools ranged from 9 to 15 pupils at any one time. Whilst the lead teachers at the schools were reluctant to label the schools as 'African-Caribbean' schools, the children who attended were of African-Caribbean backgrounds or of dual parentage including African-Caribbean. In addition, the lead teachers themselves were African-Caribbean. However both schools welcomed children from all ethnic and cultural backgrounds and were not restrictive.

Whilst at the schools, my initial intention was to confine myself to the role of onlooker, simply observing the intricacies of school life from the side-lines. However I very quickly became more involved, adopting a classroom assistant role. In the case of African-Caribbean school B, it was assumed by the lead teacher that I would be willing and able to assist in the running of the weekly activities. Here again, I adopted the role of classroom assistant, working with pupils on a one-to-one basis. In the case of the second school, I did initially establish myself as the silent observer, after three sessions however, the lead teacher requested that I assist in the teaching process. Whilst this request was light-hearted, I decided that assisting in the school was the very least service that I could offer in exchange for the privilege of actually being allowed to experience its functioning first hand.

My classroom assistant role varied between the two schools. Within the first school I was more directly involved with the teaching of pupils. In this sense I was treated as one of the regular teachers and seemed to be regarded as such by the pupils. In the second school however, the children were taught in groups and both teachers had a well-established routine. Consequently my role within the school was somewhat loosely defined and my positioning less explicit. Here, I mostly assisted the second teacher with the younger children, offering words of encouragement and generally helping to maintain their focus on the task set. Within this environment it was clear that there was much less of an opportunity for me to contribute to the schooling process.

My direct involvement within the above two schools exposed me to the various elements of the teaching and learning process including the physical organisation of learning spaces, pupils' responses to learning and the interactions between pupils and teachers. This initial visiting of schools was greatly beneficial to me as it allowed me to gain a practical insight into the realities of supplementary school life. In this sense, this phase constituted what Blommaert refers to as the "preparation phase" (Blommaert, 2006: 24) where the researcher gains a preliminary understanding of the field, expanding the "range of recognisable things" (Blommaert, 2006: 21) before the main research phase commences, so that when the researcher enters the field to conduct the main bulk of the research, not everything is strange and unexpected (Blommaert, 2006). This phase also involved a series of informal exchanges with teachers concerning the meaning and purpose of supplementary schools and their own perceptions of the schools in which they were involved. These initial exchanges directed my focus towards the issue of social positioning.

Fieldnotes

Observations from school visits were documented in fieldnotes along with my own thoughts and feelings concerning the research process itself. I had originally hoped to make notes during the actual school sessions to safeguard against the loss of detail, however, this proved to be awkward and impractical especially alongside my increased involvement in the teaching at the schools. I found some comfort however in keeping my notebook close to me at all times and did on occasion make small reminder notes pertaining to statistics, significant quotations or significant interactions, however the bulk of the notes were written after the visit.

Admittedly, this arrangement caused some discomfort during the initial phase, during which I also found myself feeling anxious at times about the inability to immediately document my observations and thoughts. At the same time however, even when I did have the opportunity to make brief notes I was still very cautious, not wanting to disturb the relationships I had

built with the teachers at the two schools. Such was the case in a piece of research carried out by Freilish (1977), with the Mohawks in Brooklyn New York where participants would become defensive every time Freilish produced his note book. Because of this, Freilish resorted to making timely visits to the men's room which constituted a safe space in which he could record a few brief jottings (Bernard, 1994).

In fact note taking, particularly in the initial stages was a somewhat contentious activity for me in that even when I had full freedom to do so I was still very wary of the teachers and how they might conceptualise or respond to my note taking in their presence. My decisions regarding note taking were dictated firstly by the circumstances and also by the relationships established in the field. This dilemma faced by researchers is aptly represented by Emerson et al (1995) who state that decisions regarding when, where and how to take notes can have a significant impact on relations with those in the field. In some cases participants may presume that the researcher's primary aim is to disclose their secrets and to transform intimate experiences into objects of scientific investigation (Emerson et al, 1995).

The Nature of Initial Note taking

Initially, the fieldnotes taken were highly descriptive and very widely spanned as they did not focus on any particular elements of the schools. At this stage of initial discovery I simply noted everything I could recall, thus a wide range of issues were covered, from room layout to teacher-student interactions including some quotations where I thought appropriate. During the last couple of visits to the schools, I also began to take a particular interest in occurrences pertaining to school purpose. Below is an example of notes taken during this initial period of exploration:

*11 children at the school today,
- 4 boys and one teacher on one table (these were the younger boys).
- 3 other tables of the older children (3 on one table and two on the other tables).
2 teachers present as usual, one sitting with smaller boys and the other teaching the other 7 older children.
Older children did maths sums, doing them individually at first then working them out collaboratively. Children called out and contributed as teacher 1 wrote working out on the white board.*

Younger children were doing verbal reasoning today. They did a few questions at a time then teacher told them the answers and the children marked the paper for themselves. After the questions were marked, the teacher got the children to explain why the right answers were the right answers.....

Teacher 2 explained to me the verbal reasoning paper they were doing was in prep for the 11+ test, although the children were aged 7 and 8, he believed it was important for them to practice and get used to the questions.

Atmosphere

Today the session had the same level of warmth and enthusiasm. The children seemed eager to learn. Even when the younger members were getting verbal reasoning questions wrong they still seemed eager and enthusiastic.

(Fieldnotes from school 2, 27/04/09)

The above Fieldnotes extract contains a variety of details including; the number of children in the school, the types of activities carried out, a verbal exchange with a teacher and the classroom atmosphere. At other times I found that my notes were more focused on a particular narrative or event that I found to significant:

Today was a different experience for me because I assisted in the teaching as opposed to just observing the various goings on. Teacher 2 assigned me to a young boy (year 4) and told me that he needed help with his basic maths skills. I could see at the start of the lesson that this boy didn't have much confidence in his mathematical ability and he seemed somewhat overwhelmed by the whole prospect of addition.

At the start of the session, teacher 2 played a numbers game with the three boys on the table (including the boy I was assigned to). He asked the boys questions related to times tables and the differences between members which they had to work out mentally. The boy I was assigned to (Boy x), found his questions very difficult to answer and seemed to be distracted by the impressive mental abilities of the other two boys.....

Realising that boy x was finding great difficulty in doing the sums mentally, teacher 2 instructed boy x to write out numbers from 1-10 so he could use them to count from. Teacher 2 tried a few more sums, attempting to get boy x to use the time line, but this still caused some difficulty. Following this, teacher 2 laid out 10 board pens for boy x to count with. This worked very well for boy x who began to gain confidence from doing maths sums independently and produce correct answers. After a while boy x no longer needed the pens or numbers to count with because he had begun to do the sums mentally.

*For me, just watching the growth of boy x's confidence and skill throughout the session was an amazing and refreshing experience. The more he succeeded, the more he smiled and the more confidence he gained..... Somehow the teachers seem to have been able to create an environment where learning not only meets enjoyment but blurs into it, resulting in an idealistic learning space that lends itself to academic progress.
(Fieldnotes from School 2, 23/03/09)*

This broad approach to note taking reflected my intention at the time which was to observe as much as I could with regards to the practicalities of school life in the hope that a research worthy aspect/s would become apparent. According to Blommaert and Jie, one of the rules for observation is to begin by observing 'everything'. During the initial stages of observation, such an approach is both appropriate and understandable since the initial research stage is one of orientation; of deciphering environments, people and voices (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). I do not presume however that these fieldnotes were totally ad-hoc and unguided. Indeed Blommaert and Jie suggest that what a researcher observes depends on where they look which is in turn dictated by their understanding, where they are positioned and what they are doing there (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). Emmerson et al further comment:

Writing fieldnote descriptions, then, is not so much a matter of passively copying down “facts” about “what happened”. Rather, such writing involves active processes of interpretation and sense-making: noting and writing down some things as “significant”, noting but ignoring others as “not significant,” and even missing other possibly significant things altogether (Emmerson et al, 1995: 8).

According to Emerson et al, fieldnotes encompass inscriptions of the social life being observed. These inscriptions enable the researcher to contain what they see in words and sentences through which they make sense of the unfamiliar world under observation. This process of inscription inevitably involves the researchers own sensitivities, meanings and understandings of the field (Emerson et al, 1995). Further extensive discussions of the interpretive nature of note taking and other issues around fieldnotes is featured in the account of the collection and analysis of fieldnotes during phase 2.

During these early stages of the research the writing and reading of fieldnotes served as a reflective tool, reminding me of the course of research journey and providing a basis for further exploration. The two individual sets of fieldnotes from the two schools, also served as a record of the new knowledge that I had gained concerning the realities of supplementary school life.

Finding my way

This period of school visitations constituted a time of searching, reflecting and essentially ‘wondering’. At this stage of the research the field appeared to be an ambiguous space; exciting yet uncertain. Throughout this period, I was constantly aware that there was something unique and interesting about the supplementary school context that was worthy of investigation, yet I found difficult to identify a specific research topic. This was also a time where I felt that the research was in a state of limbo because it hadn’t yet officially started, yet preliminary investigations were being carried out. This chaotic period which is inevitable in any piece of ethnographic research is what Blommaert and Jie aptly describe as ‘Chaos’ – “the normal state of things” (Blommaert and Jie, 2010: 25). Blommaert and Jie remind readers that since those involved in ethnographic investigations intend to describe and analyse complex entities it should come as no surprise that the process is neither linear, logical nor sequential in nature. In fact Blommaert and Jie recommend that within such research it should be initially assumed that object of observation will be experienced as chaotic until such time as the researcher gains sufficient understanding (Blommaert and Jie, 2010).

This uncomfortable state of uncertainty was eventually resolved through discussions with supplementary school teachers which led to the defining of the research focus. After hearing two contrasting accounts of how teachers perceived their schools, I began thinking about the issue of the social positioning of schools and the diversity of positionings likely to exist amongst supplementary schools. I then revisited the supplementary schooling literature that I had gathered and discovered that there was a need for a more appropriate representation of the diversity of schools within the field. There then followed a verbal brainstorming session with an informal associate. This marked the start of a more focused and directed research journey with a view to exploring the social positionings of supplementary schools. This whole narrowing process was fore-grounded against the backdrop of my fieldnotes which contained important observational data concerning the nature of the research context and therefore informed the direction of the research by giving an indication of the attributes and parameters of the research area.

Appendix B has been removed from the electronic version of this thesis as it contains confidential information

Appendix C School categories chart

School Categories

	Community Language (CL)	National Curriculum (NC)	Cultural heritage (CH)	Religious (RE)	BOTH CL&NC	BOTH NC&CH	BOTH RE&CL	BOTH RE&NC	CH&CL	RE,NC&CL
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	40	13	2	0	24	4	7	0	7	4

Categories to be included in phase 1

	Community Language (CL)	National Curriculum (NC)	BOTH NC&CL/CH	BOTH RE&CL	CH&CL	RE,NC&CL
Category number	1	2	5	7	9	10
No of schools in B'ham	40	13	28	7	7	4

Omitted categories: CH, RE, RE&NC

Merged categories: NC&CL and NC&CH

Appendix D Phase 1 staff interview schedule

Introduction

Thank participant for coming
-Introduction of researcher
-Recap of research topic and purpose

Briefing

-Encourage participant to speak openly
-Assure participant that everything will remain confidential and anonymous
-Inform participant that they are free to leave at any point of the interview and do not have to answer any questions they are uncomfortable with
-remind participant that interview will be recorded
-Ask if there are any questions/comments before starting
-Begin recording.

Personal details

What is your post or position at the school?

For how long have you worked in this position?

For how long have you worked at the school?

What does your role involve?

Had you worked at any other supplementary schools previously?

Personal perceptions of supplementary schooling

What made you decide to become involved in supplementary schooling?

What does the school mean to you?

As a leader within the school what is your vision for the school?

School history and purpose

Tell me about the history of the supplementary school you work in.

Further prompt questions:

- Why did the school originally start?
- What was the function of the school when it started?
- Who started it?

What is the current function of your supplementary school within contemporary society?

Why are such schools needed?

What are the central aims of the school?

How does the school achieve these aims?

How do these aims affect everyday school life?

What would you say is the driving force behind the school?

What do you see to be the key purpose of the school?

What do you think the future holds for schools such as your own?

Follow-up

Would you be willing to have another follow-up discussion if necessary?

Debriefing

-Thanks

-Any the interviewee of they have any questions.

Appendix E Field notes extract

11/05/2010

After this the children were given 'weight cranes' (my own terminology) to play around with for a while. This was a plastic scales like device on which plastic weights could be hung. The children seemed really enthused by this and for a while they were just left to hang the weights on and take them off and get a general feel for the concept of weights being heavier and lighter etc. Whilst this was going on the teacher went around the class checking up on students and asking them questions about what was happening to their cranes.

At one point one of the boys was sent outside for failing to respond appropriately to the teacher. He was given a warning but failed to adhere. After being briefly spoken to by the teacher the boy was let back in.

This lesson was largely discussion based. The teacher allowed the children to discuss answers and decipher situations collaboratively, as opposed to feeding them answers from the front.

An example of this orientation is the class discussion pertaining to why the crane with the weight on each side still remained lopsided.

I noticed that despite the fact that many of the students' answers were wrong, the teacher didn't say this outright, or stop them. Instead she used words like "that's interesting". Even when two of the students came near enough to the answer, the teacher still allowed other students the opportunity to put forward their ideas concerning the crane enigma.

Towards the end of the lesson the teacher wrote a few short sentences on the board for the children to copy. One of the pupils had forgotten his pencil and went to the teacher's desk to ask for one. The teacher responded that if he was a doctor, how would he give the patients their prescriptions without a pen?

Again the teacher used in her illustration a high end science based occupation to put her point across.

Appendix F Phase 2 interview schedule

Introduction

Thank participant for coming

-Introduction of researcher

-Recap of research topic and purpose

Briefing

-Encourage participant to speak openly

-Assure participant that everything will remain confidential and anonymous

-Inform participant that they are free to leave at any point of the interview and do not have to answer any questions they are uncomfortable with

-remind participant that interview will be recorded

-Ask if there are any questions/comments before starting

-Begin recording.

Personal Details

What is your post or position at the school?

For how long have you worked at the school?

What does the school mean to you?

School Purpose

How would you describe the school as an institution?

What is it that this school is seeking to achieve?

What do you see to be the key purpose/s of the school?

How does the school seek to fulfil its purpose/s?

Teaching Practice

What role do you play in relation to the purpose/s of the school?

Within your everyday teaching, how aware are you of the overall school purpose?

Do you think the purpose of the school influences your teaching practice in any way?

What are you as a teacher, trying to achieve through your own teaching?

In your opinion, why are schools such as this one needed?

Extract questions

What is happening in the extract?

How does the extract/s relate to the purposes of the school?

Debriefing

-Thanks

-Any the interviewee of they have any questions.

Appendix G Examples of full interview transcripts

Phase 1 Staff Interview 007

Note: School is referred to in the transcript as *school x*

- I Ok, so tell me a little bit about your position at this school; what's your position and what does that position involve?
- P Ok, I am the project manager of *school x* and that involves operations and managing the staff, managing parents, managing the children and the day to day running of the school.
- I Ok, do you teach at the school at all, do you take any of the classes?
- P No, I do if I have to, but I don't actually do that.
- I Ok, so there's obviously other staff members who take care of that.
- P Yeh, yeh
- I How many children are there approximately?
- P About 145, *person x* how much? (asking colleague)
- P2 yeh
- P About 145.
- I Ok, that's quite sizable.
- P ...Across the week.
- I Okay, so what days does it run then?
- P Monday to Thursday and Saturday mornings.
- I Okay, and are the subjects, umm, are there different subjects on different days? how do the different day' work?
- P The different day's work with the year groups; key stage 2 come in on a Tuesday and a Thursday, key stage 3 do Monday and Saturday, key stage 4, year 10 do Wednesday and Saturday and key stage 4 year 11, do Wednesdays only, yeh, and we just cater for maths and science for the secondarys and for primary we do maths science and literacy.

-
- I Okay, Do you do anything else in addition to those subjects in the way of cultural studies or anything religious at all?
- P Yes we do, we don't do anything religious per say but we do do black history month for two weeks in the month of October, umm, specifically for all year groups, but during the course of the year the sessions that we take are usually cultural based anyway because we look at...rather than... in year 7 we look at sickle cell rather than just cells, you know, things like that, we do project based learning as well so that it encompasses a lot of things rather than just one particular area, you know, so.
- I Okay, I'm really interested in that, can you give me some other examples of how that cultural element is integrated into the lessons throughout the year.
- P Yeh, For instance we might do things that umm, well diseases that affect black people which is diabetes, sickle cell, things like that, you know, umm and look at how it affects families, cause you know there's some children here that have parents or siblings that have had these things and they understand it better, you know what I mean, and also in literacy we did Barack Obama, d'you know what I mean, so we looked at his journey and things like that, so it incorporated things like day to day news kind of thing and bring it onto the lesson so that children are aware of what's going on out there without necessarily having to read the newspaper or watch the news, they'll know about it and they can relate to that as well, and then they take...that information then goes back into their mainstream schools, so they're not oblivious to it.
- I Umm, okay, just before we started you talked about the school being a complementary school, can you just expand on that a bit and explain to me why its placed in that category or why you placed it in that category.
- P Okay, because we complement what school does, umm, in key stage 2 we do literacy because they say by the end of year 6 if you haven't got your literacy where it should be then you're gonna fail the rest of your coming years, you know, right, I don't know how true that is but we found that children coming in, in year 4 can't read and write in some of the schools that they're going to in this area. I can't mention names, need to be professional about that, but they've come in and they're below average, you know when they come in, right, so we complement their activities that they're doing at school and the schools get the accolades for it, we don't, d'you know what I mean, cause were helping the child to read and write and umm construct sentences and so on at the age of eight years old, where they should know this already, but they come to us and they don't. Same thing with maths and the science, umm, we look at the areas of weakness, the grey areas I call them, and we look at the jargon that's used at school in the AQA or the Edexcell exam papers, they don't understand the jargon so therefore they'll fail their exams and things like that. Teachers apparently haven't got enough time to teach them about these things, these things that are important and we pick up the slack for them and give them all of this knowledge, you know. Some of the children come and they've got homework to do, they don't understand it, umm, we help them through that, we help them through their course work which is the majority of their marks, we also tailor-make lessons for individual students, we use a lot of

differentiation as well and that goes across from that to science. So that's why we call it complementary, because it goes back, it feeds back into their mainstream.

I Okay, okay, umm and what, umm Just out of interest, what are your views on some of the other terminologies, cause there's lots in there, there's supplementary for instance, what are your views on that kind of labelling?

P Supplementary, umm, I'm of the opinion that supplementary schools are faith schools, cause it does additional things such as Punjabi or Urdu or something that isn't taught in school. So that's what supplementary is, as far as I know. umm, what others are there?

I Complementary, supplementary, umm, some are just simply called Saturday schools aren't they.

P Yeh, which is what we are, which is what the supplementary school is where the children go to school on a Saturday but we're in the same kind of thing but we actually run this building off...this is our floor. Saturday schools are usually in a umm, like a church or in a back room somewhere where children are all in one room of all ages, you know, mixed ability and everything else and they're just taught, and then anything they put up, they have to take it down and take it with them when they go, but here we have our four rooms which I'll show you a bit later.

I Okay, so how long have you worked at the school

P Nearly 10 years.

I Okay, so good long stretch, lots of experience

P Yeh, yeh.

I So have you... before working at this school have you worked in any other similar schools previously?

P No, I worked in adult education, yeh, teaching ESOL, umm, you know, young people to read and write and things like that, you know, and working at *college x* and training organisations umm, basically adult education really, that's where I'm coming from.

I Okay, so what is it that made you decide to become involved in this particular type of schooling then?

P (giggle) Umm, I was headhunted by the then founder of *school x*, you know, she wanted me to establish this and make it grow really, from...cause when I came here it wasn't like what it is now, it was like children of mixed ability in...like 4 and 5s were together sixes were, all in one room umm, 7 and 8 together, 9 10 and 11 together and we had to come and sort it all out, d'you know what I mean. It was just the umm, I think it was the opportunity to develop my own skills and to see what I could actually do cause I didn't really have any background with this kind of thing when I came here but you know, you could see what needs to do was just a challenge really. And *person 2* over there (referring to colleague), umm, was appointed just after me, and he came

in and helped me to put this organisation on the map and we did it together so really he should be over here.

I (laugh)

P2 (...)

P You know, so I'm gonna be bothering him to ask...so he can answer some of the questions too.

I Yeh, feel free to shout across if you need to *person 2*

P2 Yeh

I Yeh, so, um, okay, so what...ok so you were head hunted...and what makes you, I suppose what makes you continue then? What makes you...you know, what motivates you to keep going with the school? ten years on, you know.

P Umm I think it's mainly the achievement of the children, you know, when they meet you in the street and they're happy to see you, you've done something right there, d'you know what I mean, so umm...and you see them growing, you see them, you know, not grow, mature, and become more confident and more self-aware of themselves and identity and things like that that as well, and they're actually achieving, you know sometimes they have a negative experience at school and they come here and they think it's going to be the same, and then they realise it's not like that, then you see them start to mature, d'you know what I mean, and that in itself is a reward for me, because then we've done something right, you know, we've kept going, I mean the city fund us and everything else right, but we've kept going. Usually projects like this don't last long, you know, but we keep doing the do. I'd say were movers and shakers, you know what I mean, we get things done, we stand for what our ethos is all about, you know, education should be fun, you know, umm, we want some more doctors, some more nurses out there, some more scientists, you know , African Caribbean people, there's not many that are, you know, scientists and doctors and things like that, they take up sports and dance and beauty and all the rest of the things that schools encourage them to do, we want them to be high flyers and reach their full potential, d'you know what I mean, reach for the stars basically, they can do what they can do, you know, so that...I think that's what motivates me and plus I got a good staff team as well, they're committed and they're reliable, you know, umm, that helps, we work hard together, d'you know what I mean, it's not like all about me, it's not all about *person 2*, it's all about all of us working together, you know, on the same page, you know, where do you find a black organisation now that works together? It's usually: fight, backbiting and this one don't like that, that don't do this and all of that, but when it comes to working with the children, were together, so that helps, makes my life a lot easier, so yeh.

I So what about...just along those same lines actually, what's your vision for the school?

P I'd like it to be an extended provision for those children who have been excluded from school, you know, and work towards the same kind of ethos but in a day provision

where the children can come in, when they realise that their behaviour hasn't got them anywhere, they can come in right and at least get the three core subjects under their belt and then go on to access, to learning, I mean the route's gonna be longer because they probably haven't got any qualifications but at least we could pick up the slack there, you know, and actually capture some of that for them and put them on the map too, you know, that's what I see us moving to in the next five years or so, cause it would be really good.

I Okay, with regards to the umm, just going back to the actual population of the school, umm, does the school have a... not really a rule but a kind of principle of accepting African Caribbean students only or is the school...cause some schools only accept Afro-Caribbean, African Caribbean sorry, students, and then other schools say ok, its open to the community but it just so happens that African Caribbean students prefer to attend. What is your umm principle?

P African Caribbean children are the first choice but we don't say that you can't come here it's just that our methodology, you know, is for our children, d'you know what I mean, we can't exclude anybody, wouldn't want to think that we do that, but largely it's for...we'd like to think that it's for African Caribbean children, you know, dual heritage as well and Chinese or Indian or you know, BME minority ethnic groups and things like that you know, but we don't exclude people, if anyone else wants to come they can come, you know, they're welcome to come. But you know we've got mainly black teachers, you know, we've got one white teacher an Asian man who's a lab technician, you know, and as I said, we all work together, so we don't, no we don't exclude people but we are definitely looking at our own children, we have to do something for them, you know, so yeh.

I And the population at the moment, of the school, in terms of the students, are they all African Caribbean students at the moment?

P Yeh they are, and some of dual heritage.

I Some dual heritage, okay, like you said, okay.

P Yeh, and Somali, as well we have.

I Okay, okay, I wanted to know a little bit about the history of the school: How it started, who started it, when it started. Can you tell me a little bit about that side of things.

P Umm, it started in, is it 1998? I can't remember, was it 1998 (asking person 2)?

P2 the launch was 1999, so...

P 1999. They started doing the ground work in 1998, it was launched and opened in June 1999, yeh, by *MP x* and the founder or the person who started it then was *person x* she was the umm, an engineer that thought well, we need to get more children...we need more scientists, we need some more engineers and so on, so she then went to the city and decided oh well we need to get some people on board here. Person x supported the cause and we got this building and we got the funding and everything

else and we've been going ever since, you know, so the ideas were hers really, it's just that we've changed a lot of things, well not change – developed a lot of things and made it into a complementary school.

- I So what would you say...at the beginning when it started, what would you say was the purpose of the school when it started, its main purpose?
- P Its main purpose was to umm, was to engage African Caribbean children in the fields of science, hence the name *school x* And it was for them to get those, the better grades really. You know, umm, some children that come here come here with the idea that they're not going to achieve, and by the time they leave here they've gone up sets, they've gone on to bigger and better things, they've gone on to further education and university and so on, so you see that, I think that was the main idea why she would start this, you know. But I wasn't actually here when it all started, I was umm...I just came in after everything had already been grounded kind of thing.
- I And do you think, do you think when it started, do you think there were any particular events or circumstances that led to this...it's a lady isn't it...that led to this lady thinking right, we need to start thinking about setting up this school?
- P Well I think it was mainly the statistics really that showed that how African Caribbean children were underachieving greatly, you know, and she wanted to do something about it. So yes, there would have been events and things and there would have been pickets and stuff outside council house and all that kind of thing to get the point across, and she actually did quite well cause we've got this still today, you know, so yeh.
- I And, okay, it started in 98, or the ground work at least started in 98, now were in 2009 so over a decade on, how d'you think the purpose of the school now compares to the purpose when it first started?
- P It's still the same purpose, it's still there, our children are still underachieving and being excluded from school and all the rest of it and apparently the gaps going to close in 2035, you know, is that right, *person 2?* (asking colleague)
- P2 I'm not sure
- P Yeh, I'm sure that the underachievement gaps gonna close in 2035, one of the staff was mentioning that to me yesterday, so were gonna have this problem for a decade, I'll probably be lifting my zimmer frame and stuff like that by the time we haven't got a job, you know what I mean, so, you know, there's gonna...there's massive underachievement in our children and I don't really know why, d'you know what I mean, because when I was at school we had to achieve, our parents wouldn't let us do anything else so I don't know, I think some of the teachers are a bit young, you know, they can't really cope with umm, like classroom management and things like that, you know. We wouldn't dream of it when we was at school, we wouldn't dream of talking back to the teacher or anything like that, no way, but these children now they just got...they're so...they got guts, you know, or either their parents have had negative experiences and they tend to want to be on the side of the child without thinking, let me investigate and see what going on here, d'you know what I mean, so I think the need is there and will be there for a long time yet, you know, so.

- I Okay, umm, so you may feel that you've answered some of this already actually, what do you think the current function is of the school, within contemporary society?
- P Umm, function of the school within contemporary society, umm, I think that the function of the school is a necessity because we need to combat the underachievement with today's children, you know, as young as 8 years old come here and they can't read and write and some of them come in year 6 from a primary school and they can't read and write, so what's gone wrong there? D'you know what I mean, and I think that the function of our school is to give that...to enhance educational needs for African Caribbean children and children of dual heritage, that's what I think anyway.
- I And in terms of the...going back to the purpose of the school, umm,you talked about the schools purpose being umm, you know that achievement agenda, to up the achievement and also the production of scientists you know and mechanics and you know, umm, to get black children in fields like that. Umm, how does the school attempt to achieve this? In the everyday workings of the school, how does it attempt to reach those goals?
- P Just by making sure that the children achieve their full potential and also we work with another organisation called *organisation x* who work min and look at careers in science and we have careers in science fares and things like that and once every so often they'll come in and they'll do an options evening with us and the parents come to that, kind of thing, and they see what the options are, jobs in science and things, so we try and do that kind of thing as well. You know, we have the army coming in, we have external people coming in and doing things around careers and things like that, so that's how we try and work it, and then we see what the children need, the children can then see what they need to achieve to get to university even and then we can work towards that kind of goal with the children, individual children as well, so I think we do it that way.
- I Is there anything else that you do here that is perhaps different from the mainstream? You say that you know, it's about helping the children to reach their full potential which implies to me...you can correct me if I'm wrong...that maybe in other institutions they're not able to fulfil their full potential or they're not fulfilling their full potential for some reason. So what is it that *School x* does here that's...
- P Different
- I Yeh, or unique to this institution here?
- P We give umm, a lot of time to our students, ok, and we have the support of their parents as well. Schools don't have the support of parents, right, and we do, we...they're involved in their children's education, you know, and just by having that options evening as well, they understand a lot more about how or why or where the children need to be to actually achieve their full potential. So that's what makes us different, unique apart from school. And also the children are not afraid of us, we work on their confidence as well, they're not afraid to ask a question that they might think is foolish, you know, we don't make them feel like they're foolish, you know, we make them feel like they can ask questions, you know, they can get the answer. If

one feels embarrassed then they can wait until after the session's over, yeh, we have year 11s coming in on a year 10 session to just get their actual enrichment as well, to make sure they've got enough information to actually succeed in their exams. And schools are only just starting to do after school sessions, you know and if you're working with a teacher who doesn't want to listen to you, then what are you gonna get from them? You know. We had a survey, we were doing research with *University x* yesterday, and the children said they were made to feel like fools at school and when they come here we listen to them and they're not afraid to ask questions, you know, and also we work on their behaviour as well because we have zero tolerance here; we don't put up with any nonsense, any back chatting or anything like that. If the child behaves like that then that child is removed and I have to deal with that alongside the parents, so they know better than to misbehave in the class cause they don't their parents to have to come in and have to deal with it with it with me, cause that's how I do it, I don't do discipline alone, I do it on a three way or four way, cause if mum and dad wanna come then this is how we deal with it, you know, and nothings said in the absence of the child, the child's there at all times, you know, but whereas at school now, if the child...if there's a personality clash with a teacher and a child, that child's excluded or given a C1, C2, C3 or any system their using, their excluded, given a detention and so they're punished on top of being punished anyway, and then, there's rebellion, there's rebellious, so that's what makes us different, you know.

I What would you say the driving force is behind the school

P Umm, can you elaborate on that question, cause I don't wanna answer it and put myself in the picture all the time.

I Well, it's just your personal opinion, whatever you think it is that...I suppose when I say driving force I mean whatever it is that's, that keeps the school going. It may be something obvious and visible or it may be something underlying the school; an ethos or an idea or a determination or a goal or something.

P Ok, person 2, what do you think the answer the answer to that question is?

P2 I was half hearing the question and half (...)

P What do you think the driving force is that keeps this place going?

P2 Umm, driving force for this place, umm, I think it's the overall factor of *person 1's* (interviewee) passion for the children and also members of staff, cause were reinforcing basically some of our heritage, in terms of the knowledge we've learnt from our elders, were also passing it back on to our children in the form of education, so then it help us to generate, I don't know, more achievement, more aspiration for young black people. Me myself as a young black person, I never had this when I was younger and I feel like if I did have this when I was younger through my childhood, I would have achieved more, cause I had more support, so I think it's the support and person 1, the parents, the teachers, the pupils own support as peers, it's all that kind of stuff that keeps the organisation driving and we'll continue, as long as we have the support of all those relevant people and it's a shame that we can't get government on our side now to reinforce what we're doing and umm, we don't actually advertise, promote our services but we know that were doing good from the feedback were

getting from everyone, once they eventually find out what we're doing, they always commend us, so um, its good, it's all good.

P Does that answer your question?

I Umm hum, umm, hum, there's no...

P I was gonna say me!

P & I (Laugh)

P2 It has been *person 1*, cause when I first started here, this place was nothing and person changed that. I could say we had another, is it four organisations? (asking person 1)

P Yeh.

P2 we had another four organisations like ourselves and they never lasted. That is probably due to their project management, or they didn't have the right person in there to facilitate certain resources that we had. So we made the best of what we had and generated it into a pot of gold, so *person 1* is the person that started that, has continued to drive it on and on, so she's the head and we are the hands, but we still work together, as one, so yeh, I commend person 1.

I (laugh) well, there we go.

P There we go

I It came out of the mouth of somebody else.

P Exactly, and he knows what he's talking about cause I couldn't find those words to tell you, umm what the driving force is really...

P2 (...)

P ...alright then, you know umm, I'm not good at speaking about myself and stuff like that, you know what I mean, I just... I do, more than, you know, init *person 2*?

P2 But I was the same when I joined here, I didn't have the confidence when I joined here; I didn't have the confidence or anything, I've been here for 8 years, I came here as a lost student basically, denied my path from university, person 1 offered me the opportunity to be lab assistant and I came in here thinking well, I can't do that, umm, how do I actually start and person 1 basically mentored me and built my infrastructure of my communication skills, umm, general people skills, so it's, it's a bit of a mentoring path, that's what we offer as well, umm, yeh, on the side, so its life skills, she gave me all the knowledge of life skills; networking at strategic meetings, planning, administration, so she built like my core skills that's assisted me to go on to university and get a degree and come back here, what I've learnt, pass it on to pupils here, so we've done project based learning, my learning that I've passed it back on to

the pupils and show them that they can achieve in certain aspects, moving forward, and I'm a prime example, we have (...) that leave and come back and they keep their example of; this is my path, I was at *school x*, I did this, I achieve that and you can aspire and achieve in certain aspects that you want to. It's been good, so, its catching a lot of different aspects and yeh, moving everybody forward.

P3 giving people aspirations.

P This is person 3, my colleague and she's the umm, one of the (clears throat jokingly) advisors, this is my friend, she's one of the advisors, science advisors from BASS from the city, so she might well come in on this now. She's doing some research for university about supplementary schools, complementary schools, yeh so we were just really filling her in.

P3 Oh right, ok, which university?

I University of Birmingham, education department.

Interview ended because meeting is about to start.

Phase 2 Teacher Interview – School 2, T004

R Ok, so what's your post at the school? What would you, how would you term it?

T004 Its Math tutor

R Okay

T004 Yep, Math tutor

R Alright. And how long have you worked in the school for?

T004 Eight years, eight years

R Wow, ok, I didn't realise it was that long, okay. Umm, and for you, just talk to me a little bit about what the school means to you personally.

T004 It was, I think it's a three pronged approach. Umm, it was providing black children with an alternative view to what learning and aspiration is, umm, also for me as a teacher or an instructor or a tutor; whatever they want to...I want to be classed as, having that space with colleagues who are black and who share the same umm sort of cultural and teaching ethics or standards or belief systems and then the third one is parents; giving the parents of children the opportunity to come in and have just the chance to voice their concerns about their children in mainstream education and get some level of...a lot of support, the parents have got a lot of support, especially from 001 in how to be, you know, confident in dealing with...cause you know, to be honest, having our children in the system is a fight, and the parents when they come here they were given the support mechanisms so they'd go back to the school and sort of be empowered in how to deal with the school. So it was three...so for me School 2 has always been the three elements working as one; me giving back to my community in terms of the pedagogy, umm, collaborating with colleagues, being in an environment where we can just buss joke, and also raising the aspiration of our children and the parents coming in and being able to ...were encouraging them to work in getting their children through the system.

R Umm so how...you mentioned a lot there about the mainstream school system. How do you see this institution in relation to the mainstream?

T004 I think they come here and they get filled up (slight laugh) emotionally and psychologically. I think it's the emotional and psychological umm support that I feel is more of benefit to education than learning. So when they come here, they're being told, I've got students...not citing any names, but I've taught students who for me their hand writing is perfect, diction perfect, everything perfect, young boys as well and I've

said to them “well gosh, you must get lots of praise in school”, no, and to the point where when he said no I didn’t believe him, so I went downstairs and asked his mother and his mother said, all they get from school is criticism, and I said to the...I said to his mother... I literally went down with the work and I said “how can anybody criticise this?” because I’m just seeing a snapshot and she said “how long have you got?” So for...so that’s an example of where school 2 is a buffer, a supportive buffer and its necessary, for me it’s necessary. I think they come here and they get empowered, it’s almost like an emotional filling station; they come here and they’re drained, young children at eight and nine telling me that they’re no good. So they come here and we counter that message. We say actually you are, you’re brilliant.

(Interview interrupted)

R Umm I think you were talking about mainstream and umm, and you’re talking about the school being a buffer...

T004 Here, *school 2*

R Umm hum

T004 Yep

R Umm hum, was there anything that you wanted to add

T004 I haven’t got a clue

R Okay (laugh)

T004 (Laugh) (...) right out of my head.

R Okay, in that...can you, can you umm, cause that term buffer, that’s quite a strong term, umm, can you unpack that for me so that I understand exactly what...when you say that the school is a buffer, can you unpack that?

T004 Yeh, it’s a metaphorical one, and it’s to say that whatever madness or whatever is happening in the mainstream schools; what our young young African Caribbean children are faced with, second and third generation, they get so much negativity in school as to their ability, their potential, when they come here its literally to counter all of that or most of that and to start unpacking the nonsense and then repackaging the format of learning and say you can achieve this. At eight, you’re not supposed to think that you can’t do anything because learning, part of the learning process is...I mean one of the nonsense they tell...the students come here with is this ideology that they have to finish first so they don’t understand that they have to understand the subject, they think they have to finish first, so I’m trying to unravel that; you don’t have to finish first what you have to do is demonstrate that you understand the topic that were discussing. Another thing that they

struggle with at eight, they can't make mistakes, you know, mistakes. And for me mistakes is integral in learning, you don't want to make mistakes for the sake of making mistakes, there should be like a tolerance level, I can't remember (...) like a range in which there's some level of acceptable mistakes, when you're learning. Whereas here, they come here and they're ashamed to make mistakes so then we have to go back to that, we have to unpackage that as well. You know, when you're learning ...I give them the analogy of a musician, when they're facing a piece of music for the first time and they're learning, there is a level at which they make mistakes in order to learn but you don't just continually make mistakes, you are practicing to be...to perfect your art and that's what I explain to them here. School 2 in many ways is a buffer for them, for young black children being raised in this context. I'll give you another example, I was talking to a parent and her daughter was at school and they were doing rhyming words so they were doing what rhymes with 'am', she said 'yam' and the teacher said there's no such thing, that's nonsense. That's completely disregarding somebody's diet and somebody's culture. So when they come here you can actually say yam is good and it's good that you put your hand up and you have to then start affirming them from here, so just giving them affirmation umm, it's like top down; so they've been told something else, you have to unpick it from the top down. Yeh, so that's what I meant but it is, it is in a lot of the cases it's a buffer. We've had students come here, in school they're getting...they're on umm grade two for their SATs, we've worked on their confidence and they've achieved level five and six, and their parents have come in crying cause they didn't believe it was possible, because a lot of the time the parents believe what the school say so when they come here and they hear us say "gosh, your son writes beautifully" it's like, "oh my goodness, are you serious?", "yeh I'm serious". Because your son has written a full sheet of paper with no mistakes, excellent grammar, beautiful handwriting, your son's a genius, and they're like, "no-one has ever said that before, so that's why I said it does also...it's also an aid for the parents when they come here.

R Okay, so how would you...in a nutshell how would you umm...what words would you use to describe the school as an institution? If you were to...?

T004 A life line.

Both (Laugh)

T004 A main artery to the heart, an absolute life line. Honestly it's a life line. And in terms of our children in the system, were in intensive care and this is what school 2 is offering; IV, literally IV, in the diagnosis process its IV. It is literally a lifeline, from my perspective and that's what I've seen with students who have come in and their confidence is minus. I wasn't raised in this context; I was raised in a context where I was constantly affirmed so I can't relate to what I hear; children who

are eight and nine telling me in 2011, I cannot relate to it; I've got no data in my system, there's no cross-referencing, I have no...I cannot relate, I'm just in shock that a nine year old or an eight year old can come in and say they're no good. I cannot relate to that.

R Okay, so what d'you think it is...what is...you may feel that you've answered some of this already, a lot of the questions may overlap but what is it that you think the school is seeking to achieve? What's the main thing or things that you think this school is seeking to achieve?

T004 I think when I came they wanted to get more umm representation, African Caribbean representation in the sciences. So that's all the stem subjects: science, technology, engineering and math. So they needed more... we needed to get more students studying those subjects, so that's their aim and objective, and also to empower the children into believing that they can be part of the technology revolution that's taking place. We don't have to be end users, we can determine the way that technology is going, so I think that is the remit of the school and also to get more women, more young ladies conscientised into thinking that they can do science equally as well if not better than their male peers and to get teachers collaborating, working together. I think the primary goal was to get more... more representation from our community in terms of the science, technology, engineering and math.

R D'you think that...d'you think those...cause you used the past tense...d'you think that's still the same now or do you think the...the...what the school is seeking to achieve, has it changed over time, has it been altered or do you think it's still the same?

T004 It hasn't changed, it hasn't changed but I think now as the years have gone on, it's morphed a little bit. What were noticing is that the students, their grammar and their numeracy is below, way below the national average when they come in. So I think rather than just focusing on science, I think we're focusing on key skills as well. We've changed it to the key skills so that'll probably incorporate literacy at the primary level. So I think it's still...I don't know why I used the past tense but no, no, no it's still very appropriate but I think now it just probably looking more at also literacy in the primary...which it always did but I think now there's more an emphasis on just maintaining the key skills really or bringing it up to what the national average should be.

R Okay, alright. And what about purpose, the umm, the key purpose or purposes of the school, d'you think that would be the same as the umm...what the schools seeking to achieve or...how would you ...if somebody came into the school and said okay what is the purpose of this institution, what would you say?

T004 It is a bit but...it is a bit like the answer to the previous one but also the purpose is to have a safe place for ...a safe environment for people to

learn and feel that they are learning, for young people. So I think the purpose of us here is to be sort of like a place in the community where children can come and have access to a good education and sign posting as well, you know, making those links to further and higher education, really conscientising the local community that education does make a difference. I think that's our purpose here, you know, the roots, the roots through...education forms the main path to almost anything in life and I think that's our purpose that we need to get across.

R Okay, when you say umm, a safe place, a safe...I think you used the term safe learning environment, what...can you unpack that a little bit?

T004 Safe as in you can make mistakes here, safe as in the learning is what the priority is. Not safe as in their environments are so...it's not alluding to an unsafe environment, it's just... safe as in saying that you can come here, you can make mistakes while you're learning and you can learn and you can feel good about yourself, in that context.

R Okay, how do you think...okay, you've told me about the umm, the purposes of the school and what it seeks to achieve, what it's driving towards. How do you think the school sees to fulfil these purposes? What are the means by which the school fulfils its aims?

T004 I think its delving in to...developing a creative curriculum, so it's using the expertise of the staff from their different backgrounds, developing a really unique curriculum that injects culture, faith in particular, into the sort of syllabus stroke curriculum. The key sort of...the core learn...the aspect of learning and also bringing the parents, you know during black history month we bring the parents in and have them share with us their expertise and their umm, version of things, you know, get everyone involved in their context, from the direc...from the board were also looking to...so you have bottom and top down approach. So I think the top down would be from the board managerial member of staff, bottom up from the students' parents and filter the information that way. So that's how they do it. We word in collaboration with industry, with companies, umm, and people just pool...it's a resource pool so whoever has, bring it to the table and we will dissect it, disseminate it and use it in the teaching, but it's...there's a lot of planning that goes behind the scene to make it work. So hopefully that answers the question.

R Yeh (*slight laugh*). When you say the injection of culture into the curriculum, how is culture brought into the curriculum in your view?

T004 For instance, when...during black history month or for the whole year, we let the children know that you have black male and female scientists who've influenced the scientific world and what we also are doing is we have black British scientists and innovators and younger black British scientists and innovators, so you bring culture into the curriculum and they can understand that umm, even though I hate to

use this term, I'm gonna kick myself afterwards, but I won't use that example first, but for instance, umm, there's a young black guy who's developed umm, a air compressor...not a air compressor...he uses compressed air I think, to inflate tyres, something like that and it's a young black guy, you plug it into your umm, the...what's that thing called?...the cigarette lighter in your car and it...oh it's a jack, sorry, it's an inflatable jack. So once upon a time you'd have to be, you know, winding up whatever, now you just literally plug, yeh you plug the jack into your cigarette lighter and it inflates your car up, and it's now being used in the A...in all AA cars all at the road side service. Young black guy, and when they hear about it they're like "oh!" you know so...and its modern because I sometimes think that when you go back to ancient Egypt they can't quite make the links, whereas if you've got some young regular guy from Birmingham, then they can see, they can see the pathways to whatever it is, success being an achievement of your objective as opposed to what somebody else's version of success is. So when they see that that could happen it makes a big difference and then you explain the science behind it, all the math and how math is integral in this and how you're not learning this for the sake of learning it but it's actually for a purpose. So culture is there, we also do the food and with music, cause I know the young people are really into music, I do this thing where I explain how umm a lot of the sound systems were actually invented in people's homes. So for instance you know the scratching that they would do on the record, that was invented in the states by second generation Jamaicans or Barbadians. They did that but they didn't know about patent...I actually use that as how not to invent things, I use that as an example, this is how you don't invent things; you don't invent it in your back house and then take it out to use...on the street to use because somebody will see it and take the technology and package it and call it something else. So that's an example of how innovative we've been but how we haven't gotten the rewards for the innovation. So this is where culture plays a big part of the learning.

R Okay.

T004 What you thinking about, you're like...

R No, no, I'm just ...I'm in my interviewer mode ...

T004 *(laugh)*

R I'm thinking about all...I'm thinking about what I'm gonna say next and everything. Umm, so what...in terms of umm the purposes of the school what role do you see yourself playing in the fulfilment of the purposes?

T004 Just being a cog in the wheel really. So my purposes is ...
(Interview interrupted)

R Okay, so what was I...yeh, I was asking what role you think you play in the...in fulfilling the purposes of the school and ...did you finish answering that one?

T004 Yeh, just a cog

R Cog, cog, okay. Within your everyday teaching, within the classroom context, how aware are you of the school purposes in your teaching practice?

T004 Oh very aware. I think you have to integrate the purpose in your sort of...its integrated in the scheme of work so it's also integrated in your lesson plan. I think you're constantly aware of why we're here, what the purpose of school 2's role in the education...in the educating of these children. I think you're always very aware of it. So you...it's like you're trying to coordinate the purpose their needs, so called national curriculum, that doesn't get as much priority as the students' needs but the purpose is definitely incorporated in your lesson plans or your thinking behind your lesson plans.

R And is there any ways in which the purposes of the school kind of shapes your teaching practice in terms of um, the classroom interaction and things like that?

T004 It can do, I mean for instance black history month, I mean for me I'm always mindful of including black female...black and female examples, male and female into umm what I'm doing, so I show them...even though their only in Year x, and were doing sort of the basic end. I always give them a snappit of the big picture in regards to culture and aspirations, so I think it does shape what I do. Yeh I'm always telling them stories about how to get from where they are to their potential and give them examples of people who've been on the journey before them, so yeh it does definitely have an influence.

R Okay, and as a teacher, umm, what do you think you're trying to achieve through your teaching? Cause everybody...what I've noticed obviously being around the school is that each teacher has their own style; you know you go to one classroom it's not going to be the same as another, and that's natural, you know cause all teachers are different. What are you personally trying to achieve through your style...your way of teaching?

T004 What I'm trying to achieve is that they understand the subject, they understand themselves better and I'm trying to draw out from them umm, the ability to teach themselves effectively, I think that's what I wanna do. I want them to understand that they can also teach themselves, they can learn, they can look at how they learn and become better learners and they can take responsibility for their learning. I think that's what I'm trying to do, I'm trying to facilitate that rather than imparting my knowledge and imposing my worldview on them

I'm trying to get them to develop their own world views. But there is a sort of like 'subject to' at the end of that and its subject to the purpose of school 2 as well as being mindful of those that came before them and how they use this education, this knowledge that with knowledge comes a level of responsibility to build into the community as well. So that's what I do and I make no apologies for that either as well and I tell them. So I keep them and their parents informed all the time, this is what I'm about. Umm you know when you learn you teach, you know that adage; when you learn you teach and when you get you give and that's the fundamental core of what I try to do and that's what I try to get them to think about. But I don't ...yeh I think that's about it, trying to get them to understand as well, they have more power than they think and they come...sometimes they come here powerless and its really upsetting and I'm trying to give them back their power, you can actually oversee your learning, you don't have to take all of this or all that you've been taught at face value, you can recognise you're potential in this, you know, so that's my main thing.

R And how umm...can you give me some practical example of how umm, how you do that practically in the classroom?

T004 Well for instance, umm I have a student who doesn't talk very well, he doesn't talk very well but he writes beautifully and I didn't know and actually to this day da su'um shock me because had we not done black history month I would never have known because I do math, and because during black history month he had to write something and his writing was so good. He was year x and it was comple...it was on the same wavelength as Langston Hughes, this beautiful writing, but he doesn't talk he doesn't, he doesn't express himself well verbally. So when I explained to him that the same pow...he has this amazing ability to write and I encouraged him to write more, and I said if you were able to write so well, what you can do is when you finished writing you read what you've written. And it literally just came off the you know, off the spur of the moment, so he was doing this and in writing and getting the praise for the writing he wrote more and then in writing more he started to speak about his writing and that actually gave him confidence to talk more. So the writing actually helped his, sort of his verbal skills and I would never have known that this boy could write like this if we didn't do this black history thing. And to this day the su'um shock me because he talks...it takes him forever to say two words but when he writes, oh my word! And that aided. So in that I'm trying to explain to him that in one aspect he's lacking, he's got the ability to find how to sort of grow in another context and use the other context to aid and support the side of him that's lacking. And that's what I was able to demonstrate to him. And we can do this at *School 2* because we've got the space and the time to do that. But whether that happens at school or not I don't know but that was an example of where, because we had the time and the resources and just by doing something out of the ordinary like black history month we were able to discover this. So whenever I manage to discover talents with them...and there's another young girl

who chat, chat, chat, chat, chat, chat but she draws beautifully and she wants to be a fashion designer, so I feed everything through the fashion and there's this absolute flare now, she will come in and she'll just like shine from inside because she's able to do this fashion thing in a math context. So whatever their...I just tend to pitch the lessons at their interest and try and gear everything at their interests and after a while they come in and there's less for me to do; my job diminishes and their potential and ability takes over. So that's how I do it, I don't think I have to stand there for the whole time, it's like getting them to think about what they do and they don't like it...in the beginning they don't it because they don't like thinking, they haven't been taught to think they've been taught to just do whole heap a photocopy, colour in the photocopy and watchin' video and all of this is a distraction from them thinking but when they start to think about the work and how to derive the answer, when they first do it they really don't like it but after a couple of weeks they love it and they just run with it, and that's what I try to do.

R Okay. So in your opinion why do you think that schools like this are needed?

T004 I think by the time I start talking you'd run out of batteries again.

Both (*laugh*)

T004 If I were to open my mouth you'd run out of batteries again. Gosh, you will not be able to use any of this you know that cause it's gonna be one cuss out of the system, cuss out of educational policies, I just think there is a chronic failure in mainstream education to ca...with all the nonsense they talk about differentiated learning, every child matters, inclusivity, equality...I could list them out; Inclusion, equality, diversity, its rubbish because what happens is the bottom line and the league tables take priority over the child's individual needs and why school 2 is important for me is that when they come here, like for instance this young man who doesn't speak well, he will be graded for the majority of times at school for how he doesn't speak. So what will become the priority is what he doesn't do as opposed to what he does. So here, *school 2* were able to find out this guy can write and his work in *year x* I can put next to Langston Hughes and compare them thinking my goodness gracious this is raw talent, absolutely raw talent. He writes so well but...and it's a big but and it's also an assumption...would he get the opportunity to do that at school, to be himself and express himself like that I don't know. In the grand scheme of lesson plan and objective and checklist and plenary and starter activity, I'm not sure and I think School 2 is needed because we are look at the...well I am anyway, I'm looking at the individual needs of each and every student in there; so I know that two of my students love football, I know that there's this girl who's very much into fashion designing, there's another one who she's so good at math, she's a twin and I think she's brighter than the twin but the other one is always

getting ahead because the ...there's girl and boy too so the dynamic is there, but what's happening over the process of the month is she's starting to shine because I take centre stage away from him, and that's happening. Will that happen in school, I don't know, but here her mother's saying she's noticed a change, her daughters started to pick up and be a little bit more umm, sort of adventurous. So umm, that's why I think school 2 is needed and that's why the supplementary schools are key because you don't get the cultural context, you know, if a child came here and said 'yam' rhyme with 'am' none of us would say it doesn't...there's no such thing, we would know exactly what she's taking about and we would actually praise her for bringing culture into the conversation, we'll praise her for making that link, so she's fusing two cultures in one. She wouldn't get reprimanded for it, she'd actually be..."oh well done, yam does rhyme with am and let's talk about yam". So that's why school 2 is needed in my opinion. Until they...I don't know I just, as I said, I could talk and talk and cuss and cuss and cuss and cuss its mainly cussing, but I think until they take the needs of culture seriously in school, I don't have time for mainstream education, I have no time for it and I think until they take the cultural differences seriously...we are different because we're coming from different places and it's something to be celebrated not denied...then I don't think...I think School 2 will always be needed.

R Umm, Okay, thank you. For the last little bit...that's all the kind of questions over, structured questions...for the last little bit what I wanted...I'm trying something a little bit different... what I wanted is for you to have a look at one of the extracts from your own transcript which is quite strange (slight laugh) but this is what I produced basically from the recordings, just the transcript, basically everything that's been said and its two examples and it was from the lesson where the children had to recite sometimes tables I think, yeh times tables extracts. And all it is, is I just want you to read it through...all the names have been changed, obviously you know that that's you, umm, but I just wanted you to read it through and to just umm discuss with me what's going on in the two extracts.

T004 Oh, really!

R Yeh, just kind of an...so if you want some time to read it...

T004 Yes please.

(Recording paused whilst T004 and researcher read through the two extracts. T004 laughs slightly as she reads)

T004 Right we were going over times tables, I think it was a starter activity and I'm trying to get them to learn the times tables as opposed to counting in a particular number, so what they do is that instead of counting in twos the times tables are the whole two times two so it incorporates the rows and the columns and it gives you an answer. And

it's not...I like the extract two at the end I say "that's a good lesson in persevering" because I think they have to understand that lessons and learning does have a level of slog to it, its arduous and I keep reminding them, so just...so extract one I was trying to get into their mind whatthe concept of times tables, not just doing it randomly but why you do it, and extract 2 umm, we inject a little bit of fun in it so we have the timer in the class, so it's not so much to make it about time and fast but to just give them something to....a level of competition, the beat the timer and sometimes the competition is them beating themselves as opposed to beating each other so that's what that one is.

R Umm, their interesting, I noticed that umm, in the second one I think... was it in the second one...you say umm, and this by no means an interrogation of what ...

T004 No, it's alright, don't worry about it

R ...but I'm just asking general questions so I get a better understanding. I'm just telling you bits I found interesting in the second one you say "excellent, we'll pretend you beat the timer", in actual fact the student hadn't beaten the timer but umm, there were...I noticed that there were...the student was granted the applause, they were granted the affirmation, d'you wanna talk a little bit more about....

T004 Yeh, because sometimes the fact that they don't beat the timer first time, you don't...you want to boost their confidence so you still want to give them a little bit of a carrot rather than say well you never beat the timer full stop. The fact is they tried and they did it in front of the class, so they're already learning confidence, learning to take control of, you know, a situation where usually they would feel undermined or threatened, but they're getting up their doing the times tables and it is the hard ones as well I think, I think I gave them the hard times tables but you know what, they kept trying and they kept trying, okay they didn't beat the timer but you know what, were going pretend they did, and that was really nice for that student because afterwards...its literally just giving them something to hold on to and to come back to, to make them wanna learn more. So that was my little...as I say little carrot. And that's...and some...and I use that, I gauge that with the student, so if I think it's a child that can deal with it...you never beat the timer...if it's a child that's coming out of his or her shell...you didn't beat the timer but we'll pretend and then we'll do that until they're confident enough to say well you know what you never beat the timer and what they'll start doing is then wanting to beat the timer and go quicker, so its psychology, ole time saying, people say a psychology. It's literally a little psychology here in trying to get them from this beaten down state that they have, that we sometimes experience them...experience of them with, if that makes any sense; the experience we have with some students when they come in. So you have to build them up and that's what that was. Cause I was saying

come on quick, I was actually trying to edge them on say “come, come, come on, keep going”.

R Cause I noticed that one of the students umm, I ...where I’ve got pupil its where I couldn’t work out who it was, cause I made up pseudo...you know, different names for all of them but that...somebody said something quickly, I couldn’t work out the voice but somebody said “ahhh”...

T004 I know

R ...and you could tell that had run out ...

T004 Laugh

R But you’re like “Shhhh”, you know, be quiet, you know, don’t say anything, carry on, you’re trying to shield...

T004 cause I wanted them to get the answer, I think it’s more important for them to get the answer right than to beat the timer but the timers a prop, it is literally sometimes a little prop to tek dey mine off things and it gets the brain fired up and I think there’s probably some science behind it, so when they see the timer there must be some brain work, some chemical that gets released that this is going on and it quickens the pace of learning and it jogs their memories so I think there is some kind of fundamental science going on there but it’s just to affirm what they’re doing.

...

R How do you think these two extracts...how would you say that they relate to the purpose of the school?

T004 Oh wow, yeh.

R Cause this is, this is in the classroom now isn’t it, you know, so you’ve got the umbrella purpose...I mean if you don’t think it does then that’s fine but I’m just wondering ...

T004 I think it does, in terms of to empower the children and give them a sense of...I wouldn’t say self. We’re trying to teach math and science in a different way but the objective is for them to understand math and science and I think this does relate to the purpose of the school because number 1, there’s this collective working, you know when they all applaud, when they clap...and they were all genuinely excited, it’s like when you said the person said “ahhh” you know, like oh no the timer run out. So it’s trying to build that camaraderie and we’re just trying to get everybody past the post and I think these two extracts do relate in parts to the purpose of it and my purpose is to have children educated and to have them feel empowered. You know, you’re coming in this environment, umm, you can do it, here’s some trickery, you know, all

you know is that...especially with (...) you just keep adding the same number, building up their mental confidence, so it is...it does...I think it does, it does mirror the purpose. Obviously there nothing in there about culture...

R I mean yeh, this is only...I mean I've got pages and pages, you know...

T004 What you gonna do with all of that? What, is it gonna be like in the appendix?

R It's all been transcribed, umm, I've been told probably to put a couple of examples but not everything...it would be too...

T004 So why you...I wouldn't transcribe all of it then

R No because you transcribe so you can analyse, so all this...even so much can be said about even these little bits, so you transcribe all of it. Some of it you might think okay it doesn't relate to what I'm looking at, but at least you can have what has been said in context so you're not picking out little bits in abstraction. You know what happened at the beginning of the lesson, at the end of the lesson, you know how it all ties in together so...so yeh, so that's all been...

T004 Wow you've been busy

R Very, very, busy. I wanted to ask you about something actually (...) I noticed in your classes as well

Both *(laugh)*

R No don't worry, don't worry, don't worry (responding to T004s perplexed expression). No it's just talking about classroom practice. I've noticed in your classroom as 'well that at times you will umm switch into a Jamaican dialect (...) so umm, what ... can you say anything about that, about umm...

T004 I think I speak Jamaican all the time and my husband says this.

R Yeh I just noticed sometimes in the teaching in the classroom that sometimes you switch into it.

T004 I do it all the time, apparently I do it all the time, it's just me.

R Yeh

T004 So there's no significant...it doesn't signify anything. Apparently my husband said I think I talk Jamaican all the time, he tells me no you don't which is scary because I hope I don't sound brummy, but no, no, it doesn't signify anything, there's no, there's no nothing to it. It's something my husband has pointed out to say, sometimes meh umm...I sound a bit more Jamaican than I do at other times, yeh.

- R Okay, that's interesting. It's just an observation that I made that since were talking now I just thought I'd...
- T004 Yeh, it's just...I mean even today I was doing it and the kids were laughing because me say yuh need fe go outside rasta, they just burst out laughing, they said you're so funny miss. But I think I'm doing all the time, my husband said no. Can I keep this? (*Referring to a print out of two extracts discussed earlier*)
- R Yeh cause you can, it's your transcript. Okay, let me turn this off.

Appendix H Sample of recording transcript

School 2 Teacher 004 Recording 3

T004 Right, for this lesson, we are going to be literally just finishing up our writing; we have a showcase so we don't have anything else to do right now because we've more or less finishing all our writing. So I'm gonna print two photographs off and it's of your group isn't it. I don't think you guys are on there, everybody else is.

Pupil (...)

T004 Yeh, your group isn't, I've gotta print your...I've gotta print your pictures off. I wanted another one of everybody standing by the board but I'm in that kind of lazy mode today. So, what I'd ask you to do is, for the first ten minutes I'm going to ask you to be learning your eight and seven times tables.

Pupil yes

T004 Yeh, were gonna have a competition.

Pupil Ohhhh

T004 Eight and seven times tables, could you be learning it

Tanya (...) the twelves and eight and seven

Pupil That's complicated

Tanya No its not

T004 Eight and seven times tables only. If you need paper...paper I should say, is here so that you can practice, but I'm going to get the film off and...oh let me get this sorry. Right, so you have ten minutes to practice your times tables. I've gotta do a title (...). I'm going to check the board by the way...I'm speaking, I'm speaking....if the grammar is a little bit out of place, you're going to have to correct it. But that will all be...we can all sort that out after the times tables.

(Class quietly revise their times tables)

Pupil Are we doing sevens or eights?

T004 Sevens and eight. You have ten minutes

- (class continue to revise quietly – 3mins, 30secs)
- T004 I'm just gonna get the register
- (Class continue to revise quietly)*
- Tyrone Miss I've done it
- T004 keep going, you've got a couple more minutes, just keep revising, I'm gonna come to you in a minute. Right Adana, You are the only one I'm afraid from your [logiblocs] group. (...) Right, sorry, can you just put your chair in, all the way in.
- ...
- Pupil Miss can we go on to the nine times tables?
- T004 Oh yeh, definitely, both of them, yeh...oh no, what did I say, seven and eight?
- Pupil Yeh
- T004 Please learn them, trust me, you need the time to learn them, seven and eight.
- Tanya Are we gonna have our sheet when you test us?
- T004 No
- Adana Owwww
- Tanya Ahhhh
- T004 No. What's up?
- Adana Can't we look at it?
- T004 No. The whole point is that you can learn it.
- Tanya Usually at school, our teacher says 'you need to remember something, don't copy out of the book but write down something that you can remember. So if it was our times tables it would be...even if (...)
(Knock at the door)
- T004 Come in.
- Pupil Umm, am I allowed to use one of your computers please?

- T004 Yes, you are. Right, hopefully I can get this image off. Right okay, time is up.
- Pupil (...)
- Pupil (*sneezes*)
- T004 Bless you. But keep going on, you can keep writing when I get to you
- Pupil We're finished.
- T004 Oh, what's that? (*Referring to something she is doing on the computer*)
- T004 Tyrece, turn your paper over and stand up and do your seven times tables please. It's okay, you can do it from there.
- Tyrece One times seven it seven is...
- T004 No, no, no, no, turn the paper over. Stand up. Now you do it.
- Tyrece One times seven is seven, two times seven is four....six....
- T004 Two times seven is?
- Tyrece 14
- T004 Yeh
- Tyrece Three times seven is 21
- T004 Okay
- Tyrece Three times seven...
- T004 We just did that; three times seven
- Tyrece Four times seven (*pause*)
- T004 Okay, could you learn that please. That's why I say to you, lean it. I knew you hadn't learnt it. Sit down sweet heart. Okay, Tanya, if you stand please.
- Tanya What shall I do?
- T004 Your eight please.
- Tanya One times eight is eight, two times eight is 16, three times eight is 24, four times eight is 32, five times eight is 40, six times

- eight is 48, seven times eight is 56, eight times eight is 64, nine times eight is 72, ten times eight is 80, 11 times eight is 88 and nine times eight is 96...and 12 times eight is 96 (*said quickly and confidently*)
- T004 That's it, give her a round of applause, well done. That's one person. Umm, James, seven times tables please. Turn your page over. Thank you.
- James Seven times one is seven, seven times two is 14
- T004 Um hum
- James Seven times three is 21, seven times four is (*pause*) 27
- T004 A number times an even number is always going to be an even answer. So you said seven times four, four is a what?
- James Even
- T004 Even number, so your answer cannot be odd. Right, here's what...what were gonna do is we're gonna pair up, you've done your...you two can you pair up and start...and learn together, can you both pair up now and learn yours together. You're gonna recite it to each other. You're gonna do yours in threes. Okay, can you do your eight times tables please Natasha. Turn it over.
- Natasha One times eight is eight, two times eight is 16, three times eight is 24, four times eight is 32, five times eight is 40, six times eight is 48, seven times eight is...(*pause*)
- T004 Tyrece you're learning yours, you're learning it. Right, you two are learning it together you're going to be doing it...I'm listening to you Natasha ...you're gonna need to get a chair and sit here and pair up with Adana. In fact, Adana and Natasha if you could go to that table at the back please and work. Right you've got ...were gonna...we have to learn these...you lot should have learnt...we're at the end of the year
- Adana At school we do have times tables and I've done my seven and eights, I've done all my times tables...
- T004 So then you should be getting them right.
- Adana I forget them some...
- T004 So you can't forget them because then you haven't learnt them, so I don't know what's happening at school. It sounds like you're cramming them as opposed to learning them. If you've learnt them you're supposed to know them all the time. It's like your name, do you ever forget your name? No because your

- name has been lodged in your long term memory so you'll never forget your name. It's the same thing with your times tables. So I'm actually bemused as to the end of the academic year we're still struggling with times tables, you should have known all these already,
- Adana I know some of it.
- T004 All of them. Because it's going to constantly be what's called a reoccurring decimal in math. This...as I said...when I get to university I need my times tables. When I was doing my math incognigens I needed to know my times tables. I wouldn't be able to finish the sums if I didn't. So, times tables please, umm, you're going to be doing your 12 and your six please.
- Tyrece 12 and six are easy
- Pupil 12s not easy
- T004 Well don't worry about the 12s, do the sevens and the eight please. They're all easy when you learn them.
- Adana What do 12 and six?
- T004 Yes please.
- Tyrece I can't learn the twelves...
- T004 (...) they're all easy
- Tyrece ...Off by heart
- T004 Right, why isn't this thing working (...).
(Pupil from another class knocks on the door)
- Pupil Can I use the computer to print off some pictures?
- T004 Yes. Okay, five minutes lets go.
(Class can be heard testing each other on their times tables)
- T004 Who's pen is that? (...) property please, so that you can (...) doing your work. I would hoping that this would take half a minute actually (...)
(Class continue to test each other on their times tables)
- T004 Come on Gavin, what's up? Eight as well. We're doing times tables stop that. You asked for it as well Gavin (...) you were moaning and complaining that we weren't doing enough math,

so were doing maths now. You got it? you got it? sure? Right, I'm gonna have to fake this you group; I'm gonna have to bring some logiblocs in and take a picture. For some strange reason we don't have a picture for your group.

(Class continue to test each other on their times tables)

T004 Gavin you've got work to do, don't ignore your class mate. You've got times tables to learn. Right come on, let's go. Then once we finish this we can go back to the build-up game, yeh.

Pupil Yes!

(Class continue to test each other on their times tables)

T004 Got the timers, I got the timers *(singing)* Right, stop (...) Right, Aden, up, seven times tables.

Aden Seven times zero is zero, seven times two is...

T004 Seven times one

Aden Seven times one is seven, seven times ...

T004 Anna, you need to back to your next lesson *(speaking to girl on the computer)*. Come on keep going.

Aden Seven times two is 14, seven times three is 21, seven times four is...28, seven times five is 35, seven times six is...

T004 You need to go to your lesson you two *(speaking to pupils using the computers)* (...). Seven times five is...

Aden 35

T004 Yeh

Aden Seven times six is...

T004 Come on

Aden 42

T004 Good, well done, keep going

T004 Seven times seven is...

T004 I hope you're not distracting him

Pupil I'm not

- T004 You look like you are cause you got a big old grin on your face. That's distracting me and I'm not doing my times tables (*laugh*)
- Pupil Thank you
- T004 Oh you're welcome. Come on, timer go tru de su'um
- Pupil Thank you for letting us use the computers
- T004 Arr, you're welcome.
- Tyrece Duh duh derrrrr
- T004 He's got time in here (...)
- ...
- Adana There's a little bit of time in there
- T004 Yeh come you still have it, that's true. Keep going, seven times seven
- Aden 64?
- T004 No, that's a square number, seven sevens, seven times seven, seven plus 42, remember all you're doing is adding another seven.
- Tanya Ahhh (*small sigh*) (...)
- T004 42 add seven. Time's up, you need to learn them. Not just do you need to learn them, you need to be able to add. So 42 plus seven, 42 plus seven?
- Aden 49
- T004 Excellent, that's all it was. You just keep...that's all the times tables are, you have an answer, you just add another seven, have an answer, add another seven, have an answer, add another seven, so you're learning the rows and the columns, okay. Umm, Adana,
- Adana sevens?
- T004 Eight please. I'm gonna alternate, it's gonna be way too easy.
- Adana (*Moaning noise*)
- Too4 Come on now, you know I don't make it easy for you, eight please. Up you jump

-
- Pupil (...)
- T004 Sorry?
- Pupil (...)
- Tanya Miss can I finish off my twelves?
- T004 you can do that, yeh. Come on, eight times tables, shhh, Adana
- Adana (...) (*complaining*)
- T004 Where's my timer? Gina, Bring the timer please, the blue one, thank you. What a clever invention. You know I was thinking that. I thought how comes somebody all those hundreds of thousands of years ago figured this out, I just thought wow that's an amazing invention. And all this simplicity led to the clock.
- Pupil Is that an egg timer?
- Pupil Yeh
- T004 um hum
- Pupil why does it...(...)
- T004 Have you been to...it's an hour glass timer...have you been to Millennium Point?
- Pupil No, we...
- Pupil yeh
- T004 You've never been to millennium point? Did you see the water clock
- Pupil Yeh
- Pupil Oh yeh
- T004 I think that's amazing (...). Sorry I'm getting the anorak on now. Okay, ready steady, go. Eight times tables please.
- Adana Eight times one is eight, two times eight is...zero times....zero times eight is zero
- T004 Um hum
-

Adana One times eight is eight, two times eight is 16, three times eight is 24, four times eight is 32....32, five times eight is...I forgot which one I'm on.

Pupil Five

T004 What's up?

Pupil She forgot which one she is on
Pupil She's on five

T004 So did I actually

Pupil She's on five times eight

T004 Thank you. Five times eight is what?
Adana 40

T004 Yeh.

Adana Umm, six times eight is 48

T004 Well done.

Adana Seven times eight is...*(pause)*

T004 Just add eight to the previous one. I was just saying that to Aden. You just keep adding eight.

Adana 56?

T004 What did you say?

Adana 56?

T004 Yeh, well done.

Adana *(Silence)*

T004 Okay, you're on...what's 56? See you have six times eight is 48, seven times eight is 56, eight times eight is what? I don't even know if that's the right one. I'm even confused as well. Let me see that, thank you, and me nah ave my glasses. Yes, yeh, eight times eight is what?

Adana 64?

T004 Well done, keep going. The timer.
Adana Nine times eight is....

T004	Come on, beat the timer. Beat the timer, , beat the timer, , beat the timer.
Pupil	(...) finished.
T004	Shhh
Adana	72?
T004	Excellent, keep going, ten times eight
Adana	Ten times eight is 80, 11 times eight is 88, and 12 times eight is.....
T004	Come on quick
Pupil	Ahhhh
T004	No, shhh. What is it?
Adana	96?
T004	Excellent. We'll pretend you beat the timer. Give her a round of applause, well done.
All	<i>(Clap)</i>
T004	Well done. That's actually a really good lesson in persevering. You don't give up, yeh, just persevere. That really good, I'm really impressed with that.
Adana	Miss (...)
T004	Sorry? Yeh but were gonna do...Natasha's gonna do her sevens. Come on Natasha, jump to it, jump to it, seven times tables, come, come.
Adana	Can I put the time, please?
T004	Ready, Steady, go.
Natasha	One times seven is seven, two times seven is 14, three times seven is 21, four times seven is 28, five times seven is 35, six times seven is (pause) 42
T004	Um hum
Natasha	Seven times seven is 49, eight times seven is <i>(pause)</i> 56, eight times...
T004	Well seven, seven... yeh

Natasha Eight times seven is...

T004 Eight..I don't...isn't that eight

Adana She already did that

T004 shhh

Natasha Nine times seven, nine times seven....
T004 You haven't done eight times seven (...) eight...nine times seven..sorry I confused.

Natasha 56

T004 Yeh, eight times seven, yeh cause seven sevens are forty...yeh, nine times seven

Natasha 63. Ten times seven is seventy, 11 times seven is 77, 12 times seven...

T004 Sorry could you wait by the door please. Oh you're coming in with them sir. Can you give them two minutes, just two minutes. In fact 10 seconds, quickly come on, what's the last one you're on? Twelve times seven?

Natasha 85

T004 Twelve is an even number. You can come in....You can come in now sir,

T005 Okay, come in now

T004 Yeh sorry it was just that ...

Pupil (...)

T004 no, no, don't, she's got a lot of time on the timer, you've actually got a lot of time on the timer. So the last number was 77, yeh, so you're going to be adding seven to that.

Natasha (...)

T004 Well done, give a round of applause everyone.

T004 Right, eight times tables.

Adana Ahhh (*moaning*)

T004 Right you're...d'you want a go? (...) you said refresh...no, no, No. You've had a go already and they're going to have a go

now, everybody's going to have a go. You've got until the sand comes down to be touching up on your times tables, yeh. So you're going to be doing eight times tables. Did you say you wanted to have a go? Okay, do you want a go now or do you want Gavin to have a go?

- Pupil Have a go
- T004 You want to have a go, good. And then you're going to be doing your seven times tables after him...no you go, you go.
- ...
- Pupil Miss can Gavin go (...)
- T004 No, you're going, eight times tables.
- Pupil Not yet miss (...)
- T004 ready, stand up get ready. Don't do that, what you doing?
- Pupil He won't let me have a look at the sheet
- T004 Let him have a look at the sheet, it's his sheet and there's still sand in here. You only have like seconds mind you. (pause) Ready, steady, seven times tables please.
- Pupil One times seven is seven
- T004 Start from zero. Natasha what's zero times eight?
- Natasha Zero times eight is zero.
- T004 good go on.
- Pupil Zero times seven is zero, one times seven is seven, two times seven is fif... (pause) 14.
- T004 Well done
- Pupil Three times seven is 21
- T004 Good.
- Pupil Four times seven is 28
- T004 Um hum
- Pupil Five ...five times ...five times seven is 40.

- T004 *(briefly talking to 005)*
- T004 Sorry five times seven is?
- T005 (...)
- T004 Yes, sorry, no, no. (...) *(talking to T005)* what's the last thing you said, six times seven? You said five times seven is 35
- Pupil Six times seven...
- T004 I find this confusing when you guys do from zero to zero one times the seven. It's easier to say seven times zero is seven, seven times 1 is seven but you do it the other way round. The last time you said five times seven equals...what did you say it was? You said 35 didn't you
- Pupil 40
- Pupil Said 40.
- T004 There isn't 40 in the seven times tables.
- Pupil (...)
- T004 Five... yeh, so you're on six times seven now. Time is going down.
- Pupil 42
- T004 Well done, Keep going
- Pupil Seven...seven times seven is...49
- T004 That's it.
- Pupil Seven times eight is...56, ten times...
- T004 Seven times...
- Pupil Seven times eight is...
- T004 You just... you said it so seven times nine is what?
- Pupil *(Silence)*
- T004 Seven times nine. The last one you said is 56, seven times eight is 56.
- Pupil 63
- T004 Excellent, keep going

- Pupil ten times seven is 70, 11 times seven is 77, 12 times seven is 84
- T004 Excellent, give him a round of applause, well done. Give him a round of applause everybody.
- All *(clapping)*
- T004 Right, the timer beat you, but you persevered which is good. So Gavin, eight times tables please. Now.
- Gavin Zero times eight is zero, one times eight is eight, two times eight ...16?
- T004 Um hum
- Gavin Four....four.... four times ...
- Pupil Gavin you're on three times ...
- T004 Shhh
- Gavin Okay, three times eight is *(pause)* 24
- T004 That's good, well done.
- Gavin Four times eight is *(pause)* 32, five times...five times eight is 50.
- T004 Um um. What did you say was the last number? No not 50, but you're close, I know the line you're on, it's not 50. Eight times four is 32 so eight times five is...?
- Gavin *(Silence)*
- T004 32 add eight. *(pause)* Right you're counting up, you need to learn... you need to learn them. Right, Gavin, could you continue learning them please. Right, were gonna have a break right there, I'm gonna come back to Gavin and Tyrece towards the end. I want to hear you do some times tables. Can you sit with those young ladies please and take the card with you. Right, what I'm gonna say, if you have done the work before, only on rare occasions do we do a class thing...a class example where we go round the class. If you've done it before and you show competence in it, don't then be bored and display that to somebody who's working, because there'll be other things that you don't understand and they don't do that. We're all here to learn, iron sharpens iron, so rather than do that, you're gonna let them be insecure with their learning if you do that and I won't have it, because we all don't know everything. I think it's good

that you understand yours and that you've done yours but then you reciprocate it by paying attention because when you were speaking, he was paying attention to you, and that goes for the whole class. We all don't know everything yet, every so often we have a lesson like this...sorry, shhh, over there please. Right, as I was saying, we all don't know everything so if you get your times tables out the way that's fantastic but if somebody else who's yet to go, do not let them see that you're bored, or that you've done it before, thank you. Right on the table is a card, were going to...who was here the last...you weren't here were you, when we were playing this. Yes you were...

- Pupil You were
- T004 You were here. Right, were gonna have a quick game of 'Wordingo'
- Pupil Yes!
- T004 Very quick game, and there's a competition (...) Right, purple, catch. I don't know what colour is in there, take out eight please and there, quickly so we can start the game. You are sharing, umm, Adana is taking them out please, yeh, eight. Put them on the card, thank you (...) pick out eight quickly cause I have to give it to these young men (...) Today were gonna try and add up our word scores as well if we get a chance to. Eight, quickly, take out eight. Take eight out please, right, quickly, get it off the tiles
- Pupil Miss can I go to the toilet?
- T004 Yeh. Eight. Right I don't know which is longer, I presume this is more time, we'll use this one. I think this is more time yeh, there's more time in here (...). Right Gina's gonna start the timer. Not yet, not yet, turn it up thank you. Right, get all your letters together, start thinking about words (...). Ready, are they ready Miss?
- TA Nearly. Quickly, quick, quick, quick, quick (...)
- T004 Ready, steady, go...turn it upside down, that's it, put it down. It has to be a word in the dictionary.
- T005 It has to be a word in the dictionary
- T004 Na bodder write 'swiggaly sklob' that's what I was...
- Adana (...)

T004	yeh what you gonna write?
Adana	(...)
T004	Yeh, what's that? There's a word there, I can see a word there.
Adana	(...)
T004	Yeh go then.
TA	There's lots of blank ones
T004	Yeh you can make up any letter. Can't you see the word, you just spelt it out, what were you gonna write?
Pupil	D-R...
T004	No the first one that you were gonna do. What were you gonna say? M-E what?
Pupil	E-T
T004	What else were you gonna write at the end? There's a word there.
Pupil	Ahhh, miss
T004	Oh, well done. Right, four more. Right do you wanna start adding your words as we go along so that we don't have the confusion we had the last time. You got two, two times 'M', 'M' is equal to that so you gonna add up (...) right here is two plus. Right, if you make a word can you add up your scores as you go along so you don't...so you know...so we know who's won this time.
Tyrece	Miss we need another si...eight.
T004	Yep. Take it out. Miss are you helping them?
Pupil	No
TA	No I'm just showing them how to get the word themselves.
T004	You sure
TA	yeh (...) (<i>laugh</i>)
T004	How many you need to take out?
Tyrece	Eight

- T004 No they've got some down there. He's got them, its only four, how many you got there?
- Adana (...)
- T004 Yeh. Can you add up your words please.
- Adana Thank you.
- T004 As you go along add your words up. Miss let them add up them words.
- (Sound of class continuing with exercise – 1 min)*
- TA No that's not a word
- Pupils (...)
- Too4 No, That's colloquial
- Pupil Don't worry
- T004 I do worry. If it's not a word, you can't get a score. Right the timers going out, please add up your words.
- Tyrece We need another four, five six. *(pause)* The timers run out miss.
- T004 No, it's this one were using. It hasn't run out yet. Could you add up your things because time...miss, miss...
- TA Yeh, okay. Yeh just write it there, quickly.
- Pupil We need some letters
- Pupil Yeh we need some letters
- (Sound of groups completing the exercise – adding scores etc)*
- T004 Finished. Finished, times up. Right, break time please, leave everything where it is *(pause)* Sorry could you sit by your table please.
- (004 has brief conversation with 009)*
- T004 Right how much did you score?
- Pupil Umm (...)
- T004 Have you worked it out yes or no? Okay no. Have you worked out the score?

Pupils	(...)
T004	It's not hard. Okay...
Pupil	It's difficult
T004	Leave the cards where it is. Well done and off to break. Well done, give yourself a round of applause everybody. Can you take your times table sheets with you please.
Pupil	Should we put it in our folder?
T004	Yes please
Pupil	Should we take our pencil case?
Tyrece	43
T004	Right go on, I'll check it. 28...nah sah, dis is not 43, come. Four times seven...four times one is four, okay...go on, off to break...

Appendix I Example of annotated transcript extracts

Bosnian school leader interview

Phase 1 - Staff interview 011

I So you were telling me a bit about the school. What is your actual position at the school?

ROLE
Teacher @ the sch.

BOSNIAN MIGRATION
vulnerable circumstances
of immigrants.

HISTORY
Establishment of sch
1993 - 17 yrs ago

The school, okay my name is Mr x, I am a teacher in Bosnian supplementary school. umm, the ...how is Bosnians come in this country, okay, Bosnian is in the area of west midlands in the Birmingham area including Walsall, Wolverhampton and surrounding towns. Umm, around 150 families, okay, the mainly of that families come during and after Bosnian war from 1992 to 1996. That's mainly guys who come from prison camps and British government brought them in; try to help them you know, to (...), and a lot of guys come as well like umm, injured guys who injury on the first line or like civilians and he set his lives here and now 15 or 16 year we still here. Bosnian school is been establish in 1993.

I This one?

P It is yeh. And we, we running the school with continuity for over 16 years and in different places you know; this now we sitting in *place x*, and it's look all good you know, but from beginning it don't look good all the time. Umm, I got figures somewhere in my papers but I can't provide you now but I believe around 200 children pass this school.

Participant
emphasising on
the progress
that has
taken place.

I Like had education here?

PURPOSE OF
SCHOOL
prevent children from
forgetting language +
their roots.

FUNDING.
Connection with city
council.
Teachers.

P Yeh, for this you know. Basically aim of our school you know to, to our children don't for get our language, the main thing for us here to don't forget our roots and to children don't forget our language and school is holding every Saturday morning umm, I'll say Saturday morning and going through the whole day. You got activities in the evenings as well and umm, for past I would say, seven, eight years we got big help from city council, Birmingham city council and umm... regarding our funding and regarding our existing problems. In Bosnian school we got three teachers you know, three teacher, umm, myself and another two, fully qualified teachers.

SURVIVAL
of Bosnian
language

+tive view of
Council.

I When you say fully qualified, do you mean qualified to teach in mainstream school or qualified to teach languages?

SCHOOL CURRIC.
Sch syllabus from Bosnia

Subjects
- Writing
- Maths
- Bosnian lang
- History
- Geography

P Urr, no, no, how we work you know, we got a, how to say, syllabus coming from Bosnia, and we following that, what is mean, somebody need to finish school in Bosnia for 36 working weeks, you k now we extending this , we , we doing only one day, it is mean we do the two hour period of time. Umm, basically we teach here writing, maths, Bosnian language, history, geography, all that what is related, not just for Bosnia but related for our culture, our history and our geography. Umm, what else I can say about that?

I You said you teach children English and maths here?

P No English, we don't teach English. We teach Bosnian and Maths.

I Okay, and maths as in the maths that they'll be doing in school here?

*Pedagogy.
School teaches
maths in Bosnian
lang.*

P Umm, but again for children to...you know maths is same, maths is not made by Bosnia (...) centuries ago, before, but we trying to establish how it's easiest to understand you know and all that communication in Bosnian language and, you know if I say *jedan*, you do not understand but if I say 'one', you'll understand, and I just say now 'one' in Bosnian - *jedan* means 'one'. And the main, main thing is children very enjoy that you know, children very enjoy that and umm, I enjoy myself as well, it's important to children understand and we...you know it's very, very hard you know, to stay...how to say...to stay in umm, in boundary of your culture and I think to understanding one or another culture it's more important to respect that culture as well. Umm, the...we've got lot of visitors here as well from different schools you know, we got good links with another, another supplementary school in Birmingham area and on every January, last week in January we usually going in a (...), this means ceremony in city council for achievement and so on, that's basically that.

*Links with
other supp schools*

I So what is your position here at the school?

P What is opposition?

I Your position, yeh, your role.

ROLE.



P I'm a, I would say head of school regarding communications with city council, organise things and so on and umm, for past year...before it's somebody else before me but for past year I doing that.

I Umm, so what does your role involve then, what do you do?

*Relationship
with embassy.*

P My role from September, to be honest, before, previous to September I would say school starting in September, second week in September and prior to that I gathering all relevant information from Bosnian parents, we got parents in here who mixed marriage, you see Bosnian father who married someone else or Bosnian mother who married for somebody else, and we got mixed children who willing to speak Bosnian, and I gathering all that information, all address form, all dates, and I calling meeting to open day where is all parents come in with children and basically we explain what we do and how we do and so on and we enrol students as well...what this mean...pupils enrol and basically we select class like what I say of 5-12 and 12-16 and you got under five you know, who I would say playgroup and after that you know we...I, I got good relationship with Bosnian embassy in London as well so all ...how I say...all problems, all our direction, I contact them you know and they give me instruction what I need to do and how to do it in way. Books...I didn't show you, books is down stairs you know, I can't show you now, we got books down there.

Chinese school leader interview

I So time has gone on since then so that was the purpose then, what do you think the purpose is now of the school, if you look at, umm, the school that you run at area x, what s the purpose now?

P I think the purpose now is, umm... I think that we try to promote (20:00) the Chinese language, not just mandarin. And we would like to be herd Cantonese is the most...the speaking language here, still, and that's what we are doing as well, so it's a lot, it's really hard, I know. It's really difficult because actually when I went to the conference and I did ask about this question, they said that eventually it will die down but we are trying to keep it going as long as possible, so if we don't have...like Edexcel, if you don't have a Cantonese speaking demand, traditional form demand, then they don't have that examination, yeh?

Okay, they'll just cut that... *Danger of cantonese loosing value - no exam*

That's right, that's why I said that we have to keep it going and as I'm one of the examiner there as well, so I can see it coming, you know, and most of them...well for me I can speak both Mandarin and Cantonese, yes, so...but I can see it coming and that's why we like to maintained it and if no demand for the exam Edexcel won't have any Cantonese exam anymore, so I would like...we would all like to do this; the UK federation of Chinese schools.

So would you say that's the main purpose of ...

P Yes, that's why we have to keep all the school, keep all the school, because supplementary school is really, really difficult to maintain, because we don't get funding, some even don't get any funding at all from the City Council, and umm, well for us, really lucky because we have a association to back up, yeh? but some they don't at all, so it's really difficult to keep it going. As most of the parents now, they see what's coming, they might change from Cantonese school to Mandarin school, because it's everybody learning Mandarin at the moment, so might as well, they thought that oh, might as well because its official language so when they start, even though they are from a Cantonese family and they might say oh, when you start you better learn some Mandarin from there and you can speak, that's fine, maybe that's what they're thinking at the moment, so we trying to maintain the school and maintain it so that we can keep going, so that it wouldn't die down. So that's the main purpose now, the past, past few years, and we carry on; I think I'm still carry on to do this, yes, but at the same time, at the same times, like I say, at the same time we start the Mandarin class 5 years ago so that means you know that it's like umm, its balancing; when one is higher and the other one is getting a bit lower, so we try to get it balanced you see, like this yes, just like a Libra (slight laugh)

I So do students have a choice what language they learn or are they put in...

P Yeh they...the parents yeh, they choose what they are learning. So when you're small, if you're parents tell you what to do and you will listen, don't you, yeh.

I So what is the...

P But we try to encourage them to finish all the Cantonese exam first, say like somebody...if you learning Cantonese before and you are from Cantonese family and you're learning, we would say well when you up to certain level, say up to GCSE, when you finish exam at least 1 lang...1 exam first, GCSE, that means you have the qualification first, and then you are move on to learn the Mandarin. That's what we

CURRENT PURPOSE
 Promotion of the Cantonese as a Chinese language.
 Campaign to keep Cantonese alive, fighting against the decline of or eclipsing of Cantonese.
 Fighting against the inevitable Lack/Loss of control over events.
 central to campaign is to maintain demand 4. Cantonese exam.

FUNDING
 The powerful tide of mandarin - effect on parents choices.
 Fighting against the powerful tide of Mandarin.
 Trying to BALANCE Cantonese with Mandarin.

PURPOSE
 Practical implementation of school purpose into sch life.
 Influencing learning paths of students.

SAFEGUARDING
 Involvement of parents of the extent of extra sch
 Justification of status struggle b/w 2 language
 its coming + there nothing can Edon about it.
 Tension Trying to keep cantonese going whilst also acknowledge the disheating progress.

SAFEGUARDING
 Against threat of Mandarin take over
 Keeping Cantonese alive.

was then. What about in contemporary, you know, society now; what function do you think the school has now, today?

PORTRAYAL OF SCHOOL switching resource for wider community/society

P Well we are always told when we go to these supplementary school meetings that they are enriching England, you know, any country, if you have supplementary schools, it's an additional enrichment to the environment and the general culture in the country. So it's an...its variety, it's something that people can umm, learn about and watch different things.

I Umm, umm. Compared to the function it had at the beginning, back in the days when the school first started up, do you think it has the same function now or different?

MIGRATION + PURPOSE. Change in social status of migrants has affected purpose of school.

P Well funnily enough it seems...for a while it seemed that, you know, you had the polish school just to allow the language to survive in some form, but now its sort of gone back to being really good again and it seems to have reverted back to the very beginnings where there were also children there who's polish was very good. Although, a lot of those who were deported actually...the Russians made sure that they deported umm, umm, professional people, you know, highly educated, whereas a lot of these coming now are working people who wanted to just earn some money, you know, to keep their family, but they do speak good polish, but its not...although there are quite a lot of teachers who have come but...because teachers are not paid in Poland very well...umm, theyre generally working class people coming now, not that I want to be derogatory about anything like that at all, you know, I mean my parents were working class people so...

*struggle of survival of polish
celebration of Polish.*

I So what would you say the central purpose of the school is?

CURRENT PURPOSE.

P Its still continuing the polish language and promoting polish culture.

SCHOOL CURRICULUM Polish history also taught @ sch.

I Umm, Umm
P Oh I haven't mentioned, we do teach like a skeleton history, you know, just so that the children have an Idea about the various densities in Poland and kings and so on.

I Ok,

P So we do, do that, we do a bit about the first world war and the second world war and that and so at least they know why some of them were born here and so..

I Umm hum, ok, so how...umm, you've told me a bit about the purpose s of the school in terms of keeping the polish language and culture alive and so on, How is that, how are those purposes, umm, fulfilled within the every....within the classroom, within the everyday workings of the school?

PROMOTION/IMPLEMENTATION PURPOSE Purpose achieved through monolingualism @ school.

P Well while the children are in polish school they only speak polish language, whereas if they go anywhere; shopping or to school or something, they hear

English. So they are surrounded in that Polish language which umm, which is very good for them, because they have to listen carefully and speak it. Cause we find that umm, you know the ones, second generation ... they are what, third generation here; they are umm, they are a bit shy now to take part in speaking in the classroom because they realise their Polish isn't as good as the others, so you have to be very careful with that. But umm, but this... you know, the main thing is that the children speak and read and write Polish while they are there, whatever language it is, if they're doing history or RE its all in the Polish language. You do have to translate sometimes, if there are children who understand... who don't understand then you say it in English.

FULLFILLMENT OF SCHOOL PURPOSE
 'Surrounding' students with language.

I Ok, so are they... is that, umm, a rule, do they have to speak Polish at the school at all times or is it something that's left to them to decide what language they want to use?

Enforcement of the speaking of Polish @ the school.

P Umm, with some of them you have to remind them to speak Polish because they find it easier to speak English but generally they do speak Polish, the majority do.

Measure taken when students speak English.

I Ok, umm, so what do you see ... you may feel that you've answered this in an earlier question... what do you see to be the driving force behind the school? If you were to name one thing, the key driving force that keeps the school going as it were, what would that be?

DRIVING FORCE
 'Sympathy' towards land of birth
 'Desire to preserve roots.'

P Umm, well its, I think it's the sympathy you feel towards the land where you were born, because all these people, umm, well if not the children, their parents were born in Poland, and this is somewhere where, its again going back to your roots and persevering, what is the most important part for these roots, it's the language.

Affiliation towards land of birth.

I Umm, Umm and what do you think is gonna happen let's say, for the next generation who are born to these learners now, born in this country...

View of England
 poses threat to continuity of Polish lang + preservation of lang

P That will be... you know I can't... I really wouldn't like to forecast. Cause these people came to England because it was the land where gold was found on the roads, you know, that's what they thought, you know, its so easy to become rich here. So they think everything English is wonderful. Now I am just thinking, this generation we've got now in school, will they want their children to become English or learn Polish? Maybe that love of their native country is going to be lost. Now that's going to be, if I'm still around and you're still around in ten years time, I'd really, I'm really interested in what would happen about that.

Polish communities view of England
 Poles becoming English + learning Polish as if the not doing one is synonymous with the other. or results in the other.

place of birth + place of refuge
 Tension between love of Poland + love of England.

I Umm, it would be interesting wouldn't it.

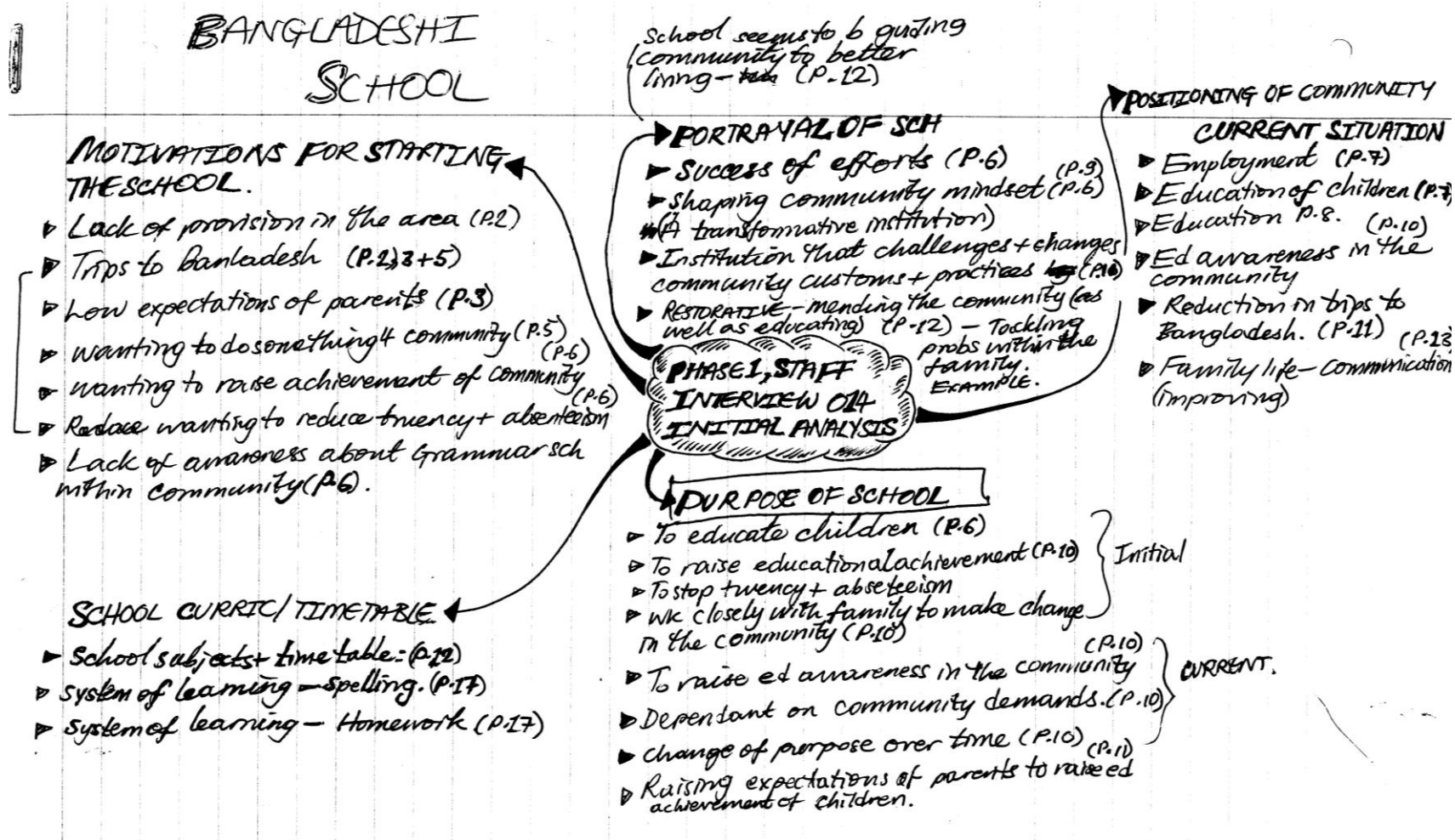
PORTRAYAL OF SCHOOL
 Means of perpetuating + preserving Polishness.

P Yeh, because it may be that because they came here, their parents thought that England was so wonderful, maybe they will not want to continue being Polish or they'd want their children to be totally English, which is easy, if you don't send them to school, they don't prac... you know, speak Polish, don't carry on with Polish traditions then you know, you become Anglicised. There's nothing

Participant polishes being Polish and being English. I can only be either I or the other.

A safeguard against the tide of anglicism.

Appendix J Thematic diagrams of phase 1 interviews



CONSTRAINTS

- Time + money constraints (P.12).
- Funding probs preventing expansion (P.12).
- Funding probs - closure of schools (P.1).
- Lack of funding causing uncertainty about the future. (P.10)

HOW SCHOOL ATTEMPTS TO FULFILL ITS PURPOSES.

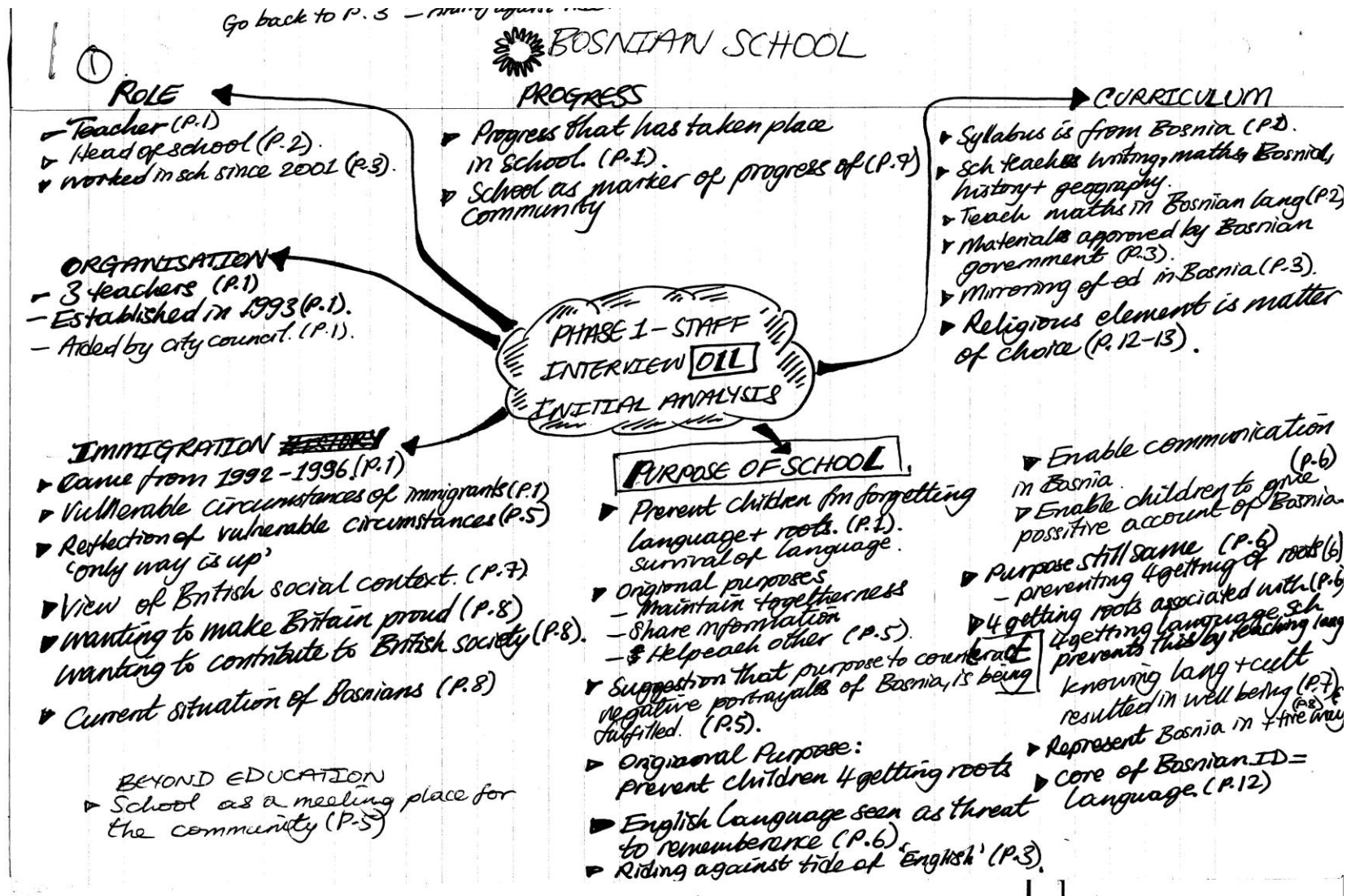
- ▶ Bridging Gap between parents + children (P.12).
 - pace Family activities
- ▶ Attempting to change family practices
 - Instructing parents to have greater engagement with children's ed. (P.12).
- ▶ Encouraging parents to spend more time with children. (P.13)
 - ▶ Building communication between parents + children through activities (P.13)
- ▶ Indictment ^{lectures} - promotion of Grammar Sch as rite of passage to (good life + good education) (P.16)
- ▶ Real life examples - fast pupils (P.16)

PORTRAYAL OF SCHOOL CONT...

- ▶ RESTORATIVE - Directly tackling probs within community. (P.13) families.
- ▶ Supplementing some things in ms ed. (P.13)
- ▶ Effective - raising achievement levels (P.13)
- ▶ RESTORATIVE: Bridging gap betw ms + community (P.14)
- ▶ motivating space (P.16).
- ▶ Giving students opportunity 4 ~~life~~ ^{different} life (P.16)
- ▶ TEACHERS have genuine personal commitment to educating children (P.17)
- ▶ Sch has structured syst of learning (P.18).

MS SCHOOL VS SUP SCHOOL

- ▶ Big gap betw ms + s school (P.14)
- ▶ MS school unable to cater 4 community (P.14)
- ▶ S school bridge gap (P.14)
- ▶ ms - parents just pickup kids (P.15)
- ▶ S - parents get regular feedback.
- ▶ ms - Lack of communication
- ▶ S - children well disciplined.
- ▶ ms - Illusive + unclear
- ▶ S - Clear + transparent (P.15) x 2 (P.15)
- ▶ More power to instruct/engage parents.
- ▶ S - individualized learning.



②

MOTIVATION FOR INVOLVEMENT

- ▶ Sense of somehow being in debt to children of community (P.4).
least I can do is....?
- ▶ Duty to help community achieve (P.4)
- ▶ Desire to prevent children from forgetting language, culture, roots. (P.4).
- ▶ To counteract negative portrayals of Bosnia.
- ▶ In this sense motivations tied to concepts of Bosnia in wider social context.
- ▶ Wants to counteract embarrassment associated with associated with being / speaking bosnian (P.4).

MAIN STREAM VS SUPP SCHOOL

- ▶ Main stream school - "proper sch" (P.9).
- ▶ Proclamation of similarity to MS in terms of policy (P.9) + assessment (P.9)
- ▶ Perceived similarity to MS schooling (P.10).
- ▶ Emulation of MS schooling (P.10).
- ▶ Favourable view of MS schooling (P.10).

MEASURE OF SUCCESS

- ▶ Children enjoying being bosnian
not being ashamed. (P.4)

BOSNIAN ID. (P.12)
Core of ID = language

PHASE 1 - STAFF
INTERVIEW 01
INITIAL ANALYSIS

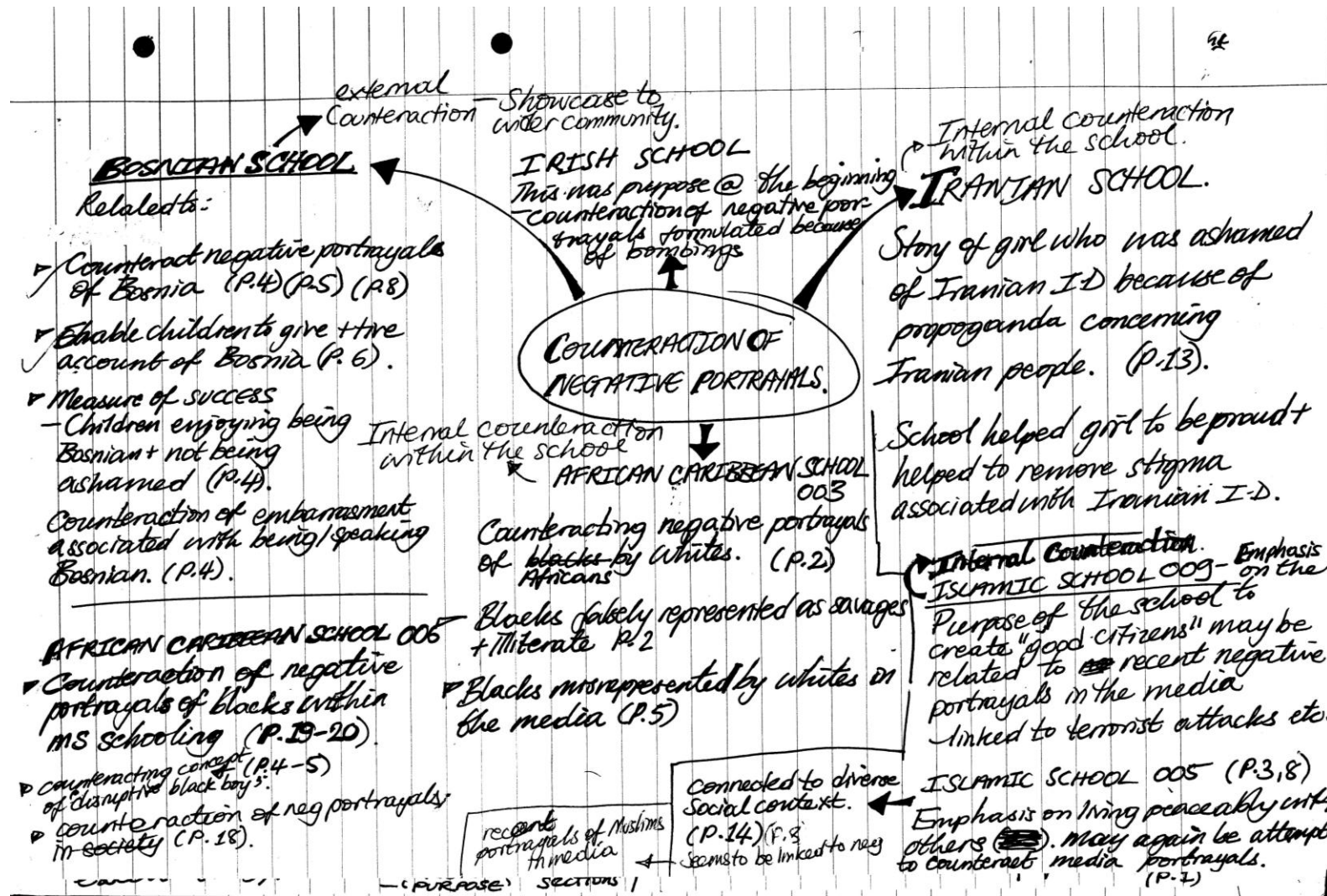
DEMAND FOR SCHOOL

- ▶ Demand 4 sch related to the need to communicate in Bosnia. (P.12)

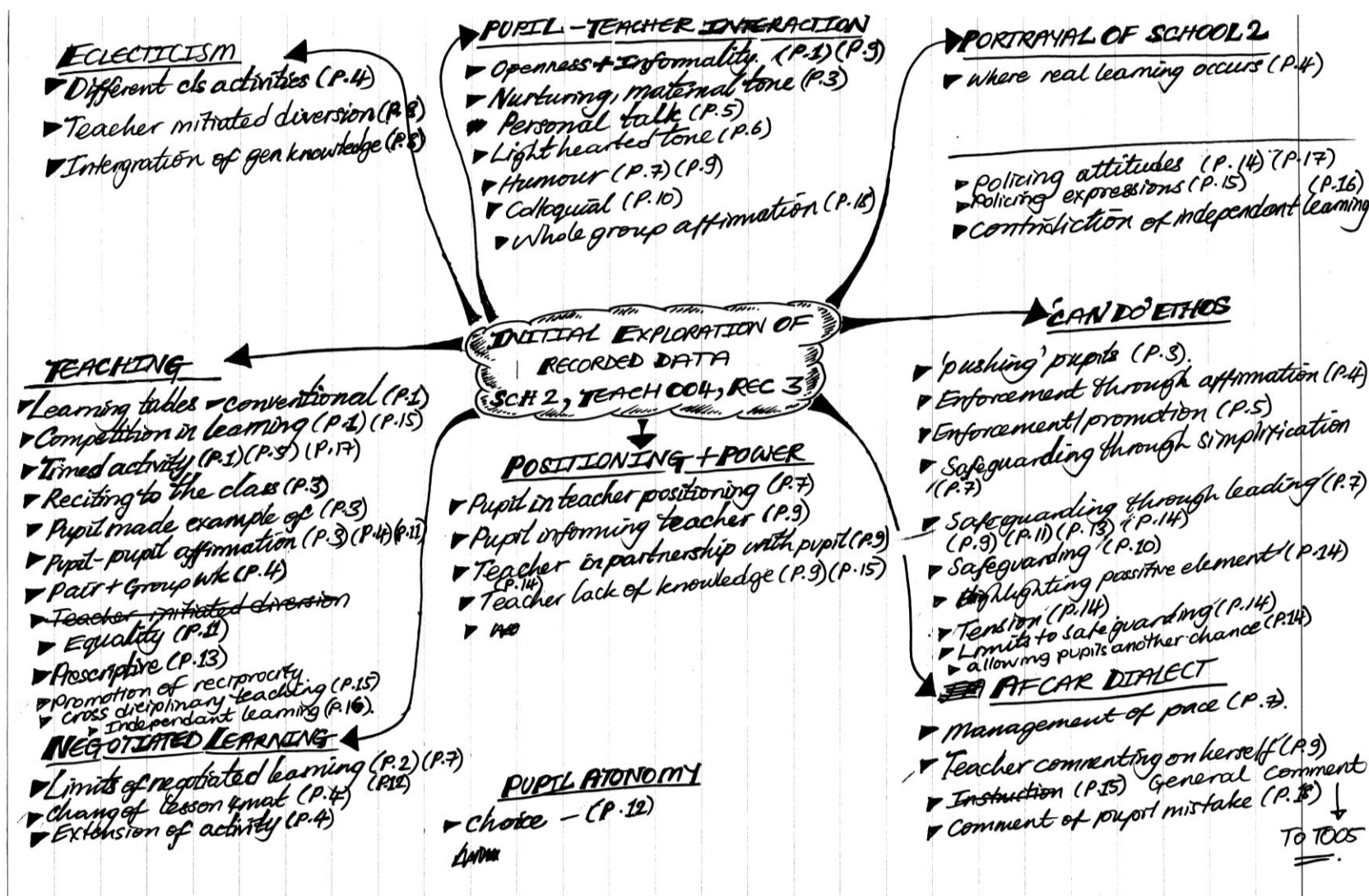
PORTRAYAL OF SCHOOL

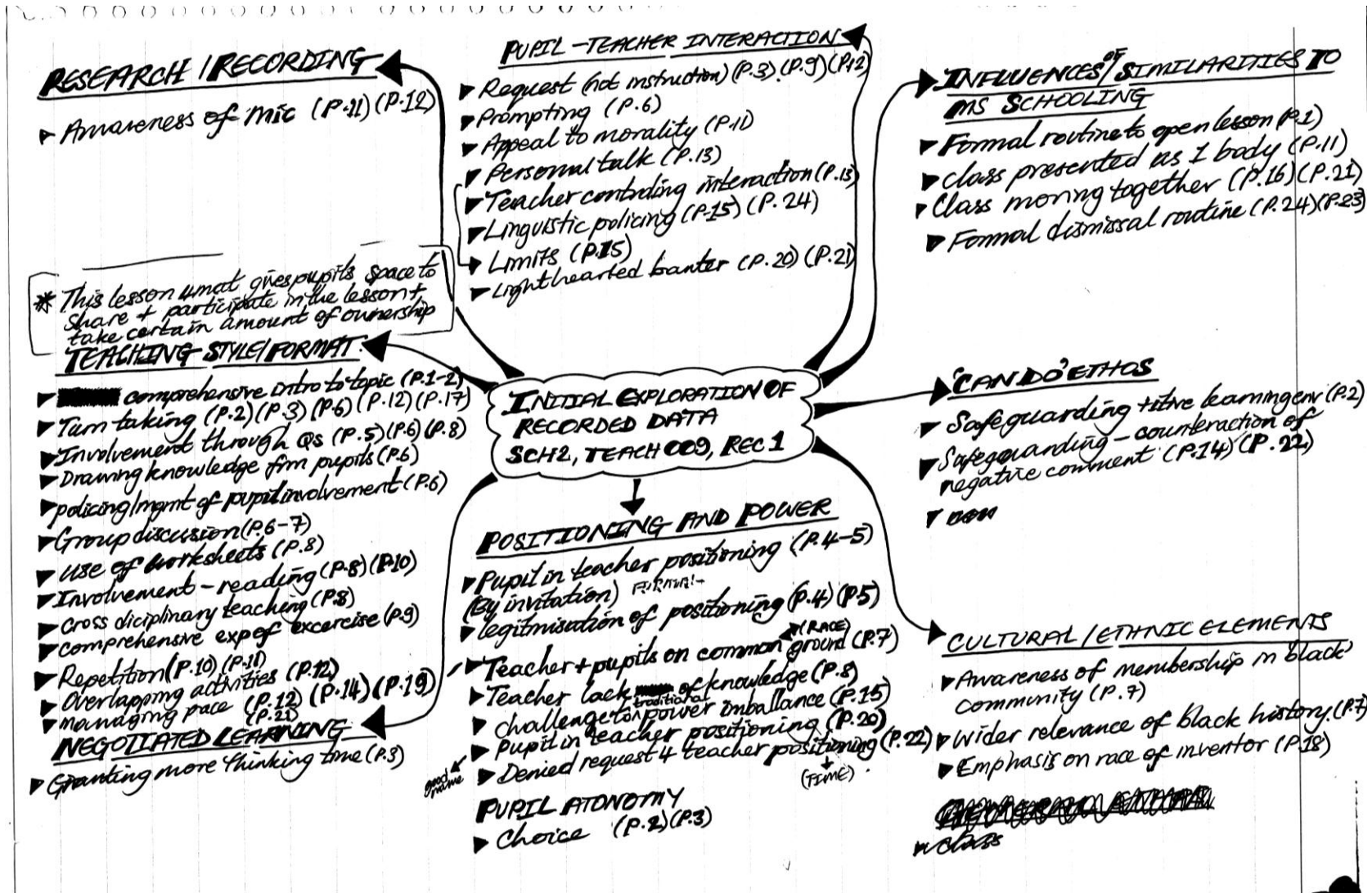
- ▶ Providing 4 all ages (P.5)
- ▶ A 4ever institution - (P.5).
- ▶ A growing school (P.7)
- ▶ Need 4 school related to nature of Bosnian soc context.
- ▶ True representation of Bosnia (P.8)
- ▶ Able to fill in gaps of MS schooling (P.11)

Appendix K Phase 1 diagrams of key themes



Appendix L Thematic diagrams of individual phase 2 recordings





Appendix M Key themes of phase 2 recordings

NEGOTIATED LEARNING

Pupil autonomy - ~~choices~~ decision making pupils affecting/shaping the learning process.

PURCL - TEACHER INTERACTION

* Transcripts documented a number of informal interactional forms that were used within the classroom.

- General informal talk
- Personal informal talk
- Light-hearted banter/humour

- Nurturing, maternal tone? TOU4
- Class affirmation
- Diplomatic negotiative tone (TOU9)

In addition to these generally adopted modes there were also other modes interactional that were specifically associated with the individual teachers.

ASPECTS PERTAINING TO CULTURE/ETHNICITY/RACE.

* Use of Caribbean Dialect

NOTE: Points from these 2 sub-themes result in the narrowing of the traditional gap between teacher + pupils.

→ certain this narrowing relates to the sense of community at the school not only as a learning community but a culturally specific learning community.

ANALYSIS OF INTERACTIONAL RECORDED DATA: KEY THEMES FROM SCHOOL 2

TEACHING STYLE/FORMAT

Differences in the lesson structures of both teachers. Whilst the lessons seemed similar to encompass conceptual elements etc there were notable differences in the way each teacher structured their lessons

POSITIONING + POWER DYNAMICS

* Evidence of power flexible positioning in both sets of transcripts and of power sharing. although TOU4s transcripts display a more dynamic and fluid power shifts between pupils + teacher.

* From Positioning + power dynamics in the cls room included the following:

- ▶ Pupil in teacher positioning (pupil) - grasping of knowledge - environment etc.
- ▶ Teacher in learner positioning (teacher) - teaching/learning
- ▶ Teacher in partnership with pupil/on level ground.
- ▶ Collaborative teaching

RESULTANT EFFECTS
Obscuring of traditional power distinctions.

'CAN DO' ETHOS

* Strong evidence of presence of the ethos in the everyday operations of the school, with many instances of safeguarding and other instances of supportive policing.

* Ethos is mostly related discourse/instances were mostly concentrated with TOU4 transcripts.

* TOU9 transcripts reveal efforts to maintain a positive learning environment which is necessary for the manifestation of the ethos but in TOU9s transcripts there was no direct evidence of the active safeguarding, policing/enforcement of the ethos.

TENSION → In TOU4s transcripts there was evidence of some tension between upholding ethos and teacher's desire for pupils to learn.

Appendix N Example of annotated field notes

© School 1 Observations 11/05/10
FULL NOTES

Maths Yr 4
16:30 - 17:30

When I entered the class it had just started, the children were going over their times tables, the 9 times tables to be exact. The teacher called out the sum and the children had to put their hands up and give the answer.

Times tables exercise

Teaching method - call + response.

The teacher had called out the sum: 9×7 and one of the boys were attempting to give an answer. He was quite hesitant and was experiencing some difficulty but the teacher was patient. Whilst the boy was working out the sum, the teacher continued to write
22

teacher patience.

out the 9 times tables on the white board up to the point they had reached.

Meanwhile some of the other children in the class who thought they had the answer, began to get impatient. One child in particular showed signs of impatience that caught the teachers attention and she made the following statement:

impatience of pupils.

"we have a saying; the race is not for the swift or the speedy, but for he/she that endureth to the end"

Teacher promoting patience 'can do' ethos.

Given a little extra time, the boy did eventually decipher the correct answer to the sum and he was warmly congratulated by the teacher.

teacher encouragement of pupils.

The teacher then told the class that she would teach them a trick²³ about how to learn the 9 times table.

After the teacher had written all the 9 x tables on the board up to $9 \times 7/8$ she asked the children a question pertaining to what they noticed about the 9x tables. One girl put her hand up and explained very well that the pattern that she could see of the numbers going up in the tens column + down in the units column (although she didn't use those exact words) the teacher then reiterated or clarified what the pattern was (in those words).

Interactive learning - questioning

The teacher then went on to question the class on further 9x tables: 9×9 , 9×10 , 9×11 etc. as if to test their understanding of the pattern or 'trick'.

testing pupils understanding

The teacher ~~also~~ told the children²⁴

that maths is easy because it's logical. She told them that 6 year old children have been known to pass GCSEs in Maths but no six year old has ever passed English GCSE.

counteraction of common perceptions.
'can do' ethos.
counteraction of apprehension.

Just back tracking slightly.....
When the teacher questioned the children on the sum 9×13 one of the boys in the class thrust his hand high in the air desperate to answer. When the teacher selected him to give his answer however, he seemed to become unsure of himself. At first he said 118 then sensing that this might not be correct, he said in a quieter voice "118 or 117" by this time other children were calling out their answers and the correct answer was declared as 117 was soon declared

25

The boy who had originally answered protested softly stating to the teacher that he had said 118 or 117.

The teacher responded saying that if the boy was a pilot and flying with a plane full of people and dropped them off at 118 instead of 117 they wouldn't be happy.

This is similar to another illustration used in a previous lesson by the same teacher.

Here she seemed to be trying to emphasise the importance of accuracy by relating the seemingly insignificant mathematical error to a very serious real life situation.

I have a feeling that the teacher also deliberately chose 'piloting' to illustrate her point because it is a "high end" technical

* Aspirational talk.

Plane illustration.

Connecting class work to real life.

NOTE: Teachers usually use examples that pupils can relate to. Perhaps in this case teacher uses aspirational examples that she would like them to relate to.

profession - The kind that she is seeking to promote to the children. Perhaps also the teacher wanted through her illustrations to normalise the piloting as a viable occupation which can be viewed something that is within the grasp of the children.

The teacher stated that the class would be renewing their times tables every lesson.

After this exercise the teacher led into the lesson topic - measurement by asking a series of questions relating to the work they had done last lesson. Specifically, the children were asked to describe what certain terms meant. This led into the actual introduction of the actual lesson focus - mass.

In their attempts to describe certain terms like 'measure' and 'mass' the teacher noticed that some 'forbidden' words were being used and so she reminded the class of the words they can't use in the lesson. The teacher wrote these words on the whiteboard in the top right corner. They were: 'Something', 'Like', 'Stuff', 'Things'. 'Cos' was later added to the list as well. forbidden words.

The teacher explained that she was trying to get them to think more carefully about words and be more descriptive.

The following is a short exchange between teacher (T) and a student (S).

T - what is mass?
 S - I don't know.
 T - Yes you do, we don't use that here / we don't say that here.

Normalising of high end careers.
 'can do' ethos.

regular lesson feature: Tables

consistent lesson feature.

Lesson topic - Measurement
 Involving pupils = Questions.

Lesson focus - Mass.

Forbidden words.

Policing of language

Displaying of forbidden words.

motives for policing of language

'Pushing' students.

policing of attitudes?

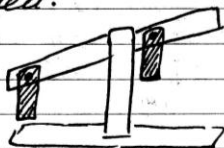
Policing of language: Example.
 'Can do' ethos

This lesson was largely discussion based. The teacher allowed the children to discuss answers & decipher solutions collaboratively as opposed to feeding them answers from the front.

discussion based ^{learning} ~~teaching~~
collaborative learning

An example of this orientation is the class discussion pertaining to why the crane with the same weight on each side, still remained lopsided.

Example of discussion based learning



No wrong answers?

It noticed that despite the fact that many of the students answers were wrong, the teacher didn't say this outright. Instead, she used words like - "that's interesting".

No wrong answers.

Even when two of the students came near enough to the right answer, the teacher still allowed other students the opportunity to put forward their ideas concerning the crane enigma.

wide student involvement.

Towards the end of the lesson the teacher wrote a few short

Example of teacher interaction with pupil.

sentences on the board for the children to copy. 1 of the children had forgotten his pencil and went to the teachers desk to ask for one. The teacher responded that if he was a doctor how would he give the patients their prescriptions without a pen?

Boy forgetting pencil.

Teacher real life illustration.
- Doctor scenario.

promotion of 'high end' prof.

Again the teacher used in her illustration a "high-end" science based occupation to then put her point across.

promotion of high end profession

~~Overall~~ Overall this lesson was highly and the children displayed clear signs of enjoyment.
 i.e. when the teacher announced that they were doing 'measurement' there were excited whispers of "yes!" among the children.
 The children were also very well behaved throughout the lesson.

pupils response to lesson = enjoyment

pupils expressions of excitement.

pupils good behaviour.

* Overt cultural affiliations ^{use of JJA dialect in class}
 At one point in the lesson the teacher chatted with one of the pupils that had just returned from a holiday in Tanania. The teacher told her that that was her home land + that she longed to take a trip there.

Affiliation between teacher + pupil
 Beyond teacher role
 Teacher/pupil social talk.

Use of JJA dialect in lesson

The teacher occasionally used Patwa (Tananian accent) during the lesson - certain words / brief phrases. 33

Lesson 2

Year 4 Science class.
 Teachers - 2 - 1 teacher + 1 assistant.

This lesson began with a review of the work done during the previous lesson. The teacher asked the children a series of questions, to which they responded verbally.

review of previous wk

pupil involvement = questions

The teacher then wrote the objective for the lesson, on the board which was to construct an electric circuit.

Displaying of objective.

The teacher wrote and circled the numbers 1-4 on the board and then asked the children to come and write what the 4 different components of the electrical circuit.

pupil involvement = board writing.

34
The teacher then issued the students with a worksheet which involved

them filling in the blanks of sentences choosing from a number of words set out @ the top of the worksheet.

After a few minutes the children teacher went through the answers with the pupils, allowing them to volunteer ^{their} answers for each of the blank spaces.

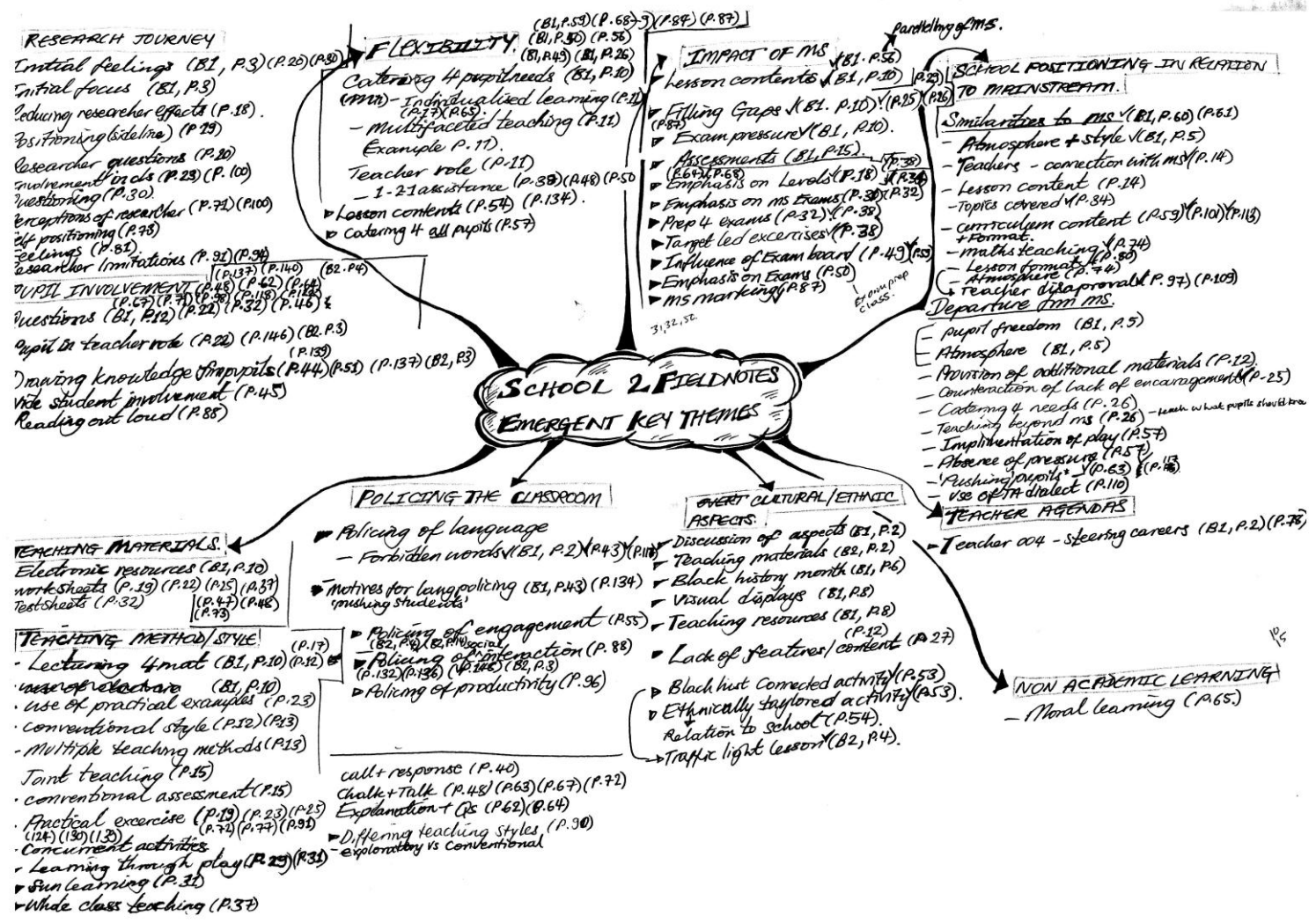
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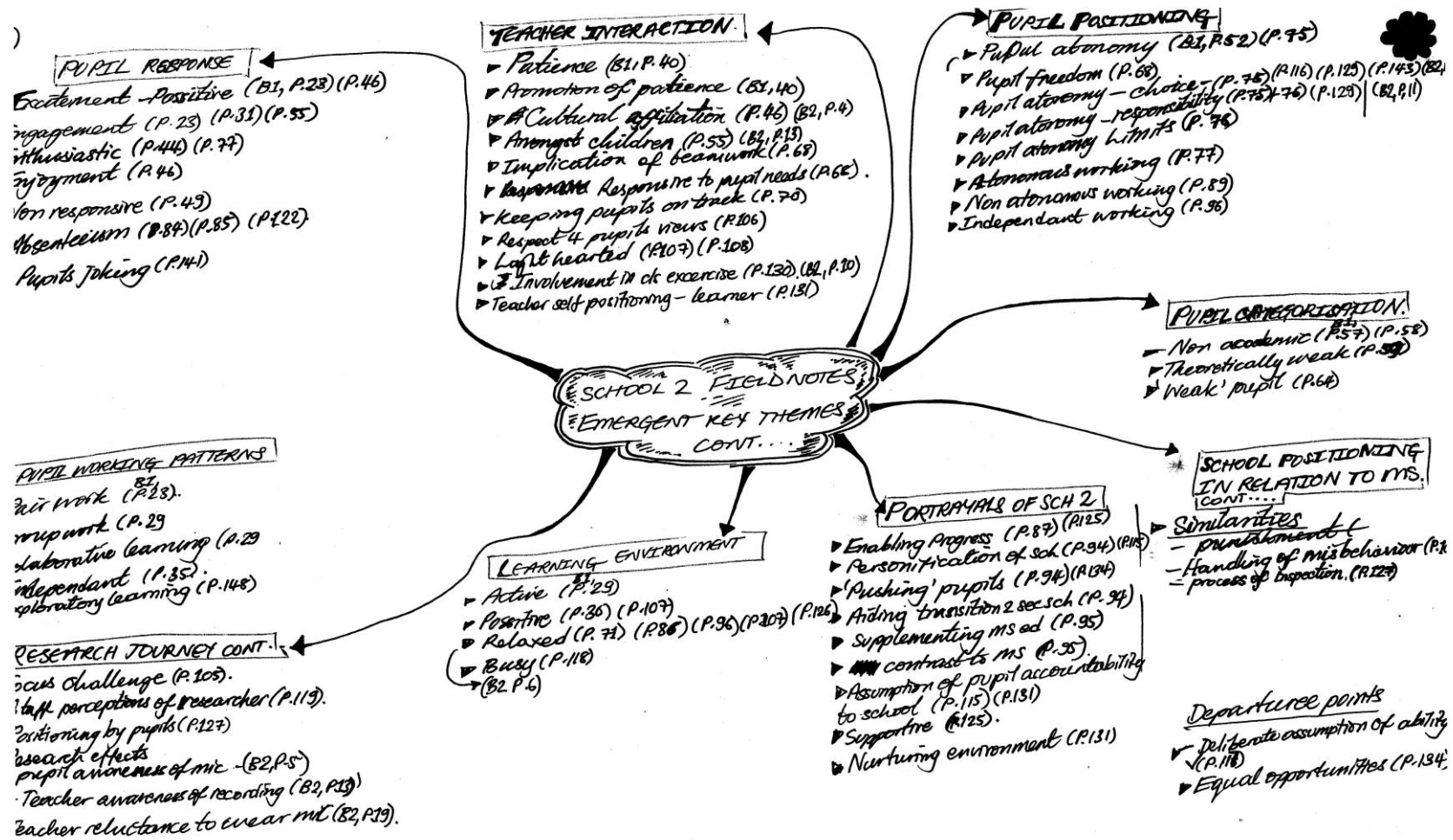
Teaching method = worksheet

Filling blanks exercise

collaborative correction.

Appendix O Fieldnote spray diagrams





Appendix P Phase 1 staff information sheet**Investigating purpose within supplementary schooling****Research Information Sheet – Phase 1*****Introduction***

The above research project is being carried out by a university student studying at the University of Birmingham. The main aim of this research is to investigate the purposes of supplementary schools within Birmingham and to investigate how school purpose is promoted within everyday school activities. In doing so, the research will establish the theoretical positioning of each school so that a framework can be built. This research will make a valuable contribution to the literature on supplementary schools and will also seek to raise awareness of supplementary schooling in general.

You are invited to take part in the above described study. Participation is voluntary and you may choose to withdraw at any time.

Why have I been selected?

You have been selected for this study simply because of your involvement with a supplementary school within Birmingham, you have not been selected on any other grounds.

What about confidentiality?

All data collected during this research will be kept confidential and the identity of all participants will be protected in the typing up of transcripts and in the final report. However this confidentiality will be broken if a child protection concern is raised. Research data will only be accessed by authorised personnel involved in the project.

What will happen to the results of the research?

It is intended that this research will make a valuable contribution to supplementary schooling literature and will also raise awareness about the nature and purposes of supplementary schooling. The researcher intends to disseminate the findings of the research in relevant journals and conferences.

Will I have access to feedback from the research?

All those involved in the research are entitled to receive feedback about the research and have a right to be kept informed of research progress. You are therefore invited to contact the researcher if you wish to have any further information concerning the research, by using the contact details below. You will also have the opportunity to access the final research report.

Who is the research funded by?

This research is being funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

Who is the contact person for the research?

Researcher: Amanda Simon

Email: [REDACTED]

Appendix Q Phase 1 staff consent form

Investigating purpose within supplementary schooling

Staff Consent Form

This information is being collected as part of a PhD research project concerned with the purposes of supplementary schooling. This project is being conducted under the supervision of the Department of Education at the University of Birmingham. The information which you supply will only be accessed by authorised personnel involved in the project. The information will be retained by the University of Birmingham and will only be used for the purpose of research and statistical and audit purposes. By supplying this information you are consenting to the University storing your information for the purposes stated above. The information will be processed by the University of Birmingham in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998. No identifiable personal data will be published.

Please **tick** the following statements as appropriate:

I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information leaflet for this study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions if necessary and have had these answered satisfactorily.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. If I withdraw my data will be removed from the study and will be destroyed if I so wish.

I understand that my personal data will be processed for the purposes detailed above, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

Based upon the above, I agree to take part in this study.

Name of participant Signature..... Date.....

Name of researcher/ Signature..... Date.....

Appendix R Phase 2 staff information sheet

Investigating purpose within supplementary schooling

Research Information Sheet – Phase2

Introduction

The above research project is being carried out by a university student studying at the University of Birmingham. The main aim of this research is to investigate the purposes of supplementary schools within Birmingham and to investigate how school purpose is promoted within everyday school activities. This research will make a valuable contribution to the literature on supplementary schools and will also seek to raise awareness of supplementary schooling in general.

You are invited to take part in the above described study. Participation is voluntary and you may choose to withdraw at any time.

Why have I been selected?

You have been selected for this study simply because of your involvement with a supplementary school within Birmingham.

How will the research affect me/ my teaching?

During the research the researcher will make audio recordings of lessons and will use these recordings to investigate the promotion of school purpose in everyday school activities. Apart from this discrete audio recording, you/your teaching will not be directly affected in any way. The analysis of the audio recordings will focus on classroom interactions in general and the will not be used to

If you decide to withdraw from the research at some point, your recordings will not be used in the research.

What about confidentiality?

All data collected during this research will be kept confidential and the identity of all participants will be protected in the typing up of transcripts and in the final report. However this confidentiality will be broken if a child protection concern is raised. Research data will generally only be accessed by authorised personnel involved in the project. The only exception to this will be research presentations, in which the researcher may use selected audio clips to demonstrate certain points. If you do not wish for your audio recordings to be used for this purpose, please do not tick the box provided on the consent form.

What will happen to the results of the research?

It is intended that this research will make a valuable contribution to supplementary schooling literature and will also raise awareness about the nature and purposes of supplementary schooling. The researcher intends to disseminate the findings of the research in relevant journals and at conferences.

Will I have access to feedback from the research?

All those involved in the research are entitled to receive feedback about the research and have a right to be kept informed of research progress. You are therefore invited to contact the researcher if you wish to have any further information concerning the research, by using the contact details below. You will also have the opportunity to access the final research report.

Who is the research funded by?

This research is being funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

Who is the contact person for the research?

Researcher: Amanda Simon

Email: [REDACTED]

Appendix S Phase 2 staff consent form

Investigating purpose within supplementary schooling

Phase 2 - Staff Consent Form

This information is being collected as part of a PhD research project concerned with the purposes of supplementary schooling. This project is being conducted under the supervision of the Department of Education at the University of Birmingham. The information which you supply will only be accessed by authorised personnel involved in the project. The information will be retained by the University of Birmingham and will only be used for the purpose of research and statistical and audit purposes. By supplying this information you are consenting to the University storing your information for the purposes stated above. The information will be processed by the University of Birmingham in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998. No identifiable personal data will be published.

Please **tick** the following statements as appropriate:

- I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information leaflet for this study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions if necessary and have had these answered satisfactorily.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. If I withdraw my data will be removed from the study and will be destroyed if I so wish.
- I understand that my personal data will be processed for the purposes detailed above, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.
- Based upon the above, I agree to take part in this study.
- I am happy for my audio recordings to be used within research presentations to illustrate relevant points.

Name of participant Signature..... Date.....

Name of researcher Signature..... Date.....

Appendix T Parents/guardians information sheet

Investigating purpose within supplementary schooling:

Research Information Sheet

Introduction

The above research project is being carried out by a university student studying at the University of Birmingham. The main aim of this research is to investigate the purposes of supplementary schools within Birmingham and to investigate how school purpose is promoted within everyday school activities. This research will make a valuable contribution to the literature on supplementary schools and will also seek to raise awareness of supplementary schooling in general.

Your child is invited to take part in the above described study. Participation is voluntary and you may choose to withdraw your child at any time.

Why has my child been selected?

Your child (along with other pupils in his/her school) has been selected for this study simply because they attend a supplementary school within Birmingham and has not been selected on any other grounds.

How will the research affect my child?

This research will have very little affect on your child. During the research the researcher will make video recordings of the lessons attended by your child and will use these recordings to investigate the promotion of school purpose on everyday school activities. Apart from this discrete video recording, your child's teaching will not be directly affected in any way. The analysis of the video recordings will focus on interactions within the class as a whole and not on your child in particular.

If your child decides to withdraw/is withdrawn from the research, they will no longer be included in the video footage, however it would be impossible to alter the footage gathered up to that point.

What about confidentiality?

All data collected during this research will be kept confidential and the identity of all participants will be protected in the typing up of transcripts and in the final report. However this confidentiality will be broken if a child protection concern is raised. Research data will generally only be accessed by authorised personnel involved in the project. The only exception to this will be conference presentations, in which the researcher may use selected clips from the video footage to demonstrate certain points being made.

What will happen to the results of the research?

It is intended that this research will make a valuable contribution to supplementary schooling literature and will also raise awareness about the nature and purposes of supplementary schooling. The researcher intends to disseminate the findings of the research in relevant journals and at conferences.

Will I have access to feedback from the research?

Both you and your child are entitled to receive feedback about the research and have a right to be kept informed of research progress. You are therefore invited to contact the researcher if you wish to obtain any further information concerning research, using the contact details below. You will also have the opportunity to access the final research report.

Who is the research funded by?

This research is being funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

Who is the contact person for the research?

Researcher: Amanda Simon

Email:

